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LOK SABHA

Tuesday, 24th April, 1956.

The Lok Sabha met at Half Past Ten  
of the Clock

[MR. SPEAKER in the Chair]

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

(See Part I)

11-30 A.M.

ARREST OF A MEMBER

**Mr. Speaker:** I have to inform the House that I have received the following telegram dated the 23rd April, 1956 from the Commissioner of Police, Calcutta:

"I have the honour to inform you that Shri Tushar Chatterjea, M.P., has been arrested today, the twenty-third April, at seventeen-thirty hours, along with others in Calcutta in connection with anti-merger demonstration. He is in custody."

PAPER LAID ON THE TABLE

FINAL ORDER NO. 31 UNDER DELIMITATION COMMISSION ACT

**The Minister of Legal Affairs (Shri Pataskar):** I beg to lay on the Table, under sub-section (3) of section 9A of the Delimitation Commission Act, 1952 as inserted by the Delimitation Commission (Amendment) Act, 1954, a copy of the Final Order No. 31, published in the Election Commission India, Notification No. S.R.O. 323, dated the 14th February, 1956. [Placed in Library. See No. S—138/56.]

**Shri Rishang Keishing (Outer Manipur—Reserved—Sch. Tribes):** I have given notice of an adjournment motion.  
1—95 L. S.

**Mr. Speaker:** I have just seen it. Enquiry is being made and I will inform the hon. Member, if I give my consent.

STATES REORGANISATION  
BILL—Contd.

**Mr. Speaker:** The House will now proceed with the further consideration of the motion moved by Pandit Govind Ballabh Pant on the 23rd April, 1956 asking for reference of the States Reorganisation Bill to a Joint Committee of both Houses.

**Shri S. S. More (Sholapur):** Before we proceed further, I would like to make one submission. I made a request to you yesterday and you were pleased to reserve your ruling on the point of order.

**Mr. Speaker:** I will give it tomorrow.

**Shri S. S. More:** In order to appreciate the points, will it be possible for you to follow the instance of the late Speaker in Laik Ali's case regarding the explanation of the point of order, so that. . . .

**Mr. Speaker:** I do not follow.

**Shri S. S. More:** My submission is that if the matter is allowed to be discussed for about half an hour, all the relevant points from both sides of the House will be brought to your notice, so that you may give your ruling. In the case of Mir Laik Ali's escape from Hyderabad, the late Speaker followed this procedure and extensive hearing was given to both sides of the House.

**Mr. Speaker:** I shall go through all the suggestions made by the hon. Member yesterday with respect to this matter and if I find any further elucidation is necessary, I shall certainly place it before the House before I come to a conclusion.

**Shri Kamath (Hoshangabad):** I would like to bring it to your notice that when this important Bill is being considered

[Shri Kamath]

by the House, neither the Home Minister nor the Minister in the Ministry is present in the House. I would request you, Mr. Speaker, to direct that at least one of them should be present in the House. It is a disrespect to this House that neither of them should be here when such an important Bill is being considered.

**The Minister of Legal Affairs (Shri Pataskar):** The hon. Minister in the Ministry of Home Affairs is busy in the other House; the hon. Home Minister will be coming.

**Shri Kamath:** This is a more important Bill.

**Mr. Speaker:** Hon. Members are aware that whatever is passed by this House has to go, except in some cases, to the other House. Though the other House has only a recommendatory right—it can also modify in some cases—anyhow when that matter goes to the other House, the same hon. Minister has to be there. Therefore, unless he absents himself from both Houses, it is all right. Normally, if simultaneous work is taken up there, it is as much the duty of the hon. Minister to be there as here. Therefore, hon. Members need not be anxious about this matter. Everything will be conveyed to the hon. Minister and he will reply. There is no indifference shown to the House.

**Shri Kamath:** At least one of them must be here.

**Mr. Speaker:** Order, order. Shri Ramachandra Reddi will continue his speech.

**Shri Ramachandra Reddi (Nellore):** Yesterday, when the House rose, I was dealing with the Bellary issue. I was pointing out that if the linguistic basis of division is the only criterion, then Bellary and some of those Kanarese-speaking portions may be tagged on to Mysore. At the same time, Kolar, which has a major Telugu-speaking population ought to have gone to Andhra. When the second one is not possible, I do not think there is any necessity for enforcing the first one. As a matter of fact, Bellary's progress has been very much interwoven with the progress of Andhra as a whole. Bellary's trade has been depending on the neighbouring Andhra districts and not in those of Mysore State. As a

matter of fact, it has to be noted that Bellary might be a liability on the Mysore State, whereas it would be a great help to the Andhra State.

**Shri M. S. Gurupadaswamy (Mysore):** We are prepared to take the liability.

**Shri Ramachandra Reddi:** It has been serving as a capital and headquarters for the Rayalaseema area. It has acted practically as headquarters of the zone consisting of Bellary, Anantapur, Kurnool and Cuddapah. As one gentleman was humorously remarking, from this backward area—Bellary, Anantapur Cuddapah and Kurnool—if Bellary is taken away, the portion of Rayalaseema will become not only still backward but also awkward.

If the population basis is the only criterion, I would earnestly request the Government to arrange for a plebiscite. That has not been done, though in a way Misra has suggested it. The latest position is much different for the simple reason that a member of the Mysore Assembly representing the Bellary area has recently resigned his membership of the Mysore Assembly and has challenged the Government to hold an election on this issue. Unfortunately, so far the by-election has not taken place. Evidently, it is going to be wantonly delayed. If the Government accepts the challenge, then that will be the proper method of deciding the issue quickly and earnestly.

It is sometimes noticed that with this Government *satyagraha* seems to be very useful. Though *satyagraha* has become outmoded in the present-day politics when constitutional agitation is more proper, there seems to be a desire on the part of the Government to pacify the *satyagrahis* whether they are violent or non-violent. It looks as if violence wins now and silence loses.

At certain times, the statements of members of the Cabinet or the people who are the controllers of the Cabinet seem to upset the decisions already taken by the Government itself. In recent speeches, the hon. Prime Minister seems to have expressed that he is in favour of Bombay being added on to Maharashtra. If that is his sincere opinion, I do not see any reason why the Cabinet should shirk its responsibility of adhering to the direction of the Prime Minister. I do not think that the Prime

Minister is so helpless either in the High Power committee or in the Cabinet as not to be able to see that his opinion gains ground. Therefore, there seems to be some wavering in this matter. I wish that the wavering attitude were given the go-by and some definiteness is achieved. As long as this definiteness is not there, there will be a continuous inflow of *satyagrahis*. This morning I was a little bit surprised to see Maharashtra *satyagrahis* having come down to the precincts of Lok Sabha and doing some noise there.

**Shri S. S. More :** It is not only noise. It is a legitimate demand.

**Shri Ramachandra Reddi :** But, I would tender this advice to the Members from Maharashtra. In this nebulous state of affairs, I would only request them to keep quiet for a few months more.

**Shri S. S. More :** Do you give any guarantee in return for accepting this advice?

**Shri Ramachandra Reddi :** I am sure that Shri S. S. More has not given any guarantees for any of the advices that he has given to the House so far.

**Shri S. S. More :** I have given that I shall abide by them.

**Shri Ramchandra Reddi :** Just observing the trend of affairs, I should think that if calmness prevails, the Cabinet will be able to come to a definite decision ere long and I hope that what the Maharashtrians are fighting for might be conceded by the Government.

**Shri Nambiar (Mayuram) :** *Satyagraha* is in a very calm manner. Everything is calm, cool and quiet.

**Shri Ramachandra Reddi :** I would only dwell upon one more matter, and that is about the second chamber for the Andhra State.

**Shri B. S. Murthi (Eluru) :** When has Shri Nambiar become calm?

**Shri S. S. More :** Since the hot season began.

**Mr. Speaker :** Hon. Members will decide it outside the House.

**Shri Ramachandra Reddi :** According to the figures furnished to us, Andhra stands the third biggest in the matter of population or in the matter of number of Assembly Members and as such, if other States are going to be given a second chamber, I should think that Andhra's claim for a second chamber should also be conceded and looked upon with favour.

The last suggestion that I would make is this. When this Bill is under discussion, it would have been easy for the House to discuss the Constitution Amendment Bill also. The fundamentals in both the Bills are more or less the same and we would be avoiding overlapping of discussions in this House if both the Bills had been taken into consideration together.

**Mr. Speaker :** Does the hon. Member suggest that the other motion may also be made and there may be a single discussion in both?

**Shri Ramachandra Reddi :** That is what I suggested.

**Mr. Speaker :** If the House is agreeable, we can spare so much time. I have the least objection.

**Some Hon. Members :** No, no.

**Shri V. G. Deshpande (Guna) :** That should be discussed separately.

**Shri B. S. Murthy :** I do not think it is feasible.

**Mr. Speaker :** I am not allowing it. I have heard some voices saying, "No, no".

**Shri Gadgil (Poona Central) :** Mr. Speaker, since this House discussed the States Reorganisation Commission's report, four months have passed and the situation then existing was different from what it is today. Towards the conclusion of his speech, the hon. Home Minister referred to the international situation and in particular, to the cry of 'jihad' raised in Pakistan. I fully understand the implications of that situation. Although on the east and the west the cloud may seem as big as a thumb, there is every possibility that it may grow bigger. Therefore, in the context of these circumstances, the responsibility of every Member in this House is rather greater than what it was in the month of December.

[Shri Gadgil]

A few days ago, the hon. Home Minister described me as a person the windows of whose mind are closed these days to reason. I do not consider that except in a light that he has paid me the highest compliment, because I am a man who will not compromise his principle and who will stand by his faith firmly. You must be remembering that when we came here in 1935 the description of every Congress Member given by the Government then was in the hands of the then hon. Law Member, the late Sir N. N. Sircar. From the very first day, he was very affectionate to me. I did not exactly know what were the reasons for this. But, later, he was good enough to tell me that I was described by the Bombay Government then that I was a gentleman with pleasant manners. I do not know what the present Bombay Government thinks about me. But, so far as the Government of India is concerned, the hon. Home Minister has described me as I said just now. My position is this. I claim to interpret the mind of my constituency to the Government and I claim to interpret the policies and the mind of the Government to the extent I know to the people at large. In such a situation, the position of one who is an intermediary is not very happy, as Bhartrihari put it :

नरपति हितकर्ता द्वेष्यतां याति लोके ।  
जनपद हितकर्ता त्यज्यते पार्श्वेन ॥  
इति महति विरोधे विद्यमाने समाने ।  
नृपति जनपदानां दुर्लभः कार्यकर्ता ॥

One who stands by the people is naturally disliked by the powers that are and one who helps the powers that are not popular with the people. In this contradiction, a man who can try to bring about a compromise of the two respective points of view is a rare person that I aspire to be; but I do not know whether I shall succeed.

This question of reorganisation is, as I have said, really a question of organising freedom. I have often said that our country is unique inasmuch as those who led us in the revolution are still with us substantially to lead us in the process of consolidation of freedom. That is a matter on which every one of us should congratulate ourselves. I therefore thought, and even now think that given the determination and the goodwill and understanding, no problem is insoluble and no problem is such that to

devise a solution for that will not result in understanding. What has happened between December and now is a matter which must be sympathetically and understandingly considered. Not that I approve of what has happened. But the true Gandhian approach, even to a violent situation is that of understanding to make a difference between the act and the actor, to make a difference between the deed and the doer. In all humility, I say that if the action is wrong, then it should be considered in an isolated manner. As for what the actor intended, and what cause he represented, we have to consider whether that cause was just. If the cause was just, then nothing should prevent any person determined to do justice, determined to give a square deal, from doing so because of certain extraneous considerations.

In order to give an idea of the present mood in my State, I shall merely recapitulate some of the events that have occurred, without making any comment. In May 1955, newspaper reports carried the news that Bombay was coming to Samyukta Maharashtra; and the sources, as they were described, were 'reliable', 'inside information', and so on, the usual clap-trap of the press. Then, a high Congress authority, while touring in Maharashtra in the third week of May had suggested to me a formula which was substantially the formula which was recommended by the SRC five months later. I told him "Things have moved much beyond that. The whole country is now looking expectantly and anxiously towards the formation of constituent States on the principle of language. Even if you say that if I were to accept it, I shall be able to carry with me my people, my friends and my colleagues, at least I have no such confidence, because I myself do not believe that in the context of the circumstances, any departure from the policy laid down by the Congress in the various resolutions passed by them earlier would be possible."

When the SRC report actually came, I did not know the exact background of their recommendation, except what I was able to gather from a speech delivered by Sardar Panikkar, one of the members of the SRC, at Calcutta on 1st January this year. I have got a report from *Kesari*, by no less a person than Mahamahopadhyaya Poddar, a great authority on history, who had attended that meeting. He reports in

*Kesari* as follows; and these are the words of Sardar Panikkar, according to him:

"Bombay belongs to Maharashtra. It must go to Maharashtra. Gujarathis have only trade interests in Bombay. They have no industrial interests worth much. We thought that Kandla was being developed, and that it would give full scope to their trade interests. This will result in lesser attraction for Gujarathis for Bombay, and this will result in two States, one Maharashtra with Bombay and the other Maha Gujarat. We considered ourselves clever and made the recommendations for the bilingual Bombay State, but in our mind, this one was only a tentative scheme."

A report of this speech also appeared in the *Amrit Bazar Patrika* on 3rd January. I shall read only the relevant portion.

"He said that 'in a democratic society, it is absolutely essential to my mind that the State should work on a unilingual basis. Otherwise, it is not possible to administer satisfactorily.' The Commission wanted Bombay to be a bilingual State for a transition period only. They ultimately believed that there would be two States, namely that of Gujarat and Maharashtra."

The third paper that reported the proceedings of that meeting was *The Statesman* of the 2nd January, which substantially stated the same thing:

"For certain reasons, we said Bombay should be bilingual. We, however, felt that in course of time, a satisfactory solution would be found, and separate unilingual Maharashtra and Gujarat States should be formed."

So, this was the background under which the people in Maharashtra believed that this was to come. Further, in the report itself, with respect to two other States, namely Telangana and Himachal Pradesh, some period had been mentioned, and when there was no mention about any period in the report itself, naturally you can imagine what must have been its effect on the popular mind. I have referred to this—I am making no complaint whatsoever—only with a view to that you should understand our mind, and nothing more.

I would not like to go into the details of what happened between that time and later on, namely the disturbances in Bombay in the months of November 1955 and January 1956, but I would like to refer to just one point that I had urged, namely that there should be an inquiry into the matter. I assure you from the bottom of my heart that I had suggested an inquiry not with a view to creating further troubles or to add to bitterness. But knowing my own people's mentality generally and knowing what they felt that when they found that something which they were holding to be the highest honour and the glory and tradition of the race was traduced, I had said, "If you want to condemn us, condemn us at least by proper enquiry". I merely referred to this, not because I wanted to create any further trouble—far from it—but because I had felt that if it were accepted, it would be good, and the results would be tremendous.

The problem now is what to do with the main question. After having heard what has been said by our great leader at the various meetings, and also our Home Minister a few days back, and from a general feel of the public opinion, I might say that it is very much a matter of gladness for me that the claim that Bombay belongs to Maharashtra is accepted, but we are only told "Why do you not wait for some time? Let the passions cool out. If something is done immediately, it might have an appearance that Government have yielded to violence or to force."

Having been in Government for good five years, I appreciate the force of this argument. In realising this atmosphere, I respectfully submit at the same time that some responsibility does rest on Government. If they had taken the right decision—not the one that they have taken now—things would have been different. As far as how they came to take this decision, I shall not refer to it. I shall only refer to the last resolution of the Maharashtra Pradesh Congress Committee, in which they have thanked the Congress leadership for having brought Marathwada and Vidarbha with the main Maharashtra, and then proceeded to request that what is left over should be done, and that just as they had used their good offices in persuading the Vidarbha people, they should also use their good offices in

[Shri Gadgil]

persuading those interests or those individuals who were not helping or supporting our claim.

It may be that some individuals here and there may have given some impression, but all along at least so far as I am concerned, I have felt it my duty to inform both the leader of my party and the Prime Minister, and the Home Minister, for whom I have the highest regard in spite of his description of myself, that there has not been adequate and proper appreciation of the feelings and the situation in my State.

12 NOON

Now, I am told about *satyagraha*, this, that and the other. I assure you that the Maharashtra Pradesh Congress Committee has expressed itself against it. So far as I am concerned, I have written, and I have spoken, against civil disobedience in a democratic country, for civil disobedience, according to my humble opinion, is constitutionally invalid and morally wrong under a democratic Constitution. (*Interruptions*).

**Shri Kamath :** Question.

**Shri Gadgil :** I know. Let me have freedom of speech at least here. There is a better weapon to bring the Government to book, namely, at the general elections you vote out the Government.

**Shri S. S. More (Sholapur) :** Is it a fact that Shrimati Gadgil does not share this view of Shri Gadgil's?

**Shri Gadgil :** Since it has been mentioned—I do not like that a personal matter should be stated here—I would like to say that both of them, my daughter and my wife, wrote to me. I told them, 'You are major. Do whatever you like'. But if you want my view of the situation, to join any mass *satyagraha* is wrong, as I said; morally wrong and constitutionally invalid. But if you feel that it is a question of conscience and of your faith, certainly I agreed with Professor Laski, in one of my articles, that the man should act 'singly'. He has no right to preach. He should singly proclaim his faith and cheerfully meet the consequences of law. That is the scope of my support to *satyagraha*, and if anybody feels that way, he is perfectly at liberty to proceed.

But what I was going to say was this. Do not understand that this is something which is done with a view to coerce or duress, something with a view to make you do something which, you honestly feel, is wrong. This is not the object. On the contrary, this has given a non-violent turn to the agitation. Nobody, should misinterpret it. The strong man that the Home Minister undoubtedly is, will not misunderstand this *satyagraha*. But it is an indication of the intensity of feeling. Between November 1955 and end of February 1956, 12,000 people have been arrested. Many of them are still in jail. I do not refer to firing, which was about 500 times. From the 27th March up to last week, about 4,000 *satyagrahis* have offered *satyagraha* in Bombay, in Poona, Nasik, Nagar and Belgaum.

**Shri S. S. More :** And now in Delhi.

**Shri Gadgil :** Yes, I take the latest information from him, now in Delhi. Do not equate this with an attempt to coerce you, but understand the intensity of their feeling. In the absence of any other way for expression for the general population, they have expressed that way. You should sympathetically understand it. It is a weapon which has been made sacred by its use by our great and glorious leader, Mahatma Gandhi. Nobody should try to ridicule it. Nobody should try to resort to it on wrong occasions. If it is done today, the occasion would be wrong, if it is done in a mass way.

**Shri Kamath :** You are wrong.

**Shri Gadgil :** What I am trying to impress upon the House is that *satyagraha* is not resorted to for coercing.

Secondly, may I ask this in all humility? After all, are we not members of the same family? Are you going to take into consideration the fact that some of your brothers or some of your children have misbehaved; therefore, you will not do a thing which is your duty, which, according to you, is just? That is the point. To equate *satyagraha* with an attempt to coerce is, in my humble opinion, wrong.

Take the Bombay Assembly vote. In spite of the Congress mandate, out of 316, 79 remained neutral, 25 were against it, 39 were absent. Out of them, 33 were non-Maharashtrians and 32

resigned on this issue, and most of them—the election results have been announced—have been returned unopposed. That is an indication of the feelings of the people.

Take the vote of the Bombay Corporation. The Bombay Corporation has clearly stated what it felt.

Take the vote of the Hyderabad Assembly. When the Home Minister said that it was by a narrow majority, I said that 30 Congress members from Marathwada did not vote. If these 30 members who had spoken against the exclusion of Bombay City from Maharashtra were permitted to vote, I fail to see how otherwise they would have voted. They gave to Caesar what was Caesar's and to God what was God's. They kept the Congress discipline, and yet they brought about the result which the people wanted. Do not misinterpret that vote. Do not misinterpret the vote of the Bombay Legislative Assembly. Only one Maharashtrian from the Maharashtra region voted for the Bill; the rest either absented themselves, remained neutral or voted against it. Even that one spoke against the Bill, but he took a different view of discipline and voted for it.

Now about meetings in Bombay, what shall I say? There is darkness at noon. Meetings are banned. Processions are banned. A simple subject like 'Constitution and the principle of decentralisation' was the subject on which the Speaker of the Bombay Legislative Assembly was to speak, and the Police Commissioner insisted that he must make no reference to Samyukta Maharashtra.

**Shri Kamath :** *Acchha!* That is your democracy.

**Shri Gadgil :** He might say so. I say it is something which is a temporary phase, and not permanent.

**Shri Kamath :** Oh! temporary!

**Shri Gadgil :** Take the Press. The English Press is in the hands of capitalists. Just see how wrongly they have reported. Only three days ago, when the Minister was asked to prosecute these non-Maharashtrian papers—one of them is from Delhi an English paper—

he said, "Undoubtedly, their reports are exaggerated, and they created excitement. But no useful purpose would be served because the reports are vague".

I do not want to say anything about the Marathi editors. Many have been arrested and detained. But, thank God, the Advisory Board has released most of them. I have no complaint whatsoever. If you do act out of faith you must suffer cheerfully.

But the point is that democratically the view of the population of Maharashtra and of Bombay has been expressed. If there is *satyagraha*, please do not misunderstand and equate it with an attempt to coerce. I appeal finally to the Prime Minister. He has been telling us, rightly, that we should insist on unity. I am of that view. I may differ from him, since I hold the view that constitution of unilingual States will create maximum satisfaction and will lead to a greater sense of unity and soundness. This is a moment, as I said the other day, when we must stand like a man behind the Prime Minister, knowing full well the international situation. I request him. Let him give that magic word that Bombay is a vested interest so far as Maharashtra is concerned, not merely a contingent interest, as a lawyer would put it, that it has to come to Maharashtra definitely, today or tomorrow—he can judge about that. Meanwhile, let our contacts remain with Bombay and let our capital be there. Let him say this, which will mean two things: that the interest of Maharashtra in Bombay is no more contingent—it is not a question of may or may not be—but it is a vested interest, as a lawyer would put it; and that our contacts with Bombay should remain by having our capital there. I do not want him to make that pronouncement here and now. I know his own difficulties pretty well. But let him consider this and let him give us that lead which will take the whole country from an atmosphere of strife into an atmosphere of understanding and unity. Out of the mist, let the sun of fulfilment shine. He alone can do it. Through many a crisis he has led us in the past. He has got that perspective mind and that personality. I do not say this because I want personally anything for me. He has offered me many things which I have refused.

[Shri Gadgil]

I ask him in the larger interests of the country, for which everyone of us now stands, to give us that lead, to give us that feeling of fulfilment. And as that Hindi proverb says 'where you want us to give one drop of sweat, we will give you one drop of blood'.

सरदार ए० एस० सहगल (बिलासपुर) : अध्यक्ष महोदय, यह जो स्टेट्स रिऑर्गनाइजेशन बिल इस समय सदन के सामने पेश है, उस पर मैं अपने विचार रखना चाहता हूँ।

उत्तर प्रदेश की विधान सभा में वहाँ के मुख्य मंत्री महोदय ने जोन्स बनाने के बारे में जो कहा है, वह मैं आपके सामने रखना चाहता हूँ। इस बिल में उत्तर प्रदेश और मध्य प्रदेश को मिलाकर एक जोन बनाये जानेकी बात है। अभी तक उनके समझ में यह बात नहीं आई है कि इससे क्या विशेष फायदा हो सकता है क्योंकि यदि कोई विशेष मौका तो हो वैसे ही दोनों प्रदेशों के चीफ मिनिस्टर मिल कर तय कर सकते हैं। यह राय उत्तर प्रदेश विधान सभा में दी गई है। मैं समझता हूँ कि जब कायदे से दोनों मुख्य मंत्री मिलेंगे तो वह अपनी चीजों को ठीक से रख सकेंगे और बात कर सकेंगे। लेकिन अगर वह बेकायदे मिलें तो कुछ नहीं कर सकेंगे। पहले भी डकैतियों के मामले में दोनों प्रदेशों के इन्स्पेक्टर जनरल आफ पुलिस मिला करते थे लेकिन उस से कोई फायदा होता था या नहीं यह हमें दखना है।

इस के साथ ही साथ जो स्टेट्स रिऑर्गनाइजेशन बिल है उस में भी जोन्स और जोनल कौंसिल बनाने की राय दी गई है। नादन जोन (उत्तरी खण्ड) सेंट्रल जोन (केन्द्रीय खण्ड), ईस्टर्न जोन (पूर्वी खण्ड), वेस्टर्न जोन (पश्चिमी खण्ड) और सदन जोन (दक्षिणी खण्ड)। इन जोन्स से यह फायदा होगा कि जो जोन्स के प्रदेशों में रहने वाले लोग होंगे वे आपस में मिलकर द्वितीय पंचवर्षीय योजना को सफल करने के बारे में बात चीत कर सकेंगे और जितनी जल्दी हो सकेगा वह सारे मामलों को सुलझा सकेंगे। इसलिये यह जरूरी है कि यह जोन्स बनाये जायें और मैं समझता हूँ कि सदन इस को मंजूर करेगा।

इसी प्रकार से यदि सारी स्टेट्स को बनाने के बारे में फिर से विचार करना है और सारे प्रश्न को नये सिरे से खोलना है तो मैं इस सदन के

सामने वह प्रस्ताव जिसे उत्तर प्रदेश की विधान सभा ने पास किया है। जो वह प्रस्ताव इस प्रकार से है :

“ यह सदन केन्द्रीय सरकार से यह सिफारिश करता है कि चूंकि अब भारतवर्ष में केवल बड़े वं मुदूद राज्यों की इकाइयाँ रखने की बान मान्यता पा चुकी है और चूंकि विन्ध्य प्रदेश एवं उत्तर प्रदेश विशेषकर उसके दक्षिणी भाग में भौगोलिक, सांस्कृतिक, सामाजिक, आर्थिक एवं रीति रिवाज की समानता है, तथा दोनों प्रदेशों के शासन एवं आर्थिक सम्बन्ध को ध्यान में रखते हुए उनका मिलाया जाना जनहित में ही नहीं बल्कि उनके विकास के लिये भी अनिवार्य है, अतः उत्तर प्रदेश और विन्ध्य प्रदेश को मिला कर एक राज्य बनाया जाय .....”

