

[Shri V. B. Raju.]

mittee. Its importance is when there are funds, when there are surplus funds for the development of the region. There are no surplus funds now. So the continuance of the Regional Committee may not be useful to the people of Telengana. But let us not rub on the wrong side. Let us tackle it very carefully. The abolition of the Regional Committee is not going to deprive the Telengana people of any economic advantage. Let us not put it to controversy. It can be easily solved. It can be converted into a Development Board or a State Planning Board with some Committees for the development of the backward areas in the three regions. There is no difficulty about it. It is so simple, according to me. Culturally the people are one. They are one people. They are going to live together in spite of anybody. The Telengana people are going to be one, for the benefit of this nation, for the benefit of that area, and nobody can separate them. That is the historical compulsion. Delicate issues have got to be handled carefully. I know the Government of India's difficulty. I am only sorry for my disappointment that the political forces there could not put their heads together, evolve a line of action which will be, in the long run, to the best advantages of the people of Andhra Pradesh and India.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : The House stands adjourned till 2 P.M.

The House then adjourned for lunch at fifty-nine minutes past twelve of the clock.

The House reassembled after lunch at two of the clock, MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN in the Chair.

STATUTORY RESOLUTION SEEKING APPROVAL FOR CONTINUANCE OF THE PROCLAMATION UNDER ARTICLE 356 OF THE CONSTITUTION IN RELATION TO THE STATE OF ANDHRA PRADESH—Contd.

श्री नवल किशोर : उपसभापति जी, श्री पन्त जी ने दीक्षित जी की तरफ से जो प्रस्ताव आंध्र

प्रदेश में राष्ट्रपति शासन की अवधि 6 महीने और बढ़ाने का पेश किया है मैं उस का विरोध करता हूँ। मिस्टर राजू ने जब अपना भाषण शुरू किया तो उन्होंने स्वयं इस बात को माना कि जब 18 जनवरी को राष्ट्रपति शासन की घोषणा आंध्र प्रदेश में की गयी उस समय यह उम्मीद नहीं थी कि 6 या 7 महीने के बाद फिर इस पार्लियामेंट में, इस राज्य सभा में पन्त जी को इस तरह का प्रस्ताव लाना पड़ेगा कि इस की अवधि और बढ़ा दी जाय। श्रीमन्, इस में कोई ताज्जुब की बात नहीं है इसलिए कि जो शुरुआत आंध्र प्रदेश से हुई वह बीमारी आहिस्ता, आहिस्ता बढ़ती चली गयी; उस के बाद उड़ीसा का नम्बर आया, फिर मणिपुर का नम्बर आ गया और फिर उत्तर प्रदेश आया और पन्त जी अगर मुझे इजाजत दें तो मैं यह भी कह दूँ कि इसी साल के आखिर तक बिहार और गुजरात का नम्बर भी आ जायेगा। श्रीमन्, 1972 का जब चुनाव हुआ तो जनता ने एक बहुत बड़ा बहुमत दिया आज के सत्ता दल को और उससे यह उम्मीद थी कि सारे प्रदेशों में स्थायित्व पैदा होगा और जो सरकारें बनेगी वह अच्छी साबित होंगी। लेकिन इन 6, 7 महीनों में कुछ बड़ी दुर्भाग्यपूर्ण वास्तविकताये उभर कर सामने आयी और मिस्टर राजू जरा हिन्दी कम समझते हैं इस लिए मैं श्रीमन् उन की जानकारी के लिए उन को अंग्रेजी में रख दूँगा। श्रीमन्, पहली बात तो हम ने यह देखी कि Massive mandate of the people need not necessarily give stability and good Government. दूसरी बात, जिस को मैं साबित करूँगा, यह है कि Bureaucratic rule and bureaucratic set-up is now being shown as something better than, and superior to, the popular Government. तीसरा एक और सिद्धांत प्रतिपादित किया गया दीक्षित जी की तरफ से, और मैं उनका नाम इस वास्ते लेता हूँ कि सही हो या गलत, आज सारे देश में यह बात मशहूर है कि प्रधान

मन्त्री का अगर कोई कान्फिडेंस का आदमी है या उनका मुख्य सलाहकार है तो माननीय दीक्षित जी हैं। उन्होंने एक यह भी रखा सिद्धांत कि—

The Chief Minister in any State need not have the majority of the Legislature behind him. It is enough if he enjoys the confidence of Dikshitji and the Prime Minister. श्रीमान्, सब

से खराब चीज जो हुई वह यह कि Constitution exists only to serve the party interests of the ruling party. और

आखरी बात जो कहना चाहता हूँ वह यह कि : Provincial autonomy has no meaning today and the States are to be treated as Municipalities, to be superseded at the whims of the centre. आज देश के अंदर

यह पांच छः राजनीतिक वास्तविकताएं उभर कर हमारे सामने आती हैं...

श्री ना० कृ० शेजवलकर (मध्य प्रदेश) :

आप म्युनिसिपैलिटीज को अंडर वैल्यू करते हैं ?

श्री नवल किशोर : मैंने वह कहा जो होता आया है— I am talking about facts. श्रीमान्, जिस समय आंध्र प्रदेश के अंदर राष्ट्रपति शासन हुआ, मैं यह बात उस समय भी जानता था कि वहां पर कांग्रेस पार्टी का 75 फी सदी का बहुमत है, मैं यह बात भी जानता था कि वहां पापुलर गवर्नमेंट है। मैं यह बात भी जानता था कि वहां के चीफ मिनिस्टर इस्तीफा देना नहीं चाहते। मैं यह भी जानता था कि वहां के चीफ मिनिस्टर ने 2 हफ्ते का टाइम मांगा था वहां की स्थिति पर काबू पाने के लिए, लेकिन इसके बावजूद भी जो वहां की स्थिति थी कि हैदराबाद में एक आग लगी हुई थी, ट्रेने फूँकी जा रही थीं, रेलवे सम्पत्ति का नुकसान किया जा रहा था, केवल रेलवे मिनिस्ट्री का 20 करोड़ रु० का नुकसान हुआ आपके आंध्र प्रदेश के एजिटेशन में। बसों को लूटा जाता था,

कालेजेज को फूँका जाता था, डिस्प्लिन नहीं था, और ऐसी स्थिति में उन्होंने राष्ट्रपति शासन वहां लागू किया, यह जानते हुए भी कि जनतंत्र की हत्या हो रही है। मैंने तब उसका जो समर्थन किया था वह इस उम्मीद में कि शायद दो-तीन महीने के अंदर ला एन्ड आर्डर वहां पर सही हो जाएगा। मुझे यह उम्मीद नहीं थी कि यह एक ताकत को अपने हाथ में रखने का नया शौक पैदा होगा केन्द्र की सरकार में, उसके नेताओं में और प्रेसीडेंट रूल को परमानेंट बनाने की चेष्टा की जाएगी, आहिस्ता आहिस्ता।

श्रीमान्, मैंने अखबारों में पढ़ा—एडवाइजर साहब की रिपोर्ट तो मेरे पास है नहीं—लेकिन अखबारों में पढ़ा, और राजू साहब ने भी कहा, पंत जी ने भी कहा अपने भाषण में, कि ला एन्ड आर्डर अब सही हो गया है, शांति और व्यवस्था स्थापित हो गई है, एजिटेशन भूतकाल की बात हो गई, नार्मल्सी स्थापित हो गई, और यही नहीं जो आरमी थी, फौज थी, सी० आर० पी० थी, बी० एस० एफ० थी, वह सब वापस हो गई, मई के महीने में। जो नानु गजेडेड आफिसर्स का एजिटेशन था वह भी खत्म हो गया, टीचर्स व] विद्यार्थियों का आंदोलन समाप्त हो गया। लेकिन राष्ट्रपति शासन समाप्त नहीं हुआ है। उसके पक्ष में उन्होंने कहा कि कुछ सीरियस कान्स्टेस अभी बाकी हैं जिनका इन्डियोरिंग साल्यूशन हम ढूँढ नहीं पाए हैं और हम कोशिश कर रहे हैं उसका हल जल्दी ढूँढ लें। तो पंत जी से मैं जानना चाहता हूँ—अच्छा होता दीक्षित जी यहां होते, खैर पन्त जी हैं...

संसदीय कार्य विभाग में राज्य मंत्री (श्री ओइम् मेहता) : एक ही बात है।

श्री नवल किशोर : इसमें इतना फर्क है मिस्टर मेहता—हमारी और तुम्हारी जिदगी में फर्क इतना है—

[श्री नवल कि शोर]

“हमें कष्टी नहीं मिलती
तुम्हें साहिल नहीं मिलता”

तो मैं यह अर्ज कर रहा था श्रीमन्, कि आज श्री राष्ट्रपति शासन आपने कायम रखा। आप कहते हैं हम अभी तक रास्ता नहीं ढूँढ पाए। यह इस बात का सबूत है कि वहां ला एण्ड आर्डर की बात नहीं है, वहां कांस्टीट्यूशनल ब्रेकडाउन की बात नहीं है। चूकि रूलिंग पार्टी अपने अंदरूनी झगड़ों की वजह से मुल्की रूलर्स के बारे में कोई सल्यूशन अभी तक ढूँढ नहीं पायी है, इससे राष्ट्रपति शासन वहां पर रखा गया है।

श्रीमन्, यह जो 356 का आर्टिकल है वह इसके लिये नहीं बनाया गया था। यह इसकी स्प्रिट के बिल्कुल खिलाफ है। श्रीमन् मैं आपकी इजाजत से श्री पन्त जी से एक बात कहना चाहता हूँ। पन्त जी, आपको मालूम ही होगा कि हाल ही में टाइम्स आफ इंडिया में एक आर्टिकल “मिसयूज आफ दि प्रेजिडेंट रूल” के नाम से छपा था। आप उसको मेहरबानी करके श्री दीक्षित जी को पढ़ने के लिए दे दीजिये। वैसे दीक्षित जी को टाईम कम रहता है। श्री कुंजरू ने डिबेट के वक्त कहा था :

“If a responsible government has to be maintained,” He warned the Constituent Assembly, “then the electors must be made to feel that the power to apply the proper remedy when misgovernment occurs rests with them and not with the Centre. They should know that it depends upon them to choose new representatives who will be more capable of acting in accordance with their best interest... Responsible Government requires patience and it requires courage to take risks”.

यही नहीं श्री कामथ ने भी इस पर इसी तरह के आरग्यूमेंट किये :

“He too argued that Central intervention should not be invoked to re-

solve a ministerial crisis or as a remedy for maladministration. The only remedy in such cases,” he insisted, “should lie in dissolving the legislature and having fresh elections.”

साफ जाहिर है कि अपनी पार्टी के हितों में इस अनुच्छेद का दुरुपयोग किया जा रहा है।

श्रीमन्, मुझे खुशी है कि आज राजू साहब ने बड़ी खूबसूरती के साथ, बड़ी काबिलियत के साथ अपना केस पेश किया। मैं इसके डिटेल में नहीं जाना चाहता हूँ। श्री पन्त जी से मैं इतना ही कहना चाहता हूँ कि उन्होंने (श्री राजू ने हमारे सामने वहां के सम्बन्ध में चार चीजें रखी। एक तो एडमिनिस्ट्रेशन का इश्यू और दो सर्विस आर्गनाइजेशन का आपसी झगड़ा। दूसरा उन्होंने एजुकेशन फैसिलिटीज और एडमिशन का झगड़ा विद्यार्थियों के बीच में बतलाया। तीसरी बात उन्होंने मुल्की रूल के इन्टरप्रिटेशन के सम्बन्ध में बतलाई जो उनके दृष्टिकोण में गलत है। चौथी बात उन्होंने यह बतलाई कि जो रीजनल कमेटी हैं उनको खत्म किया जाय। ये चार बातें हैं। मैं इन चीजों के डिटेल में नहीं जाना चाहता हूँ क्योंकि ये मामले तेलंगाना और आन्ध्र प्रदेश के नेताओं के बीच के अपने मामले हैं और हमारे राजू साहब इन नेताओं में से एक हैं। इस बात का मुझे पता नहीं है कि वे किस साइड में हैं। इस साइड में हैं या उस साइड में हैं। लेकिन एक बात मैं बहुत स्पष्ट कह देना चाहता हूँ और मैं इसको कई बार कह चुका हूँ कि मैं उन लोगों में से हूँ जो आन्ध्र प्रदेश के इंटिग्रेशन का हामी हैं। मैं कतई इस बात का हामी नहीं हूँ कि आन्ध्र के टुकड़े किये जायें। इंटिग्रेशन के फ़र्मवर्क में जो बेहतरीन सल्यूशन है, वह उसका होना चाहिये। मैं पन्त जी से कहना चाहता हूँ कि इस तरह से छः छः महीने के इन्स्टालमेंट्स का यह तरीका कब तक चलेगा। कब तक आप इस झगड़े की आड़ में अपने आपसी झगड़ों को ठीक करते रहेंगे? एक कंहावत है कि दो बिल्लियों में आपस में झगड़ा

हुआ और बन्दर सब कुछ खा गया। मैं यहाँ पर सिर्फ एक एग्जाम्पुल दे रहा हूँ। न दीक्षित जी बन्दर हैं और न आप बिल्ली हैं। सत्य यह है कि तेलंगाना और आन्ध्र के झगड़े को लेकर सेन्टर अपने हाथ में ताकत रखना चाहता है।

श्री बी० बी० राजू : हम दोनों एक ही जाति के हैं और अलग अलग नहीं हैं।

श्री नवल किशोर : मैंने कहा कि एक ही जाति में पुरुष भी होते हैं, स्त्री भी होती है और दोनों के बीच के लोग भी होते हैं। तो इसमें जाति का सवाल नहीं और बिल्लियाँ भी एक ही जाति की होती हैं। मैंने तो सिर्फ एग्जाम्पुल दिया था। Don't take it seriously.

