

THE MINISTER OF SHIPPING AND TRANSPORT (SHRI RAJ BAHADUR: Sir, I place a copy on the Table of the House. It is about the damage to Chambal Project.

**I. MOTION RE REVOCATION OF THE PROCLAMATION ISSUED BY THE PRESIDENT IN RELATION TO THE STATE OF ANDHRA PRADESH—contd.**

**II. GOVERNMENT RESOLUTION SEEKING APPROVAL OF THE PROCLAMATION ISSUED BY THE PRESIDENT IN RELATION TO THE STATE OF ANDHRA PRADESH—contd.**

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, once again I rise to speak on the developments in Andhra Pradesh. Since I spoke last, happily some improvement in the situation has undoubtedly taken place. For this, our tributes go to the integrationists in Andhra Pradesh belonging to our party and also to some people belonging to the Congress Party who have been facing great difficulties in protecting their lives and properties in upholding the banner of unity, in opposing the sinister nature of the conspiracy behind that movement and in encountering the terror and violence which had been unleashed there with a view to forcing the Government of India to accept, to begin with, the separation of the State of Andhra Pradesh and then to proceed, if possible, under some pressures and violence, to put the entire question of the unity of the country in the melting pot. Sir, it is not accidental that synchronising with the separatist movement in Andhra Pradesh, the Jana Sangh Party, for example, has officially raised the slogan for appointment of a second States Reorganisation Commission. They want the Indian States to be reorganised into a larger number of States, say 30 to 40 or 40 to 50. They have even suggested that Uttar Pradesh should be

broken up into four separate States. Similar demands are coming up elsewhere also. Recently I was in Uttar Pradesh, the State of my friend, Mr. Dikshit. There Mr. Charan Singh, the defeated leader of the B.K.D., has raised the slogan that West U.P. should be separated from East U.P. B.K.D. is now stirring a separatist campaign and given the opportunity and chance and the secret reactionaries inside the Congress Party playing their part as they are doing in Andhra Pradesh, you may find that gentleman, Mr. Charan Singh, assuming the role of Uttar Pradesh B. V. Subba Reddy.

Sir, I find that the Swatantra Party has also come out in support of the demand for another series of reorganisation of states. Well, Mr. Piloo Mody is a new-comer to politics, but not a new-comer to reactionary ideas. In fact, he has been born and brought up in the cradle of reaction and big money. So, it goes as naturally as Godavari flows when he says that there should be reorganisation all over the country.

Then we have got our friends also in the Syndicate Congress. Mr. Morarji Desai was very much opposed to the reorganisation of the composite Bombay State, so much so that he had to risk his Chief Ministership. Once he went to Ahmedabad and he had to face what they call the people's curfew in the sense that nobody came to his meeting. Yet he was preaching the maintenance of composite Bombay State and would not concede the demand for linguistic reorganisation of the bi-lingual Bombay State. Now, here we find the officials. Even now they are ruled by them. The former ICS man, Mr. Iengar, has accused Nehru of vacillation because Nehru conceded the demands for linguistic reorganisation of the States. In a recent statement which he published in some Andhra paper, Mr. Iengar of the former ICS—also once Chairman of the Reserve Bank, I think—has demanded bifurcation of Andhra Pradesh. Then, we have got

the high-priest of disruption and counter-revolution in our country, Mr. Golwalkar. He made a statement in Bangalore in which he has demanded trifurcation of Madhya Pradesh and Uttar Pradesh and bifurcation of Andhra Pradesh. Then again, we have our friend, the DMK leader, Mr. Viswanathan going from Madras to Andhra Pradesh and preaching, as for example, at a public meeting in Ongole on February 5th, that his party was fully in the campaign for separation of Andhra Pradesh. Now we have a wonderful line-up of all these was fully in the campaign for separation—for bifurcation and trifurcation—for carrying the flames of separatist movement in other parts of the country so that trouble can be started and they can fish in the troubled waters. This is the current strategy of the counter-revolutionary, reactionary forces in the country who today find it difficult to capture political power through elections, and certainly not on the floor of the House. Therefore, they have chosen other arenas of struggle, other slogans, other forms of struggle—other than the alliances—and using the discontent and frustration of the people in order to create an explosive situation. Unless this is understood, the meaning of the separatist movement in Andhra Pradesh and its implications in terms of our future national life would never be understood. That is why, for the sake of the people of Andhra Pradesh and for the sake of the people of the country we are opposed to this bifurcation and the separatist movement, and we would ask upon the Government not to concede this demand of separation if at all this country is to be saved from another holocaust of chaos and confusion created by frustrated, disgruntled, reactionary politicians, all combining together in a mighty movement in which no principles will be observed, no norms are sacred, no governed rules of democracy are sacrosanct, where burning, arson, intimidation, terror, insult, vulgarity and violence will be let loose. We want this pro-

cess to be stopped and that is why we want the separatist movement to be countered.

Mr. Deputy Chairman we are not one of those who think that the Andhra people do not have grievances. They certainly have grievances. So have the Telangana people for whom we spoke the other day. So have the people of Rayalaseema—they too have their grievances. But these grievances have been there for long. There has been a gentleman's agreement once but they could not be solved, perhaps, fully to their satisfaction because of the ineptitude and incompetence of the successive Congress Governments that were in office. But that does not justify that now they should plunge into this very course of separatist movement. The Minister has rightly pointed out that this thing has emanated from Andhra. But this is not enough. Much more has to be taken note of. Who is responsible for this? How did it come? The timing of it, everything is important. Last year when an Ordinance was issued against land alienation, and when it became the 'ceiling' law, coming into force under the pressure of the people, both belonging to the Congress and other Parties, the landlords became very active in order to frustrate the ceiling law, in order to frustrate the land alienation law and what did they do?

[THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI-MATI PURABI MUKHOPADHYA in the Chair].

They led demonstrations to Hyderabad. Everybody knows it. When the landlords conduct a movement of this kind, you should not see it in a democracy by the mere physical presence of the landlords, you should be forewarned if something bad was coming and it was coming. Then you have the Gujarat traders, you have got the wholesalers, the transport people. All of them thought this was the time to create some trouble in

[Shrimati Purabi Mukhopadhyaya]

order to prevent certain measures being taken, however halting these were. Naturally, they relied on the Congress Party, the reactionary elements within the Congress Party, massive majority of the Congress itself. Out of the massive majority of the Congress came out the explosive staff led by Mr. V. B. Subba Reddy. I know him very well, personally we were together in one delegation. He is the former Deputy Chief Minister of the Congress itself.

This is one thing and after the Mulki Rules, after the Supreme Court had given its judgment on the 3rd October last year, we found Ministers of Andhra Pradesh speaking in one language and the Ministers of Telangana speaking in their own way. Yet they were given an opportunity to speak as they liked and the Chief Minister behaving in a peculiar manner. I am not going into the story of all this but I found that was the reason why the landlords in a majority-ridden Government became one instrument in the hands of separatists and allowed the movement to get momentum. Let us not forget that point.

Well, in Andhra Pradesh, out of the 287 seats in the Assembly, the Congress captured 217 seats. What bigger majority do you want? Still, have we got stability, have we got political stability? We do not have it. Not only that, we cannot even have the Assembly functioning because these elements in that majority, combined with the Swatantra, combined with the Jan Sangh, combined with the RSS, built up their own Sangharsh Senas and other senas with a view to creating chaos. And may I ask my friend the Home Minister here what happened to his game taking back Mr. R. G. Ranga to the Congress side with an open arm, if not rolling out the red carpet? Syndicate Mr. Dikshit what happened to his masterly game when he was taking you here openly. Now let me come

back the Syndicate Congress people, like Mr. Ranga to the Congress fold to inflate the Congress both outside and inside the Assembly?

SHRI BANARSI DAS: It is due to your evil influence and distortion of facts. He never belonged to the Congress Party. He belonged to the Swatantra Party for a long time. You are distorting the facts.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: My friend, Shri Banarsi Das, gives fantastic facts. You seem to have lost your memory also.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Ranga was sitting in these benches here in Congress.

SHRI MAHAVIR TYAGI: What about the Indicate Communist Party?

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: I am talking about Ranga now. If any man. . .

SHRI BANARSI DAS: It was before independence. . .

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Please listen. If any man is to be given Padma Vibhushan for changing political parties at the top surely Mr. N. G. Ranga can claim that award. How many parties he has changed? It is very difficult to keep abreast of the changes of party by Mr. Ranga just as it is difficult to keep abreast of the changes that fashionable ladies make in summer weather of their clothes. I am not going into that kind of thing.

SHRI BANARSI DAS: Please tell her in confidence.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Why should I tell her in confidence. You had been in the Congress all these years and if you had not earned her confidence why ask me to do that?

SHRI BANARSI DAS: But now you are a new convert.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: I can tell

to the point. I am not bothered here with Mr. Ranga. Here you have the movement, wonderful movement with Sangarsh Senas and other Senas and then on the top of them some of the officials join the movement. I have for example the case of Mr. Jaya Bharat, Deputy Collector of Guntur who was directly supporting the separatist movement. He arrested our people because we were fighting for the preservation of the integrity of Andhra. His brother the DSP in East Godavari was doing the same thing, helping the separatist movement. Such is the situation. Then comes money. How much money has come in? Mr. Home Minister, here is food for thought for you. Here is a matter for investigation. Who finances the movement? If it is the landlords, how much money have they spent? How does the money come? Is it not a fact that the money is coming from Madras? Everybody knows that some leaders of certain parties go and meet in Madras city the Americans. Everybody knows that funds are being funnelled from Madras to a particular party there to help finance the separatist movement by the Americans. These are known facts.

SHRI S. S. MARISWAMY: Absolutely baseless.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: These are matters for investigation. Ask Mr. Karunanidhi to hold investigation and perhaps in his own locker or in his own safe he will find the answer to what I am saying. Madam, this is the position.

Now, what are the tactics? It is guerilla tactics. Mr. N. G. Ranga, recently beloved of the Congress, has again fallen from grace. I do not know when he will go back to the Congress. That is for the astrologers to say. You can consult them; you believe in astrology, as some of them do. He asks the people to adopt guerilla tactics, to run the movement like the RSS and the Jana Sangh. This is the Congressman Ranga, erst-

while Swatantrite, now the head of the Sangarsh Sena or Andhra Sena, speaking like this in Andhra Pradesh. The RSS sent its people from outside the State to strengthen their cadre. Mr. Home Minister, normalcy has not yet come. Improvement has taken place in the situation but the gangs are even now active. The gangs are these Senas; equipped with bombs, equipped with daggers and other weapons, equipped with all kinds of materials and with plenty of funds, with trucks and lorries they intimidate and terrorise the people. That is the movement. I think Parliament should take note of it. It is not like other movements and naturally this movement cannot last long because no landlord can fight for long. We know that the majority of the people like the agricultural workers and other sections of the people do not like this movement. They are opposed to the bifurcation and tearing up of Andhra Pradesh, but they have been subjected to intimidation and terror. It is unfortunate and tragic that the student community fell victim to this. The same thing about the NGOs. They fell victim to this movement. I hope the student community and the NGOs will rethink about this matter and return to the ways of unity and democracy and disengage themselves from their involvement with the reactionary forces who had never fought for their cause in their life, for the cause of either the NGOs or the students and I think they are making a grave mistake. We are sorry for them. Therefore, when I speak about them, I speak with pain and horror. It pains us to see that our young student community is made the cannon fodder of an utterly sinister movement, behind which there is blood and against the country's unity, against the country's democracy and against progressive trends in our social and economic life. I would, therefore, like the students to be saved from that movement. Similarly, we have been fighting for the Government employees, year after year for their demands and other legitimate

[Shri Bhupesh Gupta.]

rights, including trade union rights. We would like them also to be saved.