उत्तर प्रदेश विधान सभा में जब यह प्रस्ताव पास हुआ है तो उस के सम्बन्ध में मैं आप से यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि यदि यह प्रस्ताव मंजूर होता है तो नये मध्य प्रदेश में आप को झांसी, बांदा, हमीरपुर, जालौन और ललितपुर के जिलों को मिला देना चाहिये। यदि आप उत्तर प्रदेश के नक्शे को देखेंगे तो आप को पता चलेगा कि ललितपुर जिला मध्य प्रदेश के बीच में पड़ा हुआ है। और इसी लिये मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि इस ललितपुर जिले को नये मध्य प्रदेश में मिला देना चाहिये।

श्री बी० जी० देशपांडे : जरूर मिलाना चाहिये।

सरदार ए० एस० सहगल : क्योंकि यह सब पहले भी बुंदेलखंड के हिस्से रह चुके हैं। इन जगहों की राय भी यह है कि उन को नये मध्य प्रदेश में मिला देना चाहिये। उन लोगों के भौगोलिक, सामाजिक, आर्थिक, सांस्कृतिक एवं रीति रिवाजों के संबंध भी मध्य प्रदेश से ही हैं। मैं ने जब उत्तर प्रदेश विधान सभा की रिपोर्ट को देखा तो उस में सफा (पृष्ठ) २ पर लिखा हुआ है कि विध्य प्रदेश की एसेम्बली में बघेलखंड के २५ सदस्य हैं और उन २५ सदस्यों में से वहां के स्पीकर साहब भी हैं, उन्होंने कोई राय नहीं दी। शेष सदस्यों में से दस काँग्रेस के सदस्यों ने और एक जनसंघ के सदस्य ने यह राय दी कि उस को उत्तर प्रदेश में मिला देना चाहिये। जो वह यह कहते हैं कि स्पीकर साहब ने राय नहीं दी वह मैं समझता हूँ कि ठीक नहीं है। अध्यक्ष महोदय,



में आप की इजाजत से जो विध्य प्रदेश के स्पीकर साहब ने अपनी राय दी है उस को सदन के सामने रखना चाहता हूँ।

"Mr. Shivanand, Speaker, Vindhya Pradesh Vidhan Sabha, yesterday refuted a report that the people of the State or a section of it were anxious to merge with U.P. Certain vested interests, who refused to accept the truth, were carrying on this malicious propaganda with a view to achieving their ulterior motives, he added."

"He said it was most deplorable that even the Chief Minister of a neighbouring State had aligned himself with these elements without paying any heed to the wishes of the people of Vindhya Pradesh who had unequivocally expressed themselves in favour of merger with Madhya Pradesh."

Mr. Shivanand alleged that certain capitalists, ex-rulers and jagirdars 'have evil designs and are engaged in bartering away the interests of common men for their own interest'."

यह राय तो विध्य प्रदेश के स्पीकर साहब ने दी है। इस के बाद मैं आपसे कहूँगा कि उत्तर प्रदेश विधान सभा के जो दस सदस्य बघेल खंड के थे उन में से दस कांग्रेस के सदस्यों और एक जन संघ के सदस्य ने तो यह राय दी कि इस को उत्तर प्रदेश में मिला देना चाहिए। लेकिन जो शेष १४ सदस्य बचे बघेल खंड के उन लोगों की इस बारे में क्या राय है? मैं तो कहूँगा कि उन लोगों ने यह राय दी है कि इस भाग को उत्तर प्रदेश में मर्ज (विलीन) नहीं होना चाहिए।

श्री० रघुनाथ सिंह (जिला बनारस मध्य):  
क्यों ?

सरदार ए० एस० सहगल : इस लिये मैं कहूँगा कि आज जो स्टेट्स रिआर्गनाइजेशन बिल पेश है उस को बैसा का बैसा ही पास करना चाहिये। यदि किसी प्रकार से इस सवाल को फिर खोला जाना है तो जबलपुर के जो कि कैपिटल का मामला है उस का मसला भी फिर से विचार करने के लिए लेना पड़ेगा।

इस के बाद मैं विध्य प्रदेश के मुख्य मंत्री की जो राय है उस को आप की इजाजत से सदन के सामने रखना चाहता हूँ।

श्री रघुबीर सहाय (जिला एटा उत्तर पूर्व व जिला बदायुँ पूर्व) : अपनी राय दीजिये।

सरदार ए० एस० सहगल :

"The Chief Minister of Vindhya Pradesh, Dr. Shambhunath Shukla, declined to make any comment on the decision of the Uttar Pradesh Vidhan Sabha recommending the merger of Vidhan Sabha (?) in U. P. He said that the Congress High Command would decide the issue finally."

यह तो उन्होंने अपनी कोई राय पेश नहीं की। इस के साथ ही साथ यदि आप देखेंगे तो विध्य प्रदेश कांग्रेस कमेटी के जो प्रेजिडेंट राघवेन्द्र सिंह हैं, उन्होंने यह कहा है ...

Mr. Speaker : The hon. Member wants Vindhya Pradesh to be added to U. P.

Shri Feroze Gandhi (Pratapgarh Distt. West-cum-Rae Bareli Distt.—East): He said that the Speaker has demanded the inclusion of the Vidhan Sabha in Uttar Pradesh.

An Hon. Member : The Chief Minister, not the Speaker.

Sardar A. S. Saigal : No, Sir. That is not the thing. What the Speaker has said is this. He wants that the Vindhya Pradesh should be included in the new Madhya Pradesh. It is his view. But, some of the members of the V. P. wanted that it should be merged with U. P. This was his view which he expressed on the 22nd at a Jabalpur meeting. (Interruption). He went there to inaugurate the Madhya Pradesh Homoeopathic 1st Conference.

Shri Yadvendra Singh, Vindhya Pradesh Congress President said—

"It was true some sections of Baghelkhand desired merger with U. P. but as far as Bundelkhand was concerned, it had clearly expressed itself in favour of joining Madhya Pradesh."

This is his view.

इस के साथ-साथ मैं आप से यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि विध्य प्रदेश धारा सभा के जो ३५ मेम्बर हैं उन्होंने मध्य प्रदेश में शामिल होने के निर्णय का स्वागत किया है।

[Sardar A. S. Saigal]

यही नहीं, नौ ने जैसे का तैसा रहने के पक्ष में अपनी राय दी है। ११ मेम्बर्स ने यू० पी० में शामिल होने की जिस दिन राय दी उस दिन ५५ मेम्बर हाज़िर थे और एक माननीय सदस्य जिनका नाम राणा शमसेर है और जोकि त्योंधर तहसील के हैं उन्होंने भी यह राय दी है कि हमें मध्य प्रदेश में ही शामिल किया जाए। मैं आपको यहाँ पर यह भी बतलाना चाहता हूँ कि यह जो त्योंधर तहसील है यह इलाहाबाद के बिल्कुल नजदीक है।

श्री कामत : आप क्या चाहते हैं ?

सरदार ए० एस० सहगल : मैं यह चाहता हूँ कि यह जो बघेलखंड है इसे नये मध्य प्रदेश में ही रखा जाए।

डॉ० एस० एन० सिंह (सारन—मध्य) : कभी नहीं।

सरदार ए० एस० सहगल : अध्यक्ष महोदय, हाईकोर्ट के मामले में मैं आपको बतलाना चाहता हूँ कि अभी हाल ही में चारों मुख्य मंत्रियों की जो कान्फरेंस पंचमडी में हुई है उसमें यह तब किया गया है कि हाईकोर्ट जबलपुर में रखा जाए। इस हाईकोर्ट के बारे में आपने अपने बिल के सफा २४ पर यह लिखा है :

"All proceedings pending in the High Court of Madhya Bharat or in the Court of the Judicial Commissioner for Bhopal or in the Court of the Judicial Commissioner for Vindhya Pradesh, immediately before the appointed day, shall stand transferred to the High Court of Madhya Pradesh."

यह जो तजवीज आपने इस बिल में रखी है यह एक बहुत ही अच्छी तजवीज है और मैं इसका स्वागत करता हूँ। इसके साथ ही साथ आपने यह जो सफा ६३ पर लिखा है :

"that the High Courts now exercising jurisdiction in relation to the existing States of Madhya Pradesh, Mysore, Punjab, Rajasthan and Travancore-Cochin shall become the High Courts for the corresponding new States."

इसका भी मैं पूर्ण रूप से स्वागत करता हूँ। विद्युत शक्ति के बारे में आपने इस बिल में जो यह लिखा है कि :

".....State Electricity Boards now existing in the States of Bombay, Madhya Pradesh and Saurashtra. It enables these Boards to

continue to function in the same areas as at present, even after the formation of the new States of Maharashtra, Gujarat and Madhya Pradesh, for a period of one year."

यह भी एक बहुत अच्छी चीज है जो कि इस बिल में रखी गई है। जहाँ पर यह बोर्ड इस वक्त काम कर रहे हैं, वहीं पर इन को फंक्शन करने देने के लिए आपने जो यह एक क्लॉज रखी है, इसका मैं स्वागत करता हूँ। जो आपने यह कहा है कि जब नया मध्य प्रदेश बन जाएगा तब ये उस में शामिल हो सकेंगे, यह भी एक बहुत अच्छी चीज है।

मध्य प्रदेश के लिए आपने जो एक लेजिस्लेटिव काउन्सिल बनाने का सुझाव दिया है उसका भी मैं समर्थन करता हूँ। आपने लिखा है :

"In the said Council there shall be 72 seats....."

यह जो आपने ७२ सीटें देने की कृपा की है, इसके लिए मैं आपका अभारी हूँ। इसके साथ ही साथ आपने जो नये मध्य प्रदेश की असेम्बली के लिये सीटें रखी हैं वह आपने २८८ रखी हैं। अब जितने मेम्बर हाउस आफ दी पीपल के लिये नए मध्य प्रदेश से लिये जायेंगे उनकी संख्या भी आपने सफा ४८, शेड्यूल ३ में दी है। आपने यह कहा है कि मध्य प्रदेश से ३६ मेम्बर हाउस आफ दी पीपल के लिये जायेंगे। अब आप अगर इसके मुकाबले में मद्रास या महाराष्ट्र के केस को लें तो आपको पता चलेगा कि मद्रास लैजिस्लेटिव असेम्बली की स्ट्रेंथ २०५ है और उसके से ४० सदस्य हाउस आफ दी पीपल के लिये लिये जायेंगे। इसी तरह से महाराष्ट्र असेम्बली की कुल सदस्य संख्या २४० होगी और उसके से भी ४० सदस्य हाउस आफ दी पीपल में लिये जायेंगे। इनके मुकाबले में मध्य प्रदेश असेम्बली की कुल सदस्य संख्या जैसा कि मैंने अभी कहा २८८ होगी परन्तु खेद का विषय है कि उसके केवल ३६ सदस्य ही हाउस आफ दी पीपल के लिये लिये जायेंगे। इसको बहुत मैं बड़ा अन्याय मानता हूँ। जिस तरह से आपने हाउस आफ दी पीपल की सीट्स का बटवारा किया है, वह ठीक ढंग से नहीं किया है और मैं प्रार्थना करता हूँ कि इसके बारे में सिलेक्ट कमिटी विचार करे।

आप, जो विधान है, जो कांस्टीट्यूशन है उसको बदलने जा रहे हैं। आप यह भी चाहते हैं कि हाउस आफ दी पीपल की ४६६ सीट्स को बढ़ा कर ५२० कर दिया जाए। इसके साथ ही साथ प्रेसीडेंट साहब ने शैड्यूल्ड कास्ट और शैड्यूल्ड ट्राइब्स के बारे में उनका हक था उसे भी बदलने की जो सलाह दी है, जो उनके नम्बर बढ़ जायेंगे, उसका भी समावेश आप कांस्टीट्यूशन में करेंगे। उसके मुताबिक भी मध्य प्रदेश में शैड्यूल्ड कास्ट और शैड्यूल्ड ट्राइब्स की संख्या बढ़ जायेगी और आपको उनको हाउस आफ दी पीपल में तथा धारा सभा में उनकी बढ़ी हुई संख्या को देखते हुए और सीटें देनी होंगी। मैं समझता हूँ कि यह जो सब बातें हैं, इन पर सिलेक्ट कमेटी विचार करेगी और जहाँ पर अन्याय किया गया है उसे वह दुरुस्त करने की चेष्टा करेगी। मैं सिलेक्ट कमेटी से खास तौर पर मध्य प्रदेश के साथ इन सीटों के बट-वारे के सम्बन्ध में जो अन्याय किया गया है, उसको दुरुस्त करने की प्रार्थना करता हूँ।

मुझ बड़े अफसोस के साथ कहना पड़ता है कि आपने जो सिलेक्ट कमेटी बनाई है उसमें आपने पुराने मध्य प्रदेश और विध्य प्रदेश का कोई भी सदस्य नहीं लिया है। पुराने मध्य प्रदेश के लोक सभा में १६ सदस्य हैं, किन्तु इनमें से एक को भी इस कमेटीमें नहीं लिया गया है।

**श्री कामत :** आपको लेना चाहिये था

**सरदार ए० एस० सहगल :** इस बास्ते में प्रार्थना करता हूँ कि जब भी कोई इस तरह की महत्वपूर्ण सिलेक्ट कमेटी बने, हमारे मिनिस्टर फार पार्लियामेंटरी अफेयर्स इस बात का ध्यान रखें कि सब स्टेटों के नुमायंदे उसमें लिए जायें। इसका यह फायदा होगा कि सब प्रान्तों के लोगों को अपने सुझाव प्रस्तुत करने का अवसर मिल सकेगा। पुराने मध्य प्रदेश के १६ सदस्यों में से एक भी नहीं लिया गया है . . . . .

**एक माननीय सदस्य :** श्री श्रीमन्नारायण हैं।

**सरदार ए० एस० सहगल :** श्री श्रीमन्नारायण जी उन जिलों से नहीं आते हैं जो हिन्दी स्पीकिंग जिले हैं। मुझे वह क्षमा करेंगे यदि मैं यह कहूँ कि वह जो राय देंगे वह आप मध्य प्रदेश की जो राय है वह नहीं दे सकेंगे।

इन शब्दों के साथ जो यह बिल रखा गया है, मैं इसका स्वागत और समर्थन करता हूँ।

**संसद्-कार्य मंत्री (श्री सत्य नारायण सिंह) :** अगर माननीय सदस्य मुझे कल इसके बारे में बताते कि इस कमेटी में मध्य प्रदेश का भी कोई सदस्य लिया जाये तो मैं ऐसा भी कर सकता था और उनको इस शिकायत को दूर कर सकता था।

**Mr. Speaker :** I now call upon Shri Shriman Narayan and he has to satisfy me if he is a representative of the Maharashtra or the Hindi area of Madhya Pradesh.

**Shri Shriman Narayan (Wardha) :** I represent the whole of India.

We are happy that after six months of discussions and controversy, both hot and cold, it has been possible for us to consider the suggestions of the Government of India in a concrete form. This Bill, which has been presented in this House, tries to concretise various decisions of the Government from time to time.

Before I take up some of the special points mentioned in the Bill, I think it will be better for us to remind ourselves of the basic objectives for which this reorganisation of States has been taken up.

I would like to draw the attention of the House to the Statement of Objects and Reasons:

"The States of India, as they exist to-day, have been formed largely as a result of historical accidents and circumstances, and there has, therefore, been a demand for the reorganisation of the component units of the Indian Union on a more rational basis, after taking into account not only the growing importance of the regional languages but also financial, economic and administrative considerations."

In the heat of controversy sometimes we are apt to forget that the objective with which we launched on this experiment of redrawing the map of India was mainly administrative and educational convenience. As the statement says, the British people formed various States for historical reasons. It is, therefore, necessary to re-draw our map and boundaries after the achievement of freedom so that the people may

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have the facility to receive education in their own regional languages and carry on their administration through the Indian languages. This was the primary object for which Gandhiji also advised, many years ago, that, after we achieve freedom, we should try to redraw our States' boundaries. Language, surely, is one of the important factors as we find in this Bill but the provision of zonal councils clearly indicates that it is not the only factor. We have to see it from the point of view of administrative convenience, defence of the country and also the unity of the country and see if the new map of India satisfies all these conditions. I regard the provision for zonal councils as a heartening feature of the Bill.

It has been said that the zonal councils will be mainly advisory. It is correct. To begin with, we do not want the new States to feel that their independence within the Indian Union is unnecessarily tampered with. But, I do hope that the objectives for which these councils have been introduced—economic and social planning, protection of minorities in these areas, etc.—will be realised fully and effectively. If necessary, these councils may be vested with some statutory powers so that it may be possible to safeguard and achieve the objectives for which they have been established.

Besides the zonal councils, another good feature of the whole scheme is the provision of regional councils. Although that phrase does not occur specifically in the Bill, in the previous statement submitted to this House, the Government of India has said that for Punjab and Telangana—if necessary, in other places also—we could have regional councils or committees consisting of the MLAs of that particular region. I think this scheme of regional and zonal councils in the new set-up of the States is a very good feature. It is an experiment in what we call national planning and regional planning. The two are not contradictory; they supplement each other. They try to give autonomy to different regions but at the same time, they try to combine them into one whole and try to maintain the unity of the country and make everybody feel all the time that we are not merely citizens of particular States but citizens of this great country in which we all live, having a common goal.

One point which needs some stress in this whole scheme is the question of decentralisation of administrative functions. It is a good feature of the Bill, perhaps not actually mentioned in the Bill. With respect to the new State of Madhya Pradesh, which will be the biggest State so far as area is concerned—provision has been made for decentralising important administrative offices in some of the important cities. It is not proper for us, when we talk of the socialist pattern of society, to try to increase the importance of the cities too much. This depopulation of the villages and giving too much importance to the capital alone neglecting the other cities and our rural areas—these are not a very happy feature. Therefore, I am glad that this scheme which visualises decentralisation of administrative functions and not concentrating all the power in a few towns, is here. Similar scheme should be introduced in other parts, for instance, in Patiala. It is really a creditable thing for the people of Punjab—all communities—that it has been possible to evolve a scheme acceptable to all. Some people may differ. It will not be proper to concentrate all the administrative powers in one area. It could be decentralised in Patiala. Similarly in the new State of Rajasthan, one can give more importance to Ajmer which is now merging with Rajasthan.

I would also refer to the proposal for bilingual States. In this Bill, it is mentioned that the question of West Bengal-Bihar merger will be taken up later. We all know that, when the two Chief Ministers placed before the country a scheme for the merger of the two States—you may call it a merger or union—it was welcomed warmly by all sections of the people in the country.

**An Hon. Member :** Who welcomed it?

**Shri Shriman Narayan :** It is rather unfortunate that it has not been possible to achieve that merger or union so far. But, I do hope that ultimately that union will come in the interest of not only these two States but also in the interest of the country in general because there is—there has also been—a tendency in this country to think in regional or sectional terms. Therefore, it is always good to remind ourselves that, according to the Indian Constitution, the citizenship is only one. It is

the Indian citizenship and not the citizenship of this or that State. Therefore, this experiment of a bilingual or even multilingual State with different regions and different regional languages will have full scope for development. This development deserves all encouragement. I hope that not only in the east would this merger come about but also in the south and in the west, and in other parts.

**Shri M. S. Gurupadaswamy** (Mysore) : It will not.

**Shri Shriman Narayan** : The other point which I would like to stress is that on October 1, better still October 2, these new States should see to it that the administration is carried on in the regional languages. The whole purpose of the SRC will be lost if these States continue to carry on their work in English. I am not against English language as such. It had been of use to us and it is an international language. After this reorganisation, there is absolutely no reason why our States should continue to function through this foreign language. It is very difficult to approach our masses through the foreign language. I find that the State Governments and also the Union Government are still carrying on propaganda in English, whether it is small savings campaign or a campaign to recruitment for the Army or the territorial forces. Generally, we find that it is all done in English. That is not the way in which the new States should continue to function. They must switch on to the regional languages.

In the end, after having heard Kaka Sahib and another impassioned appeal about Bombay or Maharashtra or other parts, I would draw the attention of the Members and of the country again to the basic fact that if the unity of India is jeopardised, everything is lost.

It is said that particular matters are questions of life and death. I ask, Sir, who lives if India dies? Who lives if India goes to pieces?

**Shri M. S. Gurupadaswamy** : Why are you thinking like that?

**Shri Shriman Narayan** : Therefore, ultimately the question is that all of us have to remember, whether it is Bellary, Orissa, Bombay or other parts, that we are citizens of India and we all have to be proud of being the citizens of this

land of Gandhiji about whom we talk so much. If we forget that fact for a single moment, if we attach too much importance only to one aspect and forget the rest, we forget the map of India and are too much obsessed only about a point. That is not the correct approach. Therefore, I would earnestly appeal to all Members, in all humility, one thing. If you say that you have faith in the leader, have full faith in him.

**Shri M. S. Gurupadaswamy** : Blind faith.

**Shri Shriman Narayan** : The leader has said many times that nothing is final and that things will be reconsidered when conditions return to normal. Why do we lack that faith? I think we must not lack faith in the Prime Minister of India who is today regarded not only as the leader of this land, but as a leader who has shown new light to the world. We must not lack faith, whether it is Bombay, Bellary, Orissa or any other part of this country. After all, no part is bigger than the whole.

**Dr. Rama Rao (Kakinada)** : What is your objection to that?

**Shri Shriman Narayan** : In the end I would quote from Gandhiji himself, whose name is taken so often.

**Shri Kamath** : By you more.

**Shri Shriman Narayan** : Why not? If you can do that, I surely can.

**Shri Kamath** : I do not do it.

**Shri Shriman Narayan** : I, therefore, remind you of what Gandhiji said towards the end of 1947, which appeared in the *Harijan* of 1st February, 1948. In fact, the last words that he uttered were:

“The Congress Working Committee had been discussing the question of reconstitution of provinces on a linguistic basis.”

Then he goes on to say :

“But such redistribution should not militate against the organic unity of India. Autonomy did not and should not mean disruption, or that hereafter provinces could go the way they chose, independent of one another and of the Centre. If each province began to

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look upon itself as a separate, sovereign unit, India's independence lose its meaning and with it would vanish the freedom of the various units as well."

I would, therefore, humbly say that this is an experiment which we must undertake in all seriousness.

The interests of the minorities have to be safeguarded. In that connection I would draw your attention to Part IV of the Report. Of course, many things cannot be incorporated in this Bill, but in that Report the members of the Commission have repeatedly stressed the importance of protecting the interests of the minorities in each area, because after all, every citizen must feel secure wherever he is. He may have moved from any part of the country to another, but he must feel secure and must feel that he is equal to any other citizen living in any part of the country. From that point of view, the suggestion that at least 50 per cent. of the administrative services should be recruited from outside the State is a very healthy one. Also, that one-third of the High Court Judges should be from another State, or that Hindi should gradually be introduced as the Union language effectively and in a proper way are all safeguards which have to be kept in mind. If we forget these, then a time may come when again disruptive tendencies may raise their heads which has been a tragedy of this century through the centuries. If we tend to shrink ourselves into small shells, forget the big country in which we live and continue the various internal quarrels, we might lose much more heavily than we might do if we keep patience for a while and allow our great leader to act in his own discretion.

**Shri S. S. More :** Mr. Speaker, I am very much thankful to you for calling on me to speak immediately after Shri Shriman Narayan. I have listened to his speech very carefully because he always speaks with reason, sobriety and some knowledge of Gandhism. But I feel that Gandhism is being raised to the pedestal of Christianity which ought to be preached by some saints, but which need not be followed by the so-called Christians.

My submission is that Shri Shriman Narayan very passionately pleaded for unity. The idea of unity should not be forgotten by anyone. I understand the

emphasis on unity but I should question the need of emphasising it at this particular juncture. What is the danger to the unity of India? Some people are claiming some parts of Bihar. Bihar may be claiming some parts of Bengal. Bombay may be claiming some parts of Maharashtra. Maharashtra may be claiming some parts of Bombay or some other parts. I need not go into the details. But, this is more like a sort of brothers sitting round a table trying to adjust on the occasion of friendly partition to decide how the utensils are to be distributed here and there, how the finances are to be divided and how mutual adjustment has to be made. Does Shri Shriman Narayan want to suggest very seriously that the claim made by Maharashtra for Bombay is likely to hamper the unity of India? If that be his fear, I am prepared to say—and I do speak as much the mind of Maharashtra as anybody else—that not only one drop of blood, which Shri Gadgil was pleased to promise, but I do promise rivers of blood from Maharashtra youths to safeguard the unity of India. You know, Sir, in offices there are some cushions which are used for pins.

**Shri A. M. Thomas (Ernakulam) :** Sir, we shall not speak in terms of blood.

**Shri Kamath :** No blood, no life.

**Shri S. S. More :** Shri Thomas says that he will not speak in terms of blood, but that does not rest with him. There are other parties also who will not only make him speak of blood, but even shed blood. It is not a unilateral affair as he believes it to be.