मैं यह बात कह रहा था कि आज वहाँ पर शान्ति और व्यवस्था हो जाने के बाद इस बात का कोई जस्टीफिकेशन नहीं रह जाता है कि वहाँ पर प्रेजीडेंट रूल कायम रखा जाय। मैं यह बात कहना चाहता हूँ कि वहाँ पर मासिव मेन्डेट मिलने के बाद भी गुड गवर्नमेंट और स्टैबल गवर्नमेंट नहीं आ सकी है।

पन्त जी ने तो बड़ी खूबसूरत बातें कह दी लेकिन इस बात का पता नहीं चला कि उसका सिर कहाँ पर है और पैर कहाँ पर है? उन्होंने यह भी कहा कि हम ज़रूरत से ज्यादा वहाँ पर राष्ट्रपति का शासन नहीं रखना चाहते हैं। मैं पन्त जी से पूछना चाहता हूँ कि यह आवश्यकता के बारे में कौन बतलायेगा? जब अंग्रेज यहाँ पर राज्य करते थे तो वे कहा करते थे कि हम तब तक यहाँ पर रहेंगे जबतक हिन्दुस्तान के लोग सेल्फ गवर्नमेंट के काबिल नहीं हो जाते हैं। गवर्नमेंट ही इस बात को तय करेगी कि अब वहाँ पर राष्ट्रपति के शासन की आवश्यकता नहीं है और इसीलिए मैं पन्त जी से और दीक्षित जी से मालूम करना चाहता हूँ कि यह आवश्यकता कब खत्म होने वाली है।

तो कैसे विश्वास हो? कोई टाइम लिमिट ऐसी होनी चाहिए कि हमको यकीन हो

जाय। इंग्लैंड में जिस समय वहाँ का प्राइम मिनिस्टर इस्तीफा दे देता है तीन हफ्ते के अन्दर वहाँ की गवर्नमेंट चुनाव करा देती है। इसलिए वहाँ इस बात का कन्वेन्शन है कि गवर्नमेंट की डिफीट हो या न हो अगर मेजारिटी पार्टी का लीडर टिफीट होने से पहले या बाद जब भी क्राउन को कहे कि पार्लियामेंट को डिस्साल्व कर दिया जाय तो वे डिस्साल्व कर देते हैं क्योंकि वे जानते हैं कि तीन हफ्ते के अन्दर हम जनता के पास जाएंगे और उससे मेन्डेट मांगेंगे। आप तो कभी इस तरह जनता के पास नहीं जाते।

मैंने पढ़ा कि 73-74 का आपका जो बजट है, उसमें जो प्लान के लिये धनराशि है उसको 105 करोड़ से घटा कर 87.59 करोड़ कर दिया गया यानी 18 करोड़ की कमी कर दी गयी है। मिस्टर बी० बी० राजू ने यह कहा कि मालदार स्टेट होते हुए भी गरीब आदमी वहाँ बसते हैं, तेलंगाना बैंकवर्ड है, कोस्टल एरिया भी बैंकवर्ड है। इसके बावजूद प्लान में 18 परसेंट या 20 परसेंट की कटौती हो गई। मैं इसलिए यह बात कह रहा हूँ कि राजू साहब जी ने कहा "गुड गवर्नमेंट इज नो सबस्टीट्यूट फार पापुलर गवर्नमेंट", लेकिन साथ ही यह भी कहा कि वहाँ सलाहकार टैंकट से काम कर रहे हैं और पन्त जी ने भी कहा कि जो कांग्रेस गवर्नमेंट वनरसिंह राव नहीं कर पाए, उसको उनके न्यूरोक्रेट्स ने कर दिया। इसलिये मैं यह कह रहा था कि आज जब फिफथ प्लान बन रहा है आन्ध्र प्रदेश का, जनता की जो आवश्यकताएं हैं उनके पूरा करने के लिए मुनासिब यह होगा कि वहाँ के जो लोग हैं, जो वहाँ के जन-प्रतिनिधि हैं उनको इस बात का मौका मिले कि जो फिफथ प्लान है उसको वह फॉर्म्यूलेट करें। आपके भेजे हुए सलाहकार इसको सही तौर पर नहीं कर पायेंगे।

श्रीमन्, मैं एक-दो और दरखास्ते पन्त जी से करूँ कि जब कभी इस तरह की भावना पैदा हो जाय देश के अन्दर कि व्यरोक्रेटिक

[श्री नवल किशोर]
गवर्नमेंट ज्यादा अच्छी है तो फिर डेमोक्रेसी नहीं चल सकती, फिर तो डिक्टेटरशिप होती है। आपकी इजाजत से मैं पढ़ दूँ—

With the reputation of politicians falling steadily in the public esteem, Central intervention is being increasingly welcomed because it enables officials to rule without political direction or interference. In effect, public is doing what Mr. Kunzru feared, namely, transferring the responsibility cast on it to ensure that its representatives govern properly on to the shoulders of non-elected officials लेकिन, हालत यहां तक पहुंचेगी इसका अंदाज नहीं था—Even Mr. Kunzru did not, however, anticipate a situation in which the ruling party would utilise President's emergency powers to buy time to resolve its own factional squabbles as in the latest recourse to article 356 in U.P. and Andhra Pradesh.

श्रीमान्, आखिरी बात मैं यह कह कर खत्म कर देता हूँ कि मैं चाहता हूँ कि आप वहां पर पापुलर गवर्नमेंट बनाएं और अगर पापुलर गवर्नमेंट तुरन्त नहीं बन सकती, नेताओं में कुछ कमी है, हालाँकि राजू साहब ने कहा कि लीडरशिप की कमी नहीं है, यह हो सकता है कि आप जिन पपेट्स या जिन गुड्डे गुड्डियों को थोपना चाहें वे आप न ढूंढ पाएं हों क्योंकि नया शौक पैदा हुआ है, लेकिन अगर पन्त जी बुरा न मानें तो उनकी ट्रेडीशन्स को मेन्टेन करते हुए क्योंकि ट्रेडीशन यह है कि पार्लियामेंट से किसी आदमी को भेजा जाता है चीफ मिनिस्टर बनने के लिए तो मैं आपकी आज्ञा से उसी ट्रेडीशन को कायम रखते हुए सुझाव देता हूँ कि आप मिस्टर राजू का नाम भेज दें तो आपकी परेशानी दूर हो सकती है और वहां का भी काम चल सकता है।

SHRI SHYAM LAL YADAV : Nawal Kishoreji, then we shall lose a Vice-Chairman.

श्री नवल किशोर : आखिरी बात मैं यह कह दूँ। दीक्षित जी यहां नहीं हैं, पंत जी

आप उनसे एक बात यह कह दें कि जब से उनका उदय हुआ है भारत की राजनीति में—वे मेरे भी बुजुर्ग हैं और पन्त जी आपके भी बुजुर्ग हैं—जब से प्राइम मिनिस्टर को एड-वाइज़ करने का काम उनके हाथ में आया है तब से डेमोक्रेसी हिन्दुस्तान में दम तोड़ने लगी है। मुझे भय है कि हिस्ट्री की कहीं रिकॉर्ड यह न हो कि “Shri Umashankar Dikshit was the hangman of India democracy”. अभी समय है, वह इसको बचायें और इसी आप भी बचाएं। लिहाजा मैं चाहूंगा कि या तो आप पापुलर गवर्नमेंट बनाएं और नहीं बना सकते तो वहां की असेम्बली को डिस्साल्व कीजिए और नए चुनाव कराइए।

श्री ना० कृ० शेजवलकर : उपसभापति महोदय, इस अवसर पर मैं जो प्रस्ताव है उसका विरोध करने के लिए खड़ा हुआ हूँ। वैसे तो राष्ट्रपति शासन स्वयं ही अभिशाप है। ऐसी स्थिति उत्पन्न होने पर राष्ट्रपति शासन लागू किया जाय, तो यह किसी के लिए अच्छी बात नहीं है। वहां की जनता के लिए तो इससे कठिनाइयों का बढ़ ही जाना है। विशेषतः जब एक चीज का डिबोरा पीटा जाता है कि वहां पर हमारा बहुमत है, सारी मेसेज ने मंडेट दिया हुआ है, एक ही पार्टी का बहुमत स्पष्ट रूप से आया है, ऐसी स्थिति में भी राष्ट्रपति का शासन वहां पर स्थापित होना किस के लिए शर्मिंदगी की बात है। कम से कम हमारे देश के लिए शर्मिंदगी की बात तो है ही।

श्री नवल किशोर : कम से कम हम को तो शर्म आती ही है।

श्री ना० कृ० शेजवलकर : हम को तो शर्म आती ही है। तो छे महीने हो चुके और छे महीने के बाद भी अभी कोई स्थिति में परिवर्तन नहीं आया।

श्री मानसिंह वर्मा (उत्तर देश) : शर्मदार को शर्म आती है।

श्री ना०कु० शेजवलकर : सौभाग्य से या दुर्भाग्य से वह जो लेजिस्लेटिव कमेटी आपने बनाई है, उसका मैं भी सदस्य हूँ। जब पहले इस सम्बन्ध में चर्चा हुई थी तो उस समय भी मैंने निवेदन किया था कि जब कभी प्रश्न आता है फिर से चुनाव कराने का, यह जो स्थिति है उसमें परिवर्तन लाने का कि आप कब करने वाले हैं, तो कहा जाता है कि अभी चर्चा चल रही है, नार्मलसी आने वाली है, अभी आप कोई बात मत करिये वना वातावरण खराब हो जायेगा। रोज इस प्रकार की बहाने की बातें होती चली आ रही हैं। इसको भी महीनों से ज्यादा हो गया। पता लगा कि हमारे गृह मंत्री जी हैदराबाद गये हुये हैं और वहां पर कुछ चर्चा कर रहे हैं, कुछ लोगों से बातचीत कर रहे हैं। पता नहीं वे किस से बातचीत कर रहे हैं। मेरे पास यह समाचार आया है कि शायद वे अपने दल वालों के अतिरिक्त और किसी से बातचीत करना आवश्यक ही नहीं समझते, जैसे कि मानो यह समस्या उनके दल की निजी समस्या है और वहां के प्रदेश की जनता की समस्या ही नहीं है। यह स्थिति स्पष्ट रूप से प्रगट हो गई है। अभी मेरे पास रीसेंटली रिपोर्ट आई है। अभी जो मेरे मित्र ने बताया वे ज्यादा जानकारी रखते हैं क्योंकि वे वहां पर रहते हैं और वहां के निवासी हैं। मेरे पास जो वहां से लिखित रिपोर्ट आई है, मैंने उनका अध्ययन किया है।

जहां तक ला एंड आर्डर सिचुएशन का सम्बन्ध है, यह बात ठीक है कि जो हड़ताल वहां पर चल रही थी वह हड़ताल अब वहां पर उस प्रकार की नहीं है। लोग अपने अपने कामों पर चले गये हैं। मैं ला एंड आर्डर सिचुएशन के बारे में आपसे निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि ला एंड आर्डर की जो समस्या आप बताते हैं वह वास्तव में शासन के द्वारा बनाई हुई समस्या थी। मुझे क्षमा करेंगे मेरे मित्र भूपेश गुप्त जी। उनके साम्यवादी दल के द्वारा वहां पर यह समस्या उत्पन्न की गई। जो भी हड़ताल शांतिपूर्ण होती थी उसमें जानबूझ कर वे विघ्न डालते थे और वहां पर ऊधम करवाते थे। उसके

बाद अश्वु गैस, लाठी चार्ज इत्यादि सारी कार्यवाहियां बाकायदा शासन के दल के लोगों के द्वारा और कम्युनिस्ट दल के लोगों के द्वारा हुआ करती थी और उसका नतीजा यह होता था कि फिर प्रतिक्रिया और क्रिया साथ साथ होती थी। यह स्थिति वहां पर बनो रही। मैं आपसे निवेदन कर दूँ, मैंने आपसे पहले भी निवेदन किया था कि वहां पर जो पूर्व का किनासा है वहां पर मैंने प्रवास किया और वहां पर रात के बारह बारह बजे तक लोग शांति से बैठे रहे। वह काकीनाडा का स्थान जहां पर गोलियां चली थीं, वहां पर हजारों लोग साढ़े 11 बजे रात को बैठे हुये थे। मैं कोई ऐसा बड़ा नेता नहीं हूँ, लेकिन फिर भी मेरा भाषण सुनने के लिए वहां पर हजारों की संख्या में लोग बैठे हुये थे और छोटे छोटे गांवों के लोग बैठे हुये थे और सब कुछ बड़ी शांति से चल रहा था। जहां जहां कांग्रेस दल के लोगों ने या साम्यवादी दल के लोगों ने ऊधम करने की कोशिश की है, वहां पर जरूर शांति भंग हुई है। अगर ला एंड आर्डर की समस्या वहां पर है तो वह वास्तव में आप की ही तरफ से है। मेरे पास नये प्रमाण आये हैं। मैं गृह मंत्री जी को उनको नोट कराना चाहता हूँ। मैं गृह मंत्री जी से कहना चाहता हूँ कि वे ध्यान से सुन लें। यदि वे चाहें तो मेरे पास जो ओरिजिनल पत्र आया है, वह मैं आपके पास प्रस्तुत कर सकता हूँ।

पिछली 19 तारीख को रात को 12 बजे विद्यार्थियों ने इंजीनियरिंग के तीन विद्यार्थियों पर हमला किया और उनको बहुत बुरी तरह से जखमो किया। वे चेन्स ले गये थे, लाठियां ले गये थे और निकल के वेपस उनके पास थे। रात में सोते हुये विद्यार्थियों पर उन्होंने हमला किया। उसके बारे में जो सरीन साहब एडवाइजर हैं उनके पास मेमोरेंडम दिया गया और पुलिस में रिपोर्ट की गई, लेकिन आज तक उसके बारे में कोई कार्यवाही नहीं की गई। ऐसी घटना इसके पहले भी हो चुकी हैं। सरीन साहब के पास और प्रोफेसर जो कंसनिंग है उनके पास जा कर के इस प्रकार की सारी बातें कही गईं। लेकिन कोई कार्यवाही वहां नहीं हुई है। दूसरा उदाहरण यह है कि शंकर रेड्डी जो एक राष्ट्रीय नेशनलिस्ट स्टूडेंट हैं उन पर रात को 9 बजे जो दूसरे विद्यार्थी हैं साम्यवादी और कांग्रेस गुप

