

(b) The State Governments of Uttar Pradesh and Madras have so far expressed their willingness to participate in the scheme.

PAPER LAID ON THE TABLE

REPORT OF THE PLANTATION INQUIRY COMMISSION (1956) ON TEA

THE MINISTER FOR COMMERCE AND INDUSTRY AND IRON AND STEEL (SHRI T. T. KRISHNAMACHARI): Sir, on behalf of my colleague, Shri Kanungo, I beg to lay on the Table a copy of the Report of the Plantation Inquiry Commission (1956) on Tea. [Placed in Library. See No. S-358/56.]

THE BIHAR AND WEST BENGAL (TRANSFER OF TERRITORIES) BILL, 1956—continued

THE MINISTER IN THE MINISTRY OF HOME AFFAIRS (SHRI B. N. DATAR): Mr. Chairman, in the course of the debate, which sometimes became a bit stormy also, two points of view were placed before the House and they were mutually destructive of each other to a large extent, or at least mutually contradictory. On the one hand, we had the claim made by hon. Members from Bihar that no part, not even a small part of any area, should be given to Bengal because they stated that thereby the economy of Bihar would be seriously affected. On the other hand, we had the case of West Bengal. So far as West Bengal is concerned, as it has been often pointed out, West Bengal has to be treated with a considerable amount of sympathy because of the difficulties that naturally they have gone through. I would not, like my hon. friend, Dr. Mookerji, like to go into the early history because that early history is not necessarily very relevant but I would like to point out to him that so far as the partition of 1911 was concerned, he ought not to complain. What was done in 1911-12 was that the partition that had been effected between East Bengal and West Bengal as they were then called, was annulled, but simultaneously, we have also to understand, the areas comprised in the Bihar as well as in Orissa were taken away and they were together formed into a separate State. Now, my hon. friend, Dr. Mookerji, cannot complain that thereby the area was reduced. When,

for example, Bengal was to be united Bengal alone could be united and Bihar, Bengal and Orissa which had been put together on account of certain administrative reasons by the then British Government naturally had to be taken into account. So Bengal ought not to complain that certain areas were taken out because those areas were not legitimately parts of Bengal. Yesterday, my hon. friend complained that from 1,80,000 sq. miles Bengal was reduced to 30,000 sq. miles. Now, it is true that Bengal has suffered very much but not on account of the partition of 1912 when actually the two portions of Bengal were rightly united but on account of the partition between India and Pakistan, Bengal was the State that naturally suffered most. In particular it might be noted that the communications system within the present State of West Bengal was to a very large extent disrupted. Naturally West Bengal had its own problems like the problem of the continuous influx of refugees. This figure has been roughly put down at 35 lakhs, and even now we are having a constant influx of refugees from East Bengal.

DR. W. S. BARLINGAY (Madhya Pradesh): May I ask a question? I want to ask the hon. Minister as to whether there is a single Bihari friend who has supported Bengal's case and a single Bengali friend who has supported Bihar's case.

SHRI B. N. DATAR: That itself is my difficulty. This question is approached by the Biharis naturally from the Bihar point of view and by the Bengalis from the Bengal point of view with this difference that we have to admit the fact that Bihar has lost some territory as a result of this Bill. That fact is entitled to be taken into account with a considerable measure of sympathy so far as Bihar is concerned. So far as Bengal is concerned, Bengal has got a considerable area, though for a number of reasons not what it had wanted, but still the fact remains that Bengal has got a considerable area and as the Joint Select Committee have pointed out in their report, this was given to them by way of a lasting solution. Let us not again talk of getting any more by further agitation or by further moves, and the Joint Select Committee themselves have stated that in view of the peculiar difficulties of Bengal some lasting solution has to be found, and a lasting solution has been found in this Bill after taking into account the recommenda-

[Shri B. N. Datar.]
 of the States Reorganisation Commission. Then, Sir, so far as Bengal is concerned, I should like to point out certain circumstances with a view to meeting misconceptions that are often entertained in this respect. Regarding the two portions, either the southern portion or the northern portion, they are given to Bengal not on account of linguistic affiliations. The question of linguistic affiliation does not arise in this case at all as I shall point out later on. The portion in the north was given to Bengal for the purpose of having what can be called geographical contiguity so that all the districts in the State should be united with each other, should be contiguous to each other. Therefore, Sir, in all these cases, either in respect of the northern portion or in respect of the southern portion, what weighed with the States Reorganisation Commission and what has weighed with the Government is the need on administrative grounds for the transfer of certain area. In regard to the northern portion, as I have pointed out, there was great difficulty, there was great isolation to a certain extent between the three northern districts and the remaining ten districts so far as West Bengal was concerned.

DR. W. S. BARLINGAY: On a point of clarification.

SHRI B. N. DATAR: Let the hon. Member ask questions of clarification afterwards.

DR. W. S. BARLINGAY: That will only clarify your position.

SHRI B. N. DATAR: But it will naturally break the thread of my argument.

MR. CHAIRMAN: That is quite right. You proceed.

SHRI B. N. DATAR: After I finish let the hon. Member ask any question. I am prepared to answer. In this particular case so far as the northern portion is concerned, there the question of linguistic affiliation would not arise under any circumstances at all. Even for the sake of argument if we take into account the Kurmi language or the Kotha language, that would just add a small percentage to the Bengali population, and I would point out to this hon. House that the whole of the Kishanganj area has not been given away. In the Kishan-

ganj area Hindi is spoken by 96.2 per cent. of the people and Bengali is spoken by 3.1 per cent. About santhalis and others we are not concerned. Even if the Kurmi dialect or the Kotha dialect is taken into account—and they are supposed to be of Bengali origin or allied to Bengali—that would not materially increase the number of Bengali population in this northern portion, namely the Kishanganj portion. Therefore, Sir, we have to understand quite clearly, and I am appealing to my Bengali friends to understand it clearly, that so far as linguistic affiliations are concerned they need not be taken into account because they were not a point in their favour at all in considering this Kishanganj area. So naturally this matter was looked at on administrative grounds, on grounds of administrative inconvenience caused by want of geographical contiguity. That is the reason why so far as the northern portion is concerned the three considerations which weighed with the Government and the State Reorganisation Commission were other than linguistic or cultural. Therefore, I would submit to this House that though originally it was considered that the Mahananda river should be the border line, though it was subsequently suggested by some hon. Members that the Mechi river should form the border between the portion to be given to Bengal and the portion to be retained in Bihar, it was considered that after all when it was not a question of linguistic affiliation at all, then it was a question of merely making it convenient for West Bengal to be united geographically with the upper and northern portion.

Then, Sir, we have to take this fact into account that the minimum area that is necessary should be given. The States Reorganisation Commission have stated in their report that in this case we have to take into account one most important consideration, namely that the economy of Bihar should not be affected by reason of any territory that was going to be transferred under their recommendations to West Bengal. Therefore, though this Mahananda river was proposed as the boundary in one case and though in another case some hon. Members suggested that the river Mechi should be the boundary line, ultimately Government considered that it would be better to reduce this area to a certain extent with a view to meet the legitimate objection of the Bihar people. Therefore, what was done was, as the House is aware

we took into account as the boundary line not the Mahananda river, for the Mechi river, but the National Highway in order that it would be more convenient for Bengal to carry on its administration. It was stated that a belt of 200 yards was to be left open. If, for example, this belt comes across certain villages or places like Kishanganj, etc., that area has to be deducted to that extent. Therefore, this belt of 200 yards was given for the purpose of merely having something more than merely the National Highway as the boundary. For the purpose of facility of administration this was given.

So, Sir, so far as the northern portion is concerned, hon. Members of Bihar will understand kindly that we have brought down to the minimum the area that has to be given to West Bengal from this Kishanganj area. West Bengal also will have to understand that in this particular case their claim was not founded on any linguistic or cultural considerations but was founded entirely on administrative reasons or on the overriding reason of geographical contiguity. Therefore, Sir, I would request the hon. Members from the two adjoining States to reconcile themselves to this position that on account of the peculiar difficulties of Bengal which were created by the partition between India and Pakistan, this belt had to be given, and I would appeal to Bihar Members to treat this matter not as one of any partition between Bengal and Bihar nor as one of any particular area given arbitrarily to Bengal but as one done on account, as I stated, of overriding considerations. I am happy to note that this time my hon. friends from Bihar have spoken with a very large amount of restraint so far as their claims are concerned, and I sympathise with them and I congratulate them on the great self-restraint that they have shown on this question.

Coming now to Purulia sub-division, I would point out to my hon. friends from West Bengal that even here the linguistic affiliations or the cultural conditions or requirements are not present at all. Let us understand that very clearly. Let me give the figures, 1951 figures—I am not relying upon 1955 or 1956 sortings. It is true that these two figures differ in material particulars. Whatever might be the reasons I have given the reasons why these enumerations were entirely different, but I am prepared for the time being to go in favour of

West Bengal and not to take into account the figures that have been obtained as a result of this resorting.

12 Noon

Let me take the 1951 figures, Sir. So far as the 1951 figures are concerned, when objections are raised from both the sides, then broadly we might agree that the conclusion is correct, but when there are objections only from one side, then there is something to be said. And when there are objections from both the sides, then as a broad principle, I would submit that these objections neutralise each other. And let us take into account the figures as they are.

Now, Sir, Banbhum consists of two portions. The northern portion is about one-third and the other is two-thirds. That is known as Manbhum Sadar, or popularly it is called Purulia sub-division. This Purulia sub-division is the portion now under controversy. So far as the northern portion is concerned in which Dhanbad is situated, there is no dispute. That portion has got to remain in Bihar, because there the Bihari population is extremely large and the Bengali population is not so large at all. Now let us take into account the sub-division of Purulia. Before we make a linguistic approach to this question, it may very kindly be understood that the States Reorganisation Commission has laid down a criterion which has been generally accepted whenever such a question is to be taken into account. The Commission has stated in its Report that ordinarily an area in a particular State should not be removed therefrom except when that area exceeds at least the limits of a taluk. That is point number one. The second point has been laid down in the Report is that in such a case, in addition to the requirement of a taluk as the minimum area for transfer, the linguistic composition also should be such that the new State to which a portion in the existing State is sought to be transferred should have a population of at least 70 per cent., so far as the new population is concerned. Now if these two criteria are taken into account, I would submit, so far as my hon. friends from West Bengal are concerned, that both these criteria are absolutely absent, even in the case of Purulia. In the course of the debate yesterday I found that a number of hon. Members started with the assumption that so far as the Purulia area was concerned, West Bengal's case was very strong, because the Bengali

[Shri B. N. Datar.] population in this area was overwhelmingly great. That was the impression that was left on my mind by hearing the hon. Members from Bengal and elsewhere, so far as the case of Bengal was presented. But I would point out that so far as Purulia is concerned, it would be found that according to the 1951 census, the Bengali population was 52 per cent. Now in the first place, the first exception that was made by the Commission and by the Government in favour of West Bengal was this, that they took into account not the district as a unit, because as I stated, the district consisted of both the divisions, the upper division and the lower division. And here Bengal had claimed certain portions on grounds other than linguistic. Therefore, Sir, the first exception that was made by the Commission—that exception has been accepted and has been incorporated in the Bill—is the fact that here we are now proposing to give to Bengal an area which is less than a district, and that area is the Purulia sub-division. In that sub-division the Bengali population, taken together, is 52 per cent., and 52 per cent., as you are well aware, Sir, falls far short of 70 per cent.

DR. RADHA KUMUD MOOKERJI (Nominated) : May I put one question, Sir?

MR. CHAIRMAN: He will answer all the questions at the end.

DR. RADHA KUMUD MOOKERJI: All right, Sir, I reserve my right to ask a question.

SHRI B. N. DATAR : I was pointing out, Sir, that so far as the Purulia sub-division was concerned, a departure was made from the principle laid down, and we came down to a sub-district in place of a district. And then I would point out to this House that here also the Bengali population is only 52 per cent., and you will agree that 52 per cent. is not that population which is required according to the Commission's recommendation, namely, 70 per cent. Here the Commission has departed on account of certain other weighty reasons. Therefore this point has to be understood properly, and let there be no grievance that whatever is due to Bengalis has not been given to them. Let them also understand, Sir, that this departure that has been made is in their favour.

Then, Sir, so far as this claim is concerned, let us see how the Commission has dealt with this question. The Commission has stated that so far as West Bengal's case is concerned, either in the north or in the south, linguistic considerations or affiliations do not come to their aid, because they fall far below the minimum that has been laid down. Even in respect of the southern portion, Sir, the Commission made a reference to the other consideration, and that other consideration in this particular case was not the linguistic consideration. It was generally the administrative consideration, and the administrative consideration was clarified by pointing out that if this area in the Purulia sub-division was given over to West Bengal, it would help Bengal in developing its irrigation projects etc. Now, Sir, these projects are being carried out on a very large scale in the adjoining territory of Burdwan division. Let it be understood very clearly, Sir, even in respect of the southern portion that it has not been given to West Bengal on the ground of linguistic composition, but solely on the ground of making it possible for West Bengal to develop its river valley and irrigation schemes. In this connection, Sir, I would point out how the Commission has dealt with this question. This was the principal point and this was the main ground on the basis of which this transfer was recommended by the Commission. And whenever it had to make a reference to linguistic considerations, it only put it in very general terms. It has stated, Sir, that there is a great concentration of Bengali population in a non-Bengali area. And the other expression which has been used is "unmistakable evidence of Bengali influence". And lastly, Sir, it has been stated that so far as the Purulia sub-division is concerned, it has a certain amount of cultural affinity with West Bengal, or with Burdwan and other portions. Therefore, Sir, I would point out to the hon. Members that here also what they have got is not on the basis of linguistic preponderance.

But so far as Bengal is concerned, Bengal ought to understand it very clearly that what has been given to them in Purulia and elsewhere has not been given on linguistic considerations but on the grounds of administrative convenience or in other words, on the grounds of facilitating certain projects which Bengal has already undertaken. If this point is appreciated, I am quite confident that the great amount of heart-burning and

the great amount of misunderstanding and discontent that was given expression to by hon. Members from Bengal or those who spoke in favour of Bengal would considerably go down. We have taken into account the interests of Bihar also. I would point out in this connection that it was Bihar that is to lose, and it is Bengal that is getting, and this fact should not be forgotten at all. Therefore, as the States Reorganisation Commission itself has stated, we ought to cause the least hardship to Bihar, and I am glad that we have brought down the hardship to the minimum by the few changes that the Joint Select Committee have made. If this viewpoint which I have placed before this House is appreciated, then I am quite confident that hon. Members from Bengal would accept not only the propriety but also the justice of what we have done for them.

Now, I am not dealing with other cases regarding Dhalbhum or Santhal. There, Bengal's case has been completely thrown out by the States Reorganisation Commission again on similar grounds. There the linguistic considerations are not so great. Therefore, let not any grievance be harboured on account of linguistic considerations. So far as Bengal is concerned, they are entitled to our sympathy, and when the question of transfer of territory is taken into account, then naturally we have to start with a large measure of sympathy in favour of Bengal. Still, we have to apply certain weighty considerations, and so far as those weighty considerations are concerned, either in the north or in the south those weighty considerations were not based on linguistic affiliations. Linguistic affiliations are not there. So, I am confident that our hon. friends from Bengal will understand that what is given to them is firstly for the purpose of improving the general handicap to which Bengalis have been naturally and inevitably subjected, and secondly, so far as Bihar is concerned, we have tried our best to bring down to the most minimum limit what has been taken away from them. If this position is appreciated in the way that I have tried to place it before the House, then I am quite confident that Bihar, though it loses a portion, will lose it for, I might say, good neighbourliness or generosity, so far as the claims of Bengal are concerned, because after all the people of Bengal have suffered. Also Bengal and Bihar are always one. I find that there

is a large Bihari population in Bengal and there is a large Bengali population in Bihar even now after the passing of this Bill. When I heard speeches here in highly inflammable tones, I felt sorry, for after all the repercussions of what is said here will go to the people, will percolate to the people, and thereby in Bihar the anti-Bengali feeling would be inflamed, and in Bengal the anti-Bihari feeling would be intensified. I am anxious that, after our doing what is just and what is inevitable by the two great people of Bengal and Bihar—these are two very great provinces of which India is proud—we should not say anything that would either wound the feelings of Bengal or wound the feelings of Bihar. I am anxious after this Bill is passed, Bihar should reconcile itself to this change. I am quite confident that the great people of Bihar will gracefully accept what has been given to Bengal and carry on their own administration. Their economic life would not be affected at all by this.