Madam, here I would like to bring this to your notice and my Andhra friends. This is the "Snehalata Weekly" dated 25th February, 1973. It is in Telugu and I have got it translated. Here this kind of thing is happening. There is the picture of a social worker, Inampudu Surya-prakash Rao, a Harijan, Congress social worker. His head was shaved and white paint was put on his body with insulting slogans. He was paraded almost naked in the street and this was done in Avanigude in Krishna district. Is this the way?

SHRI LOKANATH MISRA: Is this a communist party paper?

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: It is not. It is absolutely non-communist...

SHRI LOKANATH MISRA: But financed by the communists.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: I do not know. It is not at all so. The editor is Suryanarayana. Anyway, why do you not believe it? You are not involved in it.

SHRI LOKANATH MISRA: I cannot believe a communist.

SHRI KOTA PUNNAIAH: Madam Vice-Chairman is Mr. Lokanath Misra incident correct? Do you have any or the incident? I hope he is interested in the incident.

SHRI LOKANATH MISRA: About the incident.

SHRI DAHYABHAI V. PATEL: The paper is as much concerned.

SHRI LOKANATH MISRA: Is the incident correct? Do you have any idea about the incident?

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: I will give it. This is what was done. I would ask Mr. Lokanath Misra, who

is a cultured man, at least he looks cultured, whether he will show and express shock at it. Now, Mr. J. Shiva Reddy, a communist worker in Guntur district, and another communist worker in Srikakulam were treated in this manner. Now, I have given this photograph. Here is the photograph of the Harijan social worker. Look at this. Is this the way? And what do you think of a Jan Sangh leader in the movement who said this: "Indira Gandhi likes Muslims and Mulki"? He said many other vulgar things. Was there any condemnation by them? No. There will not be any condemnation by them. The Indian Express, Andhra Prabha and many other papers have published such reports. Here I should like to draw your attention to what Mr. Subba Reddy said. He is actually saying that the South should be free from the domination of the North. This is what he is saying. Mr. Subba Reddy is spreading such ideas, preposterous ideas, the separatist slogan in this manner. Here is the Indian Express of the 25th January. This is not a communist paper. It is the paper of Mr. Goenka, Vijayawada edition. According to them Mr. Subba Reddy advocated the division of the country into two, North and South, to avoid the perpetual domination of the South by the North. This is the language of an ex-Deputy Chief Minister from the Congress.

SHRI S. S. MARISWAMY: Who is this Mr. Subba Reddy?

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: I see you have been supporting the separatist movement. You do not know even Mr. Subba Reddy. I am sorry for my friend, Mr. Mariswamy. The loss of memory must have affected him now temporarily. Surely, you should know Mr. Subba Reddy very well.

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE DEPARTMENT OF PARLIAMENTARY AFFAIRS AND IN THE MINISTRY OF WORKS AND HOUSING (SHRI OM MEHTA): He has got a special affection for him.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Mr. B. V. Subba Reddy, the ex-Deputy Chief Minister of the Congress. . . .

SHRI S. S. MARISWAMY: Under Mr. Narasimha Rao.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Under Mr. Narasimha Rao and now befriended shamefacedly by Mr. Karunanidhi. That is Mr. Subba Reddy. Now, this is the movement.

Here I should like to bring to your notice and consideration. . .

SHRI BANARSI DAS: He will again be befriended by you, after some weeks he will be befriended by you and by that party.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Do not have any illusion. As far as the separatist elements are concerned, surely we will fight the hon. Members who are against integration, for the integrity of the country; no matter what remarks you make, because together we brought you here. And it is your party; in a most cowardly manner you knocked at the door of the Congress and presented your leader to the Congress Party, one of your alliance partners, Prof. Ranga. Therefore, talk a little fairly. I do not see that you are in an ivory tower because no tower will hold you, ivory or other.

I say, we should be careful. Clashes are now developing. They are really created by the gangs and so on. I am very glad to hear today that the NGOs are thinking of returning to their jobs and it is a good thing, I hope, that they are returning to their jobs. They must fight for their rights, for their living conditions and for other causes for which the working classes stand. I do not like the NGOs there in Andhra to cut off themselves from the rest of the working classes in the country and involve themselves in such a disreputable type of agitation like the Andhra separatist movement I do not like it. Now, the students are also still there. But they should be persuaded to come back. As far as

the Telengana area is concerned, there is no movement there really now; because of the old experience, and there is no student strike and the NGO's strike has been withdrawn. About Mr. Channa Reddy, reference has been made to him. He is getting no response whatsoever. I think the Government should pursue vigorously the relief measures in the drought areas of the Telengana region. These are the things that should be done there.

Madam, we are disturbed to know that a West German television team has gone there and they are taking TV pictures at Vijayawada and that this is encouraging these people to do such things and get them televised in West European countries. I do not know how that television team has gone there without the sanction of the Government. I have reports that a lot of missionaries are also working there in order to rouse the feeling of separatism and so on. That is also a very serious matter.

Now, you will be surprised to hear—and I share a secret with the House—that moneys were coming in lakhs and now the leaders have started quarrelling over them because the movement is waning. Funds are there but who gets how much—that is the problem now. The quarrel has started. Home Ministerji, take note of it and exploit it to your advantage, and you know how to do it. The leaders there are now quarrelling over the money. Plenty of funds have come. They are swallowing the funds; one is accusing the other of swallowing the funds. It is a good business. Separation or no separation, buildings will come up. Concubines will be kept; if there is one, there will be two more concubines of the landlord and they will come more and more to Hyderabad perhaps after the integration is maintained, to have a gay time there in the evening and then the next morning, half-drunk and half lost to their common friends, visit the various places in the Andhra region. This

[Shri Bhupesh Gupta.]

is happening. Therefore, do not get up. These landlords are a debauch lot. They can never run a movement. They can never do a thing. They are bound to create tensions amongst themselves which has already started. Therefore, here I would like to give you one warning. Be careful about those who are talking about peace and normalcy. Some are talking about normalcy genuinely. I fully support them. But beware of the people who talk about normalcy now and then ask for separation. They are neither converts to normalcy nor to integration. You have taken the stand that you will not discuss this matter unless normalcy is restored. Therefore, they are interested in putting up the show that normalcy has been restored and, therefore, separation should be conceded. They would press their bargain with you in the illusion that you will concede their demand for separation. You say that nothing has been conceded. Nothing is ruled out. It is a philosophical statement that the Prime Minister made yesterday. You can go on making such statements. I say nothing has been conceded in the sense that separation will never and never be conceded. But for the sake of the conscience of the nation if it is separation within the framework of the unity and integrity of Andhra Pradesh, by all means have discussion, have agreements, modify your five point formula. Make it more extensive an elaborate and adjust it to your needs according to your agreement. I am for it. But integration is the *sine qua non*—is a matter of our honour, is a matter of honour of the whole country. Today it is a challenge to the nation, to the face of the nation and it must be met with prowess and courage. We must not yield an inch there. That is what I have been asking.

SHRI LOKNATH MISHRA (Orissa): Do you have an inch there? I was told that you have been thrown

in to the Bay of Bengal from Andhra Pradesh.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: My and it must be met with prowess and Rajya Sabha, encouraging defection with Mr. Biju Patnaik took money in Orissa conceded and now he says that I have been thrown into the Bay of Bengal. He has neither a sense of Bay of Bengal nor a sense of geography nor a physical understanding of the problem. This is my grouse. But, Madam, I tell you as far as the Communist Party is concerned, of course compared to the Congress Party we are a small party but we are a united party. We are fighting against sepa-

SHRI MAHAVIR TYAGI (Uttar Pradesh): You are a party in-law.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Yes, we are a party in law in the sense that we are legal party undoubtedly. But you are party in-sin because you are born in sin and, naturally, the preference will go to the party in law rather than to the party born in sin, Madam I tell you are repelling their attacks. If attacks come on us they will get it from us too. No doubt about it. Our party is fully prepared to take the brunt. No matter how many communists die, no matter what happens to us, the instructions to our party ranks and supporters are: never, yield politically ideologically and physically to the separatist terror and violence. If they come to attack defend yourself with all your might. That is the honour of your party. I think those who stand for the integrity and unity of Andhra Pradesh will appreciate this humble contribution in Andhra Pradesh by the Communist Party of India. (*Time Bell rings*) Madam Vice-Chairman, since you are ringing the bell I will finish.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI-MATI PURABI MUKHOPADHYAY): Please wind up.

SHRI DAHYABHAI V. PATEL (Gujarat): Madam, please allow him to make up for his absence for one week. Allow him more time.

DR. BHAI MAHAVIR (Delhi). Madam We are very happy to listen to Mr. Bhupesh Gupta's very heroic pleading in favour of unity and integrity. But we are not able to understand since when his party has become a votary of integration and unity because for all we know, when the question of unity of the country was involved, his party was in the forefront pleading for division of the country, and had worked for division. At the time of the struggle for independence, they were all along in favour of vivisection of the country. How does he reconcile his love for vivisection of the motherland with his love for integration of Andhra Pradesh which is a part of the motherland and not the mother-land as such?

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: I always have some softness for my friend, Dr. Mahavir. I thought even if he belonged to Jan Sangh, he was an educated and learned person. But the questions that he sometimes puts make me think that he belongs not to the educated elite of the Jan Sangh but to the R.S.S. rowdies, which he is not, of course.

DR. BHAI MAHAVIR: Is that an answer? I thought that an educated person like Mr. Bhupesh Gupta would understand my question. But if he gives a rowdy answer to an educated question...

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: You are very educated.

DR. BHAI MAHAVIR: Where is your answer?

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: You are very educated. You are a doctor. Now I would invite the Home Minister's attention to the role of the Chairman of the Krishna Zilla Parishad. He is a very interesting man, it seems. On the one hand, he is telling here that he is for integration and he is for

Mrs. Indira Gandhi. On the other hand, he is sending from his own place, Krishna district, bombs to Nellore in order to help the separatist movement. He is actually helping to maintain what is called the Kakani Brigade, armed forces of the separatists therein Nellore. There are such "chelas" of Mrs. Indira Gandhi, "chelas" of the Congress. When in Delhi, they are all for Mrs. Indira Gandhi, for talks. But they want to play on both sides of the net here, integration and unity and there separation. In their own district, they pose as integrationists, but in another district they help the separatist movement with money and bombs. And one of them is the Zilla Parishad Chairman I have just mentioned.

DR. BHAI MAHAVIR: May be they have learnt the art from you.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Finally, we are coming to the end of the debate on the subject.