[श्री न० कु० शेजवलकर]

के उन लोगों ने मिल कर हथियारों से लैस हो कर हमला किया और वह अस्पताल में भर्ती रहे। दस दिन से अधिक तक। इतनी चोटें उनको आई थीं, लेकिन उसके बाद भी, रिपोर्ट होने के बाद भी कोई कार्यवाही नहीं की गयी है, इस संबंध में। तीसरा उदाहरण उसके बाद प्रिंसिपल साहब को इत्तिल्ला दी गयी, लेकिन उस पर भी कोई ऐक्शन नहीं लिया गया। एक स्टूडेंट है राम नरेश, टेक्निकल फाइनल का उस पर हमला किया गया और उसके बारे में भी कोई कार्यवाही नहीं की गयी। एक तरफ वे कहते हैं कि वे वहां नक्सलाइट मूवमेंट को बंद करना चाहते हैं लेकिन वहां एक कवि सम्मेलन किया गया और उसमें नक्सलाइट विद्यार्थियों ने खुले रूप से भाग लिया। उसके खिलाफ शिकायत भी की गयी, लेकिन आज तक उस पर कोई कार्यवाही नहीं हुई। रविदास रेड्डी नाम का जो विद्यार्थी था उस्मानिया यूनिवर्सिटी का वह अपने फाइनल का इम्तिहान दे कर लौट रहा था, उस पर चेन और तलवार ले कर हमला किया गया। इसी तरह के मेरे पास छः या सात उदाहरण और हैं और उसके अतिरिक्त भी सूचना है कि वारंगल के जो कलेक्टर हैं मिस्टर माधव राव वह जानबूझ कर ऐसी कार्यवाहियां करवाते हैं और इसके पीछे जैसा मैंने कहा कांग्रेस के आदमियों और कम्युनिस्ट लोगों का हाथ है। यहां तक की रघुनाथ रेड्डी के बारे में यह शिकायत है कि जब जब वह हैदराबाद जाते हैं और वहां से आते हैं तो उसके बाद कुछ ऐसी ही घटनायें होती हैं। इन सबका कारण क्या है। एक तरफ आप लॉ एंड आर्डर की बात कहते हैं और दूसरी तरफ हमी लोग, जो शासन में हैं इस तरह की घटनाओं के लिए कोई कार्यवाही करने को तैयार नहीं रहते। आज एकपक्षीय कारबार सब वहां पर चल रहा है। तो यह कोई अच्छी बात नहीं है। यह न्याय की तरफ बढ़ने वाली बात नहीं है और ऐसा लगता है कि

हम इसी स्थिति को वहां बनाये रखना चाहते हैं। न वहां के जन प्रतिनिधियों से बात करने को तैयार हैं और न वहां पर लॉ एंड आर्डर की जो खराब स्थिति है उसमें सुधार करना चाहते हैं। और इस प्रकार वहां पर अत्याचारों का तांता बंधा चला जा रहा है। क्या इसी को आप 6 महीने के लिए और बढ़ाना चाहते हैं? क्या आप वहां राष्ट्रपति शासन रख कर इस क्रांति को वहां और बढ़ने देना चाहते हैं? क्या आप वहां की जनता को कुचलने वाली बात करना चाहते हैं? लेकिन मैं बताना चाहता हूं कि इस प्रकार से जो जन भावनायें होती हैं उनको कुचला नहीं जा सकता। आज अगर जनता के मन में यह भाव है कि वह अलग होना चाहती है, अलग अलग अपने प्रदेश वह वहां चाहती है, तेलंगना और आंध्र और आप उसके आड़े आते हैं और हमारे प्रतिनिधि कहते हैं कि जनता यह नहीं चाहती तो आप चुनाव हो जाने दीजिए। आपको वहां चुनाव हो जाने देने में क्या आपत्ति है। आप बार बार क्यों इसको आगे बढ़ाना चाहते हैं? आप क्यों नहीं वहां की लॉ एंड आर्डर सेच्युेशन ठीक होने देना चाहते? आप लड़ाई की बात कहते हैं। उस समय कहा गया कि बंगलादेश की लड़ाई होने वाली है इसलिए चुनाव नहीं होने देंगे। जब स्थिति आपके पक्ष में हो गयी तो आपने लोक सभा के चुनाव की घोषणा कर दी थी। आप जो भी निर्णय लेते हैं वह सिवाय राजनीति के और कुछ नहीं होता। और दुर्भाग्य से वह आपके स्वार्थ से संबंधित होता है। इसी प्रकार का निर्णय आप करते हैं। तो आप किस तरह से आदर्श उपस्थित कर सकते हैं? कल मैं ट्रेन में जा रहा था वहां भ्रष्टाचार और दूसरी प्रकार की अनेक बातें चल रही थीं और वहां लोगों ने कहा कि यह तो ठीक है कि इस तरह से भ्रष्टाचार होता है रेलवे कर्मचारी यह करते हैं, वह करते हैं और उसमें मेंबर पार्लियामेंट का भी जिक्र आया और आखिर में इस बात पर चर्चा शुरू हो गयी कि आखिर उनको विशेष प्रिविलेज क्यों दिये जाये अगर उनको जनता नहीं देना

चाहती है तो। अगर हम असेट कर के उन प्रिविलेजेज को लें तो यह हमारे लिये शर्म की बात होगी। हम लोक सेवक हैं। हमारे जो प्रिविलेजेज हैं वे हमारे लिये फेसिलिटीज हैं, वे हमारे राइट्स नहीं हैं। अगर हम सेवा की भावना से काम करें तो वही सही हो सकते हैं। लोगों ने आखिर इन तमाम बातों का हल जानना चाहा। मैंने कहा कि इसका एक ही हल हो सकता है कि जब तक हम स्वयं अपना जीवन आदर्श नहीं बनायेंगे तब तक काम नहीं चलेगा। हम को एक्जाम्पल सेट करनी पड़ेगी, तभी स्थिति में कुछ सुधार हो सकता है और वह एक्जाम्पल नीचे से नहीं सेट होनी चाहिए वह ऊपर से ही हो सकती है। अगर देश में कोई परिवर्तन लाना है, कोई क्रांति लानी है तो उस के लिए आप को उद्यम करना पड़ेगा और उसे हमको ऊपर से लाना पड़ेगा, हमको स्वयं को आदर्श बनना पड़ेगा और उन पर चलना पड़ेगा, ऐसा नहीं कि एक तरफ तो एक व्यक्ति को नामिनेट कर दिया गया और दूसरी तरफ दूसरे व्यक्ति का समर्थन किया गया और उसको वोट दिलाने की कोशिश की गयी और उसमें अपने अधिकारों का प्रयोग किया गया। यह आदर्श रख कर आप दावा नहीं कर सकते कि देश में कोई परिवर्तन आयेगा।

देश में परिवर्तन तभी आ सकता है जब हम अपने आप को बलिदान करने के लिए तैयार हों। यह कहने से काम नहीं चलेगा कि मेरा बेटा इंजीनियर न हो या कारखानेदार न हो; हो सकता है हर आदमी यह चाहता है। लेकिन जो आदर्श उपस्थित करना चाहते हैं उन्होंने अपना सर्वस्व बलिदान किया है। आज जो देश के बड़े बड़े नेता सम्मान पाए हैं और जिनके चित्र यहां हम देखते हैं उन्होंने अपने आदर्शों का पालन करने के लिए जान की पर्वाह नहीं की। इसी कारण उनको सदा आदर और सम्मान मिलेगा। तो उसके लिए एक ही रास्ता है कि हम भी अपने व्यक्तिगत स्वार्थों से उठ कर स्वयं आदर्श उपस्थित करें। आज हैदराबाद के अंदर या आंध्र प्रदेश के अंदर कोई प्रजातांत्रिक शासन नहीं है

इसलिए अगर आप अच्छी परम्पराएं डालें तो आपके साथ अच्छे लोग एकत्र होंगे और उसके बाद देश में परिवर्तन की हवा चल सकती है। लेकिन अगर सरकार इसी ढर्रे पर चलती रही जैसा ब्रिटिशर्स करते रहे, वह अपना शासन कायम रखने के लिए जो तरीका अपनाती रहे, वही तरीका यह सरकार अपनाते रहे कहीं माइनारिटी के नाम पर दूसरों को उभाड़ना या चुनाव जीतने के लिए किसी से भी हाथ मिला लेना—इन सब बातों से मैं समझता हूं अच्छा वातावरण नहीं पैदा होगा। आप बहुमत वाली हुकूमत हैं, अभी आपके 6 महीने की अवधि और मांगी है लेकिन मैं नम्रता से निवेदन करना चाहता हूं कि आप छः महीने की अवधि भले ही चाहें, लेकिन आप तुरन्त चुनाव कराइए, परिणाम चाहे जो भी हो। आज आन्ध्र प्रदेश वाले चाहते हैं, तो चुनाव कराइए, नहीं चाहते, तो नहीं कराइए, लेकिन आप बीच में हस्तक्षेप करने वाले क्यों होते हैं। आखिर कितने दिनों तक जनता को धोखा दिया जा सकेगा? एक बार गरीबी हटाओ के नाम पर तरह तरह के स्लोगन चलाएँ, लेकिन अब वह पुराने पड़ गए हैं। हमको तो विश्वास है प्रजातंत्र में दूसरी ओर हमारे भाई हैं जो आंख लगाए बैठे हैं एक बार प्रजातंत्र समाप्त हो जाए और हम डिक्टेटोरशिप का एक विशेष तंत्र चालू कर दें, लेकिन मुझे विश्वास है जनता को अभी भी इस तरह की बात से चिढ़ है, भले ही देश में भ्रष्टाचार व्याप्त हो। इसीलिए मैं आग्रह करता हूं कि आप एक बार चुनाव करवा कर देखिए, इसका क्या परिणाम होता है, आप सच्चाई पर हैं कि नहीं? नहीं तो जो सच्चाई पर है उनको सामने आने का मौका मिले। इन शब्दों के साथ मैं प्रस्ताव का विरोध करता हूं और यह अवधि न बढ़ायी जाए, इसका आग्रह करता हूं।

SHRI N. JOSEPH (Andhra Pradesh): Sir, the hon. Minister has come to the House with a resolution asking for extension of President's rule in Andhra Pradesh. It was introduced for

[Shri N. Joseph]

the first time when the whole Government was paralysed because of the agitation in Andhra Pradesh demanding separation.

It was the N.G.Os. who first started the agitation against the five point formula which confirmed the mulki rule which stood against their interests. As this affected the services of the gazetted officers of some categories, they also joined. Then the opposition parties came forward with a slogan of separation. Having been explained by the N.G.Os. that there shall be no scope for the educated unemployed and the students in future if the mulki rule continues, they immediately jumped into the movement leaving the High Schools and Colleges.

Then the rich reactionary landlords stood in the forefront of the agitation thinking that they can escape from land ceiling and ceiling on urban property. Then all the other classes of people including the common man who were vexed with the second class citizenship and who were humiliated in the 1969 Telangana movement, embraced the movement. As the attack was mainly pointed against the Congress Government in the State, nine Andhra Ministers resigned fearing that they would be alienated from the people if they did not join and with the same idea many of the legislators joined the separatist movement. The slogan of separation was so appealing to the people that all those leaders and legislators that joined the movement looked like heroes and patriots while those that opposed were treated as traitors. Then it turned out to be a mass movement. It is not a fact that the backward classes and other labour classes did not support the agitation but it is a fact that their faith in the unique leadership of Shrimati Indira Gandhi is not shaken in spite of the fact that opposition party leaders and the reactionaries tried to damage the image of Shrimati Indira Gandhi taking advantage of the over-

whelming enthusiasm shown by the people for separation. In spite of ceaseless propaganda against the Congress and Shrimati Indira Gandhi the labour classes and other backward classes believe that social and economic revolution is possible under the leadership of Shrimati Indira Gandhi alone. Although nine Ministers and many legislators and some M.Ps. submitted their resignations from the Congress party membership they did not press for its acceptance as they felt that they would not be able to serve the interests of their electorate by remaining outside the Congress party as there is no other alternative party which can occupy the place of the Congress even in a period of ten years to come. If Congress happens to be defeated in any State or in the country it is only chaos that can prevail which ultimately may lead to bloody revolution. Hence they remained in the Congress and have been taking steps to force the Congress Government to understand the facts that were being misrepresented by some selfish agents. Anyway the Central leadership understood the seriousness of the situation and therefore appealed to the people and leaders for creating normalcy which has been restored having faith in their statement that they have an open mind. After normalcy is restored the leaders of Telangana came forward with several solutions for the problem out of which none has the support of at least ten legislators who call themselves as integrationists. All the different proposals they put forth show that they cannot remain in an integrated State without some safeguards. It is true that all the backward regions, backward classes and all other oppressed sections of the society should be provided with necessary safeguards and special privileges to bring them to the level of the advanced. But the special privileges that were given to the people of Telangana in the name of Mulki Rules looked detrimental to the service personnel of Andhra, employees working in the public sector including the secretariat. Thus a vast gulf is created between the Andhra employees and unrepairable suspicion exists between these two sections of employees working in the same department. I feel that

there is no human agency which can bring these two sections of the same department to co-operate with each other for the successful prosecution of the administration. Without co-operation and mutual trust among these service people in the secretariat it may not be easy for the State Government to administer the functions of the Government smoothly.

It is also not easy to force the Andhras to live as second class citizens for long in their own capital and it is still more difficult to remove suspicions from the minds of the leaders and the common people of Telangana about the good intentions of Andhras towards them. Knowing that benefits in a bigger State are many these people in both the regions treat them as insignificant in comparison to their ill-feelings they maintain one against the other. If the Centre still feels that it can keep the State integrated conditionally or unconditionally we will be keeping the constant headache providing opportunity for powermongers, disgruntled elements and the rich reactionary individuals and groups and opposition parties whose sole aim is to create chaos and have no peace and tranquillity in the country. If the Centre feels that this question cannot be isolated from national aspects it is better that it immediately introduces popular Government and decides the issue at the appropriate and suitable time. It is emergent for the popular Government to come into power to implement the land ceilings, to impose ceiling on urban property and take drastic steps against the blackmarketeers, hoarders and corrupted officialdom with whose co-operation and collaboration these blackmarketeers flourish.

