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REPORT
OF THE
STATES REORGANISATION
COMMISSION

1955

SUMMARY OF CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

I. States of the Indian Union

The present structure of the States of the Indian Union has been largely determined by the accidents and circumstances attending the expansion of British rule in India. (Paragraph 14).

2. The formation of British Indian provinces in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries was governed by considerations of administrative convenience and economy and reasons of military strategy and security. With the emergence of nationalism towards the end of the nineteenth century the policy of balance and counterpoise began to override purely administrative considerations in making territorial changes. (Paragraphs 15 to 27).

3. At the time of their integration the former princely states were in different stages of development. Some transitional expedients had, therefore, to be adopted to fit these units into the constitutional structure of India which added to the disparities already existing between British Indian provinces. These disparities led to the classification of the States of the Indian Union into three categories, namely, Part A, Part B and Part C States. (Paragraphs 28 to 40).

4. No State of the Indian Union represents a pre-existing sovereign unit. A special feature of the Indian Constitution is that it empowers Parliament to admit or establish new States, to increase or diminish the area of an existing State or to alter its boundaries. (Paragraphs 41 to 43).

II. Rationale of Reorganisation

5. The British gave only qualified support to the linguistic principle in making territorial adjustments between administrative units. (Paragraphs 46 to 50).

6. The Indian National Congress accepted in 1920 linguistic redistribution of provinces as a political objective. During recent years, however, there has been a growing recognition of the need to balance the linguistic principle with other factors such as national unity, administrative, economic and other

7. Andhra was formed by the separation of the Telugu-speaking districts of Madras but in determining the boundaries of even this State factors like cultural affinity, administrative convenience and economic well-being were considered along with language. (Paragraphs 68 to 71).

III. Time for Reorganisation

8. The problem of the reorganisation of States is urgent as with large-scale planning the country has to think in terms of enduring political units. The integration of States has removed the main hurdle in the way of rationalisation of the existing units. Further deferment of a general reorganisation will cause dissatisfaction and disappointment. (Paragraphs 72 to 91).

IV. Factors bearing on Reorganisation

9. In proposing any changes in the existing structure, due consideration should be given to the unsettling consequences of reorganisation. The changes proposed should be such as would compensate, in terms of the welfare of the people, for the administrative dislocation and the heavy burden on the administrative and financial resources of the country which they entail. (Paragraphs 92 to 106).

10. In the interests of national unity, it is necessary that the administrative and political structure of the country should be based on the primacy of the nation. (Paragraphs 107 to 112).

11. The administrative set-up in strategic areas should be determined primarily by considerations of national security. When border areas are not under the direct control of the Centre, it would be safer to have relatively large and resourceful States. (Paragraphs 113 to 116).

12. It is neither possible nor desirable to reorganise States on the basis of a single test of either language or culture; a balanced approach, which takes all relevant factors into account, is necessary. (Paragraphs 117 to 169).

13. Financial viability has an important bearing on reorganisation proposals, but it has to be considered along with other relevant factors. (Paragraphs 170 to 184).

14. Some degree of dislocation in the working of the next plan is likely to be caused by any scheme of reorganisation; this dislocation, however, should be considered along with the possible advantages of reorganisation. Steps should also be taken to minimise the unsettling effects of reorganisation. (Paragraphs 185 to 196).

15. The States cannot be so reorganised as to conform to economic regions. Nor can the principle of economic self-sufficiency within an administrative unit be regarded as a clear criterion. Consistently with these principles it would be desirable to avoid as far as possible wide disparities in resources between the various States. (Paragraphs 197 to 210).

16. The units should be large enough to ensure administrative efficiency and the co-ordination of economic development and welfare activities. (Paragraphs 211 to 220).

17. The wishes of the people should be regarded as an important factor bearing on reorganisation but they have to be considered along with other relevant factors. (Paragraphs 221 to 228).

18. The facts of the existing situation are more important than the previous historical associations of different areas. Undue importance cannot be attached, therefore, to historical arguments. (Paragraphs 229 to 231).

19. Geographical contiguity of the units is important from the point of view of administrative convenience. Other geographical factors have to be regarded as secondary. (Paragraphs 232 and 233).

20. No proposals for reorganisation should be determined by a single test. Conclusions have to be reached after taking into consideration the totality of circumstances in each case. (Paragraph 235).