**Shri Kamath :** Blood is life.

**Shri S. S. More :** I may particularly request Shri Kamath not to start his machine gun fire-work when I am speaking. I am speaking, Sir, with a seriousness and my seriousness is bordering almost on sadness. Maharashtra is selected like a cushion to stick every pin of advice. Even Shri Ramachandra Reddi had contributed his own advice to Maharashtra as if they are becoming the waste-paper basket where everybody is putting his own advice.

Why should we be? We, Maharashtrais, need no lessons from anybody regarding our duty to the nation. Read the history of the nation.

**Dr. S. N. Sinha :** No. no.

**Shri S. S. More :** Dr. Sinha should know that there are occasions on which he should remain quiet. (*Interruption*).

**Mr. Speaker:** Let there be no interruptions.

**Shri S. S. More:** Sir, allow me to proceed. I am trying to plead the cause of a people who are deep in the mire of frustration. I am trying to plead for the cause of a people who, though valiant, are treated as a criminal tribe. I want to plead the cause of Maharashtra because it is Maharashtra which has stood firmly, nobly and valiantly against the Britishers. It was Maharashtra which was first to be in the field for snapping our bonds. I may be wrong. Valiant people are not always very considerate people. The martial spirit in the warm blood coursing in their veins does not give balance of thought which a philosopher may have sitting in his chair. We are martial people. We are not sorry for our past though we may be sorry for our future.

What is the argument that Government is advancing? I do respect Pantji. On one occasion I did say, respect for Pantji coming from those benches may have some ulterior motives, but when it comes from these benches, it is disinterested respect. We do admire his qualities. He is one of the best debators in this House. His rapier of argument is as sharp as the sword of the Knights that Walter Scott painted in his works. But what is the argument that he is using? I know, having practised in law courts, that forensic ability may go to convince others to some extent but forensic ability, howsoever high, howsoever sharp and howsoever powerful, will not convince the people that their heart should be separated from their body and that this separation of heart and body will be to the lasting advantage not only of the body but of the whole country. That is my contention. You admitted on many occasions that Bombay is physically, territorially and geographically a part of Maharashtra. You concede like a court a declaratory decree in favour of Maharashtra saying, "Well, we do recognise your claim for Maharashtra". But there is no operative part to the decree. Sir, you know as a lawyer that mere declaration in your favour is not executable. So, you must make it executable, if you have the impartiality of the judge. I do believe that though certain powerful elements are exerting

some pressure, the top leaders of congress still have the impartiality of a judge. Though I belong to this side, I am not so narrow-minded, I am not so possessed with a sort of Opposition venom, I am not so narrow-minded as not to respect Pandit Pant, not to respect Shri Jawaharlal Nehru. They have ceased to be party leaders. They are national leaders. They are the gifts of Nature to the whole nation and if any party or any party-man tries to appropriate them for their own party purposes, for their own power game, I would say that they are doing a great injustice to the whole country.

The unity, the national aspirations, etc., of the country are embodied in the form of Shri Jawaharlal Nehru, in the form of Pandit G. B. Pant, and we do stand by them. We may have differences. On occasions we have differed. Even brothers differ. The father may not agree with his son, and in the history of Maharashtra there were many occasions when the brothers and fathers did not agree. All the same they knew the occasion when it was difficult for them to differ.

I do not want to raise the debate to an emotional pitch. It is argued that they do not want to yield to pressure. What is the basic conception of democracy? There is always a conflict between supply and demand. There is always a race between wages and prices. In a democracy there is always a race between Government action and public pressure. You recognise that the public is sovereign. When a section of the public, a sovereign body, tries to move in its own way to give some direction to the Government which is supposed to be its servant, acting under the pressure of the sovereign people, you say, "Oh, we are not going to yield to this."

Here, I am reminded of some part of English history when the dispute between England and America was raised by the English Rulers to the plane of prestige and dignity. Edmund Burke, who spoke for America, warned the British rulers "you are becoming victims of your dignity, and your sense of dignity and your sense of prestige will prove a grave calamity to the country". That warning was not heeded and America was lost. I am not going to suggest that, on this occasion even if you flout the desire of Maharashtra, if you, in your own idea of unity, try to sacrifice Maharashtra at the altar like

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the sacrificial goat, we are going to say that we separate from India, because India is in our blood. I can separate as much from my blood, from the throbbing of my heart, as I can separate from India. The people have placed you in power. I was one of the opponents of the Congress at the time of the last elections. I was going from place to place and people used to come to me and say, "Mr. More, we have respect for you. But we want to place the Congress in power because we respect Pantiji and we respect Panditji". But what you have done enrich that confidence? What have you done to return in some parts the treasure of that confidence which the Maharashtra people gave to you? You have done nothing. Is it not a strange theory to say "we are not going to yield to pressure"? If you are not going to yield to legitimate, reasonable pressure, that means you have ceased to be democrats in mind though you may camouflage your dictatorial act as democratic.

Now, satyagraha has been started. You say, "Oh, do not talk about satyagraha". Why not? You know, Mr. Speaker, that all of us have our own family griefs when certain calamities come to us. Further, if a man is not allowed to cry aloud and is obliged to smother his thoughts and passions, what happens? Some nerve bursts and the man may suffer some haemorrhage. So, satyagraha is the opening that we have which lets out the venom, passion, etc., and which, if not allowed the proper out let or exit, may result in something more grievous to the whole country. I know Maharashtra. I know what they did immediately after Mahatma Gandhi's murder. Do you want, under the specious plea of peace and tranquillity, to repeat that episode? You can control many things. But enraged Maharashtrians are not easy to suppress. My friend Shri Tyagi may, as a Minister for Defence, deal with explosives. But the Maharashtra explosive is such a dangerous variety that it is beyond any Defence Minister to effectively control it. I am theoretically in favour of Satyagraha as a weapon of protest. Shri Gadgil is not theoretically agreeing with it. But every one of those, who are trying to plead the cause of Maharashtra in a moderate, half-hearted manner, palatable to the High Command, are being welcomed everywhere; with what?—black flags and more serious missiles of showing protests. My heart bleeds. I do not want this ugly exhibition

to be there. Whatever the Congress leaders of Maharashtra have done has been done more for appeasing their leaders than the Maharashtrian people. I need not take up their cause. They are loyal, and they are standing loyal to the High Command, and for that thing they are being exposed to public wrath.

Now, what are the high Command going to achieve? They have yielded to some pressure and what is that pressure going to give you in return for the great frustration that they are imposing on Maharashtra? Pandit G. B. Pant is a shrewd politician. He will not do anything unless he has got some tangible return. But here I feel that his usual diplomacy, unfortunately for Maharashtra, is not coming into play. You have lost Maharashtra for the Congress. I speak from the Opposition Bench. Pandit G. B. Pant was right in a way when he said that though I stand here my heart is with the Congress. My heart bleeds when I find that the Congress is going away from the great principles preached by Mahatmaji. My heart bleeds when I find that the organisation, which the nation has taken more than 70 years to build, is being lost in the wilderness of popular wrath.

Morarji Desai is one of my friends. I have cared to read his speeches. But what is he? He is, may I say, walking obstinacy. Moses led the people into the wilderness and fed them with honey and milk.

**Shri B. S. Murthy:** No, no. He is wrong. He is quoting wrongly.

**Shri S. S. More:** I may be wrong. I have not that much knowledge which Shri B. S. Murthy possesses. But I speak with emotion and when a man is touched with emotion he may not be very correct in his historical references. I say Morarji Desai is like a perverted Moses. He is driving the Maharashtrian people into the wilderness and feeding them with bullets and teargas.

I would now make an earnest appeal to Pandit G. B. Pant and to the Members of the Treasury Bench. I want your sympathy, your sympathetic understanding. We may have erred, but even Pandit G. B. Pant has acknowledged on many occasions that we all of us commit mistakes. My regard for Pandit G. B. Pant is all the greater because he always tries to figure before us as a human being and not as a superman who is above all



mistakes. All have committed mistakes. A loving father becomes generous towards an erring child and does not treat the child with a rod every time. Therefore, I do not want to say anything more regarding this matter. I only say, give us justice. I am standing here at the bar of the House and praying for justice. Maharashtra claims nothing but justice.

Shri Shriman Narayan said that linguistic province demand is a dangerous thing, a dangerous principle. When did it become dangerous? It became dangerous when he became the General Secretary of the Congress? Mahatma Gandhi has been quoted. It is no use quoting Mahatmaji. My Communist friends always quote Lenin and Stalin out of context and these devotees of Gandhism do the same trick and quote Gandhi without giving us the context in which the particular things were quoted by him. Therefore, I would say, "Do not bring in Gandhiji". Let that high soul rest in peace. Let us commit or admit our own errors and discharge our responsibilities by our own dictates, and in our own name, and not in the holy name of that great man. This much about Bombay.

I now come to the question of Zonal Councils. Shri Shriman Narayan said that it is the heartening feature of the Bill. I would say that the Zonal Councils are against Constitution, against provincial autonomy. That is my charge. Now, you have said that the Chief Ministers will be there on the Zonal Councils; a nominee of the Central Government will be there and things will be decided by majority. If things are decided by majority here by all the responsible heads of the different States what is left for the decision of the legislatures? What is left for the decision of the Cabinet on the principle of collective responsibility? What happens to the Official Secrets Act, because when they are sitting there they will have to exchange so many secrets? What happens to all that?

These are some of the points that strike me. I do not want to exploit your indulgence by talking needlessly. I would say that this is a great occasion in the life of India. This is the last occasion on which you will find the Indian people expressing sectional, parochial sentiment. This is the last outburst. Some time later we shall have to forget all these things. The heritage of the past cannot be forgotten overnight. It is part of our mental make-up. I do again sincerely appeal that as far as Maharash-

tra's claim to Bombay is concerned, which you have conceded in theory, you will be generous enough to accede to in practice, and you shall have a happy, contented, industrious Maharashtra always fighting for the national cause, a Maharashtra which will be a tower of strength, particularly when some people are talking about *jehad* against this country.

1 P.M.

**Shri Feroze Gandhi:** Mr. Speaker, Sir, I will not take much time of the House and I rise to give my support to the inclusion of Bombay in the State of Maharashtra.

Sir, it is agreed by all, from the Prime Minister downwards, that Bombay is a part of Maharashtra, geographically, historically and culturally. This is accepted by all. The only difficulty seems to be to integrate it politically with Maharashtra. Now, Sir, there was a time when the question of Uttar Pradesh was being discussed when the matter was before the States Reorganisation Commission. I Sir, was one of those who wanted the division of Uttar Pradesh. But the views expressed at that time by our present Home Minister frightened me. When he said that to divide the land of Rama and Krishna, of Ganga and Yamuna, was something that he would not stand for, I was frightened and I gave up the demand just because of the respect and love which I have for him.

Now after having withdrawn that demand I found myself in a predicament. What were the reasons for separating Bombay from Maharashtra or Maharashtra from Bombay? I tried to understand the reasons, but to make a confession, Sir, I was not able to follow why this step was taken: the first one, that is, to have a Bombay City as a separate State, or the second, to have Bombay as a Centrally administered unit. Sir, I would like to argue my case, my point, not on the basis whether Maharashtra forms a very substantial part of the population of Bombay, or who were responsible for making Bombay what it is today. I am not concerned with that. I think we have moved ahead of these small arguments. If today Bombay is a cosmopolitan city, then I take it that all sections of its population and all of us in India have helped to bring that about and for this achievement the whole country should be proud, and not only Maharashtra or Gujaratis or the Parsis. Now, Sir, I

[**Shri Feroze Gandhi**]

would like to examine the case of Bombay from a new point of view, that is geo-political, that is, the influence which geography brings to bear on politics and politics brings to bear on geography.

In the development of any town, Bombay for example, it is the economic activity of the hinterland which plays the greatest part. The entire life of the hinterland of Bombay, its economic life, its political life, its social life, its cultural life,—if I may say so its entire existence—is inextricably linked to Bombay.

**An hon. Members :** Maharashtra.

**Shri Feroze Gandhi:** Please do not correct me.

You cannot separate Bombay from Maharashtra, nor can you separate Maharashtra from Bombay. In this hinterland lies the territory of Maharashtra. In the course of ages, centuries, for reasons geographical and historical, all economic activity tends to flow and focus itself at a point which ultimately becomes the capital. In the development of Bombay in the last two hundred years, it was the economic activity of this hinterland which has made Bombay what it is today. The railways and the roads, employment and trade, all tend to converge at this focal point. It may have taken centuries for this flow to be established, but this flow is in that direction. The entire life flows in that direction from the hinterland of Bombay into Bombay and you cannot upset it by an Act of Parliament without endangering the economic stability of the new State of Maharashtra. It is this economic activity of the hinterland of Bombay which has made Bombay what it is today. Excluding Bombay from Maharashtra would be like severing the head from the body. Both Bombay and Maharashtra will perish in the process. Therefore, I as a back bencher, an ordinary back bencher, have come to the conclusion that both Maharashtra and Bombay belong to each other and they should not be parted. The Maharashtrians have been thought fit to manage the life and fortunes of three and a half crores of people; there is going to be a new State which they will manage themselves. But they suddenly seem to lose their ability only if thirty-five lakhs of people are added on?

It may be argued that Bombay is an industrial town, there are many problems which face it, and so on. But what I

would like to say is this, that after all today we have to look in a new way. Our conceptions of things have changed. Bombay today is run by the Maharashtrians. They are the labour, they are the people who man the offices, they are the people who carry out the smaller jobs. True, they have no industrialists among them. I have not known of any Maharashtrian industrialist, a big one—there are some small ones, but not a big one. But that should not be, and cannot be, a reason for depriving this new State of this town.

This would amount, if I may say so, to indicating a whole people. And there is no way of doing this; the life source of Bombay will still lie in Maharashtra even if you separate it. For the source of its electric power, the source of its water supply, the source of its daily needs, Bombay will have to rely upon Maharashtra. The life of the town will remain geared to the life of Maharashtra.

And you cannot throw it out of gear just because of certain fears expressed by a minority living in Bombay. By all means give this minority, and any other minority who may so desire, all the assurances that they want; give them all the protection, safeguard them against all dangers they may be afraid of. But do not ask this Parliament to take away from Maharashtra this great town of Bombay which rightfully belongs to them.

We have evolved a pattern in Punjab, of Regional Councils, and it has satisfied the people of the Punjab. I do not see any reason why a similar decision cannot be made with regard to Bombay. Have a Regional Council which can look after the affairs of these minorities and certain other problems which may arise, just like what we have done in Punjab. This is my suggestion.

**Shri K. K. Basu (Diamond Harbour):** With Bombay separate?

**Shri Feroze Gandhi:** Let Bombay be a part of Maharashtra. But I would like a Regional Council to supervise some of the things which may be there.—**Shri Tulsidas Kilachand** is finding it extremely difficult to cheer me?

**An Hon. Member:** He has cheered you already.

**Shri S. S. More:** He cheered under a mistake.

**Shri Feroze Gandhi:** A Centrally-administered Bombay is likely to give rise to insurmountable difficulties. Enormous administrative problems are likely to arise as a result of large numbers of government servants being moved to some other capital. Thousands of families will have to move out of Bombay. These problems are likely to perpetuate an eternal conflict between the Centrally-administered State of Bombay and the newly formed State of Maharashtra. I was born in Bombay, and I have spent my boyhood in Bombay. I have been very much pained over what has happened in Bombay.

**An Hon. Member:** You belong to Uttar Pradesh.

**Shri Feroze Gandhi:** My home today is in Uttar Pradesh, but one does belong to a town, you cannot help that.

I cannot think of Bombay without the Maharashtrians and the Maharashtrians without Bombay. It is an iron link which we cannot, and we should not, break. The Maharashtrians are a great people, and they are a very generous people. They are the toiling masses of Maharashtra and Bombay. They will build a much greater Bombay, a Bombay of which this land of ours shall be for ever proud.

And I hope that the Joint Committee, when it gives consideration to this problem, will solve this problem. Because, today, if Gadgil and Patil have failed, Maharashtra has not failed. Only two have failed. If More has failed, let him fail.

**Shri S. S. More:** Hear, hear.

**Shri Feroze Gandhi:** But our Prime Minister and the Home Minister, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, Pandit Govind Balabh Pant and Maulana Azad cannot, and shall not fail to solve this problem.

**Shri M. D. Joshi (Ratnagiri South):** At the outset let me express my sense of gratitude to the sentiments and the arguments which were pressed so ably by Shri Feroze Gandhi for the claim of Maharashtra to the City of Bombay. I also wish to express our sense of obligation to our great Prime Minister and the Home Minister for having made possible the formation of a unified Maharashtra, for having made it possible for the three sections of Maharashtra, which were divided in three territories, to come

together under one administration. In spite of the fact that Maharashtra's earnest desire for having its precious City of Bombay restored to it, even though that has not yet been fulfilled, yet we already see the bright spot, the silver lining in the darkness.

The problem of reorganisation of States is a stupendous problem which is being solved on reasonable grounds, giving precedence to the natural tendencies of the people, considering their natural inclinations and aspirations. The reorganisation of States, as it has been proposed in this Bill, proceeds on the basis mainly of language. It has lately become the fashion to condemn pride for one's language. In all humility and with all respect for all those who run down pride for one's language, I say that that is the cementing force which fosters the unity and solidarity of a people. There is nothing wrong in it, to have pride for one's language or to have pride for one's peculiar culture. For example, there is nothing wrong for a Bengali to have special affecting for the Bengali literature and to have special regard for Rabindranath Tagore, although he belongs to the whole of India. There is no special fault in Maharashtrians having special pride for Tilak. There is no special fault in Gujeratis having special pride for Mahatma Gandhi or Sardar Patel. Let us not forget this fundamental thing. At the same time, let us remember that pride carried to excess is poison, just as food enjoyed to excess is poison. Parochialism is bad; nobody denies that. I urge in all humility that every Maharashtrian is conscious that India is his homeland. If we shout or ask insistently for Bombay being integrated with Maharashtra, it is not with any sense of separatism, parochialism or narrowness, but it is with the sense of the natural justice that must be done to Maharashtra. That is our claim and I urge in all humility before this House that this claim of Maharashtra should not be disregarded.

I am glad that our erstwhile veteran colleague, Shri Gadgil has spoken in a persuasive tone, instead of going on the war path. Many of my non-Maharashtrian friends from the Bombay State have blamed us for certain utterances of certain people. I ask them in all humility this question: "Can the wrong utterances of an individual here or an individual there or the wrong action of a man or crowd here or there be the ground of denying natural justice to us?" It is said that Maharashtrians' case was a strong

[Shri M. D. Joshi]

and good one, but it was spoiled by bad advocacy. It is very well for strangers or lookers-on to say that, but a good judge cannot say that. I have firm faith in the honesty and impartiality of our judges, namely, our Prime Minister and the Home Minister. I may say without being charged with indulging in exaggeration that our Prime Minister is an individual who can be described in the words of Lord Shri Krishna in the *Bhagavad Gita*; Krishna says :

समोहं सर्वभूतेषु न मे द्वेष्योऽस्ति न प्रियः ।

I shall slightly alter it and say about our Prime Minister:

समोहं भारतीयेषु न मे द्वेष्योऽस्ति न प्रियः ।

It means: "I am equal to all Indians. I hate nobody. Nobody is particularly dear to me, because all are equally dear to me."

We are conscious of the fact that we have not been able to get justice, but we do not understand it in the sense that he does not want to do justice. But, there is something, some insuperable obstacle, which is preventing him from doing justice. I have no doubt that by this time the Prime Minister has amply realised that Maharashtra's demand is just and that justice has not been done.

Sir, I clearly express my strong condemnation of all forms of violent agitation. We are extremely sorry for what has happened in Bombay. Nobody likes that. Nobody can say that what happened in Bombay was good. But to say that Maharashtra does not deserve consideration because of the violent outbursts is to follow the British pattern of politics. What did our English rulers do when they were in India? They pointed to certain violent outbursts in Bengal or in Punjab or elsewhere and accused Mahatmaji and the Congress as being responsible for the violence. Mahatmaji expiated for the violence and expressed sorrow. Now, the topmost leaders of Maharashtra have expressed sorrow and have undertaken acts of expiation. Shri Shankarrao Deo and Rao Saheb Patwardhan who are the jewels of Maharashtra have undertaken fasts for ten days in expiation and sorrow for what happened in Bombay. Some friends ask me, "Why did you not protest?" I told them, when the topmost leaders of Maharashtra have expressed their sorrow and their expiation, do you want every ordinary man

to go about and protest? Was it not enough when Mahatmaji expressed sorrow? If that was so, then it would be enough for Shri Shankarrao Deo and Rao Saheb Patwardhan to have expressed sorrow for what happened. But, that is the way of politics. When you want to deny people's rights, just as the drowning man catches at a straw, the opponents take advantage of these happenings and hurl them in our faces. I say that this is very unjust. At the bar of world opinion, we, Indians, are looked upon with curiosity. It is not a case whether Maharashtrians should be given Bombay or not; it is a case whether our Prime Minister or the Government of India or our leaders are able to do justice or not. If we fail, if we are found wanting, then we are condemned in the eyes of the world. But, I have faith in the impartiality and in the greatness of our leaders to rise equal to the occasion and do justice to Maharashtra.

Now, I want to view this aspect of Bombay going to Maharashtra from a practical point of view. Sir, the administration of the Bombay State was run by Ministers and administrators, the bulk of whom came from Bombay city. If my hon. friend for whom I have great respect, Mr. S. K. Patil—he hails from my own district and I am proud of it—wants to run away from Maharashtra, I am very sorry. I say we shall not allow him to run away from Maharashtra.

**Shri S. K. Patil** (Bombay City—South): You will put me in jail?

**Shri M. D. Joshi:** Not in jail, but even at the head of the administration. If you say that service to the people will mean putting you in jail, we would like you to be in jail. If you want to serve the people of Maharashtra, as you say you have been doing, we shall certainly not allow you to go away. How shall we do that. By retaining him amongst us; not by hatred but by love and affection. We do not hate him. It was his honest opinion that Bombay cannot be integrated with Maharashtra. I hope he will change his opinion and come back among us. By joining Maharashtra, he will continue to serve Bombay and Maharashtra to the best of his ability as he has done in the past.

**Shri Dhulekar:** (Jhansi Distt.—South): He has now changed.

**Shri M. D. Joshi:** I hope so.

Sir, if you look at the administration of Bombay, you will see that it has been carried on by great people. When I was in the Bombay Assembly, we had our Finance Minister in the Bombay State, Shri Vaikunt Bhai Mehta, one of the ablest, purest and most lovable of men. He hails from Bombay. It is his opinion that Bombay belongs to Maharashtra and it must go to Maharashtra. Bombay has supplied some of the ablest administrators: Sir Ibrahim Rahimtoolah, Sir H. P. Mody, Dr. Gilder, and others; I can mention Shri S. K. Patil in that connection also. I can mention a host of other names. A State to be ably administered must be administered by the people coming from the principal cities; Rural areas do not always supply able administrators; but a city like Bombay does.

**Shri B. S. Murthy:** Who said that?

**Shri M. D. Joshi:** It is my humble opinion. You may differ.

That fact must be remembered. If Bombay is to be taken away from Maharashtra, it will be depriving Maharashtra of the best talents. There is no earthly reason why Bombay which is surrounded on all three sides by Maharashtra and which belongs to Maharashtra should be separated from Maharashtra.

Then I must refer to my own district Ratnagiri and the adjacent districts of Colaba and Thana. These three districts form the Konkan and Konkan includes Bombay also, if you examine the question historically. But Sir, we have now a new history being written. Great advocates like my hon. friend Shri C. C. Shah and the Chief Minister of Bombay are writing new history. They say that Bombay does not belong to Maharashtra because, they allege, Maharashtrians came to Bombay very late. This aspect of lateness or earliness in coming to a particular part of the land is very strange. If we look at from that point of view, all Indians are strangers to this land, because they came from the North Pole. All of us, Aryans came from the North Pole. So, India does not belong to us. It is all wild historical research which should not be indulged in by responsible people. What I want to say about my own district is that its political, social and economic life has been inextricably bound up with the city of Bombay, as the whole of Maharashtra is bound up with Bombay. If Bombay is separated

from Maharashtra and from my own district also, the life of the 17 lakhs of people in my district will be miserable. It will practically mean the annihilation of the social, political and economic life of my district. That is equally true in the case of the people of Colaba and Thana. Therefore I appeal in all humility; the case of Maharashtra being just, she has made an appeal to the Government of India; let them do justice and not stand on prestige. Our great Guru, Mahatma Gandhi has taught us not to stand on questions of prestige. When he advised the Government of India to part with Rs. 55 crores, he brushed aside all sorts of questions of prestige and stood for justice. I appeal to the Government of India to remember that teaching of our Guru and stand by justice. I hope that justice will be done.

**Shri Tulsidas:** (Mehsana West): Mr. Speaker, this States Reorganisation Bill is a very important Bill, particularly when we are now thinking in terms of reorganisation of the States in the country. As you know, I have always felt that the linguistic basis would not be in the larger interests of the country. I do maintain that after this Bill has been brought that practically almost all the States are now formed on the linguistic basis.

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

It is a pity that in this country opportunity has not been given to continue some of our multilingual States. The only State which may be called a bilingual State according to this Bill will be Punjab. Let us consider what advantages this country has derived from multilingual States. We have the example of the Bombay State. The Bombay State formerly had five languages. Aden was included in the Bombay State. Sind was in Bombay. We had Cutch, Gujarat, Maharashtra and Karnataka. That was the main reason why the Bombay State was considered most efficient in its administration, even the most prosperous and the most cosmopolitan State. We had that broadmindedness in the State. (*Interruption from Shri K. K. Basu*) My hon. friends on my right are interested in the disintegration of this country. They can well support that point of view. But, I do feel that we want in this country more and more integration. The Prime Minister has said several times that our minds must be first integrated.

