

this House will not have the attitude he has betrayed here today, in regard to the affairs of this House.

. SHRI S. MAHANTY (Orissa): I have to make a submission, Sir. I want a point of information clarified.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: That will do, Mr. Mahanty. We shall go back to the legislative business.

SHRI GOVIND BALLABH PANT: I may only observe that I have persuaded the Lok Sabha to refer a Bill containing financial provisions to a Joint Select Committee consisting of Members of this House and also of the other House.

SHRI B. C. GHOSE: We are thankful to the Leader of the House for that, but I hope, he will also bear in mind what I have said.

#### THE STATES REORGANISATION BILL 1956—*continued.*

THE MINISTER FOR HOME AFFAIRS (SHRI GOVIND BALLABH PANT): The States Reorganisation Bill has been the subject of close scrutiny and review for nearly twelve hours. Its provisions remain unsullied and unscathed. I am grateful to the hon. Members of the House for their helpful attitude and for their general support to the Bill. The main provisions of the Bill except with regard to the place of Bombay in the scheme of reorganisation have been virtually accepted by the House. We are only at present considering the motion for reference of the Bill to a Joint Select Committee; so no decisions are to be taken at this stage. We had the advantage of listening to many weighty speeches. All that has been said here will certainly be given due weight by the Joint Select Committee. Every suggestion that has been made will receive adequate consideration. The stage of decision will come later.

Sir, after a long time we had the opportunity of listening to Dr. Ambedkar. He spoke with his usual intrepidity, eloquence and fervour, but signs of some sort of fatigue were there; he was handicapped by physical illness. It is a matter of regret to me and I felt really sad at the time he was speaking. His is a powerful mind and I can only wish that he may recover his health speedily. (*Cheers.*)

In the course of his speech he happened to use an unfortunate word. I will not repeat it. It smacked of venom and I do not find it at all congenial to comment on it or to make any retort to it. That would not be necessary in any circumstances and it would be lacking in grace to-day.

Sir, he referred to the city of Bombay and also to the relation that it should bear to the State of Maharashtra. He reminded us of patent facts of geography and also of some chapters of history, which are not known to many of us. But I have no serious quarrel with him because, whatever be his arguments, I do not find there is in substance much difference between him and several others. He commented on the Nicobar and Andaman Islands being placed in the same category with Bombay. That is, I think, something which is hardly of very material relevance. When you talk of quadrupeds you may speak of the elephant and also of the deer and also of the donkey, but they do not on that account become one, and no one can argue that, being placed in one category, they all become equal to each other. But, leaving that aside, in fact, the suggestion that Bombay should be Centrally administered gives us ample latitude. There are many regions which come under this category of being Centrally administered, such as, Delhi, Himachal Pradesh, *mva*. We would like, even if Bombay is to be Centrally administered as under the scheme of the Bill, to have a mechanism which would suit Bombay. Bombay occupies a very important

[Shri Govind Ballabh Pant.] place in our country, not only in the matter of trade and commerce, but also of politics, social reconstruction and intellectual advancement. In all these matters, Bombay has guided the country. We all owe an immense debt to Bombay for the galaxy of leaders that Bombay has produced and presented for the benefit of our country. So there can be no desire on the part of anyone to do anything that would in any way affect the dignity or the nobility of Bombay. We would like, if at all, to advance it further.

So, while Bombay may be Centrally administered, we hope we will have the benefit of the advice of the people interested in Bombay, and in its future constitution before we reach any final decisions ourselves. The apparatus for the administration of Bombay may be entirely different from what it may be for Andaman-Nicobars or other areas which are to be Centrally administered. Every place will be governed in a manner that may suit it. So the fact of its being included in the category of Centrally administered areas need not cause any misgivings whatsoever. We would attach the utmost weight to the opinions of the people of Bombay in this regard. But Dr. Ambedkar, while raising his voice against the greater city of Bombay being bracketed with Andaman-Nicobars, said that it was his definite opinion that Bombay should be a City-State. Well, he took us to task for not having declared Bombay, as such, or for not having made a provision to that effect in the Bill