V. Basic pattern of the component units

21. The existing constitutional disparity between the different constituent units of the Indian Union should disappear as a necessary consequence of reorganisation. (Paragraphs 236 to 239).

22. Part B States can be equated with Part A States by omitting Article 371 of the Constitution and by abolishing the institution of the Rajpramukh. (Paragraphs 240 to 245).

23. The existing Part C States which provide no adequate recompense for all the constitutional, administrative and financial problems which they pose should, to the extent practicable, be merged in the adjoining larger States. (Paragraphs 246 to 268).

24. In respect of three of the Part C States, namely, Himachal Pradesh, Kutch and Tripura, the Central Government should retain supervisory power for a specified period to maintain their present pace of development. (Paragraphs 269 to 275).

25. Such of the existing Part C States as cannot be merged in the adjoining areas for security and other imperative considerations should be administered by the Centre as "territories". (Paragraphs 276 to 284).

26. The component units of the Indian Union should thus consist of two categories:

- (a) "States" forming primary federating units of the Indian Union; and
- (b) "territories" which are centrally-administered. (Paragraphs 285 to 287).

VI. Proposals for Reorganisation

27. According to the scheme of reorganisation which is dealt with in Chapters II to XIX of Part III of this report, there should be sixteen constituent units, to be called States, and three administered territories. The proposals regarding these units are summarised below.

STATES

28. 1. *Madras*.—This State should include the existing territories subject to the following adjustments, namely,

- (i) the five taluks of Agasteeswaram, Thovala, Kalkulam, Vilavancode and Shencotta, now forming part of Travancore-Cochin, should be transferred to the State of Madras, and
- (ii) the districts of Malabar and South Kanara and the Kollegal Taluk of the Coimbatore district should be detached from Madras. (Paragraphs 289 to 301).

2. *Kerala*.—The State of Kerala should be formed, which should consist of the following areas:

- (a) the State of Travancore-Cochin minus the five taluks proposed to be transferred to Madras;
- (b) the Malabar district (including Fort Cochin and the Laccadive Islands), the Kasaragod Taluk of the South Kanara district and the Amindive Islands. (Paragraphs 302 to 318).

3. *Karnataka*.—The State of Karnataka should be created consisting of the following areas:—

- (a) the present State of Mysore, excluding the Siruguppa taluk, the Bellary taluk, the Hospet taluk and a small portion of the Mallapuram sub-taluk of the Bellary district;
- (b) the four Kannada-speaking districts of Bombay, namely, Dharwar, Bijapur, North Kanara and Belgaum, (except the Chandgad taluk of Belgaum district) ;
- (c) the districts of Raichur and Gulbarga from Hyderabad;
- (d) the South Kanara district of Madras minus the Kasaragod taluk;
- (e) the Kollegal taluk of the Coimbatore district of Madras; and
- (f) Coorg. (Paragraphs 319 to 358).

4. *Hyderabad*.—Apart from the districts of Raichur and Gulbarga, the Marathwada districts should also be detached from the Hyderabad State. The residuary State which should continue to be known as Hyderabad should consist of the Telugu-speaking districts of the present State of Hyderabad, namely, Mahbubnagar, Nalgonda, Warangal (including Khammam), Karimnagar, Adilabad, Nizamabad, Hyderabad and Medak, along with Bidar district, and the Munagala enclave in the Nalgonda district belonging to the Krishna district of Andhra.

The residuary State of Hyderabad might unite with Andhra after the general election likely to be held in or about 1961, if by a two-thirds majority the legislature of the Hyderabad State expresses itself in favour of such unification.

The future of the remaining areas of Hyderabad, consisting of the districts known as Marathwada, is dealt with later on under Bombay. (Paragraphs 359 to 393).

5. *Andhra*.—The Andhra State should for the time being continue as it is, subject to certain minor adjustments which are mentioned below.

The taluks of Siruguppa, Bellary and Hospet and a portion of the Mallapuram sub-taluk of the Bellary district should be transferred to Andhra.

The Munagala enclave of the Krishna district, as has already been stated, should be transferred to Hyderabad.

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There should be no change in the present position regarding Madras City and its future should be regarded as finally settled. (Paragraphs 394 to 401).

