श्री ना० कृ० शेजवलकर (मध्य प्रदेश): उपसभापति जी, मैं ग्रापकी ग्राज्ञा से निम्न-लिखित प्रस्ताव उपस्थित करता हं:--

"यह सभा राष्ट्रपित में मिफारिश करती है कि राष्ट्रपित द्वारा 18 जनवरी, 1973 को संविधान के अनुच्छेद 356 के अधीन आन्ध्र प्रदेश राज्य के सम्बन्ध में जारी की गई उद्घोषणा को प्रतिसहरण 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 RELA-TION 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 जाएगे उनका बहुत दूरगामी परिणाम होगा। मैं पूर्व में भी एक बार स्नान्ध्र प्रदेश के कुछ क्षेत्र में जाकर स्नाया हूं और स्रभी हाल में पुन: स्नांन्ध्र प्रदेश के पश्चिमी

किनारे की तरफ भी गया हूं, उसके पर्याप्त स्थानों पर जाकर ग्राया हं । मैंने ग्रनभव किया है कि वहां एक भी व्यक्ति प्रगट रूप में ऐसा कहते हुए दिखाई नहीं देता जो इन्टीग्रेशन के पक्ष में हो स्रौर तेलंगाना स्रौर 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 ग्रौर वे जानना चाहते थे कि संसद से जो व्यक्ति ग्राया है, दिल्ली में उसकी क्या प्रतिकिया है। एल्रु, ग्रमलापुरम, राजमहेन्द्री, सामरल-कोटा, काकीनाडा, रामचन्द्रपूरम, एलामंचली, ग्रनकापल्ली, विशाखापत्तनम ग्रौर विजयनगरम इन स्थानों के लोगों से मैं प्रत्यक्ष मिल कर ग्रा रहा हूं। वहां की जनता में क्षोभ भी है ग्रौर 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 थोड़ा इसके सक्षेप में इतिहास को देख लेना जरूरी है। श्रीमन् इस वर्तमान ग्राध्न प्रदेश में 2 1 जिले में, उन 21 जिलों में से 12 जिले ऐसे है जो नान-तेलंगाना क्षेत्र के हैं ग्रौर 9 भृतपूर्व हैदराबाद रियासत के जिले हैं, जिसके लिए ग्रलग नेलंगाना की मांग की जा रही है। सुप्रीम कोर्ट ने 3-10-72 को मुल्की रूल के सम्बन्ध में जो निर्णय दिया, उसके बाद यह समस्या फिर से जोर पकड चकी है। वैसे तो मै पूरे इतिहास में नहीं जाता, किन्तू पृथक तेलंगाना को मांग मै समझता हु कि उसी समय से शुरू हो गई थी जिस समय भ्राध्न प्रदेश का निर्माण हम्राथा। यह बड़े खेद की वात है कि पिछले 16 वर्षों के भीतर भी लोंगों के ग्रन्दर प्रति जिस दूसरे के प्रकार विश्वास उत्पन्न होना चाहिए, दोनों क्षेत्रों की जनता में वह विश्वास नहीं उत्पन्न हो पाया मल्की रूल का एक बडा भारी बवडर, भारी झगडा खडा हो गया । उसके 3-10-72 के निर्णय के बाद स्थान स्थान पर उसर्कः भिन्न-भिन्न प्रतिक्रियाये हुई । हैदराबाद

[Shri N. K. Shejwalkar.]

भ्रौर नेलगाना का जो भाग था वह भी इसके पक्ष मे नही था। जो कुछ हम्राहै बस उनके लिए हितकर है या नहीं, उसके बारे में उनको स्पष्ट ज्ञान नही था विशेष कर जबकि प्रधान मती जी ने अपने 5 सूत्री कार्यक्रम की घोषणा 27-11-72 को की तो उनके कारण ग्रौर भी समस्या उलझ गई । वैसे तो स्प्रीम कोर्ट के निर्णय के बाद एलरु मे जहां मै अभी जाकर ग्राया. 25-10-72 को एक बडा भारी सम्मेलन हम्रा था विद्यार्थियो ग्रौर जनता की स्रोर में, जिसमे तत्कालीन मुख्य मती भी सम्मिलित हुए थे, लेकिन वह लोगो का समाधान नहीं कर सके और फिर उसके बाद नया जो ऐजिटेशन ग्राज वहा हो रहा है, उसकी शुरुग्रात वहा से होती है। कल मुझे सौभाग्य प्राप्त हुम्रा था कि लोक सभा मे उस सम्बन्ध मे चर्चा जो चल रही थी उसके बारे मे कुछ सुनु । यह कहा जाता है कि यह जनतत्र के तत्वों के विपरीत है और इस प्रकार की जो हिसात्मक कार्यत्राहिया वहा हुई है उनके बारे मे विचार ठीक समझ कर करना चाहिये। मेरा ऐसा निवेदन है कि शायद इसमे कुछ ग्रप्रचार भी है, हिसा को कोई भी बढाबा नही देना चाहता । लेकिन हिसा कौन कर रहा है, िहम कारण किससे हिसा हुई है, इसके वारे मे भी मै ग्रापके सामने कुछ तथ्य (Interruptions) जैसा प्रस्तत करूगा यहा भी कहने मे ब्रा रहा है कि जनसघ के लोग भी उसमे सम्मिलित हैं, मै बताउ गा कि कोच इसमे शामिल है। मै सब प्रमाण लाया ह भ्रौर सदन के सामने वह प्रस्तृत करने वाला हुं।

सबसे पहले शातिपूर्ण ग्रान्दोलन की शुरुम्रात 21-11-72 को हई, जिस दिन पूरे प्रदेश के अन्दर, आध्र प्रदेश के भाग के ग्रन्दर बन्द की घोषणा की गई ग्रौर उस दिन वहा वन्द हुग्रा । लेकिन कुछ स्थानो पर उम दिन गोली खलाई गयी और वह स्रकारण, ग्रधिक शक्ति का प्रयोग था, श्रपनी शक्ति का इस्तयोग था। यह बात मिरसापूर के बार एसोसियेशन ने एक ग्रभिभावको की जो कमेटी बनाई थी तीन स्थानो पर जो एक प्रकार की एक्सेस हुई उनके सम्बन्ध में उन्होने जो कमेटी बनाई, उसकी रिपोर्ट मेरे पास है । मै उसे प्रस्तुत करने के लिए तैयार ह। एक स्थान पर जैसा कि ग्रभी मेरे एक मित्र ने कहा वायलेस हमा उसके लिए कौन उत्तरदायी था। मैं भूपेश गुप्त जी को बताना चाहता हू कि राजम्दरी में जो कुछ हुन्ना उसके सम्बन्ध में मेरे पास चार सुफा की रिपोर्ट है। उसमे उन्होने बताया है कि केवल कम्युनिस्ट पार्टी ने उत्पात मचाने की कोशिश की है। पता नही सरकार के पास इस सम्बन्ध में जानकारी है या नही ग्रौर ग्रगर जानकारी है तो क्या करना चाहती है।

यह वर्तमान जो भ्रान्दोलन चल रहा है, इसका जो ट्रेंड है, ग्रागे जिस तरफ यह जा रहा है, मैं पूछना चाहता ह कि स्राखिर जनतत्र में ग्राप किस प्रकार के ग्रान्दोलनो की भ्रपेक्षा करते है । जब हम कहते है कि डेमो-केसी जिन्दा रहेतो डेमोकेसी को जिन्दा रखने का काम खुद सरकार का भी है। जब जनता कोई माग उपस्थित करती है जो उसके ऊपर शीघ्रातिशीघ्र विचार करना शासन का सबसे पहला कर्तव्य होना चाहिए । ग्राज देखने मे यह ग्राता है कि जब कही कोई इस प्रकार का भ्रान्दोलन उठता है तो उससे पहले शासन उस पर ध्यान नही देता है। जब पानी सिर से ऊपर जाने लगता है तब शासन ऐसी कार्य-वाही करने लगता है जिससे स्थिति ग्रौर नम्भीर हो जाती है।

