

STATEMENT

On 3-8-1972 reply was furnished to Unstarred Question No. 269 regarding complaints against CRP forces in West Bengal. The reply was based on information ascertained from the CRP Headquarters. The CRP Headquarters did not receive any complaints against its units deployed in Asansol-Raniganj belt area in West Bengal and the reply was accordingly given. On the 8th August, the Hon'ble Member, who had tabled the question, wrote to me drawing my attention to a letter he had written to the Prime Minister on the subject on the 12th June. The communication received by the Prime Minister from the Hon'ble Member, no doubt, contained complaints against the police and CRP in Asansol-Raniganj coal belts alleging attacks on trade union movements. The complaints made in that letter had been separately forwarded to the State Government for inquiry and report. I regret that the papers were not properly connected. The delay in correcting the reply before the last session concluded occurred due to the time taken in collecting all the relevant papers and information.

SHRI KALYAN ROY : May I seek a clarification ?

MR. CHAIRMAN : No.

SHRI KALYAN ROY : I have not received any reply. More and more CRP are being used in the coal belt against the workers. That is the unfortunate situation.

PAPERS LAID ON THE TABLE

THE INDIAN TELEGRAPH (SEVENTH AMENDMENT) RULES, 1972

THE DEPUTY MINISTER IN THE MINISTRY OF COMMUNICATIONS (SHRI JAGANNATH PAHADIA) : Sir, I

beg to lay on the Table, under sub-section (5) of Section 7 of the Indian Telegraph Act, 1885 a copy (in English and Hindi) of the Ministry of Communications (Posts and Telegraphs Board) Notification G.S.R. No. 1161, dated the 28th August, 1972, publishing the Indian Telegraph (Seventh Amendment) Rules, 1972. [Placed in Library, See No. LT-3752/72]

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CALLING ATTENTION TO A MATTER OF URGENT PUBLIC IMPORTANCE

SITUATION ARISING OUT OF THE SUPREME COURT JUDGEMENT ON THE MULKI RULES

SHRI O. P. TYAGI (Uttar Pradesh) : Sir, I beg to call the attention of the Prime Minister to the situation arising out of the Supreme Court Judgement on the Mulki Rules, agitation in Andhra Pradesh in connection therewith and the reaction of the Government thereto.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA (West Bengal) : Will the Government make an announcement today?

MR. CHAIRMAN : Government is here. They will inform us.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : If they want to make an announcement with regard to any decision they have arrived at, let them make it.

SHRI MAHAVIR TYAGI : A discussion on this might better be avoided in the interests of an agreement between the parties, if the Prime Minister's judgement is not there.

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF HOME AFFAIRS WHO WILL ALSO ASSIST THE PRIME MINISTER IN PARLIAMENTARY WORK RELATING TO DEPARTMENTS OF ATOMIC ENERGY AND ELECTRONICS (SHRI K. C. PANT) : In the former princely State of Hyderabad,

[Shri K. C. Pant]

under a rule forming part of the Hyderabad Civil Service Regulations, no person could be appointed to any Government service, superior or inferior, without specific sanction of the Nizam if he was not a Mulki. One of the grounds for acquiring Mulki status was permanent residence in Hyderabad State for at least 15 years. This provision was continued after merger of the State in 1948, and was subsequently protected under Article 35(b) of the Constitution. At the time of formation of the State of Andhra Pradesh in 1956, one of the points of agreement between the leaders of Andhra and Telangana regions was that the benefits of securing employment in Government service for the people of Telangana region on the basis of local residential qualification would be continued in the new State for that region. The Parliament accordingly passed the Public Employment (Requirement as to Residence) Act, 1957, which, while repealing the Mulki Rules through Section 2, enabled the Central Government under Section 3, to make Rules prescribing requirement as to residence within Telangana area in regard to appointments to any subordinate service or post under the State Government or any local or other authority. In the Rules framed under this Section, requirement of 15 years' residence in Telangana for recruitment to public service in that region was continued for subordinate services and posts of Tahsildars only, while the earlier Mulki Rules applied to all posts—inferior or superior. The Public Employment Act and the Rules framed under Section 3 came into force in 1959 and were to have effect for five years. This period was, however, subsequently extended for two further periods of five years each, i.e. in all for 15 years till March, 1974.

2. The Public Employment Act and the Rules framed thereunder were challenged in the Supreme Court in *AVS Narasimha Rao and others Vs. the State of Andhra Pradesh and another*, and by its judgment dated March 28, 1969, the Court

declared Section 3 of the Act and the Rules framed thereunder in so far as they related to Telangana area to be *ultra vires* the Constitution. Connected issues were further agitated in various cases in the Andhra Pradesh High Court and in the Supreme Court and finally the Supreme Court in its judgment dated October 3, 1972 has held that Section 2 of the Public Employment Act is also bad in so far as it dealt with Telangana area, and that the residential qualification for recruitment to Government service provided under the Mulki Rules continued to be in force in the Telangana area.

3. Following the Supreme Court judgment, while a demand has been made on behalf of the Telangana region that the 15 years' local residential qualification should be enforced for recruitment to all Government service, on the other hand the Andhra region wants that whatever safeguards had been provided earlier to the people of Telangana in respect of employment in Government service is all that should continue. Ever since the judgment was given, consultations have been going on between the leaders of the State and with the Central Government, to find a satisfactory solution of the problem in the larger interests of the State. Before they left Delhi after the first round of talks earlier this month to continue consultations in Hyderabad, the leaders of the State issued a statement expressing confidence that they would reach an agreement within the framework of the composite State of Andhra Pradesh. It has not, however, been possible for the leaders to come to an agreement amongst themselves and they would like the Central Government to take decisions on all matters relating to Mulki Rules. The Central Government hope to announce their decisions very soon.

Government are distressed over the kind of agitation carried on in some parts of Andhra Pradesh. Considerable damage has been caused to the Railways and other public property and normal communica-

tions have been disrupted. There has also been outbreak of violence resulting in firing by the police. According to information available, 14 persons have lost their lives in incidents which took place on the 21st. Resort to violence cannot lead to any solution and Government earnestly appeal to all sections of this House and the people of Andhra Pradesh to help in restoring peace and normalcy which alone can enable an amicable settlement of this complex issue.

श्री ओ३मप्रकाश त्यागी : अध्यक्ष महोदय, इस देश में दुर्भाग्यवश हमारी सरकार की नीति ऐसी है कि वह अपनी ओर से कोई अच्छी बात या व्यवस्था स्थापित करने की बात नहीं करती, बजाय इसके जब देश में कोई आन्दोलन, खून-खराबा होता है, रेलें उखड़ जाती हैं, जल जाती हैं, नुकसान करोड़ों रुपये का हो जाता है, उस समय हमारी सरकार नींद से जागती है, तब वह कोई निर्णय लेती है। स्वतंत्रता की प्राप्ति के पश्चात् से आज तक यह क्रम सरकार का चलता आया है और आज भी चालू है। कोई भी बुद्धिमानी की मांग की जाती है, समझदारी के साथ मेमोरेण्डम सरकार के पास भेजा जाता है, तो उसे रद्दी की टोकरी में फेंक दिया जाता है और एजिटेशन के बाद गवर्नमेंट की मशीनरी हिलती है, जैसा कि अभी आपने बताया कि अभी हैदराबाद में 'आपके आदमी गये हैं और सब बातचीत चल रही है, यह सब कुछ चल रहा है।

अध्यक्ष महोदय, इस समय आंध्र प्रदेश में आज तक करोड़ों रुपये की हानि हो चुकी और वहां सैकड़ों आदमी मारे गये और आज भी मर रहे हैं और मुझे ऐसा संदेह लगता है कि अभी और मरेगे। उसका दोष आंध्र सरकार और केन्द्र सरकार दोनों पर है। अध्यक्ष महोदय, सर्वोच्च न्यायालय में

यह मामला इस कारण आया कि आंध्र सरकार के उद्योग विभाग में 12 एक्सटेंशन आफिसर थे, उनके साथ अन्याय हुआ, उनको इधर-उधर हटाया गया, उनका रिट्टेन्चमेन्ट हुआ, उनको जूनियर बनाया गया, आंध्र स्टेट के जो लोग थे उनको सीनियर बना दिया गया।

श्री सभापति : आप कृपा करके सवाल पूछिए; क्योंकि बहुत से मेम्बर्स हैं जिन्हें सवाल पूछने हैं।

श्री ओ३मप्रकाश त्यागी : अध्यक्ष महोदय, थोड़ा सा बैंकप्राउन्ड तो चाहिए जैसा उन्होंने दिया।

श्री सभापति : मिनिस्टर भी बताएंगे, आप भी बैंकप्राउन्ड देगे—कैसे होगा ?