6. *Bombay*.—The State of Bombay should be reconstituted so as to include the existing Bombay State minus the Abu Road taluk of the Banaskantha district and the Kannada-speaking districts of Dharwar, Bijapur, North Kanara and Belgaum (excluding the Chandgad taluk), plus the following areas:

- (a) the Marathi-speaking districts of Hyderabad, namely, Osmanabad, Bhir, Aurangabad, Parbhani and Nanded;
- (b) Saurashtra; and
- (c) Kutch. (Paragraphs 402 to 439).

7. *Vidarbha*.—A new State to be known as Vidarbha should be created, consisting of the following Marathi-speaking districts of Madhya Pradesh, namely, Buldana, Akola, Amravati, Yeotmal, Wardha, Nagpur, Bhandara and Chanda. (Paragraphs 440 to 457).

8. *Madhya Pradesh*.—After the separation of Vidarbha, a new State, which may be known as Madhya Pradesh, should be created consisting of:

- (i) the 14 districts of the residuary Madhya Pradesh;
- (ii) the whole of Bhopal and the whole of Vindhya Pradesh;
- (iii) Madhya Bharat except the Sunel enclave of the Mandasaur district; and
- (iv) the Sironj sub-division of the Kotah district of Rajasthan. (Paragraphs 458 to 493).

9. *Rajasthan*.—After the proposed merger of Sironj in the new Madhya Pradesh State, Rajasthan should continue in its present form subject to the addition of territories mentioned below:

- (i) Ajmer, and
- (ii) the Abu Road taluk of the Banaskantha district of Bombay, the Sunel enclave of the Mandasaur district of Madhya Bharat and the Loharu sub-tehsil of the Hissar district of the Punjab. (Paragraphs 494 to 513).

10. *The Punjab*—There is no case for dividing the present Punjab State. PEPSU and the Himachal Pradesh should, however, be merged in the Punjab. (Paragraphs 514 to 579).*

The Loharu sub-tehsil of the Hissar district, as already stated, should be transferred to Rajasthan. (Paragraph 506).

Apart from the safeguards referred to in paragraph 24 of this summary, Himachal Pradesh should be represented in the Punjab cabinet by at least one member. (Paragraph 564).

11. *Uttar Pradesh*.—There is no case for dividing the Uttar Pradesh, and this State should continue in its existing form. (Paragraphs 595 to 614).**

12. *Bihar*.—It does not seem to be either necessary or desirable to create a Jharkhand State in south Bihar; the special needs of this area should, however, be recognised.

Seraikella and Kharsawan should continue to be part of Bihar.

Some adjustments in two eastern districts belonging to Bihar are indicated under West Bengal. (Paragraphs 615 to 630).†

13. *West Bengal*.—A portion of the Purnea district east of the river Mahananda and the Purulia sub-district of the Manbhum district minus the Chas thana should be transferred from Bihar to West Bengal. (Paragraphs 631 to 676).†

Subject to the recommendations summarised in the immediately preceding paragraph, no boundary adjustments seem to be called for in order to satisfy claims and counter-claims in respect of the border areas of Bihar, West Bengal, Assam and Orissa.

14. *Assam*.—Assam should continue as it is subject to the changes mentioned below.

The demand for the creation of a hill State in Assam is impracticable and there is also no reason, having regard to the peculiar features and circumstances of Assam, why a separate hill State should be created; special attention should, however, be paid to the development of the hill districts and an enquiry into the working of the autonomous bodies created under the Sixth Schedule to the Constitution should be undertaken.

* Subject to Chairman's note on Himachal Pradesh.

**Subject to Shri K. M. Panikkar's note on Uttar Pradesh.

† Chairman has not associated himself with investigating and deciding the territorial disputes to which Bihar is a party.

Tripura should be merged in Assam.

The present arrangements with regard to the North East Frontier Agency should continue. (Paragraphs 677 to 722).

15. *Orissa*.—No changes are called for in the boundaries of Orissa which were fixed in 1936 after prolonged and detailed examination. (Paragraphs 733 to 749).*

16. *Jammu and Kashmir*.—No recommendations are made in regard to Jammu and Kashmir. (Paragraph 751).

TERRITORIES

29. The units or areas which have not been dealt with so far will be directly administered by the Centre and will be known as territories.

1. *Delhi*.—Delhi should be constituted into such a centrally-administered territory; the question of creating a municipal Corporation with substantial powers should be considered. (Paragraphs 580 to 594).

