श्री ना० कु० शेजवलकर (मध्य प्रदेश): उपसभापति जी, मैं ग्रापकी ग्राज्ञा से निम्न-लिखित प्रस्ताव उपस्थित करता हं:---

"यह सभा राष्ट्रपति से सिफारिश करती है कि राष्ट्रपति द्वारा 18 जनवरी, 1973 को संविधान के अनुच्छेद 356 के अधीन आन्ध्र प्रदेश राज्य के सम्बन्ध में जारी की गई उद्घोषणा को प्रतिसंहरण किया जाये।"

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: You may speak after lunch.

The House stands adjourned till 2

P.M.

The House then adjourned for lunch at fifty seven minutes past one of the clock.

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

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

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

SHRI N. K. SHEJWALKAR (Madhya Pradesh): Sir, I move:

"That this House recommends to the President that 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, be revoked."

माननीय उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, जिस विषय के सम्बन्ध में चर्चा होने जा रही है, वह आज अपने देश की बहुत प्रमुख समस्याओं में से है और हो सकता है कि इसके सम्बन्ध में जो भी निर्णय लिए जाएंगे उनका बहुत दूरगामी परिणाम होगा । मैं पूर्व में भी एक बार आन्ध्र प्रदेश के कुछ क्षेव में जाकर आया हूं और अभी हाल में पुनः आंन्ध्र प्रदेश के पश्चिमी

किनारे की तरफ भी गया हूं, उसके पर्याध्व स्थानों पर जाकर ग्राया हं । मैंने ग्रनभव किया है कि वहां एक भी व्यक्ति प्रगट रूप में ऐसा कहते हुए दिखाई नहीं देता जो इन्टीग्रेणन के पक्ष में हो और तैलंगाना और ग्रान्ध्र दोनों को साथ-साथ रखने के पक्ष में हो, यहां तक कि रात के 11-साढे 11 बजे तक भी हजारों की तादाद में लोग इन्तजार करते रहे ग्रीर वे जानना चाहते थे कि संसद से जो व्यक्ति ग्राया है. दिल्ली में उसकी क्या प्रतिकिया है। एलुरु, अमलापुरम, राजमहेन्द्री, सामरल-कोटा, काकीनाडा, रामचन्द्रपुरम, एलामंचली, अनकापल्ली, विशाखापत्तनम और विजयनगरम इन स्थानों के लोगों से मैं प्रत्यक्ष मिल कर ग्रा रहा हं। वहां की जनता में क्षोभ भी है और खेद भी है कि इस जन-ग्रान्दोलन पर ग्रकारण दोष मढने की जो किया चल रही है, वह ग्रच्छी बात नहीं है। वास्तव में समस्या का हल क्या निकला इसकी चर्चा करने के पहले योडा इसके संक्षेप में इतिहास को देख लेना जरूनी है । श्रीमन इस वर्तमान ग्रांध्र प्रदेश में 21 जिले में, उन 21 जिलों में से 12 जिले एसे हैं जो नान-तेलंगाना क्षेत्र के हैं ग्रौर 9 भतपुर्व हैदराबाद रियासत के जिले हैं, जिसके लिए ग्रलग नेलंगाना की मांग की जा रही है। सुप्रीम कोर्ट ने 3-10-72 को मल्की रूल के सम्बन्ध में जो निर्णय दिया. उसके बाद यह समस्या फिर से जोर पकड चकी है । वैसे तो मैं पुरे इतिहास में नहीं जाता, किन्तु पृथक तेलंगाना को मांग मैं समझता हं कि उसी समय से शुरू हो गई थी जिस समय ग्रांध्र प्रदेश का निर्माण हया था। यह बडे खेद को बात है कि पिछले 16 वर्षों के भी लोंगों भीतर के ग्रान्दर एक दसरे के प्रति जिस प्रकार का विश्वास उत्पन्न होना चाहिए, दोनों क्षेत्रों की जनता में वह विश्वास नहीं। उत्पन्न हो पाया मल्की रूल का एक वडा भारी बबंडर. भारी झगडा खडा हो गया । उसके 3-10-72 के निर्णय के बाद स्थान स्थान पर उसकी भिन्न-भिन्न प्रतिक्रियायें हई । हैदराबाद

Re- Proclamation 223 [RAJYA SABHA] issued

[Shri N. K. Shejwalkar.]

ग्रीर तेलंगाना का जो भाग था वह भी इसके पक्ष में नहीं था। जो कुछ हम्रा है बस उनके लिए हितकर है या नहीं, उसके बारे में उनको स्पष्ट ज्ञान नहीं था विशेष कर जबकि प्रधान मंत्री जी ने अपने 5 सूत्री कार्यंक्रम की घोषणा 27-1 !- 72 को की तो उनके कारण और भी समस्या उलझ गई । वैसे तो सुप्रीम कोर्ट के निर्णय के बाद एलरु में जहां मैं अभी जाकर आया, 25-10-72 को एक वड़ा भारी सम्मेलन हम्रा था विद्यार्थियों और जनता की ग्रोर से, जिसमें तत्कालीन मध्य मंत्री भी सम्मिलित हुए थे, लेकिन वह लोगों का समाधान नहीं कर सके और फिर उसके बाद नया जो ऐजिटेशन म्राज वहां हो रहा है, उसकी गुरुआत वहां से होती है। कल मुझे सौभाग्य प्राप्त हथा था कि लोक सभा में उस सम्बन्ध में चर्चा जो चल रही थी उसके बारे में कुछ सूनुं। यह कहा जाता है कि यह जनतंत्र के तत्वों के विपरीत है और इस प्रकार की जो हिंसात्मक कार्यवाहियां वहां हई हैं उनके बारे में विचार ठीक समझ कर करना चाहिये । मेरा ऐसा निवेदन है कि शायद इसमें कुछ ग्रप्रचार भी है, हिंसा को कोई भी बढ़ावा नहीं देना चाहता । लेकिन हिंसा कौन कर रहा है, किस कारण किससे हिंसा हई है, इसके बारे में भी मैं ग्रापके सामने कुछ तथ्य (Interruptions) जैसा प्रस्तत करूंगा यहां भी कहने में था रहा है कि जनसंघ के लोग भी उसमें सम्मिलित हैं, मैं बताऊंगा कि कौन इसमें शामिल है। मैं सब प्रमाण लाया हं श्रौर सदन के सामने वह प्रस्तुत करने वाला हें ।

सबसे पहले शांतिपूर्ण म्रान्दोलन की शरुग्रात 21-11-72 को हई, जिस दिन पूरे प्रदेश के अन्दर, आंध्र प्रदेश के भाग के अन्दर वन्द की घोषणा की गई ग्रौर उस दिन वहां बन्द हुआ। लेकिन कुछ स्थानों पर उस दिन गोली चलाई गयी ग्रीर वह ग्रकारण, अधिक शक्ति का प्रयोग था, अपनी शक्ति का दुरुन्योग था। यह बात मिरसापुर के बार

by President relating 224 to Andhra Pradesh

एसोसियेशन ने एक ग्रभिभावकों की जो कमेटी बनाई थी तीन स्थानों पर जो एक प्रकार की एँक्सेस हई उनके सम्बन्ध में उन्होंने जो कमेटी बनाई, उसकी रिपोर्ट मेरे पास है। मैं उसे प्रस्तूत करने के लिए तैयार हूं। एक स्थान पर जैसा कि ग्रभी मेरे एक मित्र ने कहा बायलेंस हया उसके लिए कौन उत्तरदायी था। में भूपेश नृप्त जी को बताना चाहता हूं कि राजमंदरी में जो कुछ हुन्ना उसके सम्बन्ध में मेरे पास चार सुफा की रिपोर्ट है। उसमें उन्होंने बताया है कि केवल कम्युनिस्ट पार्टी ने उत्पात मचाने की कोशिश की है। पता नहीं सरकार के पास इस सम्बन्व में जानकारी है या नहीं और ग्रगर जानकारी है तो क्या करना चाहती है।

यह वर्तमान जो ग्रान्दोलन चल रहा है, इसका जो ट्रेड है, ग्रागे जिस तरफ यह जा रहा है, मैं पूछना चाहता हूं कि ग्राखिर जनतंत्र में ग्राप किस प्रकार के ग्रान्दोलनों की ग्रपेक्षा करते हैं । जब हम कहते हैं कि डेमो-केसी जिन्दा रहेतो डेमोकेसी को जिन्दा रखने का काम खद सरकार का भी है। जब जनता कोई मांग उपस्थित करती है जो उसके ऊपर शीघ्रातिशीघ्र विचार करना शासन का सबसे पहला कर्तव्य होना चाहिए । ग्राज देखने में यह ब्राता है कि जब कहीं कोई इस प्रकार का ग्रान्दोलन उठता है तो उससे पहले शासन उस पर ध्यान नहीं देता है। जब पानी सिर से ऊपर जाने लगता है तब शासन ऐसी कार्य-बाही करने लगता है. जिससे स्थिति और नम्भीर हो जाती है।

श्रीमन, में एक उदाहरण प्रस्तुत करना चाइता हं। बिलासपुर में जो रेलवे के कर्मचारी हैं वे बहुत दिनों से कुछ मांगें करते चले आ रहे थे, लेकिन उनकी मांगें नहीं मानी गईँ। जब उन्होंने रेलें रोकना आरम्भ कर दिया तब उन पर गोली चल गई, लेकिन उनकी मांगें भी तूरन्त मान ली गईं। यदि पहले उनकी मांगें मान ली जातीं तो शायद इस प्रकार की परिस्थिति उत्पन्न

issued

नहीं होती। यही स्थिति हर मामले में देखने में ग्राती है। सरकार सबसे कोग्रापरेणन की मांग करती है। खुद प्रधान मंत्री जी ने यहां सदन में कहा कि हमग्रपेक्षा करते हैं कि सारे विरोधी पक्ष के लोग ग्रीर सारे संसद सदस्य राष्ट्र की समस्याएं हल करने में सहयोग करेंगे, लेकिन दूसरी तरफ उनको "इर्रेस्पां-सिबिल " ज्ञब्द का प्रयोग करने में कोई हिचकिचाहट नहीं होती है। जनसंघ ने जो प्रस्ताव किया कि दूबारा स्टेटस रिम्रागेंना -इजेकन फमीशन बनाया जाय, उसको उन्होंने इर्रेस्पांसिविल कह दिया। यदि इस सम्बन्ध में उनके पास कौई तर्क था तो उसको वे प्रस्तुत करतीं, लेकिन ऐसा न करके "इर्रेस्पांसिबिल" शब्द का प्रयोग करना कहां तक उसकी रेस्पांसिविलिटी का द्योतक है, इसका श्रीमन, ग्राप स्वय ग्रनुमान लगा सकते हैं। यह कोई नई मांग नहीं थी। चार वर्ष पूर्व जो हमारा अधिवेशन हुआ था उसमें भी यह मांग रखी गई थी । यदि स्टेटस रिम्रागेंनाइजेशन कमीशन का गठन हो तो जनता में इस सम्बन्ध में जो भावनाएं हैं उनको सुनने ग्रौर समझने का ग्रवसर प्राप्त होगा। न कि जो है किसी को सुने बगैर यहां स्टेट-मेंट दे देना कि हम कुछ करने के लिए तैयार नहीं हैं। मैं नहीं समझता कि यह तरीका ठीक है। जिसको लीगल पैलेसी कहते हैं, इसी तरह की प्रजातन में एक यह पैलेसी है और यह स्वाभाविक है कि एक तरफ तो हम कहते हैं कि पालियामेंट निर्णय करती है और उस में एक बहमत दल होता है, उस का निर्णय होता है, लेकिन उस बहमत दल में भी कुछ लोगों का निगँय ही सामने आता है और उस के अधीन ही सारी कार्यवाही की जाती है। कल चर्चा के समय एक बात सामने आयी कि यदि प्रधान मंत्री संतुष्ट हो जायं तो भी एक कविंसिंग आर्गमेंट सामने ग्राना चाहिए । कविसिंग ग्रागमेंट सुनने के लिए आप तैयार हैं क्या ? में दे सकता हं और में उसे प्रस्तुत करूगा। मेरे पास वह है, लेकिन कभी आप ने कविसिंग आग्मेंट सूनने का प्रयास किया है। यह वात ग्राज 12 RS-8.