श्री ओ३मप्रकाश त्यागी : मंत्री महोदय ने बताया है कि जिस समय हैदराबाद रियासत को मिलाया और आंध्र प्रदेश बना, उस समय पर यह एश्योरेन्स दिया तेलगाना के लोगों को कि पापुलेशन के आधार पर वहां के लोगों को एजुकेशन में और सर्विसेज में न्याय दिया जाएगा, समुचित स्थान दिया जाएगा। परन्तु ऐसा नहीं हुआ। उसका डेवलपमेन्ट नहीं किया गया। केन्द्रीय सरकार यह सब तमाशा क्यों देखती रही, क्यों शांत बंठी रही ? आंध्र सरकार तेलगाना रोजन के साथ अन्याय करती रही, उसका पिछड़ापन चलता रहा और जो समझौता, जॉइन्ट एग्रीमेन्ट वहां पर हुआ था, जिसको अंसेम्बली ने पाम किया था, उसके विरुद्ध आचरण होता रहा आंध्र सरकार का। मैं केन्द्रीय सरकार से जानना चाहूंगा आप क्यों मौन बंठे रहें ?

दूसरी बात यह कि सुप्रीम कोर्ट ने अपने निर्णय में यह कहा है कि—

[श्री ओ३म् प्रकाश त्यागी]

"It was suggested by the respondents that the Mulki Rules are unjust to them, and this was strongly denied by the appellants. This is a matter for Parliament, and not for us."

इसके मानी यह है कि सर्वोच्च न्यायालय का यह खयाल है कि पार्लियामेंट को बहुत दिन पहले ही इस संबंध में अपनी नीति निर्धारित करनी चाहिए थी, लेकिन सरकार ने उस भेले को चालू रखा। दूसरी बात, मुल्की रूल के संबंध में जो आज सर्वोच्च न्यायालय ने उस चीज को माना है, अध्यक्ष महोदय, उसको मानने के पश्चात् कांफ्लिकशन्स और आएंगी। तो इस संबंध में सरकार ने पहले निर्णय क्यों नहीं लिया ?

तीसरी बात मैं जानना चाहूंगा, अध्यक्ष महोदय, कि 3 अक्टूबर, 1972 को सुप्रीम कोर्ट ने जजमेन्ट दिया और उसके बाद एजिटेशन वहां प्रारम्भ हुआ। यह बात साफ थी कि सर्वोच्च न्यायालय के निर्णय के पश्चात् वहां आंदोलन होगा और पहले तेलंगाना में एजिटेशन चलेगा। तो मारवाड़ हुई, लूट और आगजनी हुई। देश को संभावना थी यह होगा। तो 3 अक्टूबर से आज तक हमारी केन्द्रीय सरकार निर्णय लेने में क्यों असमर्थ रही।

श्री सभापति : अब काफी हो गया।

श्री ओ३म् प्रकाश त्यागी : नहीं . . .

श्री सभापति : आप घटा भर लेंगे क्या ? अभी कितने ही और मेम्बर भी पूछना चाहते हैं

श्री ओ३म् प्रकाश त्यागी : अच्छा, आधा मिनट और। मैं यह जानना चाहूंगा, क्या जिस प्रकार रोम जल रहा था और

वहां का राजा वशी बजा रहा था, तो जब आंध्र प्रदेश जल रहा है और वहां के लोग मर रहे हैं तो आप कब तक वशी बजाते रहेंगे ? कब तक आपका निर्णय जनता के सामने आ जाएगा ताकि आंध्र की जनता और वहां के लोगो का भला हो सके। आपका निर्णय कब तक आ जाएगा ?

श्री के० सी० पन्त : अध्यक्ष जी, यह बात सही नहीं है कि वहां आंदोलन हुआ तभी सरकार ने इस प्रश्न की चर्चा की और ध्यान दिया। यह जो इस प्रश्न की ऐतिहासिक पृष्ठभूमि है उसकी चर्चा मैंने अभी अपने विवरण में की और बहुत वर्षों से इसमें सरकार का ध्यान भी रहा है और प्रान्तीय सरकार ने बहुत कोशिश की कि किसी तरह से इसमें रास्ता निकाले कि रोजनलाइज करें दूसरे तरीके से जब कि मुल्की रूल स्ट्राइक डाउन हो जाता है हाई कोर्ट से। अब सुप्रीम कोर्ट के जजमेन्ट से एक नयी स्थिति सामने आई है। इसके बाद चव्हाण साहब वहां गए, बातचीत की और राज्य सरकार के मंत्री यहा आए, नेता यहाँ आए, बातचीत यहाँ हुई है और सारी बातें माननीय सदस्य को मालूम है कि किस तरह से पिछले दिनों कोशिश की गई कि कोई रास्ता समझीते से निकले, आपस में लोगो को मिला कर निकले।

क्योंकि इस प्रश्न में एक समझौते से, आपस में एक दूसरे की बात समझ कर जो रास्ता निकलता है वह रास्ता ठीक होता है और पहिला प्रयत्न उसी को करना होता है। मैं समझता हूँ कि माननीय सदस्य भी इस बात को मानेंगे और इस तरह की सब कोशिशें हुई है और अब इस बारे में जल्दी निर्णय की बात है और जल्दी निर्णय करेंगे, जैसा कि मैंने स्टेटमेन्ट में कहा है।

दूसरा प्रश्न आपने यह उठाया कि तेलंगाना का जो विकास होना चाहिये था, उसके बारे में तेलंगाना के लोगों को आशवासन भी मिला था, वह नहीं हुआ, तो इसकी भी एक लम्बी पृष्ठभूमि है। प्रधान मंत्री जी का आठ नुक्ते का एक कार्यक्रम इसी आधार पर बनाया गया था जिसकी वजह से वहाँ पर रीजनल कमेटी बनी, प्लान एलोकेशन की बात चली, इम्पलीमेंटेशन मशीनरी की बात चली और पिछले दिनों उसी पर कार्यवाही हुई। अगर माननीय सदस्य चाहें तो इस बारे में अलग से सबाल उठा सकते हैं, लेकिन वहाँ पर इस सम्बन्ध में कार्यवाही हुई है और रिव्यू कमेटी ने इस चीज को देखा है। यह कहना सही नहीं है कि केन्द्रीय सरकार ने इस पर कोई कार्यवाही नहीं की, मैं यह कहना चाहता हूँ आंध्र प्रदेश के जो लोग हैं और तेलंगाना क्षेत्र के जो लोग हैं, उन्होंने मिलकर इस कार्यक्रम को लागू किया और उस पर किसी का कोई विरोध नहीं रहा।

SHRI K. P. SUBRAMANIA MENON (Kerala): This Mulki agitation now going on in Andhra Pradesh is the fourth round of such agitations. As you know, Sir, now it has come out of a Supreme Court judgment, but earlier it had come out of some other issue. The first mistake was committed in 1956 itself when the principle of reservation of posts and resources for development of particular areas was accepted because this was a disruptive principle. It is true that comparatively Telangana is more backward than the coastal Andhra. I would say that the entire Andhra Pradesh is very backward considering any criterion. But the remedy for that is not to reserve resources for one particular area or to reserve the jobs in the State Service. What the Government should have done, and it should do at least now, is to see that the entire Services

in the State are integrated into one single Service with safeguards for the Telangana people in the ratio of 2:1. That is approximately according to the population. Now this will help in integrating the people. A Telangana man can be posted in any part of the coastal Andhra or Rayalseema and an Andhra man can be posted in any part of Telangana, but at the same time, both the Telangana people and the coastal Andhra people will have their share of the Service, a single list of Service in which the Telangana people will get one-third and the coastal Andhra people will get two-third jobs. This would have led to the integration of the Services and in course of time it would have led to the integration of the State as a whole. But the Government is not thinking on these lines even now. Whatever proposals are put forward will only perpetuate the emotional separation of the two parts of the State. It will not lead to integration because once you have separate services for one part and another part, then it is very difficult to undo the separatist feelings which arise from the existence of separate services because so far as services are concerned, they are concerned about their promotion, about their other facilities, seniority and all these things and integration can never take place.

Similarly, Sir, it can also be done in the case of Educational Services, especially the technical colleges or professional colleges. There also the same principle of 2:1 can be applied and if seats are available in the coastal Andhra colleges, then they should be made available to the Telangana people. Similarly, if in Hyderabad city itself there are colleges, they should be available for the coastal Andhra people. There should be no separation. And lastly, Sir, I would also urge on the Government that there should be no limit fixed for this sort of 2:1 reservation because what is necessary is to see that the people of Andhra and Telangana get integrated in course of time. There should be no need for limiting the period because automatically

[Shri K. P. Subramania Menaon]
after some time there will be no need for this reservation at all because the whole population will get integrated. I would therefore request the Government at least now to wake up to the situation and drop the present proposals which will not lead to the integration of the Andhra State, which will not emotionally involve the entire people in a single endeavour but which will only lead to a perpetuation of these separatist feelings.

Sir, I would in conclusion warn the Government of India that if by any chance the Government's attempt to see that the Andhra Pradesh remains single and integrated is defeated, then it will be opening the Pandora's Box throughout the country and it will create difficulties for them.

SHRI K. C. PANT: My hon. friend has not really asked any question.

MR. CHAIRMAN: He has given some suggestions.