As hon. Members may be remembering, our own proposal was for setting up a full State administration in Bombay. Bombay should, according to our original proposal, have been a Class A State enjoying full powers that any other State enjoyed\* in India, whether it be U.P., Bengal or Madras. Bombay would have had smaller numbers but other advantages

and amenities, and the advance that Bombay has made especially in the industrial and commercial field would fully compensate for the lack of numbers in Bombay. Even now we would prefer Bombay being a State, if the people of Bombay wish it to be so, and we would like it to be a full-fledged State. There is no difficulty so far as that goes. If a change was made, it was to meet the wishes of those who preferred Bombay being administered from the Centre, than its being converted into an 'A' Class State. So, the suggestion that was made by us previously is still open and if Dr. Ambedkar can persuade others to accept it. I think, he will not find any difficulty in our falling in line with him. So, he has to make an effort and I wish him every success.

Sir, so far as the problem of Bombay is concerned, I do not really want to advance any arguments. When sentiments overpower one, nothing is gained by trying to reason. I am not referring to any particular school of thought, but when controversies become sharp, and when the issues are eclipsed by misty surroundings, then it becomes difficult to persuade one to one's own view and argument after all is an instrument for approaching men's minds and intellect. When it fails to serve that purpose, it is no use blunting it by having recourse to it unnecessarily.

My own wish today is to concentrate on all those efforts which would restore good feeling, confidence and mutual regard among the leading sections of the Bombay community. Anything that would conduce to the growth of neighbourly comradeship would, in my eyes, carry greater weight than any formula we may try to devise. Formulae have to be devised, but whatever arrangement is made, it has to work on stable and sound foundations. For democratic government the essential condition of success is a proper atmosphere of trust and regard. It is only then that co-operative endeavour can be made-

in a fruitful way. No doors can ever be closed, but it is only through the bonds of goodwill that we can gather the strength which succeeds in opening the doors. So, to that we have, for the present, to direct all our energies.

Dr. Kunzru, one of the respected Members not only of this House but of the entire country, also referred to this subject. As I said, I do not propose to say more about Bombay than is absolutely necessary. But in the course of his speech, he said, the Government could not disown the responsibility for what has happened in Bombay. I think, he concedes that the Government made attempts to explore all possibilities that could lead to an agreed and satisfactory solution. If the solution suggested by the Government does not find unanimity and if on that score the Government cannot take responsibility, I am afraid that the Commission too cannot perhaps be absolved of its responsibility in the matter. The original recommendation that emanated from the Commission and for which I had expressed my appreciation was not acceptable to Maharashtra.

SHRI H. N. KUNZRU (Uttar Pradesh): Is your decision acceptable to it?

SHRI GOVIND BALLABH PANT: To a greater extent than the original proposal. I have no doubt about it. So when a proposal is made—and one was made by the Commission—in the hope that it would be accepted, but it is not, then we should try to be wise at least after the event. Nothing is gained by denying the forces which were at work. But I do not in any way dispute the determination and the effort of the Commission to reach, in regard to all matters, a satisfactory agreement. If they are not accepted by any one I am not going to blame the Commission because no Commission can possess divine powers or claim immunity from the possibility

of mortal errors. Man remains mortal and error is a part of human nature. But still, I venture to claim that the claim that was advanced by the Commission really created such irritation at the outset that anything that was done thereafter failed to receive that reasoned consideration which otherwise it would have. The atmosphere became cloudy and misty. In the circumstances, the light was overshadowed and to some extent eclipsed. So, if the Government was in any way responsible, it was also because of the difficult circumstances in which the Government had to function and for which it was not initially at least responsible. So, I think our position will not be misunderstood in that regard.

It was observed, Sir, in the course of the discussion by Dr. Kunzru, that the proceedings had been in a way overshadowed by the Congress, I think that is what he indicated. Well, this complaint had been answered more than once, Hon Members are aware that none of the members of the Commission belong to the Congress, so that the Congress organisation, or Congressmen as such, had no desire to arrogate to themselves the credit of framing proposals for the reorganisation of States. Otherwise, the Congress would have appointed a Congressman to it and at least one of the three would have been discovered somewhere to join the other two. The Congress refrained from doing so, and after the Report had been received, the Government published it and invited the opinion of all.

