

men. They have to take advantage of it. The rich people who have got their *vested* interests are rich enough to manage their own affairs. There are thousands and thousands of people, Sir, educated, who have got no livelihood, poor people, middle class men. They do not know what to do, how to make the two ends meet. They could form themselves into companies and thus get help from this Corporation. But nothing is being done here. What is being done here is that these grants are made to relations and friends who are already rich enough. Sir, in this free India, that was hardly expected. Well, my grouse is, and people who feel like me think always that the Government is putting up a big show but without much real advantage to the people. Sir, I would say at least for heaven's sake, please disclose all the names of persons who have received the grants.

MOTION FOR PAPERS *RE.* SHRI SRIRAMULU'S FAST FOR THE FORMATION OF ANDHRA STATE

MR. CHAIRMAN : Now, I would request the Prime Minister to make a statement on the question which was raised yesterday here—the motion for papers with regard to Shri Sriramulu's fast in connection with the question of Andhra State.

THE PRIME MINISTER (SHRI JAWAHARLAL NEHRU) : Sir, If I may say so, so far as the personal aspect of this fast is concerned, every one must be very much concerned. Also, when any person is prepared to suffer to this extremity for a cause which he considers important, that must necessarily impress and move people. But, Sir, as you know and as has often been stated before, this method of fasting to achieve administrative or political changes is one which is likely to land us in great difficulties, if we once accept it. In the ultimate analysis it really puts an end to parliamentary or democratic government.

But, coming to the object of the fast, that is to say, the formation of an Andhra Province, as far as I remember, the motion for adjournment, Sir, be-

fore you not only refers to Andhra Province, but rather precisely to an Andhra province including the city of Madras, if I am not mistaken.

MR. CHAIRMAN : I think, Mr. Prime Minister, that you are thinking of the adjournment motion in the other House. Here the motion for papers is simply in connection with the Andhra Province.

SHRI JAWAHARLAL NEHRU : I am sorry if I made that mistake.

MR. CHAIRMAN : It simply says this :

"I hereby give notice of a motion for papers to discuss a matter of specific urgent public importance arising out of the precarious condition of Shri Potti Sriramulu who has entered the 51st day of his fast for the immediate formation of a separate Andhra State with the city of Madras as its capital."

So, it is not an adjournment motion but a motion for papers.

SHRI JAWAHARLAL NEHRU : As I said, "Andhra State with the city of Madras as its capital" is the most controversial part of the issue in this motion. Now, Sir, to ask the Government to issue a statement deciding a highly controversial issue like this in this way, I do submit, Sir, to this House, would be a very extraordinary and most unjustified procedure and, so far as this fast is concerned, I do hope that Shri Potti Sriramulu will, even at this last moment, discontinue it. While, on the one hand, this fast should not make us do something which we would not otherwise do, on the other hand, it should not come in the way of doing something which would otherwise be done.

So far as the Andhra Province matter is concerned, we have repeatedly stated—and I stated it in this House too, I believe on the last occasion—that we are anxious and eager to get this matter settled. But we came to the decision that we did not wish to impose our will on any large section of the people and therefore we invited them with a view to come to some general agreement

[Shri Jawaharlal Nehru.]

about the important aspects of it, not agreement about everything, but a certain general agreement about the important matters relating to it. The House is probably aware that only two or three days ago an attempt was made at a conference in the city of Madras to come to some agreement and that conference consisted of persons who were keenly desirous of solving this problem. If it is difficult for them, it becomes a little more difficult for Government to impose its will and thereby create circumstances which, far from bringing about an Andhra Province, might actually delay matters or, in trying to bring it about, might create so much bitterness and conflict that it will come in the way of any constructive solution or constructive approach. Now, three and a half years ago, a Committee was formed—not an official committee—by the Congress organisation to consider this question of linguistic provinces generally. The Committee's report has often been referred to as the J.V.P. Report because it consisted of three persons, Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya and myself. That report is 3½ years old—I believe it came out about the middle of 1948—and it represented the Government's attitude. It was not a Government report but it consisted of two important members of the Government. So it represented the Government's attitude then and put this matter, if I may say so, in a very concise and clear way. If the House will permit and if you will permit, Sir, I should like to read one or two paragraphs from that report and then say something about it. If the House permits, I will place the whole report on the Table of the House just for information. [Placed in Library, see No. I. V. C. (c) (146)]. It is not up-to-date but it might help in understanding this problem. After dealing at some length with the general problem of linguistic provinces in the context then existing, the Committee went on to say :