As the Government wants to take over the wholesale trade in rice in November, it is not possible for the Government to do it successfully without the co-operation of legislators and leaders. They should explain to the people the advantages of taking over the wholesale trade in foodgrains. For this not only the Congress party, but also all the other parties, should come

forward to meet the challenge of the hoarders. Nowadays the strike-mania has become a common incident which is being encouraged by the leaders of opposite parties. They are still planning to lead agitations. Once discipline is lost among the people of the country and no respect is paid to law and order the country goes to anarchy. History tells us that no country survived as an independent without discipline. If the leaders of the opposite parties do not realise this and resort to agitation, etc., the same will retaliate against them when they come to power. Better if they remember the story of Macbeth who tried to destroy Duncan and Banquo. Later on he met with the same fate as his predecessors from the hands of the same people whom he used to kill these kings. They learnt the art and the same art was used to retaliate him. They killed Macbeth. Hence I appeal to all the friends in the opposition to sit together with the Government and solve the problems of the country and compete with the Congress in serving the people.

With these words I finish my speech.
Thank You.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, let me first deal with what is happening in Andhra Pradesh today under the President's rule. Only yesterday we were referring to a speech in which it was said that the hoarders should be put in chains and marched through the streets of Lucknow. Besides, the Government has again and again given out to the press to create an impression as if it is interested in really using the DIR and MISA to deal with the hoarders and to fight hoarding and profiteering, but the record of Andhra Pradesh, which is directly under the Centre, speaks to the contrary. Now, Sir, only the day before yesterday there was a *Bandh*, which they do not like called by an all parties' committee in Vijayawada to protest against the repressive measures used by the police against those who are campaigning for de-hoarding the hidden stocks and for compelling the traders to sell goods at the declared and lawful price. On the 6th of this month, i.e., three days ago,

[Shri Bhupesh Gupta]

members, workers and supporters of our party, as well as other mass organisations, Gheraoed the Super Bazar in Vijayawada city. The object was to enforce the distribution and sale of foodgrains at one rupee per kilo, at the controlled price. No other objective was there. Suddenly what happened was quite interesting. Some of the traders from inside the shops sent their men out to create trouble and some looting was organised by these elements of the traders and their men only to create an alibi for repressive action against the members and workers of our party and others who went there in pursuance of the de-hoarding campaign and for enforcing the lawful and legal price. When the CPI volunteers gheraoed the Super Bazar, as I said, some people who were already there at the behest of the strangers created trouble. Using this as a pretext Mr. Pant should note—the police and the CRP immediately started lathi-charging the volunteers outside. People were chased all round and beaten up by the police. Even women were not spared from the fury of the police. Scores of people were also arrested. Now, this is what happened. And many people saw that it was happening like that, and as a protest, this kind of action, a *hartal*, was called and *hartal* was a stupendous success—it took place the day before yesterday on the 7th. Now, our party has demanded a judicial inquiry into the incidents at the Super Bazar or what happened there. Let it be found out.

SHRI K. CHANDRASEKHARAN (Kerala): May I ask you a question? Your CPI is in power in Kerala State. On the recent *bandh*, the CPI Government's police beat up a very venerable Marxist leader, Mr. M. K. Kelu, and a former Member of the Lok Sabha, Mr. Arangil Sridharan, and a host of others on the streets of Calicut. We have been requesting Mr. Achutha Menon and Mr. Karunakaran for a public inquiry into the brutal lathi-charging at Calicut. What do you say?

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: You take it up with him. We are not for this

kind of thing. Surely, all such incidents should be looked into. I cannot answer you for Mr. Achutha Menon. Surely, you can ask him. You find out from him. And surely, I think legitimate movements should not be attacked anywhere, legitimate demonstrations. But in Kerala everyone has his own way of doing things. Some slogan was given out by your men to overthrow the Government. You may be within your right to ask whether this kind of thing should occur, whether it should not be gone into. But I am not saying about it. But here, it was not of that type; nobody said that the President's rule or the Central Government should be overthrown. They went to the Super Bazar there to ask them to sell foodgrains, rice, at Re. 1 per kilo.

SHRI MAHAVIR TYAGI (Uttar Pradesh): Was it non-violent?

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Mr. Tyagi is very non-violent, although he threw one big joke at Jawaharlal Nehru. You are very good. I agree you are a very non-violent man.

SHRI MAHAVIR TYAGI: Was the demonstration non-violent? That is what I wanted to know.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: I say, it was absolutely peaceful and non-violent because this movement will defeat its very purpose if it becomes violent or indulges in wrong kinds of things. It is we who have conceived this movement and we are organising it all over the country and propose to continue it. I think the purpose will not be served and the movement will be somewhat disturbed if we go in for any kind of violent activity; in the present situation this kind of thing is neither wise nor good. So, it was non-violent. That is why the All Parties' Committee in Vijayawada gave the call for strike. People irrespective of which party they belonged to, were aghast at the behaviour of the police and that is why the *hartal* was a great success. Now, people are being arrested. Sir, here, this is not the only thing. For some time this movement has been going on elsewhere also. We are discussing it. Other people are act-

ing elsewhere in order to control prices and sell goods at reasonable prices. According to our information, a number of leaders and party members have been arrested not only in Vijayawada but in Guntur on the 30th July. The movement there is going on for some time now. Also members of the All India Youth Federation and Mahila Federation were arrested in Bazwada merely for peaceful campaigning for the sale of rice at reasonable prices. In this House I brought it to the notice of the Government that some of them had been arrested. Twenty-five of them had been arrested on dacoity charges and for similar offences. Among the arrested were Mr. Nagaiah, M.L.C., Mr. G. V. Krishna Rao, C.P.I. Municipal Councillor Mr. Malkonaiah, Mr. Malakondaiah, Shri Surnami, Secretary of Andhra Pradesh T.U.C. and Shri Kota Venkat-charlu, C.P.I. Municipal Councillor. These are facts known to the Government. We have been bringing it to the notice of the Government. We have been doing it from the beginning in this House but nobody seems to bother about it. I do not know whether any message has been sent from the Centre even to make an enquiry as to whether it is happening. And yet we are told that the Government is interested in dehoarding.

Sir, over the last few months you have seen what has happened in the country. Hoarding and profiteering have gone on on a large scale. The wholesalers are responsible for it. Now the stocks are being disgorged in some places while in other places they are found out even by Congressmen in certain places. I must give them the credit that is due. Sir, I must say in all fairness to our Congressmen that Youth Congress members and other Congressmen started campaigning against the hoarders in Hyderabad city. They took part in the dehoarding operation. Therefore, let us not view it from party angle. Many people are in the campaign belonging to different political parties including the ruling party. At the moment I am not talking about the police who do not belong to any party but at the same time it comes down heavily upon those who are carrying on the campaign. In Uttar Pradesh also this is

being done. I say this thing because the Central policy seems to be indicated by what is happening.

Sir, I am not concerned with other aspects of Uttar Pradesh. The Secretary of our party has issued a statement in which he has pointed out that the bureaucratic regime in the State has not moved even a little finger either to unearth the hoarded stocks or to bring down the prices. In different parts of the State, in Allahabad our people have been arrested. In other places people had been arrested.

In this connection, ironically, perhaps it would seem that our Secretary referred to the statement of President Giri in which he said that the hoarders and blackmarketeers should be chained. This is what is happening.

In Madhya Pradesh, according to the newspaper report, 5,000 have been arrested belonging to our party, for no other campaign than dehoarding. In the Ahmedabad city of Gujarat 91 of our leading members and others have been put in jail. In Delhi, right under the nose of the Government people had been arrested for demonstrating against rising prices and expressing indignation of the country against the Food Minister who is responsible for bungling the entire take-over policy on foodgrains. In some parts, as I said, things are not so bad. In Assam, for example, Congressmen are co-operating which goes to their credit. Therefore, it is not reported from Assam, where de-hoarding is going on, that the Police is coming and attacking them, or that we are in clash with Congressmen. In many places, Assam Congressmen are co-operating with us and others in achieving the common objective of discovery of hidden stocks. That is how it should be. But in other places, in Madhya Pradesh, in Gujarat, in Uttar Pradesh, in Andhra Pradesh this is what is happening. I hope something would be done about it. Sir, may I share my confidential information in this connection? Mr. Pant should hear it. According to my information, Mr. Dikshit and Mr. K. C. Pant, I am told, and some other officials of the Home Ministry came to the con-

[Shri Bhupesh Gupta]

clusion that the de-hoarding campaign should be suppressed.

SHRI K. C. PANT : I am amazed at this statement. It is completely baseless.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : You deny it.

SHRI K. C. PANT : I am denying it.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : You also say de-hoarding, but that de-hoarding must take place according to you, as you think; that is your view. The advice was that the Communists and others who are launching this campaign should not be allowed to get very far and they should be curbed. A circular, I am told, has been sent to various States to that effect, telling all kinds of fantastic stories about our party's plans in this matter. I shall tell you that plan. Why should I keep it a secret from you? Now, in this connection I would invite your attention to an editorial which has been written in a paper called *Jugantar*, a daily from Calcutta, which is owned by one of the Congress Ministers of the West Bengal Government, namely, Tarun Kanti Ghosh. In that paper, in the leading article, it has been pointed out that such a circular has been issued by the Central Government asking the police or the authorities in the State to take a tough attitude. This is what it says. It is not my paper. It is a paper belonging to a house which has always been a Congress supporter and the only son of that house is now a Cabinet Minister, Tarun Kanti Ghosh. This paper writes it. Obviously I assume that Tarun Kanti Ghosh is supposed to know a bit of what is passing from New Delhi to Calcutta, since he happens to be a member of the Cabinet in West Bengal. So, Sir, this kind of thing is going on. I find that in some States the Central circular is implemented faithfully. In other States, in Assam for example, they are not implementing it in the way Mr. Pant or his officials, if he is not directly involved that way, may like. This is what is happening. Sir, our information is

that Delhi is thick with the rump of a tough attitude. Why this tough attitude suddenly? For two years you did not see any tough attitude. When the hoarders were cornering stocks, when profiteering was going on, when they were running away with foodgrains, when they were creating a man-made scarcity all over the country, we never saw the Home Ministry becoming tough. Now they are tough because people are not ready to do the command performance and people are sometimes taking law into their hands. Jolly well they should take law into their hands. It is better for them to take law into their hands and die on their feet rather than submit to the so-called laws and live on their knees. I think it is good that people are now coming forward to tackle the problem which the Government has failed to tackle. Shrimati Indira Gandhi said that our people are wonderful. I also say that our people are wonderful. But I should like to know how or in what sense they think that the Indian people are wonderful.

Are they wonderful because they are submissive, because they are docile, because they are browbeaten all the time, because they are thrown to the tender mercies of hoarders and profiteers by a callous and soulless bureaucracy? Or are they wonderful because they fight, they fight for their right to live, fight for food, fight against hoarders and profiteers and the makers of their misfortune because those who are in the seats of power and authority do not know how to exercise them, as we hear in other parts of the country? Sir, our people are wonderful precisely because even in their poverty, sorrow and suffering, they know how to rise against oppression, against injustice, against the makers of their misery, poverty and suffering, against the profiteers and hoarders and the whole gang of politicians who flourish on black money and want to create a situation of that kind today. Sir, it is the conjoint forces of reaction, whether they sit on the opposite side, or here or outside in the country, the vested interests in the political life, who have brought about a ter-

3 P.M.

riple situation of the type today. That is why you see that the hoarders are saying, we have got foodgrains, come to deal with us, we shall share 50:50. This is what is happening. Nothing is done against them. How many food dealers have you tackled? Why are your Advisers and others in Andhra Pradesh not tackling them. It is going on, profiteering and hoarding, in Andhra Pradesh as in other parts of the country, continuously. But other people are starving; the down-trodden Harijans and others, affected by the spiralling prices, for no fault of theirs, are suffering. And we are told that we shall deal with them under the MISA, we shall deal with them under the DIR, and we shall put them in jail. Hoarders are not put in jail. Those who are fighting the hoarders are put in jails. I demand the release of every single person, man and woman, who has fought against hoarding or is fighting against hoarding. And this should be considered as a test or *bona fides* that we are interested in tackling the situation, rather than this kind of pep-talks about measures being taken against those who are indulging in profiteering and blackmarketing. Sir, you have seen how cleverly they are allowing time on the question of black money, so that black money is converted into gold and other inventories. When it comes, nothing is available. Sir, this is also part of the plan.

Therefore, I say here that at least in Andhra Pradesh, since it is under you, you should take measures.

I should now come to the question of Harijans in Andhra Pradesh. First of all I shall invite your attention to what has happened in the Venkatachal Satram police station on the night of 21st July. There, some 12 persons were taken into police custody. Five of them were Harijans. They were beaten up, they were tortured; and, they were assaulted. And here is a statement by one M.L.A. who, I believe, is in suspended animation now, but well enough to make a statement. He said in the statement: "The police, in order to extract information about the whereabouts of some persons alleged to have involved themselves in the case of Duggal, have ar-

rested some relatives of those connected in the case and beaten them up and tortured them in the lock-up. I saw with my own eyes, the next morning when I once again visited the police station, the marks of beating on the bodies of several persons. All those people are poor wage-earners and they could not receive food regularly. Thus, they were forced to starve in the cell. Many other horrid acts are being done here."

Now, this is being done in the case of Harijans and Girijans. But when multimillionaires go to jail, by chance if they go, the big hoarders and profiteers, they get class I. Then, hospital facilities are provided to them. They are looked after well. But these Harijans are being treated in this manner in the police lock-up, under the President's regime. I demand an enquiry into it.