श्रीमन, मै एक उदाहरण प्रस्तुत करना चाहता हूं। बिलासपुर मे जो रेलवे के कर्मचारी है वे वहुत दिनो से कुछ मागे करते चले ग्रा रहे थे, लेकिन उनकी मागे नही मानी गई। जब उन्होने रेले रोकना ग्रारम्भ कर दिया तब उन पर गोली चल गई, लेकिन उनकी मागे भी तुरन्त मान ली गई । यदि पहले उनकी मागे मान ली जाती तो शायद इस प्रकार की परिस्थिति उत्पन्न

नहीं होती। यही स्थिति हर मामले में देखने में स्राती है। सरकार सबसे को स्रापरेशन की मांग करती है। खुद प्रधान मत्नी जी ने यहा सदन में कहा कि हमग्रपेक्षा करते है कि सारे विरोधी पक्ष के लोग ग्रौर सारे ससर् सदस्य राष्ट्र की समस्याए हल करने में सहयोग करेगे, लेकिन दूसरी तरफ उनको "इर्रेस्पां-सिबिल " शब्द का प्रयोग करने में कोई हिचिकचाहट नही होती है। जनसघ ने जो प्रस्ताव किया कि दुबारा स्टेटस रिक्रागेंना -इजे यन फमीशन बनाया जाय, उसको उन्होने इर्रेस्पा सिवल कह दिया। यदि इस सम्बन्ध में उनके पास कोई तर्क था तो उसको वे प्रस्तुत करती, लेकिन ऐसा न करके "इर्रेस्पासिबिल" शब्द का प्रयोग करना कहां तक उसकी रेस्पासिविलिटी का द्योतक है, इसका श्रीमन, श्राप स्वय ग्रन्मान लगा सकते है। यह कोई नई माग नही थी। चार वर्ष पूर्व जो हमारा म्रधिवेशन हम्रा था उसमें भी यह माग रखी गई थी । यदि स्टेटस रिम्रार्गेनाइजंशन कमीशन का गठन हो तो जनता में इस सम्वन्ध में जो भावनाए है उनको सूनने ग्रौर समझने का ग्रवसर प्राप्त होगा। न कि जो है किसी को सूने वगैर यहा स्टेट-मेट दे देना कि हम कुछ करने के लिए तैयार नही है। मैं नही समझता कि यह तरीका ठीक है। जिसको लीगल पैलेसी कहते है. इसी तरह की प्रजातत्र में एक यह पैलेसी है ग्रौर यह स्वाभाविक है कि एक तरफ तो हम कहते है कि पालियामेट निर्णय करती है श्रौर उस में एक बहमत दल होता है, उस का निर्णय होता है, लेकिन उस बहमत दल में भी कुछ लोगों का निर्गय ही सामने ग्राता है श्रौर उस के श्रधीन ही सारी कार्यवाही की जाती है। कल चर्चा के समय एक बात सामने ग्रायी कि यदि प्रधान मन्नी संतुष्ट हो जाय तो भी एक कविसिंग आर्गुमेंट सामने ग्राना चाहिए । कविसिग ग्राग्मेंट सूनने के लिए भ्राप तैयार है क्या ? में दे सकता ह ग्रौर में उसे प्रस्तुत करूगा। मेरे पास वह है, लेकिन कभी ग्राप ने कविंसिंग ग्राग्मेंट सूनने का प्रयास किया है। यह बात ग्राज 12 RS-8.

Re. Proclamation

issued

पैदा हो गयी किविसग श्रागूमेंट की, लेकिम जब श्रापने 5सूती कार्यक्रम जबरदस्ती रखा था तो क्या श्राप ने उनसे यह बात पूछी थी। इस की जिम्मेदारी किस पर है? मैं श्रापको बतलाउगा कि इस का इतिहास देखने से श्रापको पता लगेगा कि श्राखिर यह मांग जो है वह किसी एक प्रान्त को दो प्रान्त करने की मांग नही है, यह वास्तव में उनको पहले जो एक करने की कोशिण थी वह श्राज नाकामयाब हो गयी है श्रौर उन को केवल पूर्व परिस्थित में लाने का प्रश्न है। क्या यह नये सिरे से कोई विभाजन है, ऐसा विचार करना ही में समझता हू कि गलत दिशा में विचार करना होगा।

by President relating

to Andhra Pradesh

सब से पहले में जो इसका इतिहास है भाषा-वार प्रान्त रचना का, उसके सबध में कुछ बतलाना चाहता हूं। सबसे पहले कांग्रेस के द्वारा 1908 में इसकी माग की गयी थी ग्रौर उन्होंने निजी रूप में बिहार ग्रौर सिंध वगैरह को ग्रलग-ग्रलग करने का विचार कर लिया था ग्रोर उसके ग्राधार पर ही सोचना शुरु कर दिया था। यह सवाल उस समय में शुरु हूग्रा है। 1947 में जब भारत स्वतंत्र हुग्रा दैतब पडित जवाहरलाल नेहरू, हमारे भूतपूर्व प्रधान मत्नी जी ने ग्रपने जो विचार इस सबध में प्रदिशत 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 ग्राघ्न, केरल, कर्नाटक ग्रीर महाराष्ट्र के संबंध में विचार प्रदर्शित किये जाय ग्रीर यह विचार उन्होंने रखा। कमीशन ने जो रिपोर्ट दी 10 दिसम्बर, 1948 को, उसमें उन्होंने बताया कि:

"It strongly expresses itself against any reorganisation of provinces being under taken in the then 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 में उन्होंने इस बात को रखा था कि यह जरूरी नहीं है कि लिग्विस्टिक बेमिस पर ही उनको बना दिया जाय ग्रीर ग्रागे उन्होंने 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 माग करने चले ग्रा रहे हैं, मैं समझता हू 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 वाद जयपुर में जो ग्रेस कसेशन हुआ दिसम्बर, 1948 को, उसमें पड़ित जवाहरलाल नेहरू, सरदार वल्लभ भाई पटेल और श्री पट्टाभि सीतारमैया लिग्विस्टिक स्टेट्स के सिद्धात 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'rould be the security, unity

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."

by President relating

इसके बाद फिर यह ग्रान्ध का प्रश्न ग्राया ग्रोर **ब्रापको पता है कि पाटिट श्रीरामुल्लु ने वहा** पर ग्रामरण ग्रनशन किया ग्रौर 15 दिसम्बर. 1952 को उनका स्वर्गवास हो गया । इतना सारा वैकग्राउन्ड होने के बाद ग्रान्ध्र प्रदेश का निर्माण हुआ। यह ध्यान मे रखने वाली बात है कि उस समय यह हैदराबाद के जो जिले थे उसमे नही थे भौर उसके बाद 19 दिसम्बर 1953 को फिर से एस० ग्रार सी० की उस वक्त मे नियुक्ति हुई जिसके ग्रध्यक्ष (चेयरमैन) श्री फजल श्रली थे श्रौर दूसरे सदस्यो मे श्री कुजरू ग्रौर मिस्टिर पाणिकर थे। कुजरू साहब की ग्रमी भी यह राय है कि इसका विभाजन कर दिया जाए, जिन्होने उस समय भी ग्रपनी राय प्रस्तुत की थी। कमीशन ने जो अपने निर्णय दिए है वे रिपोर्ट के पेराग्रा क 386 पर है। उसको मैं पूरा नहीं पढना चाहता, क्योंकि उतना समय नहीं है, लेकिन में जो मिफारिश विशेष रूप से उन्होने की है उसका उल्लेख समय मिलने पर श्रागे करूगा । तेलगाना के सबध मे जब दोनो पक्षो का एग्रीमेट हम्रा उसके टर्म्स इस प्रकार के थे

"Telengana should have 40 per cent representation in the Cabinet The Central and general administrative expenditure was to be shared proportionately between the two 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 arrangement was to subsist for five years and should be extended for issued
another five years if Telengana
Members of the Assembly desired
it."