SHRI K. C. PANT: He has given some suggestions. As he knows, our whole attempt is to find a solution to the problem within the integrated Andhra Pradesh.

SHRI BHURESH GUPTA: Sir, before I ask questions I should like to express publicly our deep sorrow at the loss of so many precious lives in Andhra Pradesh as a result of wanton police firing and I lodge my strong protest against these killings and massacres for which the Centre and the State Government must at least bear moral and political responsibility and it would be in good grace if they own up their responsibility in this matter.

Sir, the judgment of the Supreme Court has been before us for more than a month and it was quite clear to anybody who had carefully read the judgment and had the background of the situation in Andhra Pradesh in his mind that it would lead to complications and even to an explosive

situation but unfortunately the Central Government took a different type of view. I do not know why. First of all the Supreme Court did not pronounce verdict on all the Mulki Rules; only one or two things practically they gave their judgment on. Now in that judgment a significant statement was made by the Supreme Court which unfortunately the Central Government passed over for what reason I do not know. The judgment said:

"We may mention that we are not concerned with the interpretation of the Mulki Rules and their applicability after adaptation. No such question was answered by the Full Bench or was dealt with by the Division Bench."

Then they went on to say:

"It was suggested by the respondent in the appeal that the impugned Mulki Rules are unjust to them. This was strangely denied by the applicants. This is a matter for Parliament and not for us. We are only concerned with their validity. In the circumstances the party....."

Now the Supreme Court enjoined up on Parliament—and it means the Central Government—to apply its mind and come to a conclusion as to what adaptation should be made, how it should be applied, and what should be the interpretation. These were categorical tasks assigned to Parliament, that is to say, the Central Government which is responsible to Parliament and that task was not undertaken in the way the Central Government should have undertaken. The result was the interpretation of the Supreme Court judgement ran riot. The different parties started giving all kinds of interpretations to the Supreme Court judgment as if the Supreme Court had gone into the whole question and given its pronouncement. The various interests wanted to apply their own interpretations. Even then the Central Government remained quiet. They were

seeing in the newspapers that interpretations were being put of the judgment which could not but create feelings one way or the other in this or that region. The Central Government remained quiet. The State Government remained quiet. What prevented the Central Government from coming out and telling the people through All India Radio or through the Press or otherwise or by a competent authoritative statement as to what exactly the Supreme Court judgment was, as to what were its limitations, as to what it said and what it did not say, when all kinds of things were being sought to be passed off in the name of the Supreme Court judgment to create ill-feelings and so on? There again the Central Government has not only been negligent, but criminally negligent, if I may say so with all respect for my hon. friends in the Central Government. The Central Government remained quiet and watched the most strange spectacle of the State Government divided, public exhibition of division in the State Cabinet. Statement made by one set of Ministers were counteracted by another set of Ministers. There were demonstrations in the whole of Andhra Pradesh, while the Cabinet was divided, and public positions quite contrary were taken. Is that how a Government should function?

MR. CHAIRMAM : That is for the State Government.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : Let me finish my point. I should like to know why the Central Government did not tell the Cabinet of Andhra Pradesh and the Chief Minister in particular that that was not the way to function over a matter like this, they should shut up and not enter into a public controversy opposed to each other in this manner in order to complicate an already complicated situation. Nothing was done. Even now we do not have anything. They say that the two sides must come together. Who are these two sides? There is the battalion led by Mr. Brahmananda Reddy and others on the

one side and another brigade under the charge of Mr. Channa Reddy and others on the other side, two factions. Is that all in Andhra Pradesh and nothing else? Now, Sir, we are given to understand that they will come to an agreement and every time they were making it they would not come to an agreement. The agreement came in the way of the vested interests of either side. That is what happened. No side was interested in coming to an agreement or, shall I say, in belling the cat or whatever it is. The Central Government still kept quiet and the situation drifted. Has their attention been drawn to the statement emanating from Andhra Pradesh and which was issued by 79 legislators from both the Andhra and Telengana regions belonging to the Communist party, Congress and Independents? I should like to know what is the Government's thinking on these four suggestions: (1) The services up to the district level should be regionalised, (2) In the composite departments, *i. e.*, Secretariat, and Heads of Departments and other offices of a State-wide character 2:1 ratio should be implemented as between Andhra and Telengana. (3) The period for this regionalisation should be decided mutually or should be left to be decided by the Central Government. (4) Educational facilities should be provided for the children of people from Andhra region in Hyderabad city. These are the four suggestions. You will see that they are sober. These 79 people have said that the Prime Minister should make an attempt to bring about a settlement on the above lines which brooks no delay. Our Prime Minister—well, I do not blame her for whatever reasons, she must have her own reasons—remained silent. Mr. Chavan talks, Mr. Ram Niwas Mirdha talks and others talk, but without putting the responsibility on her. She should deal with it. They were ready to accept it. Some amount of confidence was also reposed in her on this matter and certainly it goes to the credit of the Prime Minister, but unfortunately there are two warring groups—they must be brought together—for some

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internal party reasons I believe or whatever else it is. Otherwise, the Prime Minister should rise to the occasion here on behalf of Parliament and on behalf of the nation, summoning the confidence of the nation—in the interests of the unity of the country, with all of us together—and say to them, “Here is the formula, gentlemen. If you do not come to an agreement, here is my democratic solution. Accept it.” Then they would have accepted it. Even now they would accept, I hope, if it is a democratic solution.

Now, disturbances have taken place. Let us not think that people there want all these disturbances. This appeal says—

“Hence we appeal to all concerned to exercise restraint and help evolve a solution on the basis of the integrity of State and Justice to all.”

The integrity of the State is of paramount importance. We entirely agree that the integrity of the State should not be broken, and I think one of the ways to defend and maintain the integrity of the State is to accept a democratic solution and ask those people not to create disturbances. With all my respect to my friends in the Swatantra Party, I must point out that the Swatantra Party is running a campaign for the division of the State so that in the coastal districts a State can come up where they can have their party and rule. You see how partisan politics have been brought into this thing also.

MR. CHAIRMAN : There are other Members also on this side.

SHRI LOKANATH MISRA (Orissa) : Sir, probably you remember what had happened in Rayalaseema. And what Shri Bhupesh Gupta's party did there, you remember, Sir ?

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : Your memory is always unfailing, Sir; you certainly remember . . .

SHRI LOKANATH MISRA : Yours is proverbially short, Mr. Gupta.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : My memory is proverbially not short but proverbially very alert.

SHRI LOKANATH MISRA : Conveniently.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : Very conveniently.

Now, this is the thing. Why is the Swatantra Party doing this ?

SHRI DAHYABHAI V. PATEL (Gujarat) : I must say on behalf of my party that the Swatantra Party has not asked for two States. It may be a local section that is asking for it, just as there is a section in all sides and in all parties. But the Swatantra Party has never officially asked for division.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : What Mr. Patel says is a good thing—he does not want the division of the State. I take his word. But I am talking of the Swatantra Party in Andhra Pradesh. They are looking forward to having a Chief Minister there by dividing the State. Therefore, the landlords are trying to prevent the peasants and their children who want to come and fight for the land reforms, and they create disturbances, and they want to see that the ceilings do not come into effect. This is happening. They want to see that wholesale trade in foodgrains, in rice, is not taken over. That is also one of their objectives and so the disturbances are taking place. It is happening. I will ask the Prime Minister why she is not giving consent to the Land Reforms Bill and the Ceiling (Amendment) Bill ? That is being thwarted by these people.

Therefore, I would like the Central Government to make its position clear as to when we are going to have a decision. These gentlemen will not come to an agreement. I think the Prime Minister will be

well advised to take the opinion of all of us in their party, our party and the other parties. And ingenuity has not failed her, she can certainly find an acceptable solution, a democratic solution, and we shall go to the people. If the Prime Minister gives leadership of that kind rather than face this kind of pointless negotiations, I think the problem can be solved and surely, the situation can be brought under control.

Once again, I am extremely sorry that the Central Government did not take any notice of the warning that our party had been giving during the whole month. The situation was developing. Even yesterday at a meeting where Mr. Chavan was speaking, he did not think that the situation was serious. Mr. Chavan did not think so when we were saying that the situation was serious. The entire situation is not so serious as is made out he said. This is the complacent attitude. I do hope that before the week is out, the Prime Minister will be good enough to announce a democratic solution on the lines that has been suggested by the 79 legislators of Andhra Pradesh belonging to the CPI, the Congress and the Independents who stand by the integrity of the State and also for the legitimate rights of the Telengana region so that the people can be blended into unity, yet giving full rights to the different regions they come from.

SHRI K. C. PANT : Sir, the Prime Minister yesterday has already expressed deep sorrow and distress of the Government on the incidents that are taking place in Andhra Pradesh. Sir, may I say that while talks are going on here and even while the Government of India is seized of this problem and an announcement has been made that a decision would be taken soon.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : What is that "soon"? How many people have to die more before a decision would be taken?

SHRI K. C. PANT : We appeal to all the people in Andhra Pradesh in any region whatsoever not to indulge in violence because violence will not solve this problem at all.

[THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN in the Chair]

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : That is not the thing.

SHRI K. C. PANT : I am not talking to him. I am appealing to the people there. I hope he will join me in that appeal.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : Your Home Secretary goes there and says that a decision would be taken . . .

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : Mr. Bhupesh Gupta; you have had your say.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : I am a friend of both Telengana and Andhra regions.

SHRI K. C. PANT : I was only saying that public property has been destroyed. Lives have been lost. Passions have been aroused. I would on behalf of all of you and all of us appeal to the people there to restore calm and peace because then alone can this problem be solved properly. That is all I said.

Now, Sir, as far as the Supreme Court judgment is concerned, with all respect for Shri Gupta, may I suggest that is not a question of legal interpretation alone but a larger question of what solution can find a large measure of agreement in both the regions, and this is what the Government was trying to arrive at. So far as the calling of the two sides to Delhi is concerned, he hinted at the possibility of party matters being involved in this. This is very uncharitable.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : On a point of order. I have not made any uncharitable remarks. Some people from the Andhra region, Congressmen, are saying that it was written in the agreement which

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enabled them to join the Congress, and on that basis they are claiming separation. Is it the way to do so? I am not saying it. They are saying it.

SHRI K. C. PANT : I am surprised when the situation is so serious and we are trying to find a way out partisan politics should be brought in. (*Interruption by Shri Bhupesh Gupta*). . .

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : He is answering.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : I am hearing his answer.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : You have had your say. You spoke for almost 15 minutes. . .

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : I can speak for five hours.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : You should give him some indulgence.

SHRI K. C. PANT : In fact, he said why should we talk to them when they had already said that they would not come to an agreement. If you permit me to refer to the other House, Mr. Inderjit Gupta asked the Prime Minister whether she was sure that all of them would agree to any solution that would be put forward by her. He wanted the Prime Minister to make sure before hand that they would agree before she put forward a solution.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : We never said that.

SHRI K. C. PANT : Mr, Inderjit Gupta. I will quote.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : On a point of order, Sir. He is misleading the House. The Prime Minister was clever. She said that she would give a solution which may be unsatisfactory to both the sides. I thought it was a very intelligent way of speaking. . .

SHRI K. C. PANT : My hon'ble friend is not unintelligent. I quote what Mr. Inderjit Gupta said. He said :—

“Have you taken their prior consent that they will at least comply and abide by the Centre's decision. That is essential. Please first verify and then give your decision.”

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : Question.

SHRI K. C. PANT : I would like to know where we do anything without consulting. He said, “Please get that done and then give your decision”. He used the words “without consulting them”, “without talking to them”, “without discussion.” That is what he said.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : All right. I am saying what I am saying. He is reading just one line out of it. I may tell you that the General Secretary of our party Shri Rajeswara Rao, sent a letter to the Prime Minister on the 20th night. She was in holiday. She came back that very evening. She must have seen that letter. Our proposal is before her.

SHRI K. C. PANT : As for the suggestion that the leaders of the opposition should be consulted, we certainly have been mindful of that and already Mr. Chavan has consulted the leaders of the opposition. There can be no question of not consulting them on an issue of this kind.

SHRI N. G. GORAY (Maharashtra) : Sir, the point that was made by Shri Pant is well taken that nothing should be said in this House which will aggravate the situation or inflame the feelings in Hyderabad. But I would like to point out that it will also not be helpful if we try to paper over some of the basic differences that have cropped up. You will appreciate that this agitation over the Mulki Rules is only the tip of the iceberg that is submerged below. There is a lot of discontent which comes up often whenever any excuse is found there. And the judgment in regard to the

Mulki Rules has provided this excuse. If the Government succeeds in bringing the two factions together and if they evolve a common formula which is agreed to by both sides, I think we shall be the first to welcome such a solution. But what I would like you and also the Government to take into consideration is whether the time is not past for such a patch work which will not give the necessary results, because today while we are discussing here, most probably Telangana bandh is being observed there. Yesterday we had Andhra bandh. Because of Andhra Bandh twelve very precious lives were lost and an immense amount of public property also was destroyed. The same thing is likely to happen again. At what cost do we try to keep Andhra and Telangana together? If really the people of Telangana and the people of Andhra have no affection for each other, if they have no faith in each other, if they do not feel that justice will be done to them, will it be possible for us, the Parliament or the Government, even with a person like Indiraji at the head, to impose a solution on the people of Andhra? That is the question. Yesterday I read the statement by the Prime Minister and I thought when she said that there will be no effort to impose a solution on the people against their will, she was leaving a sort of loophole or option open. This particular feeling between the people of Andhra and the people of Telangana was perhaps felt by the SRC also and in the SRC report there are paragraphs after paragraphs where they have said that the case for a separate Telangana cannot be brushed aside lightly. And they have again referred to it saying that the dominant fear in the minds of the Telangana people is that when their lot is thrown with that of the Andhra people, because of the fact that they are more advanced, most probably it will be the people of Telangana who will have to suffer because they are at a disadvantage. Now all this history will have to be borne in mind because after all there was a gentleman's agreement and that gentleman's agreement was most ungentle-

manly implemented. So now the point is whether such an agreement, as my friend, Mr. Subramania Menon, suggested or the solution which my friend, Mr. Bhupesh Gupta, is suggesting, is good. I am asking this: Let the Government have its own assessment, whether this sort of a thing is going to satisfy the people of Telangana and the people of Andhra or whether this again is only a temporary solution. It is for them to judge, because the resources at our disposal are far more compared to the resources at our disposal. There are factions in the Congress Party—there are people of Telangana and people of Andhra. It is no use saying that it is Brahmananda Reddy or somebody else, Chenna Reddy. Now the thing has gone out of their hands. It is in the hands of the people. Thousands of people are on the streets. Therefore, I am saying that though I wish that the Pandora's Box should not be opened, if really the people of Andhra and the people of Telangana do not have faith in each other, if they feel that this particular solution is going to be temporary, it should be ended as soon as possible. One side saying that it should be permanent and the other side saying that it should not be given a long lease of life is no good. If the seeds of discontent are in the very solution itself, then I would like to say that the Government should go deeper and study the matter carefully, try to understand the implications, try to understand the roots of the discontent amongst the people of Andhra and Telangana, and if they feel that such a solution will not solve the problem, then let them not hesitate to have a separate Telangana and a separate Andhra

SHRI K. C. PANT: There was really no question there and I have already referred to this question and the Government's approach to the matter raised by my friends.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Shall I call some of the Andhra Members?

AN HON. MEMBER: Why raise that controversy here?

SHRI N. G. GORAY : The controversy is going on on the streets of Hyderabad. Why not here also ?

SHRI LOKANATH MISRA : Before I say anything about the agitation itself or the controversy there, I would like to controvert the impression of Shri Bhupesh Gupta that the Swatantra Party has taken a decision in the matter and the State unit of the Swatantra Party is trying to take advantage of the situation because they feel that they can head a Ministry if only the present Andhra Pradesh is carved out. For the benefit of Shri Bhupesh Gupta, my colleagues, there are much better and my colleagues, of course those who belong to Andhra Pradesh, feel that they are being considered as second class citizens in the cities of Hyderabad and Secunderabad. That has given him the provocation for such an attitude. Everybody does not enjoy the privilege of Shri Bhupesh Gupta in the Republic of India because he has very close to him the years of the Central Administration always available at his beck and call.

Since my colleagues in Andhra Pradesh do not have that advantage. . .

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : They are shouting slogans of separation.

SHRI LOKANATH MISRA : Shri Bhupesh Gupta does not have to shout slogans because he can just whisper into the ears of people here. . .

SHRI N. G. GORAY : And also pinch their ears.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : He can whisper into the ears of Shri Biju Patnaik.

SHRI LOKANATH MISRA : Don't bring in his name here. Shri Bhupesh Gupta is in an advantageous position. He cannot compare himself with the wretched workers belonging to other Parties. So far as the future of Andhra Pradesh is concerned, even if it is carved out as a

eparate State, Shri Bhupesh Gupta will not have one member in that State.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : There you are. That is the inspiration for the Swatantra Party.

SHRI LOKANATH MISRA : That is just the reason why he is trying to bring a list of 17 members who have now appealed to the Prime Minister that they want something. After they get it, he will go to the people and tell them what he has got. We will give the communists their rotten den.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : What is that ? He is quite right. Sitting by his side, I do feel I am in a rotten den.

SHRI LOKANATH MISRA : When I go to the Communist camp, I am in rotten den. When I sit beside him, I feel I am in pleasant company. That is the difference.

SHRI N. G. GORAY : The matter is so serious and there is hardly any place for such pleasantries.

SHRI LOKANATH MISRA : I say that the Central Government has delayed the matter too much. They should have taken it up immediately before the passions had been aroused. I had been to Hyderabad the day before yesterday, I think. Sir, I had been there only to consult my party colleagues as to how they feel about the matter. They feel that it has been delayed too much. The Central Government which belongs to the Congress Party, has its own State administration in Andhra Pradesh and if they had taken up the matter in time, perhaps there would not have been a division in the Cabinet itself. Now, as stated earlier, the Cabinet has fallen out and it has divided itself into two camps and one camp is on the verge of submitting letters of resignation or perhaps it has already done so. Or, Sir, it is probably pending with the Chief Minister. If that is the attitude at the Cabinet level

in the State, what would be the attitude of the common man?