SHRI DAHYABHAI V. PATEL: We have just begun.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: The President's Proclamation has come; it should not come again. We have seen the game of "massive majority" both in Andhra Pradesh now and also in Uttar Pradesh. A massive majority built with reactionaries is a very doubtful proposition and a self-defeating thing in some ways as you have found out. I hope, firstly, there will not be any yielding to the separatist demand. Discussion there should be for maintaining the unity and integrity of the State and of the country, because once you yield there. You will give a shot in the arm to the right reactionary forces in the country. A mini-grand alliance has already perpetrated its trick in Orissa, in Cuttack recently. You have seen today the report of 21 defections there. I do not know how many defectors are hidden within the Congress Party in the various legislatures. The Home Minister should know better. It seems



[Shri Bhupesh Gupta.]

that in the case of Orissa, you did not know that so many were hidden under your blanket safely with you. Therefore, be careful about it. It has to be defeated. Now that does not mean that we should not go into grievances and other things. Go into them. Talks should be there and discussions should take place. I would appeal even to my separatist friends of Andhra Pradesh. Rethink what you are doing. Give up this path. This will never succeed. This movement is intended to divert public attention from the urgent economic and social issues and to involve the country in this kind of disruptive and divisive activities so that some people can have their way.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Therefore, I say from every point of view, it should be taken as a big challenge, it should be taken as a counterattack on a big scale of the new grand alliance which has been evolved in the State of Andhra Pradesh today and which may find its violent eruption in other parts of the country. Already rumblings are there in that direction. Alarm signals have already been sounded in a number of States by eminent leaders whose names I have mentioned, and others, the Swatantra leaders, the Syndicate leaders, other leaders. And here is my friend from Jan Sangh talking all sorts of things. They were for unitary system of the State. But today they want India to be broken up. They were opposing even the linguistic reorganisation of States in the name of unitary system. But today they want 30 to 40 States in India. And you have the DMK there waiting for an opportunity. They want to share the kind of autonomy which is nothing but separatism. Separatism is being evolved. Therefore, be careful about it. Legitimate demands of the people should be accepted, the demands of the Tribal people and all that, as, for example, in West Bengal, Nepali language should be accepted and included in the Eighth Schedule. Some such demands should be accepted. You

should not hesitate to do so. But you should not allow the problems to grow.

SHRI DAHYABHAI V. PATEL: One standard for West Bengal and another standard for all others.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: No, no. I say the same standard should be there for all. Legitimate demands should be accepted.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI-MATI PURABI MUKHOPADHYAY): Please finish now.

SHRI DAHYABHAI V. PATEL: Let him make up for one week, Madam.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: You see, Madam, so many interruptions are there. In fact I am grateful to my friends for the kind of interruptions they make because interruptions help me, help everybody, and that way they expose themselves and also help me to bring out my contention more effectively than I can do without interruptions.

So, Madam, I do not see as to what we can do about it except accepting the present situation because the Assembly cannot function there now. But I do hope the Assembly will soon function amidst unity, amidst goodwill, amidst restoration of peace and normalcy. When the wounds are healed and when feelings soften, I think things will improve. I think we have made a definite headway in the direction of preserving the integrity and unity of Andhras. We must go forward in this direction with the goodwill and support of Parliament which has been more than manifest in the course of the last few days. I think we shall justify our claim that we are for unity and integrity of the country and in the larger interest we want to maintain the unity and integrity of the great State and people of Andhra Pradesh. And we do hope that the State which produced such great martyrs as Potti Srimululu and which produced so many freedom-fighters in the past,

will once again rise on its feet as a united, powerful, strong, democracy and will go forward learning from the bitter experience of the recent horror and see that the progressive forces come together to re-make Andhra, not only a united Andhra, but a prosperous progressive and forward-looking Andhra Pradesh. Thank you

SHRI M ANANDAM (Andhra Pradesh). Madam Vice-Chairman, while we are discussing the President's Proclamation under Article 356 in relation to Andhra State, we find that a similar situation has arisen in Orissa State. I understand that the Orissa Ministry has resigned and the Assembly has been prorogued. Whether it is Andhra Pradesh or it is Orissa, one thing is certain that opportunism has been the bane of politics. I understand today in Orissa the Land Reforms Bill was about to be discussed. And if you take that into consideration and also take into consideration the agitation in Andhra Pradesh, here is one thing in common, that is, the people or the political opportunists did not like any of these progressive legislations that are brought, whether in Andhra or in Orissa. Madam, I do not wish to go into the details of the causes of the agitation in Andhra Pradesh. They have agitation in Andhra Pradesh. They have already been stated on the floor of this House in a very eminent manner by my learned friends Shri Raju and Shri Bhupesh Gupta. They have explained the root causes of all these evils now being experienced in Andhra Pradesh. What I fail to understand is this. The nine Ministers who resigned had sworn on integration. They said they are convinced and they stand on conviction for an integrated State. When they came to the Prime Minister in one voice they said that they stood for integration. And they gave an assurance that even after they resigned they will go to the people of Andhra Pradesh to propagate integration. But we have all seen that the moment they went to Bezwada they changed their colour and started talking about separation. What they said was that all the

people there wanted separation and therefore they had to follow whatever the people said. This is a strange case of leaders being led by people. Instead of leaders leading the people. Just two days back, one of the Marxist . . .

SHRI SANDA NARAYANAPPA. I want a clarification on whether the leaders are leading the people or the people are leading the leaders.

SHRI M ANANDAM. I will come to that. I was saying that just two or three days back a prominent Marxist member came to me and said "Mr Anandam, all your people want separation. Why is it that you are still standing against this demand? Why don't you concede it and agree to the separation of Andhra Pradesh?" I asked him one question "In the last Lok Sabha election and the State Assembly election, the Congress Party has come out with overall majority. That means the people generally are all behind the Congress Party. Why is it that Marxist Party is still remaining as Marxist Party? Why don't you join the Congress Party?" Then he said "I have a conviction and I stand by my conviction. As long as I believe in that conviction, I will try to persuade people to follow my conviction, whether it is right or wrong. That is my policy." Likewise if these nine Ministers who resigned had conviction that integration alone was good for the Andhra Pradesh, why did they not propagate this idea of integration to the people of Andhra Pradesh? Why did they not carry the people with them? How is it that the moment they went there, they all became separatists? Have the people understood what exactly is the implication of the Mulki Rules? Have the people understood what exactly is meant by second rate citizenship? Have they experienced this type of citizenship in Hyderabad city? I would like to know how many of these people who have taken part in this agitation have ever come to Hyderabad to experience this second-rate citizenship in that city. It all depends

[Shri M. Anandam.]

how we as leaders go to the people and explain to them. I am only sorry to say that in this case the leaders have all failed in their duty and they misled the people. Now it is necessary for us, once cool and calm atmosphere is restored, to bring to the notice of the people the very good features and very welcome features of maintaining integration in Andhra Pradesh.

There is one other thing which I wanted to mention, though Shri Raju has already made a mention of it. It is about the services. I do not know how services can take up political causes. Services mean white-collar society. They have their own service problems for which they agitate and go on strike. But on matters like this, on political matters, they should not be allowed to go on strike. I would also like to caution the Government that if they succumb to the threat of strike or pressures by these white-collared people, the NGOs and the Gazetted Officers, no Government can ever function. Even during the British days, we know, the Services were very loyal to the British Government. It does not, however, mean that they have not been patriotic; they have been highly patriotic. But so far as the Services were concerned, they were very loyal to the British Government. My only suggestion here is that whoever they may be, to whichever party they may belong, if they want to carry on any political propaganda, any political agitation, let them do it at party level or at the people's level and let not the Services be encouraged to do all these things. I am amazed at the way in which some of the leaders like Dr. Chenna Reddy provoke the NGOs and others to go on strike. Recently he made a statement that those who on strike will be considered as loyal citizens of the State and they will get advance promotions, advance increments, when once the separate States are formed. This is one of the greatest evils and such things will mar the integrity of the Services.

Madam, there is another thing which I wanted to bring to your kind notice. Mr. Mariswamy, while speaking on this motion, has said that the DMK is not at all interested in what happened to Andhra Pradesh and that he only wanted that the matter should be settled rather peacefully and that the DMK is not interested either in separation or integration. But I have reliable information with me that the DMK people, at least some of the members of that party, have gone there, gone to Nellore....

SHRI KOTA PUNNAIAH: Why say "reliable information"? Their Deputy Leader in the Lok Sabha toured Andhra Pradesh.

SHRI M. ANANDAM: What I say is that they have not gone there in their individual capacity. He has gone there and many others have gone there in their capacity as members of the DMK party, not only to find out as to what exactly happened there, but also to instigate the people to join the agitation. The reason is obvious.

SHRI S. S. MARISWAMY: Madam, on a point of order. I have got great regards for my friend, Shri Anandam. But he must be corrected, because his information is wrong.

Mr. Viswanathan, a Lok Sabha Member, went to Andhra Pradesh and he spoke there in his individual capacity. Immediately after return, when the correspondents questioned the Chief Minister of Madras who happens to be the party leader, the Chief Minister said that it is his individual view. Now Madam, is it wrong on his part to have visited a place and express his opinion? It is an open question and it is not a party matter.

SHRI M. ANANDAM: Well, they have not announced that it is only in their individual capacity that they have gone there, gone to Nellore and other places. I have reliable information that there are contacts maintained between some of the separat-

ists in the Andhra region and the DMK party leaders in Tamil Nadu. I do not wish to place the details here now before the House. But if he wants . . .

SHRI S. S. MARISWAMY: So far as Mr. Anandam is concerned, I assure him that there is no double standard with us. Whatever we speak outside, we keep it up. We have unequivocally said that the party has not taken any stand. Even now we say, "Bow to the wishes of the people" That is our stand and it is not for integration or for separation.

SHRI M. ANANDAM: My point is not that. It is not merely a question of taking a stand. But they are also financing some of the separatists for carrying on this movement in Andhra Pradesh.

SHRI S. S. MARISWAMY: Madam, I am denying the allegation he has made. Again he is saying this now. Parliament should not be used to make libels.

SHRI M. ANANDAM: But this the position.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI MATI PURABI MUKHOPADHYAY): Mr. Mariswamy, now Mr. Anandam is taking the floor. You should not interrupt him now.

SHRI S. S. MARISWAMY: Madam, I am on a point of order. On behalf of my party I have denied his allegations and yet he goes on saying that the party is financing and this and that. This is libel. Parliament should not be a place where libellous statements are made.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI-MATI PURABI MUKHOPADHYAY): Mr. Mariswamy, Mr. Anandam is taking the floor now. You please speak when you have the chance.

SHRI M. ANANDAM: Madam, I stand by what I said. The reason for their supporting the movement in Andhra Pradesh is rather very obvious.

We all know that in the southern region, Andhra Pradesh is one of the biggest States...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI-MATI PURABI MUKHOPADHYAY): Please try to finish within two minutes.

SHRI M. ANANDAM: The Congress has been re-elected in majority in Andhra Pradesh. The D.M.K. party does not want that such a big state should exist in the southern region. They want the split, because they feel that the moment the split is made Tamil Nadu will become bigger than any of the States there. This is one of the reasons behind the DMK party's participation in the separatist movement.

I do not want to go into details. But I would like to say one or two things more.

I want a categorical statement by the hon. Prime Minister that she would not bifurcate not only this state but any other state in this country in future. And it is for this purpose that I want that there should be a constitutional amendment to the effect that in future no new State should be created.

[Shri M. Anandam.]

There is another thing which I want to point out. There should be a complete ban on the Services taking up any political cause. I do not know how the Government would do it. By way of any statutory provision it must be seen that no Government servant will ever take up any political cause or political agitation and go on strike.

With these few words, I would like to thank some of my friends, especially Mr. Raju and Mr. Bhupesh Gupta, for making a very good case for integration of the State.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI-MATI PURABI MUKHOPADHYAY):  
Shri Chandramouli Jagarlamudi.