यानी, प्रारम्भ से ही दोनों को ग्रपनी सिक्यो-रिटी के बारे में एक दूसरे पर शक था और प्राय. ये सब व.ते ग्रापस में तय कर ली गई कि 40 प्रतिशत कैविनेट में भी ग्रायेंगे ग्रौर उसके बाद में फन्ड्स का भी डिस्ट्रिब्शन किस तरह से होगा, सर्विसेज में लोगों का परिमाण क्या रहेगा। उन सारी वातों को सामने रखा गया । अब इसके बाद आग का इतिहास शुरू हुग्रा। वहा जो भी श्राज तक मंत्रिमण्डल रहा वह जो म्राजकल का शासन करने वाला दल है, कांग्रेस, उसका मंत्रिमण्डल रहा । ग्रव उन्ही के ग्रलग-मलग स्थानों मे जी कुछ नेता लोग थे, उन्होंने वहां पर क्या किया या नही किया, उसका परिणान माल यह हम्रा कि एक दसरे के प्रति शका बढती चली गई ग्रौर ग्राज तक बजाए इसके कि वे नजदीक स्नाते वे एक दूसरे से बिलकुल दूर होते चले गए ग्रौर मैं इसमें स्पष्ट करना चाहता हं कि सिवाय कुछ व्या-पारियों को छोडकर जो इसमें इन्टरेस्टेड थे कि एकाधिकार बना रहे तो उसमें व्या-पारियों को लाभ मिले, व्यापारियों मे भी जो इस प्रकार के व्हेस्टेंड इन्टरेस्टस थे वह मूबमेट के पक्ष में नहीं है, वे इस पक्ष में हैं कि इकट्टा रहे, लेकिन बाको सर्व साधारण लोग यह चाहते हैं कि ग्रभी भी कुछ बिगडा नहीं है, श्रौर हम, दोनों क्षेत्रों की जनता के म्रलग-ग्रलग प्रदेश बन जाये तो हम सुख की नीद सो नकने है ग्रीर ग्रपने भविष्य के बारे में कुछ निर्माण कर सकेंगे।

एस० स्रार० सी० ने पैराग्राफ 384 में ग्रीर भी बताया कि:-

"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."

यानी

"(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 भ्रौर किसी को दूसरी स्विधा न दी जाय। यद्यपि मैं इस पक्ष काहं कि ग्रब ऐसी स्थिति है कि दोनों को स्वतन्त्र रूप मे रहने दिया जाय । फिर भी मैं इस बात का समर्थन नहीं कर सकता कि मल्की नियमों को स्थायी बनाया जाय, क्योंकि इसके द्वारा दो प्रकार के सिटीजनों का निर्माण होता है। यह बात ग्रच्छी नही है ग्रीर इसके कारण वहां सारे क्षेत्र में अशांति वनी रहेगी। हां, अगर वास्तव में हमें ग्रान्ध्र ग्रौर तेलंगाना क्षेत्र का डेवलपमेंट करना है ग्रौर उसके लिए कोई बोर्ड स्थापित किया जाता है जो उस क्षेत्र के लिए विशेप सुविधा दे, विशेष राहत दे, तो इसमें कोई ग्रापत्ति की वात नहीं है। इस तरह की बात को उस क्षेत्र के लोगों को विचार करना है ग्रौरिफर वे इस बारे में ग्रपनी मह-मित दे सकते हैं। ग्रगर हम ऐसा करते हैं तो रायलसीमा का भी क्षेत्र है जो पिछड़ा : ग्रा है ग्रौर उसकी उन्नति करनी है तथा सुविधा भी देनी है। ग्रगर इस तरह से सब क्षेत्र का एक कम्पोजिट युनिट बन जाय, तो इस ग्राधार पर इस तरह की चीज का विचार किया जा

[Shri N. K. Shejwalkar]

सकता है। लेकिन यह बात कभी नहीं सोची गई कि पुरानी प्रथा जारी रखने के कारण ऊपर ऊपर से तो यह मालूम पड़ता था कि सब तरह की शांति है मगर भींतर कुछ बात थी। जिस प्रकार से कांच के गिलास में दरार पड़ जाती है और उसके टुकडों को दुबारा इकट्टा नहीं किया जा सकता है, उसी प्रकार से दोनों क्षेत्रों को श्रव इंकट्टा करने की जो कोशिश को जा रही है, उस में कोई कामयाबी हासिल नहीं हो सकती है।

जैसे सर्वविदित है कि एक रीजनल कमेटी बनी थी, उसके फंडस भी खलग हो गये थे श्रौर एडमििस्ट्रेशन में उनको स्टेट्यूटरी राइट्स एप इन्टमेंट करने के बारे में मिल गये थे। तेलंगाना के बारे में जो रीजनल कमेटी थी उसका एक विशेष ग्रस्तित्व था। उसकी बात सुनी जाती थी भ्रौर उसके म्राधार पर मंत्रालयों को निर्णय लेने पर मजबूर होना पड़ता था। यह सब होने के बाद भी यह समझा जाय कि वेग्नलग-म्रलग नहीं है ? साथ-साथ है, तो मैं यह पूछना चाहता ह कि स्रव साथ-साथ क्या रहा ? जब कमेटियां अलग-भ्रलग हो गई. फडस अलग हो गये, परिस्थितिया अलग-अलग हो गई, तो फिर कौन सी बात साथ रह गई है ? ग्रगर फिर भी उनको एक साथ रखा गया तो इसकी वजह से राष्ट्र के लिए एक बडी समस्या उत्पन्न हो जायगी । मैं समझता ह कि यह समस्या का सही भ्राकलन नहीं है। ग्रव मैं इस सन्दर्भ में जो ग्राज हमारे

सामने समस्या है, जिस को वास्तव में एक विभाजन की समस्या माना जाता है ग्रौर 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 ग्रौर इसी लिए हम लोगों ने यह मांग की है कि इस सम्बन्ध में एक किमशन बिठलाया जाय। ग्राखिर यह नहीं हो सकता है कि ग्रलग ग्रलग वातों के लिए ग्रलग-ग्रलग मापदन्ड बनाये। ग्रगर यह बात कहने है तो जनता को एक प्रकार से धोखा देते हैं। हर जगह की ममस्या ग्रलग है, इसलिय कोई एक नियम, एक

to Andhra Pradesh सिद्धान्त लाग नही किया जा सकता । जब महाराष्ट्र बननें का प्रश्न भ्राया उस समत्र भी यह बात एडवोकेट की जाती रही है ग्रौर जैमा मैंने इतिहास बताया है काग्रेम के प्रमुख लोगो की, प्रधान मंत्री की क्या राय थी। यह मैने बताया है। इसके बाद में हमने देखा है कि महराष्ट्र में इतना बड़ा श्रान्दोलन हम्रा और वहा सैंकडों लोग मारे गए ग्रौर उसके बाद हम्रा वही, महाराष्ट्र श्रलग बना, गजरात श्रन्नग बना। ग्राज मेघालय, हरियाणा सब तरफ इनी तरह का इतिहास है। किसी ने धमकी दी, हम प्राणाघात करेंगे, चाहे रामुल के स्वर्गवास के कारण घवडा गए स्रौर तारासिंह जी ने कहा कि हम जल मरैगे उस भ्राधार पर हरि-या गा और पजाब का विभाजन कर दिया गया।

श्री रए बीर सिंह (हिन्याणा) गनन है।

भी ना० कृ० **रोजबलकर** : होगा गल । लेकिन उन ग्राधार पर किया गया था ।

श्री रणबीर सिंह हिरियामा श्रीर पंजाब के लोग. .