पैदा हो गयी कविसिंग आर्गू मेंट की, लेकिन जब आपने 5 सूती कायंकम जबरदस्ती रखा था तो क्या थ्राप ने उनसे यह वात पूछी थी। इस की जिम्मेदारी किस पर है? मैं आपको बतलाउंगा कि इस का इतिहास देखने से आपको पता लगेगा कि आखिर यह मांग जो है वह किसी एक प्रान्त को दो प्रान्त करने की मांग नहीं है, यह वास्तव में उनको पहले जो एक करने की कोशिश थी वह ग्राज नाकामयाब हो गयी है और उन को केवल पूर्व परिस्थिति में लाने का प्रश्न है। क्या यह नये सिरे से कोई विभाजन है, ऐसा विचार करना ही में समझता हूं कि गलत दिशा में विचार करना होगा।

सब से पहले में जो इसका इतिहास है भाषा-वार प्रान्त रचना का, उसके सबध में कुछ बतलाना चाहता हूं। सबसे पहले कांग्रेस के ढारा 1908 में इसकी मांग की गयी थी श्रीर उन्होंने निजी रूप में बिहार और सिंध वगैरह को अलग-अलग करने का विचार कर लिया था श्रीर उसके आधार पर ही सोचना शुरु कर दिया था। यह सवाल उस समय से शुरु हूआ है। 1947 में जब भारत स्वतंत्र हुआ है। 1947 में जब भारत स्वतंत्र हुआ है। 1947 में जब भारत स्वतंत्र हुआ हैतब पंडित जवाहरलाल नेहरू, हमारे भूतपूर्व प्रधान मंत्री जी ने अपने जो विचार इस संबंध में प्रदर्शित किये थे वह इस प्रकार थे:

"First things must come first and the first thing is the security and stability of India."

यानी उस वक्त उन्होंने इसको एक दम से स्वीकार नहीं किया था , लेकिन 1948 में एक दर कमीशन इस सम्बन्ध में नियुक्त किया गया कि ग्रांझ, केरल, कर्नाटक और महाराष्ट्र के संबंध में विचार प्रदर्शित किये जांव और यह विचार उन्होंने रखा । कमीशन ने जो रिपोर्ट दी 10 दिसम्बर, 1948 को, उसमें उन्होंने वताया कि :

"It strongly expresses itself against any reorganisation of provinces being under taken in the then

227 ^{Re}- Proclamation [RA issued

hv

[Shri N. K. Shejwalkar]

prevailing circumstances. It said that formation of provinces exclusively on linguistic considerations would be inadvisable. It emphasized that homogeneity of language should enter into consideration only as a matter of administrative convenience."

तो यह दर कमेटी की रिपोर्ट मे उन्होने इस बात को रखा था कि यह अरूरी नही है कि लिग्विस्टिक बेमिस पर ही उनको बना दिया जाय ब्रौर म्रागे उन्होने स्पेमिफिक टेस्ट बताये कि

"Financial self-sufficiency, administrative convenience, capacity for future development and a large measure of agreement within its borders and among the peoples speaking the same language, care being taken that the new province should not be forced by the majority upon a substantial minority of people speaking the same language."

यह एक उसमें बहुत महत्व की बात है और तैलगाना के लोग जो ग्रलग से मांग करते चले ग्रा रहे हैं, मैं समझता हूं कि उन का कहना ठीक था। उस का ग्राधार यह था कि जबरदस्ती दोनों को साथ रखने की कोशिश करने से तो कोई लाभ होने वाला नहीं है।

इसके बाद जयपुर में जो ग्रिंस कसेशन हुम्रा दिसम्बर, 1948 को, उसमें पंडित जवाहरलाल तेहरू, सरदार वल्लभ भाई पटेल और श्री पट्टाभि सीतारमैया लिग्विस्टिक स्टेट्स के सिद्धांत के बारे में पुनर्विचार करने वाले थे, और उन्होंने जो विचार किया उसके बाद उनका निर्णय निम्न शब्दों में है :

"When earlier the Congress had accepted the general principle of linguistic provinces it was not experienced with the practical implication of the principle. The primary consideration of States' formation s'iould be the security, unity

President relating

228

to Andhra Pradesh and economic prosperity of India. Language was a binding force up to a point but a separating one thereafter. The policy on linguistic provinces should be applied after careful thought had been given to each separate case."

इसके बाद फिर यह सान्ध्र का प्रश्न साया सौर ग्रापको पता है कि पोटिट श्रीरामल्लू ने वहां पर आमरण अनशन किया और 15 दिसम्बर, 1952 को उनका स्वर्गवास हो गया । इतना सारा वैकग्राउन्ड होने के बाद ग्रान्ध्र प्रदेश का निर्माण हन्ना। यह ध्यान में रखने वाली बात है कि उस समय यह हैदराबाद के जो जिले थे, उसमें नहीं थे ग्रौर उसके बाद 19 दिसम्बर, 1953 को फिर से एस० ग्रार सी० की उस वक्त में नियुक्ति हुई जिसके अध्यक्ष (चेयरमैन) श्री फजल बली थे और दूसरे सदस्यों में श्री कुंजरू झौर मिस्टिर पाणिकर थे । कुंजरू साहब की ग्रमी भी यह राय है कि इसका विभाजन कर दिया जाए, जिन्होंने उस समय भी ग्रपनी राय प्रस्तुत की थी। कमीशन ने जो अपने निर्णय दिए हैं वे रिपोर्ट के पैराग्रा क 386 पर हैं। उसको मैं पूरा नहीं पढ़ना चाहता, क्योंकि उतना समय नहीं है, लेकिन में जो सिफारिश विशेष रूप से उन्होंने की है उसका उल्लेख समय मिलने पर ग्रागे करूंगा । तेलंगाना के संबंध में जब दोनों पक्षों का एग्रीमेंट हग्रा उसके टर्म्स इस प्रकार के थे :

"Telengana should have 40 per cent representation in the Cabinet. The Central and general administrative expenditure was he shared to proportionately between the two areas. The surplus of income over expenditure from Telengana area should be expended exclusively on the development of the Telengana area. A regional council for Telengana should be established as a statutory body. Future recruitment to Services would be on a population basis from both regions. The arrangement was to subsist for five years and should be extended for

073] by President relating 230 issued to Andhra Pradesh

another five year_s if Telengana Members of the Assembly desired it."

यानी, प्रारम्भ से ही दोनों को अपनी सिक्यो-रिटी के बारे में एक दूसरे पर शक था और प्रायः ये सब ब तें स्रापस में तय कर ली गई कि 40 प्रतिशत कैविनेट में भी ग्रायेंगे ग्रीर उसके बाद में फन्ड्स का भी डिस्ट्रिव्शन किस तरह से होगा, सविसेज में लोगों का परिमाण क्या रहेगा। उन सारी वातों को सामने रखा गया । अब इसके बाद आग का इतिहास शरू हुआ। वहां जो भी आज तक मंत्रिमण्डल रहा वह जो ग्राजकल का शासन करने वाला दल है, कांग्रेस, उसका मंत्रिमण्डल रहा । ग्रव उन्हीं के ग्रलग-ग्रलग स्थानों में जो कुछ नेता लोग थे, उन्होंने वहां पर क्या किया या नहीं किया, उसका परिणाम मात यह हम्रा कि एक दूसरे के प्रति सका बढतो चली गई ग्रौर साज तक बजाए इसके कि वे नजदीक झाते वे एक दूसरे से विलकूल दूर होते चले गए ग्रीर में इसमें स्पष्ट करना चाहता हं कि सिवाय कुछ व्या-पारियों को छोड़कर जो इसमें इन्टरेस्टेड् थे कि एकाधिकार बना रहे तो उसमें व्या-पारियों को लाम मिले, व्यापारियों में भी जो इस प्रकार के व्हेस्टेंड इन्टरेस्टस थे वह मूबमेंट के पक्ष में नहीं हैं, वे इस पक्ष में हैं कि इकट्रा रहे, लेकिन वाको सर्व साधारण लोग यह चाहते हैं कि अभी भी कुछ विगडा नहीं है, और हम, दोनों क्षेत्रों की जनता के ग्रलग-ग्रलग प्रदेश बन जाये तो हम सुख की नींद सो सकने हैं ग्रीर ग्रपने भविष्य के वारे में कछ निर्माण कर सकेंगे।

एस॰ ग्रार॰ सी॰ ने पैराग्राफ 384 में ग्रीर भी बतायाकि:--

"The rational criteria recommended by the SRC for the reorganisation of States were to recognise linguistic homogeneity as an important factor conducive to administrative convenience and efficiency, but not "to consider it an exclusive and binding principle, over-riding all other considerations, administrative, financial or political; to ensure that

communicational, educational and cultural needs of different language groups, whether resident in predominantly unilingual or composite administrative units, are adequately met."