“In regard to Andhra, the same general principles should be applied which we have stated above. In some ways the demand for an Andhra Province has a larger measure of

consent behind it than other similar demands. Yet there is controversy about certain areas as well as about the city of Madras. To a large extent what we have said about Bombay City applies to Madras City also, but there is a marked difference. Bombay City, because of its size and cosmopolitan and industrial character, can be made into a political entity. Madras City is smaller and is closely linked with provincial life and activities. We are of opinion, therefore, that if an Andhra Province is to be formed, its protagonists will have to abandon their claims to the city of Madras.

If the general principles we have indicated above, are accepted, an Andhra Province can be formed, but this will have to be confined to the well defined areas mutually agreed upon and confined to the province of Madras and can be brought about only with the willingness and consent of the other component parts of Madras Province. We do not rule out the possibility of changes or additions at a later stage.”

Then another passage ; slight repetition :

“The case of Andhra, however, can be isolated from others, in that, as we have already pointed out, there appears to be a large measure of consent behind it and the largest compact area likely to form part of this linguistic province is situated in one province. We would, therefore, suggest that, if a start has to be made, we should take up first for study and examination the problems arising out of the separation of Andhra Province and ascertain if, consistent with the principles we have mentioned above, this province could be separated. If the necessary conditions are achieved, we recommend that measures may be taken to implement it.”

Then the final summary and conclusion of this report :

“We feel that the conditions that have emerged in India since the achievement of independence are such as to make us view the problems of linguistic provinces in a new light. The first consideration must be the security, unity and economic prosperity of India and every separatist and disruptive tendency should be rigorously discouraged. Therefore the old Congress policy of having linguistic provinces can only be applied after careful thought being given to each separate case, and without creating serious administrative dislocation or mutual conflicts which would jeopardise the political and economic stability of the country. We would prefer to postpone the formation of new provinces for a few years so that we might concentrate during this period on other matters of vital importance and not allow ourselves to be distracted by this question. However, if public sentiment is insistent and overwhelming, we, as democrats, have to submit to it, but subject to certain limitations in regard to the good of India as a whole and certain conditions which

we have specified above. Public sentiment must clearly realise the consequences of any further division so that it may fully appreciate what will flow from their demand. We feel that the case of Andhra Province should be taken up first and the question of its implementation examined before we can think of considering the question of any other province."

Now, the House will notice that in this Report a clear statement of the case has been made. Three and a half years have passed in which to examine the question of the formation of an Andhra Province in terms of this statement. Instead of our proceeding or those who are particularly anxious to have an Andhra Province proceeding on those lines, there has been controversy and conflict in regard to some matters and more particularly in regard to the city of Madras. Now, it is not possible for Government to accept any proposal which involves the making of the city of Madras a part of Andhra Province or, if I may say so, making the city of Madras a place where there are headquarters of several Governments, headquarters of two or three Governments, with mutual rivalry with each other, which will reduce the city of Madras, well, I will not say, to impotence, but at least will lead to the deterioration of the city in many ways, which will be a very unfortunate thing. Therefore, the position now is that we are perfectly prepared to go ahead in regard to the formation of an Andhra Province by taking such steps as may be necessary, provided it is on the basis of the principles laid down in this Report that I have read out, that is, exclusion of Madras City, and those recognised parts of Andhra which now form part of the Madras Province being separated to form a separate province. My Government is perfectly willing to take that step, but it would not be right, if I may say so, to take that step and then to keep the agitation alive for the city of Madras or for something else, because then the whole object of doing it is somewhat frustrated. If the agitation is kept alive, there is no finality to it and even the working out of the other parts of the decision to form an Andhra Province will be vitiated by continuous argu-

ments and tussle about the city of Madras and like matters.