2. *Manipur*.—Manipur should be a centrally-administered territory for the time being. The ultimate merger of this State in Assam should be kept in view. (Paragraphs 723 to 732).

3. *Andaman and Nicobar Islands*.—The *status quo* in the Andaman and Nicobar Islands should continue. (Paragraph 753).

30. The arrangements in regard to areas which have been or may be brought under Central administration in future, either before or after becoming *de jure* part of the territory of India, must be flexible, until the position is finally clarified. (Paragraph 753).

VII. Safeguards for linguistic groups

31. Constitutional recognition should be given to the right of linguistic minorities to have instruction in their mother-tongues at the primary school stage subject to a sufficient number of students being available. The Central Government should acquire power to enforce this right on the lines of the provisions contained in Article 347 of the Constitution. (Paragraphs 757 to 776).

32. The Government of India should adopt, in consultation with the State Governments, a clear code to govern the use of different languages at different levels of State administrations and take steps, under Article 347, to ensure that this code is followed. (Paragraphs 778 to 785).

* Chairman has not associated himself with investigating and deciding the territorial disputes to which Bihar is a party.

33. The domicile tests in force in certain States operate to the disadvantage of minority groups. The Government of India should, therefore, undertake legislation under Article 16(3) of the Constitution in order to simplify and liberalise the requirements as to residence. (Paragraphs 786 to 788).

34. In examinations regulating entry into the public services of the States, a candidate should have the option to elect as the medium, apart from the main language of the State, the Union language, namely, English or Hindi, or the language of a minority constituting about fifteen to twenty per cent or more of the population of the State. (Paragraphs 789 and 790).

35. As far as possible, Public Service Commission should be constituted to serve more than one State. (Paragraph 791).

36. Appointments to Public Service Commissions serving even single states should be made by President as in the case of appointments to joint Public Service Commissions. (Paragraph 791).

37. The services of the Governors should be utilised for enforcing the safeguards for linguistic minorities. (Paragraphs 792 to 800).

VIII. Administrative and other matters

38. The reconstitution of the sanctioned state cadres and the integration of services should be accorded very high priority, and must be decided on the basis of certain general principles, due regard being paid to the options of the employees, the need for a mixed element in the services, *inter se* seniority in the State of origin, etc., and also the needs of the new States. (Paragraphs 802 to 810).

39. The body constituted to integrate the service personnel of different States should be one that inspires confidence, and only one appeal against decisions regarding integration should be permitted. (Paragraph 810).

40. After the scheme of reorganisation has been given effect to, it may be necessary for some of the new administrations to review the number and territorial extent of the existing districts as well as Commissioners' charges and the rationalisation of the administrative structure. (Paragraph 813).

41. Decisions on the reorganisation proposals should, if possible, be taken before the next Finance Commission commences its enquiries. (Paragraph 815).

42. It may be necessary to grant ways and means advances to newly-constituted units in order to help them to tide over

43. Pending a comprehensive review, grants-in-aid on revenue or capital account as well as long-term loans should be made available to the new units as nearly as possible on the existing basis. The Government of India should refix the existing statutory and development grants and long-term loans with reference to the principles on which such grants or loans have been sanctioned. (Paragraphs 819 to 821).

44. Payments under Article 278 of the Constitution may be continued and apportioned population-wise among new units until such time as the position is reviewed by the Finance Commission. (Paragraph 822).

45. Pending the amendment of Article 264(b) of the Constitution, appropriate portions of the divisible pools pertaining to the Part C States, which are now retained by the Centre, may be distributed among the new units, where necessary, in proportion to their population. (Paragraph 823).

46. Assets and liabilities should be divided on the basis of principles which should as far as practicable be of general application. (Paragraphs 824 to 826).

47. Financial settlements in the case of Part C States need not be elaborate, but may be based on a review of the position as it exists today and the needs of these areas. (Paragraph 827).

48. The question of setting up some special machinery to expedite the final settlements regarding assets and liabilities should be considered. (Paragraphs 828 and 829).

49. It will be necessary to adapt current inter-state agreements regarding water rights, etc., with due regard to the broad basis on which they may have been drawn up, and this question should be taken up as soon as possible after decisions regarding reorganisation have been reached. (Paragraph 830).

