

12.40 hrs.

**STATUTORY RESOLUTION RE:
CONTINUANCE OF PROCLAMA-
TION IN RESPECT OF ANDHRA
PRADESH---contd.**

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: We will resume discussion on the Statutory Resolution relating to the State of Andhra Pradesh. Shri K. Suryanarayana will continue his speech.

SHRI K. SURYANARAYANA (Ehuru): Mr. Deputy-Speaker, while I was speaking on this motion yesterday I raised some points which agitate the people in Andhra Pradesh regarding fair price shops. I want to inform my hon. friend, Shri Shastri, that there is no agitation for food in Andhra Pradesh. Even though his party has tried to raise it in Andhra Pradesh, there was no response from the people. I would like him to inform his party Colleagues that when it is a question of the interest of the country politics should not be brought in.

Here I would like to give an example which will show the real character of the Communist Party. When in 1942 we were fighting the British Government, for some time the Communist Party said that it is not the peoples' war. But when the Russian Government agreed to join the war, they immediately changed their attitude and said that it is the peoples' war. Now in some respects they are sailing with the Government in the name of progressive policies. I am sure they are doing it only for the sake of their party. They are supporting the policies of the Government wherever they suit them, just for their survival, particularly in Andhra Pradesh.

Here I would like to refer to the notice given by Shri Satyanarayana Rao, Member of Rajya Sabha, regarding the law and order situation in the State for discussion in the Consultative Committee meeting on the 30th

July to which the Government have given a reply. That note says:

'Since April, 1973 the Party Units held training camps throughout the State at a number of places in the districts of Adilabad, Cuddapah, East Godavary, West Godavary, Guntur, Karimnagar, Khammam, Krahna, Kurnool, Nalgonda, Nellore, Ongole, Visakhapatnam, Srikakulam and Warangal and in almost all these training camps the volunteers were given training in drill and use of sticks in self-defence. In Guntur district three such training camps were held at Karalapadu, Ponnekallu and Manchikalapudi villages. It has also come to the notice of the Government that in the training camp held at Manchikalapudi, Tenali Taluk of Guntur district, training in the use of swords, spears and the handling of country bombs was given. This training camp which commenced on 16th May, 1973 ended on 28th May, 1973 abruptly as there was a clash between rival groups in the village with alleged participation of the trainees. Investigation into the incident is in progress.'

I want to know from the Minister whether the State Government have submitted any report to the Government of India or the Government of India themselves have instituted any inquiry because they are associated with the Government, in the agitation for separation movement in Andhra.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: How are these points relevant for this discussion?

SHRI K. SURYANARAYANA: They are all mentioned in the report.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: We are not discussing the Report. We have very little time. We are only discussing the question of approving the continuance of the Proclamation. If you are going to discuss all the details of things going on in Andhra Pradesh, then it takes a different colour, a different dimension and it will take a

[Mr. Deputy Speaker]

long time. I would like to make it very clear that we are discussing only the continuance of the Proclamation and the reasons for it and not the general conditions in Andhra Pradesh

SHRI K. SURYANARAYANA: Both.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: We are not discussing both; that is not the Resolution. Within the two hours allotted, if you take half an hour to discuss the general situation in Andhra Pradesh, others will not be able to do justice unless they also get the same time.

SHRI K. SURYANARAYANA: With regard to procurement, the Vigilance Cell which is constituted by the personnel drafted from the Police Department primarily looks after these different movement restriction orders assisted by the checkpoint staff. The Vigilance Cell looks after also the implementation of the different Control Orders. During the financial year 1972-73, the Vigilance Cell seized a quantity of 79,000 quintals of food-grains worth Rs. 79,11,000. Prosecutions have been launched in 140 cases and convictions have been obtained in 86 of these cases. Is it not the way to bring down the prices? Did C.P.I. do anything like this in Kerala? Was there any agitation like this by C. P. M. ?

Then I want to read out the statement made by the Chief Minister of Kerala in regard to food crisis in Kerala. There is a news-item "CPI struggle vis-a-vis Congress", published in some papers. It says:

"The party has prescribed certain basic guidelines in its relation to the ruling party."

So, I want to understand even from the Congress party what are the guidelines we are getting from the C. P. I. Further, it says:

"The CPI leadership has told party cadres that its line of unity, as well as of struggle vis-a-vis the Congress

will vary from situation to situation and place to place."