Then I was told that there is no direct link and it might be inconvenient to carry on commerce and trade between the two great places of Dhanbad in the north and Jamshedpur in the south. These two are great places and they have to be developed from an Indian point of view. They are great industrial centres, and therefore yesterday the Home Minister assured the House that a highway would be marked out and maintained by the Centre between Dhanbad in the north and Jamshedpur in the south. He also said that we would consider the question as to whether there ought to be a highway between Dhanbad and Ranchi or Jamshedpur. All these things will have to be done in the interests of the nation, and the Government of India will surely undertake this question of maintaining a highway between these two places not only for the purpose of helping Bengalis and Biharis but for the purpose of helping the whole nation.

Then, something was said about a 200 yards belt. I have pointed out that this is the minimum for the purpose of laying down roads. For the purpose of carrying on commerce, it is absolutely essential that beyond the national highway there ought to be some margin left—as it was called by some person—some elbow room, and this is done without sacrificing any areas comprised in any village or in the Kishanganj town. Therefore, provision has been

[Shri B. N. Datar.]

made in the Bill for demarcating this line as correctly as possible. The Government of India will be sending their officers—survey officers also will be taken—for this purpose, so that there should be no scope for any complaint afterwards.

My historian friend, Dr. Mookerji, contended that there ought to be equality of States. So far as the States are concerned, under the Constitution all the States are equal. Take Orissa, for example, or under the new reorganisation, take Kerala or Uttar Pradesh. All of them have got equality of status, but equality of status does not mean that every State has to be reduced to an equality of area or equality of population. That cannot be done, because there are other and different considerations. Further, so far as the States themselves are concerned, under the new dispensation under the S. R. Act, as it will soon be, all the States will have been placed on the same footing, except the territories, where also the object of development and other objectives can be achieved by the Government of India bearing the cost in this respect, instead of passing this burden to the various States. Therefore, I submit that even so far as this question is concerned, we have already equality of States. That equality is always available to Bengal. I would also submit that the Government of India are aware of Bengal's special problems created by the partition of India and the Government of India are prepared to do their best so far as the advancement of Bengal's interest are concerned. On the other hand, Bihar's interests also have to be taken into account. There is a certain industrialised area in Bihar and there is also a large area which is yet to be developed. In Bihar, as the irony of fate would have it, we have areas suffering both on account of floods and drought. Therefore, Bihar deserves the fullest sympathy of the Government of India. I am quite confident that after the passing of this Bill, Bihar and Bengal will settle down and will make the best use of the opportunities that they have and in particular will maintain the best good neighbourly relations.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Dr. Mookerji, you wanted to ask something. I am asking him. If he is already satisfied, he will not ask.

DR. RADHA KUMUD MOOKERJI: Sir, just a question. I don't like to raise

any kind of controversy which may produce bitterness of feelings but as a humble.....

SHRI P. N. SAPRU (Uttar Pradesh): Is Dr. Mookerji speaking for a second time?

MR. CHAIRMAN: He is asking a question.

SHRI P. N. SAPRU: He need not preface by.....

MR. CHAIRMAN: Just a question—that is what he said.

DR. RADHA KUMUD MOOKERJI: Without going into any kind of controversy.....

MR. CHAIRMAN: What is the question?

DR. RADHA KUMUD MOOKERJI: The question is that according to the last census we find that the Bengali population has grown about four times in the districts of Bhagalpur, Monghyr, Hazaribagh, Patna Division, Tirhut Division and so forth and my natural doubt is whether in the salubrious climate of Manbhum, the Bengalis have proved themselves to be a less prolific race than in the other areas of Bihar and have proved themselves to be a dying race?

SHRI B. N. DATAR: That is a question which I cannot.....

(Interruptions)

SHRI AKHTAR HUSAIN (Uttar Pradesh): Is it a question or a supplementary speech?

MR. CHAIRMAN: It is neither this nor that.

The question is:

"That the Bill to provide for the transfer of certain territories from Bihar to West Bengal and for matters connected therewith, as passed by the Lok Sabha, be taken into consideration."

MR. CHAIRMAN: Those who are in favour will say "Aye".

HON. MEMBERS: Aye.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Those who are against will say "No".

HON. MEMBERS: No.

MR. CHAIRMAN: The "Ayes" have it.

SHRI RAJENDRA PRATAP SINHA (Bihar): "Noes" have it. We want a division.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Let us have a voice vote.

SHRI RAJENDRA PRATAP SINHA: We would like the names to be recorded. We want a division.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Only two of you are standing up.

SHRI RAJENDRA PRATAP SINHA: The two of us would like our names to be recorded.

MR. CHAIRMAN: The two of you are not sufficient to persuade me to call for a division.

SHRI T. BODRA (Bihar): I am sure that many of the Members are not in favour of this....

MR. CHAIRMAN: Unless you have a sufficient number....

SHRI RAJENDRA PRATAP SINHA: If the rules permit, we want a division.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Those who are against the motion may stand up. (*After a count*) The 'Ayes' have it. Only two.

SHRI RAJENDRA PRATAP SINHA: We want our names to be recorded.

MR. CHAIRMAN: No other Member is standing up. The 'Ayes' have it.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA (West Bengal): Do I understand that those who are not standing will vote in favour of this?

MR. CHAIRMAN: I asked the question. They said 'Aye'. Only two are standing up against it. So 'Ayes' have it.

The motion was adopted.

Clause 3—Transfer of territories from Bihar to West Bengal

SHRI RAJENDRA PRATAP SINHA: Sir, I move:

2. 'That at page 2, for lines 31 to 33, the following be substituted, namely:—

'(b) Sadar sub-division of Manbhum district excluding Chas thana, Chandil thana, Panda police station of Barabhum thana, Jhalda thana, Baghmundi thana, Arsa police station of Purulia thana and those portions of Purulia mufassil and Balrampur police station in Purulia thana which lie to the West of Dhanbad-Jamshedpur highway.'

Sir, I also move:

3. "That at page 2,—

(i) in line 37, for the words 'two hundred yards', the words 'fifteen yards' be substituted; and

(ii) in line 39 for the words, 'two hundred yards', the words 'fifteen yards' be substituted."

Sir, I also move :

4. "That at page 3, after line 7, the following further proviso be inserted, namely:—

'Provided also that from the point where the first-mentioned and the second-mentioned highways meet the southern boundaries of Islampur town and Dalkola town, respectively, to the point where they leave the northern boundaries of those towns, the boundaries shall be the same as the boundaries of those towns on the east....'

(*These amendments also stood in the names of Syed Mazhar Imam and Shri B. K. P. Sinha.*)

SHRI KISHEN CHAND (Hyderabad): Sir, I move:

5. "That at page 2, for lines 21 to 30, the following be substituted namely:—

'(a) that portion of Kishanganj sub-division of Purnea district which lies to the east of Mechi river and after the point it joins with Mahananda river, the river Mahananda; and'."

SHRI B. C. GHOSE (West Bengal): Sir, I move:

[Shri B. C. Ghose.]

6. "That at page 2, lines 25 to 29, for the words 'boundary line demarcated in accordance with the provisions of sub-section (2) by an authority appointed in this behalf by the Central Government and that portion of Gopalpur thana of the said district which lies to the east or north, as the case may be, of the said boundary line' the words 'Mehi river up to the point of intersection of the Mehi river with the Mahananda river, and thereafter to the east of the Mahananda river up to the point of intersection of the Mahananda river with the border of Malda district be substituted."

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Sir, I move:

7. "That at page 2, for lines 31 to 33, the following be substituted namely :—

'(b) Purulia sub-division of Manbhum district;

(c) such other areas as may be, demarcated for inclusion in West Bengal by the Boundary Commission to be set up under section 4A;."

(The amendment also stood in the names of Shri J. V. K. Vallabharao, Shri Perath Narayan Nair, Shri Satyapriya Banerjee and Shri Abdur Rezzak Khan.)

SHRI KISHEN CHAND: Sir, I move:

8. "That at page 2, for lines 31 to 33, the following be substituted, namely:—

(b) that portion of Purulia sub-division of Manbhum district excluding Chas thana, Chandil thana and Patamda police station of Barabhum thana which lies to the east of the new highway to be constructed by joining the points where the district board road enters and leaves Purulia sub-division;."

SHRI B. C. GHOSE: Sir, I move:

9. "That at page 2, lines 32-33, the words 'and Patamda police station of Barabhum thana' be deleted."

SHRI KISHEN CHAND: Sir, I move:

10. "That at page 2, lines 36 to 42 be deleted."

MR. CHAIRMAN: The clause and the amendments are now before the House.

SHRI RAJENDRA PRATAP SINHA:

Mr. Chairman, I wish I could place before you the map that I have of this area and you will find that what I propose in my amendment is this that along with the three thanas of Purulia sub-division which are already excluded, I would like that the police stations Jhalda, Arsa and Baghmundi and part of Purulia and Balrampur thanas should be excluded. The purpose of my amendment is this that in Bihar we have a road link between the two towns of Dhanbad and Jamshedpur. I have already stated that these are the two industrial belts of Bihar and it will retard the economy of this area if the road link between these two portions is disrupted. Then taking into account the linguistic composition of the area that I propose to retain in Bihar, you will find that in Jhalda police station there is 79.2 per cent. of Hindi-speaking people are 61.1 per cent and of Bengali-speaking people. In the Jaipur police station, there are 73.9 per cent. of Hindi-speaking population and 15.2 per cent. of Bengali-speaking people. In the Purulia thana, the part of Purulia that I want to be retained, the Hindi-speaking people are 61.1 per cent and 34.5 per cent. Bengali-speaking people. The Santhali and other tribal language speaking population from 4.4 per cent. In half of Balrampur police station 30.2 per cent. are Hindi-speaking people, 28.4 per cent people are Bengali-speaking and Santhali and other tribal language speaking people are 41.4 per cent. In Arsa Police station 57.3 per cent. of the people are Hindi-speaking, 25.3 are Bengali-speaking and 17.4 are Santhali speaking. In Baghmundi police station 28.5 are Hindi speaking, 50.4 are Bengali speaking and 21.1 per cent. are Santhali speaking. Thus you will find that the majority of the people residing in this area speak other than Bengali language. It is only in one thana in Purulia, namely, in Baghmundi 50.4 per cent. are Bengali-speaking people. But that is also not more than 50 per cent. and you will find that in the Para and Barabazar police stations, which are proposed to be transferred to Bengal, the Hindi-speaking population is 62 per cent. and 55.5 per cent, respectively. Therefore it is both from the administrative point of view—as well as from the point of view of maintaining a quick

transport between the raw material, the fuel area and the consuming factories—and also from the point of view of linguistic consideration that I urge that the Home Minister may accept my amendment and retain these areas in Bihar and may give the rest to Bengal. I have also suggested that the Purulia town may be given to Bengal if my amendment is accepted because I would suggest a diversion of the road so that the town of Purulia may be given to Bengal.

I would urge another point also in favour of my amendment. The hon. Minister very correctly stated that this area is being transferred in order to give the administrative control to West Bengal over the catchment area of Kasai river. You will find that the catchment area of Subarnarekha river is being transferred to Bengal for which Bengal has no use and the hon. Minister knows that on this river we have got important projects and it is not proper that 733 miles of the catchment area of this river should be transferred to West Bengal. On the same consideration as you are transferring this area to Bengal this catchment area of Subarnarekha should be retained in Bihar.

Then there is a project to be built on Subarnarekha river near Ranchi which will irrigate the three police stations Jhalda, Arsa and Baghmundi. In case you hand over this area to Bengal, the irrigation in this area will suffer. It will be seen that it is not even in the interest of the people residing in these police stations that it should be transferred. That should be the primary consideration. After all this tiny bit of land if given to Bengal will not serve any real purpose or any big purpose for West Bengal but if it is left with Bihar, it will serve the interests of the locality because the Ranchi project will be implemented in order to provide irrigation in this area and it will serve the economic growth of this area as it will shorten the distances between the raw material area, the fuel area and the consuming centres to the minimum. This is what I plead and I hope it will be accepted, by the Government.

SHRI KISHEN CHAND: Mr. Chairman, the hon. Minister, when piloting the Bill in the first reading, pointed out that this transfer of territory is taking place only on administrative grounds. I agree with him that this area is being transferred on administrative grounds.

When we are considering administrative grounds, let us carefully examine whether the proposals now made by the Government are going to satisfy it or not. Sir, my amendments relate to both the northern and the southern parts. In the northern part I have suggested that a little more area be given to West Bengal and in the southern part I have suggested that a little less area be given to Bengal. If my proposals are accepted *in toto*, it will amount to a reduction of really 500 sq. miles in the areas to be transferred to West Bengal. In the Joint Select Committee, when the proposal was placed before the Members from Bihar, they seemed to be inclined to the view that if my proposals were accepted by Bengal they would reluctantly agree to it. The proposition just now is being opposed by Members from Bihar belonging to the Opposition Party. In the Joint Select Committee every Member from Bihar, whether of the Congress Party or of the Opposition Parties, was deadly against this transfer. But as a gesture of goodwill, they were prepared to accept the proposal that I had made, in a spirit of compromise and as a better administrative solution of the problem.

Sir, my proposal as far as the north is concerned is this. As the territory is inhabited by people who do not speak the Bengali language, except for 3 or 4 or at the most 5 per cent., to make a highway, and 200 yards all along it as a dividing line, is not practicable. If a man commits an offence and just runs for about 400 yards out of the highway, then he is gone from West Bengal into Bihar territory and according to the letter of the law, a police officer of West Bengal cannot run after that criminal and catch him in the area belonging to Bihar. We should really have natural boundaries. This is going to be the boundary between India and Pakistan and therefore, it is essential that we should give sufficient depth of territory. If you keep only a strip of 5 miles it will not be practicable. So I have suggested that the natural boundary be adopted that is available there. There is this river—the Mechi river—that will be the boundary, and then after the point it joins the Mahananda river, the Mahananda river itself will be the boundary.

PROF. G. RANGA (Andhra): But even that can be no better than the other boundary, so far as police matters are concerned.

SHRI KISHEN CHAND: After all, if a man has to cross a river he has to overcome some obstacle. In every area, you see, you take some precautionary measure. People build a wall sometimes and. . . .

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Some criminals, do not. . . .

MR. CHAIRMAN: Order, order.

SHRI KISHEN CHAND: My humble suggestion is that where a natural boundary is already available, we should not make an arbitrary boundary of highway with 200 yards west of it. Also this stretch of 200 yards width will not be straight, because whenever it passes through a village, and as the village is not to be broken up, this boundary line will become tortuous and twisted. Every few yards it will be curved and it will be changing. Therefore I have suggested that if this compromise is arrived at, we would have the Mechi river and the Mahananda river as the boundary in the north.

The same argument holds good for the south, because in the south the road connecting Dhanbad with Jamshedpur is important to Bihar. The Bihar people should get the same facility on administrative grounds as the West Bengal people are claiming in the north. Therefore, I have suggested that if the Government, instead of providing a highway, had also given that portion which lies to the west of the highway to Bihar or rather retained it with Bihar and not given it to West Bengal, the whole problem would have been solved. There is going to be a national highway on which probably there will be no toll charges, there will be no motor-vehicle charges levied by West Bengal Government on the motor-vehicles and buses registered in Bihar and passing on that road. On both sides of the highway, the territory belongs to West Bengal and so Bihar people will not get the same convenience. To offer the argument that it is the catchment area of the Kasai river was a very weak argument. Now, in the southern part, as we go from the east towards the west, we see a gradual variation in the linguistic composition of the population. In the eastern part there are more Bengali-speaking people and in the western part, west of Purulia town, you have mostly the tribal people and a small percentage of Bihari-speaking people. In such a situation, was it advisable to transfer the

whole of the Purulia sub-district to Bengal? I submit that my suggestion would have been a very happy compromise and the Bihar people would have given it their fullest consent. For the sake of 500 sq. miles this Bill is being passed, without the fullest support and goodwill of the Bihari people. I have suggested that if Bengal could have secured the goodwill of Bihar by giving up this 500 sq. miles, they would have willingly come forward with such an offer. I think that would have been a much better solution.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Mr. Ghose. I am asking the movers of amendments in order. You must be brief. I looked into the proceedings of yesterday and I was greatly depressed. I think by respecting the Chair and by cooperating with the chair, we enhance our own dignity.

[MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN in the Chair.]

SHRI B. C. GHOSE: Mr. Deputy Chairman, in spite of what the hon. Home Minister said or implied, I may assure you that as between the people of Bihar and the people of Bengal, there is still absolutely cordial relationship. Even after this part of the territory is transferred to West Bengal, I am sure that that relationship will not be hampered or prejudiced in any manner. I may further assure the House that if this opportunity was taken advantage of for settling this matter fully and finally, the relationship between the two peoples would never have suffered. Even today there are large masses of Bengalis in Bihar and large masses of Biharis in Bengal and I do not think that Bengalis in Bihar or Biharis in Bengal would say that their position had become impossible because of the discussions that we have been carrying on this States Reorganisation Bill. Therefore, it is not quite correct to say that people's feelings are embittered. If they are being embittered, it is because today advantage is not being taken to settle this issue finally and satisfactorily.

Now, coming to the proposals before us, I am afraid the hon. Home Minister has been contradicting himself in all his arguments. He first stated that we were not entitled to any of the territories on the ground of language, I stated yesterday that I was not bound by the criterion of the Dar Commission or of the States Reorganisation Commission as they do not accept language as the main determinant for the reorganisation of States.

It is those who accept language as the main determinant for the reorganisation of the States that should lay down the criterion and certainly, if you accept language, 70 per cent. has no sense because, if it is 70 per cent. in a territory, there is no question but that it should go to the State to which it belongs. If States are to be reorganised primarily on the ground of language, we do not accept 70 per cent. formula and it is not correct to apply a criterion set up by people who do not believe in that principle. I do not believe in the principle enunciated by Dar Commission or by the States Reorganisation Commission and, therefore, it is not correct to apply that standard to me.

The second point is that so far as the transfer of Kishanganj area is concerned, let me argue it on the basis of what has been stated by the Home Minister and the States Reorganisation Commission it is on administrative grounds and it was on administrative grounds that the States Reorganisation Commission had taken all facts into consideration and had made certain recommendations. The hon. Home Minister had said that the economy of Bihar should not be disrupted; I certainly agree but I am sure that the States Reorganisation Commission had taken that fact also into consideration before they had made the recommendation. If they had stated that that portion of the territory in the Kishanganj subdivision should be transferred to Bengali, it was because they believed that that would not affect the economy of Bihar adversely and I do not think that anybody is going to claim or the hon. Minister will claim that if the boundary is fixed at the Mahananda river, the transfer of that portion of the territory would disrupt the economy of Bihar. So this cannot be his ground. What has been the ground? The ground has been, as the Home Minister stated, that there is an Urdu speaking Muslim population there so that let me straightway say that this is a question of language which is being given more prominence here than the administrative reason for which this territory was going to be transferred to Bengal. Now, this is a very bad way of dealing with problems. If you set up a criterion and if that criterion leads to a certain conclusion, you modify that conclusion by certain extraneous considerations. That way, naturally, you do not achieve the object which you had set

out to achieve and that has been exactly the case here. It is neither fish, nor fowl nor good red herring; it is neither language nor administrative grounds. You are giving a portion of territory which will not satisfy the administrative purposes for which this transfer has been recommended. I gave the reasons yesterday, reasons which were given by the Chief Minister of West Bengal. The hon. Minister, being in charge of law and order, will realise the difficulties of having a road as a boundary line. As my hon. friend, Mr. Kishen Chand, pointed out, you cannot pursue smugglers. As soon as the delinquent is on the other side of the road, he is beyond your control. It is not so with a mountain or a river which constitutes both national and international boundaries. Here was a natural boundary available. So, what could have been the consideration excepting that there was opposition from certain people? Here, I do not appreciate the opposition which comes from my Bihar friends. I quite appreciate that in the case of any territory that is going to be transferred, they may feel bad about it; it is the feeling which a possessor has in regard to anything that he has got and that he is dispossessed of. The point is not whether he came into possession of that thing in the first instance rightly or wrongly, but at the moment, he is going to be deprived of his possession. I, therefore, sympathise and appreciate the feeling of Bihar but that does not mean that when we are considering the whole problem, we should not take a rational, reasoned and balanced view of the whole matter. Have we taken that? That is my grouse against Government. They have had an opportunity of solving the problem but they are now making a mess of it; they solve it partly and then say that this is to be a final solution. It cannot be a final solution because you do not give the attention that the problem deserves and solve it by the criterion which you yourself have laid down. Therefore, I feel, Sir, that it is not logical that the boundary here should have been displaced from where it was proposed to be put by the States Reorganisation Commission. We have to realise as to why these difficulties have arisen. The difficulties have arisen because, as Dr. Kunzru pointed out, the States Reorganisation Commission had a defective map. This was unfortunate. If they had not had a defective map, then there would not have been that gap in the north and all these controversies

[Shri B. C. Ghose.]

would not have arisen. Now, with a view to bridge that gap, you have to do justice in one part; but in another part you are doing an injustice and the whole thing is, as I said, unfortunate.

The same thing is happening with regard to the Purulia portion. I do not intend to enter into the controversy about the population figures because, as my hon. friend, Dr. Mookerji, pointed out, if you compare the 1931 census with the 1951 census, certain astounding consequences follow. In one area, the Bengali speaking population, he says has been increasing four time whereas in another area, it is going down by seven times. Palpably, there is something wrong about these statistics.

SHRI KISHEN CHAND: Migration.

SHRI RAJENDRA PRATAP SINHA: Migration.

SHRI B. C. GHOSE: There has been so much of migration from one part only. Why is it that in that particular area which the Bihar Government and friends knew was going to be transferred that all the migration took place and not in the other area? I am not, therefore, going very much by the population figures although by my standard, I am willing even today to have an unbiased census taken under impartial auspices. Certainly, I shall not claim any territory in which there is not a majority of Bengali population although I am not bound by the 70 per cent. rule. That is not my criterion but, as I said, the States Reorganisation Commission was not fair. Chas thana was on the other side of Damodar river. The territory is cut up by the Damodar river and even so, they recommended that Chas thana should be kept in Bihar and that was further modified by the Government. Let me now argue the case on the basis of the arguments of the Government, not on the basis of my argument. The Home Minister stated that this was on administrative grounds, on grounds of river valley project and so forth. He said that the Bihar Government had a river valley project in Chandil thana. I say, if that is so, you exclude Chandil thana on your basis from the portion that you give to Bengal but how do you exclude Patamda? You have done so because Tatas have a reservoir there from where they get water. If these are the considerations that you bring in

for the re-distribution of territories between States, I think it is extremely unfortunate and I really cannot see how Mr. Datar who appears to me to be a reasonable man can put forward such arguments to support a proposition which appears to me to be absolutely indefensible. I stated yesterday that nobody has shown any sympathy to Bengal, I should like Mr. Datar to appreciate that. He said that Bengal was entitled to sympathy; I should say, "Yes, we are entitled to sympathy but nobody has shown any sympathy to us in this regard". The States Reorganisation Commission has not applied to Bengal any standard which they have not applied in similar cases to other States. I would challenge any hon. Member here to say that the States Reorganisation Commission has treated Bengal on a different footing, on a footing different from that which they have applied in the case of other States. If any hon. Member can point that out to me, I shall certainly be obliged and I shall say that the rest of India has taken note of the difficulties of Bengal, of the sufferings of Bengal but that has not been so. We stand here on the same footing as all the other States. All the other States presented their case to the States Reorganisation Commission and the States Reorganisation Commission laid down certain criteria which were not favourable or unfavourable to Bengal but which were equally applicable to all the States and came to certain conclusions which conclusions are going to be modified further by the Government.

And the reasons are not either administrative or language or anything, but the pressure exercised. It is the pressure politics that has really counted in the further amendments made by Government in regard to the recommendations of the States Reorganisation Commission. The hon. Home Minister admitted this in so many words; he said that there was opposition from Bihar and he had to take into consideration the feelings of Bihar, and therefore this would be more acceptable to them and so he did this. Sir, if that is the way you are going to settle the whole problem, then you will come to no finality as, I am afraid, you have not come to a finality in regard to Maharashtra and Gujarat. So also you have come to no finality in regard to Bengal and Bihar. It has really pained me to see that the Government has functioned in such an irrational manner in the reorganisation of States and in

the distribution of such small territories as between one State and the other, when they themselves say that no territory is going out of India. And finally, before I conclude, I should like to say that, whatever happens, whatever, territory may or may not go to Bengal or even if it should ever so happen in future that some territory may go from Bengal to Bihar, I can assure you that there will be no ill feeling as between the people of Bihar and Bengal. We have always been close together whatever the boundaries. We are now fighting the case on reason, that we are entitled to something, because there are the States within the Union. Nobody is abolishing the States. If the States were abolished, then there would have been no consideration, but so long as there are the States and the States are organised on a certain basis, certainly the representatives of the States will state their cases, but that does not mean that there is ill feeling as between the people of the different States, and I am sure there will be none as between the Bihari and the Bengali people.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Mr. Deputy Chairman, I rise to seek a modification of the provision in the Bill in clause 3. I oppose the amendment moved by our very esteemed and honoured friend, Mr. Rajendra Pratap Sinha who in ninety-nine out of hundred cases is reasonable but unfortunately, Sir, in this matter. . . .

SHRI RAJENDRA PRATAP SINHA: If you will not see with coloured glasses you will find this also reasonable.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Unfortunately in this particular matter it seems reason and logic has bid goodbye to him.

Now, Sir, firstly I wish to deal with his case because he would not like to go even as far as the Congress Members opposite from Bihar would like to go. On the contrary, from the names of those who have subscribed to the amendment given by him it would appear that he has succeeded in enticing away at least two hon. Members. I do not know whether they would actually have voted with him if it came to a division. After all the Congress Whip and the High Command are much more powerful than the advances made by the hon. Mr. Rajendra Pratap Sinha. Sir, what is the amendment? He has sought to exclude from Purulia some other places so that

practically nothing is transferred out of Purulia to West Bengal. He has named so many places. I need not go into that. He has not made any case.

SHRI RAJENDRA PRATAP SINHA: Out of the 2,700 square miles I only say that 700 should be left out.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: From the little that is proposed to be transferred you want to cut out certain other portions. Now look at the grounds he tried to give, and when you deal with a bad case, an untenable case, it is always difficult to be relevant, and of course it is not always possible to find something which would sound even plausible. Now when he spoke yesterday, he said that certain areas from Purulia should be retained in Bihar in addition to what had already been retained under this Bill because, he said, they have got the water sources for the Tatas and it is very essential. . . .

SHRI RAJENDRA PRATAP SINHA: Yesterday I said that nothing should go.

Mr. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Let him go on, Mr. Sinha.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Don't get excited. You are not an excitable person generally.

SHRI MAHESH SARAN (Bihar): Not like you.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: After all the infection from the Bihar Treasury Benches should not affect you.

Mr. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Go on Mr. Gupta. Don't get disturbed.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: I like such interruptions; I have never objected to them and I like them when it comes from the hon. Member especially.

Any way a case has been made that Chas thana, Chandil thana and other places could not be given because Tatas required them. Therefore the Government of India in order to oblige their friends in the Tatas decided to exclude these two places. Beyond that I have not got any ground as to why it was done. The States Reorganisation Commission, which was by no means. . . .

SHRI RAJENDRA PRATAP SINHA: May I inform my hon. friend that I had asked my Congress friends in Bihar

[Shri Rajendra Pratap Sinha.] that they could have better entrusted the entire case to Tatas and if Tatas pleaded for the entire place, possibly everything would have been left out.

SHRI B. C. GHOSE: The cat is out of the bag.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: The Bihar Congressmen or for that matter the Congressmen have a bit of secret relations with the Tatas and it is very difficult for me to try to understand them and we do not know how things pass between them, but there is a lot of horse trading, I know. Anyway the argument is that these places are required because otherwise it would inconvenience Tatas and because the sources of the water supply for some of Tatas plants are located in the area proposed to be transferred by the States Reorganisation Commission. Now if that sort of argument were to be accepted, then some day Delhi will be claiming Punjab because electricity comes here from there and more and more would be coming here from Bhakra-Nangal. If that is so, if that kind of logic is accepted, then I do not know whether any State is not entitled to claim any other State if there are some interconnections—I do not know. But certainly we were told yesterday that a lot of electric energy was coming from Bhakra-Nangal, which is located in Punjab. Well, in that case Delhi may demand that Punjab should form part of the centrally administered Delhi area. That is not logic. Then of course there are the rivers, and the sources of the rivers may be located in one State and the river flows down to another state. But for that reason we do not claim a State. Even when two States are there these things are mutually adjusted and even in international law we have got ample provisions to deal with such riparian matters in order to ensure the mutual interest of both the States, but here we are not concerned with two States, two separate States. We are certainly States, under the Indian Constitution, of a particular type but not two different countries any way. Now coming to the point, if Dr. Shri Krishna Sinha becomes a little less quarrelsome and for the matter of that Mr. Rajendra Pratap Sinha, if it is easily possible to solve such things—there would be no difficulty whatsoever. Now, for instance, if there was any difficulty in the supply of water for the Tatas, well this could be settled by mutual

discussion. In that case, I do not think there is any likelihood of such a difficulty arising. Now Tatas claimed it for their own reasons, and the Government should not have yielded and just excluded these two thanas plus Patamda and Chandil from that area Mr. Sinha would of course like other areas to be excluded now. He has given certain figures I was very interested to hear the figures he gave of the Bengali-speaking, Hindi-speaking and Santhali-speaking people, and I was just waiting to see him say "Muslim speaking". I was just listening to hear that from him, but it seems he thought that perhaps it would be going too far. Now, Sir, Santhali is a language; it is there; the Santhals are there, but it is also a fact that a lot of them, if not all of them, a lot of them speak the Begali language. There is very much in common between the two languages. He should have at least said that thing.

Now, *suggestio falsi and suppressio veri* is a kind of thing that I P.M. we have heard of the 18th century. As a matter of logic and reasoning, it is not very convincing or even very apt the part of a very able advocate like him. Unfortunately, he has got a very bad brief this time. Now, these figures do not mean much; they are utterly misleading and I would request hon. Members of this House not to be misled by those figures. First of all, the census figures, as we know, in our country are manipulated. We know how in Bengal when the Muslim League was in power they manipulated the census figures and these same officers used to do that. So we all know that these figures are open to manipulation I do not say this of anyone in particular. If Dr. Roy himself had the chance, he would have done so and if Sri Krishna Sinha has the chance, he would have followed the same practice. I am not particularly accusing the Chief Minister of Bihar. The Chief Minister of Bengal in similar circumstances would have perhaps done the same thing about such a matter.

SHRI H. P. SAKSENA (Uttar Pradesh): This is a serious insinuation, Sir

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: You just speak a little louder so that I can hear you. Nothing entertains me like interruptions.