The Government has been doing its functions regularly. It had to. And the Congress had to discharge its duty, and so had other political organisations. It is not only political organisations but also others who were interested in the vital matters which come within the scope and purview of this Bill. The responsibility of the Congress is all the greater, and

[Shri Govind Ballabh Pant.] the Congress is also exposed to greater risks, for, whenever there is any real or imaginary mistake, all others club together against the Congress. So, we have seen that, even where the proposals have commended themselves to most of the people, there has been an effort for the political parties to—I would not use the word 'malign' but—criticise the Congress. Well, that is their right. They are entitled to do so.

So<sup>1</sup>, the Congress had to take care to see that, considering the responsibility that it owed to the country, it did not fail in applying its mind in consulting all schools of thought and in trying to arrive at the best decisions, which would be to the abiding advantage and benefit of the country. That is what the Congress did, and for that they cannot be blamed. So far as the Government is concerned, it has received as many as 60,000 memoranda, not only from Congressmen but from all political parties, not excluding any, even from parties whose names many do not know and I do not remember, and then many deputations were met and questions were discussed. Apart from that, the matter was discussed in every State Legislature in which parties which are opposed to the Congress were adequately or, if not adequately, then inadequately—the blame does not rest with us—represented. So, they had two rounds in the State Legislatures. In our own Parliament, in the two Houses, we had discussions for, I think, more than ten days in the other House, and for about a week here,

SHRI B. C. GHOSE (West Bengal): But no decisions were taken.

SHRI GOVIND BALLABH PANT: It was only after that, that the Government reached some tentative views which were published, and the decisions that were announced on the 16th January were in certain respects different from those which had been

[ anticipated by others. So, I do not see how any occasion for any disregard of any opinion arises. We have tried our best to seek light from every quarter and to have the benefit of the views of everyone who happened to be interested in this matter. I think that any complaint on that score has to be ruled out. Our wish to have the co-operation of everyone, of every section of opinion in this country, is as strong today as it was on the day when this Report was received. And we shall welcome all suggestions, and I hope, the Joint Select Committee will succeed in improving the Bill.

In the course of his speech, Dr. Ambedkar expressed his apprehensions about the repetition of the kind of war between the South and North that took place in America more than 100 years ago. He said the same thing might happen here. Well, I do not think that he should be oppressed by any such imaginary dangers. The integrity of our country is not a new fangled notion. India has been one from times immemorial. We have our centres of pilgrimage on the terminal points on the map of India. People have thought of India as one unit and we have had one language. In spite of all the diversity and variety, the fundamentals of our way of life are one. Wherever you go, you can distinguish an Indian from a non-Indian, whether here or outside. So, while we have to guard against disruptive tendencies, against linguistic fanaticism, against parochialism and other tendencies, which occasionally manifest themselves, we should not think that any parts of India will ever go to war with each other. Also on political and social, fundamental basic matters, there is a great deal of homogeneity in the country. So, such dangers need not possess our minds or cause us any dismay today.

The suggestion which Dr. Ambedkar made that we should not have big but small States had been dealt with at some length by the States.

Reorganisation Commission in its Report. It is not necessary for me to repeat all that they laid. Those who have had experience of administration, are presumably aware of the fact that for the economic advancement of the country, for the setting up of big irrigation works, industrial works, for having a satisfactory system of water-ways and railways, and for having hydro-electric works and other things, the larger the unit, the better for the industrial, economic and cultural development of the areas concerned.

Dr. Ambedkar, in a way, indicated that the States Reorganisation Commission had formed small States in the South and big ones in the North. Well, we on our part have tried to make the States that were sufficiently big according to the recommendations of the Commission, even bigger. According to the recommendation of the Commission Telangana was to remain separate from Andhra; but we have united the two. We used our best endeavours to persuade Mysore to have a bigger State and they agreed. Then our endeavours have been that the three States of Karnataka, Tamilnad and Travancore-Cochin may explore the possibilities of two or three of them uniting together so that they may have a bigger State than we have at present. So the desire is there. We want the States in the south to be big. If there are others who like States to be set up within boundaries which can be seen from one end to the other, we do not belong to that group. Our desire is to have as extensive an area within a State as may be feasible and acceptable to the people or peoples of the State or States concerned.