SHRI CHANDRAMOULI JAGARLAMUDI (Andhra Pradesh): Madam, Vice-Chairman, the judgment of the Supreme Court on the 'Mulki Firman', saying that it is alive since 1956, gave cause for the agitation. And it would not have caused such a big agitation if the ex-Chief Minister of Andhra Pradesh, Mr. Narasimha Rao, had kept his mouth shut. He said that this judgment gave finality to the Mulki Rules. It is only then that the agitation started. The people thought that they were going to be bound by Mulki Rules and are going to be treated badly. Then the 5-point formula of the Prime Minister came. The Telengana people wanted 14 more points. The Andhras were afraid that these Mulki Rules would not be ended by 1974. That has been extended by the Prime Minister upto 1977 in the case of the principal city of Hyderabad, and even then there is no guarantee that it is going to end by 1977. The service people from Andhra were agitated. That is why the agitation was intensive. The whole of the Andhra region rose as one, single man. The lawyers, the doctors, etc. had nothing to do with the Mulki Rules. The Mahila Mandalis, women in tens of thousands, the students, the NGOs and the labourers also joined this movement. Everywhere it

was said: Abolish the Mulki Rules. Before the Prime Minister's announcement, it was only for abolition of Mulki Rules. After the Prime Minister's announcement, the demand for abolition of Mulki Rules was given up and the slogan for a 'Separate Andhra' arose everywhere. Lakhs and lakhs of people held meetings and they said: We want separation from Telengana. Madam, we want 5 P.M. bifurcation of the State. The Congress Party has been accusing us saying that this movement was started by vested interests and landlords. That is not at all true. It was started by the students and the N.G.Os. and then later came the politicians who went according to the wishes of the people.

Madam, in the last General Elections, both for the Parliament as well as State Assembly, nearly 80 to 90 per cent of the women in Andhra Pradesh voted for Shrimati Indira Gandhi and made the Congress Party successful. If you now go anywhere in the Andhra area, not a single woman will vote for Shrimati Indira Gandhi. They feel that they have been cheated by the Prime Minister with her slogans. They know now what the Congress stands for and how it cheated them.

Madam, then came the Presidents rule. Some time after the President's rule, the C.R.P. and the Army people ran amuck. They killed any number of people in unprovoked lathi-charges and firings. The official figure is only 68. But according to private information, it is between 200 to 300 people. All the firings were unprovoked. They provoked these people to throw stones and then they opened fire and killed innocent boys and children. On the pretext of chasing the miscreants, the C.R.P. people went into the houses and chased the men away and they misbehaved with the women.

Madam, I have received a letter written by 17 respectable ladies of

Andhra Pradesh regarding an incident which happened in Guntur on 22nd February, 1973. I read a part of the letter:

"Today (22-2-1973) at 10-30 hrs. we went to the official residence of the Superintendent of Police to enlighten him about the Police atrocities towards the agitators on 21-2-1973. Since the Superintendent of Police was not readily available, we all sat on the road in front of the Superintendent of Police Bungalow and were waiting for him. At that stage, the police headed by Shri Sundara Raju, Sub-Inspector of Police, Pattabhipuram had come and lathi-charged the peaceful women agitators indiscriminately with the help of a few women home-guards. He abused the volunteers with vulgar language and asked the women homeguards to manhandle them besides himself beating the volunteers in the name of lathi-charge. The Home Guards were ordered to remove the clothes of the women agitators and then the S.I. of Police had rushed towards the ladies and twisted their main organs with vengeance." (I think they mean the breasts).

So, Madam, this is the kind of President's rule we are having. All these things happen under the President's rule. We do not at all welcome the President's rule. We would rather revive our Assembly, vote out the Government and pass a Bill asking for separation of Andhra. I would say that bifurcation is the only solution to the Andhra problem. Both the regions are asking for separation and it can be done easily without any difficulty. People of both the regions can part happily, like brothers, just as we did when Andhras separated from the Madras State. Then we parted as friends and even now some lakhs of Andhras are staying in Madras and both the Tamilians and Andhras are living like brothers. In the same way, both the Telangana people and the Andhra people can separate and live like brothers (*Time bell rings*).

This delay in decision can revive the agitation. People have been saying that after the President's rule the situation has come back to normalcy. It might have come back to normalcy because the leaders have been preaching from the very beginning that the agitation should be peaceful and non-violent. Actually, from the beginning itself the leaders have preached that. But, Mr. P. V. Narasimha Rao, the ex-Chief Minister of Andhra Pradesh, thinking that he will not be able to put down the agitation without some violence ordered that all the leaders who preached peaceful agitation should be arrested so that the agitation would go into the hands of youthful leaders who would make it violent. It was only after Mr. Narasimha Rao had some of these leaders arrested that some violent incidents took place here and there. It was a good excuse for him to open fire and shoot down these people. Now, recently, the Andhra Karyacharana Samiti, knowing that the people have been suffering for want of transportation and this being the season for commercial crops like tobacco and cotton to come to the market and because people would find it difficult to go to places of business without transport, ordered that transport and other facilities like lorry traffic to resume.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI-MATI PURABI MUKHOPADHYAY): Please sit down, Mr. Menon.

SHRI CHANDRAMOULI JAGARLAMUDI: Madam, I am the only person speaking on separation.

SHRI LOKANATH MISRA: He is one of those Members who have courted imprisonment and are in the thick of the struggle and you want him to sit down. What would you lose if you give him a few more minutes?

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRIMATI PURABI MUKHOPADHYAY): He did not ask for it; he goes on speaking.

SHRI LOKANATH MISRA: Mr. Bhupesh Gupta can go on for half an hour freely talking about Andhra.

[Shri Lokanath Misra]

Here he is in the thick of the struggle and you would not allow him to speak even for ten minutes.

SHRI CHANDRAMOULI JAGARLAMUDI: Madam, I want a few minutes more.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRIMATI PURABI MUKHOPADHYAY): Two minutes.

SHRI CHANDRAMOULI JAGARLAMUDI: If the Government of India is serious about settling this problem, they should withdraw the CRP and the military and they should themselves restore normalcy. They should revoke President's rule and call the Assembly so that the wishes of the members of the Assembly and of the people can be expressed in the House. Unofficially, the majority of members of both Telengana and Andhra want separation and out of the 287 members, nearly 150 members have expressed the opinion that separation is the only solution. Therefore, President's rule should be revoked and on other things also an early decision should be taken so that the students may go to the colleges and complete their studies. If they want to know the wishes of the people, actually an opinion poll can be taken or a fresh election on this point could be ordered. During the last elections the question of separation did not come up and, therefore, the Congress came out with a vast majority. If a fresh election is now held on the point of separation, I am sure the Congress will be totally rooted out and only the separatists will be elected.

SHRI K. P. SUBRAMANIA MENON (Kerala): Madam Vice-Chairman, the police Minister of the Government of India who goes by the very endear-able name of the Home Minister, Mr. Dikshit, started his new career with a *wrong foot forward*. A few days back in one of his press statements, after taking over the portfolio of the Home Ministry, came forward with an atrocious suggestion that the violence in Andhra is the creation of the Marxist party.

SHRI BIPINPAL DAS: He has already denied that.

SHRI UMASHANKAR DIKSHIT: Yes, I have denied that. I said: Naxalites and the CPM(L).

SHRI K. P. SUBRAMANIA MENON: If you have denied that, it is good.

SHRI BIPINPAL DAS: Now, you have started the speech in the wrong direction.

SHRI K. P. SUBRAMANIA MENON: No, no, don't worry. I am very happy that he has denied that.

Now, the situation today in Andhra Pradesh is a mirror, a reflection of the bankruptcy of the Congress rule in this country for the last 25 years. We are talking of Mulki Rules, of reservations and all that, but what is the basic cause behind all this trouble? Has the Government of India tried to analyse the basic causes of the trouble? The basic cause of the trouble in Andhra as well as in other parts of the country is that there are millions of people who are unemployed--no avenues of employment for them. There is a continuing backwardness in large parts of the country. There is drought. There is this, there is that, and the people are suffering. Illiteracy is rampant and the 25 years of the Congress Rule has done practically nothing to solve any of these problems. Therefore, for an ordinary man in the country, the only avenue of employment is the 'Government' employment and there is scramble for a few jobs available here and there. This Mulki Rules agitation seems to have started from this basic malady.

Now when this issue last time came in Parliament, I had an occasion to speak about this. This 'Mulki Rules' itself is an obnoxious thing because this was instituted by the feudallord, the vessel of the British Empire, the then Nizam of Hyderabad in order to safeguard the interest of harems and other people under him. So that they got their jobs. After independence, after you had achieved the constitution

which proclaimed that Indian Citizens are equal everywhere, to continue with these Mulki Rules is in the very nature of it going back another 50 years or continuing the administration of the country in the spirit and in the manner of what was done 50 years back. That is why all this thing has started. The very spirit of Mulki Rules has within it the germs of separatist movement because the Mulki Rules differentiate one section of the Andhra People from another and it tries to segregate this section from the other. Therefore, the first and foremost duty of any Government which wants the integration of the State of Andhra and the country to be maintained, is to see that whatever may happen, these Mulki Rules are thrown out.

Now, I come to the other problem and that is the problem of backwardness and the necessity of sometimes giving some sort of reservation for some sort of people. As I have pointed out earlier also and our Party has again and again pointed out that the 'Mulki Rules' is not the solution of the problem of backwardness of Telengana. In the present situation, it would be necessary to consider giving some sort of reservation in the ratio of 2:1, that is almost in the equal proportion of the population between the two parts. Telengana has got one-third of the population and the coastal Andhra region has got 2/3rd of the population. Therefore, in a single list of the State services, this 2:1 ratio can be applied, i.e. for every two people recruited from the Andhra region, one man will be recruited from the Telengana region for all the services.

But they will not be confined in their service to particular district but will be posted anywhere throughout the State. This is the only way to avoid the perpetuation of the separatist tendency, to heal the wounds and to bring about a slow integration of the two regions.

Now, Madam, all sorts of people have been blamed for the situation in Andhra but is it not incumbent on

the Congress to think who is leading this agitation? After all it is the Congressmen. The Congressmen in Telangana are shouting one thing and the Congressmen in Andhra are shouting another thing and both together have managed to bring about a situation in which the whole State is now in the throes of a turmoil and is attacked by the CRP, the Border Security Force, the Army etc. A reign of terror has been instituted by the President's Rule. Why should this President's Rule come? After all in the last election when the Congress won in Andhra it had a massive majority and it was said that Mr. Narsimha Rao was elected unanimously as the leader of the Andhra Congress Legislature Party. But within ten months the thing crumbles down like ninepins: if this is the sort of Congress Party which we have got in this country which is supposed to have won with such a massive majority and won on the question of ushering in socialism in the country, then you can imagine the fate of this country. Because they cannot keep two parts of the same State together they are blaming other people for bringing disunity.

Yesterday the Prime Minister was angry at the reference to the question of nationality. I hope she will not jump from the top of the Parliament House when we talk of nationality. What is wrong with this? After all our party has never tried to hide any of its views; we consider the different linguistic States in India as nationalities. What is wrong with it? It is said that if you say that they are nationalities then this country will be subject to the danger of disintegration. Then I should say that the Soviet Union should have disintegrated long ago because there they do not even say nationalities but they are national republics, each one of them. It is not merely a question of theoretical or ideological conception of what constitutes the nation or what constitutes the State or what constitutes the country. What is important is, what are you going to do and what are



[Shri K. P. Subramania Menon]  
you doing today? If you take the doings of the Congress as the touchstone then it is the Congress Party which is a threat to the unity of this country, to the unity of the different people. It is the Congress Party people who are encouraging this fraternal homicide in Andhra putting one Andhraman against the other. In Assam what are they doing? Bengalis are being hounded out there and they are being thrown out and now in Orissa. Therefore to put the blame on other people for your own failing, for your own misdeeds, for your own lack of deeds and creating turmoil in the country, it may be good in rhetoric but it will not be good politics.