Therefore, let us not go into these census figures. What do we find that the Commission has done? This Commission

which was not at all very much in favour of linguistic adjustment of boundaries—in fact it repudiated that basis in this particular respect—even that Commission decided that Purulia except Chas thana should go but the Government came in and altered that adversely for Bengal perhaps to please the Congress party there in power. There is no reason whatsoever for that; in fact that has been very much resisted by the people of Bengal. Neither have you pleased your friends in Bihar. Why do you do such a thing? The only persons who seem to have been satisfied with this arrangement particularly are the Tatas. That is what we find. Must the Tatas have precedence over our claims? Must their individual claims have precedence over the democratic claims of the people? Are their claims going to be the only consideration for you to decide these matters which affect the fate of the two nations in a way and their mutual relations? Why do you want to do that? The Government should give us some explanation in regard to this matter. I want to make it very clear in this House that it is not our case to say, “give us some territory”. It may be the Congress case; we heard of lebensraum and other things from them. In fact, under the Congress rule even if this area is added to Bengal, it would have the same suffering, the same woes and the same misery and the same degradation of life as far as the people are concerned. We want those particular areas in which the Bengali-speaking people are in a majority and which are contiguous to West Bengal, so that all the Bengali-speaking people could have a compact State of their own so that they could be drawn into the process of democratic administration in the country. This is all that we want and I have no doubt in my mind that our Bihari friends would also like to see democracy flourish in this country. Would they not like to see the Bihari people in their State being more and more drawn into the administrative affairs? Would they not like to see in the Assembly people speaking Bihari language and participating in the debate in that language and generally taking part in the administration of the country? Therefore if you keep these areas mixed up, it would not be possible for the people of that particular area to effectively participate in the deliberations of the Assembly or of other local administrations. And that comes in the way of the democratic developments of the country. That prevents people from

taking their rightful part in the administration of the affairs of the State and in its economic development. That is why we say, “put them together”. Whatever it is possible to bring them under the umbrella of a compact State, they can play their rightful role in the affairs of the country. It is not therefore a question of grabbing territory. Suppose a certain portion of Bihar was desert with nothing there; we would not have claimed that territory. Or suppose there was some virgin soil uninhabited by anybody in Bihar. Certainly Bengal would not have claimed such territory. So there is no question of grabbing. It is most unfortunate that the Congress case from Bengal has been so put that it looks as if West Bengal was interested in somehow or other grabbing some territory and not as drawing the Bengali-speaking people living in contiguous areas in a State of their own. They have not done anything of that sort. I can give the assurance that our case is not at all that we want some territory for ourselves; nor do we use such arguments like catchment areas or that we want land for resettling refugees or that we want land for this or that thing. This has never been the case of democratic Bengal. Democratic Bengal has taken a firm stand on the basis of language and culture. This is which was and which has been the demand of West Bengal. I will read out to you what Dr. Roy has himself said about this matter in his speech in the Assembly. “Beginning from 1905 until the year 1947 the Indian National Congress has always been consistent in their support for the formation of linguistic provinces which became an article of faith in the current political thought of the country.” This is what he said but when it came to acting upon this, he did not follow this principle; he deviated from it; he brought in extraneous arguments and raised all kinds of issues which go to make the Bengal case worse. I know that a great disservice has been done by the West Bengal Congress and that is something which cannot be easily rectified. I know all that but my regret in this matter is that this Commission when it came to this question—of course the Commission was not speaking here in this House; only one of the constituents—has followed this kind of logic. Therefore I would tell my Bihari friends that it is not a question of claiming any territory; it is a question of how people should live best in the country; what would be the best way of drawing all the people

[Shri Bhupesh Gupta.]

into the main stream of our political and economic life. That is our main consideration. And I stress that it is in the interests of Bihar. Would you not like democracy to flourish in Bengal, just as we would like democracy to flourish everywhere in the country? Would you not like to see the Bihar people who are living there in Calcutta to be more and more drawn into your democratic life? And when it comes to the case of Bengali people in contiguous areas, it is very easy for you to part with these particular areas so that these people have a rightful place in the public administration of Bengal and can get full opportunities of cultural self-expression. It is very logical. There is no question of claims and counter-claims in this matter. The most regrettable part of the whole episode has been that it looked at times, because of the Congress championship of the case, as if it was a case of claims and counter-claims, as if one was the plaintiff and the other defendant, as if Dr. Roy was the advocate for the plaintiff and Mr. Sri Krishna was the attorney for the defence. It is nothing of the kind. I say, we stand at the bar of justice, at the bar of Indian democracy, and we work together Bihari and Bengali friends for seeking redress for the wrong that had been done to us to the detriment of both of us. That is our position. We never take the position that we are against Bihar. It pains me when I hear "you Bengalis" and "we Biharis". Sometimes I wish for this purpose I was a Malayalee or a Telugu. I suffer from this disadvantage because it might be understood when I speak on this question that I am speaking from a narrow angle of Bengal. Sir, I stand for the cause of Indian democracy; I stand for the cause of Indian unity; I stand for the cause of development of fraternal relations between the two people; I stand for the development of the various cultures of the different States in a proper way. That is my case and unfortunately in this particular case for ensuring those objectives for which I stand it becomes necessary to transfer some territories from Bihar to Bengal. There is no question of breaking up. You yourself have broken up some States. Take Hyderabad; Hyderabad was a State; today it is to disappear.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Do not go to Hyderabad. Please speak on your amendment.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: You are very right. You have been very kind as far as this Bill is concerned. I have no complaint against you, Sir.

Sir, at one time it was felt that Hyderabad State should be disintegrated but it was thought for ensuring the progress of Indian democracy, for ensuring the development of the various cultures, for giving the people their rightful opportunities in the political, social and economic life, it is necessary to disintegrate a particular State. You have done it. All of us have joined in this task of disintegrating that particular State. It is not a question of an attack against Hyderabad or the people who live there for fashioning out our democracy, for fashioning out a new set-up that we want to see in India. It is sometimes necessary to make certain new arrangements, and that needs certain alterations. Sometimes such things done for the cause of national rejuvenation may cause pain to a certain part. It is true that it does sometimes. It is very necessary that in order to cure the disease sometimes amputation may have to be performed. We know all these things. It causes pain. But on the whole the body politic grows by this kind of thing when it is done in the right direction. Therefore, I would like to plead with my Bihari friends, for heaven's sake do not understand that Bengal's case is a counter-claim or something like a claim against you or against your State. Nothing of the sort. It is something which is meant for promoting better relations between us and for ensuring the democratic development in some sections of the people who today happen to be in a particular area. It is all to the good. You should accept this. I say you should accept this thing. Now, who wanted a merger to see the development of such relations? But when it comes to parting with a little territory, you do not want to transfer an inch of territory. Some of you wanted merger of Bengal and Bihar. They became great philosophers full of humanitarian considerations, full of feelings for Indian unity, talking from the housetop, full of oracular wisdom. But when it comes today to the question of transferring some small territory which should belong to your neighbouring State, for the sake of our mutual relationships, I do not know why you are developing the Shylock's mentality in this matter. He wanted a pound of flesh. You seem

to think that nothing, not an inch should go. The same mentality is there. I think it is unworthy of Bihari spirit, it is unworthy of their traditions, it is unworthy of the fighting spirit of the Bihari people, it is unworthy of their culture, it is unworthy of all that they have been fighting for and standing for all these years. Bihar is not a country only begetting quarrelsome and cantankerous people. It is filled with patriotic traditions. I know all these things. Therefore I say that this is not a very right approach on the part of my Bihari friends. I make an appeal to my Bihari friends. Sir, I say that the power of my argument has been such that my friend has made a retreat—I mean Mr. R. P. Sinha. Therefore, I say that their approach was not right.

Then, Sir, you will see that we have suggested in our amendment that we want the whole of Purulia sub-division to come to West Bengal including Chas, Patamda and Chandil—the whole of Purulia sub-division should come to West Bengal. That is a rightful demand on the part of West Bengal, and this is something which I think that our Bihari friends should accept in the interests of democracy with a larger outlook. Secondly, amendment No. 7 says “such other areas as may be demarcated for inclusion in West Bengal by the Boundary Commission to be set up under section 4A”. We have given that amendment for a Boundary Commission. We have not said “give this and give that”. I know that there are certain areas in regard to which there is genuine dispute. I know it, I recognise it. It is no use in glossing over the dispute or trying to evade it. Therefore, I say that a Boundary Commission should be appointed. We say that our case from the Bengal side is just. They say that their case from the Bihar side is just. In order to find out the true position let us have a Boundary Commission.

Sir, in the other amendment which we have given, we have indicated that there are certain Bengali-speaking contiguous areas in the Dhanbad sub-division. Similarly in the Dhalbhum sub-division also there are certain Bengali-speaking contiguous areas. Also in the Santhal Parganas there are contiguous Bengali-speaking areas; and in Kishanganj too. Now, if you ask me “how can you say which are the areas?”, I say we are not going to be dogmatic. I say “don’t accept what we say.” I don’t propose to lay down here the line because there is a wrong

census record, there are difficulties, there may be reasons for genuine doubt and dispute. Therefore let us go into the matter and take the village as the unit and find out as to which are the villages contiguous to West Bengal which are really Bengali-speaking, and transfer those villages to West Bengal. Let the rest remain in Bihar. That is our case. This case is also supported by the Bihar Communist Party representing the democratic people of Bihar. This is our case. I say this thing with a view to allaying any kind of misgivings on this matter. You will understand that our position in regard to this matter is slightly different from the position of those who think that certain areas could be named and easily got from Bihar. I do not proceed that way, because I want a serious discussion of this matter. I want the Bengal and Bihar leaders to come together and find out. . . .

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: You have taken half an hour.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: This is our last amendment and so I am taking a little more time. I want the Bengal and Bihar leaders to come together to a solution by mutual consultation among them. Sir, we are the two “boys on the burning deck”. This is Bengal’s case. I do not say that it should be decided immediately. This is a matter which should be gone into by making special arrangement, and therefore I have suggested that there should be a Boundary Commission.

With regard to Kishanganj the same thing applies. At page 175 of their report the Commission say: “We shall first examine the claims made on the Purnea district. The mother-tongue data of the census returns for this district, as has been mentioned already, have been challenged by West Bengal. The main controversy in this district, however, relates to the classification of the dialect or dialects spoken to the east of the river Mahananda.” Then, in para. 648 they say: “We do not feel called upon to review or to decide this question. The affinities between Kishanganj or Sirpuria as spoken in the extreme east of Purnea district, on the one hand, and Bengali on the other, seem to be close.” Mark this word. “But this dialect is written in the Kaithi script, which is allied to Hindi, and as one proceeds westwards its affinities with Maithili and Hindi come more marked. Arguments based on linguistic affiliations, whether

[Shri Bhupesh Gupta.] advanced by Bihar or by Bengal, are thus far from being conclusive." I would ask the hon. Minister to ponder over these words. This means that the States Reorganisation Commission came to no conclusion as to which is the language, where it is spoken, and all that. The whole thing is an *obiter dictum* as far as the States Reorganisation Commission is concerned. They have come to no conclusion, and they say that they are not called upon to review or to decide this matter. I say, review this matter, because it admits some re-examination and some review. If you find after reviewing it that there are certain Bengali-speaking areas which are contiguous to West Bengal, then those areas should be transferred to West Bengal. Those areas which are not Bengali-speaking should not be transferred at all. Since the Commission have left this question open, are you going to solve it by ignoring it? Do you think that it is going to be solved in the way you wish to solve it? That is not the right approach to take.

Then, Sir, with regard to Dhalbhum, the Commission have not come to really any definite conclusions. It has been stated that if the Dhalbhum sub-division is considered separately, Bengali is the largest language group, but it cannot, by any means, be considered to be predominant, and a *prima facie* case for boundary adjustment in favour of West Bengal has not been made out either on the ground of linguistic affiliation or on any other ground. I am now asking you one question. Since the matter has been troubling you for quite some time now, why don't you go into it seriously and be done with it once and for all? It is possible to do so, if you have a Boundary Commission. Everybody knows, and especially our Bihar friends know more than anybody else, that there are certain areas in that Dhalbhum sub-division which are contiguous to West Bengal, and which are also Bengali-speaking. They should not grudge such areas being transferred to West Bengal in our common interest. Sir, the Commission has not tackled the question properly. It has not faced the issue squarely. I submit that the Commission's judgment in regard to this matter is not at all satisfactory. Even the procedure that the Commission has followed in viewing this matter has been very very unsatisfactory and bereft of any guiding principle. Therefore, Sir, I say that our suggestion should be accepted, because we are on the threshold of solving this

problem. If our suggestion is accepted, I can assure you that there is going to be no trouble at all. I can tell you one thing. Bengalis and Biharis have learnt that, whatever may or may not happen to this matter or a similar other matter, they must live in eternal friendship, they must develop that brotherly feeling, and they must develop the mutual co-operation and understanding between them, and nothing on earth can shake the confidence that they have got through their experiences of life. I can assure the House that there will not be any trouble, if only the Congress leaders at the top leaves the people alone. The trouble-makers and the trouble-shooters here in this connection are not the people, but they are those who are occupying the ministerial position. Only they and they alone create trouble. If they stop flinging mud at each other and if they stop publicly quarrelling, thereby exciting everybody else, there is not going to be any trouble whatsoever for the people of Bihar and for the people of Bengal. I can tell you on behalf of the people of Bengal that Bengal would not have been what it is today, if the Bengalis had not known how to live with the non-Bengalis who constituted a big chunk of West Bengal's population. And, Sir, Bihar would not have been what it is today, if our Bihari friends had not known how to live with the non-Biharis who inhabited their great State.

(Time bell rings.)

Therefore, Mr. Deputy Chairman, I say that even at this late hour, Mr. Datar should see the point that we are making. Of course, I know his difficulties. I know that behind him there is that rod of the High Command. Therefore I know his difficulties quite well. But I would still request him to realise whether what we are saying is reasonable or not, and if it is reasonable, whether he would not exert whatever influence he has got with a view to getting the things changed in the direction in which they should be changed. And let us all the Biharis and the Bengalis here today, when the Bill is going to be passed, reaffirm our faith in our common friendship and in our brotherly relations. Let us give an assurance to the country, no matter what happens to this Bill, that we shall constantly endeavour to improve the relations between the peoples of our two States, and that nothing shall we allow to disturb those relations. Let us at least give this assurance to the people and fight for a just and democratic solution of the

problem, as has been suggested in the amendments proposed by us. Thank you.

SHRI T. BODRA: Mr. Deputy Chairman, I stand here to support the amendment of Mr. B. K. B. Sinha.

Sir, whenever there is this question of Bihar and Bengal, everybody speaks about Biharis and Bengalis, and nobody speaks about us. Every one of the people in the North as well as in the South of India is trying to grab as much land inhabited by the aboriginal people as possible. If the hon. Members have visited this area, they must have found that the whole of Purulia sub-district including Chas thana, Chandil thana and the Patamda police station are mainly inhabited by the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes, for example, Kurmis, Santhala, Bhumij, Bauris, Brahmans, Kumbars, Ahirs, Goalas, Bhuiyas, Rajwars, Kalus, Kamars and Lohars. They are neither Biharis nor Bengalis. Here is a part of Manbhum District in which neither the Biharis are there, nor are the Bengalis there. It is none of my concern if Bengalis throw stones at Biharis, or if Biharis throw stones at Bengalis. My concern is only this. You are out to grab the lands which are inhabited by these people. I would like to know whether you want their lands only, or you want the inhabitants of those territories also. If it is only the land that you want, then I am sure the Home Minister does not want the total extinction of these Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes. The Home Minister knows perfectly well that they are very poor and innocent people. Do you think that they can stand face to face with any superior race like that of Bengalis? What did the Assamese do? Sir, the Assamese preferred to live with Pakistanis rather than with Bengalis. The Bengali race is very prolific; the Bengal race is, I should say, to some extent, quarrelsome. The theory of having a Bengali nation is very detrimental to the interests of the country. I am not at all convinced by the reply given by the Home Minister. The Home Minister has to justify some of the actions of the Government of India. To my mind, Sir, it appears that the Government of India is yielding, if I may say so, to the cry of the Communist Party of Bengal. Well, this transfer of the territory of Purulia sub-division will be considered to be a victory of the Communist Party of Bengal. I am not at all convinced about the reasons that the Home Minister has given for justifying the action of the Government of India.

If the Government of India is trying to pacify or to appease the Communist Party of Bengal, then the decision of the Government of India is most unreasonable. I am speaking on behalf of the aboriginal people, and I would never like to hand over these poor, illiterate and simple aboriginals to the Communist Party of Bengal. If this territory in the Purulia sub-division is given to the Communist Party of India, then they will be getting the hills, the ravines, the caves, etc. for the manufacture of arms and other hand-grenades. (*Time bell rings.*)

Therefore, Sir, I again appeal to the Home Minister to withdraw this Bill even at this stage and maintain the *status quo* with regard to Bihar and West Bengal.

SHRI MAHESH SARAN: Mr. Deputy Chairman, I have to say a few words regarding the wonderful speech that our friend, Mr. Bhupesh Gupta, made. We in Bihar know what is culture and it is known everywhere what Bihar culture is. We are people who look to the interests of others. We are people who willingly give where it is necessary to give and we do not grudge it. We do not talk about linguistic principles. We talk of India as a whole, of an Indian principle, which is far better than talking of linguistic principles. Therefore, his speech was not very nice, and the tone that he adopts is very different from the speech that he made.

Regarding the creation of disturbances by Congressmen, I have only to say that, wherever there is trouble, you can see whose hands are behind it. Everybody knows about it and it is not necessary for me to make it very clear.

So far as this amendment is concerned I only want to say a few words. What I wish to emphasise is that Bihar is willing to give any portion which is necessary for the better administration of Bengal. There is no grudge in giving, but when the linguistic principle is invoked, we say, "Stick to it and find out where there is majority and where there is minority. Nowhere in Bihar has it been proved that you are really 70 per cent. Therefore, I say that, so far as this principle is concerned, we strongly oppose it. Now, certain portions have been given to West Bengal and we see no reason why it should not be done. I do submit, however, that the same principle which is applied to West Bengal must be applied to Bihar also. My submission is that, so far as the connecting link between

[Shri Mahesh Saran.]