*nfr

"(c) where satisfactory conditions exist, and the balance of economic, political and administrative considerations favour composite States, to continue them with the necessary safeguards to ensure that all sections enjoy equal rights and opportunities;

"(d) to repudiate the 'homeland' concept, which negates one of the fundamental principles of the Indian Constitution, namely, equal opportunities and equal rights for all citizens throughout the length and breadth of the Union;"

यानी इस में इस बात की पूरी कोशिश की गई है कि दो प्रकार के सिटीजनशिप का निर्माण न किया जाय, जिसमें किसी को तो एक प्रकार की सुविधा दी जाय झौर किसी को दूसरी सुविधा न दी जाय । यद्यपि मैं इस पक्ष का हं कि ग्रव ऐसी स्थिति है कि दोनों को स्वतन्त्र रूप से रहने दिया जाय । फिर भी मैं इस बात का समर्थन नहीं कर सकता कि मुल्की नियमों को स्थायी बनाया जाय, क्योंकि इसके द्वारा दो प्रकार के सिटीजनों का निर्माण होता है। यह बात ग्रच्छी नहीं है ग्रौर इसके कारण वहां सारे क्षेत्र में अशांति बनी रहेगी। हां, अगर वास्तव में हमें आन्ध्र और तेलंगाना क्षेत्र का डेवलपमेंट करना है ग्रौर उसके लिए कोई बोर्ड स्थापित किया जाता है जो उस क्षेत्र के लिए विशेष सुविधा दे, विशेष राहत दे, तो इसमें कोई ग्रापत्ति की बात नहीं है। इस तरह की बात को उस क्षेत्र के लोगों को विचार करना है ग्रौरफिर वे इस बारे में ग्रपनी सह-मति दे सकते हैं। अगर हम ऐसा करते हैं तो रायलसीमा का भी क्षेत्र है जो पिछडा : ग्रा है और उसकी उन्नति करनी है तथा सुविधा भी देनी है। ग्रगर इस तरह से सब क्षेत्र का एक कम्पोजिट यनिट बन जाय, तो इस ग्राधार पर इस तरह की चीज का विचार किया जा

229

by President relating 232 to Andhra Pradesh

सिद्धान्त लाग नहीं किया जा सकता | जब महाराष्ट्र बननें का प्रश्न आया उस समत्र भी यह बात एडवोकेट की जाती रही है प्रौर जैसा मैंने इतिहास बताया है कांग्रेस के प्रमुख लोगों की, प्रधान मंत्री की क्या राय थी। यह मैंने बताया है। इसके बाद में हमने देखा है कि महराष्ट में इतना वडा आन्दोलन हुआ और वहा सैकड़ों लोग मारे गए और उसके बाद हथा वही, महाराष्ट्र ग्रलग बना, गुजरात अलग बना। आज मेघालय, हरियाणा सब तरफ इसी तरह का इतिहास है। किसी ने धमकी दी, हम प्राणाचात करेंगे, चाहे राम्ल के स्वर्गवास के कारण घवडा गए स्रौर तारासिंह जी ने कहा कि हम जल मरैंगे उस आधार पर हरि-या गा और पंजाब का विभाजन कर दिया गया।

श्री **रए। बोर सिंह** (हरियाणा) : गतत है ।

श्वी ना० क्रु० झेजबलकर : होगा गलन लेकिन उत ब्राधार पर किया गया था ।

श्री रणबीर सिंह : हरियाणा और पंजाब के लोग...

श्री ना० क० शेजवलकर : ठोज है. चाहने ये हरियाणा ग्रौर पंजाब के लोग लेकिन पहल मना किया गया और बाद मैं माना गया। आज आन्ध्र प्रदेश के लोग खशी से ग्रलग होना चाहते हैं ग्रौर तेलंगाना के लोग खशी से अलग होना चाहते है। परिस्विति सूधर सकती है, एक दूसरे मिल कर रह सकते हैं । मैं कहना नहीं चाहता, लेकिन सबको पता है कि कांग्रेस के अन्दर इस सम्बन्ध में दो राय हैं और तेलंगाना एम० पीज ने कांग्रेस दल से इस्तीफा तक दे दिया । ग्रव आपके पास कौनसा ऐसा टेस्ट है जिसके आधार पर ग्राप पता कर सकते हैं कि वहां की जनता क्या चाहती है। मैं एक उदाहरण रखता हं। यहां गृहमंत्री जी बठे हैं, गहां ती के रूप में नहीं, एक साधारण नागरिक के रूप में, अपनी ग्राइडेंटिटी न बताते हुए वे चले, में उनके साथ चलने के लिए तैयार हूं। आन्ध्र प्रदेश के किसी भी गांव में चने जाइए

231 Re. Proclamation [RAJYA SABHA] issued

[Shri N. K. Shejwalkar]

सकता है। लेकिन यह बात कभी नहीं सोची गई कि पुरानी प्रया जारी रखने के कारण ऊपर ऊपर से तो यह मालूम पड़ता था कि सब तरह की शांति है मगर भीतर कुछ बात थी। जिस प्रकार से कांच के गिलास में दरार पड़ जाती है और उसके टुकडों को दुबारा इकट्ठा नहीं किया जा सकता है, उसी प्रकार से दौनों क्षेत्रों को ग्रव इकट्ठा करने की जो कोशिश को जा रही है, उस में कोई कामयाबी हासिल नहीं हो सकती है। जैसे स्वैविदित है कि एक रीजनल कमेटी

बनो थी, उसके फंडस भी अलग हो गये थे श्रौर एडमिलिस्ट्रेशन में उनको स्टेटयुटरी राइटस एपांइन्टमेंट करने के बारे में मिल गये थे। तेलंगाना के बारे में जो रीजनल कमेटी थी उसका एक विशेष ग्रस्तित्व था। उसकी बात सूनी जाती थी और उसके आधार पर मंत्रालयों को निर्णय लेने पर मजबुर होना पड़ता था। यह सब होने के बाद भी यह समझा जाय कि बेग्नलग-ग्रलग नहीं है ? साथ-साथ है, तो मैं यह पूछना चाहता हं कि - ग्रव साथ-साथ क्या रहा ? जब कमेटियां अलग-ग्रलग हो गई, फडस अलग हो गये. परिस्थितियां जलग-अलग हो गई, तो फिर कौन सी बात साथ रह गई है ? अगर फिर भी उनको एक साथ रखा गया तो इसकी वजह से राष्ट के लिए एक वडी समस्वा उत्पन्न हो जायगी । मैं समझता ह कि यह समस्या का सही म्रांकलन नहीं है।

अव मैं इस सन्दर्भ में जो आज हमारे सामने समस्या है, जिस को वास्तव में एक विभाजन की समस्या माना जाता है और कभी भी यह कहा जाता है कि इसकी प्रतिक्रिया दूसरे प्रदेशों में भी हो सकती है। तो इन सारी वातों का विचार ठीक से किया जा सके और इसी लिए हम लोगों ने यह मांग की है कि इस सम्बन्ध में एक कमिशन बिठलाया जाय। प्राखिर यह नहीं हो सकता है कि अलग प्रलग वातों के लिए झलग-अलग मापदन्ड वनायें। घगर यह वात कहते हैं तो जनता को एक प्रकार से धोखा देते हैं। हर जगह की समस्या प्रलग है, इसलिय कोई एक नियम, एक लोग नाराज हो जाएंगे, वे समझेगे कि कांग्रेंस का नेता, है इस प्रकार का वातावरण वहां है। कांग्रेस श्रौर साम्यवादी लोगों का जो रवैंगा है उसके वारे में वहां नाराजी है।

SHRI KOTA PUNNAIAH (Andhra Pradesh); May I know from the hon'ble Member how many villages in Andhra Padesh he has visited?

SHRI N. K. SHEJWALKAR: I have myself give_n a list of the villages I have visited.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: You have to conclude now, Mr. Shejwal-kar.

श्री ना० कु० ज्ञेजवलकर : मैं इसलिए यह कह रहा ह; क्योंकि मैंने वह क्षेत्र देखा है, मुझे इस बात का गर्व नहीं है कि मैंने वह सब देखा है। ग्रापको जनता की समस्या सचम्च समझनी है तो वहां चलिए। दो आदमियों को हैदराबाद भोजकर आप रिपोर्ट मंगा लेते हैं और वम्बई में एक स्टेटमेंट दे देते हैं या दिल्ली से आपके नेता कोई स्टेटमेट दे देते हैं। इससे परिस्थिति सघरने के बजाय बिगड़ती है। इसलिए मैं चाहता ह कि आप इसका अध्ययन करें। याज यह कहा जाता है कि जब तक शांति स्थापित नहीं होगी तब तक हम विचार नहीं कर सकते हैं। मैं कहता हूं कि शांति बिगाडी किसने है। वहां की जो परिस्थिति बनी उसमें पहले भूख हड़ताल, जुलूस, फिर बन्द, इस प्रकार एक-एक करके कदम उठाए गए, जनतांत्रिक डंग से, प्रजातांतिक डंग से जितने कदम उठाए जा सकते थे वे सारे कदम उठाए गए, किर भी वहां वायलेस का मामला नहीं है। आपने क्रौर लागों को बुलाया, जो स्नापके दल के जन-प्रतिनिधि है। वे कहत हैं कि इस्तीफा देंगें लेकिन क्या हो गया, उनको आपने रोक रखा है, हो सकता है कि वह आपके, दल की दुष्टि से ठीक हो, लेकिन जो ग्रान्दोलन चला

by President relating 234 to Andhra Pradesh

रहे हैं जनता की तरह से पहले से उन लोगों ने एन जी ग्रोज ने, विद्यार्थियों ने, एडवोकेट्स ने ग्रौर वहां के सारे व्यापारी लोगों ने एक संमिति बनाई है ग्रौर उस समिति के द्वारा जो-जो कदम उठाए गए जनता ने उनका पालन किया।

जिस दिन उन्होंने घोषणा की उसके बाद उन्होंने सारी कार्यवाहियां कीं। मैं जानना चाहता हं गुहमंत्री जी हमको बतलायें कि कांग्रेस के ग्रन्दर इसको उन्होंने एक डोमेस्टिक एफेयर समझकर रखा है। मुख्य मंत्री जी से मिलने के लिये हम लौग गये थे। उन्होंने कहा था ज्यादा समस्या गंभीर नहो है। ग्रांध्न प्रदेश के लोगों की एक रीजनल कमेटी बनाली जाए तो वह मान जायेंगें। यह वात मैं ग्रापसे निवेदन कर रहा हं। नवम्बर के ग्राखीर में या पहली दिसम्बर की तारीख होगी। लेकिन उनकी अपेक्षा के विपरीत वहां ग्रान्दोलन चलता रहा ग्रौर ग्राज सौ दिन हो गये। आप कल्पना कर सकते हैं कि इन दिनों में कोई कर्मचारी नौकरी पर नहीं गया, कोई अभिभावक ग्रदालत में नहीं गया. कोई विद्यार्थी स्कल में नहीं गया । जब से घोषणा को गई सरकारी कार्यालय और वाजार बन्द रहे। ग्राप इसको भी जनता का ग्रान्दोलन नहीं समझेंगे तो फिर किसको जनता का म्रान्दोलन समझेंगे ? किसके आधार पर स्नापके जितनें भी एम० एल० एज० या एम० पी० यह कह सकते हैं---ग्रापकी डर की वजहसे हो सकता है-कि यह जनता का आग्टो-लन नहीं है ? अगर उन्होंने आपके डर की वजह से कहा तो उनसे आपको बात ही नहीं करनी चाहिए। अगर उनको खुद का कोई डिस्क्रीशन नहीं है तो यह जनता के प्रतिनिधि नहीं हैं।

The do not represent the people's wishes at all. मैं दबाब रूं तो मेरी तरफ ग्रौर दूसरा दवाब

दें तो उसकी तरफ बोलते हैं, उसकी माफिक बात करते हैं तो वह धोखा देने वाले है

235 Re. Proclamation [RAJYA SABHA] issued

[श्री ना० कु० शेजवलकर]

ग्रापको इस सम्बन्ध में वताया कि वहां वास्तविक स्थिति ऐसी है कि एक-एक व्यक्ति को छपने भविष्य के बारे में चिन्ता हो गई है। उसके मन में गंभीर स्थिति से उत्पन्न प्रश्न है कि हमारा भविष्य साथ में रहने में उज्जवल है या नहीं ? इस सम्बन्ध में जो एप्रोच है वह उल्टा एप्रोच है। यह कह देना कि जाति जव होगी तब हम बात करेंगे। मैं पूछना चाहता हं कि जब ग्राम लग गई और हम कहेंगे कि हम पानी डालेंगे तब जब हम खाना खाकर तैयार हो जावं, जब हमको शान्ति हो जाएगी, उचित है। किस तरफ की शास्ति आप चाहते हैं। मैं पूछना चाहता हं कि पिछले 8-10 दिनों में कौन सी घटना हई है ? ग्राप कितने दिन तक इस किस्म की जान्ति रखना चाहते है ? कौन सी दुर्घटना पिछले 15 दिनों में हई है जिसके कारण ग्रापको भाग्ति का खतरा है?