SHRI BIPINPAL DAS: Madam, on a point of clarification. In Assam the movement was not led by Congressmen. The Congressmen were not there. It was the students and there was not massacre of Bengalis.

SHRI K. P. SUBRAMANIA MENON: Thousands of Bengalis had to flee Assam. If they had remained they would have been massacred.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI-MATI PURABI MUKHOPADHYAY): Mr. Menon, please stick to your points and finish your speech.

SHRI HARSH DEO MALAVIYA: There was no massacre. It is wrong

SHRI K. P. SUBRAMANIA MENON: In your understanding I will be wrong, but unfortunately history has shown it to be otherwise.

SHRI HARSH DEO MALAVIYA: The word 'massacre' in the English language has got a certain meaning. If you use it, then it should be used in the correct sense.

SHRI K. P. SUBRAMANIA MENON: I stand corrected, but they were driven out at least. Thousands were driven out. Therefore, Madam, what I am trying to point out is that this thing has arisen because the Congress party has tried to solve the problem from the narrow, sectarian,

factional angle of the ruling Congress. At first it set Mr. Channa Reddy's faction against Mr. Brahmananda Reddy. It set the Telengana faction to continue the struggle in order to overthrow Mr. Brahmananda Reddy, but it did not do it on any principle. This Telengana struggle and the Mulki thing was wrong. Absolutely wrong slogans were used and when the thing subsided and after the election when you got a majority, what did you do? When the Andhra High Court threw out the Mulki Rules, it should have been left there itself. On the contrary, the Government of India, under the leadership of Mrs. Gandhi, egged on Mr. Narasimha Rao to go to the Supreme Court simply to strengthen Mr. Narasimha Rao's Telengana faction. This was done. The Supreme Court because of its foolishness, and usually it is foolish, upheld what the Nizam of Hyderabad had ordered fifty years ago. Today can you imagine the Supreme Court saving that after twenty-five years of independence, after the Government of India had led an army to overthrow the Naziam and establish some sort of democracy in this country, what the Nizam said then is sacrosanct? I should like to say that the Supreme Court Judges are not living in this age. They are living a hundred years back. Even then there was enough time for the Government of India to see that things were done in a principled manner. No, they did not go by any principle. They looked again for factional political gains and that is why they have brought the State of Andhra Pradesh to this situation. Today the President's rule is not a bed of roses for the Andhra people. The sort of terror that has been let loose will beggar any description. In fact, we have got reports from all over the State, from Guntur, Vijayawara, Nellore, Vishakhapatnam saying that hundreds of people were killed mercilessly by the police of Mr. Dikshit, the Central Reserve Police.

SHRI BIPINPAL DAS: What was the extent of violence from the other side?

**SHRI K.P. SUBRAMANIA MENON:**

The extent of violence from the other side also depends upon the reaction to the Government. The moment the Andhra NGOs went on strike, what did your Mr. Narasimha Rao's Government do? He sent the CRP, the army and the police against the NGOs and naturally they will react...

**THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI-MATI PURABI MUKHOPADHYAY):**  
Will you please finish it?

**SHRI K. P. SUBRAMANIA MENON:** The Andhra people have gone through a terrible agony. We have all to sympathise with them in their agony, but the point is that the solution for their problem is not the disintegration or bifurcation of the State. We have got sympathy for them in their agony, in their suffering and repression.

But because they have gone in for the wrong cause, it cannot be supported. Therefore, I would suggest that at least now the Government of India should see what is good for the country as a whole and not what is good for the Congress Party and for Mrs. Gandhi's faction in the Congress Party. It should have the larger interests of the State, it should have the larger interests of the country in its heart before taking a decision. And the only correct decision in the present situation is to throw out the Mulki Rules and bring about a proper and gradual integration of the State by the introduction of 2:1 ratio in the services but making a single list of services, and there should be no restriction on the question of education; whether in Hyderabad or in Kakinada or in Vijayawada, it should be open to all the children in Andhra, whether born in Andhra Pradesh or in any other place. Even in the educational field, this 2:1 ratio can be applied. But it must be that the Telengana children should have the freedom to have admission into the Kakinada Medical College or into the Waltair University or any other uni-

versity, and the Andhra children should have the freedom to get admission in Hyderabad or any other city in the Telengana area. That is the only way possible, and not the way of trying to patch up things and trying to please one faction against the other and trying to do something here or there will not solve the problem.

**THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI-MATI PURABI MUKHOPADHYAY):**  
Mr. Mandal, 10 minutes.

**SHRI B. N. MANDAL (Bihar):**  
There should be no restriction on time. Members should have scope. All parties have spoken. I generally speak only a few words. So, I do not expect that any restriction should be placed by the Chair regarding time.

**THE VICE-CHAIRMAN:** Life is full of restrictions. Yes, please continue.

**श्री भूपेन्द्र नारायण मण्डल (बिहार):**  
उप सभाध्यक्ष महोदय जी, बिल श्री सदन के सामने प्रस्तुत है।

**एक माननीय सदस्य :** बिल नहीं है, प्रस्ताव है।

**THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI-MATI PURABI MUKHOPADHYAY):**  
Please do not interrupt.

**श्री भूपेन्द्र नारायण मण्डल :** प्रस्ताव के रूप में बिल आता है। अगर किसी चीज को पार्लियामेंट में पास करना हो तो वह प्रस्ताव हो जाता है चाहे वह प्रस्ताव कानूनो तौर से हो या नहीं, लेकिन अगर उसको हिन्दी में प्रस्ताव कहा जाय तो ठीक है।

जो चीज इस सदन के सामने है, मैं चाहता हूँ वह नामंजूर हो जाय। क्यों नामंजूर हो जाय? इसका कारण मैं पीछे बताऊंगा। लेकिन सरकार ने जिस ढंग से सिचूएशन को डील किया वह बिल्कुल गलत ढंग है। इसके पीछे तेलंगाना का आन्दोलन हुआ था और किसी तरह से उस आन्दोलन को शान्त कर दिया था। फिर उसके बाद सुप्रीम कोर्ट का जजमेंट होगा

[श्री भूपेन्द्र नारायण कमण्डलू]

हैं और उसके बाद फिर आन्दोलन शुरू होता है। इस आन्दोलन के शुरू होने के बाद से अब तक जितनी क्षति हो चुकी है, वह करीब दो अरब रुपये की है जिसमें रेलवे की भी क्षति आ जाती है। इस गलती के बाद फिर प्राइम मिनिस्टर ने इस मामले में इनिशियेटिव ले लिया है और इसके लेने के बाद वहाँ पर प्रेजिडेंट का रुल कायम कर दिया है। मामले को राजनैतिक उपाय से सुलझाना था वैसे नहीं हुआ। इस प्रेजिडेंट रूल को हम किस तरह से मजूर कर सकते हैं, लेकिन प्रेजिडेंट रूल तो वहाँ पर हो गया है। वहाँ पर आज जिस तरह की सिचुएशन पैदा हो गई है, उसके लिए सरकार को कुछ बातों पर ख्याल रखना चाहिये।

अभी पिछले कुछ समय की बात है कि यहाँ पर शाहदरा में पुलिस और जनता के बीच में लड़ाई हो गई थी। दिल्ली के अन्दर हरिजन लड़की के सम्बन्ध में पुलिस और जनता में लड़ाई हो गई थी और इस तरह से गाजियाबाद में हरिजन की बात को लेकर लड़ाई हो गई अगर इस देश में कहीं पर कोई गड़बड़ होती है तो जनता तुरन्त उभर जाती है और उभर कर सरकार के साथ लड़ने के लिए तैयार हो जाती है। और एक तरफ सरकार पुलिस के रूप में खड़ी हो जाती है और दूसरी तरफ से जनता खड़ी हो जाती है। इस तरह की स्थिति देश में है। यह स्थिति क्यों है? इसका कारण यह है कि अंग्रेज के जमाने में जो गड़बड़ी थी उसकी वजह से जो खराबी थी वह दूर नहीं हो सकी है। दूसरा कारण यह कि यहाँ जिस ढंग से प्लान चलाया गया है, गलत प्लान चलाया गया है उसकी वजह से स्थिति में जो सुधार आना चाहिये था वह नहीं आया है। तीसरा कारण यह है कि जो एडमिनिस्ट्रिटिव मशीनरी है वह इस ढंग की बनी है हुई है कि जिसकी वजह से गड़बड़ी है। सबसे विशेष गड़बड़ी इस कारण से है कि जो सरकार को चलाने वाली

प्रधान मंत्री है सबसे वैसी गड़बड़ी उनमें है। जनतंत्र का जो हैड होता है, जो प्रधान मंत्री होता है उसको तैयार रहना चाहिये कि जरूरत पड़ने पर जो अच्छी बात हम समझते हैं वह करेंगे लेकिन जरूरत पड़ने पर गद्दी से हटने के लिए तैयार रहेंगे। इस तरह की मनोवृत्ति हो तब जनतंत्र ठीक से चल सकता है। लेकिन जहाँ दिमाग में यह आ जाय कि हम एक मर्तबा किसी तरह से प्रधान मंत्री हो गये, जन्म भर हम ही रहे, हमारे खानदान के लोग रहे, अगर इस तरह की बात आती है तो सरकार को चलाने के लिए जो मंत्री एपॉइन्टमेंट किए जाते हैं, बड़े-बड़े कर्मचारी सेलेक्शन किये जाते हैं, हर बात में गड़बड़ी आ जाती है और इस कारण जो अच्छी बात हो सकती थी उस में भी गड़बड़ी हो जाती है।

नरसिंह राव चीफ मिनिस्टर बनाए गए हम नरसिंह राव की प्रीवियस हिस्टरी के बारे में हम न जानते हैं और न कहते हैं। लेकिन साधारण तौर से आज तक उनका जो क्वालिफिकेशन हुआ है, उसमें मेरे दिमाग पर यही असर पड़ा है कि वह कोई जन नेता नहीं थे, जनता के ऊपर उनका कोई प्रभाव नहीं था। ऐसे आदमी को जबरदस्ती लाद दिया गया, अपने नामिनि के रूप में वहाँ चीफ मिनिस्टर होने के लिए। आज करीब-करीब हिन्दुस्तान में अधिकांश चीफ मिनिस्टर ऐसे हैं जो प्राइम मिनिस्टर के इशारे पर काम करने वाले आदमी हैं। इसका मतलब यह हुआ कि जो कन्सेप्शन विधान के बनाने के वक्त था कि हर राज्य स्वतंत्र होगा, सेंटर भी स्वतंत्र रहेगा, लेकिन कुछ ऐसा इंटर-कनेक्शन रहेगा जिसकी वजह से दोनों का स्वार्थ एक दूसरे से टकरा भी सकता है, आपस में भिन्नता भी हो सकती, लेकिन आन दि हौल ए वाटेजियस समझ कर वे कांस्टिट्यूशन के मुताबिक काम करेंगे। आज हिन्दुस्तान में जिस ढंग से सारी कार्यवाही हो रही है और जिस ढंग से आदमी चीफ मिनिस्टर के रूप में बैठाए गए हैं उसका नतीजा यह है कि जनता की जो तकलीफ है उसका जो उपाय होना चाहिए लेजिस्लेट्स

की तरफ से या सरकार की तरफ से वह नहीं हो पाता है; क्योंकि मुख्य मंत्री प्रधान मंत्री को मालिक समझता है; न कि जनता को। इस तरह की स्थिति आन्ध्र में भी हुई है और इसीलिए यह मूलकी रूल्स और बटवारे की बातें उठती हैं।