[Shri Tulsidas]

Let us examine the question. Do we have a common dress? Do we have a common food? Do we have a common language in this country? Are we trying to do something to become one? We have got different religions. We have a secular State. Let us go out and see. When you go to any foreign country, China or any other country, you will find one type of dress. There may be differences here and there.

**An Hon. Member:** Unity in diversity.

**Shri Tulsidas:** You are talking of unity in diversity. I hope we will have unity. In the way I have heard the debate today, I am frightened. What are we thinking of? We are thinking in terms of dividing the country. We are not thinking of reorganisation of States. People claim certain parts of the country. People claim that this part belongs to us. What is this? Are we Indians or are we not Indians? Is it that we want something to be taken away from somebody else? I plead, I pray that wisdom prevails in this House. We should create an atmosphere of unity in this country. We are on the threshold of the Second Five Year Plan. When we consider this question, have we considered what the economic activity of the country is going to be and how it will affect our Second Five Year Plan? No. We are considering merely in terms of this part becoming my State. If somebody comes from outside and asks, who are you, the answer will be, I am a Bengali or Maharashtrian; not that I am an Indian. This is the feeling that is being created in the country. After a number of Commissions, in which our great Prime Minister was also a Member, have reported on the question and the latest Commission has also formed two multilingual States or bilingual States, we have now come out with the suggestion of practically all the States on a linguistic basis. What do we see across our frontiers? Pakistan is trying to integrate herself into one big State and a multilingual State at that, in the east as well as in the west. Our Home Minister has said that we have to consider the cry of *jehad* from the other side. Well, they are integrating themselves and consolidating themselves. But what are we doing here? We are trying to get apart from each other. I am afraid that under these circumstances, bitterness will increase much more, and it is bound to—I do not want that it should happen that way—come in the way of progress not only in the economic sphere but in other walks of life as well. °

I do not want to go into the merits and demerits of the different claims that have been made, because I am not interested in which part of this country belongs to which particular people. I would say that we should consider these claims in the light of what would be the most ideally suited States for administrative purposes. It may be the geographical or the economic considerations that might weigh in this matter. But I am not interested in which part belongs to which people, or which particular State has a claim to which particular area. I am not interested in that at all. I do feel that when we are on the threshold of the Second Five Year Plan and other successive plans, when we want to build up this country in the shortest possible time, and we want to improve the standard of living of our people, this sort of claim does not help us at all. On the contrary, it is going to harm us tremendously, because we are not thinking in terms of doing something which is going to help us.

Now, look at the passions which my hon. friend Shri Gadgil and Shri S. S. More have tried to create. They have said that today they are pleading with the Prime Minister and the Home Minister for their fairness. And for what? For the purpose of conceding that a particular part should belong to a particular State. Is this going to help the atmosphere of nationalism in this country?

**Dr. Suresh Chandra** (Aurangabad): What is wrong about it?

**Shri Tulsidas:** It may not be wrong; it may be right. I do not say that it is not right. But let us consider whether it is going to help the nationalism of this country.

**Shri H. G. Vaishnav** (Ambad): Why not?

**Shri Tulsidas:** I am afraid it has proved to the contrary.

**Shri H. G. Vaishnav:** That is your opinion.

**Shri Tulsidas:** As I stated earlier, I do not want to go into the merits and demerits of the different claims, and I do not want to go into the different controversies. On the one hand, we hear that the only language Delhi knows is chaos. That is the talk that we hear. On the other hand, we hear today that our great Prime Minister and the Home

Minister must assert their fairness and they must look at the fairness of the claim that a particular State makes for a particular part of the country. Is this going to help at all? I am more interested in seeing what is going to be in the larger interests of the country, and what is going to help us to build up our country as one integrated body.

**Shri Sinhasan Singh** (Gorakhpur Distt.—South): What is your suggestion?

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** I would advise hon. Members to let these diversities remain in expression and listening only, and not to carry them further.

**Shri Tulsidas:** I have already said on many occasions that I want this country to be divided not on the linguistic basis, but on the geographical, economic, and administrative basis. I have always believed in that, and I wish that a Bill had been brought forward seeking to set up States along those lines.

Now, why do I say so? I say so because I have lived in a multilingual State, where we had a completely different picture. I am surprised to see today that the people of that very State are setting an example in this country of something which is most undesirable. The Bombay State had set an example as one of the most efficient, prosperous and cosmopolitan States. But that example is being ruined today. And what is the type of atmosphere that is being created today? My hon. friend Shri S. S. More has stated that the people have started talking against them. Naturally, they will be talking against him, if he talks in this manner. We have lived together for nearly two hundred years. What has happened to us today that we should start claiming against each other?

**Shri N. C. Chatterjee** (Hooghly): You are rich; he is poor.

**Shri Tulsidas:** My hon. friend Shri N. C. Chatterjee remarks that it is because I am rich and somebody else is poor. I want this country to be rich everywhere. Shri N. C. Chatterjee may be a very big lawyer earning a lot of money. But that does not mean that every small lawyer must remove him out of that position. I am surprised that men of his eminence should talk in this manner.

It is only the people who have stayed in Bombay that can appreciate the position better. It is very difficult for people living in the other States to understand

the position. We have been living amongst each other, and we have been giving and taking; we have been giving our ideas to each other. Not only have the Maharashtrians gone and lived in Guajarat, but the people from Guajarat also have gone and stayed in Maharashtra. There are quite a number of families which have come from Maharashtra and stayed in Guajarat for a number of years, and *vice versa*. In this way, the people have integrated themselves. It is only in the last few months that passions have been created by—I am sorry to say—the power-seeking politicians.

**Shri B. S. Murthy:** And not the pelf?

**Shri Tulsidas:** It is not the people who have created these passions. (*Interruptions*).

My hon. friend, of course, may be interested in that. But unfortunately I am not interested in that.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** The hon. Member shall have to continue without hearing what other Members say.

**Shri Tulsidas:** I cannot help hearing, when they interrupt. The breaking up of this important and big State in this country is going to destroy something which is most valuable in this country, and which ought to have been maintained.

I am surprised that my friends from Karnataka want to go over to the other State. I wish they could continue with us, because for long years, they have created some harmony and affinity with us. I wish them all the best of luck and I have no objection to their going away. But I know that people from Belgaum and other parts do not want that; they have written to us, what are we going to do, when we are going over to the other State, we have lived with you for nearly 175 years in one State, but now we are going to be shifted there, and we do not know what is going to be our fate.

In the face of this, are we going to divide ourselves? I wish we do remain a multilingual State. As I said last time, let every linguistic area be brought together, and let us become a big State. But what do we find? Everybody wants to remain separate, and people are creating the example in the country that only by having claims and counter-claims, and

[Shri Tulsidas] by adopting pressure tactics that people can achieve what they want. That is not a good thing.

We are pleased somehow or other—and thanks to the Prime Minister and the Home Minister—with the solution to the Punjab question. You know very well how intricate the problem was. But if this sort of situation is going to develop, then I am afraid that the atmosphere will again be not so happy. I would suggest that in the interests of the country, let us have some finality in all these things. Let us concentrate on something which will promote the larger interests of the country. I still plead, that let us create a bilingual State of this important State. Let us not destroy it. I do not mind what area it contains. You can have the whole of the Vidarbha in it; you can have the whole of the Maharashtra in it. You can have the whole of Gujarat in it.

**Shri V. G. Deshpande:** Karnataka also.

**Shri Tulsidas:** You can have also the Karnataka in it. I am prepared to accept Karnataka also. But if they do not want to remain with us, I cannot help it. I only want that we should have a bilingual State. I do not mind what areas it comprises of. I do not mind the question of minority or majority, because we have remained together for all these years. I have no fears whatsoever on this issue. So, I am prepared to accept it.

**Shri Bogawat:** (Ahmednagar South): But a bilingual State with Vidarbha had been rejected by the Gujarat Provincial Congress Committee.

**Shri Tulsidas:** I am prepared to accept Vidarbha on a bilingual or any other basis. I want that there should be a composite State consisting of people speaking different languages. Let us all remain together. My hon. friend Shri Feroze Gandhi, said he was living in Bombay. He was born in Bombay. He said he spent his childhood in Bombay. But I wish he had enjoyed his adulthood in Bombay. Then he would have realised what Bombay is. It was because he enjoyed only his childhood in Bombay that does not know what Bombay is.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** That is rather more impressionable.

**Shri Tulsidas:** I would like to tell him that Bombay is not what he makes it out to be. Bombay is the hinterland of the

whole country. It does not belong to one part of the country. Bombay today is something unique in this country. Do not destroy that thing. I say, let it remain as a part of a big State. Do not make Bombay as part of a unilingual State; do not make Bombay unilingual. Let us have Bombay as the capital of a big State. I do not mind with what areas you form that State. Let us have a bilingual or multilingual State.

**Shri Bogawat:** May I ask the hon. Member as to whether Gujarat is prepared for it?

**Shri Tulsidas:** I am prepared to accept it.

**Shri Bogawat:** He may be. But what about others?

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** Let him give his own opinion. Why should hon. Members be impatient?

**Shri Tulsidas:** I am not pleading only with Maharashtrians. I am pleading with all my friends in Bombay State. I am saying, let Karnatak remain with us. Bring the whole of Karnataka into Bombay. I do not mind it. I would request all my friends, whether in Maharashtra, in Karnataka or Gujarat. Let us remain as one State. We have remained so for 200 years. Let us continue to remain like that. Let us not break up. Let us at least remain as a bilingual State.

We have now got five zones created. The Prime Minister dreamt of creating five big States. Let us accelerate that move. I feel that West Bengal and Bihar are trying to go much farther than ourselves. They are teaching us.

**Shri K. K. Basu:** Who says?

**Shri Tulsidas:** The Chief Ministers of West Bengal and Bihar have made certain moves.

I say Bombay has been in the forefront of every possible progressive move.

**Shri N. B. Chowdhury (Ghatal):** Mischievous move.

**Shri Tulsidas:** Let us accelerate that move. Then it will create a certain atmosphere in the country. Every State would like to remain bilingual. Every State will march with the people. We should try and exchange our ideas. We should try and meet different points



of view and we should understand each other. Let us develop our different cultures, languages and so on.

I still feel it is not too late. Let the Joint Committee, before they finalise their decision, consider this and see that multilingual and bilingual States are formed everywhere; if not, let at least Bombay remain a bilingual State with Bombay City as capital.

**Shri N. C. Chatterjee:** Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, the speech of my hon. friend, Shri Tulsidas, shows that big capital is perturbed. The big bosses of capital are unnerved.

**Shri Tulsidas:** You are not less.

**Shri N. C. Chatterjee:** As a matter of fact, if in the process of his money making operations, my hon. friend, Shri Tulsidas, had read or studied Indian history, he would have realised that from the time of the Rig Veda up till today, throughout the millenium, India has stood, and stood boldly, for one principle, realisation of unity in diversity. एकम् सद्विप्रा बहुधा । वदन्ति After all, the ultimate Reality is One. Only wise men give different appellations to different parts of the same reality. It is in that spirit that the *mantram* of *Vande Mataram* was composed, that the spirit of the history of Indian nationalism evolved.

What is Indian nationalism? It is not riding the steamroller just to crush all diversities into one pattern. It is not that. If Shri Tulsidas had read even the history of the Indian National Congress, he would have realised that the National Congress, before Gandhiji came on the scene and took up the leadership of the Congress, was merely an annual Christmas show of English educated *bourgeois*. But it became a living, dynamic mass organisation Why?

Now, I do not know whether Shri Tulsidas had any time to read even the SRC Report. But if he had the time, he would have found out what Shri Fazl Ali, Shri H. N. Kunzru and Dr. K. M. Panikkar have written about the national movement. It was built up by harnessing the forces of regionalism. Then they say:

"It was only when the Indian National Congress was reorganised on the basis of language units, that it was able to develop into a national movement."

That is true. There may be differences on other aspects. But this cardinal factor has got to be borne in mind.

I happened to be one of the many delegates from Bengal, who were present in the Nagpur session of the Indian National Congress. There Gandhiji stood and moved the resolution for refashioning the Constitution of the Congress on a real democratic basis. He said: "If you want to establish contact with the masses, if you want to make it a living organisation, if you want to make it a progressive organisation, then you must refashion the provincial units on language basis". That was the call which he gave. Long long before Kerala was thought of, long long before Karnatak was thought of, long long before Gujarat or Maharashtra or Andhra was thought of, the provincial units of the Congress were reconstituted on that basis, and since then, it became a living organisation. The Fazl Ali Commission Report clearly says that this alliance between regional integration and national feeling helped us to recover our freedom.

I come from Bengal. The greatest men of Bengal like Aurobindo, Vivekananda, Rabindra Nath Tagore and Bankim Chandra were great Bengalis but were true Indians. The greatest men of Maharashtra like Gokhale, Ranade and Bal Gangadhar Tilak were Maharashtrais but were Indians. My conception of Indian civilisation and Indian culture is that it must be a many-petalled lotus. The petals must be our linguistic cultures, the cultures of our regions, the expression of the genius of the particular regions. There is no inconsistency between regionalism or linguistic principle and Indian nationalism. It is a synthesis and a harmony that we must build up. Therein lies India's salvation. As a matter of fact, one of the greatest men of India was Pandit Motilal Nehru. I do not know if Shri Tulsidas had ever the time to read the Report of the Nehru Committee. If he had, he would have realised that Pandit Motilal Nehru had said distinctly:

"If the provincial unit happens to be a polyglot area, difficulties will continue to arise and the media of instruction and work will be two languages or even more languages. Hence, it becomes most desirable for provinces to be regrouped on the linguistic basis."

You remember, Sir, that at the Calcutta session of the Congress, this Nehru

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report was adopted. There was also an All-Parties conference which also adopted this report. That report says that language, as a rule, corresponds to the special variety of culture, of traditions and literature of a linguistic area. All these factors will help in the general progress of the provinces. Actuated by this ideal, the Indian National Congress for three decades consistently stood for the formation of linguistic States. What is wrong there? There is nothing wrong. What is wrong is linguistic frenzy. What is wrong is regional frenzy which imperils Indian unity or India's cohesion.

The hon. Home Minister yesterday pleaded passionately for the restoration of good feeling, tranquillity, mutual trust and confidence. I am happy that ultimately sanity and commonsense are dawning upon the Government, because over this SRC Report they have done everything possible to put India's unity and India's cohesion in jeopardy. I do not know. Some fatality was associated with this Report and they have continuously bungled and moved from wrong to wrong, and they have done everything. Their weak policy, their vacillating policy, their policy of indecision has led to tremendous trouble. Therefore, if there is any kind of attempt at restoration of mutual trust, the High Command must change its policy; the High Command must reorient its attitude.

2.P.M.

I read today in the paper—I do not know but my friends in the Treasury Benches will know better—that there is going to be a Cabinet crisis. I was deeply pained to read that there is an imminent Cabinet crisis and the Finance Minister of India may quit the Cabinet. I will be deeply grieved if he does it. I want that with regard to Bombay and Maharashtra, there should be a rational, sympathetic, just and fair solution. I had been to Bombay. I told the Prime Minister and my hon. friends in this House that although there has been bitterness between the Gujeratis and the Maharashtrians, yet the cleavage is not so great, yet the tension is not so acute that it does not admit of some kind of honourable and reasonable solution, if only one man would take the lead.

At the Press Conference which I had the privilege to address, after consulting Mr. Patil and Mr. Gadgil, after consulting Mr. Joshi and the representatives of

my party, I pleaded that, after the Amritsar Congress was over, let Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru go down to Bombay and hold a round table conference and I also saw him and pleaded with him. I am quite sure today that even if that step is taken, if the Prime Minister of India would rise to great heights and if he would shed all notions of prestige or notions of party politics or anything of that kind, then this Bombay problem would be solved. This is a first class national disaster if the Finance Minister has got to quit office over this Bombay and Maharashtra issue. I want that crisis to be averted not merely because I have some respect for him but because I think he occupied a pivotal position for the purpose of framing and running the second Five Year Plan. There is no future for India, there is no future for building up of a real Welfare State unless and until we have first class men—and they are very few—for the purpose of running our finances and putting our financial structure in order.

What I am feeling is this. The Home Minister yesterday said the cry of *Jehad* is coming and you have got to be very careful. The cry of *Jehad* is coming because you people are pursuing not a strict policy but a weak policy towards Pakistan. The more and more you surrender, the more and more you pursue this unfortunately tragic policy of continued concessions, the more and more you encourage these aggressors and those who are shouting for *Jahad*. What is this kind of democracy? What is the good of crying for democracy and saying that you are a democratic State when the Prime Minister of India makes important policy statements at the Ramlila grounds? For two hours and a half the Prime Minister addressed this Parliament; the Lok Sabha was sitting; we were in session in the House of the People which is the forum which represents the nation, which has the elected representatives of the nation; we were sitting daily and the Prime Minister makes important policy statements at a public meeting organised by the Congress. Is that the way to work democracy? Is it fair to this House? Is it courteous to the House, is it consistent with notions of Parliamentary democracy that the Prime Minister would not tell this House that he had conceded Azad Kashmir to Pakistan? What is the point of making an eloquent declamation here standing there in the Prime Minister's place that morally, legally, politically and constitutionally, the whole of Kashmir belongs to

us and, therefore, he claims it and says that there should not be any plebiscite? So far as no plebiscite is concerned, I stand vindicated, the late Dr. Syama Prasad Mookerjee, whose memory we cherish, stands vindicated. We do not want a plebiscite. But, why did he not tell us that he had surrendered or offered this surrender of Azad Kashmir to Pakistan? What was the point in making this surrender. The more you surrender, the more you are actually encouraging the aggressors. You never told us; you never took the Parliament into confidence or the country into confidence. What right has the Prime Minister to surrender a very vital and a strategic part of Kashmir to Pakistan; what right had he?

Coming now to the State which I have the honour to represent, West Bengal, I want to say one or two things. I wish the hon. Home Minister had been here. I want to make an appeal to him. I am going down to Bengal in a couple of days. I am very sorry to tell this House and to tell the hon. Home Minister—and they should know it—that there is a general feeling that there is complete lack of *bona fides* on the part of this Government. We are feeling, all the opposition parties are united in that and not merely the opposition parties but there are hundreds and thousands of Congressmen who are sharing this feeling, and that feeling is this. The merger move or this move for the amalgamation of Bengal and Bihar is not a *bona fide* one. It is prompted by an ulterior motive. And, the motive is this. It is simply a manoeuvre for the purpose of taking away the little chunk of territory, which had been recommended by the S. R. C. out of Manbhum and Kishenganj, for the poor and unfortunate people of Bengal. You know, more than 40 lakhs of people have been squeezed out of East Bengal and most of them have been dumped on West Bengal. Our economy is in peril; India's economy is in peril and today, in spite of lofty speeches and declarations of Pancha Shila and all that which the Prime Minister is making, 60,000 people on the average are being squeezed out, every month, from East Bengal and they are coming into India. There is a deliberate plan on the part of Pakistan, aided and abetted by the Imperialist powers, to sabotage our Five Year Plan. This is a deliberate campaign to ruin India financially.

Shri Mehr Chand Khanna, our Rehabilitation Minister had proclaimed that the statement of Raja Ghazanfar Ali

Khan, Pakistan's High Commissioner to India, was most unfortunate. We all agree that it was unfortunate. Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan had said, in order to stop the exodus of Hindus, the border should be sealed. That was a counsel of despair. That would have given a feeling to the oppressed and tortured Hindu minority in East Bengal that the last nail on the coffin was being put. That would have helped Pakistan in exterminating the Hindus or converting the Hindus. Naturally, the Rehabilitation Minister had strongly condemned that speech. And, I take it, the Prime Minister gave his approval because the Rehabilitation Minister could not make a policy statement deprecating the statement of Pakistan's Ambassador without the approval and the approbation of the Prime Minister himself. And lo and behold, a few days later, we are adopting the same policy, our Government is adopting the same policy. Bengal is in danger; millions of refugees are in danger; 70 lakhs of Hindus in East Bengal are in danger. Therefore, what our people wanted, irrespective of party affiliation, irrespective of political controversies was Manbhum and certain portions of Singhbhum and certain portions of Bengali-speaking areas in contiguous States. That was the unanimous wish of Bengal. We are not satisfied with what the S. R. C. recommended. They recommended only a small portion. We have made our comments; we have made our observations and I have placed the case before the Prime Minister and the Home Minister and also before Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, and we have spoken in Parliament.

The tragedy was this, that our Chief Minister came and surrendered 500 sq. miles. That was unfortunate. (*Interruption*). If you do not like the word 'surrender', I say "gave away". Then, one fine morning, there was a complete reversal and a sudden somersault, the so-called merger or amalgamation, this merger of Bengal and Bihar. It has become almost a crossword puzzle. It started as merger; then, the merger has merged into a union; the union has merged into re-union and the re-union has again merged in federation, and, God knows, what it is. Now, there is going to be two Legislatures, two executives, two Councils and two Cabinets and two High Courts with only one Governor. I do not know what good will it do to anybody. Our people, the majority of them, are definitely opposed to it. My friend, Shri Basu, had given a challenge;

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I am not speaking in a tone of challenge, but I am pointing out that I want to go back to Bengal with some assurance or categorical declaration from the Home Minister of India that there is no deliberate ill-will, that there is no evil design on the part of the Government to exclude this area, which the S. R. C. has recommended for West Bengal. In the year 1911, the Indian National Congress had unanimously taken a pledge that the British imperialists in order to punish Bengal and the Bengali race, because they had been fighting against the partition of Bengal, because they had been taking a very prominent part in the national struggle for India's emancipation, and in order to teach them a lesson, had taken away some portion of the Bengali-speaking area and attached it to contiguous States. The S. R. C. had recognised and recorded the finding that the deliberate, wicked and perverse British imperialists had taken away some portions of the Bengali-speaking area and attached them to contiguous States. In the year 1911, the Indian National Congress, under the distinguished presidency of a Bihar leader, unanimously resolved, on the suggestion of Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, not a Bengali, and seconded by another great leader of Bihar, Lala Parmeshwar Lal, that these territories must be given back to Bengal. Today the Congress is in power; today the Congress is occupying the Treasury Benches; today the British imperialists are gone. Yet Bengal has been denied justice. That little area that has been given, that little chunk of territory that had been given, has now been taken away. Even that little area has now been taken away. I want to know from the hon. Home Minister why he removed that. It was in the draft Bill. Our information is that what was recommended by the S. R. C., was slightly modified by Shri Bidhan Chandra Roy and accepted by the Indian Government, and was proclaimed over the broadcast by Pandit Nehru on the 16th January, and that area was in the draft Bill. What led Pandit Pant to withdraw that, I do not know. I am sorry to say that this has created grave misgivings among the people of Bengal and they think that this merger move is simply a ruse for the purpose of depriving cruelly this little justice that had been done to Bengal. I want to remove that misconception; I want Congress to be defeated in the elections; I want Congress to go down, but I do not want the demoralisation of our political opponents. I do not want any

political victimization at the expense of demoralisation of political opponents. So long as Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru is the Prime Minister and Pandit Pant is the Home Minister of India, I want to go and assure my people that here is a categorical declaration by the Home Minister that they shall have that territory. I am urging that even assuming that there is some kind of a union, some kind of a loose confederation, you will have to demarcate the boundaries of the two States—West Bengal and Bihar. Remember that Dr. Roy's scheme is that there must be unilateral right of secession of the region. Therefore, Bihar can go away; Bengal can come out. Supposing one region goes out, what will be the area that will go out? Then it is stated that there should be two Regional Councils, with a large degree of autonomy over a large field of administration operating in the respective zones. What is the zone? What is the area? What is the territorial ambit?

Therefore, do not take recourse to the plea of merger, amalgamation or union. We are opposed to this merger. Whether merger or no merger, and even assuming that you believe in merger, you shall have to give us this territory. Unless you give us this territory at this juncture, there will be continued frustration and misgivings. Do not say simply that we hate satyagraha in Maharashtra and Bengal. 5,000 people have gone to jail not for the fun of it. Nobody wants to start satyagraha for fun. This is not satyagraha against India, this is not satyagraha against our own country, this is satyagraha against cussedness, this is satyagraha against obduracy, this is satyagraha against an attitude of perversity of two or three men who declare that this shall be the fate of Bengal or Maharashtra or Orissa and that shall be the law and that shall be accepted.

I want a categorical and clear declaration that the S.R.C. area shall be there in the S.R. Bill. As you know, 500 square miles had been given away by Shri Bidhan Chandra Roy at the instance of Tatas because Tatas had entered into some kind of arrangement with the Bihar Government. Assuming that Tatas had entered into such arrangement with Bihar Government, there is no question of giving up the 500 square miles even if there is to be some kind of amalgamation or union or confederation. The *raison d'être* has completely disappeared with the merger or with the amalgamation. Therefore, I am pleading for some categorical and unequivocal declaration

that at least the area recommended by the S. R. C., which had been ratified by the Government of India in the clearest possible terms and assured to my people by the Prime Minister's announcement, should be immediately incorporated. Unless that is done, there will be great trouble. I tell you that there are people who take the name of Mahatma Gandhi for many purposes, but there is one man, Shri Atul Chandra Ghosh, who is almost like Acharya Vinoba Bhave, who has completely dedicated himself to the cause for which Mahatma Gandhi stood, and he has led a life of dedication, completely selfless service to the cause of the people. He has started a march with about 1,000 persons from Manbhum to Calcutta. Mrs. Ghosh is also there and there are also a large number of women in it. Are they coming for the fun of it? Do they want India's disintegration? Do they want India's disruption? No. They stand for certain principle. They are fighting for the fundamental right of getting our cherished right of self-expression. That is why they are marching.