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Mr. Shejwalkar, you should wind up now. You cannot go on like this. This is the third time I am telling you.

SHRI N. K. SHEJWALKAR: By quarter to three, I will finish.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN;.NO, no, in two minutes you should wind up.

श्वी ना० कु० शेजवलकर I will try. मेरा निवेदन है कि वहां की समस्या का हल अगर कोई हो सकता है, तो केवल यही हल है कि आप दोनों को अलग₂ अलग खुशी से रहने दें । इसमें जितना विलम्ब होगा, जितनी देर आप करेंगे उतनी ही उसमे कठिनाई होगी । यह समझना भी गलत है कि इसका पोलिटिकल एक्सप्लायटेशन हो रहा है । मैं समझता हूं कि पोलिटिकल कलर आपके शासन के द्वारा इसमें लाया जा रहा है क्योंकि जनसंघ का वहां कोई होल्ड नहीं है । वहां हम निष्पक्ष रूप से अध्ययन करने के लिए गये थे, वहां असेम्बली में जनसंघ का कोई सदस्य नहीं है । आज भी देखेंगे तो कोई जनसंघ

by President relating 236 *° Andhra Pradesh

का एम० एन० ए० वहां जाकर बैठने वाला नहीं है। ग्रगर ग्राप प्रेसिडेन्ट रूल करके एसेम्बली डजाल्व कर देते, दोवारा चुनाव कराते तो शायद यह बात समझ में ग्रा सकती थी। ग्रभी स्थिति ऐसी है कि ग्राप उसका कुछ भी नही करना चाहते हैं। ग्राप उस समस्या को रख कर बैठे हुए हैं, उसके लिये विचार करने के लिये भी तैयार नहीं है।

तीन महीने हो गयें उस समस्या को, कोई परिस्थिति नही बदलो । मेरी समझ, में इस प्रकार का प्रोक्लेमेशन निकालना यह संविधान का सही उपयोग नहीं है-मैं दुरुपयोग नहीं कर सकता-लेकिन यह सही उपयोग नहीं है, क्योंकि इसमें ऐसी संविधानिक कठिनाई क्या उत्पन्न हो गई । ग्रापका वहां एक इलेक्टेड हाउस था, सदस्य थे, बहों के मुख्य मंत्री के खिलाफ ग्रविश्वास प्रस्ताव नहीं ग्राया था । ग्रापके ही लोग इकट्ठे नहीं हो सकते थे, निर्णय नहीं ले सकते थे, ऐसी बात सामने नहीं ग्राई । इससे कौन सी समस्या हल हुई । इससे कोई समस्या हल नहीं हुई, उलटे इससे समस्या उलझी है ।

(Time bell rings)

उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, चूंकि आप समय दे नहीं र हैं, इस लिये मैं आपकी अनुमति से केवल कुछ डाक्युमेंट्स सदन के समक्ष रखना चाहता हूं। मेरे पास राजमुंदरी की रिपोर्ट है जो कि वहां की सिटीजन्स ऐक्शन कमेटी ने प्रस्तुत की है। इसी प्रकार फार्यारग के बारे में वहां की बार एसोसिएशन ने एक इन्क्वायरी कांडक्ट की। नरसापूर में जो...

श्री उपसभाषति : वाद में ग्राप उनको देदोजिएगा।

श्री ना० क्रु० **शेजवलकर**ः मैं इसलिए इसको प्रस्तुत कर रहा हुं ताकि इसके सम्बन्ध में विचार करके मन्दी जी उत्तर देसकें।

श्वी उपस∛ापति : वाद में उनको देदीजिएगा। श्रो ना० कु० शाजवलकर : में सदन से प्रार्थना करता हूं कि मेरा जो प्रस्ताव है उसका सदन ग्रनमोदन करे।

THE MINISTER OF HOME AFFAIRS (SHRI UMASHANKAR DIKSHIT): Mr. Deputy Chairman, I rise to move—

"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."

Sir, this House is fully aware of the happenings in Andhra Pradesh, particularly after the Supreme Court judgment on the Mulki Rules. It is wed known, every section of the House will agree, I hope, that till a day or two before the announcement of the judgment, calm prevailed all over Andhra Pradesh, in both regions I or in all the regions of Andhra Pradesh. It was a settled Government. It was a stable and progressive Government. Several progressive measures had been taken, mostly unanimously. And in other respects the State was Well settled for progressive development. Then, as you know, the Mulki Rules judgment came and it validated the Mulki Rules. Now, the question has to be understood in its correct perspective. Normally :here would be no question of the Constitution providing or there being any gentlemen's agreement or any other special provision for providing special concessions or particular provisions for employment in the area for the local people or other such measures either in the matter of education or in the matter of employment or in the matter of promotions. It was because before the Constitution came into existence, certain rules were in existence in the Telengana region of Andhra Pradesh which, the Supreme Court finally found. had their own original validity which could not be taken away or made non est. So far as the subsequent position is concerned, a_s you know, the High Court in Andhra Pradesh has delivered another

judgment and it has given a new-definition or has interpreted anew the provisions of the law in the matter of definition of a 'Mulki'.

As a result even a citizen born in Telengana now need not b_e considered as a Mulki and the Mulki Rules may not apply to him. There have been three judgments. The first judgment invalidated th_e Mulki Rules. The final judgment of the Supreme Court again validated or revalidated or declared a_s valid th_e Mulki Rules. Now the last judgment has given rise to a new controversy. That is that the very definition of Mulki Rules should b_e considered in a different lense.

As I was saying, after the Mulki Rules judgment for some time a certain amount of agitation took place became disturbed. The members of the became disturbed. The member of the Andhra legislature and particularly the Congress legislature party went into the matter in all the details. They made every possible effort to come together and to come to a settlement; but they failed. Finally the Congress legislature party took a decision and the Member $_{\rm s}$ of Parliament here and members of the Legislature there appealed to the Prime Minister to consider the situation on a broad basis and find a solution.

Our friend on the other side who has moved a counter motion said that as soon as a problem arises we should immediately come out with a solution so that the situation does not become worse. In this case action was taken soon and after discussion with all the concerned interests а formula was What did the evolved. formula mean? The formula was

based on the scheme of the safeguards mutually agreed to in 1956 with only some marginal adjustments. That is how the five point formula was evolved. The Mulki Rules

Act which incorporated o_n the five point formula regularises the appointments made since November 1956 of persons from Andhra region and non-Telengana people in the Telengana region. It also provided for the total repeal of

239 Re. Proclamation *issued*

[Shri N. K. Shejwalkar]

reservations by the end of December 1977 in respect of posts in the twin cities and by the end of December 1980 in respect of posts in other parts of Telengana. The whole idea was to put a definite limit of time on the special provisions which really militate against the spirit of the Constitution which does not permit discrimination of any kind. One set of concessions comes to an end by the end of 1977 and the other by the end of 1980. As you know this Act had the effect of assuaging the feelings of the people, ^ut this did not last long and there arose some misgivings over the effect of the five point formula and about the position of Andhra region citizens in the twin cities and so on. And, Sir, an agitation was started, a well-planned agitation. It is true that feelings had begun to run high and there was considerable emotional disturbance due to a lack of or inadequate understanding of the provisions of the new Act or of the formula. Sir, I have not gone on any tour of Andhra Pradesh and there were good reasons why I should not have gone there. It might have further added to the misgivings of the people. Their minds were so agitated that no appeal to reason would have really had any effect.

Sir, I submit with due respect to the other side that a very deliberate effort was made to take advantage of the misgivings and misunderstandings that arose in connection with the new formula and an agitation of a serious and explosive character, was started and, as you know, Sir, thereafter a large number of incidents have taken place. Lawlessness virtually stopped the Administration in the whole of Andhra region from functioning. Incidents of violence aimed at the railways and the other kinds of transport, resulted in huge loss of public property. In some parts the agitation caused deplorable loss of human lives, and it became impossible to allow this sort of thing to continue any longer. The Chief Minister's position was somewhat misunderstood mainly

by President relating 240 to Andhra Pradesh

because he hails from the Telengan region and even his innocent statements or his ordinary reactions to events were grossly misunderstood. Having found that it was not possible for him to control the administrative break-down in the Andhra region and having found that over a lakh of NGOs had struck work and in a large number of places the Government machinery had come to a halt, he considered it wise-and we should be thankful to the Chief Minister and his associates- that he should resign and so he quickly decided to his own resignation and submit the resignation of his Council in order to make it possible for ihe Presidential Administration to try and control the situation. It was not possible for the Chief Minister or his Government to make that kind of an effective impact on the situation which the Presidential Administration alone can make. Thereafter, as you know, the situation has been Sir. bit by bit brought under control.

Sir, it was said by the Member who moved the motion for revoking the Presidential Proclamation that the situation was so completely under con-rol that he wondered why other measures or other steps were not b= ng taken. That is a very welldeserved tribute, and a significant recognition and acknowledgement of the fact that the introduction of the President's Rule has well served its purpose.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA; Do not take it as a tribute....

SHRI UMASHANKAR DIKSHIT; I do not agree that everything has come completely to normal. I do not accept that position. But I do claim that the situation has been gradually and steadily improving. If you count the number of incidents, if you look to the general approach of the leaders an i others, you will see that-and we have information to that effect-the attitude of Civil Surgeons, Assistant Civil Surgeons, N.G.Os. and others, in changing. Even students feel now that the situation the should be reconsidered. Some of them, Sir, are ; not sure whether the original stand they took was the right stand or not. I would not like to go mto controver- i sial matters. But what I would im- j press upon the House is this------

SHRI MAHAVIR TYAGI (Uttar Pradesh): This is primarily due to the fact that the Prime Minister has i assured them that even separation is a matter which she is prepared to j consider and that has pacified them.

SHRI UMASHANKAR DIKSHIT: ; There has been no such statement as Tyagiji said. What the Prime Minister said was that the Government I has an open mind to consider all as- j pects of the situation; it also includes integration and it also includes separation

SHRI MAHAVIR TYAGI; That was { what I meant.

SHRI UMASHANKAR DIKSHIT: "The purpost is to meet the situation, j The situation can be met by removing i the misunderstandings and the 1 misinterpretations that were created. If the basic reason behind the agitation was met, could be removed. the misgivings j after the has happened Nothing announcement of the Sup-! reme Court judgment on Mulki Rules to change the situation, so far as the |basic merits of the question of j separation or integration are concerned. Sir, the main requirement is that there should be a meeting of minds, that there should be an open mind ou i both sides, to be ready to come without conditions. And that is the effort we have been consistently engaged in ever since the situation took an ugly i and explosive turn.

Now, Sir, it has been said that it was wrong of the Prime Minister to criaicize the demand for the constitution of a new States Reorganization Commission. Now, let us first consider the situation in Andhra Pradesh..