Dhanbad and Jamshedpur is concerned, it should not be only the highway but the whole area, because from an administrative point of view, this is essential. All these people are those who work in Tata Mills and also in other factories in Dhanbad. Therefore, my submission is that you should not give only a highway. That portion is only a small portion—the places mentioned in the amendment. This is only because we want a compact area. You talk of a compact area so far as North Bengal is concerned, and we are going to give it from our side, but the same principle should be applied so far as Bihar is concerned, but here you talk only of a highway. I would submit that this portion is necessary for us for the factories in Dhanbad and Jamshedpur.

The only other point which I would like to stress is that you are giving a stretch of 200 yards. I do not think that this is necessary for maintaining the highway. If not fifteen yards, it can be up to about 20 yards. I would therefore make this appeal to the Home Minister to consider these points. Of course, so far as I am concerned, if it is found that it is necessary to give all in the interests of the solidarity of India, I for one would have no objection.

DR. RADHA KUMUD MOOKERJI: Certain figures of population have been cited in this House, and I feel that they should be carefully considered. I find, for instance, from an analysis of the population figures as given in the census of 1931 and the census of 1951, that the Bengali population of Bhagalpur District in 1931 was 4,538. It has now grown into 29,588 in the 1951 census. Similarly, in the case of Monghyr District, the Bengali population in 1931 was 3,320. It has grown into 21,081 in 1951. In Hazaribagh District, it was 11,271 in 1931, now grown into 27,352. In Patna Division, it was 8,396; now it has grown into 28,516. Lastly Tripura Division: it was 4,181 in 1931, now grown into 7,732. My point is this that the growth of population beyond the limits of the resources which sustain population has been the universal problem of the world, so much so that the remedy universally applied is family planning. So I do not understand by any stretch of imagination how the Bengalis who have grown at the rate of four times and have proved their fecundity in certain areas of Bihar, are

represented to be a dying or dwindling race in some of the other areas of Bihar which are very very healthy. They are health resorts and people go there from all parts of the country for recouping their health. So, my submission is this.

SHRI B. C. GHOSE: Which areas?

DR. RADHA KUMUD MOOKERJI: Manbhum District.

SHRI B. C. GHOSE: What are the figures for Manbhum?

DR. RADHA KUMUD MOOKERJI: They are not given here.

SHRI RAJENDRA PRATAP SINHA: They must have grown in the same ratio.

DR. RADHA KUMUD MOOKERJI: My point is that the rate of growth of population is really fundamentally a biological fact. Whereas I find that the Bengalis along with other groups of people in Bihar have been multiplying according to a certain rate of fecundity, I do not understand why the Bengalis should be represented as a dwindling and dying race in the very salubrious climate of Manbhum.

SHRI H. P. SAKSENA: Because people like Mr. Bhose are not marrying. That must be the only explanation.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: You are supporting Mr. Bodra's fears.

DR. RADHA KUMUD MOOKERJI: I only want to say that the figures which have been quoted for Manbhum and Purulia have been also not very much taken for granted even by the States Reorganisation Commission.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Yes, it has been so.

DR. RADHA KUMUD MOOKERJI: And their report casts doubts on the authenticity of these figures. I am here concerned with placing before the House biological and scientific arguments which show that the main problem of the Bengali and other populations in India is the alarming rate of growth of population which is sought to be met by these sociological schemes of family planning.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: That is family planning and not transfer of territory.

SHRI KAILASH BIHARI LALL (Bihar): I have been hearing the arguments from both sides, and I was inclined to speak after some remarks relating to me were made by Mr. Datar concerning my speech during the debate on the reference of this Bill to a Select Committee.

SHRI B. C. GHOSE: He is going back to that.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: It has emerged from the Select Committee and also from the Lok Sabha, and we are now at the second reading stage.

SHRI B. C. GHOSE: He had no opportunity to speak after Mr. Datar spoke.

SHRI KAILASH BIHARI LALL: I only want to say a few words about the remarks which he made in referring to me. I think he was chuckling over the situation that he had created by making some reference to my speech. He was congratulating the Members also for the good temperament that they had shown. I wish he may tide over today's proceedings and we could also congratulate him on how he has piloted this Bill.

However, I had no mind to speak after what was decided and the way in which he congratulated the Members and he might be glad himself. I was thinking that when he has acted according to his name—and he is nothing but “Data” and he has shown himself to be a first-class “Data”—and he has given everything to Bengal and in that spirit there may not be anything to be spoken about him. But I heard Mr. Ghose saying that there was nothing but want of sympathy from Mr. Datar or from the Government and there was no sympathy for Bengal and all that. I think he has heard those things. Then I thought that I should also speak out something. Though I cannot claim to be a “Data” just as my friend Mr. Mahesh Saran has claimed to be, that we give this and don't take anything, now we know, you know and the whole House knows and also the country outside what is our feeling and how suppressed we are. We are only to speak and support. We are not to make a reply. We are not to reason why. That is the point. I would have congratulated Mr. Datar if whatever he had given would have been accepted in the spirit in which it should have been done. I am not speaking as a Bihari just as so many people are doing nor as a

Bengali. I don't appreciate it. Mr. Bhupesh Gupta has prided that he is not speaking as a Bengali. He wished that he were a Malayalee or a Tamilian or a Telugu. I don't claim to rise so high as he claims to be but I have always felt and on good grounds that we should be nothing but Indians, nothing but Bharatis, but what do we see? It is not only that we soar in the sky and satisfy ourselves that we are so and so. Let us have our feet on the ground and feel what we are. Then you will know what you are. The real thing is, even whatever you give with good grace is not being accepted with good grace. You should note that. I don't say that this is giving.

SHRI B. C. GHOSE: This is not giving and taking.

SHRI KAILASH BIHARI LALL: It is neither giving nor taking. It is snatching. This is the first snatching by the Government and the next snatching will come. This is not giving or taking, I admit. From the whole trend of the talks in Bengal and elsewhere, from the very spirit in which we are behaving we can understand that there is no question of giving or taking. It is a question of snatching and you are right, Mr. Ghose, when you said that it is all pressure politics by a personality like Dr. Roy. Had there been any personality on the other side, you would have seen the result. There was one person but he is now the President and so there is no pressure at all. So whatever is to come...

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Do you mean to say that the Bihar Chief Minister is not a personality?

SHRI KAILASH BIHARI LALL: Whatever it be, you might be knowing in your heart whether our Chief Minister is a personality and how he is faring in the Committee where he has to fare. The real fact is that you have to take and you have taken. You feel “I have to take” and you have done it. You feel that you have to snatch and you have snatched. Next time it will be more. My friend might be wondering that I am importing some spirit which should not be done. Truth is such a blunt thing and truth is sometimes pricking—there is no doubt. But the plain fact is this. Don't talk of provincialism or parochialism or anything. But you act all the time in that spirit and you want to hide the result from the outside people and

[Shri Kailash Bihari Lall.]

you pride yourself that you have accomplished the thing in a very nice way. Of course it may be a question of pride for some persons but then it is suppressing the right thing. You should not try to suppress the truth. I will appeal to Mr. Datar and you also that it is not question of suppressing the truth. My friend Mr. Gupta was suggesting something about suppressing the truth. I also return in the same language. It is no use suppressing the truth or suggesting a false thing. Come in the plain way and it is a fact. You have been accused of being a Shylock. I don't know whether Mr. Datar has been accused of being a Shylock or the Bihari people. I am also a bit hard of hearing just as Mr. Gupta is....

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : That will do.

SHRI B. C. GHOSE: Let him go on, Sir.

SHRI KAILASH BIHARI LALL: I heard him accusing somebody of being Shylock in spirit...

AN. HON. MEMBER: Whom?

SHRI KAILASH BIHARI LALL: Mr. Bhupesh Gupta accused Mr. Datar of the Shylock spirit or he was accusing the Bihar Members. I could not follow him correctly.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: I meant Shri Shree Krishna Sinha is Shylock, we are in the role of Portia and the Bihari people as Antonio.

SHRI KAILASH BIHARI LALL: I cannot stretch my imagination so far up to Shakespeare. We are playing a good drama ourselves. I put it to Mr. Datar whether he expected this spirit? This was the thing which we were dinning into his ears that it is not for the sake of Bihar or for Bengal, that you are doing something which will destroy the spirit of nationalism in the country. Can you not take note of this that, when the whole of Bihar was offered according to the Prime Minister's suggestion of Zonal States, and when the people of Bihar accepted it and said "Let there be one Purva Pradesh", then there was a cry and calculations were made that Biharis might be in majority. Even then Bihar suggested "Let there be other States included like Orissa and Assam and let there be a Purva Pradesh if you are afraid of majority", even then, it was

not accepted by Bengal? Could you not understand from this how much parochialism is there or the feeling of isolationism is there? You can discern that and still you want to satisfy yourselves that you are doing something for the better administration and good administration of a particular State. All right, you may have that consolation but I speak from the national point of view that it is something that will recoil upon you and go against the interest of the nation. There is no question of Bengalis or Biharis or any question of enmity or ill-feeling against them. We have to take stock of things in the present time and not calculate about the future or to a long future or a long past but we should take the present into consideration and so we take the present into consideration and we find that this sort of transaction by the Government of India is not going to help the cause of nationalism; when they see that their own proposal is being spurned by those people for whose benefit or for the benefit of the whole nation that was suggested, then they should have taken stock of their position, and said "If you don't accept the Zonal States, then it is better that you remain where you are". Then they would have thought over it but you want to pacify the very spirit of parochialism and the very spirit of provincialism and when they are still saying we don't believe in bilingualism. You have seen the war going on against it. You have raised your voice but you are again trying to satisfy that unilingual spirit and you say that you want to see multi-lingual and bilingual States come into being. Are you supporting the cause of bilingual and multilingual States in the way in which you are pacifying Bengal? You should be true to your own principles. There is no question of satisfying this friend or that friend or this party or that party or this State or that State. You know that this disease has gone deep into the spirit of the people everywhere but once you are awakened, when once you have felt this spirit is doing harm to the nation, you should have said "Thus far and no further". Government could have said "We are going ahead with the zonal arrangement, to form a zonal State comprising of Bengal, Bihar, Assam and Orissa. If you do not support it, then we withdraw the whole thing and you remain where you are". But they have not done that. First you tried to get the country satisfied in the name of language. If that fails, then you try to say that it is

necessary for administrative purposes. So it is just a case of saying, if you did not abuse me, then it must have been your father who did it, in regard to the transfer of these areas. If it is not one reason, then it is the other, because it is a case of pressure politics as Mr. Ghose said. At least we must hang down our heads now. I say my friends would have been wise not to give such reason. Now they find out reasons. If one reason is not found suitable, then another is brought out. It is just because you have decided upon the transfer of certain portion of Bihar to Bengal, because you have to satisfy certain personalities. Then for this reason or that reason it has to go.

Then you say that Bengal has suffered very much. What suffering? I am not for creating any bad blood or for casting any aspersions. But I am not able to understand this talk of Bengal having suffered. It is like the cry of America about the free world. Whoever supports America in the United Nations, is in the free world. Similar is the case with Bengal's suffering.

Bengal has suffered, they say. But I fail to understand how Bengal has suffered. I say Bengal has brought about suffering for others. That I have understood. I have got very great regard for Dr. Mookerji. I submit to him. But if only the people of Bengal had changed their mentality, the whole people of Bihar would have been at their feet. But you give the people pin-pricks. You know in the Punjab, because the Arabs and the Persians and the Afghans came and invaded India through the North-west, there were conversions and many became Muslims. But how is it that there are so many Muslims in East Bengal? Bengal had no invasion by foreign people through the North-east. But how is it that so many people became Muslims there? I say, you are the people who created Pakistan. There was ill-feeling among the people. You ill-treated your widows. You ill-treated other sections of society due to the virulent case system prevalent there. And on the most frivolous grounds, you made people outcastes. And what could those people do? They became Muslims and gradually they became the majority. And so was created East Pakistan. I have heard here about partition so many times, I do not want to enter into the history of the creation of Pakistan. But for that you are yourself responsible and also for the partition of the country

and this misfortune you brought on your self and on the the nation. Still you say, you are suffering. What is it that you are suffering? Bengal and Bihar were one province. In our own time. I have felt every sphere of life in Bihar was full of Bengalis. If you went to a school, there was no other teacher except a Bengali. At the Bar, except Bengalis there were no lawyers. There was no doctor except a Bengali. In every sphere of life, the Bengalis predominated. If the Biharis have been awakened who is responsible? Take a simple instance of how the Bengalis by their own attitude towards Biharis brought about difference. If a Bihari would go to the ticket window at the railway station and ask “बाबूजी, टिकट दीजिये” he was rebuked by being told “खोटामानुष.” But if he would say in Bengali “महाशय, एक्का टिकट दीन” he was at once given the ticket.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Mr. Kailash Bihari Lall, we are on the amendment.

SHRI KAILASH BIHARI LALL: You have invited trouble on yourself and you have invited trouble for others also, and then you make a case for yourself and say, you are suffering, you are suffering. You want Mr. Datar to be more charitable, that he should be a greater “Datar” and give you more and more. That is not correct. So, I say, I oppose the amendments moved by Mr. Ghose and by Mr. Bhupesh Gupta.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Mr. Datar.

MR. RAJENDRA PRATAP SINHA: What about my amendment?

SHRI B. N. DATAR: Already the question has been discussed in a detailed manner and I do not want to take up any more time. So far as Patamda police station is concerned, it was considered necessary to retain it in Bihar, especially the site of the Dimna reservoir which supplies water to Jamshedpur city. This was considered very essential so far as the needs of Jamshedpur were concerned. It had nothing to do with the Tatas and others and needlessly my hon. friend waxed eloquent bringing in the Tatas into this matter. So far as the other questions are concerned, I have already answered them.

SHRI RAJENDRA PRATAP SINHA: Is the supply of water to the town or for the Tata works ?

SHRI B. N. DATAR: I said Jamshed-pur city. It has nothing to do with the Tatas, but my hon. friend in his usual way mixed up the points bringing in all these people.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: But Dr. B. C. Roy stated it in.....

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Order, order.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : He stated that. . . .

SHRI B. N. DATAR: The principle...

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Order, Order. Mr. Gupta, he has not yielded to you.

SHRI B. N. DATAR: The principle that was followed is the one laid down in the Report of the States Reorganisation Commission. They have stated thus:

"We do not consider it necessary, however, to recommend the transfer of any area which may not be absolutely essential in order to achieve the object in view."

And for that purpose, Sir, we have given this highway. So far as the other areas are concerned, they are the minimum required for Bengal, not the maximum.

Therefore, I would like to point out that we have taken account of all the facts of this case. There is no question of any pressure tactics, either from the Chief Minister of Bihar or from the Chief Minister of Bengal. In fact, both of them, are incapable of exercising any pressure, except the pressure of reason. Therefore, I would submit that what has been done is the least that is necessary to be done. I oppose the amendments.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: The question is:

2. "That at page 2, for lines 31 to 33, the following be substituted namely:—

'(b) Sadar sub-division of Manbhum district excluding Chas thana, Chandil thana, Patamda police station of Barabhum thana, Jhalda thana, Baghmundi thana, Arsa police station of Purulia thana and those portions of Purulia mufassil

and Balrampur police stations in Purulia thana which lie to the west of Dhanbad-Jamshedpur highway'."

SHRI RAJENDRA PRATAP SINHA: I have to make a submission to you, Sir.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: No submission at this stage. I am taking the vote.

SHRI RAJENDRA PRATAP SINHA: One submission. . . .

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: I am very sorry.

SHRI RAJENDRA PRATAP SINHA: Sir, you have got to protect the rights of the Opposition and the right of every individual Member. Therefore, I plead that you will kindly hold a division on this matter.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Yes, but there are two ways of holding a division.

SHRI RAJENDRA PRATAP SINHA : We want the names to be recorded. Bihar wants to know who stood by her in her hour of crisis.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Order, order. It is left to me to take a division or not.

SHRI RAJENDRA PRATAP SINHA : And therefore, I plead that you may kindly exercise your discretion in our favour.

SHRI T. BODRA: It is within your right, Sir.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Order, order. Please sit down.