I hope the hon. Home Minister will respond to my humble appeal for a categorical and unequivocal declaration and dispel the serious mistrust as to the *bona fides* of the sponsors of this Bill.

**Shri B. K. Ray (Cuttack):** Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, I thank you very much for giving me this opportunity to speak.

So far as territorial readjustments are concerned, I have simply to say, for the information of this House and for appreciation by the hon. Home Minister and the hon. Prime Minister, that Orissa's case has not been placed before the forum of the highest tribunal, namely, the House of the People. However, much damage has been caused to the people's feeling and the position will be ascertained in course of time.

With regard to this question, it is not open to me to advance any arguments by way of repetition of what I had said on the floor of this House during the debate on the S.R.C. Report. I can simply say that it was a cause that was just and it was a cause that has simply been ignored instead of being considered. Beyond that, I do not like to say anything with regard to readjustment of territories.

I should further say that Orissa is still ready to take further opportunities, not by means of violence or by other

means which are unconstitutional. As it appears from a reading of the Objects and Reasons of the Bill, there is going to be the appointment of boundary commissions for readjustment of border territories and also for the disposal of border disputes. They are not final; they can be re-arranged by agreement. So, Orissa still looks for other chances in this respect.

The most important part of this Bill, quite apart from the readjustment of territories, is about the safeguards for the minority interests. The States Reorganisation Commission in paragraph 757 of their report observe :

"An important question connected with the reorganisation of States is that of providing safeguards for linguistic groups which are in a minority in different States. The problem of such groups exists in unilingual States and not merely in Composite States. In a way, the problem is a cause as well as an effect of the movement for linguistic units."

They have made certain recommendations. They have examined how the minorities interests have been safeguarded in foreign countries. I shall quote only three examples which appear to me to be appropriate to the conditions in India. Guaranteeing to the minorities an effective voice in legislation concerning them is one way. The example of the Scottish Standing Committee of the House of Commons is given by them. The second is the appointment of a special Minister to look after the interests of minorities, just as there is a Secretary of State for Scotland in the British Cabinet. The third is the definition of fundamental rights and protection of minorities' interests. Thereafter, they have considered the definition of fundamental rights of Indian citizens in the Indian Constitution. They have pronounced in favour of the contention which was advanced by the minority groups as a whole that the safeguards for the minorities embodied in the Constitution have proved inadequate and ineffective against the cultural oppression of linguistic minorities and their economic exploitation. This is the language of the Commission. In article 347, it has been provided that, when there is a substantial minority population in a State, the administrative language will be their mother-tongue besides the language of the other people. It has been

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noticed by them that this can be very easily evaded by saying that the linguistic minority did not form a substantial proportion of the population of the State. They have pointed out the present practice in certain States where the administrative languages have been settled according to the language of the minority groups in the sub-division, district or taluk. This has also been recommended by them for being adopted.

In this background, the Bill has to be considered. The Bill is attached to the Ninth amendment of the Constitution. In regard to the safeguards provided for the minorities, it is my submission for consideration by the Joint Committee that the provisions there are not quite sufficient. I am going to deal with a few points in some detail and then I will finish.

During the debate on the SRC Report, fears were expressed on the floor of the House as to how the linguistic minorities would be culturally oppressed by the majority group, if the States were not formed strictly on a linguistic basis. If there was a very long drawn out negotiation between the Prime Minister and Master Tara Singh, the Akali Leader, it was to settle a conflict of that kind. At that time he expressed that a zonal council will be one of the remedies. It is a very original and new idea. We are all obliged to the Prime Minister for this idea.

With regard to these zonal councils, according to my humble opinion, the provisions that have been made are not quite adequate. I will explain it by citing certain examples. They are to deal with inter-State disputes, border disputes and minority affairs. Such disputes will arise between almost all border States. For instance, they may arise between Orissa, on the one hand, and Bengal and Bihar on the other with which is included Orissa in the one zone called the Eastern Zone. Such disputes may also arise between Orissa and Andhra or between Orissa and Madhya Pradesh which are also border areas and in these States also there are territories which are occupied by Oriya-speaking people. Orissa did claim those areas to be transferred to Orissa on the basis of linguistic principle but that was not granted. So, these questions will arise. If the zones are framed as provided for in the Bill, how are the disputes between these two States with regard to minorities,

safeguards border disputes etc. going to be decided? My point is this. This scheme of having five zones leaves certain fields completely uncovered. Administratively and economically they are deficient. There will be five zonal secretariats. There will be five Union Ministers who will be Chairman of these Zonal Councils. They will function only in an advisory capacity. Let us suppose that these advisory Zonal Councils call upon Bihar to perform certain things with regard to Oriya minority group. If Bihar does not follow it, what is going to happen? The Government of India will have to intervene. I have a concrete suggestions to make. The basic idea underlying the suggestion for the formation of Zonal Councils requires to be carried further for achieving the purpose. Instead of five Zonal Councils, let there be only one. Otherwise, the basic purpose will be defeated; you are also not taking away the separatist feelings. You are also not creating a unifying feeling for the consolidation, and unity of India. If you make five zones, you divide India into five parts. Solidarity and unity of India cannot be achieved sufficiently thereby. My point is this. Let us have one Council. It has in this connection to be assumed that under the present Constitution, there is no machinery to dispose of such disputes as are contemplated in the Bill; to be the each zonal councils,—even these have not been sufficiently provided for. My point is this. Let there be one Council. You will have as members of that Council some Ministers from the different States. You start a special Ministry at the Centre for this purpose. It may be called the great national council of India or by any other suitable name.

**Shri M. S. Gurupadaswamy:** There is already a National Development Council. (*Interruptions.*)

**Shri B. K. Ray:** The functions would be the same as those of Zonal Council. It should consist of the Chief Minister and another Minister from each State, nominated representatives of the Union Territory, Adviser to the Governor of Assam for the tribal areas. The Union Minister will be the Chairman and convener. There will be a separate Ministry created for this purpose. Its headquarters should be at Delhi. It may also be provided, as has been done for the Zonal Councils, that the Council, should have the following persons and advisers to assist them, namely, the different Secretaries and all that, besides

such specialists or experts as may be nominated by the President. The advantage will be that, while sitting at the Centre, that is at Delhi the Prime Minister will be given statutory authority to intervene and preside over the deliberations of the Council whenever he so desires. The Council should ordinarily meet once every quarter besides such special sessions as may be called for special reasons. It may also be provided that some meetings may be called by the Minister-in-charge to be attended only by the members of concerned States to discuss matters in which those States only are interested.

The advantages of establishing such a Council as against Zonal Councils in five separate places would be,—amongst others I would give only a few,—to obviate the necessity of having five zonal secretariats with all the attendant elaborate paraphernalia and huge expenditure. This has to be considered in the context of how the expenditure on administration is rising in India from day to day. It will cut down the volume of correspondence between the Zonal Councils and the Government of India. It will provide a forum of discussion for matters concerning the States which have not been grouped under the present system in any one of the five zones.

I have already pointed out at the beginning that the present scheme leaves certain fields to be still covered. So, of course, probably, my voice may be the only voice—I am appealing to the House to consider this aspect of the case. Besides, the decisions arrived at here, may have another advantage. Provision may be made that every Union Minister, with reference to whose department the dispute arises between different States, may be co-opted to be members for the particular session so that the decision that is arrived at is not only advisory but also final and binding. Of, course, the allotment of business will be the same as they are in the Bill. I am not proposing to take away any power from any State or from the Centre as provided under the Constitution as it is.

The next point with regard to linguistic safeguards that I beg to comment upon is so far as education is concerned. With regard to education, the Bill says that it is only in the primary stage that the minority groups will have their education in their mother-tongue. Is that sufficient? Now, it has been decided as a uniform educational policy that in

India up to the secondary education the regional language will be the medium through which instructions will be given. Hence you do not give these minority groups the advantage of having their education in their language. What will be the regional language in their case? It would be their mother-tongue. How do you give them sufficient safeguard? In the Constitution it has been said that all linguistic or religious minority groups would be entitled to conserve their culture and their language. Therefore, that provision is quite insufficient.

Then, one thing which struck me as very inequitable is the provision about the different High Courts. With regard to some of the High Courts the salaries of the Judges have been very much less. Under the Indian Constitution, all the High Courts at present are of the same standard and also same status. You also require the same standard of work from them. You do away with Part B and C States. So far as the question of expenditure is concerned, if you feel that you must reduce, you will save money by the different devices that are available. There are several ways of doing that. You can join certain States, even a State and a Territory and give one High Court. But, for the same amount of work and same kind of work there should be no difference. Here while certain judges will get Rs. 4000 certain others at their courts get only Rs. 3,000, and while certain people will get Rs. 3500 certain others will get only Rs. 2500. I think it should be equalised.

The last thing I have to say is with regard to the facility for practice by the retired High Court Judges. I would appeal to the Joint Committee to consider what was the rule in the pre-Constitution days. The rule then was that the retired Judge was entitled to practice in all courts except the court of which he was a permanent Judge and the Court subordinate thereto. Now you are extending it only to the Supreme Court and to other High Courts. What about the Industrial Disputes Tribunal? What about the Labour Appellate Tribunal? There are so many other Tribunals and courts. The policy was, a man who has been a Judge in a particular court must be independent; he should have absolutely no expectation of any good practice in that court from that very clientele. Therefore, in order to maintain his independence, the policy adopted was that, in that court or the court subordinate to it he should not practice.

[Shri B. K. Ray]

In the Constitution there was a complete ban. After 8 years of experience you find that that is injustice. You force unemployment on people who have talents and ability to work. I should press that the pre-constitution days' condition should be restored.

**Shri M. S. Gurupadaswamy:** Mr. Deputy-Speaker, we would have been in a very happy position if the question of Bombay had been settled to the satisfaction of our Maharashtra friends. The atmosphere would have been good and genial, and there would have been opportunity for us to thank each other and thank the Government, if the Bombay issue had been decided in favour of Maharashtra. I believe, as a non-Maharashtrian, that Bombay should legitimately form part of its hinterland, the Maharashtrian territory.

Sir, today, on account of this Bill we have come to accept the idea of linguistic redistribution of States. Whether we like it or not, except in the case of Punjab all the other States would be more or less on a linguistic basis. Many hon. Members of the Congress Party had begun to question the very basis of linguism. Some hon. Members, on the previous occasion, had said that linguism, is a tribal idea and we should not organise States on that basis. If linguism is a tribal idea, may I say nationalism is not less tribal than linguism! For an internationalist, for people who take the world view of things, extreme nationalism would also appear a sort of tribalism. Anything which becomes extreme, anything which is abused will be subject to same indictment.

However, we should not consider these questions and problems from that angle or perspective. We should be realists and we should recognise that the demand for reorganisation of States is an old demand. It has got a history behind it and we are only fulfilling the demand of the long past. So, from that point of view I would say that Bombay which is the darling child of Maharashtra should go to the loving mother, Maharashtra. If Bombay is to be separate, it means the separation of the daughter from her mother. I would entirely agree with the views expressed by my friend Shri Feroze Gandhi in this respect. It is high time that our friends opposite realised that they should not stand on prestige alone. They should not think that by giving Bombay to Maharashtra they would be yielding to pressure, yielding

to violence and yielding to popular demonstrations. It is not so. Why was there so much of violence in Bombay? Why was there hartal, demonstration, satyagraha, and so much of trouble in Bombay? It was because the Government of India did not respond to the popular wishes and there was no alternative for the people. Many members of the Bombay legislature had agitated and they were gagged by the Congress Party. They were not allowed to express their free opinions. So there was no alternative left to the people. Naturally they resorted to other means. Therefore, if you concede Bombay to Maharashtra, you will be just responding to the wishes of the Maharashtrians. It is not a surrender to their violence; it is not a surrender of any prestige. I would humbly plead with the Government that the question of Bombay should be considered in rational and proper light, and Bombay should go to Maharashtra. By giving Bombay to Maharashtra you will be completing the picture that you have undertaken to draw. We have willingly accepted the linguistic principles. All the States in India will be based on the linguistic idea. Language will be the dominant basis for the reorganisation or realignment of the States. So, addition of Bombay to Maharashtra will be only an extension of the principle of language, the principle which we have accepted in other cases.

After having said this, may I refer to certain provisions in the Bill? The previous speaker said something about the Zonal Councils. He made a suggestion that instead of five Zonal Councils there should be only one Zonal Council. I for one should think that this zonal idea is not a new idea. The Prime Minister, while speaking about this question the other day, said something about the zonal idea and his idea is being incorporated in this Bill. But let me tell my hon. friends that this is not a new idea originating from the Prime Minister.

**Shri D. C. Sharma (Hoshiarpur):** Nothing in this world is new.

**Shri M. S. Gurupadaswamy:** I perfectly agree with him. There is nothing new in this idea.

**Shri D. C. Sharma:** No, no. I said there is nothing new in this world.

**Shri M. S. Gurupadaswamy:** I might just remind the hon. Members about the 19th century debate in the House of



Commons. John Bright was speaking about India. He was known at that time to be one of the best orators of England. He was the contemporary of Disraeli, Gladstone and others. He said in the House of Commons that India should not remain one. It should be divided into three or four zonal States so that when the Britishers were to quit sometime after, they should not leave India as one India but as three or four zonal States. So, the bright idea of zonal States was thus introduced by that imperialist, John Bright. You, Sir, may be aware and all of us are aware of a book written by Prof. Coupland on Indian Constitution some time past. He said in his book that India should be regarded as a sub-continent, and not as a State, it should be organised on a zonal basis. He thus introduced the idea of a zonal system. So there is nothing new in it. I perfectly agree with Shri D. C. Sharma that there is nothing new about it. The idea was there already. Only, the Prime Minister, the other day, took this idea which was the idea of an imperialist, made it his own and commended it to the House. I would ask the hon. Members whether there is any great virtue about this idea. According to the Bill, there would be five Zonal Councils. They would be advisory bodies. Who are represented on these Councils? The Ministers, some official elements—Chief Secretary and others—and a member of the Central Cabinet, who will be the Chairman. This advisory body will have another advisory committee attached to it. So, it is not one advisory body but more than one advisory body. And what are the things that the advisory bodies would transact? They will transact anything which is common to the zones. Already we have so many ways of holding consultations with the Ministers of various States on the national level. May I point out here for instance that there is a Development Council already existing. In the Development Council the Chief Ministers of the State Cabinets are represented and they discuss matters common to all. So, should we have the paraphernalia of Zonal Councils? What is the purpose after all? The obvious purpose is, according to some Members, that it would integrate India. But may I ask whether India has been disintegrated? If you say that reorganisation of the States on the basis of language and on the basis of some rational ground is bad, then abolish the States. Do not have any States. Better copy the model of China.

3—95 L. S.

The other day, I said that if you want real, genuine unity of India, let us not have any States, State Ministries, State High Courts, State Public Service Commissions, and State Secretariats. You need only one State, and that is, the Indian State. Let there be only districts. So carry logic to its logical end. Do not have a sort of illogical logic. If you want real unity, let us have one State and let us do away with the several States. Therefore, I say that we should not play with this idea of Zonal Councils and delude ourselves into believing that these Zonal Councils will foster unity, foster harmony, etc., between people and people within India. That is wrong.

Many Members must have been aware of the movement in South India about Dravidistan. What do the people sponsoring Dravidistan want? What is that movement? One of the objectives of that movement is the secession of South India from the North on the ground that North India is dominating too much over the South. That may be, but they carry it too far and say that South India should not have any truck with North India. Suppose, you start with the zonal idea. You are giving a Zonal Council for South India and you want to clothe these Zonal Councils with more and more powers. You want to make them more powerful than the States themselves. What will happen? These Zonal Councils may become Zonal States in the long run by convention or by deliberate clothing of more and more powers. Later on, the very purpose which you want to realise, namely, the unity of India, will be defeated. The unity of India will be disrupted, because the Zonal Councils may become powerful zonal states that they may overthrow the Centre if the Centre becomes weak. If the Cabinet is weak, if the administration at the Centre is weak, the Zonal States may conspire and throw away your Central Government, so this zonal idea may not foster nationalism, unity and patriotism which we desire. So, I would suggest that this is an extraneous element which has been brought into the scheme of States reorganisation. This extraneous element is irrelevant to us. We are today concerned mainly and solely with the reorganisation of States on a certain basis. Where does the Zonal Council fit in here? If Zonal Councils are needed, they could have been set up and no statute was necessary for this. So, I say that this extraneous element imported into the scheme of reorganisation is completely irrelevant.

[Shri M. S. Gurupadaswamy]

Lastly, having said about Zonal Councils, I may dwell on a few points relating to my own State—Karnataka. I am happy to say that the demand for a Karnataka State has been conceded.

**Shri Madiah Gowda** (Bangalore South) : It is going to be Mysore State.

**Shri M. S. Gurupadaswamy**: Call it Mysore State or Karnataka State; I am indifferent to the name. I call it Karnataka; if you like you call it Mysore State.

In the Mysore State Assembly, there was a resolution moved and passed about merger of States. Many people do not know the political background to appreciate it. The resolution stated, "there may be union of States wherever and whenever possible." It never stated that there should be union between Mysore, Madras, Andhra or Kerala. There is no categorical opinion that such and such a State should be formed. What was the real purpose of the resolution then? The purpose was political. You would see that it was political when you appreciate that almost all the members favoured this Bill. There was almost unanimity in respect of this Bill and they also made a number of amendments, and the Bill was passed. After having passed the Bill, they passed that resolution stating that there might be mergers wherever and whenever possible. As I stated, the purpose of the resolution was political. The present Chief Minister is a sort of political juggler and a clever tight rope walker. He wants to control various congress elements and he thought he would be able to satisfy those elements by passing this resolution. I want my friends to appreciate the background, the purpose of passing this resolution. It was a political game. It was to realise the selfish objective of the party in power or the Chief Minister.

**Shri T. S. A. Chettiar** (Tiruppur): The hon. Member is referring to a person who is not here to defend himself. It is the practice of this House not to refer to persons who are not here.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker**: I was already thinking over it. But, I find that it is only the political activity that is being discussed and not anything personal. There is a resolution and I think we can comment upon it.

**Shri B. S. Murthy**: On a point of order, Sir. He has not only mentioned about the Chief Minister of Mysore, but also a resolution which has been passed by the Legislative Assembly unanimously. Therefore, calling the Chief Minister a juggler is also a reflection on the unanimous resolution and all the Members of the Assembly.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker**: When he called the Chief Minister a juggler, immediately after that, he has given credit to him for being clever and resourceful. I was watching the words very carefully. The hon. Member said that the Chief Minister got his objective attained by getting that resolution passed. There is no harm in discussing the resolution, I suppose.

**Shri Mohanlal Saksena** (Lucknow Distt. cum Bara Banki Distt.): It was a reflection on the Assembly. He did not realise that.....

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker**: Every hon. Member should not raise the question and answer it himself. If the House wants that I should have the opportunity to decide—I hope the hon. Members would give it to me—I have answered to hon Member's point of view that there was an aspersion on the Assembly. There is a resolution and I think we can comment upon it. I do not think there is any harm, so far as I can make out. Therefore, we should allow the hon. Member to proceed.

**Shri M. S. Gurupadaswamy**: My purpose in drawing the attention of the House to the resolution was to show that the purpose of that resolution was political.

**Shri B. S. Murthy**: I think it is a perfect jugglery here!

**Shri M. S. Gurupadaswamy**: I shall refer to one small point incidentally before I close. Some provisions have been made in the Bill for the purpose of delimitation of constituencies. According to one of the provisions associate members should be appointed for the purpose of helping the Delimitation Commission. We have followed a different method this time. The previous practice was that the Speaker should appoint the associate members. The Speaker of this House and the Speakers of the various State Assemblies should appoint the associate members. Now they want to cut

short the whole procedure. I have no objection to that. Power is taken by the Government to appoint 5 members from among the existing associate members and those associate members will assist the Commission in respect of the delimitation of the various States. My suggestion is that there is no harm in having all the existing associate members as associate members hereafter for the purpose of re-delimitation. Secondly, some associate members have already crossed the floor from the Opposition to the Congress. A certain quota was given to the Opposition; but certain associate members who were taken as associate members on behalf of the Opposition have crossed the floor and joined the Congress. Such associate members may be dropped out and our quota may be given.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** I have already rung the bell twice; the hon. Member must resume his seat now.

**Shri Mohanlal Saksena:** I rise to support the motion before the House made by the hon. Home Minister. I would also like to make certain submissions for the consideration of the Home Minister, the Prime Minister and the Members of the Joint Committee.

3 P.M.

I have been in favour of bilingual and multilingual States and in favour of also fewer States than had recommended by the S.R.C. I have also been opposed to the formation of States on a linguistic basis. But, we have to take cognisance of certain facts and one of that is that linguism might have originated with the leaders, it has permeated the people and it will take some time before it could be eradicated from their mind. We have to go about it carefully. We cannot at once reverse the engine in the opposite direction. This is exactly what has happened in the case of Bengal and Bihar. The two States were fighting for small bits of territory like, I may be excused for saying so, cats and dogs. When the Chief Ministers came out with the statement containing the proposal to merge, this was too big a pill for the people to swallow. I think the best course, as has been suggested by the Prime Minister is to start with zonal councils, though I have been of the view that zonal councils should not be merely advisory as envisaged in the Bill. For if they are merely advisory bodies,

at the best they may be costly superfluities, with every danger of their being converted into arenas to carry on State disputes. I have been of the view that these zonal councils should have substantive powers. If the States are not in a mood to give powers to the zonal councils, the Centre can delegate some of its powers to the zonal councils. Even now we know many of the Ministries have got zonal committees or zonal councils. There are zonal committees set by the Rehabilitation Ministry; I think some other Ministries also have zonal committees. My view is that we may have five to seven zonal councils. They should not merely be advisory bodies. They must consist of the Chief Ministers themselves. I do not like the idea of a Minister from the Centre to go and preside over them. Left to themselves, I am sure the Chief Minister will manage because many of the Chief Ministers are certainly held in greater esteem—I do not mean any disrespect to the members of Central Cabinet—than some Ministers in the Centre. I would suggest that these zonal councils should be given definite powers; such as regional planning, river valley projects, Transport, the Industrial Finance Corporations, other Finance Corporations, etc. Later on, even the day-to-day supervision of the working of Railways may be given. I also suggest that Members of Parliament, that is, Members of the Lok Sabha and Rajya Sabha from these States, should form consultative bodies so that they may be in touch with the matters. This will not add to the expenditure because the Members already receive their salary. There is no question of extra expenditure. For these zones, I would like to have the one Governor, one High Court, one Public Service Commission. I do not like that the expenditure should be increased in any way. We should try to reduce public expenditure as much as we can. I think by having one Governor, etc., we will be reducing the public expenditure to a great extent.

Then, my view is that these zonal councils should, in the first instance, be manned by the Chief Ministers. If they want, they can even have deputy Ministers in charge of different subjects. They may meet in different places if necessary as we find in other countries. The Council of Europe can move from place to place. I think that even the territorial disputes within the zone can be settled by these zonal councils. In respect of territorial disputes or boundaries

[Shri Mohanlal Saksena]

between States falling in different zones. I suggest that there should be a Central committee which should settle the question of boundaries.

I was saying something about the merger of Bihar and Bengal. I submit that at present the atmosphere is not in favour of it. Not that the people are opposed.....

**Shri K. K. Basu:** You said that the people are opposed.

**Shri Mohanlal Saksena:** No; I did not say that the people are opposed.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** Let that difference of opinion remain, and not be resolved just in this way.

**Shri Mohanlal Saksena:** Even if the people are not opposed, there are vested interests working among the people which are opposed. For instance, we know in one State we have 30 Ministers and in another State we have an equal number. If the States merge this number is bound to be reduced. There are the services. At present, you have one Chief Secretary in each State. If you merge, there will be only one Chief Secretary, one I.G. of Police. So, the services are also opposed. I said that the virus may have gone from the leaders to the people. It is still there. It has to be eradicated. It cannot be done immediately. Therefore, I submit once you form these zonal councils, you may provide that the States can delegate such of their powers as they choose to the zonal councils and you will be providing a frame within which the States, if they are so minded, can merge. I hope as time passes the tendency will be for these States to delegate more and more powers to the zonal councils.

Having said so much about the Zones, I will come to the question of Bombay. It has been suggested by many Members in this House that Bombay belongs to Maharashtra geographically and culturally and that it should go to Maharashtra. It has also been said that the Committee of the Cabinet realises the strength of the arguments advanced in support of the Maharashtra claim, but because of considerations of prestige they are not acceding to the request. Therefore a suggestion has been made that some *via media* may be found by which the Maharashtrians may be as-

sured that Bombay would come to them in due course, and in the meantime certain temporary arrangements may be made.

**Dr. Rama Rao:** Why not now?

**Shri Mohanlal Saksena:** That is the suggestion of the hon. Members. My position is different.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** In this House we have to listen to different points of view.