श्री ना० कृ० शेजवलकर : हरियाणा स्रौर पंजाब के लोग लेकिन पहल मना किया गया और बाद मैं माना गया । स्राज स्नान्ध्र प्रदेश के लोग खुशी से ग्रलग होना चाहते हैं ग्रीर तेलंगाना के लोग खशी से अनग होना चाहते है। परिस्थिति सुधर मकती है, एक दूसरे मिल कर रह सकते हैं। मैं कहना नहीं चाहता, लेकिन मबको पता है कि कांग्रेस के अन्दर इस सम्बन्ध में दो राय है भ्रौर तेलांगाना एम० पीज ने कांग्रेस दल से इस्तीफा तक दे दिया । अब आपके पास कौनसा ऐसा टेस्ट है जिसके स्राधार पर भ्राप पता कर सकते है कि वहा की जनता क्या चाहती है। मैं एक उदाहरण रखता ह। यहां गृहमली जी बठे है, गहात्री के रूप में नही, एक माधारण नागरिक के रूप में, अपनी आइडेटिटीन बताते हुए वे चलें, मैं उनके माथ चलने के लिए तैयार हा। श्रान्ध्र प्रदेश के किसी भी गाव में चत्रे जाइए

मैं स्रभी देखकर स्राया हूं, स्राप्त प्रश्न पूछ लीजिए, हा सफ़ेद टोपी पहनकर जाएगे तो लोग नाराज हो जाएगे, वे समझेगे कि काग्रेंस का नेता, है इस प्रकार का वातावरण वहा है। काग्रेस ग्रौर साम्यवादी लोगो का जो रवैपा है उसके बारे मे वहा 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 given a list of the villages I have visited

MR DEPUTY CHAIRMAN You have to conclude now, Mr Shejwalkar

श्री ना० कृ० शेजवलकर मै इसलिए यह कह रहा हू, क्योकि मैने वह क्षेत्र देखा है, मुझे इस बान का गर्व नही है कि मैने वह सब देखा है। ग्रापको जनता की समस्या सचम्च समझनी है तो वहा चलिए। दो म्रादमियो को हैदराबाद भ**े**जकर म्राप रिपोर्ट मगा लेते है श्रीर वम्बई में एक स्टेटमेट दे देते है या दिल्ली से ग्रापके नेता कोई स्टेरमेट दे देते है। इसमे पिन्स्थिति मुधरने के बजाय बिगडती है। इसलिए मैं चाहता ह कि ग्राप इसका ग्रध्ययन करे। ग्राज यह कहा जाता है कि जब तक शाति स्थापित नही होगी तब तक हम विचार नही कर सकते है। मै कहता हू कि शानि बिगाडी किसने है। वहा की जो परिस्थिति बनी उसमे पहले भुख हडताल, जुलूस, फिर बन्द, इम प्रकार एक-एक करके कदम उठाए गए, जनतातिक हुग से, प्रजाताविक हुग से जितने कदम उठाए जा सकते थे वे सारे कदम उठाए गण, फिर भी वहा वायलेम का मामला नही है। ग्रायने श्मीर लागो को बुताना, जो स्नापके दल के जन-प्रतिनिधि है। वे कहते है कि इस्तीफा देगे लेकिन क्या हो गया, उनको श्रापने रोक रखा है, हो सकता है कि वह गापके दन की दृष्टि से ठीक हो, लेकिन जो ग्रान्दोलन चला

रहे है जनता की तरह से पहले से उन लोगो ने एन जी स्रोज ने, विद्यार्थियो ने, एडवोकेट्स ने ग्रौर वहा के सारे व्यापारी लोगो ने एक समिति बनाई है और उस समिति के द्वारा जो-जो कदम उठाए गए जनता ने उनका पालन किया।

by President relating

जिस दिन उन्होंने घोषणा की उसके बाद उन्होने सारी कार्यवाहिया की । मैं जानना चाहता हु गृहमत्री जी हमको बतलायें कि काग्रेस एक डोमेस्टिक के ग्रन्दर इसको उन्होने एफ यर समझकर रखा है। मख्य मती जी से मिलने के लिये हम लोग गर्ये थे। उन्होने कहा था ज्यादा समस्या गभीर नही है। आध्र प्रदेश के लोगो की एक रीजनल कमेटी बना ली जाए तो वह मान जायेंगे। यह बात मै स्रापसे निवेदन कर रहा हू। नत्रम्बर के ब्राखीर मे या पहली दिसम्बर की तारीख होगी। लेकिन उनकी ग्रापेक्षा के विपरीत वहा ग्रान्दोलन चलता रहा ग्रौर ग्राज सौ दिन हो गये। स्राप कल्पना कर सकते है कि इन दिनों में कोई कर्मचारी नौकरी पर नही गया, कोई अभिभावक अदालत मे नही गया, कोई विद्यार्थी स्कूल मे नही गया । जब से घोषणा को गई सरकारी कार्यालय श्रौर बाजार बन्द रहे । स्राप इसको भी जनता का म्रान्दोलन नही समझेंगे तो फिर किसको जनता का ग्रान्दोलन समझेंगे ? किसके ग्राधार पर ग्रापके जितने भी एम० एल० एज० या एम० पी० यह कह सकते है―-ग्रापकी डर की वजहसे हो सकता है-कि यह जनता का ग्रान्टी-लन नहीं है ? ग्रगर उन्होने ग्रापके उर की वजह से कहातो उनसे स्रापको बात ही नहीं करनी चाहिए। ग्रगर उनको खुद का कोई डिस्क्रीशन नही है तो यह प्रतिनिधि नही है। The do not represent the people's

मैं दबाव इ तो मेरी तरफ श्रीर दूसरा दवाब दे तो उसका तरफ बोलते है, उसकी मार्किक

बात करते हे तो वह धोखा देने वाले है

wishes at all.

ग्डडग्रह्य [श्रीना०कृ०शेजवलकः]

ग्रापको इस सम्बन्ध मे वताया कि वहा वास्तविक स्थिति ऐसी है कि एक-एक व्यक्ति को ग्रपने भविष्य के बारे में चिन्ता हो गई है। उसके मन मे गभीर स्थिति से उत्पन्न प्रश्न है कि हमारा भविष्य माथ में रहने में उज्जवल है या नहीं ? इस सम्बन्ध में जो एप्रोच है वह उल्टा एप्रोच है। यह कह देना कि शानि जब होगी तब हम बात करेगे। मैं पुछना चाहता हूं कि जब ग्राग लग गई ग्रीन हम कहेंगे कि हम पानी डालेगे तब जब हम खाना खाकर तैयार हो जाय, जब हमको शान्ति हो जाएगी, उचित है। किस तरफ की शान्ति ग्राप चाहते हैं। मै पुछना चाहता ह कि पिष्टले 8-10 दिनों में बान सी घटना हुई है ? स्नाप कितने दिन तक इस किस्म की शान्ति रखना चाहते हैं ? कौन सी दुर्घटना पिछले 15 दिनों में हुई है जिसके कारण स्रापको शान्ति 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, $i_{\rm n}$ two minutes you should wind up.