SHRI N. K. SHEJWALKAR: She could have said that the Government ! did not agree with this. But to say that it was an 'irresponsible' thing..., I

by President relating 242 to Andhra Pradesh

SHRI UMASHANKAR DIKSHIT: Let us understand wtoat is meant by 'responsible' and 'irresponsible'. If a demand is publicly voiced which aggravates the situation, which might open floodgates of disturbances, which will create new problems for the whole country—the Opposition as well as the Government—then we have to consider whether such a statement or such a demand is responsible or not.

Now, let us consider the Andhra Pradesh situation. Looking at the question of language, all the three regions or all the main regions speak the same language. There is a common mode of living, of food they eat, of dressing themselves, and so on. They have the same culture and language and traditions, inherited from ancient times. I do not know whether there is any basic aspect of life at all which distinguishes them so as to make them try to run away from each other. The basic cause of this " _ -. first arisen on the Telangana idea of separation having side and recently on the Andhra reion is of a historical character. Telangana people lived under the Nizam's rule for a number of years. When the two States were about to join the federation, naturally there was a certain amount of uncertainty in their minds as to whether the advantage of certain special provisions applicable only to the local people would continue. The Nizam had introduced the Mulki rules because he did not have that kind of a mass base which was necessary and for lack of which h-a offered the special concessions. These concessions have become a part of the thinking of the Telangana people.

If we want to consider the question rationally it i_s mainly—and there are people on both sides who have conceded this—a question of the rate of development. Now, Sir, I am willing to grant and I freely concede the point that some parts of Andhra Pradesh are not as well developed as the others. Some parts need much more development and progress than the others. Even $_0n$ Andhra side there

243 Re. Proclamation issued

fShri Uma Shanker Dikshit]

are places in the Rayalaseema region the economic condition of which is perhaps worse than that of Telangana. You will agree, Sir, that this position can obtain and does obtain in many-other States in the country. In the case of a country which has remained under foreign rule for over 200 years *it* is not proper to expect that the developmental level would be the same in all parts. So, if we were to say that because one region is less developed and the other is more developed in Andhra Pradesh and therefore they should break into two or three parts, then, Sir, we would be treading on a very dangerous ground.

What is the effect of a State breaking into two or three parts? Assets and liabilities are to be considered. They have to be divided. There are huge common projects involving hundreds of crores of rupees. How are you going to divide them? There are numerous problems of insoluble character and it would hardly be possible for the party leaders to resolve them within any reasonable time. I say this with full sense of responsibility.

An emotional upsurge took place and a new situation developed rapidly. When the leaders found that the people had reacted sharply and powerfully to the Mulki Rules Act. they dittoed the people and allowed themselves to be led by the people. There is nothing wrong in it provided you keep thg movement well within the bounds of constitutional framework and within the rule of law. In this case moreover the leaders were taken away by their own feelings, by their own emotional nature and by the sudden increase in their following of students, N.G.Os. and other people and they thought that they were riding the waves. Well, Sir, they have ridden the waves. I think it was guite human on their part that they exploited the situation. But what is involved in the situation is a very serious principle of the integrity of the country. I do not say that a small State is necessarily wrong or that a large State Js bad. It is all a question of what. In a given situation. is suit-

by President relatirq 244 to Andhra Pradesh

able. For instance, there are certain wellknown principles which should govern the formation of a new State. At the States Reorganisation Commission's time the terms of reference requird that i_n the first place, linguistic unity should be considered. Language and culture and unity of a people has to be considered. Then the economic viability has to be considered Administrative feasibility has to be taken into consideration. And then, it has to be seen whether irrigation, water will be available, whether power can be created.

There are a number of important considerations which we must take into account if w_e want to develop the region, develop it into a progressive and prosperous State. It is not merely a question of administration; any State with a certain amount of funds can be run, but this is not the principle for which wg stand. We are committed to social justice, to rapid development, to prosperity of the people, to equality of opportunity to various regions, to give special help and special opportunity of development to backward regions, backward districts all over the country. Friends who have read the approach to the Fifth Five Year Plan would have noted how nearly two-thirds of the total number of districts in the country have been chosen for special treatment from the developmental point of view.

SHRI N. K. SHEJWALKAR: Is it outside administration—what you are telling? You have said "not only on administrative basis". I say, is it something other than that?

SHRI UMASHANKAR DIKSHIT: My hon. friend is free to draw his own conclusions.

This is another point: I was a wit ness to the scenes when the first States Reorganisation-Commission travelled State t_0 from State. Α few davs before the arrival of the members of the Commission, there used to be general

disturbances all over the place with flags and buntings, processions and demonstrations and serious nolice arrangements' to control the situation. Do we want that to happen again? Now, the of very able and Commission consisted talented people. They were given a basic approach which was accepted by the entire country at that time; nobody was opposed to it. On that basis certain recommendations were made and the States were reorganised accordingly. Now, do we want to open a Pandora's Box again? I may make it clear without any fear of contradiction that if such a Commission is again announced, it might tantamount to a general invitation to the various regions and sub-region_s to project their own demands. There are people in the various States; there are leaders and leaders; there are legitimate aspirations and other kinds of aspirations. There is some attraction in the idea that if States are divided there will be more Ministers and Chief Ministers, more High Courts and judges and Chief Secretaries and Secretaries; more of this and more of that. Are we going to encourage this kind of aspirations in our people and is it going to stop there? ... (Interruption) .. .The point was making is that I obvious to anybody who will try to understand. I did not intend originally to enter into any argument or try to answer the points of view that generally can arise or might arise in the course of further discussion. I merely wanted to explain the main basis of the decision to introduce President's Rule and I say I repeat, that it was not only constitutionally proper and necessary but it was inevitable. The decision has been fully understood in the country and it has been It has been vindicated by the vindicated. improvement in the situation, though it is gradual, that has taken place during the recent weeks. This, I hope, will provide an opportunity to all concerned to meet and find a rationale an[^] a durable solution.

With these words, I move this Resolution and commend it to the unanimous acceptance of the House.

by President relating 246' to Andhra Pradesh The questions were proposed

SHRI S. S. MARISWAMY (Tamil Nadu): Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, r listened to our Home Minister's speech—rather his maiden speech as Home Minister—throwing light on the Andhra issue. Sir, for sometime our Prime Minister has been saying that she is keeping an open mind and when peace and calm prevails in Andhra, she will go into every aspect of the question, i.e. integration, bifurcation, etc. But, Sir, after listening to the Home Minister I have a suspicion that their mind is made up, that they would not consider the bifurcation aspect.

SHRI UMASHANKAR DIKSHIT: No, Sir. There is no question of making up ot our mind.

SHRI S. S. MARISWAMY: I will be happy if the hon. Minister gets up and says that that is wrong but this is the impression I have got from his speech. The situation in Andhra is worse than that prevailing anywhere after the Independence of India. Never has violence been let loose as much as in Andhra. I have seen the military people, CRP people and the people who are in the police department running amuck in Andhra Pradesh. I should say that the situation today is worse than the Jalian-wala Bagh. I am afraid the forces let loose by General Dver would have been less dangerous than the CRP men at Guntur, Vi'jaywada and other places. I was told from a very reliable source that in Guntur 50 women belonging to respectable families went to the residence of the Superintendent of Police to present a petition, about the atrocities of the CRP people. The sentry posted at the residence of the S.P. asked them to sit in the verandah. While they were there, an urgent message was sent to the CRP people to corner them up. Those ladies were beaten and they were taken to get into a_n open lorry. The lorry was so high that these ladies could not climb up. So, some of the

247 ^{*Re-*} *Proclamation* [RAJYA SABHA] issued

[Shri S. S. Mariswamy] lady homeguardg who had been recently recruited pushed them by hair and threw them into the lorry. This has happened in Guntur.

SHRI N. K. SHEJWALKAR; Shame, shame.

SHRI S. S. MARISWAMY: Also in Vijaywada there had been a ladies' procession and some doubtful characters who have bee_n lately recruited by the police, were let loose amongst the group to beat them. Such of those ladies belonged to very respectable families. Sir, if this type of things goes on, I am really afraid where we are heading to.

I am equally interested in the integration of India and I am not for division of any part of the country but when a feeling is created, how do you see that their fears are allayed? How we approach the problems is the question now. Take the case of a man who has been taken into custody under the Internal Security Act in Hyderabad and he is put in jail. You know what his daily allowance is. If he is a mulki he gets Rs. 7] 50 and if he is a non-mulki from the Andhra area, Rayalaseema or Circar Districts I am •told he is given Rs. 4 50. Both of them are in the same cell; one man simply because he happens to be a Hyderabad man, a mulki, gets Rs. 7/50 while the other man for the sin of having been born in some other area is to get only Rs. 4|50. Certainly, Sir, I would say this is the worst kind of treatment that could ever be meted out to any citizen of this country.

SHRI V. B, RAJU (Andhra Pradesh): I think you were here when the Mulki Rules Bill was passed. The mulki rules apply for employment in the Government not for anybody else, not for rickshaw pullers or others.

SHR K. P. SUBRAMANIA MENCN (Kerala): But this is what is happening.

SHRI V. B. RAJU: No, no.

D[^] President *relating* 248 to Andhra Pradesh

SHRI KOTA PUNNAIAH: whatever you are narrating, h^{ave} we to take all these things as facts?

SHRI S. S. MARISWAMY: These are facts that I have collected and I stand by these facts. If you can prove that these things are not correct I am ready to accept your version.

Now the States Reorganisation Commission was constituted in 1953. I believe in order to bring prosperity, unity and advancement to the people in the various regions as per the Resolution passed 25 years ago in th<; All India Congress Committee. After the Report came into being Andhra Pradesh was constituted with Hyderabad attached to it. Since that day until to-day that State has been ruled only by Congressmen; not even for a day a non-Congress Ministry was there. Whether it was Brahmananda Reddy, or Sanjeeva Reddy or San-jeeviah, or anybody for that matter, continuously the Congressmen have been ruling that State. What have the been doing for the last 25 years? They have not done anything for their emotional integration. This phrase 'emotional integration' was coined by Panditji. They paid lip sympathy to it whenever they came outside Andhra Pradesh but they did nothing to achieve it. For the information of the House I would like to point out here that there was a small region which was a part of Kerala State. That was Kanyakumari District and it was attached to Madras in the year 1954. Here the Home Minister talked so much about the similarity between Andhras and the Mulkis, their mode of living, their food habits, their culture etc. But if you look at the culture of mode of living of the people of Nanjil Nadu, that is, Kanyakumari, and that of the people of Madras you will And that there is a little difference. The people of Kanyakumari are more akin to Kerala State than to Madras. Even though they speak Tamil, their accent is a little different. It will be more Malayalam-Tamil than actual Tamil. But with all that

there has not been even a single case of friction there because whosoever ruled Madras State took the care to see that that portion got really emotionally assimilated with Tamil Nadu. But that had not been done here. Now the Home Minister was saving that immediately after the last general election the Ministry under Narasimha Rao was working very well, that it embarked upon progressive policies etc. I would say your choice of Mr. Narasimha Rao is your first failure. He is the cause for all the troubles that we are having. As I said the other day, if there had been a man chosen-I do not mind whether he is from Andhra side or Te-lengana—with mass from backing and popular loyalty, things would not have come to this sad end. There is a tendency and that is what I am unable to understand. Of course, it is internal politics of the Congress paiiy and I am not interested in it. I am interested in the welfare of Andhra State, which is my neighbouring State. "Whatever you do inside the Congress party is no concern of mine, but whomsoever you appoint as the Chief Minister, you choose as the Chief Minister must be in a position to deliver the goods. I am very sorry that the choice of yours was totally wrong and it ended in a fiasco. The net result is that in Andhra Desh and Telengana the whole thing is in blood-bath.