**Shri Mohanlal Saksena:** My hon. friend Shri Feroze Gandhi has also said that he does not like the idea of Bombay being separated from Maharashtra and therefore it is necessary that it should be given over to Maharashtra. While I agree with some of the arguments that have been advanced, I do not accept the remedy they have proposed. Since I am in favour of bilingual States and larger States, I feel that the Cabinet Committee should have struck to their original position that they would accept the recommendation of the S.R.C. subject to certain modifications. What was the position? There was no agreement. At different stages the Committee was made to believe that the parties would agree to one suggestion or the other. We have a feeling that there was some vacillation in the Cabinet Committee itself. I do not want to say anything about that as our Prime Minister has very generously said that all of us have not come out very well in this controversy. My suggestion is that it would be much better not to have Bombay, as recommended, as Centrally administered territory. By doing so, we will be perpetuating and keeping an irritating factor all the time. Because, all of us realise—that it will not be possible to keep Bombay as a Centrally administered area for all time. For, both the parties will be working in opposite directions, and we shall not be producing that atmosphere which is necessary for restoring goodwill and harmony between people living in adjacent States. Therefore, my submission is that the committee of the Cabinet should consider the question again and think of the desirability of having a big Bombay State consisting of Gujarat and Maharashtra including Vidarbha; I do not agree with the suggestions made by Shri Feroze Gandhi, we may join Bombay to Maharashtra and then adopt the pattern of Punjab. On the other hand I would suggest that they should have a bigger Bombay wherein they can provide scheme of regional councils, as has

been suggested in the case of Punjab. Or, some other device may be thought of in consultation with the representatives. Otherwise, Government should do only what they feel to be the right thing and in the best interests of the nation and what they feel is not likely to produce greater difficulties later on.

Shri N. C. Chatterjee had referred in his usual way to the practice of satyagraha in Bengal. He had tried to justify satyagraha for this cause. I am one of those who believe that it is only those people who have had nothing to do with satyagraha in pre-Independence days that are the greatest advocates of satyagraha these days. I do not know how far they understand the principles of satyagraha. I think it is high time that we in this House make it clear that in a democratic State, satyagraha, hunger-strikes, fasts etc. can have no justification.

**Shri K. K. Basu:** Because you are in power today.

**An Hon. Member:** Of frustration.

**Shri Mohanlal Saksena:** We are in power today, but you are trying to be in power tomorrow.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** Hon. Members should try to listen to the opposite points of view also.

**Shri Mohanlal Saksena:** So long as we have got a democratic form of Government, we must try to convert the opinion in this House, and if we do not succeed, then we have got the other alternative namely, that we can go and convert the people outside, and change the decisions of this very House. I therefore feel that we should not try to encourage in any way satyagraha, fasts and hunger-strikes.

**Dr. Suresh Chandra:** I had held certain views on the question of linguistic States, and I had declared before that I was against the reorganisation of States on the basis of language alone. I was of the view that if ever there was any necessity to divide India, then India should be divided on an economic basis into economic zones, and ultimately perhaps we have to have a form of unitary government. My hon. friend Shri M. S. Gurupadaswamy had said before while talking against the zonal and regional councils, that if we were afraid of the

unity of the country being endangered, then we should form a unitary government as in China, where there is one Parliament, and one Government, and where there is administration at district levels. I had held that view before. But unfortunately, the collective wisdom of this Parliament and Government has been otherwise, and I take it that perhaps my views were not justified enough.

But after having accepted once the idea of reorganisation of States based on language, I really do not understand the idea of people about the unity of the country being endangered. Some people have talked of regional patriotism and also regional citizenship. When once we have decided to establish our States on linguistic considerations, and when once that decision has been accepted by the people of this country, where is the question of regional citizenship coming in? I find that that dangerous idea is slowly coming up, because some people want to oppose the demand of Maharashtrians for the city of Bombay. I really do not understand how the question of regional citizenship and how the question of the unity being in danger can arise. I entirely agree with Shriman Narayan who said, 'Who lives if India dies?' All of us have laid down our lives and sacrificed ourselves for the unity and independence of this country. We had great faith in our leaders, and we continue to have that faith in them ever since the time we began to fight for our independence.

So far as the Bombay question is concerned. I want to make one or two observations. I represent a constituency which is a Maharashtrian constituency. But I am a non-Maharashtra, and I have been elected from there. We have been living in that part for centuries. People dub Maharashtrians as parochial, sectional and narrow-minded and so on, and all kinds of epithets are being used against them. I really fail to understand how anyone can attribute any motives to one part of India which has not done less sacrifices for the independence of the country than any other part of India. The names of Tilak, Gokhale and Ranade are there, and they will ever shine in the history of our country. They have not only been Maharashtrians but they have been great Indians.

I therefore fail to understand this argument which has been put forward here to refuse Maharashtrians their right claim for Bombay. I know the

[Dr. Suresh Chandra]

intensity of feeling in Maharashtra, the intensity of feeling in Marathwada and also the intensity of feeling in my own constituency on this issue. Some hon. Members have argued. "Why should Bombay go to Maharashtra? There are minorities there." As a matter of fact, the minorities from about 42 per cent. If we are thinking in terms of minorities, I say that Hyderabad cannot go to the Telugu-speaking people, because there are a larger number of Urdu-speaking people there. The same argument applies to some other States as well.

**Shri T. S. A. Chettiar :** From that point of view it should not go. But from all other points of view, where should it go?

**Dr. Suresh Chandra :** I do not know. It is for the hon. Member to say where it should go, and it is for the House to decide ultimately.

Shri Tulsidas in the course of his speech had stated that India was not one, that we had no common aims, no common culture, and in fact nothing common as in China. I really do not understand what he means by common culture. I think a proper and suitable reply to him has been given by no less a person than Shri N. C. Chatterjee who is sitting just next to him. From what Shri Tulsidas has said, it appears that he has never read the history of this country, especially the history of the freedom movement. He does not know that one of the great features of this land has been unity in diversity. Therefore, I rally fail to understand his standpoint. He has been talking of the Second Five Year Plan, nationalism and all that in order that in the end Bombay may not be included in Maharashtra. I do not understand how this question of the Second Five Year Plan and the question of nationalism only come when Shri Tulsidas talks of Bombay.

The question of Bombay is a very important question and it may become a national question if we fail to solve it. If our national leadership or if this Parliament fails to solve the problem of Bombay, it may become a very important question. I have no doubt in my mind that our leadership will not fail at this time, as they have not failed at any other time.

I wish to say in the end that the Prime Minister and the Government should make a categorical and unequivocal

statement to the effect that if not today, later Bombay will become part of Maharashtra. If there are certain difficulties in giving Bombay to Maharashtra those difficulties may be overcome. A certain time-limit should be fixed and a declaration should be made that within that time limit, Bombay will go to Maharashtra so that the feelings of the Maharashtrians and the wounds of the Maharashtrians may be healed.

**Shri C. Bhatt (Broach) :** What about other wounds?

**Dr. Suresh Chandra :** I am coming to my Gujarati friends also. I entirely agree in condemning in unequivocal terms in the strongest terms, the riots which have taken place in Bombay city which resulted in the harm that has been done to the Gujarati friends and also other minorities.

**Shri C. Bhatt :** Women also.

**Dr. Suresh Chandra :** It is not very proper to talk of that now. We have already had discussion on this matter. It is a matter of great shame for all of us that such things should happen in Bombay or in Orissa, and I hang my head in shame. But it is no use now thinking of the past. As our Prime Minister has said before, the wounds of the Maharashtrians must also be healed. In my opinion Maharashtrians must also have the goodwill of the Gujaratis. Without having the goodwill, co-operation and understanding of the Gujaratis or other minorities, Maharashtrians certainly will not have the right to claim Bombay. As Acharya Vinoba Bhave has said,—I think rightly,—all the Maharashtrians are agreed on this point that they have an absolute right to Bombay. Bombay belongs to Maharashtra, as Shri Feroze Gandhi has also said. Without the hinterland, Bombay will be a body without heart. Therefore, the claim of the Maharashtrians to Bombay is right, and that claim will be more justified if they get the co-operation, good-will and understanding of the Gujaratis and all the minorities. I have no doubt that Maharashtrians will have that co-operation, goodwill and understanding of the Gujaratis and other minorities.

Therefore, I feel that in the interests of India's unity, in the interest of India's progress, it is absolutely necessary, while considering the reorganisation of States, when we have accepted the principle of linguistic States, when we have accepted the principle of unilingual States, not

to deny justice to one part of India. We must concede the right demand of Maharashtra for Bombay.

**Shri R. N. S. Deo** (Kalahandi-Bolangir) : Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, the States Reorganisation Bill does not give the least satisfaction to Orissa because it seeks to perpetuate the wrong decisions of the States Reorganisation Commission and of the Government of India in regard to the border claims of Orissa. It is an ordinary principle observed by courts of law that if a decision is palpably wrong, if a decision is based on a condition and that condition changes, then there is a case for review. In the case of the border claims of Orissa, we had shown in the debate in the Lok Sabha that the decisions of the S.R.C. were wrong.

So far as the recommendation regarding the transfer of Saraikella and Kharswan to Orissa was concerned, the main ground of the S.R.C. was that in view of their recommendation to transfer the South Manbhum district to West Bengal, the transfer of any part of the Saraikella sub-division to Orissa would cut off Dhalbhum from the rest of Bihar. Now this condition itself has changed as a result of the Government of India's revised decision to retain the Chandil Thana out of Manbhum Sadar in Bihar. After this modified decision, even if the Saraikella sub-division and the Singhbhum Sadar sub-division are transferred to Orissa, still Dhalbhum has got geographical contiguity with the rest of Bihar. So my submission is that since the condition on which the previous decision was based has changed by the subsequent modified decision, there is a clear case for review, and it is unfortunate that the Government of India have not thought it fit to review the case.

Then in regard to the Singhbhum Sadar, the ground mentioned by the SRC was that the O'Donnell Committee had found that the lines of communication favoured its retention in Chota Nagpur, and administrative convenience also was in favour of Chota Nagpur. But when the O'Donnell Committee examined the question the Orissa States intervened between Singhbhum and Orissa. There was no geographical contiguity. Also the Hos who predominate in Singhbhum Sadar were mostly concentrated in the Orissa States. Therefore, so long as the Orissa States had not merged in the State of Orissa, the

situation was quite different. But after the merger of the Orissa States in Orissa State, the situation, both as regards the lines of communication and administrative convenience, as also linguistic and cultural affinities of not only the tribal people but also of the Oriyas, was completely in favour of Orissa. Therefore, to base a decision on the previous recommendation of the O'Donnell Committee, which is completely out of date, was entirely wrong. It was unjustified. Our submission was that there was a clear case for revision or reconsideration. But, it is unfortunate that it was not done.

Similarly, with regard to border claims on Madhya Pradesh with regard to Phuljhar and Bindra-Nawagarh and the Shankara tract, it is strange that the S.R.C. made positive misstatements in quoting, or rather misquoted, the O'Donnell Committee Report, when they said that the O'Donnell Committee had found overwhelming public opinion in favour of those areas being retained in M.P. Actually, the O'Donnell Committee had found nothing of this sort. It only shows how superficially and how unsympathetically the S.R.C. had dealt with Orissa's claims.

You will be surprised to hear that while the S.R.C. recommended and also the present decisions are—that all enclaves, all island territories of other States, should be merged in the State in which those island territories are, yet, in respect of Shankara tract, consisting of 5 villages in the Sambhalpur district of Orissa, which is an island territory of M.P., neither the S.R.C. nor the Government of India have considered it fit to remove this obvious anomaly. Since 1911, the excise administration of these villages is being carried on by Orissa till this day. Due to some historical incident, some previous ruler of Sambhalpur had made a grant of these 5 villages to another ruler of Sarangarh for some service rendered and these 5 villages had become part of the Sarangarh State, which has now merged in Madhya Pradesh. But, because of the geographical position of these 5 villages as island territories, the excise administration has, since 1911, been entrusted to Orissa. Yet, it is strange that even this has not been taken into consideration. Therefore, it is obvious that in considering Orissa's case, it has not been considered on merits; neither have the merits been gone into at all. They have

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been superficially and summarily rejected. This has, naturally, given rise to great resentment throughout Orissa.

I would now like to draw the attention of this House to certain misconceptions with regard to the agitation against the decision in Orissa. Much is said about the violence that took place in Puri. Sometimes, it is compared with the violence in Bombay and I am very sorry that even the Central Ministers are misled and mis-informed on the subject. Speaking in the debate on the President's Address, on the 23rd February, the Prime Minister referred to the case of Orissa and said:

"Take the case of Orissa. According to the SRC Report, no change has been made in Orissa—this way or that way. Orissa had claims on West Bengal, Bihar, Andhra and M. P., I believe. I am not going into the merits. Those claims were not accepted in that Report nor did Government wish to go behind the Report in that matter. As I said, I am not going into the merits of the case. The Orissa Government supported those claims. Everybody did it—the Congress and the Government in Orissa. Then, there was this rioting in Orissa. Against whom? Against their own Government supporting that claim. There was no reason or logic in it. They broke into the police station and destroyed things. What exactly has been done by young people aged from ten to twenty years—children, boys and girls and others? This is the spirit which, I say, is deplorable."

Sir, with all respect to the Prime Minister, I would like to point out that his information in regard to this violence in Puri was entirely wrong. Firstly, I would like to ask one question and that is, against whom was this violence expressed. Was it against any community or linguistic group? No; it was not; it was not even against the Government of Orissa. It was pure resentment against a wrong decision of the Central Government. This resentment itself was not shown in a violent manner. The resentment was expressed through peaceful satyagraha, through hartal, through picketing etc. And, whatever violence took place in Puri, which is most deplorable, was, no doubt, entirely provoked by the cold-blooded and brutal murder of a 13 year old school-boy by a

police sergeant. First, the police made unprovoked and brutal attack on the boys who were picketing on the railway line and then, in the midst of a crowd of 10,000 people, the police sergeant took out his revolver and, without any provocation, fired 3 shots and shattered the brain of this boy of 13 years. That was the thing that infuriated the crowd. Then, the police, who were completely demoralised, and the magistrate ran away and left the whole situation to the mercy of this infuriated mob. Under these circumstances, if those deplorable incidents took place, who is to be blamed? Nobody, of course, supports this violence. Everybody feels that it is a regrettable thing. But, at the same time, I can say, without fear of contradiction, that no violence had been pre-planned or premeditated by anyone. There was no idea of violence at all. There was simple resentment being shown through this mass agitation throughout Orissa. Unfortunately, the thing was made worse by this unprovoked firing.

Then, I am sorry to say that even the hon. Home Minister made certain remarks about this agitation in Orissa, in another place where he suggested that this was the work of some feudal elements and their agents. This sort of remark is entirely wrong. It has evoked universal condemnation throughout Orissa. It is like adding insult to injury, first to commit a wrong on the people of Orissa and, when there is popular resentment against it, try to dub it as the work of a few rulers or their agents on their henchmen. I am glad to notice that even the President of the Utkal Provincial Congress Committee, in a statement, has said that—and has brought it to the notice of the Home Minister—this statement was incorrect. The Prime Minister in the course of his speech in the Lok Sabha went on to say:

"Take another case again. I can understand the dispute between—let us say—Kerala State and the Madras State about a small patch of territory on the border. One could understand the proposal: 'Let the patch decide.'—I mean, the people there. But that is not the question. Everybody wants to bring pressure."

The Prime Minister, thereby, hinted that instead of suggesting that the people of the disputed areas should decide the question, people of other parts were trying to bring pressure. Thereby he



gave the indication that if it was suggested that the people of the area concerned were to decide, perhaps that would be a reasonable proposition. But my complaint is that we have been consistently demanding not only from Orissa but also from the outlying tracts—the representative of the people have all along demanded—that if you have any reason to doubt then hold a plebiscite. Let the people decide. We still stand by that demand. In the case of Seraikella, in the last general elections, this specific question of re-merger with Orissa was the issue on which the election was fought, and by an overwhelming majority of votes it was won by our candidate, defeating his four other rivals, including the one belonging to the Congress, who forfeited his deposit.

**Shri Nambiar:** Congressman?

**Shri R. N. S. Deo:** Since then we have consistently been demanding that if this result was not as good as a plebiscite, if you are not willing to accept that and even if you are not willing to accept the opinion of the M.L.As. of Seraikella and Kharswan, we are even now prepared for a fresh plebiscite. That has been our demand, but it is most unfortunate that when after the speech of the Prime Minister we in Orissa as well as in the outlying tracts, that is, Seraikella, Kharsawan, Singhbhum, Sadar, etc., have been demanding for holding a plebiscite to decide the question and sought an interview with the Prime Minister, we were told that first of all the interview was refused on the ground that the Prime Minister would be very busy for several weeks and further that the Prime Minister did not think that it would serve any purpose to have the interview. The question of Orissa has been settled and in view of the violence there, it cannot be re-opened. That was his reason.

I most respectfully urge upon the Prime Minister to reconsider this stand dispassionately. In view of the violence is it consistent if only here you shut the door on reconsideration? You are not refusing to talk with the people of Bombay because there has been violence in Bombay. What is the consistency for your refusing to talk to the people of Orissa simply because there has been some unfortunate violence in Puri, which, as I have already pointed out, the people of Orissa had never dreamt of. It was entirely due to a set of circumstances that this unfortunate thing took place. Therefore, I very respectfully sub-

mit that there is a case for reconsideration. There must be a consistent principle followed in respect of settlement of these disputes. All we want is that there should be re-examination and reconsideration. If after applying the relevant tests you reject our claim, we will have nothing further to say. But for God's sake, please reconsider, please re-examine in accordance with the principles that had been laid down in the Bavdekar Tribunal.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** I call upon Shri S. K. Patil.

**Dr. Rama Rao:** Before that, may I point out that Shri Patil is a Member of the Joint Committee on this Bill and there is a convention not to call such Members.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** I have called him with full consciousness of that fact.

**Shri S. K. Patil:** It is with a heavy heart that I take part in the debate on the States Reorganisation Bill that is before us. Many Members of this House have supported this measure and even welcomed it. I support this measure, but it is very difficult for me to welcome it. To me it is in the nature of a natural calamity, call it flood, call it drought, call it earthquake or call it anything, but it has come and has got to be faced now with all the courage, all the dignity, all the discipline that we possess.

Some of us have been telling without any effect whatsoever for the last several years that this linguistic division of our country is going to be a calamity for us.

**An Hon. Member:** Worse than that.

**Shri S. K. Patil:** We stated that no heavens would fall if this question was postponed for a number of years, say 15 or 20. It appeared to many of us mad, but there was a method in that madness. That method was that we were a young democracy; we needed national unity most in this country and we thought that the tender plants of democracy and national unity should be allowed a little more sunshine in a peaceful atmosphere before we undertook a division of the country on a linguistic basis. It is no use having a post mortem examination now of what has happened. As practical people, we have got to face the problem that has come upon us. Let us squarely, and, as I said, with courage, dignity and discipline face it.

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Now, Sir, the House will realise—and I am sure during the last six months it has realised—what a tremendous upheaval has come over the masses of our people in this country. Everybody in this House gets up and says that this belongs to me, that belongs to me, that is our claim, that every part of our territory belongs to some language or other. This passes my comprehension that nothing belongs to India, but it must belong to this or that linguistic division. During the last four or five months, we have seen in this country a spectacle to which there is hardly any parallel, except when this country was partitioned. Whatever it is, it has come and now let us face it. But what is the way of facing it? Speaker after speaker got up and began to argue in a vicious circle. And Bombay has become a pet child of everybody. I congratulate them, for at any rate they have now conceived some kind of love for my poor city. I only hope that they will continue to have that love for all time to come. Whatever may have happened in the past, when this matter came up, they appointed the SRC, that is, when it was found that there could not be any unity among us, they gave it to that Commission which consisted of influential illustrious and impartial sons of India. They came out with a decision. I may respectfully submit that, if the leadership of India had merely stuck to the SRC Report, many of the dangers which we are experiencing today would not have been there; because, once you begin to depart from it, there is no end to it. Everybody asks: "If you had departed in one thing, why not in another?" So, it went on multiplying our difficulties. There were meetings after meetings. The Congress High Command met. The AICC met. The Amritsar session met. It created a kind of feeling in this country that what was essential in this country was the national unity and not the linguistic division. People were ready. People thought that this was what our leaders wanted. I am quite sure that even now they want. They went even further in order to put a stop to this process of disintegration and establish a process of integration. Therefore, they accomplished or promised to accomplish a very great and colossal feat. If it comes into being, I think there are brighter and better days for this country. That is the integration of the provinces. When the resolution on Bihar-Bengal merger came, nobody could have seen a more tumultuous applause than the one

given to it; it was unanimously passed. May I in all humility ask my friends—not those friends, because they are not part of us in the Congress—where they were? Many of them are speaking here today. Many of them were members of the AICC; the Subjects Committee. They were in the Amritsar session. Where were they when that resolution was unanimously passed? The Prime Minister drew the country's attention to what he called a healing process. It was accepted by everybody. They thought: "Let us help in that process so that the units that are starting to go apart may come together." Has anything happened after that? They say: "We are geographically, culturally, ethnologically,—what not—part of this or that." I have really not understood how geography has become so important all of a sudden.

**Shri V. G. Deshpande :** It is important.

**Shri S. K. Patil :** It should have been important all the time and not when it suits your purpose. (*Interruptions.*)

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker :** Let the hon. Member proceed.

**Shri S. K. Patil :** I do not mind these interruptions. They do not count. I want to make my position abundantly clear. I am not against the Maharashtrians having Bombay or anybody having anything. I am against the linguistic division of the country as a whole—no matter whether it is Maharashtra or any thing. I am a Maharashtrian myself. I shall not tolerate any evil coming to Maharashtra; I shall not tolerate any injustice coming to Maharashtra; I shall fight it with my blood. Do you expect me, who has been holding these views all the time—not merely after the SRC Report, but for years before that—to come now and say "Let us be linguistically divided"?

My friend, Shri Chatterjee, made a big speech. He said that over 500 square miles of land were not given to Bengal. Is it as if it has gone to Pakistan or somewhere else? He shed plenty of crocodile tears enough to fill this hall. Where has it gone? What has happened? (*Interruptions.*) Over a little piece of land, we are fighting. As the Prime Minister once said—I endorse that feeling—"we are all very small people that live in this great country." What has happened to this country? I do not understand. Claims are made from every quarter. Why must you have all this intimidation, coercion? Put your claims

before the Parliament, and Congress leadership. They say: "The Prime Minister and the Home Minister are so good and so nice." Where was this attitude when they were rejected a few months back? I can quote speeches after speeches of these people. I say: if it was to be left to the Congress leadership, leave it. We were ready all the time,—even now,—to leave it to the Congress leadership. If I may quote their speeches, speeches made by no less a person than like Shri Shankar Rao Deo, he said: "I shall accept the arbitration of the Prime Minister in anything except the inclusion of Bombay in Maharashtra." I am glad that a man can change his views. I am glad he has now come to this view. Everybody has come to this view. Had they done that before, they would have fared better with the leadership and lot of misery would have been avoided.

You have got to examine these facts in the context of things that have happened and are happening. Everybody says that, since the linguistic principle has been accepted, Bombay must go to Maharashtra. If the linguistic principle is accepted as a principle, I agree with the proposition that it should go to Maharashtra. Even otherwise it should go to Maharashtra. In what way can it go to Maharashtra? You have got to think of it. I say these things not because I come from Bombay. I come originally from Maharashtra and not from Bombay. I have lived in that State and so I do not become a bad Maharashtrian. (*Interruptions.*) It is just as my friend, Shri Feroze Gandhi has not become a bad Bombayite though he has changed his affections to the Uttar Pradesh. What I was saying was that Bombay was and has always been the capital of not any unilingual State. Even for a day, in the history of Bombay, it has not been a capital of any linguistic State. So, where do you bring this? (*Interruptions.*)

**An Hon. Member :** It was a part.

**Shri S. K. Patil :** A part might have been a part and you will have the part and the whole. Bombay has always been and is the capital of a bilingual or multilingual State. Some 200 years back when Maharashtra was a province its capital was Poona and not Bombay. Therefore, all these things that grew in Bombay, the cosmopolitan, nationalist character of that city—all these were built up all these 150 years on the assumption that it was going to be not a

part of any unilingual State. Never did we think that we were going to be the capital of any unilingual State; we thought that we would be the capital of India, of a bilingual or a multilingual State. We could have been the capital of anything but not of one unilingual State.

Then, a proposition came. The Maharashtra PCC demanded that there should be a linguistic province or a bilingual province with Vidharba. I want to make it abundantly clear. I have always supported this claim. My PCC has passed resolution after resolution that we are not against that claim. If all the Marathi-speaking people and the Gujarati-speaking people came in a union, we have thought that it is very good; there is nothing wrong about it. Had they shown a little more statesmanship, tact and patience, they could have got what they wanted but they were wanting an opportunity to go away from that position.

**An Hon. Member :** The *bona fides* are questioned.

**Shri S. K. Patil :** I shall come to your *bona fides* too. I have respect even for those who may differ from me. The other day one of my friends said in Bombay "we shall be good neighbours but not good partners." (*Interruptions.*) If that is the view, whatever resolutions they may pass, they are all a camouflage. They must be sincere about it. Hypocritical statements do not advance good causes. If they are really sincere and speak up what they feel, no matter what the other man says, they are bound to win. They could have come to the High Command and said: "We stand by that negotiation." Then, it would not be this experience today. The High Command would have then taken the courage in both hands and said that the two parties did not agree and the solution that it would impose would be the just solution in the larger national interest. The just solution would be a bilingual or multilingual State of Bombay with all the Marathi people and the Gujarati people living together. The Prime Minister swears by it and repeats in every meeting: "I want a bilingual State." The Home Minister swears by it. Everybody swears by it. If they really feel that it is the ideal solution, then let us have it. I have always been saying that. Why were we saying that? It is because we knew the difficulties that we shall have to encounter with regard to the position:

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of Bombay. Every Commission that was appointed, whether it was the Dar Commission, whether it was the J.V.P. Report, whether it was the present Commission, they came up against the same difficulty, namely that the position of Bombay was so difficult of solution that the only solution which is most nationalist and patriotic is that Bombay should be the capital of a bilingual or multilingual State. May I ask whether all these Commissions and committees were partial? No; because they knew that the moment you try to separate Maharashtra and Gujarat the question of Bombay will come up and that question will be difficult of solution; they have argued it and they have shown that if Bombay ought to be the capital, it can only be the capital of a bilingual State. That is why they suggested it one after the other.