श्री ना० कृ० शेजवलकर will try.

मेरा निवेदन है कि वहा की समस्या का हल ग्रगर कोई हो सकता है, तो केवल यही हल है कि ग्राप दोनों को ग्रलग प्रलग खुशी से रहने दें। इसमें जितना विलम्ब होगा, जितनी देर ग्राप करेंगे उतनी ही उसमें किटनाई होगी। यह समझना भी गलत है कि इसका पोलिटिकल एक्सप्लायटें जन हो रहा है। मै समझता हूं कि पोलिटिकल कलर ग्रापक जासन के हारा इसमें लाया जा रहा है क्यों कि जनसंघ का वहा कोई होल्ड नहीं है। वहां हम निष्पक्ष रूप से ग्रह्ययन करने के लिए गये थे, वहा ग्रमेम्बली में जनसंघ का कोई सदस्य नहीं है। ग्राज भी देखेंगे तो कोई जनसंघ

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

तीन महीने हो गये उस समस्या को, कोई परिस्थित नही बदलो । मेरी समझ, मे इस प्रकार का प्रोक्लेमेणन निकालना यह सविधान का सही उपयोग नही है—मै दुरुपयोग नही कर सकता—लेकिन यह सही उपयोग नहीं है, क्योंकि इसमे ऐसी सविधानिक कठिनाई क्या उत्पन्न हो गई। ग्रापका वहा एक इलेक्टेड हाउस था, सदस्य थे, वहां के मुख्य मंत्री के खिलाफ ग्रविश्वास प्रस्ताव नही ग्राया था। ग्रापके ही लोग इकट्ठे नही 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)

उपाघ्यक्ष महोदय, चूिक श्राप समय दे नहीं र है, इस लिये मैं श्रापकी श्रनुमित से केवल कुछ डाक्युमेंट्स मदन के समक्ष रखना चाहता हूं। मेरे पास राजमुंदरी की रिपोर्ट है जो कि वहां की सिटीजन्म ऐक्शन कमेटी ने प्रस्तुत की है। इसी प्रकार फायरिंग के बारे में वहां की बार एसोसिएशन ने एक इन्क्वायरी काडक्ट की। नरसापुर में जो...

श्री उपसभापति : बाद मे द्याप उनको दे दोजिएगा।

श्री ना० कृ० शेजवलकर. मैं इसलिए इसको प्रस्तुत कर रहा हुं ताकि इसके सम्बन्ध में विचार करके मन्त्री जी उत्तर दे सकें।

श्री उपसा।पति : बाद मे उनको देदीजिएगा। 237

श्री ना॰ कृ॰ श्रोजवलकर : मैं सदन से श्रार्थना करता हू कि मेरा जो प्रस्ताव है उसका सदन ग्रानमोदन 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 well 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 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 cor-Normally here rect perspective. 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, as you know, the High Court in Andhra Pradesh has delivered another to Andhra Pradesh
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 be considered as a Mulki and the Mulki Rules may not apply to him. There have been three judgments. The first judgment invalidated the Mulki Rules. The final judgment of the Supreme Court again validated or revalidated or declared as valid the Mulki Rules. Now the last judgment has given rise to a new controversy. That is that the very definition of Mulki Rules should be considered in a different sense.

As I was saying, after the Mulki Rules judgment for some time 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 come together and to come to a settlement; but they failed. Finally the Congress legislature party took a decision and the Members 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 interests concerned a formula was What evolved. did the formula mean? The formula 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 on the five point formula regularises the appointments made since November 1956 of persons from Andhra region and non-Telengana people in the Telengana region. also provided for the total repeal of

ıssued [Shri N. K. Shejwalkar]

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Re. Proclamation

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 The whole idea was to of Telengana 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 As you know this Act had the effect of assuaging the feelings of the people But 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 pro-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

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 associatesthat he should resign and so he quickly decided to submit his own resignation and the resignation of Council in order to make it possible for the Presidential Administration to try and control the situation It was not possible for the Chief Minister of his Government to make that kind of an effective impact on the situation which the Presidential Administration alone can make Thereafter, Sir, you know, the situation has been 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 conrol that he wondered why other measures or other steps were not boing taken That is a very well-deserved 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 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 and others, you will see that—and we have information to that effect—the attitude of Civil Surgeons, Assistant Civil Surgeons, N.G.Os. and changing. Even the students now that the situation 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 into confroversial matters. But what I would impress upon the House is this....

SHRI MAHAVIR TYAGI (Uttar Pradesh): This is primarily due to the fact that the Prime Minister has assured them that even separation is a matter which she 1s prepared to 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 has an open mind to consider all aspects of the situation; it also includes integration and it also includes separation...

SHRI MAHAVIR TYAGI: That was what I meant.

SHRI UMASHANKAR DIKSHIT: The purpose is to meet the situation. The situation can be met by removing misunderstandings and misinterpretations that were created. If the basic reason behind the agitation was met, the misgivings could Nothing has happened be removed after the announcement of the Supreme Court judgment on Mulki Rules to change the situation, so far as the **basic** merits of the question of 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 on 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 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...

SHRI UMASHANKAR DIKSHIT: Let us understand what 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 3 P.M. ıdea of separation side and recently on the Andhra reion is of a historical character. Telangana people lived under the Nızam'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 had introduced the Mulki rules because he did not have that kind of a mass base which was necessary and for lack of which he 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 is 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 on Andhra side there

to Andhra Pradesh

[Shri Uma Shanker Dikshit]

[RAJYA SABHA]

are places in the Rayalaseema region the economic condition of which perhaps worse than that cf 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 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? 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 and a new situation developed rapidly. When the leaders found that the people had reacted sharply powerfully to the Mulki Rules they dittoed the people and allowed themselves to be led by the people. There is nothing wrong in it provided you keep the movement 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 quite human on their part that they exploited the situation. But what is involved in the situation is a serious principle of the integrity of the country. I do not say that a small State is necessarily wrong or that a large State is bad. It is all a question of what, in a given situation, is suit-

For instance, there are certain able. well-known principles which should govern the formation of a new State. At the States Reorganisation Commission's time the terms of reference requird that in 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 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 we want to develop the region, develop it into a progressive and prosperous State. It is not merely question of administration; any State with a certain amount of funds can be run, but this is not the principle for which we 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 backward ťο 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 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?

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

This is another point: I was a witness to the scenes when the first States Reorganisation Commission travelled State to State. A few days before the arrival of the members of the Commission, there used to be general

disturbances all over the place with flags and buntings, processions demonstrations and serious police arrangements to control the situation. Do we want that to happen again? Now, the Commission consisted very able and talented people. 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-regions 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 that I was making is 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 I merely wanted discussion. 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 vindicated. It has been vindicated by the 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 and a durable solution.

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

The questions were proposed

SHRI S. S. MARISWAMY (Tamil Nadu): Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir. I Home Minister's listened to our 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, But, Sir, after listening to the Home Minister I have a suspicion that their mind is made up, that they would not censider the bifurcation aspect.