Now, Sir, as Mr Goray put it, now the tip of the iceberg only is being seen so far as this matter is concerned and a little provocation gives sufficient opportunity for people's passions to be let loose in Andhra Pradesh. Sir, this has been the fourth occasion when there has been serious complication in the State. Therefore, unless things are done in time, it would be difficult to settle the issue and it is like marrying at the age of fifty.

SHRI MAHAVIR TYAGI (Uttar Pradesh): Like Mr Bhupesh Gupta.

SHRI LOKANATH MISRA . . . or too late. I let us not now talk about Mr Bhupesh Gupta.

Therefore, Sir, I would squarely blame the Central Government as well as the State Government for having lost an opportunity when they could have taken up the matter seriously and brought about a solution. Parliament is the sovereign authority and if they wanted to do away with some parts of the Mulki Rules they could have done it easily and it would have taken only one day. If they informed the Parliament that this thing could not be done in the larger national interest, both the Houses of Parliament could have passed it in one day. But, Sir, they did not take it up in time and now have left the matter to be decided in the streets of either Hyderabad or Guntur or Nellore or some other part of the State and it is very difficult now and it is ridiculous for the Government, for the spokesmen of the administration, to appeal to the members of the Opposition to remain quiet because they are seized of the matter. What are they seized of? If they are seized of the matter, then why were 17 people killed the day before yesterday? And, Sir, probably the way things are handled shows that there would be many more casualties in the city of Hyderabad today and everybody in

Hyderabad who belongs to the former Andhra Pradesh, the non-Telangana area, feels that he is living under humiliation.

Therefore, Sir, I would like the Central Government to go ahead, to speed up their line of action and if anything is possible, it should be done immediately and if nothing is possible, Sir, I would be tempted to agree with Mr Goray that it should be disposed of finally.

SHRI N. G. GORAY: Don't succumb to temptations.

SHRI LOKANATH MISRA: I said that I am only tempted to agree with you.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Here you are. You are tempted to agree?

SHRI LOKANATH MISRA: I am tempted to agree with Mr. Goray because I find that that may be the solution.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Now, Sir, what I said is correct. He is tempted to agree that separation is the solution. What is the temptation here is reality there as far as the Swatantra Party is concerned.

SHRI LOKANATH MISRA: Sir, like Mr. Bhupesh Gupta, I do not assume omnipotence.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Your landlords are active there.

(*Interrup*)

SHRI LOKANATH MISRA: I do not claim omnipotence like Mr Bhupesh Gupta and I do not say many things on the floor of the House in the name of the party as he does. I do not carry that status in the party. Therefore, Sir, whatever I say I say on my own and I do not carry the views of the party nor I do want to express my views as the views of my party. Therefore, Sir, what I have said I have said as Lokanath Misra, a Member of the Rajya Sabha.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN Yes, Mr Pant.

SHRI K. C. PANT : Sir, I have already indicated the various steps that were taken after the Supreme Court judgment to set in motion the process of consultation . . .

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : You have not said one thing? Are you going to amend the particular article in the Constitution?

SHRI K. C. PANT : Sir, the process of consultation was set in motion, and all the facts are before the House. I need not repeat them. I would only say that no impression should go round that the State Government ignored the matter or ignored the seriousness of the matter or they did not take it up immediately after the Supreme Court judgment. Nothing of the sort. They did certainly take up the matter. It is a matter which involves emotions on both sides. It has a certain history. It is a complicated and complex matter. Therefore, it was but natural that a certain amount of time is taken to arrive at an agreed decision. Hurry is not always the solution to every problem. It would be easy to lay down a certain solution. But the point really is whether that solution is workable, and where a solution has been given, to see whether there is acceptance of that solution by both sides and this kind of violence does not continue. This is the test of a solution—not merely time and speed.

Then, Sir, he referred to the late marriage. I rather say it is a late divorce. He is ignoring the ties that bind the people of the two regions together, and this tendency to ignore the ties should not be taken too far.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : Mr. Papi Reddi.

SHRI PAPI REDDI (Andhra Pradesh) : Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, ever since the two areas were merged in 1956, unfortuna-

tely, there was never an emotional integration. The minds and hearts of both the regions were never nearer so far. There were some historical conditions. One of these is the Mulki Rules. To a certain extent, the Telengana region was a part of our so-called liberation movement, started by the erstwhile Communist Party. So right from the beginning it has its own existence, and it has its own way of thin .

So, Sir, these Mulki Rules, I should say, are just anachronistic and feudal relics. If we at all want any solution acceptable to all people, the main bone of contention is the city. Then the other thing is the Regional Committee. Sir, about Regional Committee I am not bothered about a gentlemen's agreement or otherwise because, normally, we are usually changing our approach to those agreements. The biggest gentlemen's agreement, that is, the Constitution if necessary, is being changed.

These Mulki Rules are like a *Firman* issued by the Nizam. An important thing we have to note is that we have called people who fought the Nizam, the freedom fighters, and we are giving them *Tamra Patras*, on the one hand and at the same time, we want to continue the Rules framed by the particular Nizam, which are not tenable.

Then, Sir, about these regional committees, these committees are almost parallel assemblies. Of late, they have been adding to the common offices in the State List. That means the expenditure on these offices would be in a certain ratio. Then, according to the Mulki Rules, it means that a person should be a *mulki* of that area, to be employed in that particular office, that is, Hyderabad. Hyderabad is the capital of all Telugu speaking people, and everybody has equal rights there.

Another important factor to be thought of is that when both the regions merged the income of Hyderabad was Rs. 4 crores and 50 lakhs. But now it has gone up to about Rs. 36 crores. This is all because of the contribution of the Andhras or the composite nature of the city. So, the opportunities available in Hyderabad cito must be provided to everybody. Then, Sir, nobody would have thought of the recent happenings, but for the delayed action of the State Government. Even regarding the approach to the Supreme Court judgment, there does not seem to be any unanimity in the Cabinet because the Andhra Ministers say that the Chief Minister did not consult them before he went to the Supreme Court. So, good or bad, the decision has come and people from Telangana feel that they must implement the judgment. Apart from the the Telangana Regional Committee, the latest phenomenon is that we have 3 Cabinets, the Andhra area Cabinet, the Telangana area Cabinet and the third one is the Chief Minister. The Chief Minister has not spelt out his opinion about these things and all the time he is wasting his time in Delhi. We have been told that the Central Government has told these people that they should decide these things at Hyderabad and that it is a matter for the State Government to decide. Now it is more than 50 days that the decision has come and the Chief Minister has yet to call the Assembly, consult the Assembly and get the opinion of the Assembly before he can recommend anything to the Central Government.

So, Sir, all said and done, unless we have equal opportunity and unless we feel that we are one in the State capital, it would be impossible for anybody to continue as an integrated State. We are not interested in jobs, employment and other things. But everybody from the State must have equal opportunities. Of late, our State Cabinet seems to have developed some fascination for Delhi. We can as well make Delhi our capital. That would be a much better thing than Hyderabad.

SHRI K. C. PANT : Since we are seized of the problem just now, I am sure my hon. friend does not expect me to comment on the details of the suggestions which he has made or the points of view which he has put forward. All I can say is that the Government of India would like to work towards a solution which sees that neither the Andhra nor the Telangana people suffer and that maximum justice is done to all as it is in the interest of the State and the country.

SHRI M. SRINIVASA REDDY (Andhra Pradesh) : Deputy Chairman, Sir, it is unfortunate that this matter should be brought at Parliament level and discussed. After all, it is for those to discuss and to find a solution who want to live together. For my part, I came there 10 years back. Today if I have to go to any institution seeking admission for my children, they ask me : Are you a Mulkī ? What is it ? As a citizen of India, I can seek admission in any institution in Calcutta. But in my own capital, in my own State I have to say something to qualify myself to seek a seat. I tell you that it is a shameful thing for me to say that I belong to that State. I tell you, Sir, that for the last 16 years, the steps taken by the State and the Centre have not done much to integrate the State and I say that the State leaders completely deserve to be condemned for this. They play their politics rather than to help in integration of that State and they have brought about the situation which we are now facing. What forces on earth today can unite them is the question for all of us. We have got complete faith in our leader. I do not know how she can spell out a decision. I know any decision of the Prime Minister today cannot be accepted by this side or that side. I am sure about it unless those who introduced these Rules are here, unless we are confident that we can go to our people and say that this is a reasonable decision or unless we are brave enough to say that it is not possible for us to go to the people and convince them.