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Sir, everybody says here that this is the House of the People and is jealous of the democratic rights of the people. Can't those people of Bombay also have the democratic rights? Very convenient facts were quoted but the inconvenient facts were left to the devil. What are those? Who are the people who can really speak in the name of Bombay? Not I. Not anybody else. But, what is the criterion—the democratic criterion recognised everywhere in the world? That democratic criterion is a plebiscite or a referendum, if you can have it. The second is a decision by the elected representatives in the Legislature from the City of Bombay.

**An Hon. Member:** What about the Corporation?

**Shri S. K. Patil:** You will have very interesting things to hear about the Bombay Municipal Corporation; be prepared for it.

The only political organisation to be taken account of is the Bombay Provincial Congress Committee. Now examine that. Leave aside the question of referendum—I shall come to that later—and take the case of the Bombay P.C.C. The Bombay P.C.C. by 90 per cent majority,—then, now and any time passed a resolution that they stand by the Congress Working Committee, that is, the solution that had been arrived at by the High Command. Now, take the case of elected representatives. The elected representatives of the Legislature

from the city of Bombay—nobody even mentioned them—are 24 representatives elected on the Congress ticket. By a three-fourth majority,—18 of them have supported whatever the Congress has, done. They have accepted it as the right solution of the problem.

**Shri V. G. Deshpande:** What about the by-elections?

**Shri S. K. Patil:** Have patience. If you take the opposition and if the opposition combines, then 6 plus 4 becomes 10. Then three-fourth majority only becomes two-third majority, the majority you want in this Lok Sabha to change the article of our Constitution. By that majority they decided that the decision of the Congress was the right one.

Now I come to the Municipal Corporation (*Interruption*). I never interrupted my friend when he was speaking. I was patiently and painfully listening to him when he was speaking.

Now, coming to the Corporation, the Corporation by a majority of 4 passed a resolution which was going to be contested in a court of law, because the Mayor gave a ruling which was a wrong ruling that deprived the Congress of its votes. Therefore the Mayor had to go and the Corporation has cancelled the resolution saying that the ruling that was given was wrong. So, that resolution stands cancelled and with it, what you had also stands cancelled. That was very inconvenient for you and you never quoted that. (*Interruptions.*)

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** Order, order. Let the hon. Member proceed.

**Shri S. K. Patil:** These little interruptions do not very much matter.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** They do matter for me. I, therefore, request the hon. Members to listen to the Member patiently.

**Shri S. K. Patil:** When all these democratic bodies, whose voice has to be recognised, one after the other, passed resolutions standing by the High Command of the Congress, even at that time—some two or three months back—in a public statement in my own humble capacity as the President of the Bombay P.C.C., and as a Member elected to the Lok Sabha, I said that I am even prepared to give a referendum to the

citizens of Bombay, but my Maharatrian friends never wanted a referendum. If Bombay went to Maharashtra as a result of the referendum, as a democrat, I would have accepted that decision. After all, I have no right to say anything against the result of a referendum. They thought that in a referendum they would not succeed and so they said "what is the use of having a referendum for a thing that belongs to us", as if the city of Bombay is a dog, a cow or a horse, or it is a piece of furniture or some other personal thing that belonged to them. What is this idea? It belongs to nobody. I do not understand this simply taking it away and giving it without even a referendum to the 3½ million people of Bombay? So, they never agreed to a referendum.

Now the question has come because we are a centrally governed area. Many people think, why not have a democratic set-up? It is our misfortune. We have not asked for it. We asked for a bilingual State and that was not given. We asked for a separate State for Bombay which was given but it was the leadership on the other side that exercised its veto. We have a very bad adage in our language which says: "If I am a widow, I should see that you also become a widow". So, they said: "if we do not get it let it go to the devil". That was the position taken by the leaders of Maharashtra. Even when we accepted the position and we thought "let that position be for some time until the people came together."

After making this statement let me make a final appeal to the High Command of the Congress leadership of India and to this House. It is clear that Maharashtra without Bombay is surely a body without a head. I agree with them. It is not that there is any difficulty, but this is not the way of getting it. If you really love Maharashtra, how can you say: "we can be good neighbours but not partners"? If for 200 years you have been partners, then surely it has not become all of a sudden impossible for you to live together. Even for a child there are cases in the divorce courts where the parents consent to live together because the love of a child is so great. If you love Bombay so very greatly, for that love alone I would appeal to you to prepare yourself for a bilingual State. I would appeal to the High Command, if they have got to enforce any unpleasant decision, let it be

a right decision and a nationalist decision. If you give this there is trouble; if you give something else, there is trouble; then, why not give something which you, in your wisdom, think is the right thing to do? Don't be afraid that the Gujerathis will not accept it. Don't be afraid that Maharashtra will not accept it. After all, Gujerathis and Maharatrians are Indians first and ought to be Indians first, and Gujerathis and Maharashtrians afterwards. If the voice of this House can really prevail, we can say "in the larger interests of this country, and for God's sake, please come together and live together so that Bombay can remain your legitimate capital." They can remain together because for 200 years they have remained together.

My friend Shri Feroze Gandhi had a new argument, an argument straight from the Encyclopaedia. He said every city is made from the hinterland. Every school boy knows it.

**Shri Feroze Gandhi:** I had been to the school.

**Shri S. K. Patil:** I had been there long before you had been.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** I will request hon. Members not to settle their issues here.

**Shri S. K. Patil:** We are not settling it between us. Surely every town and every city depends on the hinterland. When the hon. Member Shri Feroze Gandhi talks about the hinterland why should he shut his eyes on the other part of the hinterland. Bombay has to depend upon hinterland. Somebody said that the whole country was the hinterland of Bombay. Surely, there are people who have come from everywhere—from Maharashtra, from Gujerat, from Uttar Pradesh, nearly half a million people reside in Bombay from Uttar Pradesh; half a million from South India; half a million Mussalmans live there; and also half a million refugees live in the city of Bombay. Why should your hinterland be confined to that portion alone which is called Maharashtra? Why not be large-hearted and courageous to say that Bombay has been made by the hinterland, but the hinterland is all round and everywhere, wherever you throw your eyes.

It is not merely to score a debating point that I am saying this. My heart really bleeds. I want Bombay to be in

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Maharashtra, but I also want that Bombay and Maharashtra should be in a greater bilingual or multilingual State. I want both the things together. Am I to ask these few leaders—however great they are, they are leaders of one generation—what right have they to mortgage the future of 35 million people for all time to come? Because I do not like a particular thing. Have I got a right to say that other people and other generations will not like it? Here we are dealing with the fortunes of 35 million people for all time to come. At a time like this we must take courage in both hands and whatever little disparity of temperament there may be, and even though somebody may have some more money and some others less money,—that does not count in a democracy and what counts is heads, hands and the number. So long as Maharashtra has got the number, why should it be afraid of anybody. In the bilingual State of Bombay, Marathi speaking people would be nearly double the Gujarati speaking. Actually the fear should come from Gujaratis. But, we shall be able to tell the Gujaratis, "if you want this child, this Bombay, so pretty, so nice and so prosperous, if you also want to take some part in the rearing of that child, you have got to make a sacrifice and come together." This regional system that is now given to Punjab, Telangana or Hyderabad may be applied even to Gujarat, Maharashtra and the city of Bombay, in any way that you like. Nothing is going to be lost and everything is going to be gained in making India composed of bilingual or multilingual States. Therefore, my appeal to this House and the leadership of the country is that for once let us take courage in our hands. This is going to be a kind of test for us all. It is all right that powerful leadership is in our midst. But when this leadership goes, all these linguistic provinces will become almost independent States. They will quarrel among themselves and fight over little bits of territory here and there. Therefore, that possibility has got to be finished. Nip it in the bud, so that such a fear does not rise again.

My communist friends are there. They are a wonderful species. I have seen think it is a political game for them. are among the Congressmen. The Congressmen are fighting among themselves, but the communists are not. Why? I think it is a political game for them. The Communists know it very well.

They know that they can spread discontent in the States by linguistically dividing them. I have not come across one single communist who has said otherwise. But then, can the communists be a different type of people from the people who are in the Congress Party or the socialist party or the communist party itself for that matter?

Take the socialist party, the great socialist party—another very wonderful organisation. They pass one resolution in the national executive, and another resolution in Maharashtra! They pass a third resolution in Bombay! As a result of it, all the Gujarati members of the socialist party have resigned from the active membership of the party. What is this? I do not understand it. When I see all this, I feel that all this has been the cause of trouble and all this has created the trouble everywhere. So, is it not time that we sit together, forgetting all these things, and apply ourselves to the process of healing, so that the people could come together?

I have not advisedly referred to what has happened in Bombay a few months back—because it was not the business of one community. When once a trouble starts, people of all classes or communities get involved and the trouble grows. So, let us all forget it. Let us be large-hearted to forget it. Let us not think any more about that matter. Let us consider the 200 years in which we have lived together and not the two or three months in which we have quarrelled and sacrificed one another. Let us pledge ourselves for the common good of everybody so that this small and tender plant of our democracy could be properly nursed. Let it take roots in our soil. Let us look forward to the day when everybody in this country would feel that he is an Indian first and everything else afterwards. If ever that stage is to be attained, the only way that it could be attained is not to put so much premium on the linguistic division of the country.

We are too near the events. But we must remember what the historian would write of these events 25 years, 50 years or 100 years hence. When he writes his chapter on the present times and about all the struggles through which we have passed, he will have to comment upon what we are doing today. By doing what we have done now, we have not made a good beginning for that chapter. The historian will not spare us.

Let us, therefore, take time by the forelock and do things in the spirit in which we deserve to be recorded by the historian of the future.

I compliment the people of Telangana, Hyderabad and Punjab. It is a marvellous thing that they have achieved. Their controversies were even bitterer than ours. But they have settled their differences in a manner which every nationalist and patriotic Indian should emulate. Why should we not take a leaf out of their book and decide our matters through the process of co-operation and compromise. That will lead us towards peace and prosperity. So, every one of us should help, by deed, thought and word, the growth of India, so that we could establish a greater and brighter India than the one we inherited.

**Shri Ranjit Singh (Sangrur)** : When the States Reorganisation Bill, 1956, is enacted and implemented on the appointed day, that is, on the 1st October, 1956, all the Part B and Part C States would come to an end. The difference between States and States would exist no longer. There would be 15 States and 5 Union territories in the whole country. PEPSU would be merged in Punjab and the people of PEPSU would be united with a bigger and stronger State.

[SHRIMATI SUSHAMA SEN *in the Chair*]

From the administrative and economic point of view, this new State would be very sound and in the case of any calamity or danger, the people of this new State would be able to face any danger or calamity with full confidence. Our great leaders—Shri Jawaharlal Nehru, Pandit G. B. Pant and Maulana Azad—have acted as wise statesmen in settling the problem of PEPSU and Punjab on democratic principles. The leaders of all political and communal parties were invited and free discussions were held with the leaders and their view-points were fully grasped by the leaders. The Punjab and the PEPSU Governments were also consulted and then a new scheme was evolved. According to this new scheme, the new Punjab would be divided into two zones—one being the Punjabi-speaking zone and other being the Hindi-speaking zone. There would be two regional committees, one for each zone. There would be 14 subjects under the regional committees and any decision or any advice given by these regional committees will be accepted by the Government. In case

of difference of opinion, the matter would be referred to the Governor whose decision would be considered as final. There would be one High Court, one Public Service Commission, one legislature and one Governor. The Governor would be advised or assisted by the council of Ministers. The law and order and finances would be under the Governor. In regard to this new scheme—I do not want to go into the merits of this scheme and say whether it is good or bad—one thing is certain. This new scheme is supported by the majority of the people of PEPSU and Punjab and it has got the backing of the Central Government. Therefore, I appeal to all the people of PEPSU and Punjab, irrespective of caste and creed and religion, and to all the leaders of the political parties, to forget the past controversies and to rise to the occasion and make this new Punjab a happy and prosperous State.

Most of the grievances of the Sikhs or Akalis have been removed by the Government. Now is the right time for them to discard communalism. They should start thinking on non-communal lines. They should join political parties based on economic lines; I would rather advise them to join the Congress Party, which is the leading party in the country and has served the country during the past several years.

**Shri B. D. Pande (Almora Dist.—North-East)** : 70 years.

**Shri Ranjit Singh** : If the Akalis act on this humble advice of mine, I am sure all their difficulties and troubles will vanish and it would be better for them and better for the country and for the Sikhs also.

The people of PEPSU and Punjab want that Patiala should be made the capital of the new State. Patiala no doubt is centrally situated and it has got easy means of communication. During the last ten years Patiala has expanded and more than Rs. 10 crores have been spent for new construction. Chandigarh is a new city which is well planned and well designed. More than Rs. 13 crores have been already spent on the construction of the new capital. 7,500 residential buildings have been constructed during the last four or five years and about 1,50,000 square feet of office accommodation are under construction and will be over within the next 10 or 12 months. If Patiala is not made the capital of

[Shri Ranjit Singh]

Punjab, then the glory of Patiala will fade away and the commerce and trade of the citizens of Patiala would be affected adversely. If the capital cannot be shifted to Patiala, then I would request the Government to keep important offices in Patiala, so that the buildings that are already there may be used and may be saved from being ruined.

Delhi is the leading city of India. The people of Delhi are now enjoying the democratic rights, but now according to this Bill, Delhi will become a Union territory. If the democratic rights are withdrawn from the people of Delhi, it would be a retrograde step. There is no dearth of able people in Delhi who can run the Government. If all the adjoining parts of the country are enjoying full responsible Government, there is no reason why the people of Delhi should not enjoy the same. Sooner or later the Government will have to think over it and satisfy the wishes of the people of Delhi, and the sooner it is done, the better it would be.

**Shri G. H. Deshpande** (Nasik Central): I rise to support the motion for reference of the S.R. Bill to the Joint Committee. I do say that the present Bill is far better in many respects than the S.R.C. proposals. An attempt has been made, and very successfully, to remove much misunderstanding and much dissatisfaction. Now very few problems remain and if we carry on the work with the same spirit, I have no doubt that before we take the final decision, all dissatisfaction will have been wiped off.

I was somewhat sorry to listen to the speech of my worthy friend, Shri S. K. Patil, from Bombay. He talked about the Maharashtrians and their leaders in a very light manner. I was quite surprised to find that there was hundred per cent. agreement between Shri Tulsidas and Shri Patil. That shows how his mind is working. He does not like this idea of language having any predominance. If at all we are going to have a democracy, a successful democracy, I cannot understand how democracy in India can be successful unless and until people have a Government in their own language. That does not mean that we undermine Indian unity. Nobody wants to undermine Indian unity. Redistribution of States on linguistic basis is an old proposition put up by the Congress and I cannot understand how a Congressman of such long standing can speak like that. The Congress is committed to it.

We have been having multilingual States in India like Bombay, Madhya Pradesh, Hyderabad and Madras. The people were not happy in those States. That was why the people of Andhra and Karnataka started an agitation, and that is why the Maharashtrians also have started an agitation. My Gujerati Congress friends can say that they did not start the agitation. I would admit that they did not start the agitation. They are businessmen and they know how to get what they want. They have got people like Shri Tulsidas, Kasturbhai Lalbahai and Purushothamdas Thakurdas; things can be got done very easily by them. People were not happy in these multilingual States and so there was a cry for the redistribution of States on a unilingual basis. The experience of the Congress was there. Ever since the Congress organisation was reconstituted at provincial level on a linguistic basis, it became a mass movement. Before that also, masses were approached, but not effectively. When we approached the masses through their language, it was an effective thing.

There is no doubt that anybody who stands for unilingual States does not want to undermine Indian unity. My friend, Shri Patil, said that he was opposed to the idea of unilingual States and he always had a liking to do so. Ultimately however, the cry for unilingual States was so powerful that the Government had to appoint a Commission. The Commission was appointed and the Commission has gone into the question thoroughly. What are their recommendations? My friend, Shri Patil, said that he had great regard for the members of the Commission. I might differ from the members of the Commission on some points, but I also have very high regard for them. What is their considered opinion? It is that multilingual States are not going on well and a change is necessary. We never said that language alone should be the criterion for redistributing the States. We said that it should be one of the predominant factors. The conclusions of the Commission are that every important Indian language recognised under the Constitution practically is provided with a State. Now, why is there so much dissatisfaction in Maharashtra? I want my hon. friends to understand it and appreciate it. If the S. R. Commission had stuck to certain definite principles, this dissatisfaction would not have been there. They granted a State to every



major language. They had denied that concession to the Maharashtrians. I look at it from the Indian point of view and not from a Maharashtrian point of view. If I come before this House and say that I am entitled to the same treatment as other Indians, is there anything wrong about it? If I say that as the Gujaratis have been brought under one administration, the Maharashtrians also should be brought under one administration, do you mean to say that I am undermining Indian unity? If the U.P. was a unilingual State, and if I say that Maharashtra also should be a unilingual State, how am I undermining Indian unity? If I am given a different treatment, is that not a grievance for which I have a right to fight as an Indian, not as a Maharashtrian? What did the Commission do? They recommended a State for every language. When they came to the Marathi-speaking people, they said, "No, the Marathi-speaking people will not have one State of their own; they will be divided." Unfortunately, two very influential Congressmen in Bombay also supported the S.R.C.'s plea. They said that the S.R.C. proposals are the best for Maharashtra. Every other language-speaking people will be brought under one administration; but the Maharashtrians must be divided. We are being given sermon after sermon on unity and we are asked to remain divided for the sake of national unity. That was rather too much for the patriotic people, the Maharashtrians and they think that they are humiliated and insulted and so the discontent has gone deeper. I am very much thankful to the leaders of the nation. They have realised the situation and they have responded to it. We are much obliged to them. We know that there are difficulties. Certain very influential people in Berar also held a different opinion. I have no grievance against that. They have a right to hold their opinion. Without the help and co-operation of all the leaders, it would not have been possible to have a Maharashtrian State. Much has been done. I cannot say that nothing has been done. Important steps have been taken. Something remains to be done. That should be done. That is my point. Vidarbha has been included in the Maharashtrian State. Now, the Bombay question remains. Why this discontent about this question? My hon. friend Shri S. K. Patil said, "let us have a referendum." He is prepared for that. Has a referendum been resorted to anywhere in India for settling this problem? Why do it

for Bombay alone?

It is not that we are asking for Bombay. My only complaint is this. Let us look at the map of India and see geographically where it lies. Bombay lies in Maharashtra. It is not that I have laid claim to anything which is rightfully not mine. Shri S. K. Patil said, "what is this, I claim this territory, I claim that territory?" The Bombay people, the capitalists in Bombay want to claim Bombay. That is patriotic to friends like Shri Patil. My only claim is this. Have the map before you and carve out a territory for the Marathi-speaking people, because you have done so in other cases. Not that I want any special treatment for my people. It is not that I am linguistic-minded. I only say apply the same principle to the Marathi-speaking people which you have applied to other people. Have the map before you, you say "this is the territory which is contiguous to the Marathi-speaking area." Let us have that for Gujarat also. I agree. If I say, apply the same principle, if I point out that Bombay falls within Maharashtra, if I say that you are depriving me of Bombay, will it be wrong? I am listening to sermon after sermon that if Bombay remains separate, it is not going to Africa. I would say the same thing to my Gujarati friends; "if Bombay goes to Maharashtra, will it go to Africa?" Let us be patriotic, both of us. Bombay lies in Maharashtra. It is an integral part of Maharashtra. That is why I say we have a claim for Bombay. We have a claim for Bombay on the same principles on which you have a claim on Ahmedabad, on which our Bengali friends have a claim on Calcutta. Is not Calcutta a cosmopolitan town? Is not Madras a cosmopolitan town? Is not Hyderabad a cosmopolitan town? I cannot understand any speciality about Bombay. I know that there are minorities in Bombay. Their interests must be protected. We are prepared to go to any length for that purpose. If we say that Bombay should be included in Maharashtra and should not be excluded from Maharashtra, we would say that for Bombay, some consideration should be there, some regional autonomy should be there and the administration of Bombay, as far as possible, should be left to the Bombay people. It is a big city no doubt. That is a big city just as Calcutta is a big city. What is the speciality about Bombay? The only speciality is that Shri S. K. Patil is a citizen of Bombay and not a citizen of Calcutta. I cannot understand any other speciality. Bombay is

[Shri G. H. Deshpande]  
 as cosmopolitan a city as Calcutta. In Calcutta also, there are people speaking so many languages. I have got in Nasik a number of Gujaratis and Hindi-speaking people. In that municipality we run a number of Gujarati schools and Hindi schools. The Gujaratis are in a minority. Three years ago, they elected a Gujarati as the President. There are Gujaratis everywhere in Maharashtra. There are Maharashtrians in Gujarat. The only point is; we should apply the same principle in the re-distribution of States. We must stick to those principles. We must give equal treatment to everybody. As I have said, the present proposals are much better than the S.R.C. proposals. Much of the dissatisfaction has been removed. I have no doubt that the rest will also be removed. I have full faith in the leadership of the Congress and the leadership in India. But, if more time is allowed to elapse, it will not be beneficial. We see our other languages-speaking people. The Gujaratis are happy; our Karnataka friends are happy; our Andhra friends are happy. I share their happiness; but I am not happy to the extent that they are.

Without Bombay, how can we pull on? Without Bombay, how can we prosper? Bombay is the only industrial and commercial town for us. We are behind our Gujarati friends by 100 years in industry, trade and commerce. We also want to enter into that field. If we say that we also want to have prosperity, can anybody blame us? That is why I say that that is our only industrial and commercial centre. You have granted us a Marathi State. We thank you for that. From the bottom of our heart, we thank you for that. Having granted a Marathi State, it is the duty of the Indian leaders to see that the Marathi State will be in a position to prosper properly and on the same footing as the other States. That is why I say that we have no other commercial centre. We have no port. We have a coast-line of over 200 miles; but we have no port. My Gujarati friends have a number of ports. Why deny us this port? Why deny us this urban centre? Fifteen lakhs of Maharashtrians live in Bombay. There are hardly 5 lakhs of Maharashtrians in Poona. That is the biggest urban centre for the Maharashtrians. The biggest employment centre for the Maharashtrians is Bombay. That is our nerve centre. Having granted a Marathi-speaking State, you have simply to concede our demand by giving us Bombay or by not refusing us

Bombay. We have not got any bitterness. You go to Maharashtra and ask any boy of five or six years or 10 years. You may go to any village and ask any child or man in the street. He will tell you that he is suffering under a sense of injustice done to him. Even now, some individuals say that this demand of the Maharashtrians is not a united demand. This is very strange. If this is not a united demand, which else is a united demand? Somebody said that this was all power politics. This was what was said by the Britishers when we asked *Swaraj*. They said, "this is not the demand of the masses; this is the demand of a few people who want power." In the same way we are told that this demand of a unilingual Maharashtra State is the demand of certain politicians. It is not so. The power-seeking politicians will have no place here, because it is the movement of the masses. Go to any village or urban centre in Maharashtra; go to any section of the people. You will find that they are suffering under a sense that a severe injustice has been done to them. That ought to be removed. After all, they form one-tenth of the population. Somehow they are carrying this impression that injustice has been done to them. That sort of a thing ought not to be tolerated and ought not to be prolonged. An attempt has been made very successfully in Andhra, Karnataka and in Punjab and a satisfactory solution has been found out with the co-operation of all. I request this hon. House through you to see, when this Bill goes to the Joint Committee, that a satisfactory solution is found out for this problem also with the co-operation and goodwill of my Gujarati friends and others who are vitally concerned. For, a prosperous Gujarat will be helpful to Maharashtra, and a Maharashtra which is not discontented will be of great help to the Gujaratis also. So, let us be good neighbours, and let us serve each other. And this dissatisfaction which must be removed must be removed with the co-operation of all.

On behalf of all the Maharashtrians, I say that I have got a mandate to fulfil. I have got a mandate from my constituency. I have got a mandate from the region which I represent here that I should place before this House the fact that hundred per cent. people are dissatisfied and are suffering from pangs that injustice has been done. I request this Parliament, I request all the elected members from all over the country, and especially the leaders, to remove this sense of dissatisfaction.

**Shri D. C. Sharma :** This great country, during the last forty years of its existence, has embarked on many hazardous undertakings. I think the reorganisation of States is perhaps the most difficult enterprise on which our country has entered. But just as we have come out of those enterprises with flying colours, likewise, I think that the reorganisation of States will be effected without marring the unity of this country, the solidarity of this country or the harmony of the people of this country. I know there are troubles here and there, some grave, some acute, some temporary, and some of a more abiding nature. But I know that time which is the great healer, and our statesmanship which is wise statesmanship will be able to overcome these troubles and difficulties.

But on the floor of this House, I have been hearing today very powerful pleas made for unilingual States as well as multilingual States. I can assure you that I am myself one of those persons who would opt any day for a multilingual or bilingual State. I hope this kind of experiment would not be given up in free India.

I feel proud to say that Punjab is going to be a State in which bilingualism is going to be nurtured. In spite of what gloomy prophets have said, I am sure that bilingualism will be successful there, and Punjab will set the pattern for the future regrouping of India, if it ever happens in the near future. I would have been very happy if Punjab, PEPSU and Himachal Pradesh had been constituted into one State. The Himachal Pradesh people have not come into this partnership, and I am very unhappy about it. But I hope the day is not far off when Punjab, PEPSU and Himachal Pradesh will form one unit in every sense of the word.