Sir, you will find in the newspaper of today that in Warangal and Nalgonda, two Harijans have been murdered in June last but information was not even given by the local police to the higher authorities. It was kept there; now it has been revealed. When Harijans are murdered, no information is given. And Sir, again, according to this newspaper, *Patriot*—I do not know whether they have time to study this news item or not,—a Harijan boy, Agaya, of Kuchipudi village in Suryapet taluk of Nalgonda district was murdered.

This is what is happening under President's rule. Do something about it. Talk about Harijans. Talk about Harijan welfare. Your policemen do not even report cases of murder. Even when the charge-sheet has been filed, the case has been started, and yet they will not report the whole thing to the higher authorities including, I believe, in some cases the Ministers when the Ministers are there. That has been the habit of the police authorities. Therefore, I say action should be taken. Finally, I have to make only one or two suggestions.

But before I do that, I come to the question of Nagabhushana Pattanaik's case. I referred to it again and again. I suggested and I earnestly pleaded with the Government. He is a Naxalite leader under death sentence. This month

[Shri Bhupesh Gupta]

the Jubilee Year is coming to an end on the 15th August. I said by 15th August the sentence should be commuted at least. I am informed by Mr. Om Mehta that the matter was under consideration. I say do it now. Jubilee Year is the occasion to make such gestures. Why do you not do a good thing? If at all you want to do it, do it in proper time. And I think this is the right occasion, proper occasion, to do this thing. At least commute the sentence. I have met the President. I can tell you the President was quite sympathetic, quite sympathetic to our request for commutation of the sentence on Naga-bhushana Pattanaik. And I am sure the Government is also considering the matter in a proper spirit and I hope that the decision will be announced before the 15th August.

With regard to the Andhra problem, how long the President's rule will continue, we are not told. We are not told about it. We are told everything else. May I ask one question: How is the whole world looking at us? Are we not making ourselves a laughing stock before the world? In Andhra Pradesh the ruling party has a majority of....

SHRI NAWAL KISHORE: Seventy-five per cent.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: ...217 in a House of 287. It is not a simple majority. It is a huge majority. It is a majority which is over-massive, if I may say so. Now they are all there, I am told. Nobody has joined our party or their party or any other party. Then where have they disappeared? Where have your so-called suspended-animatd MLAs gone? I should like to know. They have not joined other parties. They are all in your party still. Even then you are not in a position to settle it and start the Assembly functioning and restore the popular Government. Then, UP is the biggest State in India with 90 million population. Yet, there is no Government there. Andhra Pradesh is one of the finest and powerful States. There is no popular Government there. How long will this continue? It

brings no credit to our parliamentary system. What are the people thinking? The onstitution is being utilised for your own purpose, not because there is a majority, not because you cannot form a Government, but because some internal troubles in your party. It is therefore that the people there do not have a legislature where they can raise such things and sort out their problems that way. I say the matter should be gone into in that spirit. As far as the solution is concerned, generally I agree with the approach of Mr. Raju when he said that the problem should be separated, the political problem should be separated, the question of restoration of popular rule should be separated, from the question of the so-called Mulki Rules, the Mulki Rule tangle or whatever it is called. I think we should settle it on that basis. I realise the difficulties that you face. But take us into confidence some times. Is it just your affair that there is no Government in Andhra Pradesh despite the legislature in existence with a viable majority? You owe it to the country to explain it why it is so. What are the problems and difficulties you are facing? Why should not the Constitution function there normally? You are treating it as a domestic affair of the Congress Party. That is not good over a matter which involves Constitutional principles and propriety and the working of Parliamentary system. Simply because you have a majority here, do not treat it as your domestic affair. I know there are some people who are separatists. And you are not able to convince them. But there are many others who want integrity and unity and stability to be maintained. Surely you can share your thoughts and ideas with them, and draw upon their counsel and experience in order to arrive at a settlement. It is not good that Andhra Pradesh should be left with a bureaucratic Government for a long time. Now we have been asked to extend it for another six months. But we have not been able to know how the President's rule is behaving *vis-a-vis* the problems of the restoration of the popular government. This is what should be told to us.

Our Party in Andhra Pradesh has charged the bureaucrats there for conspiring against us. News has been spread here that Communists are trying to loot the trains in Andhra Pradesh. This is a blackened lie. It is highly provocative. It is done in order to create an alibi to attack us. Communists do not believe in looting trains. They are with the entire people there including your own supporters in order to carry out and implement the policies to which you stand committed, namely, dehoarding the hidden stocks and exposing profiteers and black-marketeers. If this kind of story is sent here from Andhra Pradesh in order to spread it here, whoever has done it should be brought to book and he should be asked to explain his conduct. Where is the train looting in Andhra Pradesh by Communists? For the last two-three days this rumour is going round that Communists are doing it. It has percolated here. This lie, this slander is spread by those who are in the pay of the hoarders and profiteers. They should be given no quarter in any political circle. Our objective is to make dehoarding a movement and it is well-known that you want this movement to be universal in which you want Congressmen to move into action and dehoard stocks of foodgrains to see that foodgrains and other essential commodities are distributed to the people at prices which they can afford. It is not a partisan issue at all. I do not think you will be doing any service to the country by giving encouragement to this kind of propaganda against this Party or any other Party which is genuinely interested in solving the problems unitedly by taking courage and bold steps. Therefore, I ask the Government (*Time bell rings*) to make enquiries in order to find out who make these provocative statements and why and to punish them.

श्री भूपेन्द्र नारायण मंडल : (बिहार) : उप-सभापति महोदय, यह जो प्रस्ताव आया है कि आन्ध्र प्रदेश में राष्ट्रपति शासन को छः महीने तक और आगे बढ़ाया जाये, मैं इसका विरोध करना हूँ। हम लोगों ने देखा कि थोड़े ही दिनों के अन्दर एक राज्य के बाद दूसरे राज्य में किस तरह से राष्ट्रपति शासन कायम होता गया

है। यू० पी० में कायम हुआ, आन्ध्र में कायम हुआ, गुजरात में कायम हुआ, उड़ीसा में कायम हुआ और इस तरह से इस देश में कई राज्यों में राष्ट्रपति शासन कायम होता गया। सिर्फ गुजरात राज्य में जो वहाँ की कांग्रेस पार्टी है, जो प्रधान मंत्री का दल है, उसने उनकी इच्छा के खिलाफ वहाँ पर फिर अपनी गवर्नमेंट कायम कर ली है, लेकिन और जगहों में उनकी सरकार कायम नहीं हो सकी। खासकर के आन्ध्र प्रदेश जहाँ पर अभी भी कांग्रेस पार्टी मेजरिटी में है, जहाँ पर अभी भी लेजिस्लेचर जिन्दा है, वहाँ पर क्यों नहीं उनको फंक्शन करने की इजाजत दी जाती है, यह बात मेरी समझ में नहीं आई। प्रधान मंत्री ने कहा था कि 27 फरवरी को अगर वहाँ पर शांति स्थापित हो जायेगी, तो वहाँ पर अपना जो फैसला है उस फैसले को हम देगे और वहाँ की असेम्बली को जिन्दा करेंगे। लेकिन उसके बाद कितने दिन बीत गये हैं, वहाँ शान्ति की स्थापना भी हो गयी है, फिर भी वहाँ के लेजिस्लेचर को फंक्शन करने नहीं दिया जाता है। शुरू में राजू साहबने जो कुछ कहा है उससे मालूम पड़ता है कि उन के दिमाग में एक नया नक्शा है कि किस तरह से वहाँ का फैसला हो सकता है। अगर कांग्रेस पार्टी के व्यू से वह उनका सजेशन प्रेक्टिकल है और वह प्रेक्टिकल समझती है तो निश्चित तरीके से उसके मुताबिक काम कर के उसे वहाँ के लेजिस्लेचर को फंक्शन न करने की अनुमति देनी चाहिए। लेकिन ऐसा उन्होंने नहीं किया। अगर उन के सुझाव प्रेक्टिकल नहीं हैं तो दूसरे क्या प्रेक्टिकल सोल्यूशन हो सकते हैं उनको देखना चाहिए और उनके मुताबिक काम करना चाहिए। वह भी नहीं किया गया और अगर वह नहीं किया गया तो निश्चित तरीके से उनको वहाँ के लेजिस्लेचर को भंग कर देना चाहिए और वहाँ पर नये चुनाव कराने चाहिए। लेकिन ऐसा सरकार ने नहीं किया है। इसलिए मैं चाहता हूँ कि अगर इस देश में कोई नार्म रखना है डेमोक्रेसी का तो जल्द से जल्द जहाँ जहाँ के लेजिस्लेचर सस्पेंडेड हैं वहाँ वहाँ उन को भंग कर के या तो नये चुनाव

[श्री भूपेन्द्र नारायण मंडल]

कराये जाये या चुने हुए जो मेम्बर हैं उनको ही फंक्शन करने की इजाजत दी जाये। यह सरकार को करना चाहिए, लेकिन सरकार यह नहीं कर रही है। यह देश के जनतंत्र के लिए ठीक नहीं हो रहा है। हमारी प्रधान मंत्री जी जब से प्रधान मंत्री बनी हैं और जब से उनको मैसिसव मंडेट मिला है, उसके बाद जो उनके काम करने का तरीका रहा है, उसका नतीजा यह हुआ है कि देश में एक तरफ तो जनतंत्र खत्म हो रहा है और दूसरी तरफ तानाशाही कायम हो रही है और उस तानाशाही में पार्टी और गवर्नमेंट में जो विलगाव रहना चाहिए वह नहीं है, उन्होंने उस सोमा का उल्लंघन कर के पार्टी की तानाशाही को कायम नहीं किया है, बल्कि पार्टी के अंदर जो पोजीशन उन्होंने बना ली है उससे ऐसा मालूम पड़ता है कि वह अपनी पर्सनल तानाशाही देश में कायम करना चाहती हैं और ऐसा होने पर जब उनकी जैसी इच्छा होगी उसके मुताबिक वह देश में काम करती रहेंगी और चूंकि उनकी मैसिसव मेजरिटी है और पार्टी भी अपने अख्तियार में है इसलिए वे संविधान के खिलाफ भी काम करेंगी और उनको कोई डर नहीं लगेगा। लेकिन इसका नतीजा अच्छा नहीं होने का है। आंध्र प्रदेश में अभी भी एक प्रकार से अकाल की स्थिति है। करीब करीब दो करोड़ आदमी वहां पर अकाल से प्रभावित हैं, लेकिन आज वहां अनाज की इतनी कमी है कि लोगों को अपने निवास स्थान को छोड़कर दूसरी जगहों में जाना पड़ता है। सरकार को चाहिए कि वहां पर लोगों के लिए कोई रोजगार की व्यवस्था हो और उस रोजगार की व्यवस्था कराने के सिलसिले में वहां ऐसी चीजों का निर्माण कराया जाये कि जिसमें लोगों को काम मिले। वहां रेल लाइनों की कमी है। इसलिए कुछ ऐसे काम चालू करने चाहिए कि जिससे वहां लोगों को रोजगार मिले। वह खेती वाला प्रांतिवर्ष है और यह बदनसीबी की बात है कि जो हिन्दुस्तान के बड़े राज्य हैं चाहे वह उत्तर प्रदेश हो या बिहार हो या आंध्र हो, ऐसे एस जो प्रदेश हैं वह सब पिछड़े हुए हैं।

यहां खेती के लिए भी जो कुछ करना चाहिए उतने काम भी सरकार नहीं कर रही है। वहां पर फर्टिलाइजर का कारखाना जो समुद्र के किनारे खोला जा सकता है, उसके लिए भी सरकार की तरफ से कोई विचार नहीं किया जाता है। हमने सुना है कि वहां पर बिजली की लाइनें इतनी लम्बी हैं कि जिसकी वजह से 25 परसेंट बिजली उसी में खत्म हो जाती है इसलिए कुछ ऐसा बिजली का स्टेशन बनना चाहिए जिससे कि यह जो नुकसानी होती है वह नुकसानी न होकर उसका फायदा मिले। इस तरह का प्रबंध सरकार को करना चाहिए। इसी तरह से और भी दूसरे काम हो सकते हैं जिन कामों के जरिए से वहां का डेवलपमेंट भी होगा और साथ साथ लोगों को रोजगार भी मिलेगा। ऐसा सुप्रबंध वहां पर होना चाहिए। कितनी ही स्कीमें जो चालू हुई हैं क्या वे सक्सेसफुल भी हुई हैं? जैसे कि नागार्जुनसागर डैम है, उसको पटाने की जितनी क्षमता है उसके मुताबिक उसे पटाने का काम नहीं लिया जाता है। इसी तरह से और भी दूसरे प्रोजेक्ट्स हैं जिनमें क्षमता के मुताबिक काम नहीं हो रहा है। इसलिए मैं चाहता हूँ कि राष्ट्रपति शासन में सिर्फ अफसरों के हाथ में जो सरकार की सत्ता आ गई है, ऐसा लगता है कि सरकार प्रचार करने की कोशिश करती है कि आफिशियल राज ही जन-राज से अच्छा हो सकता है, तो इस स्थिति में सरकार को कहना चाहिए कि इस तरह का प्रबंध करें जो कम से कम बैकलाग है, और जो गड़बड़ी पहलेसे चली आती है उस गड़बड़ी को दूर करके वहां की आर्थिक स्थिति ठीक हो और अकाल की जो परिस्थिति आती रहती है वह नहीं आने पाए इस तरह की व्यवस्था वहां पर कायम करने की कोशिश की जाए।

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Prof. Rasheeduddin Khan.

PROF. RASHEEDUDDIN KHAN (Nominated): Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, on an occasion when three Statutory Resolutions are being brought before the

House for approval in order to continue the proclamation of emergency by the President in the States of India, may be it is necessary that we look at some of the larger issues involved, particularly with reference to Andhra Pradesh. Sir, I am speaking here this afternoon with some pain, and also with some hesitation, which gets accentuated by the fact that I also happen to come from Andhra Pradesh which, during the last four years, has been passing through uneasy times and has been hitting the headlines, not for complimentary purposes but for uneasy and adverse reasons.