[Shri M. Srinivasa Reddy]

I am telling you this fact. This is our position and it is unfair on the part of these leaders to ask the Prime Minister to spell out a decision. I tell you now and I told you long back that we had an element in that State from the very beginning which wanted disunity of these Telugu-speaking people and this fact I want to bring to the notice of the people. There are people who are working in this direction. So, Sir, it is an unfortunate thing, it is our own Government, our own Party-government in the State and I do not know whom to say, what to appeal. So, this thing must be thought over properly; without breaking the State I want a solution. The people of Telugu-speaking region, and the people belonging to Andhra are the full citizens of this country. This Telangana Regional Committee is a poisonous thing which is responsible for encouraging the Telugu-speaking people for all this. The Central Government should disintegrate this Regional Committee and find out a solution to integrate the people together.

श्री नवल किशोर (उत्तर प्रदेश) :

श्रीमन्, मुझे इस बात का दुख है कि आज आंध्र में मुल्की रूल्स को ले कर हिंसा फूटी है और जिसके कारण वहां का एडमिनिस्ट्रेशन करीब-करीब पेरलाइज हो गया है, ला एंड आर्डर की स्थिति काफी कमजोर है, रेल गाड़ियां बन्द हैं, बसेज बन्द हैं और 14 आदमियों की कीमती जिन्दगी भी समाप्त हो गई है। तो मैं यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि आज यह सबाल केवल तेलंगाना का नहीं है, आज देश में चारों तरफ जरा-जरा सी बात के उपर हिंसा फूट पड़ती है। तो मैं आपके जरिये से प्रधान मंत्री जी से कहना चाहूंगा कि आज इस बात की आवश्यकता है कि सारे देश के अन्दर जितनी पार्टियाँ हैं उनको काफिडेंस में लिया जाय और इस बात को नम किया

जाय कि हिंसा का प्रदर्शन किसी भी पोलिटिकल पार्टी की तरफ से नहीं होगा। और जहां कहीं भी होगा उसकी निन्दा की जायेगी। नम्बर एक।

श्रीमन्, एक दूसरी बीमारी जो फैली है वह यह है कि हर पोलिटिकल पार्टी स्टुडेंट्स को भी एक्सप्लायट करने की कोशिश करती है, कोई बात हो, छोटी हो या बड़ी हो, स्टुडेंट्स को आगे कर देते हैं और उससे हिंसा की प्रवृत्ति बढ़ी है। तो कोई ऐसा जेटिलमेंट एग्रीमेंट किया जाए जिसकी शुरुआत कांग्रेस से हो और इसमें अपो-जोशिन को काफिडेंस में लिया जाय जिससे कि स्टुडेंट्स का राजनीतिक एक्सप्लायटेशन भी बन्द हो।

श्रीमन्, मुझे इस बात की शिकायत है कि आंध्र के मामले में, जैसा कि और जगह भी होता है और जैसा कि कुछ साधियों ने कहा सेट्रल गवर्नमेंट ने कोई लांग-टर्म या परमानेंट सॉल्यूशन ढूँढने की कोशिश नहीं की, टेम्पोरेरी सॉल्यूशन ढूँढा गया, पंच-अप किया गया और उसके पीछे पोलिटिकल एक्सपीडियेंसी की बात अधिक थी। जिस समय, श्रीमन्, आंध्र में लीडरशिप की चेंज हुई, तब्दीली हुई, तो यह उम्मीद हुई थी कि अब आंध्र और तेलंगाना के अन्दर कोई दुर्भावना नहीं रहेगी और न पैदा होगी। आज तेलंगाना के चीफ मिनिस्टर हैं इसके बावजूद भी, जैसा कि आंध्र के साधियों ने अपने भाषणों से साफ किया, वहां कोई इमोशनल इंटेग्रेशन आज भी नहीं है। इसी तरह से श्रीमन्, स्वयं पन्त जी ने कहा कि इस तरह का एग्रीमेंट हुआ था कि तेलंगाना का जो पिछड़ा हुआ क्षेत्र है उसका डेवलपमेंट किया जाएगा, उसका विकास किया जायगा।

और जितनी तेजी से उसका विकास होना चाहिए था उतना विकास नहीं हुआ। मुझको याद है, जिस समय हैदराबाद की स्टेट मर्ज हुई थी उसके बाद जब कि आंध्र प्रदेश बना था इस बात का एश्योरेन्स दिया गया था कि वहाँ ये जो मुल्की रूल्स हैं उनको चालू रखा जाएगा और हर तरीके से उस क्षेत्र का विकास किया जाएगा। जिस समय तेलंगाना प्रजा समिति 1971 में चुनाव से पहले कांग्रेस में शामिल हुई उस समय भी उनको इस बात का आश्वासन दिया गया था कि मुल्की रूल्स चालू रहेंगे और अगर मेरी यह मालूमात गलत नहीं है तो शायद चुनाव मेनिफेस्टो में भी उसका जिक्र था। क्या मैं यह भी जान सकता हूँ पन्त जी से कि क्या किमी चीफ मिनिस्टर ने, आंध्र के, इस बात का भी आश्वासन दिया था वहाँ की विधान सभा में कि अगर सुप्रीम कोर्ट इस बात को मान लेगा तो वहाँ की गवर्नमेंट उसको इम्प्लीमेंट करेगी। मैं इसलिए यह बात कहता हूँ क्योंकि ये सारी चीजे हैं जिनके पीछे एक पृष्ठभूमि है इन तमाम भगड़ों की। इससे हमको कोई खास वास्ता नहीं है कि वहाँ की कैबिनेट डिवाइडेड है या डिवाइडेड नहीं है, मगर एक बात मैं जानता हूँ कि अगर किसी स्टेट की कैबिनेट डिवाइडेड होती है, अगर मिनिस्टरों के अन्दर मतभेद होता है तो वहाँ ला एन्ड आर्डर मेन्टेन नहीं हो सकता है और मैं इस बात को भी जानता हूँ, श्रीमन् कि अगर वहाँ कांग्रेस (भार) की गवर्नमेंट न होती, किसी दूसरी पार्टी की होती, तो जिस तरह से वहाँ के मिनिस्टरों से भगड़ा है और जिस तरह से वहाँ की जनता डिवाइडेड है, मुझे विश्वास है, उन हालात में अब तक वहाँ प्रेजिडेन्शियल रूल हो गया होता। मैं इसके हक में नहीं हूँ, और

मैं कतई इसका हामी हूँ कि आंध्र प्रदेश की यूनिटी और इंटिग्रिटी को कायम रखा जाए लेकिन जो तरीका हमने अब तक अपनाया है वह मैं समझता हूँ, ज्यादा उपयोगी साबित नहीं होगा, मैं इस बात से भी इत्तिफाक करता हूँ कि जल्दी में कोई बात नहीं होनी चाहिए। मुझे इस बात की भी खुशी है और मैं मानता हूँ कि आपने उनको इतना मौका दिया, हालांकि हम और आप दोनों ही जानते हैं कि कोई मॉटिंग ग्राउन्ड उनके बीच नहीं है, लेकिन इसके बावजूद भी मौका दिया, वहाँ के मिनिस्टर्स मिले, वहाँ के नेतागण भी मिले, पार्लियामेंट के मेम्बर भी मिले, चव्हाण साहब से भी मिले प्राइम मिनिस्टर साहिवा से भी मिले। मैं समझता हूँ, अगर तीन-चार साल तक उनको बिठाए तब भी उन दोनों के बीच में समझौता होने वाला नहीं है हालांकि यह बड़ी अच्छी बात होगी अगर वे आपस में कोई समझौता कर सकें। और श्रीमन्, जैसा गोरे साहब ने कहा तेलंगाना बंध है, आज अखबार में यह भी है कि आर्मी को इस बात के लिए एलर्ट कर दिया गया है वहाँ पर वेडर्नलिज्म को रोकने के लिए और समाप्त करने के लिए। इसके मानी साफ हैं कि हम आर्मी एलर्ट तब करते हैं जब सिविल एडमिनिस्ट्रेशन कमजोर हो जाता है और वह कोलेप्स करने लगता है। इसलिए मैं समझता हूँ वक्त आ गया है कि सेन्ट्रल इन्टरवेंशन होना चाहिए, मगर सेन्ट्रल इन्टरवेंशन भी अगर पोलिटिकल एक्स-पोजिडियन्सी पर हुआ—कभी उनको खुश कर दिया कभी इनको खुश कर दिया—तो श्रीमन्, उससे पर्सिस्टेंट सत्याग्रह होने वाला नहीं है। यह खुशी की बात है कि सी० पी० आई० आज आंध्र प्रदेश की एकता की हामी है। हमारे मित्र भूपेश गुप्त को देख

[श्री नवल किशोर]

कर उनकी एक बात मुझे याद आ गई। यह पहला मौका है श्रीमन्, कि श्री भूपेश गुप्त के जुबाने मुबारक से यह बात निकली है कि आंध्र में वे तेलंगाना के साथ भी हैं और आंध्र के साथ भी हैं हालांकि उन्होंने यह नहीं बताया कि अगर दोनों की डिफरेंट ओपीनियन है तो वह किसका साथ देंगे। मगर उनकी बातों से अहसास हुआ कि वे इन्टिग्रिटी और यूनिटी आफ आंध्र प्रदेश के हक में हैं। सचमुच यह उनकी तरफ से पहला मौका है, क्योंकि 25 सालों में जब भी किसी स्टेट के डिविजन की बात आई, हिन्दुस्तान के डिविजन की बात आई, सबसे पहले सी० पी० आई० ने प्रेस किया वह डिविजन होसा चाहिए।

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : Sir, on a point of clarification. He should not say that. You were not here. When the question of formation of Andhra Pradesh on a linguistic basis came up in the time of Jawaharlal Nehru, Dr. Radhakrishnan was occupying this Chair. The proceedings will bear me out that we were fighting for the linguistic unity of the State. I do not know why he says that he was denied of my company.