**Shri Velayudhan** (Quilon *cum* Mavelikkara—Reserved—Sch. Castes): Why not be in one single State?

**Shri D. C. Sharma :** I know that we have got to look at this problem not only in the light of our loyalties to our constituencies, not only in the light of our loyalties to our States, and not only in the light of our loyalties to the country, but also in the light of the context of events that are taking place all over the world.

The Home Minister, while moving his motion had said that there was a talk of *jeihad* in a neighbouring country, and

that they were saying that they wanted Junagadh, they wanted Hyderabad to be free, and they were saying in this way all kinds of things. They were giving a challenge to us. I would say that if those threats are to be met, if those challenges are to be met, then bilingual or multilingual States will be much more helpful than any other.

One hon. Member had put forward three yard-sticks in this connection. The first is that this problem should be judged in the light of one's constituency. I represent the constituencies of fourteen MLA's, and I would like to say that almost all of them have supported the idea of this bilingual State. They have only asked for a little clarification here and there, but by and large, they have supported it. If I am to judge it in the light of the State to which I belong, I would say that the members of the Punjab Legislative Assembly and Punjab Legislative Council have supported this, and I think they have done the right thing. If I am to judge the issue in the light of the members of PEPSU, I think they have behaved most admirably, and they have also supported it and praised it. I would therefore say that judging it in the light of all these things, I am emboldened to say that the right thing has been done so far as Punjab is concerned. And I hope that the some clarifications in regard to which the Home Minister is getting letters from here and there would be done with the utmost speed, and there would be no trouble.

I was saying that this scheme has been welcomed by and large. Of course, there are some persons who do not agree with it. Well, in a democracy, you do not always have cent. per cent. unanimity, and there are always persons who are at cross purposes with one another. But there is no forgetting the fact that the healing touch about which our Prime Minister spoke, and about which some of the leaders of the Sikh community have been speaking, and about which some of the leaders of the Hindu have been speaking, would be brought to bear on this problem, and that the new State of Punjab will be a prosperous and happy State.

Hon. Members have been talking about cultural considerations, linguistic considerations, economic considerations, administrative considerations and so on. They have said that there should be a rational distribution of the States. If you

[Shri D. C. Sharma]

take all these considerations into account, you will find that the most rational decisions have been taken in the case of Punjab.

Now, what is PEPSU, what is Punjab, and what is Himachal Pradesh? I belong to a constituency which touches on one side PEPSU and on the other Himachal Pradesh. My constituency passes imperceptibly into PEPSU, and my constituency passes imperceptibly into Himachal Pradesh. The States of Himachal Pradesh and Punjab and PEPSU are so interlinked that it would be a right thing to integrate them. That integration is bound to grow. Of course, Punjab and PEPSU have been integrated now. But the other integration, namely, the integration with Himachal Pradesh will come sooner or later, because Himachal Pradesh cannot stay in isolation for a long time to come. It will be up to us, the people of the Punjab and PEPSU, to convince the people of Himachal Pradesh that we can be good neighbours and also good partners and that we can build up the New Punjab which is the desire of all of us.

Now, I want to say that there are certain difficulties. To deal with those difficulties, Regional Councils are to be formed. I am told that the Regional Councils consist only of the Members of the Assemblies. I would ask the hon. Minister in charge of this Bill to see to it that these Regional Councils are so constituted that the Members of the Council and Members of the Assemblies and Members of Parliament have some say in the matter, so that these Regional Councils are made as broad-based as possible.

Again, so far as decentralisation, to which an hon. Member referred, is concerned, I think this should be attempted in an integrated State like this. I would say that Chandigarh should continue to be the capital of Punjab because we have been cherishing that idea for a long time. I would also say that Patiala should have its rightful place in the economy of the new State. Patiala should not suffer in any way. It should be the centre of certain offices and other things. I would go even so far as to say that at present my town of Hoshiarpur is the headquarters, more or less, of the teaching department of a University, and that teaching departments of that University should continue there.

Again, I want to suggest that we should avoid all kinds of regionalism and we should not try to destroy that spirit of unity which is going to pervade this country. I believe that so far as the administration is concerned, at least 50 per cent. of the persons who are administering a State should come from outside the State. At the same time, I would say that the Judges who are to form the High Courts should not all belong to the same State. At a least, one-third of them should come from outside.

I would also say that due emphasis should be placed on the development of languages. I do not understand the controversy between Hindi and Punjabi. I believe Hindi and Punjabi are two sisters and they come of the same mother, which is the Sanskrit language. One language has travelled in one way and another language has travelled in a different way. But that does not mean that they have travelled along rival lines. Hindi and Punjabi should continue to develop side by side with each other. While Hindi should be given its proper place, Punjabi should also be developed. And I can assure you that so far as Punjab University is concerned, we have been doing our best so far as the development of Punjabi is concerned.

I cannot understand one thing. The second chambers, which are proposed to be formed, are an anachronism. They are a reminder of a society which is not in accordance with the socialist pattern of society. The second chambers represent feudal interests, the interests of the aristocracy and the interests of those persons who do not form a part of the living stream of life. Therefore, I would say that second chambers should be abolished. There should be only one chamber or one House of the people, and there the duly elected representatives of the people should sit and deliberate and take decisions.

I welcome this Bill, and I would say that so far as the backward area of my constituency is concerned, it should be given particular care so that its development proceeds as satisfactorily as the development of those areas which are more fortunate and more progressive.

**Dr. Rama Rao :** May I make a submission? I have sent my name and I am standing from 11-30. No Member from the communist benches has been called.

**Mr. Chairman :** His name is on the list. After this hon. Member, he will be called.

**Dr. Rama Rao :** I am sorry I was misled.

**Lala Achint Ram (Hissar) :** I was given word by the Speaker that I shall be called. I am waiting.

**Shri Khardekar (Kolhapur cum Satar) :** Madam Chairman, I listened to the speech of Shri Patil which was very powerful and also very interesting. It was a first-rate exhibition of mob oratory. He thundered and thundered like the clouds; roared and roared like the lion has given place to the squeaking of his speech, I think, the roaring of the lion has given place to the squeaking of the rabbit. He has climbed down completely and he has actually conceded Maharashtra and all that Maharashtra had asked for. I entirely accept what he says, as far as I am concerned,—bilingual State of Maharashtra and Gujerat of all the Maharashtra and the Gujeratis. But, I fail to understand his argument in favour of bilingual States restricted entirely or mainly to Maharashtra and Gujerat. He thinks that unilingual States give rise to narrowness and parochialism. I, for one, would prefer the narrowness and parochialism of Pandit Pant and Shri Nehru to the broad-minded and cosmopolitan views of the Chief Minister of Bombay and Shri S. K. Patil.

As far as I am concerned, I believe in world citizenship and universal brotherhood and I am one of those few who most anxiously look forward to that far-off divine end to which the whole creation moves, the brotherhood of man and the Parliament of Nations. I have always pleaded for the elimination of the nation as a military and political unit and for the continuance of the nation as a cultural unit. But, as long as nations continue to be as they are, justice must be done between them. Each one of them must be free to develop to its fullest stature.

Similarly, when a nation, having federation, wants to reorganise the different units, then, reorganisation and distribution must be done on definite principles based on certain fundamentals. This must be done with strict impartiality and in a just manner.

Let me give one homely example. Now, I am an admirer of the joint Hindu family system. It has definite advantages.

But, when brother starts quarrelling with brother and the wives of the brothers start pulling the hair of each other, I think, it is better to have a separation, to have a partition in the family. And, instead of going to the court, it is much better to go to an elder, say, an uncle. In this redistribution of States, these brothers, all of us, have to be guided and actually ruled by the elders. Unfortunately, it seems, our uncles like almost all the nephews but they seem to dislike one nephew without giving any reason, for some prejudice or the other. May be, the others are richer nephews and may be this nephew is poor but has a little more self-respect than people like. In a homely manner, I say to these uncles that we, as poor members of your family, feel that you have been unjust to us and, therefore, we have a just grievance, and we request you to redress that grievance. It may sound surprising that persons who not only try, but try in some effective manner, to distribute or do justice to the whole world, should be neglectful, in a certain sense, of their duty to an unfortunate member of their own family. It is surprising, and to us, very shocking and very painful.

5 P.M.

In morals, moral values are not estimated in terms of quantity or quantitatively. Right from the Prime Minister—I will not say down to—Shri Shriman Narayan and Shri S. K. Patil down to Shri Tulsidas, everybody has been talking about patriotism, nationalism, national unity and so on. I have only to say this humbly, though it may appear to be a little proud statement, that we Maharashtrians, the descendants of Shivaji and Lokamanya Tilak, do not require any lessons from anybody on patriotism and national unity. Surprising that Shri Tulsidas should talk about the feeling or the preparation that is going on beyond the border, and even when we carry on this struggle—of satyagraha—Whether it is right or wrong, I can say not only on my behalf but also on behalf of all Maharashtrians, because I know them, that, God forbid, if there is a war tomorrow between India and Pakistan, who will fight?—the Maharashtrians, the Sikhs and other brave people; Khardekar, Hukum Singhs, S. N. Das's and so on; we will give our life; we will give our blood; not Tulsidas's, G. D. Soman's and Morarka's. In the history of the world, not only in India, whenever there is a great crisis or war, these businessmen, these capitalists,

[Shri Khardekar] these vampires, have always exploited and turned all national or world crises into opportunities for amassing more and more wealth.

**Shri N. M. Lingam (Coimbatore):** What will they do if there is conscription?

**Shri Khardekar:** They will manage and they know how to grease the hands of the officers.

We might have committed certain blunders and so on. Hold an enquiry. I will come to that point if time is available.

Along with the Sikhs and some other brave people, we are a national asset. Do not damn us and condemn us unjustly. What surprises me most is that a great man, who has glimpses of the world and writes world history, should not know a poor part of his own country and the manner and the spirit of those people. Our quarrel is not with the Gujaratis; our homely quarrel with our elders is that we are poor and you are neglecting us all the more. Why are there these sermons on nationalism, national unity and so on? It seems to me that perhaps the greatest man of the world is occupied so much with us, poor people. Why? It seems that Maharashtra almost haunts him and taunts him. It is the conscience that pricks him. However, great you may be, if you do a little wrong, may be even to a dog, you will find, if you are a conscientious man,—and a great man he is—that your own conscience pricks you. I do not want to insinuate. Is it the damage that is possible, damage to the prestige in the world? On this issue, let alone the foreign Press that has always been condemning our nation and our leader; on this Maharashtra issue and Bombay issue, those who have been admirers have clearly stated that there is something wrong in the attitude taken up by the Government of India.

Now, the remedy is very simple. A simple problem can be solved in a straight forward manner. I hear my Congress friends telling us that it is the High Command that does not want it now. But it is a question of prestige. They, as a Government, are descendants of a foreign ruler. They talk in this manner. It was all right. The question of prestige, where a foreigner was concerned against a foreigner; may be excused. But, here, who are the people? Your own kith and

kin, your own people. You are confusing issues of reason with questions of prestige. Your prestige will go high if you know when and how to deliver the goods properly.

It seems to me that matters have come to this. If we can go down on our knees and beg everything will be all right. Let me say, as I said early, that this child is a self-respecting one. Only spineless men will be ready to go on their knees.

न भीतो मरणादस्मी केवलं दूषितं यथाः।  
संभावितस्य चाकीर्ति मरणादतिरिच्यते

We want what is ours as a matter of right, not as a matter of favour or charity.

Shri Patil has said that this is our land and that is our land and that India has nothing. What undiluted nonsense? India is here. We are India. India belongs to us and to nobody else. India belongs to everybody here. Within that, of course, there has to be this partition and so on.

By those who matter most, I think it is conceded, that Bombay is part of Maharashtra geographically and naturally. Thank God, even great men cannot change the geography of a place? The SRC felt that Maharashtra could have Bombay, in fact, should have Bombay but because of the apprehensions in the minds of some people, it should not be done. Who are these 'some people'? A few handful. There is also the talk of the socialist pattern of society? Side by side, there is the mortgage of a city like Bombay to a handful of capitalists! What does the Prime Minister, Shri Nehru, say? Bombay is part of Maharashtra and may go to Maharashtra. How is this 'may' to be interpreted? Is it that 'may' means that in the future it will go to Bombay? Or does it mean that it may or may not go?

नरोवा कुजरोवा

I can understand such vague words they might suit a crafty politician. But, it ill becomes a leader, a great national leader—almost a world leader—of the stature of Shri Jawaharlal Nehru. Once, regarding the decision of the Government, the Prime Minister said that it was final and irrevocable. After some time, he said that there was nothing final and changes could be made. These changing and variable statements lead me to say that the statements of our beloved Prime Minister are more variable and enigmatic than even the smile of Monaliza.

Let me come to the Chief Minister of Bombay. His speech is very interesting. It provides good material for research scholars. He creates a new history of Bombay. I thought he was a man endowed with executive capacity but I find he is a man of very wide imagination and inventive faculties. He gives to airy nothing a local habitation and a name. Who could do that? Shakespeare says: A lover, a poet and a lunatic. The Chief Minister is too old to be a lover. He must either be a poet or the third.

**Mr. Chairman:** As there are many hon. Members still to speak, I request the hon. Member to be brief and finish.

**Shri Khardekar:** I will just come to the important point. It seems to me that certain great men like my friend, Shri S. K. Patil of Bombay—a Maharashtra—have either misinformed or have poisoned the ears of the Prime Minister. I do not know—I am subject to correction. He called the Bombay people as *goondas*. It is not pot calling the kettle black. It is something like a black calling something white, black. There was good humour in it. Shri S. K. Patil, who is popularly known as the *Dada* of Bombay, was the uncrowned king of Bombay and the crowned king of the *Goondas*. That he should condemn all Bombay people, passes my comprehension.

**Shri Feroze Gandhi:** Mr. Chairman, is it proper to say "king of Goondas"?

**Mr. Chairman:** He should withdraw that expression.

**Pandit K. C. Sharma** (Meerut Distt.—South): That should be expunged.

**Shri Khardekar:** I withdraw that expression, though I am an admirer of Shri S. K. Patil.

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

**Shri Khardekar:** One more minute and I will finish. For the disturbances, Bombay is being punished. An enquiry is necessary. You become the prosecution accuser. We are the accused. You declare us to be criminals and you punish us. As apostles of peace and non-violence, as followers of Gandhi and as disciples of Buddha you massacre your own people and under the pretext of healing up wounds,—I am referring this to the Chief Minister of Bombay—you have not the decency even to allow an enquiry.

**Dr. Rama Rao:** Mr. Chairman, our friend Shri G. H. Deshpande has just now said that we, Andhras, Karnatakas and the Malayalees, have a reason to be happy. No doubt, we have every reason to be happy, but as firm believers in Organisation of linguistic States our happiness is very much clouded by this impending disaster to Maharashtra. This is a preventable injustice to Maharashtra, which I would most earnestly appeal to the hon. Home Minister and the Prime Minister to avoid.

This is very critical time. This is a very important period. In the next two or three weeks we are either to prevent a great blunder or commit a most unfortunate injustice to nearly 30 million Maharashtrians. There are many problems on which I want to speak, but all of them become minor, very insignificant as compared to this great blunder the Government is going to commit if they follow the present decision. It has been conceded practically by everybody, and chiefly by the Prime Minister, that Bombay is a part and parcel of Maharashtra. Therefore, it is not necessary for me to argue on that. But I want to appeal to our Congress friends—after all, in the ultimate analysis it is they who have to decide the issue; we can only speak most earnestly and most vehemently—to see that our leaders do not commit this great blunder. It is for them, if not in this House at least in their private meetings, to assert that Bombay should be unquestionably and unhesitatingly included in Maharashtra.

What is the reason for excluding Bombay from Maharashtra? Why should you treat the great city of Bombay as a juvenile offender under your care and under your thumb? Is it such an insignificant and a mistaken city? It is a great insult to Bombay city to treat it as a juvenile offender. Why prevent Maharashtra from having its rightful claim on this great city? What is the objection that the Gujeratis have? I want to assure my Congress friends from other parts of India that the Gujeratis have no claim on Bombay city and they have never claimed it. The majority of the Gujeratis have no objection to Bombay going to Maharashtra. Certain vested interests, a few of them, and their spokesmen like the Chief Minister of Bombay and our great democrat Shri S. K. Patil, do not want Bombay city to go to Maharashtra. Our democrat, Shri S. K. Patil, wants to have Bombay city as his private zamindary. That is why he does not want it

[Dr. Rama Rao]

to go to Maharashtra and he uses all his rhetoric to prevent it from going to Maharashtra. Therefore, it is a very serious situation. Are we to create enthusiasm among the people for the reconstruction of the country, to make our Second Five Year Plan a success, or are we to commit them to a sense of frustration and a sense of anxiety and struggle? Are we to compel them to carry on the struggle which they will not give up till they get Bombay city? Therefore, I request the hon. Home Minister, who is a veteran in the field of struggle for national independence, to consider this very seriously. Is it proper to offend a handful of people like Shri S. K. Patil and Shri Morarji Desai and a few capitalists with vested interests, or, is it proper to disappoint not only 30 millions of Maharashtrians but the whole of India who believe strongly in the organisation of linguistic States? It is not a question of Maharashtra. It is a question of insult to this Parliament. Are we to commit this great blunder, this great injustice, on the Maharashtrian people? I cannot take any consolation from the fact that we, the communist party, have staunchly and firmly stated that Bombay should go to Maharashtra. If this Bill is passed as it is and if this injustice is done, we, as Members of Parliament, should hang our heads in shame, as we, with our own hands, are doing this great injustice to a great people. Therefore, in all sincerity, I appeal to the House, not as a Member of the Opposition but as a Member of Parliament, as a citizen of India, and I appeal especially to the Congress Members from the other States, to assert themselves and correct the leaders who are committing this mistake. We will be failing in our duty to the leaders themselves if we do not correct this mistake in time. This *khushamad* and *jo hukam* business is detrimental not only to the States but it is an insult and injustice to our leaders themselves.

Our friend Shri S. K. Patil has objected to praising our leaders without following them. We certainly should follow the leaders as long as they are correct and if they are wrong, as they are in this instance, it is our bounden duty and our proud privilege to point out to them their mistakes and correct them.

Shri Patil has been pleased to say that the communists are playing the political game. Many things, as usual, have been said about the communists. They charge us with many things. But nobody has

charged us with chauvinism. If anything, we are internationalists. But even internationalism must be based on something solid and substantial. We base it on the fundamental principle that the people must have their Government run in the mother-tongue, and that is why we have been consistently fighting for the formation of linguistic States. We are glad that today that principle has been accepted. But Government show by their actions that they are behaving like an unwilling school boy who is being pushed to the school. It is evident from every page of this Bill. Therefore, I request the hon. Home Minister, who is a veteran in this field, to consider and take a bold and firm step. It is better to displease a handful of vested interests and a handful of their spokesmen than do a great injustice to a great people.

In this connection, I must pay my cordial tribute to the Hyderabad Assembly. It has the great distinction of being the only Assembly in the whole country to pass a sensible resolution, demanding that the Bombay city be included in Maharashtra. I am sorry that the hon. Home Minister, the other day, gave the interpretation that it was due to the absence of certain members. He put the question: "How do you know they would vote for this if they were present?" If that is the attitude that he takes, I am very sorry that he could never understand the situation. It is like playing tunes to the deaf and the blind. Those Congress members were absent from the Assembly because, in view of the Congress discipline, they did not want to vote against it. So, it is very clear. Let us not try to argue it legalistically. It is clear as daylight that those Congress members were certainly in favour of Bombay city being included in Maharashtra. All the Maharashtrians, of all parties and of all groups, as our friend Shri G. H. Deshpande just now mentioned, are unanimous on this issue. Of course, the presentation might have been different. Some people may be afraid of the Congress. Some people may try to please the Home Minister or the Prime Minister by kowtowing; but, they are doing a great injustice not only to themselves and to the Maharashtrian people, but also to the leaders. Unfortunately, this has always been a weakness of our Prime Minister. As far as linguistic States are concerned, it is a blind-spot for him and he does not understand. Therefore, I request our friends to think coolly and come out boldly to correct our leaders.



In this morning's newspapers there is a news item to the effect that the hon. Finance Minister has tendered his resignation on this issue. I want to pay my unqualified tributes to Shri C. D. Deshmukh, of course not as a Member of the Opposition trying to create differences between Ministers, which we cannot do. Several times he has taken decisions and acted on such issues and he himself feels so strongly in this matter. Every Maharashtrian, every democratic Indian, ought to feel like that and take firm steps. This is the time for it; if three weeks pass and if this Bill is enacted, it will be too late. Therefore, I appeal to all Members—particularly Congress Members—to speak out openly at least within their own meetings, act firmly and see that this injustice is not done. If I may say so, we should see that Bombay shall belong to Maharashtra.

There are many other things, which are comparatively insignificant, but still I would mention one or two points. Regarding legislative councils, I would submit that legislative councils are places for distribution of patronage. As far as our Visalandhra is concerned, though the Bill does not mention it, both the Andhra Assembly and the Hyderabad Assembly ask for a legislative council. I would appeal to the hon. Home Minister and the other senior Congressmen not to encourage this sort of jobbery. They should not encourage places which are meant for distribution of patronage. We know that this is an imitation of the House of Lords. There is absolutely no need for legislative councils. Upper Houses were instituted to block the progress and as far as our democratic set-up is concerned, these councils with very limited representation have absolutely no place. They are a waste of money and time and they are meant only for patronage. I request the hon. Home Minister to take a firm stand on this and to see that there are no legislative councils at all, or at least not to create new councils, especially as far as Visalandhra is concerned.

Lastly, I would like to point out that the Bill does not provide for any boundary commission. There are many boundary disputes relating to contiguity, majority, etc. and they must be referred to a boundary commission. If a boundary commission is set up, many of these disputes can be solved.

5—95 L. S.

The new State is to be known as Andhra-Telengana. Some have proposed the name Andhra Pradesh. Personally, I would prefer the simple name Andhra. But, it is for the Telengana members to decide it. I leave it to them to have a sensible name, and as I said, I prefer the simple historical name, Andhra. The same applies to Karnataka also. Karnataka is the correct rational name; I do not know why they want to stick to the old name, Mysore. However, it is for them to decide. As an Indian and as a believer in linguistic States, I consider Karnataka to be a suitable name.

Before I conclude, I once more appeal with all the earnestness at my command to the hon. Leader of the House to see that this injustice is not done to Maharashtra. With Bombay included in Maharashtra, let us proceed with the reconstruction of our country and with our Second Five Year Plan.

**Dr. S. N. Sinha:** Madam Chairman, . .

**Mr. Chairman:** The hon. Member will confine himself to five minutes.

**Dr. S. N. Sinha:** Tomorrow I will continue.

Naturally, today, most of the fire of the Lok Sabha has been concentrated on the problem of Bombay. I would also like to have my say on the subject. But, since you are in the Chair, I remember my own eastern zone and perhaps you will allow me to say a few words on the zone from which you yourself come, because, none of the Members from that zone and from that State has spoken, and something has been said yesterday which needs a little rectification.

**Mr. Chairman:** That zone is not being considered now.

**Dr. S. N. Sinha:** No. It is but a cursory glance that I will make. Mainly I will speak on Bombay.

For quite some time past, I have refrained from taking any cognisance of statements made by a particular group in this Lok Sabha and also some individuals. But, casually yesterday when I heard the great Professor of slandering vocabulary (*Some Hon. Members: What?*)—I will say, if you are not ageing to this—That living dictionary of scandalous vocabulary—I will put it that way if you like— . . .

**Shri Velayudhan:** Is this parliamentary?

**Dr. S. N. Sinha:** He is not here; perhaps if he comes tomorrow, I will repeat some new adjectives; today this is enough—I was not amazed that the paraneurosis of the group is on the increase. Naturally it is on the increase. It is quite natural because a very famous doctor in Calcutta, of world fame, is administering a very strong mixture of the merger question. That has alarmed this group. What a bad time has he chosen? At a time when the Cominform has been liquidated, their last resort, their last support, he is administering such a strong mixture. That has set them so mad....

**Shri Nambiar:** What is the connection?

**Dr. S. N. Sinha:** . . . that they have become real candidates for a mental hospital. If in confidence my hon. friends want to know the real reason for the merger, I will say that Dr. Bidan Chandra Roy thought that for the Calcutta communists there is perhaps no mental home in Calcutta and so he made an arrangement with Bihar so that he can put them at Ranchi.

**Shri Sadhan Gupta** (Calcutta—South-East): Do you want our company there?

**Dr. S. N. Sinha:** Here I remember one thing. When Comrade Khrushchev came to our country—I know Comrade Khrushchev more than hon. Members do and I have a right to interpret him because I was his interpreter in Delhi last

winter—he said one very important thing and we can also connect it with the role of the Communist Party. He said that bad communists cannot go with the good Congress line, it is impossible for them. He also said a proverb, a Russian proverb which we also repeat sometimes in our own country. It is like this: A man goes—A hundred political dogs bark.

**Shri Kamath:** Russian first.

**Dr. S. N. Sinha:** Winds blow and the howling sound of these dogs are heard in Calcutta and Bombay. But, the man Pandit G. B. Pant goes further and further with his Bill. that is what I will interpret. If you want to hear in Russian, I can tell you the same thing.

**Some Hon. Members:** Yes.

**Dr. S. N. Sinha:** You are interested in hearing Russian. I can imagine that, because it is very interesting. The Russian sentence is this:

JA RASKAZU VAM RUSSKIE  
NARODNUYU PESLOVICHU :

VETER VIOT—SOBAKE LAET  
SOBAKE LAET—VETER NOSIT.

So, with their interruptions, my hon. friends will continue tomorrow, and I shall also continue my speech.

5-30 P.M.

*The Lok Sabha then adjourned till Half Past Ten of the Clock on Wednesday 25th April, 1956.*