SHRI UMASHANKAR DIKSHIT: No. Sir. There is no question of making up of 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 where after the Independence 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 Jalianwala Bagh. I am afraid the forces let loose by General Dyer would have been less dangerous than the men at Guntur, Vijaywada 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 an open lorry. The lorry was so high that these ladies could not climb up. So, some of the

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lady homeguards who had been recently recruited pushed them by hair and threw them into the lorry has happened in Guntur

SHRIN K SHEJWALKAR Shame, shame

SHRI S S MARISWAMY Also in Vijaywada there had been a ladies' procession and some doubtful characters who have been lately recruited by the police, were let loose amongst the group to beat th€m Such 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 Rayalaseema or Circar Districts I am told he is given Rs 450 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 out to any citizen of this country

RAJU (Andhia В 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 MENON (Kerala) But this is what is happening

SHRI V B RAJU No, no

SHRI KOTA PUNNAIAH Whatever you are narrating, have we to take all these things as facts?

SHRIS 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 believe in order to bring prosperity, unity and advancement to the people the various regions as per the Regolution passed 25 years ago in the 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 en otional integration This phrase 'emotional integration' was coined by They paid lip sympathy to Pandıtjı it whenever they came outside Andhra Pradesh but they did nothing 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 Kanyakumarı 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 find that there is a little difference The people of Kanyakumari are more akin to Kerala State than Madras Even though they 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 saying immediately after the last general election the Ministry under Narasımha 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 other day, if there had been a chosen-I do not mind whether he is Andhra side or fromfrom lengana—with mass backing and popular loyalty, things would not have come to this sad end. There a tendency and that is what I am unable to understand. Of course, it is internal politics of the Congress and party Ι am not interested in it. I am interested in the weifare 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, choose as the Chief Minister must be in a position to deliver the goods. 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

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 with the people, it for a dialogue should not totally rule out the possibility of bifurcation. Ιt should into account the real ings of the real people of 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 Shejwalkar, 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 incident_s of 1955, 1956 and 1957. whole trouble started from those In 1955 there was the States Reorganisation Commission mending a separate State of Telengana. Mr. Papi Reddi was not in politics at that tims. 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

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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-And the Congress gana Working Committee constituted a of sub-committee consisting Shri Dhebar, Shri Nehru, Shri Azad and Shri Govind Ballabh Pant The committe sat for a long time and history records that Shri Azad took a very firm stand for separate Telengana but that Shr1 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 rom Telengana entered into an agreement what is called a gentlemen's agreement Hon Members in the should realise that that Opposition gentlemen's agreement was signed by only eight people, Shri Gopala Reddy, Shri N Sanieeva 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, criticism there was there was no 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 lessure? 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 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 Meghalaya to keep integrity of the State somehow But Parliament did not agree to it 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 Sir the Tengana people placed their confidence in the Minister, after two years of agitation left the matter to her to arbitrate 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 More than the present you know? On∈ day 26 people were number shot dead On that evening, Prime Minister flew from Delhi Hyderabad, and everybody felt that Telengana was going to be constituted as a State But we waited patienthe second onslaught us also we were able to ward off. and we retained the integrity of

Now the third one we are passing It is more than through What 1 sthe genesis month this? There was a reason for Telengana agitation Historical sons were there As I had said, the Reorganisation Commission States created that hope And then agreement that gentlemen's was which was not fully implemented On Januar_v 19, 1969, leaders of all statement political parties signed a in which it was agreed that injustice was done to Telengana. Even at that time, about four thousand employees of Andhra who were employed ın Hyderabad against that Act Public Employment Act, they agreed to send them back, the Andhra leaders agreed to take them back much has happened There was reason for the Telengana movement,

there was a genuine cause for it. But ultimately, the people in Telengana, the leadership in Telengana, saw its wisdom in reconciling to keep the integrity of the State which safeguards the interests of Telengana. The whole basis of the integrity of the State with safeguards to the Telengana people's interests for historical reasons. And it was a transitory provision. And now what is this agitation for? Did the hon. Member who visited those towns put a question to anybody and find out why he was agitating? I think he has failed to do it. I must place before this House true facts.... (Interruption bυ N. K. Shejwalkar) I think I can carry conviction to you. I am sure my arguments stand on moral conviction. Si_r in our state polity there are three wings which have the power to take decision-judiciary, executive and the legislature. In this particular all the three wings have taken decision. 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? talk about the rule of law. We talk 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. Constitution does not provide 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 could be taken as in Goa done by Shri Lal Bahadur Shastri. That was not accepted. We were told that it is not the best interests 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 thing is this is a simple matter, 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 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 would happen to the Mulki Rules, which were repealed by that 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 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 this is the interpretation of a Mulki it is

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the Telengana people who should fight for the 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 has stayed for not less than 15 years and declares that he has no intention 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, this agitation would not have taken root But the judgment came late

SHRI V B RAJUI 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 rickshawpuller 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 question? Sir, I do not want to take much time This interpretation of 'Mu kı" came on the 15th February, This is the third stage If a historian writes the history of Independent India and if a chapter allotted to Andhra Pradesh, he wıll have to record how the speaking people have been the tims 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 millions of people are exposed dangers Sir these judgments have not only affected the discipline the services, but have destroyed the polity and the economy

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

SHRI V B RAJU There is question of my accepting or your accepting I am not a party there am a Telugu-speaking man I am one of the 4½ crores of peole I am not accusing anybody or any section of people I am a supporter of the poilcies and programmes of the Prime Minister in trying to deal with thissituation very patiently, carefully, tactfully and to bring people to dialogue and evolve a democratic process for finding a lasting solution for the area I come from the area, I suffer Mr Shejwalkar does suffer Sir is it a code of the political parties to take advantage in such matters like separation, communal riots etc? In such matters, must be no party approach When did this agitation take root and develop like this? Only when the Opposition political parties, four parties, entered the arena and constituted the Andhra Mahasabha, Karyacharana Samiti and Sangarshan Samiti, involving the students Then this movement Sir, I do not want that up my neighbours should be affected may warn them Don't throw stones living in glass houses I am requesting Mr Nijalingappa who is supporting the separatist movement, Karunanidhi who is supporting movement

SHRI S S MARISWAMY Sir, I take objection to this Mr Karunanidhi or any DMK member did not advocate separation

SHRI V B RAJU I am glad Let not Mr Karunanidhi interfere in the internal quarrel of Andara people

SHRIS S MARISWAMY We have never done it

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

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.

P. **SUBRAMANIA** SHRI K. 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 constituted by the whole of India, a problem which concerns a part India. Therefore, whatever may 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 is national and whatever the Opposition says is anti-national. Is that not what you mean?

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 through which we are passing. 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. elective posts we have got reserva-For services we have got reservations. Even though the original provision was only for ten years, we extended it for another 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?

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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.

For 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 The non-Gazetted officers suffering. are on strike. They come from lower middle class and middle class families. Some of them have sold away whatever little jewellery they had their wives, just to maintain themaffairs selves. This is the state of there. I wish this House resolves and appeals to the NGOs 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 Andhra, For that post from beginning it was only Gopala Reddy

versus Sanjiva Reddy, Sanjiva Reddy versus Sanjivayya, San'jivayya versus Reddy, Brahamananda all Andhra. There was no political quarrell on the issue of power. Mr. Marıswamy was saying that there was some sort of a cultural difference. How does he say that? The man in Hindupur which is adjacent to Karnataka speaks Telugu. You know very well that a person living in Ichchapuram bordering Orissa speaks 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 divided on the ground that it is a big State, what about Madras? 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 or backward area had asked for separation. Here a relatively developed

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SHRI MAHAVIR TYAGI: Let us be clear. Is your party in favour of division and separation or in favour of unity?

area is asking for separation . . .