SHRI MAHAVIR TYAGI (Uttar Pradesh): Because they appointed the Chief Minister on their own.

SHRI MAN SINGH VARMA: All the appointed Chief Ministers will be discarded by the public gradually.

SHRI S. S. MARISWAMY: Now, Sir, I was very glad to hear from the Home Minister that things are settling down and there is peace and calm there. I want that Andhra should be as normal and calm as it was six months before, but let us not take it for granted that the feelings of the Andhras have died down. Much water has flowed under the bridge. Both

by President relating 250 to Andhra Pradesh

the Telengana and Andhra people have demanded unanimously in one voice bifurcation. If some attempt is made to scotch that feeling, I am afraid the future will be gloomy. There may be a lull on the front, but the feeling is deep rooted which I can see clearly. So, when the Government of India takes up this question and is ready for a dialogue with the people, it should not totally rule out the possibility of bifurcation. It should take into account the real feelings of the real people of Andhra Pradesh and not of those people who are found around the Delhi secretariat and Parliament House. Thank you.

SHRI V. B. RAJU: Sir, I rise to support the Resolution moved by the Home Minister and, while doing so, I would like to place before this august House the facts and not merely satisfy myself with what I carry here from hearing. The hon. Member, Shri Shej-walkar, said that he had visited certain towns and he found that there was a persistent demand for the formation of a separate Andhra State. I do not want to enter into a controversy and dispute that point, because in the past seventeen years we had experienced in that area similiar situations. I do not think Mr. Shejwalkar knew the incidents of 1955, 1956 and 1957. The whole trouble started from those years. In 1955 there was the States Reorganisation Commission recommending a separate State of Telengana. Mr. Papi Reddi was not in politics at that ti'ms. There was a lot of furore, as the hon. Home Minster put it.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: (West Bengal): He is now in politics sitting in Rajya Sabha all right.

SHRI V. B. RAJU: The very fact that he is in this House means that he is in politics. This is a political institution. As the hon. Minister put it, when the Commission came, there was demonstration for Vishal Andhra and separate Telengana and to recall it I was beaten up because I asked for a

251 *Re. Proclamation* [RAJYA SABHA] issued

by President *relating* 252 to Andhra Pradesh

[Shri V. B. Raju]

bigger State. I led a procession and thousands followed me The States Reorganisation Commission for its own reasons and in its own wisdom, recommended for a separate State, I do not want to find fault with them. And based on that, there was a very effective demand for separate Telen-gana. And the Congress Working Committee constituted a four-man sub-committee consisting of Shri Dhe-bar, Shri Nehru, Shri Azad and Shri Govind Ballabh Pant. The commute sat for a long time and history records that Shri Azad took a very firm stand for separate Telengana but that Shri Pant held a different view, and Shri Nehru had to cast his preference. Sir, in the face of such a big agitation which moved the whole of 'Telengana area, the erstwhile Hyderabad area, Shri Ramakrishna Rao, the then Chief Minister, could not address any meetings, the Home Minister, Shri Bindu could address meetings only with police protection. I was for 40 days in Delhi. After that, four people from Andhra and four people Tom Telengana entered into an agree-•me^t, what is called a gentlemen's agreement. Hon. Members in the Opposition should realise that that gentlemen's agreement was signed by only eight people, Shri Gopala Reddy, Shri N. Sanjeeva Reddy, Shri A. S. Raju and G. Lachanna from Andhra and Shri Ranga Reddy, Shri Channa Reddy, Shri J. V. Narasinga Rao and Shri B. Ramakrishna Rao from Telengana, without consulting the people. After the signing of the agreement, there was no criticism, there was nothing.

Sir, was it not a popular agitation? Was it not a feeling based actually on the sentiments at that time prevailing? Merely because some people agitated and very intensely, and extensively also, should a big nation like ours immediately respond, doing it hurriedly and repenting at leisure? Should we do that?

The second thing that happened was, in 1969. I came into this House and I appealed; I carried the feelings

from there and I said that I was carrying the feelings of the people. I prayed for amending article 16(3) or if it was possible, to have a set up like that of Meghalava to keep the integrity of the State somehow. But Parliament did not agree to it. Shri Shejwalkar at that time-I remember-oppose it. Shri Bhupesh Gupta spoke extensively and maintained a consistent stand and he put me a pertinent question as to what I stood for. Sir the Tengana people placed their confidence in the Prime Minister, after two years of agitation, left the matter to her to arbitral--and she agreed; and the Praja Samiti got merged in the Congress, went to the people, in the Assembly elections got returned by a very substantial •majority-70 cut of 100 seats it won. What happened to that two-year agitation? How many lives were lost, you know? More than the present number. One day, 26 people were shot dead. On that evening, the Prime Minister flew from Delhi to Hyderabad, and everybody felt thai Telengana was going to be constituted as a State. But we waited patiently. So, the second onslaught on us also we were able to ward off. and we retained the integrity of the State.

Now, the third one we are passing through. It is more than three months. What i sthe genesis of this? There was a reason for the Telengana agitation. Historical reasons were there. As I had said, the States Reorganisation Commission created that hope. And then there was that gentlemen's agreement which was not fully implemented. On January 19, 1969, leaders of all the political parties signed a statement in which it was agreed that injustice was done to Telengana. Even at that time, about four thousand employees of Andhra who were employed in Hyderabad against that Act, the Public Employment Act, they agreed to send them back, the Andhra leaders agreed to take them back. So much 'has happened. There was a reason for the Telengana movement

there was a genuine cause for it. But ultimately, the people in Telen-gana, the leadership in Telengana, saw its wisdom in reconciling to keep the integrity of the State which sale-guards the interests of Telengana. j The whole basis of the integrity of I the State with safeguards to the i Telengana people's interests for his- I torical reasons. And it was a transitory provision. And now what is this 1 agitation for? Did the hon. Member who visited those towns put a question to anybody and find out why he i was agitating? I think he has failed to do it. I must place before this House

true facts (Interruption by Shri .N. K. Shejwalkar) I think I can carry conviction to you. I am sure my arguments stand on moral conviction. Sir in our state polity there are three wings which have the power to take decision-judiciary, executive and the legislature. In thi_a particular case all the three wings have taken deci- ' sion. Sir, if the people Or a section of the people, however justified they may be, do not accept any of the •decisions, what is the way out? We talk about the rule of law. We talk about democratic processes. The judiciary has validated the mulki rules. The head of the executive has said that justice will be done to both the areas. She gave a formula and Parliament enacted the law. Our Constitution does not provide a fourth alternative. Can the hon'ble Member show a fourth alternative? If that is possible, then we will consider the question afresh. Our Constitution has not provided for referendum. In fact, when in 1969 I came here I asked whether opinion poll could be taken as in Goa as was done by Shri Lai Bahadur Shastri. That was not accepted. We were told that it is not the best interests of the country. We accepted it. Opinion poll may not be in the interest of the country; it may not be possible. Our Constitution does not provide for it. That is one thing. The second thing is this is a simple matter, a very limited matter relating to services, a few services in the Secretariat. I do not know whether the

hon'ble Member had taken care to study the limited scope of the problem. There may not be any new employment at all in future in Andhra Pradesh because the government is over-employed. The Government has no money. On the other hand many have to be retrenched. Therefore, it is a limited matter relating to services.

Sir, the Supreme Court gave a decision. When the Supreme Court was hearing the case on the validity of Mulki Rules an advocate asked about the interpretation. It was not clear to him as to what was the implication of the validity of the Mulki Rules. In 1969 when the Supreme Court struck down the Employment Act, the advocate asked as to what would happen to the Mulki Rules, which were repealed by that Ant. If the Supreme Court had taken realities into consideration and clarified the position, there would not have been any confusion. At that time it was doubted whether the Mulki Rules would survive. In 1972 also it did not say anything about the interpretation, the application of Mulki Rules. Now, as the hon'ble Minister of Home Affairs put it, what did the High Court say in the third round? I will read it out for the benefit of the House:-

"Mr. Justice S. Obul Reddi of the Andhra Pradesh High Court has held that the definition of 'Mulki' as appearing in Rule 1(B) read with Rule 3 does not apply to persons who are born in the erstwhile State of Hyderabad but to persons who come from an area outside the Telengana area or the Nizam's dominion, whether it be from Punjab, Kerala, Bengal or any other State in the country."

In view of this definition, has any person, including Mr. Papi Reddi, thought what they are fighting for. In fact, they are fighting for the abolition of the Mulki Rules. If thi3 is the interpretation of a Mulki it is

253

255 ^{*Re-*} Proclamation [1 MAR. 1973] issued

[Shri V. B. Raju]

the Telengana people who should fight for tine abolition of Mulki Rules. According to this definition Dr. Chenna Reddy is not a Mulki, V. B. Raju is a Mulki. I came from outside. I was born in Andhra. I have settled there for 38 years. I have declared that I have no intention to go back, I am a Mulki. A person who comes from outside and bas stayed for not less tha_n 15 years and declares that he has no internition to go back is a Mulki. Where can Chenna Reddy go? He has no place to go back.

SHRI SANDA NARAYANAPPA (Andhra Pradesh): Mr. Raju was quite right in saying that if this judgment had come earlier, t'his agitation would not have take_n root. But the judgment came late.

SHRI V. B. RAJU; I am only pointing out the genesis because I must place the true facts before the House. The hon. Member Shri Shejwalkar had been there. Did he put any question to anybody, to any rickshaw-puller Or any small grocery merchant or any cultivator or any agricultural labourer who constitute 80 per cent, of the population, as to what this agitation is for and for whose interests it is carried on? Did he put this question? Sir, I do not want to take much time. This interpretation of "Mulki" came on the 15th February, 1973. This is the third stage. If a historian writes the history of Independent India and if a chapter is allotted to Andhra Pradesh, 'ne will have to record how the Telugu-speaking people have been the victims of court decisions and what price they had to pay. The heaviest price we 'have paid for the court decisions. Sir, if this is the type of judgment from the highest judicial authorities in the country, if the courts do not look at realities but simply are satisfied with technicalities, the lives of millions of people are exposed to dangers. Sir_> these judgments have not only affected the discipline in the services, but have destroyed the polity and the economy...

by President relating 256 to Andhra Pradesh

SHRI N. JOSEPH (Andhra Pradesh) : One question. Do you accept this interpretation?

SHRI V. B. RAJU: There is no question of my accepting or your accepting. I am not a party there. I am a Telugu-speaking 'man, I am one of the 4J crores of peole. 1 am not accusing anybody or any section of people. I am a supporter of the policies and programmes of the Prime Minister in trying to deal with this situation very patiently, carefully, tactfully and to bring people to a dialogue and evolve a democratic process for finding a lasting solution for the area. I come from the area; I suffer. Mr. Shejwalkar does not suffer. Sir, is it a code of the political parties to take advantage in such matters like separation, communal riots, etc? In such matters, there must be no party approach. When did t'his agitation take root and develop like this? Only when the Opposition political parties, four parties, entered the and arena constituted the Andhra Karyachara'na Samiti and Mahasabha, Sangarshan Samiti, involving the students. Then this movement picked up. Sir, I do not want fhat my neighbours should be affected. But I may warn them: Don't throw stones living in glass houses. I am requesting Mr. Nijalingappa who is supporting the separatist movement, Mr. Karunanidhi, who is supporting this' movement ...