50. The creation of special development boards for certain areas which are under-developed should be considered. (Paragraph 839).

51. A permanent body, in which members of the Planning Commission may be included, should be set up in order to examine the grievances, if any, on the score of the alleged neglect of certain areas. (Paragraph 841).

52. The Government of India should consider the question of formulating an industrial location policy for the whole of India, in order to ensure the equitable distribution of development expenditure. (Paragraphs 842 to 844).

53. As a general rule, fifty per cent of the new entrants in the All-India Services should be from outside the State concerned, this computation being made after deducting the number of posts in any State which are to be filled by promotion. (Paragraph 855).

54. Certain All-India Services, namely, the Indian Service of Engineers, the Indian Forest Service and the Indian Medical and Health Service should be constituted. (Paragraphs 856 and 857).

55. Regular transfers to and from the Centre and the States in respect of personnel belonging to the All-India Services should, as far as possible, be arranged. (Paragraph 858).

56. The curriculum of studies for the new entrants to the All-India and Central Services should include such basic and essential subjects as Indian history, geography, religions, customs and manners. (Paragraph 859).

57. In formulating a policy regarding the recognition of Hindi in competitive examinations for the All-India and other services, the need for encouraging the study of other Indian languages, and particularly of the South Indian languages, should be kept in view. (Paragraph 860).

58. At least one-third of the number of Judges in the High Court of a State should consist of persons who are recruited from outside that State. (Paragraph 861).

59. For some time to come, English should continue to occupy an important place in our universities and institutions of higher learning even after the adoption of Hindi and the regional languages for official and educational purposes. (Paragraphs 862 to 867).

60. The Osmania University should be placed under the Central Government and the medium of instruction in this university should be Hindi. One more central university should be established further South and arrangements should be made for the study of South Indian languages in the north. (Paragraphs 868 and 869).

61. Reorganisation has a legitimate place in this country, but its limitations must be recognised. If the supremacy of the Union not merely in the political but also in the economic thinking of the country is fully realised, the issues arising out of the reorganisation of States should not assume the proportions of major political controversies. (Paragraphs 871 to 879).

CHAPTER IV

THE UNITY OF INDIA

846. We have now come to the end of our appointed task. The problem of reorganisation of States has aroused such passions and the claims which have been made are so many and so conflicting that the background against which this whole problem has to be dealt with may quite often be obscured or even forgotten. In order that the recommendations which we have made may be viewed in proper perspective, we should like to emphasise two basic facts. Firstly, the States, whether they are reorganised or not, are and will continue to be integral parts of a Union which is far and away the more real political entity and the basis of our nationhood. Secondly, the Constitution of India recognises only one citizenship, a common citizenship or the entire Indian people, with equal rights and opportunities throughout the Union.

847. It may seem that we have merely stated what should be obvious to all. It is, however, patent that, if the implications of these important facts had been fully appreciated and generally accepted, the question of territorial redistribution would not have developed into a major national problem of disquieting proportions. It has been most distressing to us to witness, during the course of our enquiry, a kind of border warfare in certain areas in which old comrades-in-arms in the battle for freedom have been pitted against one another in acrimonious controversy, showing little appreciation of the fact that the States are but the limbs of the same body politic and that territorial readjustments between them should not assume the form of disputes between alien powers. Deliberate efforts to whip up popular frenzy by an appeal to parochial and communal sentiment; threats of large-scale migration; assertions such as that, if a certain language group is not allowed to have an administrative unit of its own, its moral, material and even physical extinction would follow as an inevitable consequence; and finally incidents such as those in Goalpara, Parlakimedi, Ludhiana and Amritsar; all point to an acute lack of perspective and balance.

848. A great deal of this heat and controversy may prove to be a passing phase. Nevertheless, it would be unwise not to take note of these disruptive trends. One view, which is strongly held by certain sections of public opinion, is that only a unitary form of government and division of the country into purely administrative units can provide the corrective to the

separatist tendencies. We feel, however, that in the existing circumstances this approach would be somewhat unrealistic. Other methods have, therefore, to be found to keep centrifugal forces under check.

849. Unfortunately, the manner in which certain administrations have conducted their affairs has itself partly contributed to the growth of this parochial sentiment. We have referred earlier to the domicile rules which are in force in certain States, governing eligibility to State services. The desire of the local people for the State services being manned mainly by "the sons of the soil" is understandable, but only up to a point. When such devices as domicile rules operate to make the public services an exclusive preserve of the majority language group of the State, this is bound to cause discontent among the other groups, apart from impeding the free flow of talent and impairing administrative efficiency.