I do not quite understand, how anybody can gain if Uttar Pradesh or Bihar is cut up. I, on my part, said once before and I repeat it, that if it is in the interest of the country that Uttar Pradesh should be cut to pieces Uttar Pradesh should agree to that arrangement. But we should not

want only upset an existing arrangement which has worked well, not for decades, but for a very long time. Similarly with regard to the other States. We have even encouraged all those who have wished to join together so as to form a bigger State, to do so. Our good wishes have always been with them. Dr. Ambedkar referred also to the fact that in the U.S.A. every State has the same quantum of representation. But that fact has no bearing on the situation, because even if you cut up a State into three, then too the question of representation is not affected. In any case, if instead of having one U.P. you had three, then the number of representatives in the Lok Sabha! would increase by 14. because for the first five you have only one and after that you give one for two so that if you separate them, there will be fifteen first fives, who would get one each. Therefore, so far as representation in the Lok Sabha is concerned .....

SHRI H. C. DASAPPA (Mysore):  
You mean Rajya Sabha?

SHRI GOVIND BALLABH PANT: Yes, Rajya Sabha, I beg your pardon. The State of Uttar Pradesh, if it were divided into two or three, would have fourteen more Members than it has under the present arrangement.

Dr. Ambedkar referred also to some other matters but I do not think it is necessary for me to deal with them at length. He suggested that India should have two capitals, one in Delhi and the other in the South. Well, I do not know, if we can have a full-fledged capital in the South, but in Hyderabad we have already got the Rashtrapati Nilavam, the President's Bhavan established so that the President may stay in Hyderabad for part of the year annually, and from there, visit other places in the South. If anything more can be done at any time in that regard, I think that suggestion would be borne in mind.

[Shri Govind Ballabh Pant.] I think, the changes that have been made in the recommendations of the Commission by the Government have made the entire scheme of reorganisation more acceptable to the people at large. The unification of Vidarbha with Maharashtra or Telangana with Andhra, the arrangement under which Himachal is to remain separate for some time, and similar other things, which the Government has suggested for the consideration of Parliament, have made the Bill, I think, more welcome to the States concerned. There is really no complaint at present except with regard to Bombay. While considering Bombay, let us not forget that we have achieved in such a big country, with so many States, when questions of such delicate character are involved. If we have succeeded in reaching solutions which are acceptable to the vast mass of people in this country, we have no reason to be depressed or dismayed, and I would humbly say that what we have accomplished can well be a source of congratulation and also a source of strength to hearten us in our labours for the advancement and integration of the country in future.

Certain other suggestions also were made which are of a minor character and which do not touch the question of reorganisation. I am thankful to Dr. Kunzru for certain matters which are more or less of a technical character. We may have to consider whether the expression "Part C States" can be deleted at this stage or whether we may retain it in this Bill making a provision in the Constitution Amendment Bill for the conversion of these C Class States into Centrally-administered territories. Similarly, there are some other matters. It was said, for example, that an Upper House for Madhya Pradesh or for Andhra may not be formed now under the scheme of this Bill; that provision may not come within the scope of article 4 and so on. That matter too will receive con-

sideration at the hands of the Joint Select Committee

We have two Bills, one relating to the States reorganisation and the other to the amendment of the Constitution. They are in a way parts of one scheme and, though the Constitution Amendment Bill also contains some additional provisions with regard to other matters, there need not be any difficulty in adjusting matters.

Reference was also made to article 4 which enables Parliament to amend Schedules I and IV in order to give effect to the scheme of reorganisation and also to make consequential and incidental changes. The Joint Select Committee will bear that in mind and do what is necessary in that regard.

The question was put by someone here, I think, as to how long Himachal Pradesh is to remain separate. It is difficult to prescribe any definite period, but according to the view expressed in the Explanatory Note that was appended to the Bill when it was placed on the Table of the House on the 16th of March, ultimately, Himachal Pradesh must merge with Punjab. It cannot remain separate for ever. A small State of 10 lakhs cannot be an independent unit but, as observed by the Chairman of the Commission, it is necessary to give it some scope and elbow-room for development at the present stage. When it is sufficiently developed and when the relations between Punjab and Himachal Pradesh become normal and cordial, as they ought to be, I think there will be no difficulty in making these two the integral parts of one administrative unit. In fact, economically and in many other ways, they are inter-dependent and they cannot long remain separate from each other.