SHRI NAVAL KISHORE : I am sorry I missed the wise company of Shri Bhupesh Gupta.

अखीर में मुझे यह बात कहनी है कि कम से कम जैसा पता चला है, दोनों फेक्शन्स ने या दोनों पार्टियों ने तेलंगाना और आंध्र के क्षेत्र के प्रतिनिधियों ने प्राइम मिनिस्टर पर इस बात को छोड़ दिया है, तब मैं समझता हूँ और उससे साबित भी होता है कि दोनों ने, चाहे उनके मेन्टल रिजर्वेशन्स कुछ भी हों, कम से कम दिखाने को यह बात कही है कि

उनका पूरा कांफिडेंस हिन्दुस्तान के प्राइम मिनिस्टर के ऊपर है और वे उनकी पार्टी की नेता भी हैं। तो मैं समझता हूँ कि अब प्रधान मंत्री जी को ज्यादा टाइम न लेते हुए जल्द से जल्द इस बारे में कोई सोल्यूशन निकालना चाहिए और इस बात की कोशिश करनी चाहिए कि वह सोल्यूशन ऐसा हो जो परमानेंट हो, जो उनके धावों को भरे तथा इमोशनल इंटेंशंस दोनों के अन्दर कर सके।

SHRI N. G. GORAY : May I make a request ? When the Prime Minister is here—and all of us have opened up our minds—will she not say something ?

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : I think you can give out the formula.

SHRI K. C. PANT : My hon. friend raised one specific point about the Chief Minister having given an assurance that if the Supreme Court held that the Mulki rules are valid, the Government would apply the Mulki rules. I have no knowledge of this at all and I am very doubtful if a responsible person would make a hypothetical statement of this kind. So far as the other suggestions are concerned I have already indicated the approach of the Government in the matter. . .

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : Article 16 (3).

SHRI K. C. PANT : It is one of the suggestions that comes up and it is in relation to the public employment Act, why it was struck down and so on. I am aware of the implications.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : Unless you amend article 16 (3) again it will be struck down

SHRI K. C. PANT : I am aware of the implications, but there is nothing

that I can say here on the spot on a question like that. It is a delicate matter and it has many implications and any decision taken can have far-reaching consequences. So there is no question of a partisan approach to the problem. There is no question of internal Congress politics or anythings like it. It is a question on which the Government brings a national point of view to bear keeping in mind not only the present but also the future.

श्री नागेद्वर प्रसाद शाही (उत्तर प्रदेश) : श्रीमन्, यह समस्या और इस तरह की समस्या जो दो हफ्ते पहले आसाम में थी हो सकता है इसके बाद पंजाब और हरियाणा में भी खड़ी हो सकती है और इन समस्याओं के पीछे मूलभूत कारण ऐसा लगता है कि इस तरह की समस्याओं का समाधान ढूँढने में कोई गलती जरूर हुई है और उसी गलती के कारण देश में राष्ट्रीय भावना दुर्बल हुई तथा क्षेत्रीय और प्रान्तीय भावनाएं भड़की। यह सचमुच में बड़े दुःख की बात है कि एक ही प्रान्त में कुछ लोग को स्कूल में एडमिशन इसलिए नहीं मिले, सरकारी नौकरियों में जगह इसलिए नहीं मिली कि उनके ऊपर मुल्की रूल अप्लाई नहीं करते हैं। आज उत्तर प्रदेश में लाखों बंगाली लोग सरकारी नौकरियों में हैं, कोई भावना उनके विपरीत नहीं है और न ही कोई नियम ऐसा है कि उन्हें वहाँ की किसी सस्था में एडमिट न किया जा सके या नौकरियों में रखा न जा सके। मुल्की नियमों को शुरू से ही समाप्त कर दिया जाना चाहिये था और उस क्षेत्र विशेष के उत्थान तथा प्रगति की जिम्मेदारी केन्द्रीय सरकार को ही अपने ऊपर ले लेनी चाहिये थी। तेलंगाना क्षेत्र का जो पिछड़ापन है, जो कमजोरी है, जो खामियां हैं, उसकी जिम्मेदारी केन्द्रीय सरकार को अपने ऊपर ले लेनी चाहिये थी। एक बात तो यह है।

दूसरी बात मैं यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि शुरू से ही देश में यह भावना बन गई है कि हिंसा के माध्यम से राज्यों का निर्माण हो सकता है और इस तरह की भावनाओं को बनाने की जिम्मेदारी कुछ स्वार्थी राजनीतिज्ञों के ऊपर है जो अपने स्वार्थ के लिए जनता की भावनाओं को उभाड़कर इस तरह के हिंसात्मक आन्दोलन करवाते हैं चाहे वे आंध्र प्रदेश में हों चाहे और किसी क्षेत्र में हों। अभी उत्तर प्रदेश में दो-तीन साल पहले एक मुख्य मंत्री को जब कुर्सी छोड़नी पड़ी तो उन्होंने इस तरह का आन्दोलन कराने की बात सोची कि पश्चिमी उत्तर प्रदेश का एक अलग सूबा बना दिया जाय। वे सोचते थे कि अलग सूबा बन जायगा तो वे मुख्य मंत्री बन जाएंगे। ठीक ऐसी ही बात और यही भावना आज आंध्र प्रदेश के आन्दोलन के पीछे है। मैं, श्रीमन्, प्रबान मंत्री जी से दो बातों की सफाई चाहूंगा। एक तो यह कि वे साफ तौर पर यह कह दें कि किसी भी हिंसात्मक आन्दोलन से दब कर या प्रभावित होकर नए राज्य का निर्माण नहीं करेंगे। यह बात साफ तौर से सबके दिलोदिमाग में बैठ जाय तो मैं समझता हूँ कि इस तरह के आन्दोलन नहीं होंगे बल्कि दूसरी तरह की बातें उठ सकती हैं कि फलां पिछड़े हुए क्षेत्र को और आगे लाने के लिए कुछ और विकास कार्य किया जाय। दूसरी बात यह कि तेलंगाना क्षेत्र के पिछड़ेपन को समाप्त करने के लिए केन्द्रीय सरकार अपने ऊपर जिम्मेदारी ले क्योंकि उसका आर्थिक भार वहन करना प्रान्तीय सरकार के बूते की बात नहीं है और जब तक वह पिछड़ापन समाप्त न हो जाय तब तक खास समय निर्धारित करके उस क्षेत्र के लोगों को रिजर्वेशन दिया जाय।

श्री के० सी० पन्त : उपाध्यक्ष जी, मैं सिर्फ यह शाही जी को सूचना देना चाहता

[श्री के० सी० पन्त]

हूँ कि केन्द्रीय सरकार ने तेलंगाना के विकास के सिलसिले में रुचि रखी है, कुछ जिम्मेदारी भी ली है इस माने में कि यहां से प्रधान मंत्री जी का जो घाठ नुक्ते का कार्यक्रम था उसमें विशेष ध्यान इसी पर दिया गया कि तेलंगाना का जो पिछड़ा हुआ क्षेत्र उसका विकास हो सके और वहां योजनाओं का कार्याविन्यन ठीक तरह से हो सके और वहां की सर्विसेज के मामले भी थे। इन सारी चीजों में ग्राम्य प्रदेस, तेलंगाना रीजनल कमिटी और केन्द्रीय सरकार सब दिलचस्पी लेते रहे हैं। वह इस सवाल की पृष्ठभूमि है, इतिहास है और इसमें केन्द्रीय सरकार ने बराबर रुचि ली है, बराबर कोशिश की है कि जहाँ कहीं भावात्मक चीजे हों वहाँ उनका हल निकाला जाय और दोनों क्षेत्रों के लोगों को मिलाया जाय और बहुत हद तक इसमें सफलता भी मिली है। यह कोई आज की बात नहीं है, इसमें दिलचस्पी केन्द्रीय सरकार ने ली है और आज भी तेलंगाना के जो मामले हैं वे रिव्यू होते हैं केन्द्रीय स्तर पर और प्रधान मंत्री जी खुद बैठती हैं उन मीटिंगों में जिनमें ये चीजें रिव्यू होती हैं।

THE PRIME MINISTER (SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI): May I say a few words, Sir ?