850. We were greatly concerned to observe that in one State for instance, domicile rules were applied not only to determine eligibility for appointment to the public services but also to regulate the awards of contracts and rights in respect of fisheries, ferries, toll-bridges, forests and excise shops. The conditions to be satisfied for acquiring a domicile in this State are also generally such as to deserve some notice. These conditions are: (a) ownership of a homestead in the State; (b) residence in such a homestead for ten years; (c) a clear intention to live in the State till death; and (d) renunciation of the old domicile, which is to be established by such circumstantial evidence as whether the applicant has landed property or other interests in his native place, or whether he pays frequent visits to that place.

851. Such stipulations, in our opinion, are not only inconsistent with Articles 15, 16 and 19 of the Constitution but go against the very conception of an Indian citizenship. We do not feel called upon to pronounce on the purely legal aspects of these restrictions, but we have no doubt whatsoever that their total effect is the exact opposite of what was intended by the Constitution.

852. In Chapter I of this Part we have already recommended that the domicile rules in force in certain States should be replaced by appropriate Parliamentary legislation as contemplated in Article 35(a) (i) of the Constitution.

853. It has, however, been alleged before us that certain State governments have imposed restrictions, in practice though not in theory, on the acquisition of property by outsiders. It is obvious that, if such administrative malpractices exist, they should be immediately discarded. Otherwise, the concept of a common Indian citizenship would have no meaning.

854. There are certain other measures which, if adopted, will, we hope, help in correcting particularist trends and also in securing greater inter-State co-ordination for the efficient implementation of all-India policies.

855. Our first proposal is that, as far as possible, about fifty per cent of the new entrants in any cadre of an existing All-India Service should be from outside the State concerned. We understand that several State governments have already accepted the proposition that one entrant every year in the Indian Administrative Service should be taken from outside the State. We are given to understand that this amounts approximately to only one-third of the total annual allotment of personnel to the Indian Administrative Service. Besides, the principle, in the form in which it has been accepted, does not take into account the fact that twenty-five per cent of the vacancies in the Indian Administrative Service are filled by promotion. We would, therefore, recommend that, in order that the fifty per cent target might be achieved, the computation should be made after deducting the number of posts in any State to be filled by promotion; and these principles should apply to all the All-India Services. It would also be necessary to ensure that the proportion of members of the All-India Services recruited from outside the State is not reduced in practice by such devices as the deputation of officers to the Centre.

856. We also consider that, apart from the Indian Administrative Service and the Indian Police Service, some more All-India Services should now be constituted. The question of reconstituting all-India cadres for certain technical departments and particularly the suggestion that the Indian Service of Engineers should be revived, has, we understand, been under the consideration of the Union Ministries concerned for some time. The Central and State Governments have to work in very close co-operation in executing important development projects, which necessitates that technical personnel should be recruited

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and trained on a common basis and that they should have uniform standards of efficiency and the feeling of belonging to common and important cadres.

857. We recommend, therefore, that the following Services, namely, the Indian Service of Engineers, the Indian Forest Service, and the Indian Medical and Health Service should now be constituted.

858. The *raison d'être* of creating All-India Services, individually or in groups, is that officers, on whom the brunt of the responsibility for administration will inevitably fall, may develop a wide and All-India outlook. This advantage will become illusory, however, if members of the All-India Services remain too long either in the service of any particular department or on deputation to the Central Government. In so far as the present All-India Services are concerned, the Centre is already aware of the problem, and transfers to and from the States are intended to be arranged regularly. It is doubtful whether, in practice, it has been easy to give effect to what the Central Government has already accepted in principle. But we think that, in the set-up which we recommend, regular transfers to and from the Centre will be even more important.