Sir, to start with, it seems to me somewhat agonizing to remind ourselves that President's rule which is resorted to under the emergency provisions of the Constitution, has been resorted to quite so often during the last few years. I may also add for the purpose of underlying the abnormality of the situation, which is sometimes missed even by enlightened public opinion, that one-third of the people of India—are living under President's Rule; if you include Andhra Pradesh, Uttar Pradesh, Orissa and Manipur, that constitutes almost one-third of the population of the Republic of India. This situation is certainly alarming for us. We have, therefore, to examine as to what is happening to the political system which we have adopted for the last 26 years. Sir, this also points to the fact that there is something wrong with the working of the party system itself. And, therefore, without apportioning blame on one party or the other, it behaves leaders of all the parties to sit down together and examine as to how to eradicate the weaknesses which lead to the distortion of the normal functioning of the party system. But, above all, if I am permitted to say so, it is the ruling party's malady. It is the manifest vacuum in the capacity of the ruling party to put its house in order and, therefore, by that token to put the Republic of India in order, that things are going from bad to worse. It is a sad commentary that at a time when economic problems are engaging our attention, when things are taking a turn for the bad, we should nevertheless have to go into some of the very fundamen-

tal aspects of the structure of the Republic of India. Therefore, I mention this with some hesitation.

Let us be very clear as to what had happened in Andhra Pradesh which led to the imposition of President's Rule. My own submission is that unless our analysis of the problem is clear, no solution will be found to the larger and basic problem, involved therein. Sir, for the last four years I have been writing on this problem occasionally. I may also submit that I have probably voiced some unpopular opinions as well. But the compulsion of being a life-long academic on the one side and the compulsion of seeing things from a near quarter, by virtue of coming from Andhra Pradesh on the other side, have certainly led me to certain conclusions. I beg to submit that these conclusions are based on a clear and an objective reasoning. For the last 4 years, we have been trying to treat the problem as a law and order problem, or as a problem of the collapse of cohesion in the ruling party, or as a problem of the conflict of caste-oriented leadership or as a problem of the conflict between an economically advanced region and an economically backward region. But seldom, as far as I can realise, either in the Parliament or outside, an attempt has been made to look to more profound and deeper implications and basis for the type of conflict that is going on in Andhra Pradesh.

Now Sir, it is very easy to accuse a part-time Member of Parliament like me with an academic back-ground of being too much of a theoretician. You might as well say that I look at the problem from too much of a normative point of view. I will submit that some aspects of theory, some aspects of norm and some aspects of the larger perspective have clear political relevance as well. Probably, politics cannot be totally removed from a perspective of history and history cannot be totally perceived without a perspective of politics. Therefore, I would submit that what is happening in Andhra Pradesh is symptomatic of the larger problem of the harmonious integration of a complex federal polity like India.

[Prof. Rasheeduddin Khan]

Is it that what is happening in Andhra Pradesh is a problem of the assertion of a viable sub-regional demand. Is it that the problem of Andhra Pradesh is a problem of the second biggest linguistic community asking for looking at the problem of development from an angle other than linguistic? I am raising these issues here in the House in order to help people to come to their own conclusions. I am mindful, rather quite agonisingly mindful, of the very unhappy economic circumstances through which we are passing. One can always say that what I am saying may be right, but it is not actful and reasonable in the larger interest to say it at the moment. Therefore, I am trying to put my views as mildly as possible. But I cannot overlook the fact that what has happened in the last 4 years in Andhra Pradesh goes much beyond the problem of party politics. I submit with all emphasis and humility at my command that the learned members of the ruling party should really do some systematic thinking because Andhra Pradesh has been the bastion of the Congress for many years. Even today in an Assembly of 287, 217 members are from the Congress. Then why is the Congress Party not working as a united party? If it is not working as a united party, is it only lack of discipline or lack of political leadership or is it something more fundamental than that? I would submit that the problem is not of holding another elections either. Another election will mean extra expenditure on an unproductive activity. I think in a country like ours where we are trying to have every single pie being made available for economic development, costly expenditure on elections should be avoided as far as possible. I would also like to say that the problem is not only political. I agree with my friend Mr. V. B. Raju, a sagacious person with long experience of active politics, that there are two problems which are political and which should be looked at from a political angle. But I would say that political problems also cannot be isolated from the larger human problems. When you say that it is a political problem, you are only looking at a part of the problem by giving it a designation. But politi-

cal problem is an integral part of the larger whole and that larger whole is the main human problem. And that human problem—I submit and I hope the Minister of Home Affairs Mr. Pant, my good friend, will take it in good humour—has been totally overlooked by the ruling party. Sir, I am not accusing, I am not in the habit of accusing but if I may say so, there has been a continuous lack of understanding of the genuine problem which has been facing the people of Andhra Pradesh. I am not saying that there should be one State or two States. What I am saying is this: there is no sanctity for one State as there is no sanctity for two States. I am definitely saying that the federal polity of India needs a solution different from the solution which we have so far sought. I am conscious that at the same time, you cannot isolate the solution from the question of economic development. But also you cannot say that since the problem is mainly of economic development, therefore, let us not look at the problem of structural changes. Sir, the problem of economic development itself is linked-up with the problem of structural changes. If the structural changes are not linked-up with the economic problem then structural changes are an absurdity.

Therefore suffice it for me to suggest and suggest advisedly with such ambiguity as I can command, with such *ish-ara* and *kinaya*—to use the language of Urdu poetry—to convey to the wise understanding of Mr. Pant and through him to the authorities that be the main drift of my suggestion regarding harmonious federal polity. If I have made him understand, I shall thank my stars and if I have not, I would have no complaints.

SHRI M. R. KRISHNA (Andhra Pradesh): Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, we have discussed about Andhra Pradesh on many occasions here and we also realised the need for imposition of President's Rule at one time. The State was in a very bad condition. Things were not going on in the usual manner.

THE DEPUTY MINISTER IN THE MINISTRY OF HEAVY INDUSTRY (PROF. SIDDHESHWAR PRASAD): Put it mildly.

SHRI M. R KRISHNA: Therefore, the imposition of the President's Rule was demanded almost by every party, almost by everybody who was interested in Andhra Pradesh. Sir, having introduced the President's Rule, to have an extension of another six months is something which many cannot understand. All along we were under the impression that during the time of President's Rule things will settle down, normalcy will prevail and then there will be an opportunity for the popular government to come in. But since that day is still made to go far, we are a little bit worried about the way in which things are being done. The President's Rule was really needed at one time and we expected that during the President's Rule all the evils which have crept in during the popular regime will be eradicated and there will be an opportunity for a civil government to come in. We have seen, the Administrator, Mr. Sarin, is really interested in the affairs, we have all praise for him. Yet he has to work with the same machinery and I think Mr. Sarin or anyone else cannot claim any competence or knowledge about the civil team which was working there—I mean the civil servants there. The same machinery continues to be there. The same officials are there in the same old place and it is very surprising for one to think if with this machinery there will be any improvement in Andhra Pradesh. Whether it is the land reforms or the construction of houses for Harijans or to stop the harassment of Harijans and troubles etc., or any other progressive measure, I do not think the speed is in any way appreciable. If this continues, I think we will have to lose confidence even in the President's Rule. Sir, I think my good friend, Mr. Pant, must have already received complaints that in many Departments what had been forgotten for some time, namely, corruption has now again crept in. There are offices and officials openly demanding bribes for doing some work in the various Departments. Things have started coming to the surface and the people in Andhra Pradesh have started talking about those things. It is time for the Government of India to put down these things. It may not be possible for this Government which is temporary there to bring in all kinds of reforms and

clean the whole State with all good things. It may take years but at present it is necessary the Administrator and his colleagues should have a very strong hand to put down any kind of corruption which has come to their knowledge. Sir, this is the opportune time for the Government to really implement seriously and vigorously some of the good measures which were brought before the Assembly and passed by the previous Government. Nobody would stop the Administrator and his team from implementing them vigorously. They had taken some steps to nationalise some of the things like the hostels. There may be some who did not like that move but there was more or less universal support for that kind of a move but it is not enough. It is dealing with only one small section of the population. Just now my friend, Mr. Bhupesh Gupta, was referring to hoarders and various other people who are still very active in Andhra Pradesh. These are the people who have got to be put down very effectively by the Administration and I am sure the Home Ministry will take proper steps to see that the Administrator is strengthened to put down all these evils.

Sir, I do not think that the present Administration has introduced any new scheme excepting inaugurating or opening housing colonies or hostels which have been originated or started by the previous Government. The present Government will have to initiate some new schemes and Mr. Pant and the Government of India knows very well that there are three regions and the development in all the three regions is not uniform. Even among these three regions, two regions are very backward, Rayalaseema and Telangana. We know the problems. It is not good for us to think that everybody will be a saint and they would accept anything that is being done in one region. Even though we know these problems and these problems require remedies, the remedial measures seem to be totally absent. I do not know what is the way in which the Administrators and others come and plead with the Government of India. We thought that only the popular Ministers when they

[Shri M. R. Krishna]

come to the Government of India for Finance and other help are not treated properly because the Ministers in the Centre being also politicians they may not look upon another politician coming from a State very kindly.

SHRI OM MEHTA: You were also a Minister at the Centre.

SHRI M. R. KRISHNA: I am a Member of Parliament.

SHRI OM MEHTA: Not now; but you were previously.

SHRI M. R. KRISHNA: We thought that the Administrator who is a noted civil servant will be able to convince his own colleagues and friends in the Government of India and get as much funds as required by Andhra Pradesh, but recently we had a meeting with the Administrator and even for small things he was expressing his inability to convince the Government of India. This is a most important point; whatever we may say, it is not going to help us. The Government of India has almost decided that Andhra Pradesh will continue to be an integrated State. There are no two opinions about it. Even though some friends in some corners may say that separation is inevitable, for the present the people, the politicians and a large measure of public opinion in Andhra Pradesh are all definitely for an integrated State. When that is the aim it is essential for the Government of India to help the Andhra Pradesh Administration to properly satisfy all the backward regions whether in the matter of housing loans or providing electricity to the villages or providing facilities for agriculture or providing land to the poorer people. All these things need a favourable treatment from the Government of India. If the Government of India does not help the administration there, but only thinks of integration and thinks of a popular government, I am sure it is not going to come. Economic disparity and the backwardness of the two regions are the real factors which have disturbed Andhra Pradesh to this extent and if these are allowed to continue any longer any amount of pressure, any amount of persuasion to

have an integrated State is not going to help up. The basic thing is to help Andhra Pradesh develop industrially, agriculturally and economically. That is the most important thing. It is no good just asking them to be united, when one region is rich and the other region is poor and when in one region all educational institutions are located and in the other region there is lack of educational facilities. If these things are allowed to continue, I am sure we will be doing only a disservice to Andhra Pradesh and we will not be really helping the people of Andhra Pradesh. I thank you, Sir.

SHRI K. P. SUBRAMANIA MENON (Kerala): Sir, again we are asked to continue President's rule in Andhra Pradesh. Six months back when it was clamped down on Andhra, we thought that it would be a temporary phenomenon and the problems which led to the President's rule would be solved. We find that President's rule is no solution to the problems which Andhra faces. In fact, the problem is as far away from solution as when President's rule was clamped down. The problem can be solved only if the Congress party knows its mind. The problem is actually in Delhi and it is not in Andhra.

SHRI S. D. MISRA (Uttar Pradesh): Have they any mind?

SHRI K. P. SUBRAMANIA MENON: It is in Delhi. The moment the Congress high command decides that the problem will be solved in such and such way, that the integrity of Andhra will be maintained, there will be no difficulty. On the contrary, what is the Congress high command doing? They are calling all sorts of rabble-rousers from all over Andhra, talking to them and trying to make them agree to all sorts of things. That is not going to solve the problem. The problem can be solved only by ignoring them and by telling them to go off. This is not the place for you. That way you can do away with this problem once and for all and see that an integrated Andhra Pradesh continues in existence, and popular rule is ushered in there.

[THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI V. B. RAJ) in the chair.]

Now, Sir, Andhra is a place where I would say that the rule of the landlords and that too what may be called the fanatical, caste landlords, flourishes. It is one of the States in India where the Harijans and Adivasis are being oppressed like anything, unashamedly so obviously and on every occasion. Even today and you will find every day there is some incident reported from Andhra that Harijans were beaten up, were murdered, were oppressed and that sort of thing. We thought that at least if the President's rule did not solve any other problem, at least it would find some sort of solution to this problem, if not a permanent solution, at least temporarily the Harijans and Adivasis in Andhra Pradesh would have some sort of respite from the oppressive landlords and the fanatical caste Hindus there. But even that is belied. The President's rule cannot solve any problem. For protecting the Harijans and the Adivasis the President has special power under the Constitution. Even when the Popular Government is there, the President has got a special responsibility to see that these people are protected. But now when the President's rule itself is going on, they are not still protected. What is it? What sort of President's rule this is that the President cannot carry on the specific job which is enshrined in the Constitution and which says that it is President's responsibility and that he should do it whether there is a popular Government or not. But that is not being done.

Then, Sir, Andhra fortunately is a province with a great potential and for the people of this country who now hunger for food, Andhra can be a solution. But that resource and potential lie untapped still. And what is the President's rule doing? After all, in six months they could have done a lot of things even in the question of production of foodgrains, because the main thing is the Nagarjuna Sagar Project. That is one of the most important projects conceived in independent India. That came into existence after a lot of struggle by the Andhra people. It is actually a pro-

ject with a lot of promise not only for the Andhra people, because if the Andhra people who are very industrious and enterprising produce rice, that is very good for the country also. Therefore, the country's food problem could have been solved. But what happened? The full potential of the Nagarjuna Sagar Project is still not being utilised, that is the irrigation potential. And the power thing is just being set up and I do not know when it will fructify. But the power potential which is the main purpose for which the dam was built, that is still not being utilised. And whose mistake is it? Naturally, it is the President's rule, and the President's rule could have seen to it that it is fully utilised so that the people of this country do not suffer from the food problem.