(After a count) Ayes 2; Noes 18.

The motion was negatived.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: The question is:

3. "That at page 2,—

(i) in line 37, for the 'words 'two hundred yards', the words "fifteen yards" be substituted; and

(ii) in line 39, for the words 'two hundred yards', the words "fifteen yards" be substituted".

(After a count) Ayes 2; Noes 18.

The motion was negatived.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: The question is:

4. "That at page 3, after line 7, the following further proviso be inserted, namely:—

'Provided also that from the point where the first-mentioned and the second-mentioned highways meet the southern boundaries of Islampur town and Dalkola town, respectively, to the point where they leave the northern boundaries of those towns, the boundaries shall be the same as the boundaries of those towns on the east.'

(After a count) Ayes 2; Noes 18.

The motion was negatived.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: The question is:

5. "That at page 2, for lines 24 to 30, the following be substituted, namely:—

'(a) that portion of Kishanganj sub-division of Purnea district which lies to the east of Mechi river and after the point it joins with Mahananda river, the river Mahananda; and.'

The motion was negatived.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: The question is:

6. "That at page 2, lines 25 to 29, for the words 'boundary line demarcated in accordance with the provisions of sub-section (2) by an authority appointed in this behalf by the Central Government and that portion of Gopalpur thana of the said district which lies to the east or north, as the case may be, of the said boundary line', the words 'Mechi river up to the point of intersection of the Mechi river with the Mahananda river, and thereafter to east of the Mahananda river up to the point of intersection of the Mahananda river with the border of Malda district' be substituted."

The motion was negatived.

2 P.M.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: The question is:

7. "That at page 2, for lines 31 to 33, the following be substituted namely:—

(b) Purulia sub-division of Manbhum district;

(c) such other areas as may be demarcated for inclusion in West Bengal by the Boundary Commission to be set up under section 4A;."

(After a count) Ayes 3; Noes 21.

The motion was negatived.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: The question is:

8. "That at page 2, for lines 31 to 33 the following be substituted, namely:—

'(b) that portion of Purulia sub-division of Manbhum district excluding Chas thana, Chandil thana and Patamda police station of Barabhum thana which lies to the east of the new highway to be constructed by joining the points where the district board road enters and leaves Purulia sub-division;."

The motion was negatived.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: The question is:

9. "That at page 2, lines 32-33, the words and Patamda police station of Barabhum thana be deleted."

The motion was negatived.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: The question is:

"That clause 3 stand part of the Bill."

SHRI T. BODRA: We should have the names, at least, Sir.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: No purpose will be served with only two voting against. Anyway, I shall take a count.

(After a count) Ayes 20; Noes 2.

The motion was adopted.

Clause 3 was added to the Bill.

Clause 4 was added to the Bill.

New Clause 4A

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Sir, I beg to move:

11. "That at page 3, after line 41, the following new clause be inserted namely:—

[Shri Bhupesh Gupta.]

'4A. *Boundary Commission*.—(1) A Boundary Commission shall be appointed consisting of a Judge of the Supreme Court to be nominated by the Chief Justice, a linguist and an expert on tribal problems to demarcate contiguous Bengali speaking areas in Dhanbad sub-division of Manbhum district, Dhalbhum sub-division of Singhbhum district, Santhal Parganas and other areas of Purnea district, taking village as a unit, and trying to keep a particular tribe under the administrative unit or system as far as possible.

(2) Immediately on such demarcation, the areas so formed shall form part of the State of West Bengal and shall cease to form part of the State of Bihar."

(The amendment also stood in the names of Messrs. Satyapriya Banerjee and Abdur Rezzak Khan).

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: The amendment is before the House. You have already spoken, Mr. Gupta.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: I have only one point. I have spoken on the other points but here I want. . .

SHRI RAJENDRA PRATAP SINHA: Sir, I rise to a point order. Is any division taken during the lunch hour binding and permitted under Rules?

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Yes, when there is a quorum and when the Business Advisory Committee has decided that we should sit during the lunch hour.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: He is fighting for a lost cause and is fighting very well.

SHRI H. P. SAKSENA: Even if it be for half an hour, should be not adjourn for lunch?

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Not today, Mr. Saksena.

SHRI RAJENDRA PRATAP SINHA: We can adjourn for half an hour.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: You can adjourn if you like.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Not today.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: I have already stated the reasons why we have asked for the appointment of a Boundary Commission. It is because certain things will not be solved by the present Bill. I say, in my amendment, "A Boundary Commission shall be appointed consisting of a Judge of the Supreme Court to be nominated by the Chief Justice, a linguist and an expert on tribal problems to demarcate contiguous. . ." etc., and towards the end, I say, ". . . trying to keep a particular tribe under the administrative unit or system as far as possible".

I would here develop only this particular point as I had already covered the other points. My hon. friend, Mr. Bodra, was saying so much about our indifference towards the tribal people; he said that we are not concerned with the tribal areas. As to that, I say to him now that we are very deeply concerned with the future of the great tribal people because we feel that unless and until the tribal people are really assisted and brought into the light of history, our country will not have prospered. Therefore, we have made a suggestion that the tribal compactness should not be broken up, as far as possible and it should be seen that the compactness remains and that they should go to the State to which they desire to go. Now, this is something which is in consonance with the stand that we had taken before the Reorganisation Commission. Mr. Bodra said that if certain territories were to be transferred to West Bengal, particularly the hilly areas, the Communist Party would be preparing bombs on the hills and all that. Such a wonderful discovery he has made. I shall ask him to bear in mind the actual position in regard to this matter rather than live in a world of fantasy of his own. When demarcating boundaries of these States, there may be tribal areas within these boundaries. The tribal areas wherein a particular distinctive tribe lives should be attached to one linguistic State or the other as far as their culture and linguistic affinities go. They should be attached to that State on which their economic development is more closely linked and is likely to be more naturally developed. Where a tribe is interspersed by categories of neighbouring linguistic population, then a compact area wherein a tribe lives will have to be put in those States with which the economic life is linked or likely to be more naturally developed. This is precisely the principle

[Shri Bhupesh Gupta.]

on which we would like the question of tribal areas of Purulia to be gone into and determined. We are not in a position to offer any readymade formula straightway here; we want the Boundary Commission for that purpose. It is a most unfortunate expression to have come from the hon. Member on my side that we Communists are interested in breaking up things and that we are not interested in anything else. He was appealing to the Government not to strengthen the Communist Party. I should have thought Mr. Bodra, since you are with us, strengthening us would mean strengthening you because we sit on the same side.

SHRI T. BODRA: I would be the last person to strengthen the Communist Party.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Then I do not know how long you will be sitting here. Very soon, you will find a place on the other side of the House because people who thought on those lines have landed there, as Prof. Ranga had done in the past. Anyway, it is all right; we would be sorry to miss you and I hope that misfortune would not befall us in the near future. Nevertheless, whatever you may do, or may not do, we are not concerned but we are concerned with the tribal people and their well being. Therefore, we feel that this amendment should be accepted also in their interest. It is a question that has to be gone into. Let there be a Boundary Commission; Mr. Bodra can go and fight out his case and point out the hills where the Communists would be preparing bombs. If he starts talking like that, there will be so many explosions in his thoughts and that will be the greatest calamity that the tribal people would have ever thought of. In the amendment, I have also said that the areas, after such demarcation, shall form part of the State of West Bengal and shall cease to form part of the State of Bihar. I should like to ask a question of Mr. Datar through you. Is it not a very reasonable suggestion? I tell you that this is the only thing that we can do at this stage; nothing could be clinched here but provision should be made to go into the question and discuss it on merits. That is all that we want by this provision. The Biharis and the Bengalis could go there, state their case as they like, in whichever manner they like and argue the points but the case will be decided on merits. That is all that I want by this

provision and that is why I want this provision to be incorporated in the Bill. I hope that even if this amendment does not find acceptance with Mr. Datar, the principle will find appreciation from him.

SHRI T. BODRA: I would be the last person to strengthen the Communist Party and the trouble will be untold if you allow them to enter this part of the Purulia sub-division, this hilly part of the country. I would like to tell the House that the aboriginals are very poor people and very simple people. They are the most ignorant people. If one Communist Member, If one Communist volunteer goes and incites the aboriginal people, the whole of the aboriginal race will be exploited and the peace and freedom of the Chota Nagpur Division will be in a very dangerous condition. Therefore, Sir, I will again submit that if this hilly portion of the country is transferred to West Bengal and is open to the volunteers of the Communist Party, then that will be very very detrimental to the Government of India. I do not want, Sir, that my aboriginal people should be handed over to the Communist Party. We ourselves are suffering so many handicaps, so many exploitations. If a Communist volunteer comes there, he will exploit the whole thing and the Communist Party will get ready-made material in Chota Nagpur Division. Therefore, feel that this Chota Nagpur Division should not be transferred to West Bengal.

SHRI B. N. DATAR: Sir, I am opposing this amendment for a number of reasons. In the first place the hon. Member's suggestion is absolutely vague and impracticable. He suggests village as a unit, but it is not sufficient to merely mention village as a unit. You have to mention the linguistic population. You have also to mention a number of affinities. They have not been done. We have got five lakhs of villages in India and if this criterion were to be accepted, even ten years will not be sufficient to demarcate the limits of the various States. Secondly, Sir, the question of tribes has been brought in here. So far as the tribals are concerned, there are numerous tribes speaking different languages and having different manners and customs. They are not all segregated in one area at all and naturally, Sir, it is not possible to form what can be called a Tribes Land. It is not possible at all, but Government are taking all steps to protect

and to preserve to the extent that is necessary the legitimate rights, manners and other things of the tribal people. Then lastly, Sir, the hon. Member in his enthusiasm has purported to depend solely upon the demarcation of a boundary commission. That is entirely wrong, Sir. It is the Parliament's prerogative, under article 3 of the Constitution, to demarcate the States or to transfer certain areas from one State to the other. Under these circumstances I am afraid the amendment cannot be accepted at all. It has been pointed out on a number of occasions, in the course of the discussion on this Bill and the States Reorganisation Bill that if the assurance for a boundary commission were to be given, the irritation will continue and things will not stabilise.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: The question is :

11. "That at page 3, after line 41, the following new clause be inserted, namely :—

'4A. *Boundary Commission.*—

(1) A Boundary Commission shall be appointed consisting of a Judge of the Supreme Court to be nominated by the Chief Justice, a linguist and an expert on tribal problems to demarcate contiguous Bengali speaking areas in Dhanbad sub-division of Manbhum district, Dhalbhum sub-division of Singhbhum district, Santhal Parganas and other areas of Purnea district, taking village as a unit, and trying to keep a particular tribe under one administrative unit or system as far as possible.

(2) Immediately on such demarcation, the areas so formed shall form part of the State of West Bengal and shall cease to form part of the State of Bihar."

The motion was negatived.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: I am putting now clauses 5 to 15.

SHAH MOHAMAD UMAIR (Bihar) : Just one thing, Sir, about clause 8 I want to submit to Mr. Datar, not by way of amendment or suggestion but only to draw his attention to clause 8. When clause 3 has already been passed and the area of Purnea and Purulia has been transferred to West Bengal, I want to point out to him only this much that at least he should take care to see

that particularly the parliamentary constituencies of the Purulia and Purnea districts may not be split up and tagged on to different bordering districts. At least no insult will be added to the injury which has already been done to them, I hope.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Clause 8 refers only to sitting Members.

SHAH MOHAMAD UMAIR : I only request that at the time of the revision of constituencies, these parliamentary constituencies may not be split up. I hope that Mr. Datar, in whose intelligence and genius I have got full faith, will see to it that the constituency is not split up and combined with outside districts.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: That is a separate clause. It has nothing to do with clause 8.

SHRI J. S. BISHT (Uttar Pradesh) : Sir, I want to point out a legal difficulty with regard to clause 5.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Mr. Bisht, we have taken too much time already, one hour and fifteen minutes extra, and at least by 3 o'clock, I want to finish this.

SHRI J. S. BISHT: I want just one clarification about clause 5. It says "As from the appointed day, in the Fourth Schedule to the Constitution" there will be such and such changes. And in the States Reorganisation Bill that we passed, clause 23 lays down another principle. Now I consulted Mr. Mukerjee, Secretary of this House who seems to think that this Act will be passed later on so that it will supersede the previous Act on this particular point, but the difficulty is that both these amendments to the Fourth Schedule come into force "on the appointed day"—it says. "As from the appointed day", etc. That is to say "on the appointed day" there is one Schedule of clause 23 and another Schedule of clause 5, and each of these bills, claims to be sovereign because it says, "In spite of anything contained in any other law for the time being" etc. which is the more correct thing?

SHRI B. N. DATAR: There is no difficulty at all. The States Reorganisation Bill has already been passed. Then this Bill will be passed by this House and then thereafter we shall have the Constitution (Ninth Amendment) Bill and everything will be properly done. The hon. Member need not have any anxiety.

Clauses 5 to 15 were added to the Bill.

Clause 16—Delimitation of Constituencies

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Yes, Mr. Gupta.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : I move :

12. "That at page 6, lines 2-3, for the words 'appoint an authority', the words 'constitute a Delimitation Commission in the manner herein-after provided' be substituted."

13. "That at page 6, for lines 15-16, the following be substituted, namely:—

'(2) The Delimitation Commission shall be composed of two members, one of whom shall be a person who is or has been a Judge of the Supreme Court or of a High Court and the other the Chief Election Commissioner, *ex-officio*. The Central Government shall nominate the member other than the Chief Election Commissioner as the Chairman.

(3) To assist such Commission seven associate members shall be nominated by the Central Government, of whom three shall be members of the House of the People and the other four members of the West Bengal Legislative Assembly. In so nominating, the Central Government shall take into consideration the composition of the Houses in the same manner as was provided under the Delimitation Commission Act, 1952, provided, however, that the associate members appointed under the said Act shall be so nominated if they are willing and satisfy the requirement of this Act as to their representation.

(4) Such associate members shall have no right to vote or to sign any decision of the Commission.

(5) Any vacancy in the office of the Chairman, member or associate member shall be filled by the Central Government as soon as practicable.

(6) Save as otherwise provided herein the Commission shall have all the powers and functions of the Commission as provided in the Delimitation Commission Act, 1952.

(7) Authenticated copies of all orders amending, cancelling and substituting the Delimitation Order made under the Delimitation Commission Act, 1952, shall be sent to the Central Government and to each of the State Governments and thereupon that order shall supersede all orders made by the former Commission and have the full force of the law and shall not be called in question in any court.

(8) Such orders shall be laid on the Table of the Houses of Parliament and the State Legislatures by the Central and State Governments, respectively, as soon as may be after they are received.

(9) All elections to the House of the People or the State Legislatures shall be held according to that order after the appointed day in supersession of, and notwithstanding any provision in any other law".

(The amendments also stood in the names of Shri J. V. K. Vallabharao, Shri P. Narayanan Nair, Shri Satyapriya Banerjee and Shri Abdur Rezzak Khan.)

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: The amendments and the clause are before the House.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Sir, I have not much to say on this except that we want the composition of the Delimitation Commission to be a little altered so that it becomes really acceptable to all sections of the people. I have suggested how it should be composed and along which line it should function. These are all stated extensively in the texts of the amendments themselves and I hope the hon. Minister—well, what is the use of hoping that he will accept them—I place them before the hon. Minister.

SHRI B. N. DATAR: I am not able to accept them, Sir.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: The question is:

12. "That at page 6, lines 2-3, for the words 'appoint an authority', the words 'constitute a Delimitation Commission in the manner herein-after provided' be substituted."

The motion was negatived.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : The question is:

13. "That at page 6, for lines 15-16, the following be substituted namely:—

'(2) The Delimitation Commission shall be composed of two members, one of whom shall be a person who is or has been a Judge of the Supreme Court or of a High Court and the other the Chief Election Commissioner *ex-officio*. The Central Government shall nominate the member other than the Chief Election Commissioner as the Chairman.

(3) To assist such Commission seven associate members shall be nominated by the Central Government, of whom three shall be members of the House of the People and the other four members of the West Bengal Legislative Assembly. In so nominating, the Central Government shall take into consideration the composition of the Houses in the same manner as was provided under the Delimitation Commission Act, 1952, provided, however, that the associate members appointed under the said Act shall be so nominated if they are willing and satisfy the requirement of this Act as to their representation.

(4) Such associate members shall have no right to vote or to sign any decision of the Commission.