859. Another point which we would emphasise is that the training of probationers to the All-India and Central Services should be such that they should have a good introduction to the essentials of Indian geography, history, religions, customs and manners. We realise that, even if the period of training were extended, it would not be possible to impart detailed instruction in these subjects. What is desired, however, is that the probationers, when they complete their training should have an All-India outlook and should cease to consider themselves as Andhras, Tamilians, Marathas or Bengalis etc. The present emphasis on regional languages in the Universities will inevitably lead to the growth of a parochial attitude, which can only be corrected by a system of training which emphasises the All-India point of view. We understand that it has been recently agreed that a detailed knowledge of the five-year plan should form part of the curriculum of studies for the new entrants to the Indian Administrative Service. We suggest that, in addition, basic and essential knowledge of Indian history, geography, religions, customs and manners be included in the curriculum of studies for new entrants to the All-India and Central Services.

860. There is another suggestion which we wish to make about the training of the members of the All-India and Central Services. The progressive adoption of Hindi for the official purposes of the Union will, no doubt, be an important factor towards national unity. But it is of very considerable importance that languages other than Hindi should also figure much more prominently in the training programme of the All-India and Central Services than is now the case. In a recent statement of the policy of the Government of India, regarding the medium in which competitive examinations for the All-India Services are to be conducted in future, there is a reference to a proposal that candidates from the Hindi-speaking areas should be asked to pass a qualifying examination in one Indian language other than Hindi. The details of the Government of India's policy will have to be settled in due course. We only wish to suggest that the principle might be extended to the Central Services also and to add that the arrangements proposed are essential in order to ensure the transfer of service personnel from one State to another. The Indian language other than Hindi should preferably be a South Indian language.

861. Guided by the consideration that the principal organs of State should be so constituted as to inspire confidence and to help in arresting parochial trends, we would also recommend that at least one-third of the number of Judges in a High Court should consist of persons who are recruited from outside that State. In making appointments to a High Court bench, professional standing and ability must obviously be the over-riding considerations. But the suggestion we have made will extend the field of choice and will have the advantage of regulating the staffing of the higher judiciary as far as possible on the same principles as in the case of the Civil Service.

862. As we have already observed, the progressive adoption of Hindi for the official purposes of the Union should operate as a unifying factor. A common national language, however, to be a really integrating force should have a wider range. English, though a foreign language, has helped to bring the people of different regions in India closer to each other firstly because it has been the official language both at the central and at the provincial levels, and secondly because it has been the medium of instruction for higher education throughout the country. It has, therefore, provided a common vehicle for

higher thought as well as for administrative activity and has helped to maintain common standards at the higher educational institutions.

863. Hindi is to replace English to a limited extent. At the national level Hindi will replace English, but in the States it is to be succeeded to a large extent by the regional languages. The Official Language Commission, recently appointed by the Government of India, will, no doubt, consider fully the manner in which the constitutional provision about the adoption of Hindi as the official language is to be enforced. It is, however, quite obvious that replacement of English by Hindi should be so phased that there may be no vacuum from the point of view of social and political intercourse between different parts of the country and that standards of higher education in the country do not suffer.

864. Any possible decline in the standards of education must be viewed with grave concern, because with her progressive advance in the political, social, economic and technical fields, India will require men of high calibre, and the training of such men must depend on our educational system.

865. A wide field of choice for higher education and migration from universities and other institutions for higher education has been possible in this country, not only because English has so far been the medium of instruction in these institutions, but also because the standards of teaching and research have been, generally speaking, comparable. Some of these institutions are contemplating the adoption of the regional languages as the media of instruction. If English in any of these institutions is replaced prematurely, and if facilities are not provided for acquiring necessary proficiency in that language in the interests of higher research, standards of higher education are bound to suffer.

866. It has to be remembered that English is an important inter-national language and that a knowledge of it makes available to Indian students the results of advanced studies and higher research in other progressive countries. As the Secondary Education Commission has pointed out, provision has been made in many foreign countries for acquiring a knowledge of English or other foreign languages. In the U.S.S.R., for example, a foreign language is compulsory subject in the Soviet middle and secondary schools. Suitable measures will, therefore, have to be adopted to encourage the study of English and other

foreign languages at our important educational institutions, even after the adoption of the regional languages as the media of instruction.

867. We fully realise the importance of the study of Hindi and the regional languages, but we feel that for the present the use of English in higher technical studies does not come into conflict with the growth of these languages.

868. From the point of view of national unity, it is also of great importance that there should be closer understanding between the north and the south. All institutions and establishments which help to bring about such an understanding should receive particular encouragement from the Government of India. The Osmania University in Hyderabad is one of such institutions. We suggest that this University may be placed under the Central Government. The medium of instruction at this University should be Hindi; and if standards of instruction at this institution are maintained at a high level, this would attract students from the adjoining areas and be of advantage to the South.