Then, Sir, another problem to which I wish to draw the attention of the hon. Minister is that of the private college teachers in Andhra. The private college teachers in Andhra have been agitating for the last so many months to see that Dr. Reddy Committee's Report is implemented fully. But I do not know why the Government is not taking action to that effect. Most of the colleges are not functioning, the students are suffering. The Government is not taking a fair stand on this issue and I hope that at least now, when the President's rule is going to be extended for another six months, this problem would be solved.

Lastly—and I do not want to prolong my speech—I will only point out that the problem of Andhra has to be solved, and it cannot be solved by talking or by dilly-dallying or by hobnobbing with anti-integrationists and the bifurcationists and all that. It can be solved only by taking a fair decision on the question of maintaining the integrity of the Andhra State.

SHRI PAPI REDDY (Andhra Pradesh): Sir, it was amusing to hear Comrade Bhupesh Gupta speaking on this motion. He was speaking about every Pradesh except Andhra Pradesh.

SHRI S. S. MARISWAMY (Tamil Nadu): That is Bhupesh Gupta.

SHRI PAPI REDDY: Then, Sir, he was sorry that the so-called bandh at Vijayawada was a failure. In his language, I suppose, if a bandh were to be successful at least there should have been one or two killings as has been the case in Kerala. In Kerala also, they had a bandh. The score was two deaths. But Comrade Bhupesh Gupta says that that was in collaboration with the Congress. But here they could not do anything about the local traders because some of the traders are paying to the Communist Party also to avoid trouble from these people there. They wanted to loot the Super Bazar but when ultimately things took a serious shape they withdrew from the whole thing. Now they say they have nothing to do with the Super Bazar and they want an enquiry committee.

Sir, the Communist Party evinced interest in the separation of Andhra because all the cadre of the Communist Party comes from the Telengana region. All the leaders are from the Andhra region. The Andhra leaders want to have a cadre.

SHRI M. R. KRISHNA: We have also better leaders in Telengana.

SHRI PAPI REDDI: Whatever it is they are non-existent. They are almost on the wane. So separation, naturally, would be detrimental to their party.

About finding a solution, the Centre has been telling us that it has always an open mind. I do not exactly know what is in that mind. I suppose it is not in vacuum.

SHRI K. C. PANT: It is an 'open' mind but not a 'blank' one.

SHRI PAPI REDDY: Not vacuumatised, I, suppose. So they have opened their mind but they have closed their mouth unfortunately. They do not come out with a solution. I do not know who has to give a solution.

SHRI S. S. MARISWAMY: Lord Venkateswara.

SHRI PAPI REDDY: May be it is left to some astrologers or some Balyogis. Anyway, they would find out some solution. I sincerely feel that without

bifurcation you cannot run the administration; you cannot run an integrated State. We have been saying this all these years. Perhaps, my hon'ble friend, Mr. M. R. Krishna, may have a different approach for this problem. The Hyderabad city is celebrating the 32nd year of the Quit India Resolution. Now it seems they have to quit Hyderabad on this occasion. They want Andhras to quit Hyderabad. We are also celebrating our 'Do or Die' resolution, the slogan of Gandhiji. Now it is a case of not doing but of dying. That is unfortunately the position there. Now that Mr. Pant proposes to adopt the State for six more months, I would suggest that—whether the President's Rule is right or wrong; I have my own reservations about it—there should be some development. I feel we should have less busy bodies. At the top now the Secretariat is free from busy bodies, the so-called politicians. At least the Secretariat is running smoothly. May be there is corruption even in the President's Rule. But corruption is a universal phenomenon. It is not particular to Andhra alone. Therefore, it is much better than the previous popular governments. And unless you find out some solution it is no use your trying to get another popular government in the name of a leader who is nominated from here and ultimately who cannot pull on his weight with the party and then the same thing would follow. Unless you seriously think of separation nothing can succeed in the State.

Now, Sir, as I said, Mr. Pant is adopting the State for another six months I want him to take some good care of the ports. Andhra has the longest coastline which has not been properly exploited. On the West coast, Mangalore and other places there is lot of marine products being exported. There is only one port, Visakhapatnam, which was started long back not because of us but in spite of us. It is more for defence purposes. The Kakinada port, I hear, is being developed. That is a good thing. Then we have been asking for the development of the Krishnapatnam port which is only 100 miles from Madras. Whenever there is a strike in the Madras port, this

port can also be thought of for development. Then we can think of some salt-based industries also as we see in the Saurashtra area. Not a single industry has come up in the coast here. Then I wish Mr. Pant, as the foster father of the State for another six months to come, would take up the white elephant of the State finances, which is the Nagarjunasagar project and see that the Centre takes it over because the benefits from the project go for the whole nation. I wish Mr. Pant takes early steps for taking over the Nagarjuna Sagar Project into the Central sector. Thank you.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI V. B. RAJU): Mr. Pant.

SHRI S. S. MARISWAMY: Before that, would you kindly permit me for two minutes, if possible?

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI V. B. RAJU): You did not give your name.

SHRI S. S. MARISWAMY: I am requesting you now.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI V. B. RAJU): All right.

SHRI S. S. MARISWAMY: Sir, looking at my hon. friend, Mr. Pant, from this distance. I am reminded of his father. He has got a very strong resemblance and very recently he has added to his beautiful face a big moustache, which is a replica of what his father was having. His father was a great defender of freedom and democracy, and his participation in the freedom struggle is something of a saga. Even to-day if we read about it from Durga Das and other people, we get a great thrill. I was given the opportunity of meeting Mr. Pant, his father, in 1957 over a Congress matter pertaining to Madras State. He gave me a patient hearing and gave me a solution in a jiffy that worked like a miracle in Madras politics. Now, if Mr. K. C. Pant is given a free hand, if he is given full responsibility and if his hands are not tied down by busy bodies and career politicians and all those who want to concentrate all the powers in the hands of Delhi, I am quite sure, following the footsteps of his great father, he will solve the problem in a jiffy. But un-

fortunately, there is a tendency in Delhi to appoint Chief Ministers from here. Whether they are a zero there or they are powerful men, irrespective of their popularity or unpopularity, the Centre is very keen in having their own, if you permit me to say so, stooges. That is the trouble. They must choose a man from the masses, a popular leader. They should not choose a yes-man. If Mr. Pant is given freedom, I am quite sure he will do it, but unfortunately his hands are as fettered as the hands of anybody in this almighty Government. Anyway, now the trouble and other things are subsiding. There is a calm atmosphere prevailing there. Now is the proper time to bring out a solution. We cannot keep the President's rule and the Assembly in suspended animation for ever. If it is kept for ever and ever, I begin to see red. I begin to suspect that what the great thinker, philosopher and most learned colleague of ours in the Lok Sabha, Mr. Shashi Bhushan, who has come out with the wonderful theory of "limited dictatorship", is inspired by somebody to say so and there is some meaning in what he says. So this suspended animation would create doubts in our mind and confirm whatever Mr. Shashi Bhushan is saying. In order to allay the fears entertained by the Opposition, Mr. Pant during his reply must give a solution. That is my request. Thank you.

4 M.P.

SHRI K. C. PANT: Sir, I have listened to this debate with great care, particularly because I was hoping that some views might be expressed on the basic problem that faces us in Andhra Pradesh. Some views had been expressed, but several other speakers have not commented directly on that basic problem. Nevertheless, there have been many useful suggestions and I have made note of these. There have also been references to the Administration under the President's rule. And, Sir, some complimentary references have been made, including the one by you, and I would like to thank all Members who made these references.

Sir, Nawal Kishoreji referred to the damage that has been caused to public property at the time when the Presi-

[Shri K. C. Pant.]

dent's rule was first imposed on the State. And I think somebody else referred to the Government having been paralysed at that time. I do not want to use this particular phrase, but I need hardly remind the House of the situation that prevailed at that time, about the daily reports which were reaching us of the burning of buses, burning of public property and stoning, instances of clashes that took place, police firing that took place, deaths that took place, etc. And just to remind the House of the size of the agitation that took place. I would only mention that 32,800 persons were arrested in connection with this agitation. There were 4 murders, 329 cases of arson, 76 cases of sabotage, 18 cases of looting, and so on. And I need not go into further details. At the same time, the students were on strike; several Government employees were on strike. And the first priority of the President's rule was to restore law and order.

Sir, I have said in my opening speech that law and order has been restored, that normalcy has been restored in the Administration. And I would like to say here that this has only been possible because of the cooperation of the people of Andhra Pradesh. The people have cooperated in both the regions and it is this cooperation which has enabled the Administration to restore normalcy. All those who were on strike, whether it is Civil Surgeons, or the Gazetted Officers or the NGOs or the students, one by one, they withdraw their strikes. And as has been mentioned by Nawal Kishoreji, the Army withdrew, the BSF and the CRP were reduced in strength. And so with each positive gesture of normalcy on the part of those who were agitating, the Administration responded by going more than half way to speed up the process of normalisation. And in this connection, the large number of persons who were detained at the time, some of them under the MISA also—many arrests were made and I have mentioned the number of arrests—they have also been more or less released, most of them. And in respect of students, attempts were made on all occa-

sions to see that for the students who wanted to take their examinations while they were under arrest facilities were given so that they may not waste a year. And more recently there was an agitation by teachers. That agitation was also resolved and the students were enabled to take their examination wherever it was possible. In other places fresh arrangements were made. Therefore, it is this kind of approach which the administration has been adopting all along to bring back normalcy. Communications have been restored. But certain other problems came up. And one of these problems was an unusually long spell of drought. Our friends who come from Andhra Pradesh know the severity of this drought and know that it created problems even in respect of drinking water and milk supply. You yourself, Sir, know this very well and you know what a tremendous effort had to be made by the administration to cope with the situation to see that food and other essential supplies reached every pocket in distress and to see that the administration was fully geared to take care of the host of problems that arose because of this drought. And I am glad to say that this period of drought has ended with the recent monsoon. I cannot say whether there are still some pockets where the rain has not been enough, but, by and large, there has been a reasonable rainfall in Andhra Pradesh this time. The total expenditure on measures of drought relief in the last financial year was of the order of Rs. 39.95 crores. This is an indication of the size of the effort that must have been required—this figure of Rs. 39.95 crores for drought relief. Rupees 71 lakhs were spent on cyclone relief, because there was a cyclone also which occurred in the State. And the total programme is expected to cost Rs. 55 crores up to June-July 1973. I am mentioning these figures only to highlight the size of the problem which confronted the State. Now, various friends have referred to the need for development. I would gladly give some figures later on. I would only say that we are fully conscious of the fact that President's rule is not merely to look after the law and order, but it is there

to do what it can in the field of development to streamline the administrative machinery and to energize it, to give a fillip to development, and, in particular, to take note of the needs of the backward regions in the State, the potential for industry, and so on. References were made to the Fifth Plan by you, Sir, and others and that is an additional responsibility which the administration there has to bear at this particular time when the Fifth Plan discussions were going on. I can assure you that the administration there is conscious of all these responsibilities and is engaged in the task of giving a fillip to development, all-round development, including some of the specific things which have been mentioned. I will come to that later, like Nagarjunasagar. I may not be able to go as far as Shri Papi Reddi wants me to. But still I will give some indication of what is being done. While within a few months it is not possible to get rid of regional imbalances, I can assure my friends that we are aware of them and we do try to the extent possible to see that the national policies in this respect to take up developmental programmes so that regional imbalances are lessened are also pursued in Andhra Pradesh. But of course it will not be at the cost of other regions. All regions should be developed. But it can be done by some system of weightage being given to more backward regions.

The other and the major point in this debate is the need for extending the President's rule. If I may say so, I was greatly impressed by your speech, by the manner in which you have analysed the problem and the way you have gone back into the historic roots. There is an economic aspect to this problem to which you have referred and there is also a political aspect which we are all aware of.

So far as the non-political issues you referred to are concerned, namely, the service matters and the educational facilities, I would only like to say that the Administration there has been asked in particular to pay special attention to service matters. I fully agree with you that it will perhaps be easier for the

Government of India to tackle service matters because the officers whom we have sent from outside the State may find it easier to do it than officers from the State. I am not casting any reflection on anybody by saying so. It is part of human nature. It might be easier for an outsider and considering this point we have been trying from the very beginning to speed up this process and I would like to tell you that in the short period the Administration there has been paying special attention to this and in fact I could give you some more details of what they have done during the period under review.

Final gradation lists for 117 Gazetted posts were issued and for the rest of the Gazetted posts provisional gradation lists have been issued in the month of May and they will be confirmed after following the procedure laid down. Provisional gradation lists for 36 non-gazetted officers of Industrial Development Department have been issued and for the remaining 1,396 non-gazetted officers orders are under issue. The work remaining to be done is very little. Even this could have been completed but for the fact that a large number of non-gazetted officers are on strike for almost three months during the period under review.

This is the position. This, of course, would not include cases in court. But so far as it is possible, the Administration is attending to this problem and I hope that they will proceed as far as they can heading our advice in the matter.

The other thing you mentioned was about educational facilities. In the five-point programme of the Prime Minister it was mentioned that without damaging the interests of the students of Telengana, the educational facilities in the twin cities should be extended and the additional seats created would be free to all. This we have followed up. While I do not have the details with me, I can assure the House that in this very academic year we are going to create additional seats both in terms of general college education and professional college education. This is being

[Shri K. C. Pant]

done. And, Sir, I hope that this will take care of the problem. I am not here referring to the question of an additional University for this region which, as you know, is connected with the larger question of finding a solution. But the immediate problem will be taken care of by what we have decided to do. Now, Sir, you have explained the problems created by the succeeding judgements with regard to the Mulki Rules and it was your suggestion that we should consult the Supreme Court or the Attorney-General. Now, the only difficulty with that is that any pronouncement or any advice given by the Attorney-General or the Supreme Court on a reference by the President does not have the finality and while you recognised this, you said that even though it does not have the finality, it will help in explaining the whole problem to the people. The problem has been one of being able to bring about finality in the matter. But I do recognise that it will take many months, if not a couple of years, to get a final judgement from the Supreme Court. It is our hope that while this matter is pending in the court, this problem will be solved through political negotiations between the different parties concerned and it may be easier, while the matter is in the court, for both sides to agree rather than wait for finalisation of the issue one way or the other. But, Sir, I do not want to say more about this. But I have made a note of your suggestion. Actually, we had ourselves given some thought to it. But the present position is that we hope that a solution would be forthcoming before even the High Court comes to a decision on this matter. At least this is our hope and this will be our endeavour.