I would also like to express my deep sorrow over the situation that has arisen in Andhra Pradesh and at the loss of life and the destruction of property. It is sad at any time, but to destroy railways and so on especially at a moment when the country is going through an extremely difficult economic situation and when we need the railways and communications more than perhaps any other time of our development, is indeed a very sad happening and a sad commentary on the way in which some people's minds work.

I welcome the suggestion which many Members have made that we should all together condemn any type of violence and we should try to explain to the people and to educate them that violence will not lead them any where nor will it advance their cause in any way.

Sir, no solution can ever be satisfactory to all the people, especially in a situation where the demands are somewhat contradictory. And that is why I was not trying to be clever when I said that the solution may not satisfy everybody. In any such situation whether it takes place in Andhra Pradesh or any other part of the country where there are conflicting demands and desires, all that one can attempt to do is to find a solution which creates the greatest satisfaction. But you cannot possibly satisfy everybody. And so when I said this I was merely stating a fact and not trying to be clever, I think Shri Goray has misunderstood me because so far as I recollect I have not said that no solution would be imposed. But he is correct in this way that although I have not said this, even one imposes a solution it has to have some degree of acceptability amongst the people, otherwise it just does not work. Although some people have regretted the fact that we have been talking to different people and that no agreement has been reached, but even if no agreement is reached, as my colleague, Shri Pant, has pointed out, we do have to discuss this with people of different shades of opinion not only in our party but also of other parties. I think Shri Chavan made very sincere efforts to meet as many people as possible during his visit to Hyderabad so that he could get their points of view and also so that they could understand our point of view in this matter.

As hon'ble Members know, Mr. Pant met most of the Leaders of the Opposition in Parliament also and discussed the matter with them. I am sorry my hon'ble friend, Shri Misra, always wants to have

a dig in some way every time he gets up. Perhaps he thinks that it adds strength to his point while other Members feel that it does not. This weakness whatever arguments he already made. Perhaps he knows Mr Bhupesh Gupta better than I do since he sits with him most of the time, and he also knows that far from whispering the complaint is that Shri Gupta talks too loudly. On this matter also, the moment the letter was sent to me with their viewpoint, it was also distributed to the press and to other people. So if it was whispering it is a new type of whispering which includes everybody.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : On a point of clarification. We sent a letter which up till now has not been released to the press. It is a statement which was issued in Andhra Pradesh by 79 legislators which had been distributed there. We have not distributed that.

SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI : All right I accept your word . . .

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : You correct yourself.

SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI : All right I am correcting. But the point I was making was that everybody else had that information along with me. This is the position, whether you gave it or somebody else gave it . . .

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : Again, Sir, we had not even talked to anybody about it.

SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI : May be it was just telepathy.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : Your Secretariat and quite so many other people talk to so many people. They might have done it.

SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI : Several people have commented on various party differences there. We are entitled

to express what their point of view is. But we all know that whenever there has been a question of language or anything, all parties have had difference of opinion amongst themselves, not just with the other party. We know that when it is a question of Maharashtra, Mysore or the river waters or anything, most parties take the stand of their region, of their area. So it is very unfair to say that this happened in our party. I do not deny that this feeling exists as one Member of our party from Andhra Pradesh said. I can fully sympathise with him. How unhappy he is feeling over the situation and on the real difficulties which can arise if strict enforcement takes place.

Whether with regard to the people of Telangana or all those living in other parts of Andhra Pradesh, we all know that Telangana is a backward area and that certain things which were to be done were not done in good time. However, it is not true to say that since then we have been sitting back complacently because when the trouble first arose, after that we have been meeting continuously and the programme that was made was not a patching up programme, it was a programme which we thought would help to integrate the two people, which would remove the doubts in the minds of the Telangana people about their not getting full justice in the composite State of Andhra Pradesh. And we have the Regional Committee, we have the Review Committee and various other groups, which have been meeting regularly and trying to expedite the implementation of the points that were earlier decided upon and I have no doubt in my mind that the situation was improving, whether with regard to services or any other matter, and given a little more time this matter could have been sorted out to the satisfaction of, I think, practically everybody there. But there is no doubt that the judgment coming at this particular time naturally has aggravated the situation. Now, we are for the people of Telangana, we are for the people of all other parts of

[Shrimati Indira Gandhi]

Andhra Pradesh also. Telangana has been backward but Rayalaseema is also backward. It is not true that all the rest of Andhra Pradesh is very advanced or developed. Rayalaseema, as we know, is extremely backward. It has constant problems of drought and water difficulties and so on. So these are problems which are faced by every State. We are making a tremendous effort now to try and see that the services and goods which are needed do reach the people who live in these backward areas and that they also get justice. This problem, of course, is not a new one. It is an old one. Therefore, the situation there cannot be compared to what happened in any other State or is likely to happen. It was a particular situation at the time of States' reorganisation. The emotion that has erupted is not a new. It has been simmering and when it gets an occasion, it boils over. But this does not mean that it can never be solved. It does mean that all of us, all parties, must cooperate in trying to convince people of the State that their larger interests lie in their working together for the improvement of the conditions of all the backward areas of that State.

The word "separation" is used rather easily in this context and sometimes in other contexts. The question we have to ask is : Will separation really solve or provide a solution or is it going to open out a whole new series of new problems? Not just for other States but for this very State for the people of Rayalaseema or the Circars or Telangana, it is not going to be an ending, it will be a beginning of a whole new series of problems and of complexities. Therefore, we should not use the word too easily or think that it is some kind of a magic solution and by which everything will be solved. It certainly will not be solved. And we do sincerely believe that the future of the people in Andhra Pradesh there lies in their working together, in their trying to help one another. There are many difficulties. I am not saying this is easy.

Nothing in the world that is worthwhile is ever easy and effort has to be made. We must make that effort together and co-operate. I am not saying that immediately the people of Andhra and Telangana are going to fall in to each other's arms. It is going to take time to heal the wounds, it is going to take time to create an atmosphere. But we must make an effort in that direction. I am very glad that here at least most of the opposition parties feel the same way and I sincerely hope that they will help us not only here on the forum of Parliament, but also with their party units in the States. Just as our party was accused, it is perhaps the same with their parties that those who live in the different areas try to see local problems from that particular narrow angle which is not always the angle which will help the people of the State or the party as a whole. If it is so for our party, it is equally so for all the other parties. Therefore, I hope that we shall all condemn violence and we should all try and see how we can bring these people together. As I said, this problem was being solved. . .

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : Don't delay it.

SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI

While it is very difficult, perhaps an early decision that will now be made could have been given earlier, but I cannot say that the result would have been different. Maybe that any decision that is given or any solution that is sought would also be agitating the people's minds and there would be this type of agitation and violent demonstration. We cannot say for sure that it will be . . .

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : Why not give it?

SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI : I entirely agree that there should be no delay. We have already announced that we will take a decision very soon. Whatever the decision is, it will not satisfy all the people, even though the Government has come to

me and said that they will try to implement whatever decision we give. Naturally I have not said that everybody will be satisfied. There may be elements who will try to take advantage of the situation. I should like to appeal to all of you to help and see . . .

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : We are ready to help . . .

SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI : First you can help by not interrupting.

SHRI DAHYABHAI V. PATEL : He has always been helping you, Madam.

SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI : I want help from all parties, not one or two parties, in such matters which affect the whole nation. This is not a matter which has affected only Andhra Pradesh or Telangana area. It affects the whole nation. I feel that if we all regard it as a national problem and not as something of which we should take advantage, and all parties help, it will be easier to have an acceptable solution.

THE DIPLOMATIC AND CONSULAR OFFICERS (OATHS AND FEES) (EXTENSION TO JAMMU AND KASHMIR BILL, 1972

THE DEPUTY MINISTER IN THE MINISTRY OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS (SHRI SURENDRA PAL SINGH) : Sir, I beg to move for leave to introduce a Bill to provide for the extension of the Diplomatic and Consular Officers (Oaths and Fees) Act, 1948, to the State of Jammu and Kashmir.

The question was put and the motion was adopted

LEAVE OF ABSENCE TO SHRI JAIRAMDAS DAULATRAM

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : I have to inform Members that the following letter dated the 18th November, 1972, has been received from Shri Jairamdas Daulatram :—

"I find that I am unavoidably detained at Bombay in connection with a very important matter of a public nature and I am not sure when it will be completed. As my personal presence is imperatively necessary, I find it difficult to come to Delhi for an uncertain time. As soon as I can free myself, I will come but to be on the safe side, I would request the permission of yourself and the House for absence during the current session. I hope the request will be granted."

Is it the pleasure of the House that permission be granted to Shri Jairamdas Daulatram for remaining absent from all meetings of the House during the current session?

(No hon. Member dissented)

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : Permission to remain absent is granted.

REFERENCE TO ASSAULT ON DR. Z. A. AHMAD AT CUTTACK

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA (West Bengal) : It has been reported in today's papers that. . .

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : Chairman has not given you permission to raise anything now.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : Dr. Z. A. Ahmad, a member of this House, has been assaulted in Bhubaneswar and Cuttack. It has appeared in all the national papers. I am not going into the elections. I do not wish to go into that. But surely. . .