SHRI P. V. NARAYANA (Madras) : Sir, the hon. Prime Minister referred to some passages in the J. V. P. Report. That report was submitted nearly 3½ years ago and since then the Government have not implemented that report, though it was a Congress report and consisted of the highest authorities of the Central Government. It is an accepted fact that there is a large measure of agreement in respect of the formation of an Andhra Province. No doubt there might be some differences in respect of some details. If the Prime Minister expects 100 per cent. agreement, it will never be there. Even in achieving independence, was it the case that everybody wanted independence? I would like to have an assurance from the Prime Minister that steps will be taken to form an Andhra Province with the undisputed areas, the city of Madras and other disputed areas being referred either to a Boundary Commission or an Arbitration Tribunal which will be an impartial body.

SHRI H. N. KUNZRU (Uttar Pradesh) : Are we having a regular discussion on a statement like this?

MR. CHAIRMAN : Members can just ask for information or clarification but not make any long speech.

SHRI P. V. NARAYANA : No speech, Sir. He referred to the city of Madras and the city of Bombay. If there is a case for the formation of Bombay City into a separate State, I really wonder why the same argument does not apply to Madras City. It may have a smaller area and population, but the principle is not different. I would like to have an assurance from the hon. Prime Minister through you that steps will be taken to form an Andhra State with the undisputed areas, leaving the disputed areas to be decided by an impartial body.

SHRI M. P. N. SINHA (Bihar) : I think his point has already been

Shri M. P. N. Sinha.]

met by the Prime Minister. The Prime Minister stated that once the Andhra Province was formed, it was not proper to start an agitation again about the city of Madras and the other disputed areas. He has made it clear that if the principles he has enunciated are accepted, the Government will consider the question.

SHRI P. V. NARAYANA : Sir, the Prime Minister has stated that the Government is prepared to take steps without delay for the implementation of the J. V. P. Report, but at the same time, added a proviso—provided the parties concerned act up to the principles and do not start an agitation. The whole issue has come up because there is a dispute with regard to Madras City and the parties cannot come to an agreement on this issue. The whole issue is now there, and the situation is deteriorating, and the present situation has arisen out of it. Therefore, I would like to know from the Prime Minister what immediate steps the Government of India is going to take in respect of this Report, or is it the intention of the Government to continue its silence till the parties come to an agreement ?

SHRI C. G. K. REDDY (Mysore) : Sir, the hon. Prime Minister was referring to the difficulty of implementing the J. V. P. Report. He tried to throw the blame on the different points of view taken by the parties concerned. But I should like to point out that it is because the Report has not been implemented during the last two or three years that these points of view have become more divergent and if the Government is not going to take action now, they would become more divergent and this problem will never be solved. He has solved many issues and considering his prestige, and the humility with which the nation has followed him on bigger issues—people have been coerced by his charm, I think—he could go ahead and put his influence to good use. All I can say to him is that he should use his

influence before it is too late, because this problem has come into public light with such force.

DR. D. H. VARIAVA (Saurashtra) : Sir, for the last three days, our friend Mr. Sundarayya has been asking the Government to come out with a statement regarding the fast of Swami Sitaram.

MR. CHAIRMAN : No Swamiji : Swamiji is the leader. He is the follower.