SHRI S. S. MARISWAMY: Sir, I take objection to this. Mr. Karunanidhi or any D.M.K. member did not advocate separation.

SHRI V. B. RAJU; I am glad. Let not Mr. Karunanidhi interfere in-the internal quarrel of Andhra people.

SHRI S. S. MARISWAMY: We havenever done it.

SHRI V. B. RAJU: If you areassuring us, I am very grateful to you. I am requesting Mr. Vajpayee, the Jan Sangh Party, not to put his

257 Re. Proclamation [1 MAR. 1973] issued

little finger into it. It is very dangerous. I am requesting Mr. Piloo Mody also. He is a very intelligent man. He is a journalist. I am requesting him to leave the matter to the Telugu-speaking people to decide for themselves. They are going to decide for themselves. I am certain that when the passions cool down when things come to normalcy . . .

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA:' As far as Mr. Piloo Mody is concerned, you need not take him seriously. He should start bifurcating himself.

SHRI K. P. SUBRAMANIA MENON (Kerala): Sir, on a point of order. I would like to have a clarification from Mr. Raju. We are discussing in this Parliament which is constituted by the whole of India, a problem which concerns a part of India. Therefore, whatever may be the political opinions of different people, I do not think that Mr. Raju can say that Mr. Piloo Mody or Mr. Karunanidhi or somebody else has no right to interfere. Does he mean to say that only the Congress leaders have got the right to interfere?

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN.- He is perfectly within his rights to give some suggestions.

SHRI V. B. RAJU; Those are not the words I used. I said there must • be some code for political parties in communal matters, in matters affecting regions like this . . .

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Mr. Piloo Mody, surely he admits, has a right to interfere; not only interfere but interfere with bulk.

SHRI V. B. RAJU: In these matters there must be a national approach. There shall not be a narrow political approach. That is all what I said. Nothing more, nothing less. I hope you will appreciate that.

SHRI S. S. MARISWAMY: Whatever you say ig national and whatever the Opposition say_s is anti-national. Is that not what you mean?

12 RS-

by President relating to Andhra Pradesh

SHRI V. B. RAJU: I leave it to the good judgment of the Opposition, whether it will be in the interests of the political parties themselves to do so. Anyhow, I am putting another question . . .

SHRI N. K. SHEJWALKAR: You are not doing anything . . .

MR DEPUTY CHAIRMAN; Mr Shejwalkar, you had your say, Mr. Mariswamy had his say. It is not fair to interrupt another speaker.

SHRI N. K. SHEJWALKAR: When he mentions certain names, what should be done?

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: He cannot voice your opinion.

SHRI V. B. RAJU: I am not saying anything unparliamentary. I am not saying anything personal against anybody. I am not saying anything of that type. It is a very critical phase through which we are passing. This agitation was started by the Government employees. It is purely a service matter. Mulki Rules refer only to Government employment; not to trade, not to commerce, not to labour, not to industry, not to anything else. Why are you objecting to this reservation? The reservation has been there for the last sixteen years-for twelve years under the Public Employment Act. In fact, in our Constitution we have got reservation for the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. For elective posts we have got reservations. For services we have got reservations. Even though the original provision was only for ten years, we extended it for another ten years. There is nothing wrong in making this reservation for a backward area but with understanding. The services have started this agitation. It would have been all right on their part if they had confined it to service matters. The service organisations have made the cause an issue for agitation for the break-up of the State. Are the Opposition parties prepared to surrender their prerogative to the service organisations for agitating for political issues?

258

SHRI K, P. SUBRAMANIA MENON: You ask your Congressmen.

SHRI V. B. RAJU: These service organisations have made it an issue of the break-up of the State and the students are involved in it now.

Tor a discussion of the issue, normalcy must come first. There is definitely improvement in the situation. That violent activity is not there. Transport and communications which were interrupted have now resumed. But the main factor, the Government employees, who have been on strike for nearly 80 days and have been the cause of a lot of suffering of the people, they must come back to duty. Should not the Opposition cooperate with the Government? Should not they say a word about the Government employees and ask them to come back to duty? They have not said a word. Do they want to use service organisations for political ends? This is the question that has to be gone into. What is your policy? Should we use . . .

SHRI N. K. SHEJWALKAR: What has the Government done?

SHRI V. B. RAJU: They have said that the Government employees should come back to work. Their families are suffering. The non-Gazetted officers are on strike. They come from lower middle class and middle class families. Some of them have sold away whatever little jewellery they had with their wives, just to maintain themselves. This is the state of affairs there. I wish this House resolves and appeals to the NGO_s to come back to duty. Even some Gazetted Officers have also gone on strike for some time. If indiscipline creeps into all other ranks, what will be the fate of democracy in this country? What was the political provocation? There was no political provocation at all. There was no political issue involved in this at all. Even for political power, for the office of Chief Minister, there was no quarrel between Telengana and Andhra. For that post from the beginning it was only Gopala Reddy

by President relating 260 to Andhra Pradesh

versus Sanjiva Reddy, Sanjiva Reddy I versus Sanjivayya, San'jivayya versus Brahamananda Reddy, all from Andhra. There was no political quav-rell On the issue of power. Mr. Mari-swamy was saying that there was some sort of a cultural difference. How does he s^ay that? The man in Hindupur which is adjacent to Karnataka speaks Telugu. You know very well that a person living in Ichchapuram bordering Orissa speak_s the same Telugu as others speak. You know that a person in Khammam speak the same Telugu language as a person in the neighbouring district of Krishna. Why are you trying to draw lines of demarcation? Why do you want to divide the Telugu people? This is not relevant, whether it is a big State or small State. If Andhra Pradesh is to be divided on the ground that it is a big State, what about Madras? It is equally big. What about Mysore or even Bihar for that matter . . . (Interruptions) Then about backward areas and forward areas. This is the first case in India where a relatively developed and majority area is asking for separation. There was some justification if a minority and undeveloped j or backward area had asked for separation. Here a relatively developed area is asking for separation . .

•

SHRI MAHAVIR TYAGI-. Let us be clear. Is your party in favour of divi-i sion and separation or i_n favour of I unity?

SHRI V. B. RAJU: After I spoke so i uch, does he get this impression?The point is simple. In my view the solution is not so important as theapproach to the first* point is whether the solution. The ofIndia and Parliament Government should take adecision under threat of violence andstrike by Government employees? Firstof all, normally should come and afterthat let us enter into some dialogue... (Interruptions). My desire is that .Andhra Pradesh shall not be brokenup. My desire is that there should beno second reorganisation Commission I a_s it will only be inviting new trouble^{$\wedge 1$} and diverting the attention of the

people to political issues instead of tackling the economic issues lacing oui country.

issued

श्री बनारसी बास (उत्तर प्रदेश) : उपा-ध्यक्ष महोदय, यह अत्यन्त दर्भाग्य का विषय है कि इस सदन में संविधान के आर्टिकल 356 के अनसार आंध्र प्रदेश में प्रोक्ले-मेशन के संबंध में हम लोग विवाद कर रहे हैं और आंध्र के अंदर ग्राज कल प्रेसीडेंट का रूल है। ग्रांध के ग्रंदर जो वर्तमान परिस्थिति है वह सरकार की ग्रदुर्देशिता, सरकार की एडहाक नीतियां, ढलमल नीति और सरकार के ग्रनिक्चय के ही कारण हैं। चेना रेडडी केन्द्र के मंत्री थे। यदि दर्भाग्य से वह डिसक्वालीफाई न हो जाते तो गायद 1969 में तेलंगाना का कोई ग्रांदोलन न होता ग्रीर जो गवर्नमेंट इतना वडा मैस्सिव मैन्डेट का दावा करती है उस में इतनी क्षमता ग्रौर साहस नहीं था कि डा० चेन्ना रेडडी के खिलाफ अनशासन संबंधी कोई कार्यवाही करती । लेकिन एक गठबंधन करने के लिए उन्होंने स्वंय आंध्र के संदर रीजन-लिज्म, सेपरेटिस्ट टेंडेंसीज ग्रौर क्षेत्रीय मनो-वत्तियों को प्रोत्साहन दिया । वही डा० चेन्ना रेडडी वहां के नेता बने हए हैं और ग्राज जो वहां के मुख्य मंत्री हैं उन की टैक्ट-लेसनेस के कारण आज यह सारी परिस्थिति वहां उत्पन्न हई है। आज वे वहां पर किसी के प्रति उत्तरदायी नहीं । अगर वहां श्री नरसिंह राव किसी के प्रति उत्तरदायी हैं तो केवल दिल्ली के प्रति उत्तरदायी हैं और इसीलिए हर वीक वेयहां पर सलाह लेने के लिए आते थे । यदि वहां का चीफ मिनिस्टर एक नामिनेटेड सबेदार न होता ग्रौर वहां की असेस्वली का सही प्रतिनिधि होता तो ग्राज जो ग्रांध में जनता जल रही है---पत्नों में निकला है कि दो अरब की संपत्ति का नुकसान हुआ है, वह न हुआ होता और मैं इस बात को मानता हं कि सरकार ने स्वयं हिसात्मक प्रवृत्तियों को अपनी ढुलमुल नीति की वजह से प्रश्रय दिया ।

आज लोगों की यह धारणा बन गई है कि शांतमय वातावरण म विचार-विमर्श के द्वारा किसी भी प्रश्न के ऊपर गौर नहीं किया जा सकता है, जब तक हिंसा नहीं होगी, जब तक विध्वंसात्मक प्रवृत्तियां चरम सीमा पर नहीं पहुंचेगी तब तक सरकार का ग्रासन नहीं डोलेगा । ग्रहणाचेलम में, नागालैन्ड, विपुरा, मणिपुर, मेघालय में यही हुआ ग्रीर ग्रासाम के कई टकडे कर दिये गए । पंजाब जो कि हमारी सीमा का एक प्रदेश था उसके 2 हिस्से कर दिए गए । ग्राज भी कोई व्यक्ति यह नहीं जानता है कि आंध्र प्रदेश को नहीं विभाजित किया जाएगा । मैं उन व्यक्तियों में से हं जो इस बात को मानते हैं कि स्टेटस पर लड़ाई के ज़रिए से जो कोई फैसला होगा वह तमाम हिन्दुस्तान का विघटन करेगा और यहां की विश्व खला-त्मक प्रवत्तियों को एक बार बल मिलेगा। लेकिन क्या कोई निष्च्यपूर्वक कह सकता है कि प्रधान मंत्री फिर उन्हीं शक्तियों के सामने, राजनैतिक लक्षयों की पूर्ति की वजह से, नहीं झक जाएंगे ? ग्राज इस बात का पूरी जनता के अंदर यकीन है। यु० पी० में मैं जानता हूं, जो गवर्नमेंट कर्मचारी वर्खास्त किए गए, जिनका डिसमिसल हाईकोर्ट से बहाल हुआ, यहां पर आपका ही चीफ मिनि-स्टर ग्राता है ग्रीर वह उनको बहाल कर देता है । तो फिर वहां के कर्मचारी अपनी समस्याओं के लिए, ग्रपने झगडों को निपटाने के लिए यदि डाइरेक्ट ऐक्शन का सहारा लेते हैं ग्रीर तमाम नेशन को रैन्सम के लिए होल्ड करते हैं तो उसके लिए सिवाए गवनंमेन्ट के ग्रीर कौन दोषी हो सकता है। ग्राज जब इस देश में हमारे सामने ग़रीबी ग्रौर बेरोजगारी ग्रौर विकास के प्रश्न हैं, जनता में विरोधका प्रश्न है, ऐसे में एस० ग्रार० सी० की नियुक्ति करना फिर से पंडारा बाक्स को खोलना होगा। कहीं न कहीं कोई फाइनलिटी होनी चाहिए और जहां तक आन्ध्र प्रदेश का सवाल है, यह मौजदा आंदोलन सरकार की ढिल-मिल नीतियों का नतीजा है। ज्यादा अच्छा