समूचे हिन्दुस्तान में यही हालत है। बिहार में एक आन्दोलन है जिसका मतलब है कि बाहर से वहां लोगों को इम्पोर्ट किया जाता है और वहां के लोगों को जगह नहीं मिलती और वे सब लोग बेकार रहते हैं। बम्बई में एक आन्दोलन शुरू था, उसका भी जन्म इसी स्थिति से हुआ था। इस तरह करीब-करीब समूचे हिन्दुस्तान में इस ढंग की बात हो रही है कि जो न्याय के मुताबिक होना चाहिए एंप्लॉयमेंट वगैरह में वह नहीं होता है, इसलिए गड़बड़ी होती है और उसका नतीजा होता है कि असंतोष रहता है, लेकिन सरकार के मुकाबले में कोई इंडिविजुअल आदमी कुछ कर नहीं पाता है, वह मौका दूँ ढता रहता है कि कब ऐसा मौका आयेगा, जब हंगामा होगा और उस हंगामे में वह सरकार से बदला ले सकेगा। आन्ध्र और दूसरी जगहों में यही हुआ है। इसलिए सबसे बड़ी बात यह है कि सरकार इस स्थिति में सुधार करे।

संयोग की बात है कि हमारे दीक्षित जी होम मिनिस्टर बन गए हैं। पहले प्राइम मिनिस्टर खुद होम मिनिस्टर थी हम नहीं समझते कि जो वह पहले होम मिनिस्टर थी वह अच्छी बात थी। ऐसा भी हमको सुनने में आया है। तमाम विरोधी दल और अपने दल के आदमी कहां पर क्या करता है, क्या उसका डिफेंड है, सारी बातों को होम मिनिस्ट्री के जरिये से इकट्ठा किया जाता है और जरूरत पड़ने पर किसी पत्र के जरिये या किसी पार्टी के आदमी को कह कर या पेपर वालों को कह कर अखबार में कुछ निकाला जाता है और इस तरह से जिसको दबाने की जरूरत रहती है

उसको डरा दिया जाता है, ऐसा हम सुनते हैं।

**श्री उमाशंकर दीक्षित :** यह आप गलत बात कह रहे हैं।

**श्री भूपेन्द्र नारायण मंडल :** नहीं होता हो तो अच्छा है, यह हम चाहते हैं। दीक्षित जी होम मिनिस्टर भी हैं और मैं समझता हूँ कि अगर इस तरह की बात होती हो तो ऐसी बात नहीं होनी चाहिए।

जहां तक नौकरी देने का सवाल है, इसके बारे में मेरी अपनी राय है कि समूचे हिन्दुस्तान के लिए एक पालिसी बने। वह कौनसी पालिसी हो, लोकल जितनी भी नौकरियां हैं, वह नौकरी लोकल लोगों को दी जाए। ऊपर (आल इंडिया) की जो नौकरी है और जिसमें ऐफिशिएंसी वगैरह की जरूरत पड़ती है, उसमें ऐसा किया जाए कि 25 परसेंट पीपुल जो बाहर के है, उनको दिया जाये ऐज ए मैटर आफ राइट। जहां पर लाचारी हो, वहां दूसरी बात है। लेकिन हर राज्य में दूसरे राज्य के लोगों को इस आधार पर इपोर्ट किया जाए। इसकी एक पालिसी बना दें। जहां पर एक दम लाचारी हो जैसे टैक्निकल मैटर वाली बात हो या नो-हाऊ नहीं जानते ऐसे जो एक्स्प्लानल सर्कमस्टेंसेज हैं उसकी बात नहीं, तो हम चाहते हैं कि बड़ी बड़ी जगहों पर हर प्रान्त के आदर्भ जाएं, 25 परसेंट से ज्यादा उनकी सख्य दूसरे राज्यों में नहीं बढ़नी चाहिए इसकी कोशिश होनी चाहिए। इसका नतीजा यह होता है कि उस राज्य का ज मैरिटोरियस आदमी रहता है, वह सड़क प मर जाता है और उसको कोई मौका नहीं मिलता है। कोई आदमी किसी प्रान्त जाकर ऊंची जगह पर बैठ जाए या फिर जाति का जाकर उस बड़ी जगह पर बैठ जाए तो वह अपनी जाति के लोगों को

<sup>1</sup>[श्री भूपेन्द्र नारायण मडल]

बराबर भरना शुरू कर देता है । अपने प्रान्त के लोगो को भरना शुरू कर देता है । मैं चाहूंगा कि इन सब बातों को दीक्षित जी देखेंगे और जो असन्तोष है उसको दूर करने की कोशिश करेंगे । यही मुझे कहना है ।

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI MATI PURABI MUKHOPADHYAY): Mr Shejwalkar to reply Five minutes

श्री ना० कृ० शंजयकर उप-सभापति महोदया, मेरे विवाद के सम्बन्ध में जो मंत्री जी ने सबसे पहले यह कहा कि अगर एस० आर० सी० की रिपोर्ट दोबारा बुलाई गई तो बहुत गड़बड़िया होगी । पहले भी मुझे पता है कि तमाम उसी तरह की बातें कही गईं । क्या उनकी यह मशा मैं समझू कि जो एक बार पहले गलतिया हो चुकी हैं उनको सुधारा नहीं जा सकता है ? क्या मंत्री जी को यह पता नहीं है कि मध्य प्रदेश का जो निर्माण हुआ उसके पीछे कोई तत्व नहीं था । उस रिपोर्ट में यह लिखा हुआ है कि बचा हुआ हिस्सा जो है वह मध्य प्रदेश बने । महाराष्ट्र अलग हो गया और बाकी का राज्य बन गया । यह कोई सिद्धान्त था । उसमें भी आपने देखा होगा कि ललितपुर का जो भाग है वह मध्य प्रदेश के अन्दर एक पूछ की तरह से घुसा हुआ है । उस समय चू कि वह मंत्री श्री गोविन्द वल्लभ पंत जी थे, इसलिए उसको छुआ नहीं जा सका । आज भी अगर आप सीवा से ग्वालियर की ओर जाएं तो 6 बार मध्य प्रदेश और उत्तर प्रदेश की सीमा पार करनी पड़ती है । इसका मतलब यह हुआ कि उस गलती को सुधारा नहीं जा सकता ।

प्रश्न यह है कि आप इन सारी बातों में आगे बढ़ते हैं, मगर आपने कभी सैद्धान्तिक दृष्टि से उसको समझने की और इनफोर्स करने की कोशिश नहीं की ।

एस० आर० सी० की रिपोर्ट आई तो आपने उसको पूरी तरह से नहीं माना । महाराष्ट्र के बारे में आपने जो कमीशन नियुक्त किया, उसको आपने नहीं माना । आप के अन्दर के जो लोग थे उनको आप नहीं मना सके और उसके कारण ये सारी गड़बड़िया हुई जिस का दोष आप दूसरों के ऊपर मढ़ना चाहते हैं । यह उचित नहीं है ।

अब मेरा निवेदन यह है कि जो आपने गैर-जिम्मेदारी के बारे में कहा कि गैर-जिम्मेदारी का मतलब यह है कि आप परिस्थितियों का विचार कर के उसका नतीजा नहीं सोचते । परिस्थितियों पर विचार करके हर एक का असेसमेंट अलग-अलग हो सकता है । अगर आप या प्रधान मंत्री हम को गैर-जिम्मेदार कह सकती हैं, तो आपको भी बुरा नहीं मानना चाहिये, अगर हम आ को गैर-जिम्मेदार कहें । क्योंकि आप भी परिस्थितियों का ठीक आकलन नहीं कर रहे हैं, परिस्थितियों को ठीक समझ नहीं रहे हैं । आज आप भले ही सतोष प्राप्त कर ले, लेकिन आप यह न समझें कि प्रेसिडेंट रूल की वजह से वहां शांति हो गई है । प्रेसिडेंट रूल होने के बाद से वहां अशांति में वृद्धि हुई है । जब आपकी तरफ से बारम्बार अपीलें होने लगी कि शांति आने पर हम कुछ विचार करेंगे, तब वहां कुछ शांति हुई है । लेकिन हम आप को वार्न करना चाहते हैं कि आप किसी गलतफहमी में न रहें । जैसा कि कहा गया कि कुछ लोगों की तरफ से वहां आन्दोलन हो रहा है, यह परिस्थितियों का सही आकलन नहीं है । यदि इसको आप लम्बा खींचते चले गये तो इसके भयंकर परिणाम हो सकते हैं, यह आप अच्छी तरह से समझ लीजिये ।

एडमिनिस्ट्रेशन की दृष्टि से यह कोई अच्छी चीज नहीं है कि हम कि 1 के

दबाव में आकर के कोई बात करें। लेकिन आज तक आपका यही रवैया रहा है। अब आवश्यकता यह है कि आप समस्या का सही हल निकालने की कोशिश करें। हम ने कभी कोई व्यक्तिगत दृष्टिकोण नहीं रखा है। हमने पहले इसका विरोध इसलिए किया था, क्योंकि तेलंगाना के लोग अलग होना चाहते थे और आंध्र के लोग अलग होना नहीं चाहते थे। आज परिस्थिति बिलकुल भिन्न है। आज दोनों अलग-अलग होना चाहते हैं। इस परिवर्तन को आपको ध्यान में रखना चाहिये। यह ठीक नहीं है कि आप कल जिस आधार पर चुनाव लड़ कर के आये उसको आप भूल जायें और उन्हीं लोगों की इच्छाओं के विपरीत आप काम करें। मैं समझता हूँ कि माननीय सदस्यों को इसका ध्यान रखना चाहिये।

हमारे कम्युनिस्ट साथी महोदय जब कभी बंगाल का प्रश्न आया तो उसको सोशियो इकोनामिक प्रॉब्लम कह कर के वहाँ पर जो हिंसात्मक कार्य होते थे, उनको डिफेंड करते रहे। मैं हिंसात्मक कार्य को डिफेंड नहीं कर सकता। जिन-जिन स्थानों पर मैं गया हर जगह सब ने मैंने यही निवेदन किया है कि आप को हिंसा को छोड़ देना चाहिये अन्यथा उनके प्रति दूसरे में जो सद्भावना है वह खत्म हो जायगी। होम मिनिस्टर साहब इस की जांच करवा सकते हैं। हमने अपने प्राइवेट वर्क्स को भी इसी तरह से समझाया है; क्योंकि हम जनतंत्र में विश्वास करते हैं। हम हिंसा में बिलकुल विश्वास नहीं रखते हैं।

आपने कहा कि दो प्रदेश हो जायेंगे तो उसके कारण डबल खर्चा हो जायगा। दो असेम्बली हो जाने से असेम्बली के मेम्बर नहीं बढ़ जायेंगे। यह बात ठीक है कि मंत्री बढ़ जायेंगे। मैं इसके पक्ष में हूँ कि हर प्रदेश में मंत्रियों की संख्या निश्चित कर दी जाय और किसी भी सूरत में कहीं

8 मंत्रियों से ज्यादा नहीं होनी चाहिये। लेकिन यह आपके हाथ में है। इसके लिए कांस्टिट्यूशन में किसी संशोधन की आवश्यकता नहीं है। जिन-जिन प्रदेशों में आपके दल की सरकारें हैं, वहाँ आप यह निश्चित कर दीजिये कि वहाँ 8 से ज्यादा मंत्री नहीं होने चाहिये, यदि आप को वास्तव में खर्चा बचाना है।