SHRI V. B. RAJU; After I spoke so much, does he get this impression? The point is simple. In my view the solution is not so important as approach to the solution. The point is whether the Government of India and Parliament should take a decision under threat of violence and strike by Government employees? First of all, normally should come and after that let us enter into some dialogue ... (Interruptions). My desire is that Andhra Pradesh shall not be broken up. My desire is that there should be no second reorganisation Commission as it will only be inviting new troubles and diverting the attention of

people to political issues instead of tackling the economic issues facing our country.

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श्री बनारसी दास (उत्तर प्रदेश) ध्यक्ष महोदय, यह अत्यन्त दुर्भाग्य का विषय है कि इस सदन में सविधान के ग्राटिकल 356 के अनुसार आध्र प्रदेश मे प्रोक्ले-मेशन के सबध मे हम लोग विवाद कर रहे है और भाध के भदर भाज कल प्रेसीडेंट का रूल है। स्राध्न के स्रदर जो वर्तमान परिस्थिति है वह सरकार की श्रदूर्दशिता, सरकार की एडहाक नीतिया, ढुलमुल नीति ग्रौर मरकार के ग्रनिश्चय के ही कारण हैं। चेना रेड्डी केन्द्र के मत्री थे। यदि दुर्भाग्य से वह डिसक्वालीफाई न हो जाते तो शायद 1969 मे तेलगाना का कोई भ्रादोलन न होता स्रौर जो गवर्नमेट इतना बडा मैस्सिव मैंन्डेट का दावा करती है उस मे इतनी क्षमता स्रौर साहस नही था कि डा० चेन्ना रेड्डी के खिलाफ प्रनुशासन सबधी कोई कार्यवाही करती । लेकिन एक गठबधन करने के लिए उन्होने स्वय ग्राध्न के ग्रदर रीजन-लिज्म, सेपरेटिस्ट टेंडेसीज ग्रीर क्षेत्रीय मनो-वत्तियो को प्रोत्साहन दिया । वही चेन्ना रेड्डी वहा के नेता बने हुए है श्रीर स्राज जो वहा के मुख्य मत्री है उन की टैक्ट-लेसनेस के कारण ग्राज यह सारी परिस्थिति वहा उत्पन्न हुई है। स्राज वे वहा पर किसी के प्रति उत्तरदायी नही । भ्रगर वहा श्री नरिसह राव किसी के प्रति उत्तरदायी है तो केवल दिल्ली के प्रति उत्तरदायी है ग्रौर इसीलिए हर वीक वेयहा पर सलाह लेने के लिए आते थे। यदि वहा का चीफ मिनिस्टर एक नामिनेटेड सुबेदार न होता ग्रौर वहा की श्रसेम्बली का सही प्रतिनिधि होता तो श्राज जो श्राध्न मे जनता जल रही है---पत्नो मे निकला है कि दो ग्ररब की सपत्ति का नुकसान हुम्रा है, वह न हुम्रा होता ग्रौर मैं इस बात को मानता हु कि सरकार ने स्वय हिसात्मक प्रवृत्तियो को अपनी ढुलमुल नीति की वजह से प्रश्रय दिया।

भ्राज लोगों की यह धारणा बन गई है कि शांतमय वातावरण मे विचार-विमर्श के द्वारा किसी भी प्रश्न के ऊपर गौर नहीं किया जा सकता है, जब तक हिंसा नही होगी, जब तक विध्वसात्मक प्रवृत्तिया चरम सीमा पर नही पहचेगी तब तक सरकार का ग्रासन नही डोलेगा । श्रहणाचलम मे, नागालैन्ड, विपूरा, मणिपूर, मेघालय मे यही हन्ना श्रौर स्रासाम के कई टुकड़े कर दिये गए। पजाब जो कि हमारी सीमा का एक प्रदेश था उसके 2 हिस्से कर दिए गए । म्राज भी कोई व्यक्ति यह नही जानता है कि म्राध्र प्रदेश को नही विभाजित किया जाएगा । मै उन व्यक्तियों में से हूं जो इस बात की मानते है कि स्टेट्स पर लडाई के जरिए से जो कोई फैसला होगा वह तमाम हिन्दुस्तान का विघटन करेगा ग्रौर यहा की विश्व खला-त्मक प्रवृत्तियो को एक बार बल मिलेगा। लेकिन क्या कोई निश्चयपूर्वक कह सकता है कि प्रधान मत्नी फिर उन्ही शक्तियो के सामने, राजनैतिक लक्षयों की पूर्ति की वजह से, नहीं झक जाएगे ? ग्राज इस बात का पूरी जनता के भ्रदर यकीन है। यू० पी० मे मै जानता हु, जो गवर्नमेट कर्मचारी वर्खास्त किए गए, जिनका डिस्मिसल हाईकोर्ट से बहाल हुग्रा, यहा पर ग्रापका ही चीफ मिनि-स्टर ग्राता है ग्रौर वह उनको बहाल कर देता है । तो फिर वहा के कर्मचारी ग्रपनी समस्याग्रो के लिए, ग्रपने झगडो को निपटाने के लिए यदि डाइरेक्ट ऐक्शन का सहारा लेते हैं ग्रौर तमाम नेशन को रैन्सम के लिए होल्ड करते हैं तो उसके लिए सिवाए गवर्नमेन्ट के ग्रौर कौन दोषी हो सकता है। ग्राज जब इस देश में हमारे सामने गरीबी श्रौर बेरोजगारी श्रौर विकास के प्रश्न है, जनता मे विरोधका प्रक्त है. ऐसे में एस० आर० सी० की नियुक्ति करना फिर से पड़ारा बाक्स को खोलना होगा । कही न कही कोई फाइनलिटी होनी चाहिए और जहा तक भ्रान्ध्र प्रदेश का सवाल है, यह मौजूदा भ्रादोलन सरकार की ढिल-मिल नीतियो का नतीजा है। ज्यादा अच्छा

by President relating

to Andhra Pradesh

[श्री बनारसी दास]

होता म्रान्ध्र एक रहता मौर एक रहना चाहिए । लेकिन उसकी हालत यह है कि तेलंगाना ग्रौर ग्रान्ध्र के दोनों ग्रंगों का नेतृत्व जिनके हाथ में है उनको एक जगह बैठ कर इस बात का प्रयास करना चाहिए कि वे एक जगह रह सकें। ग्रब चंकि सरकार ने स्वंय वह स्थिति पैदा कर दी है, पहले तेलंगाना में पैदा की और जब कि वहां पर ग्रांदोलन चल रहा था उस वक्त तक सरकार शांत वैठी रही भ्रौर बहत देर के बाद फाइव पौइन्ट फार्म्ला लेकर आई। उस वक्त तक आन्ध्र के भ्रंदर ग्राग लग चुकी थी। तो फिर वहां पर भीड के ऊपर गोली चलेगी, सम्पत्ति का ह्रास होगा, उसको रोका नहीं जा सकेगा तो श्राखिर उसका नतीजा क्या होगा ? उसका कारण यह है, ग्रान्ध्र की जनता जानती है, जैसे 1954 में सरकार झुकी-- मैं उसे भूल समझता हूं, जैसे पंजाब का विभाजन हुस्रा, वह एक बड़ी भूल थी, उसी तरह से ग्रासाम के कई हिस्से किए गए, यह भी एक बड़ी भूल थी--यह भी विभाजन की मांग छोटे से छोटे प्रदेशों की मांग, ग्रसंतुष्ट राजनैतिक नेता श्रों को संतुष्ट करने की मांग है। वे नेता लोग रिहैबिलिटेशन चाहते हैं। ग्रौर ग्रगर यही प्रकृति जोर पकडती रहेतो कुछ लोग ग्रागे चलकर कहेंगे कि हिन्दुस्तान बहुत बड़ा देश है, सूप्रीम कोर्ट हमारे यहां हो, नागालैन्ड का एक हो, केरल के म्रंदर एक हो। इस तरह से हिन्दुस्तान एक नही रह सकता । स्राज हम देखते हैं, कहीं गोदावरी वाटर्स का झगड़ा तय नहीं होता, कहीं नर्मदा वाटर्स का झगडा तय नही होता श्रौर इसी तरीके से कहीं पर गंगा के पानी का सवाल होगा। इसी तरह से इलेक्ट्रिसटी के ग्रिड का प्रश्न है। इन सब चीजों को लेकर, इस तरह की प्रवृत्तियो 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 ग्रीर 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 दृढ़ता के साथ एक फैसला करे। यह सही है, स्ट्रीट्स में किसी मामले को ले जाने से कोई फैसला नहीं होता। ग्राज गुंडागर्दी, मारकाट हो ग्रीर कुछ थोड़े से गवर्नमेन्ट सर्वेन्ट्स लाकर के कुछ झगड़ा पैदा करें, तो यह सब झगड़ा ग्राग चल कर जनता के हितों के विरुद्ध होगा।