(5) Any vacancy in the office of the Chairman, member or associate member shall be filled by the Central Government as soon as practicable.

(6) Save as otherwise provided herein the Commission shall have all the powers and functions of the Commission as provided in the Delimitation Commission Act, 1952.

(7) Authenticated copies of all orders amending, cancelling and substituting the Delimitation Order made under the Delimitation Commission Act, 1952, shall be sent to the Central Government and to each of the State Governments and thereupon that order shall supersede all orders made by the former Commission and have the full force of the law and shall not be called in question in any Court.

(8) Such orders shall be laid on the Table of the Houses of Parliament and the State Legislatures by the Central and State Governments, respectively, as soon as may be after they are received.

(9) All elections to the House of the People, or the State Legislatures shall be held according to that order after the appointed day in supersession of, and notwithstanding any provision in any other law'."

The motion was negatived.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: The question is:

"That clause 16 stand part of the Bill."

The motion was adopted.

Clause 16 was added to the Bill.

Clauses 17 to 52 and the Schedule were added to the Bill.

Clause 2 was added to the Bill.

Clause 1, the Title and the Enacting Formula were added to the Bill.

SHRI B. N. DATAR : I move :

"That the Bill be passed."

(Shri B. K. P. Sinha and Shri Rajendra Pratap Sinha rose to speak.)

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Yes, Mr. Sinha. Just five minutes each.

SHRI B. K. P. SINHA (Bihar): I would request you to give me ten minutes, Sir. I have given my name for five or six days. Well, Sir.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: We have already exceeded the time by one and a half hours.

SHRI B. K. P. SINHA: I would request you to give me ten minutes.

SHRI JASPAT ROY KAPOOR (Uttar Pradesh): May I just enquire, Sir, just to hold our soul in patience, as to what would be the policy of the Chair this time, whether non-Biharis and non-Bengalis would also get a chance or not. Just for the sake of information, so that.....

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Mr. Jaspal Roy Kapoor, we have exceeded the time by about one and a half hours. I want to know how long you want to go on with this Bill because it was expected to close this at 1 o'clock. Now,

[Mr. Deputy Chairman.]

it is 2-15. I want to close at least by 3 o'clock. If each hon. Member takes about five minutes, we can accommodate six speakers excluding those who have already taken part.

SHRI JASPAT ROY KAPOOR: It was just in appreciation of that difficulty that I put that question.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Just five minutes each for those who have not taken part.

SHRI B. K. P. SINHA: I expect ten minutes, Sir.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Please confine yourself to five minutes. Let us close it at 3 o'clock.

SHRI B. K. P. SINHA: Mr. Deputy Chairman, the great debate has almost come to an end and the drama of life that the States Reorganisation has been is almost over. Sir, I would congratulate not only the Members of this House but the people of Bengal and Bihar who have conducted this controversy in a spirit of tolerance and restraint though sometimes their pens have been sharp and tongues rather pungent. All the same, Sir, there has not been any ugly demonstration of violence or exercise of physical pressure. Sir, we have striven and striven mightily as lawyers do at law, but now that the curtain is falling, let us, the people of Bengal and Bihar, make a determined and sincere and honest effort to live hereafter in peace and amity and eat and drink as friends. Bihar's views on this measure are well known, but let bygones be bygones. The past is dead and cannot revive. I accept, Sir, the verdict of this high court of Parliament. I do not want, as a representative of Bihar, to exhibit a petty-fogging spirit, usually exhibited by professional litigants, who always assail a judgment as perverse and wrong unless that judgment is in their favour. Three bodies, the States Reorganisation Commission, this Parliament and the Union Government have gone into this question deeply and delivered, what we consider, a judgment against us. When all these three bodies take the same view of the question at dispute, I am prepared to accept though against my own reason, that this was the only proper solution in the circumstances of this case.

Sir, I can assure you that we shall never cast our longing eyes towards these territories. Our advice to the people

inhabiting these territories shall be, "your primary loyalty has always been to India and should always be to India; but your secondary loyalty which has so far been to Bihar should, as from the appointed day, be transferred to the great State of West Bengal". Sir, we would tell those people who are going to be separated from us, "have no fears. West Bengal has a tradition of tolerance, a tradition of greatness. The region which produced Chaitanya, Rabindra Nath Tagore, Deshbandhu Das and Subash Chandra Bose, is not going to be unfair to you. You were Indians and you remain Indians". Sir, I am reminded of a custom which prevails in the eastern region of India. Whenever there is separation, the eldest son usually gets a portion in excess of his legitimate share. When Bengal and Bihar were separated, the elder brother did not get any excess share. He got only what was his due but now after 40 years, since the elder brother is in a stricken condition, we, as the younger brother, would say "you get the *Jeshtha-bhaga* which you did forego when we parted happily as brothers". Sir, Bengal is stricken, is suffering. But in my opinion this solution is not the proper remedy for the sufferings of Bengal. There is only one solution for the ailments of Bengal and that is the union of these two territories of Bihar and Bengal. We were united for more than a century. We lived like brothers, there was never an occasion when we thought of fighting each other. Why can we not live in peace and brotherliness in future? Sir, the economy of these two regions is complementary. Even nature has ordained matters in such a way that these two regions cannot live apart; they have to live together. Bihar is rich in mineral resources. Bihar is rich in brawn; Bengal is rich in brain, rich in intellect. Let us come together and then I am sure the potentialities of these two regions will be effectively realised and in the course of not more than 25 years this region shall be transformed into the proverbial region flowing with milk and honey.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: But the.....

SHRI B. K. P. SINHA: Whenever we talk of the two regions coming together, my friends sitting on the opposite benches, especially my hon. friend, Mr. Bhupesh Gupta, gets into jitters. (*Time bell rings.*) Sir, I have only.....

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: You have taken ten minutes.

SHRI B. K. P. SINHA: I started at only 2-20.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: No; no. You started at 2-15. Please wind up your speech.

SHRI B. K. P. SINHA: This principle of linguism is not an eternal principle. It is not an immutable principle. Man in his eternal march in history has evolved many a principle to lead a happy, prosperous and good life, to ensure a good and full life to all the citizens. This principle of linguism was discovered and evolved in the 19th century and when Europe.....

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Do not go back to past history; there is no time now for that.

SHRI B. K. P. SINHA: I may wind up.

SHRI JASPAT ROY KAPOOR: His peroration.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: We are at the last stage.

SHRI B. K. P. SINHA: That is why I am stressing, "let us unite". Even in the West where this principle was discovered, there are countries which are multilingual. They are all prosperous and happy precisely because they are multilingual. There is no reason why we should not build up on the experience gathered by those countries, come together and build up a happy and prosperous life for the people of both Bengal and Bihar.

SHRI P. N. SAPRU: Mr. Deputy Chairman, we passed the other day a measure of the most far-reaching importance so far as the future of the States is concerned. Today we have set the seal of our approval on a Bill which will regulate the relationship so far as territory is concerned between Bihar and Bengal. One of the striking features of this debate has been the good humour that has characterised it. My eloquent friend opposite, Mr. Bhupesh Gupta, spoke with vehemence about the linguistic principle. Mr. Bimal Ghose spoke in a thoughtful manner about the theory underlying linguism. I, Mr. Deputy Chairman, happen to come from an area

or from a State which has remained unaffected by these controversies. We have escaped partition; we have escaped loss of territory and therefore we are in a position to sympathise with our friends of both Bihar and Bengal. Our State has achieved linguistic unity and it is therefore in a position to sympathise within limits with the linguistic principle for which Mr. Bimal Ghose pleaded eloquently. Sir, this Bill does not give everything that the Biharis wanted; nor does it give everything that the Bengalis wanted. It is really a compromise measure which was evolved by the common-sense of the Joint Select Committee. Sir, it was a pleasure to work in the Joint Select Committee and to have seen how wonderfully its deliberations were conducted by our eminent leader, Pandit Govind Ballabh Pant.

A complaint was made by Dr. Radha Kumud Mookerji; it was rather like the complaint of an old type imperialist. He was sorry; rather he deplored, as the Frenchman would deplore or the diehard Britisher would deplore, that there had been three partitions and that each partition had made Bengal suffer or had resulted in a diminution of the territories of Bengal. I think it is hardly the way to look at a big question. I can understand the stand of Mr. Bhupesh Gupta; I can understand the stand of Mr. Bimal Ghose, but I cannot understand the old Professor, respected Professor, talking in a language which is hardly distinguishable from the language of an imperialist. I won't use the word "jingo" because Mr. Deputy Chairman might object, and I have respect for the Chair. Sir, I say the remedy is in their hands. Both Bengal and Bihar want to be big. I think it is a very natural desire for Bengal to be a big State. The remedy for their present plight is in the hands of our Bengali and Bihari friends. Let each one of them, with belief in their destiny try to work together and if they can build up a joint State, they will have made a lasting contribution to the Indian Union.

The union of Bengal and Bihar cannot be forced by well-meaning people. The movement for the union must be a spontaneous movement and the lead in that movement can only come from the people of Bengal and Bihar. May it be given to them to come together for that greater union of the two States which will be welcomed by the other States of India.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : Mr. Deputy Chairman, at this stage one has very little to say. Only I would like to say a few concluding words.

[THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRIMATI SHARDA BHARGAVA) in the Chair.]

Very rightly hon. friends from that side have pointed out that this controversy has not strained the relationship between the Bihari and the Bengali people. I appreciate that expression, and it is good that it came from a Bihari friend in this House who sits opposite. Madam, there has been a controversy over this matter in the past few months, and if you recall that controversy, you will find that the more the leaders at the top belonging to the Congress Party have tried to create dissensions and bickerings and have tried to rouse passions and feelings the more the people of Bihar and Bengal have tried to come closer together and unite in the common struggle. That has been the experience. If this controversy has revealed anything, it has revealed that the principal thing is the unity of the Bengali and Bihari people. They would allow nothing to disturb their relations which they have developed over the years and they want to protect their relations at all costs. Today I know that some people in Bihar may feel that they are parting with certain territories and certain understandable feelings might cause them sorrow, but at the same time I know that the Bihari people will realise that there was a time when they themselves fought for the linguistic reorganisation of provinces and succeeded in getting one. They would be happy that today the same principles which they have for years upheld so valiantly are at least partially being recognised in the adjustment of boundaries. Bihar will be happy to recall their glorious tradition and the feeling that certain things along those lines are being done would give them satisfaction. Of this I have not a doubt in my mind whatever may have been the work of other people at the top. The greatness of the Bihari people lies not in the strength of its number nor in the area it possesses, it lies in its own light, in its democratic light, in how it reorganises and revises its destiny in the years to come. I think they will realise as time passes that by strengthening the forces of democracy, in particular the forces of democratic opposition, they will be able to advance their cause. This is the lesson they have learnt. The prosperity of the Bihari

people lies not in the coalfields they possess. It lies in those who work in these coalfields, and these men would not tolerate the tyranny to which they have been subjected and the exploitation which they have suffered. Likewise the people of Bengal are realising, have realised, that it is not Dr. B. C. Roy who can offer a solution to the problems of Bengal. They have seen in this controversy that whatever may be his tall talks and big claims Dr. B. C. Roy cannot but yield to the counsels of reason. They have known that in the anti-merger struggle it was the Bengali people themselves wherein lay the source of their strength. It is there that you must discover their cultural and creative genius. Therefore, I know that Bengal will also direct her efforts for strengthening the forces of democracy and thereby help the attainment of the full stature of this land. That is how the people both in Bengal and Bihar will try to live a new life, not by quarrelling with each other, not by encouraging fissiparous tendencies or bickerings, but by launching a common struggle for prosperity and progress. Madam, it is a great privilege for us in West Bengal that we live and function and go about our daily lives with our Bihari friends there in the factories of the City of Calcutta. We have lived in friendship and amity, and what is more, who have lived in common struggle all these years. This will continue, and whatever they may do at the top, I assure you that in the coming months and the coming years there will be no disturbance of the relations between these two people. They have learnt a lesson and they will work together for their common progress and for their common happiness, and I know that the people of Bengal and Bihar will not forget their lessons. They have also learnt another lesson, and it is this that some day or other they have to settle account with the Congress regime in their respective States for promoting their future well-being and happiness.

श्री ज० रा० कपूर : सभानेत्री जी, मैं आशा करता हूँ कि आप मुझे दस मिनट देंगी

उपसभाध्यक्षा (श्रीमती शारदा भार्गव) : पांच मिनट है ।

श्री ज० रा० कपूर : अन्यथा मेरे लिये असंभव है और मैं धन्यवाद सहित बैठ जाऊंगा ।

उपसभाध्यक्षा (श्रीमती शारदा भार्गव) : कोशिश कीजिये ।

श्री ज० रा० कपूर : जो मुझे निवेदन करना है और जिसको निवेदन करने के लिये मैं बहुत उत्सुक हूँ, दस मिनट से कम में न कर पाऊंगा ।

उपसभाध्यक्षा (श्रीमती शारदा भार्गव) : प्रयत्न कीजिये पांच मिनट में । एक आध मिनट और हो सकते हैं ।

श्री ज० रा० कपूर : न कर सकूंगा । मैं जानता हूँ कि ऐसा करना मेरी सामर्थ्य के बाहर है । मैं समझता था कि आप इतनी ज्यादा सख्ती नहीं करेंगी, इसलिए मैंने पहले ही से इच्छा प्रकट की कि मुझे कृपया दस मिनट दें ।

उपसभाध्यक्षा (श्रीमती शारदा भार्गव) : आप प्रारम्भ कीजिये और इसमें समय मत व्यर्थ कीजिये । समय बहुत कम है ।

SHRI JASPAT ROY KAPOOR : Madam Vice-Chairman, we have now come to the end of our labours both in respect of this measure as also in respect of the other measure which we passed as the other day. I hope and trust that this whole question of reorganisation of States has now come to an end and let me hope also to a happy end. I extend to this measure at this concluding stage my support howsoever disappointing this measure appears to me to be, but I think it deserves support because under the existing circumstances perhaps nothing better could be done. The Congress High Command and the Government tried to be a little too good; they tried to do things in a most democratic manner; not only that but they tried to please everybody. In that attempt if they have failed it is not surprising. For it is impossible to please everybody with any measure. The best thing for the Government, I think, was to come to certain definite decisions as to what was the best thing to be done and then to implement those decisions in a strong manner. They did come to correct decisions, namely, that we should have bilingual and multilingual States and that we should have big States. They came to this correct conclusion, but when it came to implementing that decision they wavered, they faltered, of course with the best of motives, namely, that they wanted to please everybody.

Madam Vice-Chairman, now that this chapter is going to be closed it is time that we should have a little introspection and we should stop to find out what is the lesson of all this. The one important lesson that we should learn from this episode is that the unity of the country

hangs by a very slender thread, and that on that thread linguism is creeping to cut it into two, and that the only way to save even that slender thread of unity is to remove that worm of linguism, to bury linguism fathoms deep from which it may not be taken out, in spite of the cleverness of our hon. friend Mr. Bhupesh Gupta, clever and experienced as he may be to take out fish from ponds—I hope he will not be able to take out this linguism which has been thrown, I think for all time to come, into a bottomless pit. The second lesson that it teaches us is that we should have big States. And the third thing that it teaches us is that we should, in course of time, have a unitary system of Government in this country. I will take only one minute to point out, Madam Vice-Chairman, how it would have been very much in the interest of both Bengal and Bihar to have united and to have a bigger State.

Just see what is the position of the Government in West Bengal. It is a tiny State, as it was rightly pointed out by Dr. Mookerji. And what is the situation of the Government there? The Government has changed there, of course, only once. But how has Dr. Roy been able to hold his Government together? It is by having as many as 30 Ministers and Deputy Ministers in a House of only 236 Members, out of whom there are only 160 congressmen. Now out of 160 Congressmen, he has been under the painful necessity of having as many as 30 Ministers and Deputy Ministers. If he had not done it, there would not have been a stable Government in Bengal. Look at the picture in U.P., Madam Vice-Chairman, where we have, in a House of 431 Members, only 18 Ministers and Deputy Ministers. What is the lesson that it teaches us? The simple lesson is that if we have a large State and if there are a large number of Members in the Assembly, it is easier to have a stable Government. We find an instable Government everywhere in the country, if it is a small State. Take for example the State of Punjab, Travancore-Cochin, and other small States. Everywhere we find instable Governments. It is only in bigger States like U.P. and Madhya Pradesh that we have got a stable Government. If therefore you want to have stable Governments, you ought to have very big States. Madam Vice-Chairman, we must proceed towards having a unitary system of Government, democratic all the same. If

[Shri Jaspat Roy Kapoor.]

we do not have that system of Government sooner or later, I hope sooner the Government will realise that they are treading on a very dangerous path by giving more and more powers to the State Governments. I am one with everybody who advocates the message of democracy to be carried to every nook and corner of the country, and to every hamlet it must be carried. But we must not carry the message of mobocracy which we find has been spreading all over the country in the recent past. Madam Vice-Chairman, the time at my disposal is very short, and I do not want to embarrass you.....