अब अगर दा असेम्बलीज हो जाये तो थोड़ा बहुत खर्च तो जरूर बढ़ेगा, लेकिन उसके साथ-साथ जो लोगों को ट्रेनिंग करनी पड़ती है एक सिरे से दूसरे सिरे तक, मध्य प्रदेश में भोपाल से बस्तर जाना पड़ता है, एक हजार मील का फासला है, जिसमें दो तीन दिन लगते हैं तो छोटे प्रान्त बनने से मंत्रियों के दोरे और अधिकारियों के दोरे के भत्ते में कितनी कमी होगी इसको आप सोचें। आप इस पर विचार करिये कि खर्च में कितना फर्क पड़ेगा। इससे खर्चा कम हो सकता है और लोगों को सुविधा हो सकती है। और केवल यही आधार नहीं हो सकता कि जिस के कारण आप छोटे प्रवेश न बनाये।

आपने एक और बात कही कि असेट्स का विभाजन कैसे होगा और बड़े-बड़े जो काम हैं वे कैसे होंगे। आज क्या होता है। आज भी ऐसे बहुत से क्षेत्र हैं जिनमें दोनों राज्यों को अपना हिस्सा बाटना पड़ता है और कोई भी सर्वसम्मत हल तो नहीं निकलेगा यह मैं मानता हूँ। हर बात में थोड़ा बहुत डिसएग्रीमेंट तो होगा ही, लेकिन मेजर डिसएग्रीमेंट नहीं हो सकता है। इसलिए मैं आग्रहपूर्वक निवेदन करूंगा कि मैं तो यह समझता हूँ कि मारिस्वामी जा की धारणा भले ही दूसरा हो, लेकिन मैं समझता हूँ कि इस का हल आप निकालेंगे अवश्य और मैं कोई एलीगेशन करना नहीं चाहता, लेकिन यह कहा गया कि हम लोग डिलाइवरेटो ऐसी बातें कह रहे हैं, इसलिए मुझे भी मजबूर हो कर कहना पड़ रहा है कि कांग्रेस के लोग जो अधिकार में हैं वे जब कोई

[श्री ना० क० शेजवलकर]

निर्णय लेते हैं तो इस बात को दृष्टि में रख कर कोई निर्णय लेते हैं कि उनके दल का हित किस बात में है। यह एक दुर्भाग्यपूर्ण बात है; क्योंकि निर्णय करते समय बाकी बातों की उनको कोई चिन्ता रहती और इसलिए इस बात को ध्यान में रख कर ही वे कोई निर्णय लेंगे कि इस परिस्थिति का लाभ उनको कैसे मिलेगा। मारिस्वामी जी को विश्वास हो या न हो, लेकिन मुझे विश्वास है कि यह दोनों अलग-अलग राज्य बनेंगे, जरूर बनेंगे, लेकिन वह बनेंगे जभी जब कि उनका लाभ आपके दल की दृष्टि में और प्रधान मंत्री जी की दृष्टि में सबसे अधिक उनका मिल सकता होगा। यह मेरी धारणा है। इसलिए मैं आपसे गंभीरता से निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि वहाँ कम से कम जनसब के लिए किसी पक्ष का प्रश्न नहीं है। इसलिये मैं निःअ व्यक्ति के नाते जो कुछ बड़ा अध्ययन कर आया हूँ, फिर आपसे निवेदन करता हूँ कि आप इस सबध में गंभीरता से विचार करें। मैं वहाँ के लिये कोई महत्व का व्यक्ति नहीं हूँ और मेरा वहाँ पर कोई प्रभाव नहीं है लेकिन मुझे विश्वास है कि अगर आप अपील करें कि वहाँ किसी प्रकार की अशान्ति न हो तो लोग आपकी उस बात को मानेंगे वशर्त कि आप आगे के लिए उनको कोई निश्चित आश्वासन दें। वह आपकी बात को तभी मान सकते हैं जब कि आप उनकी भावनाओं को समझें और मैं धन्यवाद देता हूँ उन सभी माननीय सदस्यों को जिन्होंने मेरे प्रस्ताव के पक्ष में अपने विचार प्रकट किये हैं और उसके लिए सहमति दी है और सदन से मैं प्रार्थना करता हूँ कि वह मेरे प्रस्ताव का अनुमोदन करें।

SHRI UMASHANKAR DIKSHIT:

Madam, Vice-Chairman, I must say that all the members have taken a very responsible attitude over the question and as far as I have understood, them except perhaps Shri Shejwalkar, not one member has really opposed the proposition before the

House. In fact Mandalji went so far as to say that the question is not of revoking it, but to consider how to proceed to solve the problem which the people of Andhra Pradesh and the country are facing. He has very correctly stated that position. In fact I have carefully followed the speeches and no one has really opposed the Resolution. I must express my appreciation of this and I must also express my appreciation of the very restrained manner in which even Shri Shejwalkar has framed his reply, although he has naturally and legitimately criticised the opinions against his own stand. Still he has taken a very co-operative and very understanding attitude.

Madam, Vice-Chairman, I shall be very brief. I do not want to take much of the time of the House at this time of the day. But I wish to refer briefly to the main points made by all the Members who have spoken on the Resolution.

Shri Mariswamy referred to an allegation or he himself alleged that discrimination is being practised in the jails and that while the Telangana prisoners are getting Rs. 7 per day, the Andhra prisoners are getting only Rs. 4. I have inquired into the matter and I am informed that really there is no such discrimination there. Money is spent according to classification and there is absolutely no discrimination. If any jail officer has committed such a mistake and if I am informed about it, I will take action. But this is not the practice and this is not the rule.

Then he and Tyagiji and Banarsidasji and some other honourable Members have said that the Government should have one definite opinion,

should declare it, should pursue it and see that it is accepted by all. They have said, maybe as a matter of criticism, that we are not taking any forthright stand either for separation or against separation.

Madam, I would like the honourable Members to appreciate the fact that the Congress party, the Government, have a democratic way of functioning. I do not know whether you will all agree with me on this: Under the Prime Ministership of Shrimati Indira Gandhi, on every important matter, an effort has been made not only to carry the largest measure of consensus or approval of the party members, but also to carry the consensus of the people outside the party, the members of the Opposition, and even others, when we come to know that there is a responsible person or an eminent person having a strong opinion from whom we can learn with profit, his opinion also we want to have. It is not, therefore, correct to claim, in the present situation, the monopoly of wisdom and to announce and say that this and this alone shall be done and that our opinion shall be imposed on the people. What we propose to do, Madam, is to reach the minds and hearts of the people from both sides. It is perhaps not fully appreciated that it is a very delicate matter. Now, if we do something which appears to be too favourable to Telangana, the Andhra region people might misunderstand us and if we do or say something which appears to be particularly favourable to or partial towards or is capable of being called partial towards the Andhra region, the other side will react. In such circumstances, I plead for a full understanding of the situation and of the approach that we have taken and the manner in which we have functioned since the situation exploded suddenly. It is true that neither at the Centre nor at the State level was there any advance or full assessment or anticipation of the events that took place afterwards. But now, apart from what happened in the past, we do want to deal with the situation with all the

understanding and sympathy and tact and restraint so that we first understand why, after the matter had been settled, after both the parties had reconciled themselves to this and had shown their fact of reconciliation over a period of months and when there was no reason to doubt the fact that they were getting on nicely and in a spirit of understanding these things happened.

Our first job is to know why the Andhra region people were agitating. What is it that has agitated them and embittered them? There must be things. Speaking for myself, I have no doubt that if we know what has gone wrong, what has upset people, we should be able to persuade them, to persuade all our friends, persuade all the people concerned, to accept a reasonable solution. To this end, all our efforts will be directed. Therefore, it is not really proper that we should be misunderstood if we do not announce from the housetops a prior made decision and to announce that we shall impose it. That is not our way. That should not be done, in my opinion.

It has been said, rather unkindly, that this agitation and all this conflict is our own creation. Nothing could be more fantastic, more unkind and more baseless than such a statement. After all, no party, no party leader, would do something which goes basically against their own interests, against their own position, against their own declared intentions. No such unfair inference should be drawn. I do not want to say anything about what the Opposition or other people in the Swatantra or other groups in Andhra have done or not done. I have information on the subject. I did give some indication at an informal get-together which took the form of a Press conference the other day. But no use ful purpose would be served by my trying to narrate the terror stories, alleged to have been committed. Without giving details I must refer to the terrorism which has been practised on a large scale, people have not been allowed to go out of their



[Shri Umashankar Dikshit]  
houses, fish plates have been removed, rails have been displaced, and hundreds and thousands of people have been affected. In such a situation, no one who did not openly subscribe to the position of separation was allowed to live in peace. No public position could be taken against separation. But that is not to say that the mass of the people or the majority of the people wanted this. I know it for a fact from statements made to me by representatives of backward people, Harijans, tribals, minority communities, minority castes. They were frightened by the prospect of what might happen if this situation was not properly controlled, and from the way things developed people were made to say things and sign statements, etc. from that, it would not be correct to infer that the whole of Andhra or the bulk of the people were behind this movement and these violent activities. A kind of anarchy prevailed. In most districts there was hardly any District Administration. Revenue was not being collected. Procurement was at a standstill. No relief works were strated. No relief works were allowed to be taken up. In fact, at one time—I believe I am not disclosing a Cabinet secret—it was decided that at least two more Ministers should be taken, one of whom would take charge of procurement of foodgrains and the other to help some relief works to be started. Smuggling on 6 P.M. a large scale took place and the local police was not able to prevent it. We had reports that in some cases they even encouraged it or allowed this kind of smuggling to go on.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Have you got a list of those officers?

SHRI UMASHANKAR DIKSHIT: I do not think it will be useful in this discussion if I disclose the names.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: I am not asking you to give out the names. If you have a list of officers who behaved as you are saying they did, i.e.

helped smuggling and spread violence, I want to know whether you have a policy of dealing with these officials.

SHRI UMASHANKAR DIKSHIT: Every aspect of the situation will be dealt with properly. Wherever strength is necessary, strength will be used. Wherever sympathy is necessary, sympathy will be shown. Again I repeat that it is not proper for the House to expect us to take some kind of an oversimplified line of action or a straight-jacket approach in dealing with the problem.

At one time, Shri Banarsi Dassji supported and at another time he criticised. But if I have understood him correctly, the balance of his speech was in favour of the maintenance of the President's rule for dealing with the situation properly. He said: if it is good to have separation, have separation; if it is good to have integration, have integration. By and large, that is not something about which I should quarrel with him.

Shri Bhupesh Gupta has made a very impressive speech and I was particularly surprised by the remarkable knowledge of facts he has obtained possibly through his party ranks. I do not say that every bit of information given by him is correct, but the direction to which these facts or the statement made by him point, has been correctly brought out and I must say that the Communist Party of India has taken a very consistent stand in the matter. At the time when they began to play their role in the area, the situation was very tough and I am not sure whether any activity proved effective at that time. Some uncharitable friends tried to imply that those who did not go right into the middle of the fray, showed less than propriety in their attitude. Well, I do not agree with them. I think that in practising restraint and not provoking counter-action, our friends have acted wisely. He said that he was pained to know about the condition in which the students have

been drawn into the movement and functioning there. You see they are impressionable young minds and when an attractive slogan is placed before them they are drawn into the movement. I must say—I hope I will not be misunderstood—that I feel distressed over the fact that over a lakh, a hundred thousand, or more of non-gazetted officers, clerks and assistants have not got their pay for more than 2½ months. I understand some dole, an amount of Rs. 40/- or Rs. 50/- each has been paid to them.