263 -Re. Proclamation issued

by President relating 264 to Andhra Pradesh

[श्री बनारसी दास]

होता ग्रान्ध्र एक रहता ग्रौर एक रहना चाहिए । लेकिन उसकी हालत यह है कि तेलंगाना ग्रौर ग्रान्ध्र के दोनों ग्रंगों का नेतुत्व जिनके हाथ में है उनको एक जगह बैठ कर इस बात का प्रयास करना चाहिए कि वे एक जगह रह सकें। ग्रब चुंकि सरकार ने स्वंय वह स्थिति पैदा कर दी है, पहले तेलंगाना में पैदा की ग्रीर जब कि वहां पर ग्रांदोलन चल रहा था उस वक्त तक सरकार शांत बैठी रही और बहत देर के बाद फाइव पौइन्ट फार्म्ला लेकर आई। उस वक्त तक आन्ध्र के अंदर ग्राग लग चकी थी। तो फिर वहां पर भीड़ के ऊपर गोली चलेगी, सम्पत्ति का च्चास होगा, उसको रोका नहीं जा सकेगा तो ग्राखिर उसका नतीजा क्या होगा ? उसका कारण यह है, आन्ध्र की जनता जानती है, जैसे 1954 में सरकार झुकी---मैं उसे भूल समझता हूं, जैसे पंजाब का विभाजन हुआ, वह एक बड़ी भूल थी, उसी तरह से आसाम के कई हिस्से किए गए, यह भी एक बड़ी भूल थी---यह भी विभाजन की मांग छोटे से छोटे प्रदेशों की मांग, ग्रसंतृष्ट राजनैतिक नेताग्रों को संतुष्ट करने की मांग है । वे नेता लोग रिहैबिलिटेशन चाहते हैं। और ग्रगर यही प्रकृति जोर पकडती रहेतो कुछ लोग जागे चलकर कहेंगे कि हिन्दुस्तान बहत बडा देश है, सुप्रीम कोर्ट हमारे यहां हो, नागालैन्ड का एक हो, केरल के म्रंदर एक हो । इस तरह से हिन्द्रस्तान एक नहीं रह सकता । आज हम देखते हैं, कहीं गोदावरी वाटर्स का झगडा तय नहीं होता, कहीं नर्मदा वाटर्स का झगडा तय नहीं होता ग्रौर इसी तरीके से कहीं पर गंगा के पानी का सवाल होगा । इसी तरह से इलेक्ट्रिटी के ग्रिड का प्रश्न है। इन सब चीजों को लेकर, इस तरह की प्रवृत्तियों पर चलकर, यद्यपि हमारा देश एक है लेकिन क्षेत्रीय प्रवृत्तयां जो स्वराज्य के पहले दबी हुई थीं, चूंकि गांधी जी ने ग्रौर जवाहरलाल जी ने हिन्द्स्तान को एक सूत्र में बांधा था ग्रौर हम सब लोग एक सूत्र में एक देश की कल्पना

करते थे, हमारी निष्ठा एक देश के साथ थी, ग्राज वह बिलकुल राजनैतिक स्वार्थ, क्षुद्र मनोवृत्तियों को लेकर वातावरण को दूषित किया जा रहा है श्रौर एक दिन ऐसा ग्राएगा कि हर जिला ही एक स्टेट होना चाहिए इस बात के लिए जोर दिया जाएगा । जनता को विश्वास में लेकर यह जानना चाहिए कि वह वास्तव में क्या चाहती है । वह दुढ़ता के साथ एक फैसला करे । यह सही है, स्ट्रीट्स में किसी मामले को ले जाने से कोई फैसला नहीं होता । ग्राज गुंडागर्दी, मारकाट हो ग्रौर कुछ थोड़े से गवर्नमेन्ट सर्वेन्ट्स लाकर के कुछ झगड़ा पैदा करें, तो यह सब झगड़ा ग्रागे चल कर जनता के हितों के विरुद्ध होगा ।

लेकिन जैसे फाइव प्वाइन्ट फार्मला और मल्की रूल का मसला 1974 के ग्रन्दर खत्म हो जाते, तो फिर उनको 1976-77 तक ले जाना एक प्रकार से फिर से झगडा पैदा करना है । यह एक डिसकिमिनेटरी वात थी कि हैदराबाद में आन्ध्र के लोगों को एडमिशन न मिले, वहां पर लोगों को नौकरी न मिले । इस चीज का हल तो ग्राथिक है ग्रीर उसका हल प्लानिंग कमिशन के हाथ में है। ग्रगर इस झगडे में रायलसीमा को बिठला भी दिया जाय, तो कुछ समय बाद रायलसीमा का प्रश्न पैदा हो सकता है क्योंकि रायलसीमा का जो क्षेत्र है वह काफी बैकवर्ड है। इसलिए ग्राज जरूरत इस चीज की है कि सान्ध्र में हिसा, तोड़फोड़ की जो कार्यवाही हो रही है, जनता की सम्पत्ति का जो ह्लास किया गया है, उसका समर्थन कोई भी समझदार व्यक्ति नहीं कर सकता है। ये सब घटनाएं निन्दनीय हैं और इसके बारे में तब ही कोई फैसला किया जाना चाहिये जब कि वहां पर ग्रच्छी तरह से शान्ति स्थापित हो जाय । यह प्रधान मंत्री, गृह मंत्री और सब लोगों का फर्ज है कि झगर तैलंगाना झौर म्रान्ध के लोग एक जगह मिलकर म्रौर एक कुटम्ब की हैसियत से रहना चाहते हैं, तो फिर इससे ज्यादा सौभाग्य की बात नहीं

265 Statement re. Damage [1 MAR. 1973]

होगी । लेकिन अगर तेलंगाना और आन्ध्र के लोग दो अललग-अलग भागों में रहना चाहते हैं क्योंकि उनमें इस तरह की मनोवत्ति पैदा हो गई है, वहां तर कुछ राजनीतिक स्वार्थ पैदा हो चका है, इन सब दण्टियों से उसका विभाजन आवश्यक हो जाता है. तो फिर इस कार्य में विलम्ब नहीं किया जाना चाहिये । लेकिन यह कार्य तब ही होना चाहिये जब वहां पर नार्मल कंडिशन्स पैदा हो जाय, वहां का यातायात नार्मल हो जाय ग्रीर सविसेज भी नामल कार्य में लग जावें। लेकिन मुझे खतरा इस वात का लगता है, जैसा कि अभी तक का अनभव रहा है कि सरकार की कोई निष्चित नीति नहीं है। सरकार के सामने इस देश के नक्शे की कोई रूपरेखा नहीं है। सरकार इस बात की घोषणा नहीं कर सकती है कि उसका निश्चय ग्रंतिम होगा।

सरकार का यह कत्त्रंव्य होना चाहिये कि देश का जो प्रत्येक पिछड़ा हिस्सा है, देश का जो उपेक्षित वर्ग है उसके लिए वह पूरी तरह से प्रयास करेगी । वास्तव में देखा जाय जहां पर 40 प्रतिशत व्यक्ति पावर्टी लाइन से नीचे रहते हैं, उसका किसी तरह से कोई भौगोलिक डिवीजन करना न सम्भव है और न सम्भव हो सकता है। इसका तो एक ही तरीका है और वह यह है कि जो 40 प्रति-शत लोग पावर्टी लाइन से नीचे रहते हैं, उनके लिए इस तरह की योजना बनाई जानी चाहिये ताकि वे भी दूसरे लोगों के बराबर आ सकें और उन लोगों को कम से कम जो जिल्दगी की दुनियादी जरूरत की चीजें हैं वे मिल सकें। सरकार को भी केवल राजनीतिक दृष्टि से नहीं बल्कि एक बनियादि दुष्टिकोण को अपने सामने रखना चाहिये, देश के हित को और देश की सुरक्षा को, देश के प्रशासकीय हित को और ग्राधिक दुष्टि से इस प्रश्न का हल निकालना चाहिये । बारबार किर से इन प्रक्लों को खड़ा करने से देश में एक अनिश्चितता की भावना पैदा करना है।

यह जो समस्या ग्राज तेलंगाना ग्रीर ग्रान्ध्र के बीच पैदा हो गई है, वह स्वयं गवनमट की नीतियों का परिणाम है। यदि 1969 में ही दूरदर्शिता से ही इस चीज का सामना किया जाता तो ग्राज यह स्थिति पैदा नहीं होती । वहां पर सरकार ने स्वयं उन प्रवृत्तियों को उभारा ग्रौर ग्राज बह इसका परिणाम वहां पर देख रही है । इसका हल क्या हो सकता है ? इसका हल आज की परिस्थितियों में तब ही हो सकता है जब वहां पर पूरी तरह से शान्ति स्थापित हो जाये ग्रीर शान्ति स्थापित होने के बाद दोनों भागों के लोगों की इच्छा पर इस प्रश्न को छोड दिया जाये । यदि वे एक जगह मिलकर रहना चाहते हैं, तो ठीक है । यदि नहीं रहना चाहते हैं, तो स्वेच्छा से, भाई की हैसियत से जैसे वे पहिले रहते थे, जिस तरह से हैदराबाद श्रीर आंध्र वाले अलग-अलग रहते थे. उस तरह से उनको रहने दिया जाये। विशाल ग्रान्ध्र की तो एक भावनात्मक मांग थी जो उनकी कुछ समय के लिए पूरी हई । उसके बाद वहां पर कूछ राजनीतिक नेताओं ने जो संकीर्ण भावनाये लिए हुए थे, पृथक रहने की मांग शुरू करदी और इस तरह से उन लोगों ने पथक भावना को इंजीनियर किया जिसकी वजह से आज सारा आन्द्र जल रहा है।

मैं ग्राशा करता हुकि यह जो प्रोवलेशन जारी किया है, वहां श्रीघ्न समाप्त होगा श्रीर वहां पर ऐसी परिस्थिति पैदा होगी जिससे वहां परक ांस्टीट यूशन ठीक ढग से काम करने लगे श्रीर शान्त वातावरण में फिर इस प्रश्न का हल किया जाय ।

4 P.M.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Before the next speaker, Mr. Raj Bahadur wants to make a statement on the damage caused to Chambal Project,

Statement re: Damage to Chambal Bridge on National Highway No. 3 near Dholpur and suspension of Traffic on Delhi-Bombay National Highway.

267 ^{*Re*}- Proclamation *issued*

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 PKADESH—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 inte-grationists 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 0* 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

by President relating 268 to Andhra Pradesh

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 b_e 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 Afrmedabad 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 bilingual 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