Sir, a question was also put, I think by Mr. Ghose, about the merger of Bengal and Bihar. Well, I made a statement about this proposal in the other House. We will be guided by

the wishes of Bihar and Bengal and in this respect....?

SHRI B. C. GHOSE: But since then the position has changed. Since the hon. Minister made the statement in the other House, the West Bengal Chief Minister has come out with a statement. So we want to know whether the demarcation will be given effect to and when.

SHRI GOVIND BALLABH PANT: I do not know how the position has changed because I have not been told that the idea of merger has been given up.

SHRI B. C. GHOSE: Yes.

SHRI GOVIND BALLABH PANT: Well, I am not aware of that.

SHRI B. C. GHOSE: Has the Chief Minister of West Bengal who is here given the Home Minister a different impression?

SHRI GOVIND BALLABH PANT: He has not given me the impression that Mr. Ghose has. He has not given up that idea.

SHRI B. C. GHOSE: But has not he demanded redemarcation also straightaway?

SHRI GOVIND BALLABH PANT: Well, that is a different thing. We should not mix up the two

SHRI B. C. GHOSE: I want a different answer to that and to this also.

SHRI GOVIND BALLABH PANT: Then you find the answer to the first one satisfactory. As to the second one, so far as the Government is concerned, it had taken a decision some time ago, and that decision stands if the two States want us to stick to it and do not reach.....

SHRI B. C. GHOSE: If the two States do not want, if the two States differ? 42 RSD.—3.

SHRI GOVIND BALLABH PANT. Let me finish the sentence. That decision stands if the two States are not able to reach any other arrangement by mutual agreement.

SHRI B. C. GHOSE: Will it be done before the 2nd of October, if no agreement is reached?

SHRI GOVIND BALLABH PANT: Well, if they agree to continue the negotiations beyond the 2nd of October, then that too will count. We will be guided by them and their wishes.

Sir, though it is not important and though I do not want to enter the ring so far as the discussion on the States Reorganisation Bill is concerned, I think there was one remark which Dr. Ambedkar made, which was somewhat astounding. He said, census figures deserved no consideration whatsoever. Well, if we ignore the census literature, I think, we will have hardly any foundations for statistics, or for any comparison, or for considering from time to time how many vital matters are progressing in the country. I do not want to dwell on the question further, I do not think that Dr. Ambedkar really meant what he said.

1 P.M.

I understand that a suggestion was also made here that a Boundary Commission should be appointed for adjusting the boundaries

PROF. G. RANGA (Andhra): Not one for the whole of India but for each separate area.

SHRI GOVIND BALLABH PANT: Yes. a number of Commissions. Our own wish is that the States that are being formed may adjust their boundaries by mutual agreement themselves but if that is not possible, then Boundary Commissions can be appointed under the Constitution and no provision in the Bill is necessary.

There was a reference to a matter which seems to have attracted some

[Shri Govind Ballabh Pant.] attention here concerning the transfer of Baghelkhand to Uttar Pradesh. Well, I would leave the matter to be settled between Uttar Pradesh and Baghelkhand. No area can be transferred except with the consent of the people concerned, and no people should be coerced to live in a State in which they do not want to remain. So it is for the States concerned to examine the position and to see what would suit them best and the decision rests with them.

SHRI V. VENKATARAMANA (Andhra): What about Bellary and Parlakimedi?

SHRI K. SURYANARAYANA (Andhra): Bellary would also be treated like that?

SHRI GOVIND BALLABH PANT: About Bellary we have got authoritative decisions which prove that on the whole Bellary should remain where it is.

PROT. G. RANGA: But at the same time I would like to have this enlightenment,

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Order, order.

PROF. G. RANGA: I do not want this thing to be considered to have been settled once for all because it is only the governmental attitude or opinion,

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: You cannot make another speech, Prof. Ranga.

PROF. G. RANGA: I am only asking for enlightenment, I want this matter to be kept open so that if and when necessary a Boundary Commission may go into it.

SHRI GOVIND BALLABH PANT: I think that it is settled for the day. Nothing is settled once for all. You say you do not want it to be settled once for all. Well, nothing can be settled once for all in this dynamic

age. If the people concerned want to make a change almost by general agreement then they are free to do so. But so far as arbitration can help, the Wanchoo Award and the Misra Award bind our hands and we surrender to them. But we have undertaken it upon ourselves that the Tungabhadra Project will be implemented and will be maintained in a very satisfactory way and the people who are looking forward to the benefits that can flow from this project will have no reason to regret the decision that has been taken.