bu President relating

to Andhra Pradesh

लेकिन जैसे फाइव प्वाइन्ट फार्म्ला श्रौर मृत्की रूल का मसला 1974 के अन्दर खत्म हो जाते, तो फिर उनको 1976-77 तक ले जाना एक प्रकार से फिर से झगडा पैदा करना है। यह एक डिसिकिमिनेटरी बात थी कि हैदराबाद में आन्ध्र के लोगों को एडमिशन न मिले, वहां पर लोगों को नौकरी न मिले। इस चीज का हल तो म्राथिक है ग्रौर उसका हल प्लानिग कमिशन के हाथ में है। ग्रगर इस झगड़े 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 म्राज जरूरत इस चीज की है कि ग्रान्ध्र में हिंसा, तोड़फोड़ की जो कार्यवाही हो रही है, जनता की सम्पत्ति का जो ह्नास किया गया है, उसका समर्थन कोई भी समझदार व्यक्ति नहीं कर सकता है। ये सब घटनाएं निन्दनीय हैं ग्रौर 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 मत्री श्रीर सब लोगों का फर्ज है कि ग्रगर तैलंगाना ग्रौर म्रान्ध्र के लोग एक जगह मिलकर भ्रौर एक कुटम्ब की हैसियत से रहना चाहते हैं, तो फिर इससे ज्यादा सौभाग्य की बात नहीं होगी । लेकिन ग्रगर तेलगाना ग्रौर ग्रान्ध के लोग दो ग्रलग-ग्रलग भागो मे रहना चाहते हैं क्योंकि उनमें इस तरह की मनोवत्ति पैदा हो गई है, वहा तर कुछ राजनीतिक स्वार्थ पैदा हो चका है, इन सब दिष्टियों से उसका विभाजन ग्रावश्यक हो जाता है, तो फिर इस कार्य मे विलम्ब नही किया जाना चाहिये । लेकिन यह कार्य तब ही होना चाहिये जब वहा पर नार्मल कडिशन्स पैदा हो जाय, वहा का यातायात नार्मल हो जाय ग्रौर सर्विसेज भी नार्मल कार्य मे लग जावें। लेकिन मुझे खतरा इस बात का लगता है, जैसा कि स्रभी तक का स्रनभव रहा है कि सरकार की कोई निश्चित नीति नही है। सरकार के सामने इस देश के नक्शे की कोई रूपरेखा नही है। सरकार इस बात की घोषणा नही कर सकती है कि उसका निश्चय ग्रतिम होगा।

सरकार का यह कर्त्तव्य होना चाहिये कि देश का जो प्रत्येक पिछडा हिस्सा है, देश का जो उपेक्षित वर्ग है उसके लिए वह पूरी तरह से प्रयास करेगी । वास्तव मे देखा जाय जहा पर 40 प्रतिशत व्यक्ति पावर्टी लाइन से नीचे रहते हैं, उसका किसी तरह से कोई भौगोलिक डिवीजन करना न सम्भव है श्रौर न सम्भव हो सकता है। इसका तो एक ही तरीका है ग्रौर 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 या सके ग्रौर उन लोगो को कम से कम जो जिन्दगी की बनियादी जरूरत की चीजें है वे मिल मके। सरकार को भी केवल राजनीतिक दुष्टि से नहीं बल्कि एक बुनियादि द्ष्टिकोण को ग्रपने सामने रखना चाहिये, देश के हित को ग्रीर देश की सूरक्षा को, देश के प्रशासकीय हित को ग्रौर ग्राधिक दृष्टि से इस प्रकृत का हल निकालना चाहिये। बारबार फिर से इन प्रश्नो को खड़ा करने से देश मे एक ग्रनिश्चितता की भावना पैदा करना है।

यह जो समस्या ग्राज तेलंगाना ग्रौर श्रान्ध्र के बीच पैदा हो गई है, वह स्वय गवनंमट की नीतियों का परिणाम है। यदि 1969 में ही दूरदिशता से ही इस चीज का सामना किया जाता तो स्राज यह स्थिति पैदा नही होती । वहा पर सरकार ने स्वयं उन प्रवृत्तियो को उभारा ग्रौर ग्राज वह इसका परिणाम वहा पर देख रही है। इसका हल क्या हो सकता है ? इसका हल स्राज की परिस्थितियों में तब ही हो सकता है जब वहां पर पूरी तरह से शान्ति स्थापित हो जाये ग्रौर शान्ति स्थापित होने के बाद दोनों भागो के लोगों की इच्छा पर इस प्रक्रन को छोड दिया जाये । यदि वे एक जगह मिलकर रहना चाहते है, तो ठीक है। यदि नही रहना चाहते है, तो स्वेच्छा से, भाई की हैसियत से जैसे वे पहिले रहते थे, जिस तरह से हैदराबाद श्रीर ग्राध्न वाले ग्रलग-ग्रलग रहते थे. उस तरह से उनको रहने दिया जाये। विशाल म्रान्घ्र की तो एक भावनात्मक माग थी जो उनकी कुछ समय के लिए पूरी हुई । उसके बाद वहा पर कुछ राजनीतिक नेतास्रो ने जो सकीर्ण भावनाये लिए हए थे, पृथक रहने की माग शुरू करदी श्रीर इस तरह से उन लोगो ने पथक भावना को इजीनियर किया जिसकी वजह से ग्राज सारा ग्रान्घ्र जल रहा है।

मै ग्राशा करता हिक यह जो प्रोवलेशन जारी किया है, वहा शीघ्र समाप्त होगा श्रौर वहा पर ऐसी परिस्थिति पैदा होगी जिससे वहा परकास्टीटयुशन ठीक ढग से काम करने लगे और शान्त वातावरण मे फिर इस प्रश्न का हल किया जाय।

4 P.M.

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

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

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.

Re. Proclamation

issued

- I. MOTION RE REVOCATION OF PROCLAMATION ISSUED BY THE PRESIDENT IN RELA-TION TO THE STATE OF ANDHRA PRADESH-contd.
- II. GOVERNMENT RESOLUTION SEEKING APPROVAL OF THE PROCLAMATION ISSUED 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 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 banner of unity, in opposing the 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, 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, Jana Sangh Party, for example, has officially raised the slogan for appointment of a second States Reorganisation Commission. They want 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 there should be reorganisation over the country.

Then we have got our friends also the Syndicate Congress. 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. former ICS man, Mr. Iengar, 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, Iengar of the former ICS-also once Chairman of the Reserve Bank, think—has demanded bifurcation Andhra Pradesh. Then, we have got