(Time bell rings.)

I want to say only one thing in this connection with regard to the Hindu Maha Sabha and its President, Mr. N. C. Chatterjee, because I am afraid that even after the passing of this legislation, it is just possible that they might be again creating trouble. It is therefore necessary for me to expose how inconsistent they have been in demanding that there should be linguistic States in the country for even now they have been insisting that so far as Punjab is concerned, it should be a bilingual State. They are opposed to the demand of the Akalis that there should be a separate Punjabi speaking State, and they are opposed to have even regional Committees. But so far as other States are concerned, especially Bengal and Bihar, they advocate the principle of unilingualism. (Time bell rings.) Therefore Madam Vice-Chairman we must beware of the Hindu Maha Sabha and of all friends like Mr. Chatterjee, and we should not easily walk into their parlour.

SHRI RAJENDRA PRATAP SINHA: Madam Vice-Chairman, the debate in the two Houses of Parliament on this Bill has been a great victory for Bihar. It has vindicated our stand. Madam, it is heartening, and it is a great consolation to us when our heart is bleeding and our eyes are wet to find that every non-partisan opinion expressed on the floor of this House as well as of the other House did not appreciate the principles underlying this Bill and did not favour the proposals enunciated in this Bill. It was not convinced by the arguments either advanced by the hon. Home Minister or by the protagonists of the cause of Bengal. Madam Vice-Chairman, that was the case in the Select Committee as well. Every one there, who did not

come from Bengal or Bihar and who expressed himself, virtually supported our cause. Madam, it has now been established that the transfer that was taking place, could not be justified on the ground of linguism. When we, the Members from Bihar, waited upon the Prime Minister and discussed the amendment that I had the honour to move in this House, he also felt that there was a great force in the argument that we were advancing and there was a good case for accepting the proposals that we had put forward. Madam, I regard that as no mean an achievement. But it seems that a strange irony of fate has been pursuing this proposal. In spite of the fact that every quarter recognised the justice and the fairness of our proposal, it could not be accepted, and we were asked to wait and we were told that it was a fit case to be raised on some other occasion, may be, in the Zonal Council. And I only hope and pray that the Government would further examine this issue and see that the wrong that is being committed today is undone at the earliest possible moment. (Time bell rings.)

Well, in the end, Madam, I only hope and pray that we should be able to live as brothers, as we have lived ever since. Thank you.

SHRI T. BODRA: Madam Vice-Chairman, I was extremely sorry to hear from the hon. Home Minister that the Purulia sub-division is not the habitat of the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes. In this connection, Madam, I would refer him to page 76 of the Bengal District Gazetteer of Manbhum. Here, Madam, it has been stated as follows :

"The marginal table shows the strength of the different castes, tribes or races which number over 25,000. As will be seen, aboriginal races, largely predominate, the Kurmis, Santhals, Bhumij and Bauri alone accounting for half the total population."

And what are these castes, Madam? They are Kurmis, Santhals, Bhumij, Bauris, Brahmans, Kumbars, Ahirs, Goals, Bhuiyas, Rajwars, Kalus, Kamars and Lohars. Therefore, Madam, it is too much to say that the Purulia sub-division is not the habitat of the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes. I wish the Home Minister had paid a visit to this area before he

had piloted this Bill in this House. I will show again from this very book how the Bengalis came there :

"Meantime the Panchet Zamindar had already fallen into arears and his estate was in 1795 put up to sale and purchased by one Nilamber Mitra. The zamindar complained that the default and consequent sale was due to collusion between his Dewan and the Collectorate staff, and prayed for the cancellation of the sale."

That is how the Bengalis came through the help of this Nilambar Mitra. What do the Jharkhand people want? They only want integration and not disintegration of their lands. They do not want their lands to be taken away either by the Hindus or by the Muslims or by the Biharis or Bengalis. That is why these people are dissatisfied. I would point out that this area is part and parcel of Jharkhand. Again, I will read from the same Gazetteer:

"To the Muhammadan historians the whole of modern Chota Nagpur and the adjoining hillstates was known by the name of Jharkhand."

Again:

"In 1589 or 1590 Raja Man Singh marched from Bhagalpur through the western hills to Burdwan *en route* to conquer Orissa, and again a couple of years later he sent his Bihar troops by what is described as the western road, called the Jharkhand route, to Midnapore."

Again, on page 54 of this book Bengal District Gazetteer on Manbhum, it is said :

"Yet just about this very time so little was known about this part of the country that we read that after Shuja's defeat by Aurangzeb at Kajwa near Allahabad in 1659, his pursuers Prince Mohammed and Mir Jumla with some difficulty got information of a route from Patna to Bengal other than the ordinary one *via* the Ganges. This alternative route is described as "the route of Sherghotty" which is situated in the mountains of Jharkhand; it was circuitous, narrow and steep and little used on account of the difficulties it presented and the savage manners of the mountaineers."

Therefore, I submit that the Home Minister is wrong when he says that this area is not the habitat of the scheduled tribes. Here is the Bengal Gazetteer written by an eminent person like by H. Coupland in the year 1911 which goes to prove my contention. If any hon. Member visits this area, he will find that this area is really inhabited by these scheduled tribes.

SHRI B. C. GHOSE: Sir, the chapter of reorganisation of States is about to close. I wish I could sing a hallelujah in praise of the Home Minister or the Government. Unfortunately things have not gone as we would have wished. Panegyrics and platitudes cannot brush away facts. There is unfortunately a large measure of discontent in the country even after the reorganisation that has taken place, and this has been due, if I may say so, Madam, in the words of Pandit Kunzru, to the fact that this problem has been approached not as a national problem but as a problem which affects primarily the Congress. Secondly, I have been struck by certain inconsistencies and contradictions in the discussion that has gone on in this House. From the intentions professed by the leaders and also the spokesmen of the Government, it is clear that language is condemned as the basis of redistribution. On the other hand, practically all the States are linguistic States. Bilingual States and multi-lingual States have been broken up and constituted into linguistic States.

A lot has been said about the merger of States. I am presented with two difficulties. Firstly, I do not know whether it is good administratively to have very large States, whether it is good for the purpose of efficient administration. Secondly, I learnt when I was a student of political science that in a federation it is better to have a large number of small States, because otherwise there might be separatist tendencies developing. Here, we are being taught a new lesson that the larger the States, the better for a federation. I do not know whether experience will bear out that lesson. So far as Bengal and Bihar are concerned, there has been a proposal for merger. I can say this much that, if there was any merit in the proposal, that was destroyed by the manner in which the proposal was put forward. This merger was proposed with a view to resolving Congress difficulties, and naturally when this proposal was first mooted, the people did not take to it.

[Shri B. C. Ghose.]

I agree with Mr. Sapru that, if there is to be a merger, it must be accepted by the people of the two States, that it must come from below and not from above. If there is any merit in the proposal for larger States, if they would be good for the country, certainly we should try for them. For myself, I think that there was a lot in what Mr. Panikkar had stated in his Minute of Dissent and which, I am really sorry to say, has not received the attention that it deserved. I think it would be good for a federal country like ours if the States are smaller and administratively better organised, and that was the purpose which had induced Mr. Panikkar to make certain proposals which are anathema to my friends from Uttar Pradesh. I can only say that the future alone will show as to what will have been good for the country. For the present, we should be satisfied with what has been achieved and try to achieve whatever we want to achieve further in a democratic manner without creating any bitterness and bearing in mind all the time that this is one country whose security and integrity we all cherish and must always sustain.

SHRI J. S. BISHT: I invite you to form a bigger Purva Pradesh.

SHAH MOHAMAD UMAIR: In a few minutes' time this Bill would be receiving the final seal of this Parliament, and I think I will miss a great opportunity if I do not recall what has taken place during the last few weeks, particularly within these few days, in this House and outside too. Let me tell my Bengali friends through you that a population of 15 lakhs of people from Bihar is being handed over to them. Those people have now become the responsibility of yours and they must receive the goodwill of you people. Whatever Mr. Bhupesh Gupta might say, great injury has been done to Bihar, and in spite of this injury, the Bihari people will have no bitterness. They are a people who are known to be the followers of Mahatma. In spite of the injuries that have been inflicted upon them, they are wholeheartedly prepared to forget and they are wholeheartedly prepared to forgive all that has happened, in the name of territory and transfer. I bid goodbye to these people and at the same time tell them that they are only at a little distance from Bihar. These people never thought that they were only Biharis; they always thought that they were

Indians. When they have been transferred to the other side of the border, to Bengal, they should continue to think themselves to be Indians. I hope that this spirit of unity and this spirit of oneness would continue to prevail in their hearts and minds whether they are in Bihar or in Bengal, just as it should prevail throughout the country. I think it would be a great mistake if language is treated as the basis of any particular nationality or of any particular State. This sort of thing should be forgotten completely from now, and these people must make friends with the Bengali people as they have been doing with the people of Bihar. Through you, Madam, and through this House, I bid goodbye to these 15 lakhs of people who have been and who lived in Bihar for ages past as friends, transferred to Bengal. I ask them that they must consider themselves as belonging to one nation, simply as Indians, neither Bengalis nor Biharis.

3 P.M.

SHRI B. N. DATAR: Madam, I am very happy to find that on the eve of disposing of this very important Bill, hon. Members from this side and the other have given expression to sentiments which would be of the highest use for maintaining and restoring, where necessary, the cordial relations that have subsisted between Bengal and Bihar for centuries together. I found just now that we had undertaken the great task of the reorganisation of States by the rationalisation of boundaries exactly 32 months ago on the 29th December 1953. On that day the Government of India appointed the States Reorganisation Commission. They went through their very great task, they had numerous petitions and interviews and long travels throughout the length and breadth of India and they produced a report about 10 months ago which has been accepted to the largest possible extent and after the report was received, my friend Shri Jaspat Roy Kapoor needlessly complained about the manner in which Government sought to know the public opinion so far as the recommendations were concerned. We have to understand that we are a democracy and we must follow democratic methods though sometimes complaints have been made that Government are weak. Government are not weak at all but Government have to find out the wishes of the people and it is always the desire of the Government to see to what extent we shall please the people because that is the most important task

and therefore it would be extremely wrong on the part of friends like Shri Kapoor to say that the task was handled in a disappointing manner. That was entirely wrong. We had long memorable debates in both Houses of Parliament a number of times. First, tentative decisions were taken, then they were finalised and therefore.....

SHRI JASPAT ROY KAPOOR: On a point of personal explanation I need not be misquoted and misrepresented. I never said that the Government mishandled it. On the other hand I said that the Government wanted to act in a very democratic manner and I said that it wanted to act in too good a manner but I am being quoted as having said.....

SHRI B. N. DATAR: He repeatedly charged the Government that they wanted to please all. It is entirely a wrong complaint. Government wanted to please only the reasonable section of the people because the other section can never be pleased. Therefore, the Government took decisions which are to be found to be in the lasting interest of the country and therefore I am happy that this Bill, as also the earlier Bill, the States Reorganisation Bill, have now been at the last end of the journey. This Bill, which will be passed in the course of a minute or two, will have completed the journey's end so far as the reorganisation of States is concerned. I am quite confident that in spite of turmoil here or upheavals there, our task was carried on in a very satisfactory manner and I have the greatest faith not only in the democratic manner but also in the peace-loving manner and ability of our people. I am quite confident that Bengal and Bihar, as also other States, will forget whatever had happened here and there so far as some disturbances were concerned. I am confident that after the passage of these two very important Bills, India will progress further because it has to be understood very clearly that after the partition just as we had to undertake a number of stupendous tasks, this was one of the most important and progressive measures because thereby we draw the map of India in a highly rational manner and I am quite confident that the days of so-called linguism will be past. We might nurture our respective languages. We might give greater importance to regional languages for the purpose of

carrying the message of Parliament. Legislative Assemblies and administration to the people but after all, in spite of different languages being spoken by the different people in the different States the people everywhere would be Indians first and Indians last.

Lastly, this task of the reorganisation of States has been undertaken not for the purpose of merely giving importance or recognition to certain languages but for the purpose of having a complete progress so far as the economic and cultural and other kinds of progress are concerned and therefore I am quite confident that after the passage of this Bill, India would progress because we shall have rational boundaries and people will have full opportunities for self-expression and self-development and always remembering that they are parts of the great Indian nation.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRIMATI SHARDA BHARGAVA): The question is:

"That the Bill be passed."

Those who are in favour will please say "Aye".

HON. MEMBERS: Aye.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRIMATI SHARDA BHARGAVA): Those who are against will please say "No".

HON. MEMBERS: No.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRIMATI SHARDA BHARGAVA): The 'Ayes' have it. The 'Ayes' have it.

SHRI T. BODRA: 'Noes' have it. We would like to have a division.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRIMATI SHARDA BHARGAVA): Only two persons are against.

SHRI T. BODRA: There are so many other Members.

SHRI RAJENDRA PRATAP SINHA: The Congress has given them the liberty to vote as they like if their conscience so permitted, and I appeal to them that they will invoke their conscience in this case.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : It is a reflection on the Members. Members who do not stand up, how do you expect that they will vote with you? (Interruptions.)

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRIMATI SHARDA BHARGAVA) : Two Members only want that vote should be taken but we can still have a vote by standing also.

SHAH MOHAMAD UM AIR : What is the use of asking Members to stand?

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRIMATI SHARDA BHARGAVA) : Let him be satisfied. Those in favour of the motion will kindly stand up.

(After a count) Ayes 22.

Those against: Noes 2.

SHRI T. BODRA : One minute.....

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRIMATI SHARDA BHARGAVA) : There is no question of speaking. Already you have spoken.

The 'Ayes' have it.

The motion was adopted.

MOTION RE THE DISPLACED PERSONS (COMPENSATION AND REHABILITATION) RULES, 1955

THE MINISTER FOR REHABILITATION (SHRI MEHR CHAND KHANNA) : Sir, I beg leave of the House to move:

"That this House concurs in the following motion adopted by the Lok Sabha at its sitting held on the 22nd August, 1956, namely:—

"That the following sub-rule be substituted for sub-rule (3) of rule 19 of the Displaced Persons (Compensation and Rehabilitation) Rules, 1955, as further amended by the Notification S.R.O. No. 1161, dated the 30th April, 1956, namely:—

"(3) For the purposes of calculating the number of members of a joint family under sub-rule (2), a person who on the relevant date—

(a) was less than eighteen years of age; or

(b) was a lineal descendant in the male line of another living member of the joint family;

shall be excluded :

Provided that where a member of a joint family had died during the period commencing on the fourteenth day of August, 1947, and ending on the relevant date leaving behind on the relevant date all or any of the following heirs, namely,—

(a) a widow or widows;

(b) a son or sons (whatever the age of such son or sons);

but no lineal ascendant in the male line, then, all such heirs shall notwithstanding anything contained in this rule, be reckoned as one member of the joint family."

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRIMATI SHARDA BHARGAVA) : You can speak.

SHRI MEHR CHAND KHANNA : I thought I would speak at the end.

SHRI H. N. KUNZRU (Uttar Pradesh) : It is very necessary that the thing should be explained. We don't understand it as well as the hon. Minister does. He must tell us why it has been found necessary to change the previous rule. It is very unfair to us to present the rules and then to sit down and say that these will be explained afterwards.

SHRI MEHR CHAND KHANNA : Madam I think it was in 1950 that claims were invited from the displaced persons who have left their properties in West Pakistan under the Claims Act. About 4,50,000 claims were received for the value of about Rs. 5 crores. The claims were received till some time in August 1952. We then formulated a scheme for the payment of compensation for the properties left in West Pakistan. This scheme was announced by my predecessor, I think towards the end of 1953. It was called the interim compensation scheme. Under this scheme, a family was considered as one unit and the ceiling allowed therein was Rs. 50,000, the claims had been invited for the properties left in West Pakistan irrespective of the fact whether the family was joint or undivided.