Now, Sir, the other question you raised is about the Regional Committee and the developmental aspect of the problem. This is one of the suggestions which has been made and this is also under discussion and so, I do not really want to say anything more about it.

Sir we have been holding these discussions with the leaders of Telangana

as well as Andhra and the only thing that I would like to say is that our effort is to see that a consensus emerges and we are trying to help along the process of finding a solution which will satisfy the public opinion both in Telangana and in Andhra. Looking to the background of the problem and the fact that there have been agitations both in Telangana and in Andhra regions at different times, one has to be somewhat careful in handling this problem and while, therefore, I can say more, the House will understand that I have to be more guarded because one wrong word I may utter may create problems...

SHRI NAWAL KISHORE : Mr. Pant, there was a statement from you in the Press that some consensus was emerging, probably within two months, and that you and the Prime Minister were hopeful that a final solution will be reached. I do not know whether it is correct.

SHRI K. C. PANT : Sir, the first part of it is more or less correct. I said that a consensus appears to be emerging. But I also said that no time-limit could be set.

SHRI NAWAL KISHORE : But it was there in the Press.

SHRI K. C. PANT : There was no question of two months or three months for the simple reason that it is very difficult for me to say whether it will be in one month or two months.

Sir, I have heard the speeches from different honourable Members who have also brought out some of the views on both the sides. But I do not think that any attribution of motives or any generalisations are going to help at this stage and at least I do not intend to indulge any such thing.

I have found a lot of goodwill in both regions. I have found a willingness to work for a solution. I have found a willingness to understand each other's point of view. And it is these positive features in the situation to which I would like to draw the attention of the House. These positive features make one hope that a solution

would be forthcoming with the effort of the leaders of both sides, with spirit of give and take and with a view to finding a solution which would find acceptance in both parts of the State. So this is broadly what we are working for. Mr. Papi Reddi will see that my mind is not blank, but it is very difficult to spell out the details. . .

श्री नवल किशोर : 6 महीने के बाद तो टाइम नहीं मांगेंगे ।

श्री के० सी० पन्त : 6 महीने जरूरी नहीं है, 6 महीने तो लिमिट है ।

श्री नवल किशोर : उसके बाद तो नहीं मांगेंगे ।

श्री पीतांबर दास (उत्तर प्रदेश) : 6 महीने के बाद के बारे में आज क्या कहा जा सकता है ?

SHRI K. C. PANT : The question of asking for further extension would be in my mind if I did not think that much before a solution should be found. So I would not like to discuss the possibility at this stage . . .

SHRI PITAMBER DAS : You may not discuss it. But don't even keep it in your mind.

SHRI K. C. PANT : I agree. That's why I said that at this stage it is not in my mind.

Sir, two hon. Members, I think, Mr. Shejwalkar and Mr. Bhupesh Gupta, said that we were not interested in meeting or discussing this problem with opposition members and that we regarded this as some kind of domestic problem of the Congress Party. Now this simply is not correct. Whether it was the Home Minister or it was myself, when we visited Hyderabad, both of us have met members of other parties who came to meet us. We welcome this meeting of minds on this question. We welcome the co-operation of all parties. It is not a party question, in that sense of the term at all. And that is why, in fact, I was surprised when Nawal Kishoreji said that for party's ends the Constitution is used. He gave certain principles which I will not repeat. He also blamed the Home Minister. . . He said that since the Home Minister has come, democracy has been weakened, and so on. But he himself,

recounting the situation that existed when the President's rule was imposed, pointed out that the situation was such that President's rule had to be imposed. This means, that it was with his support . . .

SHRI NAWAL KISHORE : I supported it after you imposed it.

SHRI K. C. PANT : Quite right. After we imposed President's rule, he supported it. I do not know how it brings him satisfaction . . . (Interruptions.) But, in fact, he felt very strongly that even though he was not a party to the decision he supported it. He himself has recognized this. And still he has built up a wonderful case on this. Once he accepts that this was necessary at that time, then where is the question of accusing the Government with any false motive in the matter, any wrong motive. . .

SHRI NAWAL KISHORE : Just one second. What I said was that when, as per your own statement, normalcy has been restored, law and order has been established, then why do you prolong this agony and deprive the elected representatives of forming a popular government ?

SHRI K. C. PANT : That is the second part of what he said. His objection was to the imposition of President's rule in so many States. I am referring to his own support. In fact, the situation was such at that time that the whole House supported it, as far as I remember, except perhaps the CPM, who finds it difficult to support anything these days . . .

श्री जगदम्बी प्रसाद यादव : (बिहार) शेर कम कर दिया उन लोगों का ?

श्री के० सी० पन्त : क्या आपका उनके साथ शेयर है ?

श्री जगदम्बी प्रसाद यादव : आपके साथ तो शेयर है, हमारे साथ तो बैठने का शेयर है ।

SHRI K. C. PANT : Sir, the point then is : Why extend it ? And this is a simple question we have to face. Is it fair at this point of time to transfer the burden of finding a solution to a new Assembly and a new Government ?

[Shri K. C. Pant]

Would it be easier for them to find a solution? After all, the problem is still before us and the problem is such in which many emotions are involved, in which regional passions and feelings are involved and in which there has been an outburst not so long ago. So, in this circumstance, would it be better for the Centre, during President's rule, to try to help in bringing about a solution or to restore the Assembly after a solution has been arrived at? I think, on serious consideration, the judgement would be that it is far better for us to try to solve this problem and then to restore popular Government. As the Parliament will sit only up to 31st August according to the programme and the Parliament will not be sitting when the President's rule comes to an end, as a measure of caution we are extending it for six months. We are not hoping that we will have to go for full six months. We hope that the solution will be found much earlier. To that extent, I think there should be no objection to it.

Some reference was made to the details of the talks which we are having. I think Shri Bhupesh Gupta wanted to know something, but he is not here. It is very difficult for me to give details of the talks that are going on. All that I can say is that we have discussed this problem with all the concerned persons in Hyderabad. Many have come here. In this process, certain ideas have certainly emerged and certain concrete suggestions have emerged. It will be wrong to say that there is agreement on all counts. There is a large measure of agreement in some of the areas, but still there are differences in some other areas. Therefore, work remains to be done. It needs a little amount of patience. All I will plead for is goodwill on both sides and I hope that the leaders of both the sides will heed the advice to take it upon themselves to find a solution to cut this knot that remains so that they can arrive at a solution together. It is not a question of the Central Government giving a solution or of laying down a formula. Something can evolve out of the mutual discussions which

will be acceptable not merely to the leaders, but also to the people in both the regions and the leaders can certainly carry the message and satisfy the people once they agree to something. I think that it is on this basis that you have referred to the fact that the local leaders have not come up with any solution so far. But I know and you know that they have been working and they have been trying and they have not been completely unsuccessful. The measure of success lies in the fact that even today there are many groups—some of them have been inspired by you—who are continuously working to bring the people together and to find bridges to make the gaps meet.

Shri Bhupesh Gupta referred to certain arrests and certain police actions. I do not want to say much because he is not here. But I would only point out that according to the report that I have got, there was looting in the Super Bazar in Vijayawada and the police took action. I do not really know what he was objecting to. If there is looting, certainly the police ought to take action.

SHRI S. S. MARISWAMY : Will the hon. Minister indicate who were these people and to which party did they belong?

SHRI K. C. PANT : The agitation was organised by the C. P. I. This is what he himself said. He gave a wrong account of the whole thing.

SHRI S. S. MARISWAMY : I can understand if a rich man is looted or a rich man's mandi is looted. But a Super Bazar is for the poor people.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI V. B. RAJU) : Mr. Mariswamy what Mr. Bhupesh Gupta said was that the agitation was started by them, but he had a different story for the looting part.

SHRI K. C. PANT : He said that looting had not been done by the C.P.I. But there was looting and the police had to take action. There is no alternative to police taking action in such

circumstances. The second aspect which I wanted to mention is that he referred to some circular. I was not aware of any circular. I asked my officers to get me any circular that might have been issued. One circular was issued regarding exemplary action against hoarders and black-marketeers. I do not know what circular he referred to. I do not think he can take objection to this kind of circular being issued by Government.

SHRI NAWAL KISHORE : That must have been issued from the A.I.C.C.

SHRI K. C. PANT : I do not know and I was surprised at what he said. This takes care of most of the points that have been raised and I have already taken a lot of time of the House. I would only refer very briefly to some of the steps that have been taken in the field of development by the administration because of the interest shown by Members. In Andhra Pradesh, in the last few weeks, a new Department of Employment and Social Welfare was organised from April 1973 to concentrate on the special problems of the worker sections.

In this matter of hostels 40,000 boys and girls are involved. This is the point which Shri Krishna referred to.

A scheme costing Rs. 10 crores for the construction of 55,546 homes for backward classes and scheduled castes with loan assistance from the LIC has been under execution. Now some reference was made to employment. A scheme costing Rs. 6 crores with a potential of nearly 40,000 new jobs for the educated unemployed is being put on the ground. Electricity has been taken to more villages covering nearly 38 per cent of the total villages and nearly 2½ lakh pump sets have been energised to bring about a welcome change in the agricultural scene. A Dairy Development Corporation is being set up. A Foodcraft institute to train young men and—women.....

SHRI M. R. KRISHNA : These are not new.

SHRI K. C. PANT : Some are new.

श्री नवल किशोर : जो 105 करोड़ रुपये था उस को घटा कर 87.59 किया गया। उस का कोई जवाब आपने नहीं दिया।

श्री के० सी० पन्त : मैं उस के फीगर्स देख रहा था लेकिन वह मुझे मिले नहीं। लेकिन वह प्लान फीगर्स हैं, उन के बस के नहीं हैं। अल्टीमेटली प्लान बन कर यहां आता है। सेंद्रल असिस्टेंस को मिला कर वह होता है। लेकिन मैं उसे देखूंगा। मैं ने नोट किया है।

An additional irrigation potential to cover nearly 52,000 acres is being created. I am mentioning all this not to give a catalogue of what is being done but only to point out that attention is being paid to the developmental aspect.

I would also like to refer to one specific project to which Shri Papi Reddy referred, namely the Nagarjuna Sagar. The work on Nagarjuna Sagar project which has been in progress for a long time has been stepped up to achieve the benefits earlier than scheduled.

SHRI M. R. KRISHNA : It has to be taken under the Centre.

SHRI K. C. PANT : To develop the Ayacut area of the Nagarjuna Sagar project the Centre has sanctioned the railway line from Bibinagar to Nadiakudi which will cost about 20.5 crores; also 130 kms. of metre gauge line in the Guntur District is to be converted into broadgauge at a cost of Rs. 8 crores.

SHRI NAWAL KISHORE : What about the land reforms ?

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI V. B. RAJU) : The President has given his assent.

SHRI K. C. PANT : As far as I know, after we discussed it the President has given his assent and it is to be implemented there on the ground. I will have to find out exactly what is

[Shri K. C. Pant]

being done. So, this covers the entire area. Although I have more material with me I do not want to trespass on the time of the House. After this explanation of the reasons for bringing forward this motion I hope the House will accept it unanimously.

श्री नवल किशोर : पन्त जी, आपने बहुत अच्छा जवाब दिया लेकिन एक काम आप और कर दें कि जो आपके सरीन साहब वहाँ है उनको इतना एडवाइस कर दें कि प्रेसीडेंट रूल में थोड़ा डेमोक्रेटिक वे में काम करना शुरू कर दें तो ज्यादा अच्छा हो क्योंकि वे "निजाम" बन कर वहाँ जाते हैं, जो कि मुनासिब बात नहीं है।

SHRI M. R. KRISHNA : This is not fair. The Adviser there is not acting like the Nizam. He is acting more like a commoner available to everybody. He is really doing very good work there. I think you are a little unfair.

SHRI NAWAL KISHORE: He should behave democratically.

(Interruptions).

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI V. B. RAJU): Leave it at that stage.

The question is :

"That this House approves the continuance in force of the Proclamation issued by the President on the 18th January, 1973, under article 356 of the Constitution, in relation to the State of Andhra Pradesh, for a further period of six months with effect from the 1st September, 1973."

The motion was adopted.

STATUTORY RESOLUTION SEEKING APPROVAL FOR CONTINUANCE OF THE PROCLAMATION UNDER ARTICLE 356 OF THE CONSTITUTION IN RELATION TO THE STATE OF MANIPUR

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF HOME AFFAIRS (SHRI K. C. PANT) : Sir, I beg to move the following Resolution :

"That this House approves the continuance in force of the Proclamation issued by the President on the 28th March, 1973, under article 356 of the Constitution, in relation to the State of Manipur, for a further period of six months with effect from the 14th November, 1973".

The circumstances under which the Proclamation dated the 28th March, 1973 was issued by the President are well known to the Members of the House. The justification for President's Proclamation had been debated in this House on two earlier occasions and it would not be necessary for me to recall the points made during those debates. The House is aware that the Legislative Assembly of Manipur had been dissolved and that elections cannot be held until the constituencies have been delimited and fresh electoral rolls, etc. have been prepared. These preliminary measures for holding the elections are being expeditiously pursued by the Election Commission. We all hope that these preliminaries will be completed in the course of the year and elections would be held early next year. But meanwhile there cannot be a vacuum. The period for which the House had earlier accorded its approval for the continuance of the Proclamation will expire when the House may not be in session. Therefore, we have come to this House with a request that the duration of the Proclamation made by the President may be further extended for a period of six months. Such an extension is constitutionally unavoidable and therefore I would request the House to accord its approval to the Resolution. The House is aware that Members of this House as well as the other House had recently discussed in another forum a large number of matters relating to Manipur. We look forward to this