DR. D. H. VARIAVA : Sir, Shri Sriramulu is fasting, and if we want his life to be saved let us separate the question of the Andhra State from the life of the person who is fasting. Let us do something for his life for the present and leave the question of the Andhra Province to a later date, because if the Andhra Province is formed, then another person will begin fasting, and are we going to come to the Council to change the decision ? So, let us separate the Andhra question from the life of the person who is fasting so that his life may be saved.

SHRI JAWAHARLAL NEHRU : Sir, I do not wish to enter into past history. An attempt was made to bring into effect this Report, but it did not succeed. I do not go into the cause as to whose fault it was. However, as regards the separate Province, we are considering this as a serious matter. I do not wish to say—and I have not said—that there should be universal agreement on this matter. I certainly hope that the major parties concerned would accept certain basic factors, because while we are carrying on—let us say we agree to have this Andhra Province and we take some steps—simultaneously with it there may be an agitation on a different basis. And if we say “All right, we agree to this” and the rest is left open for discussion, that again vitiates the previous agreement and nothing happens. We cannot leave these things, for example, the question of the city of Madras, to arbitration. So, I suggest that the Government is prepared to go ahead, to appoint a Committee or Commission to enter into the

details of these definite and distinct areas of the Madras Province which are well-known to be Andhra areas. They might be constituted into a separate Province, but excluding the city of Madras.

SHRI P. SUNDARAYYA (Madras) : The hon. Prime Minister said that immediate steps are being taken to appoint a Commission. Is it the intention to appoint a Boundary Commission? I want to know that. It is not clear.

MR. CHAIRMAN : We had a full-scale discussion on the Andhra Province question during the last session.

SHRI P. SUNDARAYYA : Before you give your ruling.....

MR. CHAIRMAN : I am not giving a ruling. I might mention that on the last occasion we had a full-scale discussion and I do not suppose that we are going to add any more argument to what we have already said. Here is the Prime Minister who has explained the position and he says that if it was not possible to implement the J. V. P. Report, it is on account of the continued agitation about the disputed areas. He says that he is prepared to take steps for the formation of a separate Andhra State of the undisputed areas belonging to the Madras Province. He does not want any kind of rider to be added to it as in the case of the Madras City there will have to be arbitration, negotiation or discussion, making it clear that there will be an Andhra State of the undisputed Andhra areas of the Madras Province. That is the point of view which has been put before the House by the Prime Minister. Am I right?

SHRI JAWAHARLAL NEHRU : Yes, Sir.

MR. CHAIRMAN : So far as the undisputed areas are concerned, this is all that he says. We had a discussion on this and we had a statement that he would take immediate steps so far

as this is concerned. The other issue which is involved is Mr. Sriramulu's fast. So far as this is concerned, I had a telephone message this morning from the Municipal Chairman of the Bezvada Municipality and I advised Mr. Sriramulu to break his fast. I have advised him that he should not mix up issues. He would have broken his fast by now or is likely to break it soon. In these circumstances, I request my friend Shri P. V. Narayana not to press his motion.

SHRI P. SUNDARAYYA : I want a clarification. Am I to understand from the Prime Minister that the Government is going to constitute a Boundary Commission or Committee?

SHRI C. G. K. REDDY : Whatever it may be, he will take immediate steps.

AN. HON. MEMBER : Is it so?

MR. CHAIRMAN : Yes, of course.

SHRI JAWAHARLAL NEHRU : Sir, I said that the Government is prepared to take early steps. I do not know whether exactly one can take steps immediately. But we shall immediately consider this matter with a view to taking steps as soon as possible on the basis I mentioned. I do not wish to make an excuse of some individual not agreeing to this or that. But I would like the House to consider that if there is fairly widespread denunciation of what we do, then we get into difficulties and the whole process becomes difficult. So, I take it that without a sign manual of agreement, it is accepted in some good spirit.

SHRI P. SUNDARAYYA : During the last session the Prime Minister said that he was in correspondence with them. Could he let us know the result of that correspondence?

SHRI JAWAHARLAL NEHRU : The result of the correspondence was that the disagreement continues over these matters.