869. We also consider it necessary that another central university should be established further south with emphasis on Hindi and that in the principal North Indian universities there should be faculties for the study of South Indian languages and cultures.

870. The proposals which we have made in the preceding paragraphs are intended to bring about greater administrative integrity and to provide against any particularist trends being promoted within the administration itself or in the country at large. Important as these measures are, it is obvious that they are by themselves not adequate to give a deeper content to Indian nationalism. National unity can develop into a positive and living force capable of holding the nation together against the disruptive and narrower loyalties only if there is a real moral and mental integration of the people. Fortunately, forces making for such integration are already at work. What is necessary is that nothing should be done to impede their free-play. We should like to say something on this subject before we conclude.

871. India is now on the eve of vast economic and social changes. These changes must affect every institution and will

call for a constant review of our traditional methods of thought and ways of life.

872. One of the important developments in recent times has, for example, been the country's conversion to the ideal of social, political and economic equality. We do not mean to minimise the difficulties in the way of realising this ideal of equality, to which the country is now committed. Nevertheless, it is a great advance that the comparatively backward sections of the community are now in the picture. An important source of tension within the body politic is, therefore, being progressively removed.

873. Internal migration on a scale which renders unrealistic any attempt to regard the linguistic situation in any area as static is another major factor which has now to be taken into account. Economic opportunity and the rapid development of communications have contributed, in recent years, to this general increase in mobility within the Indian Union. Even age-old conceptions regarding personal laws, including in particular the law of succession to property in Hindu society which used to be regarded as unalterable, are now in the process of being changed, to suit the needs and requirements of a modern and developing society. With the vast increase in industrialisation that is now being planned under the auspices of the Centre, it is also inevitable that migration within the country will increase even further. More and more cities or pockets, which are Indian rather than provincial in character, are, in consequence, bound to come into existence all over the country.

874. The consequences of economic planning to which the country is now committed are very great. When resources are mobilised and investment is undertaken at the national rather than at the regional or State level, the States will inevitably get more and more integrated in a joint endeavour for the economic advancement of the nation as a whole.

875. In formulating our proposals for reorganisation, we have naturally been most anxious to discover and to respect the greatest common measure of agreement between the various points of view. But we have also taken note of the operation of the dynamic forces to which reference has been made in the preceding paragraphs. We, therefore, wish to emphasise that considered in its proper perspective, the reorganisation of the

States can only be regarded as providing the necessary adjustments to remove tensions and to enable the Union to function more effectively.

876. It is the Union of India that is the basis of our nationality. It is in that Union that our hopes for the future are centred. The States are but the limbs of the Union, and while we recognise that the limbs must be healthy and strong and any element of weakness in them should be eradicated, it is the strength and the stability of the Union and its capacity to develop and evolve that should be the governing consideration of all changes in the country.

877. Regionalism has a legitimate place in a country as large as India, but unless its limitations are recognised, and the supremacy of the Union not merely in the political but also in the economic thinking of the country is fully accepted, it will be a source of weakness to us as a nation. If this is generally realised, we have no doubt that the issues arising out of the reorganisation of the States will not be allowed to assume the proportions of major political controversies.

878. Free India is now on the move. What has already been achieved can be viewed with a measure of legitimate pride. The manner in which the very difficult problem of princely India was solved in the anxious and bewildering circumstances following the Partition will, by itself, be a standing testimony to the political wisdom and strength of the Indian people and their firm determination to eradicate artificial barriers and cramping loyalties.

879. We conclude in the hope that the scheme of reorganisation which we have proposed will be viewed against this background and that men of goodwill co-operate with those charged with the onerous responsibility of reconciling competitive claims and of balancing regional sentiments with national interests in giving effect to the decisions which might be taken, in an atmosphere of tolerance and understanding.

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NEW DELHI,

Dated 30th September, 1955.

*It should be mentioned that, owing to my long connection with Bihar, I have refrained from taking any part in investigating and deciding the territorial disputes between:

- (1) Bihar and West Bengal; and
- (2) Bihar and Orissa.

Further, whatever is to be found in this report in regard to Himachal Pradesh is subject to my separate note on that area which has been appended to this report.

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