SHRI V. VENKATARAMANA: Why could not the people of Bellary and Parlakimedi be given the same opportunity as Baghelkhand?

SHRI GOVIND BALLABH PANT: I hope that hon. Members will now apply their minds to bigger things. The States that are being reorganised will have their hands full and they should not make matters complicated by diverting their attention to small minor things which will do damage to the bigger cause. They have got much to do and the sooner they apply themselves to the tasks that lie ahead, the better will it be.

Sir, I may have missed a number of points. It is difficult for one to carry all that is said in one's head, but I have tried to deal with at least the salient points that emerged out of the debate, and I hope that, while taking these steps for the reorganisation of the country, we will all remember that ultimately the salvation of our people and of every one of us lies not on this physical reorganisation alone but on that emotional concord, on that spiritual and cultural unity which will give strength to every one of us and which will raise the entire country to a status and a stature which it deserves.

Sir, I have to suggest that in place of Shri Janardan Desai the name of Shri K. S. Hegde be substituted, and in place of Shri K. P. Madhyavan Nair, Dr. P. Subbarayan be substituted.



MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: I will first put this amendment to the House. The amendment is that in the place of Shri Janardan Desai, Shri K. S. Hegde be substituted; and in the place of Shri K. P. Madhavan Nair, the name of Dr. P. Subbarayan be substituted. Does the House accept the amendment?

*(No hon. Member dissented.)*

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: The amendment is accepted.

The question is:

"That this House concurs in the recommendation of the Lok Sabha that the Rajya Sabha do join in the Joint Committee of the Houses on the Bill to provide for the reorganisation of the States of India and for matters connected therewith, and resolves that the following Members of the Rajya Sabha be nominated to serve on the said Joint Committee: —

1. Shri Chandulal P. Parikh
2. Shri Biswanath Das
3. Shri K. Madhava Menon
4. Capt. Awadhesh Pratap Singh
5. Dr. Anup Singh
6. Shri A. Satyanarayana Raju
7. Shri M. D. Tumpalliwar
8. Shri K. S. Hegde.
9. Shri Tarkeshwar Pande
10. Shri T. R. Deogirikar
11. Dr. P. Subbarayah
12. Shri J. V. K. VaUabharao
13. Shri V. K. Dhage
14. Shri Kishen Chand
15. Shri Surendra Mahanty
16. Kakasaheb Kalelkar
17. Shri Govind Ballabh Pant (*the Mover*),"

The motion was adopted.

## THE CONSTITUTION (NINTH AMENDMENT) BILL, 1956

THE MINISTER FOR HOME AFFAIRS  
(SHRI GOVIND BALLABH PANT): Sir, I move:

"That this House concurs in the recommendation of the Lok Sabha that the Rajya Sabha do join in the Joint Committee of the Houses on the Bill further to amend the Constitution of India, and resolves that the following Members of the Rajya Sabha be nominated to serve on the said Joint Committee: —

1. Shri Chandulal P. Parikh.
2. Shri Biswanath Das.
3. Shri K. Madhava Menon.
4. Capt. Awadhesh Pratap Singh
5. Dr. Anup Singh.
6. Shri A. Satyanarayana Raju.
7. Shri M. D. Tumpalliwar.
8. Shri K. S. Hegde.
9. Shri Tarkeshwar Pande.
10. Shri T. R. Deogirikar.
11. Dr. P. Subbarayan.
12. Shri J. V. K. VaUabharao.
13. Shri V. K. Dhage.
14. Shri Kishen Chand.
15. Shri Surendra Mahanty.
16. Kakasaheb Kalelkar.
17. Shri Govind Ballabh Pant  
(*the Mover*)."

This Bill has only a few provisions which are not related to the question of reorganisation of States. I do not think it is necessary for me to make any elaborate statement at this stage. The Bill, on the whole, seeks to make certain amendments in order to implement the scheme of States Reorganisation. There are certain provisions relating to High Courts and High Court judges, the executive powers of the Union and the States and a few entries in the Legislative Lists also. I will not say anything about matters pertaining to States reorganisation. About the judges of the High Courts,