As some hon. Member has pointed out, there is now a great dispute raging there as to whether the money collected for paying them was really fully paid to the N.G.Os. or not; but that is beside the point. The point is that I share the distress, but I really cannot understand why they should be continuing to take a barren path like this. I have been talked to by some Andhra friends and some strangers also. Five ladieswives of N.G.Os. perhaps came to me. They were very angry, they went for me and, well, used as strong a language as is possible for women to use. I explained the policy to them and told them "You go and tell your husbands" and showed them the way. They said "We cannot at this stage, do anything. We are all getting tired of all this and if somebody intervenes sympathetically we think our people will come back soon to join their services". I am told that the Civil Surgeons have joined already the Assistant Civil Surgeons are also considering the matter.

The N.G.Os., whose entry really made all this difference, really need our understanding and I hope that the word will go to them that if they decide and take a rational line and express their willingness to go back to their posts a reasonable and an understanding approach will be shown from our side.

Our friend, Mr. Anandam has said that services should not be involved in political movements and I entire-

ly agree with him. In this case, peculiarly enough, it is not that they have been particularly brought into it; but because of historical reasons—as I said earlier the Mulki Rules brought these N.G.Os. into the vortex of this trouble.

Mr. K.P.S. Menon was trying to say that we have unnecessarily carried out the wishes of the Supreme Court. He was saying that the Supreme Court was very wrong in having revived those mediaeval Mulki Rules, etc. He may find it difficult to understand why we are affected by such judgments, but I need hardly point out that in the policy that we have adopted, of socialism with democracy we have to accept the rule of law. It is the basis of our political existence.

**SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA:** But you must have noted how the Andhra High Court and other courts are behaving. They are actually behaving as part of the separatist movement—letting off people, not applying the law, giving all kinds of rulings, confusing interpretations and contradicting each other.

**SHRI UMASHANKAR DIKSHIT:** Madam, in such cases individuals might have committed wrong; that can be considered accordingly. I am saying that this is a restriction which the founding fathers of the Constitution had imposed upon the people and we have to accept this restriction, this limitation in our functioning. Why I myself mentioned the three differing judgements earlier was to point out how the situation has arisen. You may blame the Government of India for our mistakes. We do not say that we are infallible, no solution can be infallible. शेजवलकर

जी ने कहा कि वह फैसला ठीक नहीं हुआ। मेरा निवेदन है कि कोई ठीक फैसला, आदर्श फैसला या सर्वथा निर्दोष फैसला हो नहीं सकता फैसला हम वे करना चाहते हैं और हमने किये हैं और इस तरह से, कि जिन का सम्बन्ध है

[Shri Uma Shanker Dikshit ]

उनकी अधिक से अधिक सहमति और अधिक से अधिक स्वीकृति मिल सके। आप एक भी हमारा फैसला ऐसा नहीं बता सकते जिस में हमने यह नीति न बरती हो।

**श्री मान सिंह वर्मा :** मैं माननीय मंत्री जी से यह जानना चाहता हूँ कि जैसा कि उन्होंने अभी कहा है कि प्रजातांत्रिक हमारी प्रणाली है और वे सभ्य भी प्रजातंत्र में विश्वास करते हैं . . . . .

**श्री उमाशंकर दीक्षित :** जरूर।

**श्री मान सिंह वर्मा :** . . और इनकी सरकार वहाँ पर चल रही है, तो इसका फैसला करने के लिए अगर ओपिनियन पोल्स करा लिया जाय तो मैं समझता हूँ कि वह सब से अच्छा साधन होगा। उससे पता लग जायगा कि जनता क्या चाहती है। उसके लिए क्या आप तैयार है।

**श्री उमाशंकर दीक्षित :** मेरा निवेदन यह है कि अगर कोई छोटा प्रश्न हो तो उसका बड़ा हल नहीं निकालना चाहिये। पुलिस छोटी फौज आये तो उसके लिए बड़ी फौज ले कर जाने की जरूरत नहीं है। मामूली से काम करा लेना चाहिये। किसी सवाल को हम बड़ा करें और ऐसा कर दें कि सारे देश में एक संघर्ष, एक अशांति एक अनिश्चितता व्याप्त हो जाय तो ऐसा हम नहीं करना चाहते। इसमें हमें आप की सहायता और आप का सहयोग चाहते हैं।

मिस्टर मेनन ने कहा कि पंचसूत्री निर्णय एक पक्षी था और उसको हमें नहीं मानना चाहिये। I must go back to English. Mr. Menon forgot one thing that the five-point formula was not one-sided. It did not merely give some protection to Telengana side but it secured, provided guarantee to the measures very much in favour of Andhra region also. Unfortunately, because the

sentiments were roused and the agitation started, those five points became difficult to understand.

Then Mr. Mandal and Mr. Menon said that all this is due to unemployment. Well, unemployment is there, I do not say that unemployment is not there. The highest possible priority must be given for dealing with the problem, for eradicating the evil but to say that every problem is caused by unemployment, that the Mulki Rules judgment was given by unemployment, that five-point formula....

**SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA:** The Mulki Rules judgment was given by unemployed Judges.

**SHRI UMASHANKAR DIKSHIT:** In this case, they were employed Judges. But, Madam, it is trying to over-simplify a rather complicated situation. Local emotions have been roused, powerful sentiments have gained should and there if we try to say that this is all due to unemployment and if we solve unemployment then Andhra or Assam problem will be solved, all I can say about it is that the hon. Members concerned have not tried to go deeply into the problem, or to understand the full significance of the situation that has arisen in Andhra. Our Mandalji got rather excited; he mentioned several reasons why the things are not to his liking. He also mentioned the Prime Minister in that context. I am afraid he does not know our Prime Minister well enough. It is not good manners. I think it would not be quite proper for the Prime Minister to make an exhibition of her readiness to encourage other parties or to say that she will not continue indefinitely as Prime Minister. I really cannot understand this. Let them understand how parliamentary democracy functions. I claim, Madam, that India is the only country where parliamentary democracy is functioning with so much freedom, so much success. No where in Asia, Africa, South America, and if our friends in other countries do not mind—even in Europe—is there greater

freedom, and greater success of parliamentary democracy, excepting perhaps one or two countries which I do not want to mention. Let us not unnecessarily decry everything. Why do you want to weaken and undermine the public confidence? We are all human beings. If you say that we are monsters, we are wrong, everything is wrong, I beg to differ. No, Madam Vice-Chairman everything is not wrong. I think the country is proceeding with a great measure of confidence and dealing with Herculean problems with such success that even our friends in the Opposition in their heart of hearts appreciate it; at least some of them have expressed it.

Madam, there are only two more things to mention and I won't take much more time. It was said that the Chief Minister has made a mess of it, that he was wrongly chosen, that he did not have the support of the people etc. These are all substantially incorrect statements. I was concerned with it. Of course it is not my business to give an account of the party processes. Mr. Subramaniam and myself went there, we met everybody concerned. I did not understand Telugu and therefore we had Mr. Subrabaniam. He understood to some extent. There were other people also. We noted down the names and we asked everybody. They forget that the name had near unanimous consent earlier, earlier than the meeting where the decision was taken formally. All the important leaders including Dr. Chenna Reddy, Mr. Brahmananda Reddy—mention any other name you like—who were then there blessed this. I asked everybody. I went to Mr. Brahmananda Reddy's house and received his approval. In fact except Sanjivayyaji whose health was not good, no other alternative was mentioned. No other name was projected. So to say now that the choice was not correct is not fair. Well, I do not say that choices are all correct,

I am not here holding any briefs but he had been a Minister for several years. He was well known for his intellectual keenness and freedom from controversy. He was not a new man just picked up from somewhere. There is another thing. I would request hon. Members not to forget that his decision firmly to go through with the land reforms and not to reduce the ceiling as was done in some other parts of India, has not been forgotten by the people who were adversely affected. The rumblings came to me. The Chief Minister may also have heard them. If he failed to understand the situation it was his fault. History does not spare institutions or men in such situations. We got the rumblings and we were not surprised when we were told that huge quantities of rice were being smuggled out and sold in Kerala and elsewhere and that there was an understanding that out of the sale proceeds payments were to be made. We understood the situation. Still we were anxious that exports should not be allowed either duly or unduly, legally or illegally, because we were worried that as soon as conditions came to normal we would have to take direct responsibility for feeding the people and for starting test works. That is one of the reasons why we feel heart broken over this tragic situation.

I hope I have not omitted any important point. Mr. Shejwalkar, I have already said, was trying to pick holes in the recommendations. He was trying to find fault with the recommendations of the States Reorganisation Commission that reported in 1956. Madam, this is trying to be wise very much after the event. A major operation took place. The leaders of the country—not only the Congress—committed the country to the principle of reorganisation of the States on the linguistic basis. The British had their own divide-and-rule policy. We did not want to go by it. We deliberately I can say with knowledge, accepted the difficult path. It was the only path which was accep-

[Shri Umashankar Dikshit]  
table to the people at that time. I was in close touch with the movement in Karnataka, Andhra Pradesh, and also in Maharashtra. It was very strongly going on in Maharashtra. I would request Mr. Shejwalkar to understand that the linguistic reorganisation has given stability to the country, emotional stability to the country. If anyone is inclined to disregard the importance of language in the total emotion of man, he is very much mistaken. I would only point to the recent incident of Bangladesh. Their religion was the same. Administratively they had become one and emotionally they wanted to remain in Pakistan. Otherwise, they would have rebelled at that very time. What is it that finally made the difference? Language. Bangladesh never accepted any other language. Among the first measures of reform they have adopted is the one to accept Bengali as their natural language. Therefore, for us to say that language is not important would be forgetting or ignoring an important lesson of history. You see the history of Europe. You see what happened in the European scene and elsewhere in the 20th century. Language has prevailed. That is why we went as far as possible to meet the requirements of the people, so that emotional dissatisfaction did not continue in this field.

Madam, I have taken more time than I wished to take. I want to close my remarks with a very sincere appeal to all Members of Parliament and Members of this House particularly to understand our approach and not to say or do anything which would, for any reason, good, bad or indifferent, disturb the atmosphere. We have made some progress and as Bhupesh Guptaji said, a certain measure of improvement has taken place. We do not want to claim any credit for this. It is not a pleasant matter at all to have to control your own brethren with the help of the police or the armed police. I assure you

that this is not our approach. When things were burning, nothing else could be done except through some show of force and the use of force, I think some hon. Member Mr. Chandramouli, made rather wild allegations. I am sorry to say that. Possibly because he himself was affected and got involved in one of the incidents, he has not yet forgotten and forgiven it. In any case I hope a successful end to this rather unpleasant chapter in our present history can be brought about. We can meet the situation but we can have a reasonable chance of success only with understanding and co-operation from all sections of this House and the other House. With these words, I commend this motion to the acceptance of the House.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRIMATI PURABI MUKOPADHYAY): I shall now put the first Motion first to vote. The question is:

"That this House recommends to the President that the Proclamation issued by the President on the 18th Janpar, 1973 under article 356 of the Constitution, in relation to the State of Andhra Pradesh, be revoked."

*The motion was negatived.*

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN: I shall now put the Resolution to vote. The question is:

"That this House approves 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."

*The motion was adopted.*

SHRI LOKANATH MISRA: Madam, I would like to inform the hon. Home Minister that the Rajya Sabha seat in Orissa has been lost by the Congress.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI-MATI PURABI MUKHOPADHYAY): It is irrelevant. I rule it out. It has got no relevance to the discussion that we have had just now.

The House stands adjourned till

11.00 A.M. tomorrow

The House then adjourned at twenty-six minutes past six of the clock till eleven of the clock on Friday, the 2nd March, 1973.