The other day, the Chief Minister in Trivandrum said:

"The rice was being taken from the Vilathura godown to the Vettukad centre in the coastal area, some people in the name of 'food agitation by the students' stopped the vehicle carrying rice and looted the contents before the police could reach the scene."

This is when there was an agitation against price-rise in Kerala. Did they not arrest them? Did they not take any action there? It further says:

"Condemning this act in strong terms, the Chief Minister, Mr. C. Achutha Menon reiterated his view that 'anti-social elements' were behind these agitations and said such acts revealed their objective and nature".

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: From Andhra Pradesh, you have gone to Kerala.

SHRI K. SURYANARAYANA: In Andhra Pradesh, the activities of other parties are affecting food production and distribution through fair price shops. The fair price shops are meant for the poor people. In the name of poor people, they are not allowing the fair price shops to be opened by the State Government....

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: Therefore, you say, the President's Rule should continue in Andhra Pradesh.

You please conclude now.

SHRI K. SURYANARAYANA: Regarding Government lands, I will let you know how much we have distributed in Andhra Pradesh. As a result of the crash programme, an extent of 12.62 lakh acres had been assigned to nearly 4.48 lakh beneficiaries upto the end of April, 1973, bringing the total extent assigned from 1960 to 27.13 lakh acres there.

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: Yesterday, you took 10 minutes and today you have already taken another 10 minutes. Out of 2 hours allotted, you have already taken 20 minutes. You should be satisfied with that. I would like to know from the other Members from the Congress party and from the Minister of Parliamentary Affairs whether Mr. Suryanarayana should be the only speaker from the Congress Benches. If a senior Member like him does not cooperate, what can I do?

THE MINISTER OF PARLIAMENTARY AFFAIRS (SHRI K. RAGHU RAMAIAH): There is a list of six other names. For the rest, we are all in your hands, Sir.

SHRI K. SURYANARAYANA: Sir, lastly, I come to land reforms. We have so far distributed, in Andhra Pradesh, 27.13 lakh acres and nearly 4.40 lakh people have benefited. Now, Andhra Pradesh is under the President's Rule. We cannot say that we are very happy. But we are not unhappy also.

Coming to an important point of separation, I want to say this. The extension of the term of the President's Rule in Andhra Pradesh has been put before the House. Because both the groups, the integregationists and the separationists are not coming forward with a common proposal, the Government has rightly taken the step to extend the term of President's Rule there. The people are happy there. There is no agitation except the Communist party's political things. My request to the Government is, unless there is a common agreement, unless there is an agreed solution of the problem by both the groups, there is no urgency about it. Lastly, regarding the freedom fighters . . .

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: You are unreasonable, you are unfair to your other colleagues. You are taking undue advantage of the leniency of the Chair, you are taking undue advantage of your other colleagues in the Party.

SHRI K. SURYANARAYANA: Regarding the freedom fighters, I may be excused, Sir. Friends who were with me in jail in 1930-1932 and 1942 have been writing to me and I have brought it to the notice of the Government also. So far as Andhra is concerned, the number of applications received upto 30th July, 1973 is 10139 the number of applications examined—7056 the number of sanctioned—2604 the number of applications rejected—1362 and clarifications called for—3640. I want to request the Government to put some man for each State who knows their language, to expedite matters. Regarding freedom fighters, they promised that they would finalise by 15th August all the genuine applicants. Now 50 per cent have not been completed in my State. So, once again I request the Government to expedite the cases and fulfil the promise given to the freedom fighters. I am very thankful to the Chair for giving me enough time to speak.

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: Before I call the next speaker, at 5.30 there is a half-an-hour discussion to be raised by Shri G. P. Yadav. But he has written that he will not be here as he has been held up. So, we will not take up that and we will have half an hour more for this. We will take up the Private Members' Business at 3.30 instead of at 3 p. m.

Now, Mr. Ramavatar Shastri.

श्री रामावतार शास्त्री (पटना) : एक मिनटवर से छ. महीने के लिए और राष्ट्रपति का श्रामन शान्ध मे बढ़ाने मन्वन्वी साविधानिक मंकल्प पर हम विचार कर रहे हैं क्या राष्ट्रपति के श्रामन की अवधि बढ़ाने से शान्ध देश की समस्या का समाधान हो सकना है ? मेरी राय में अवधि बढ़ाने के बजाय सरकार को जल्दी से जल्दी शान्ध प्रदेश की एकता को बचाते हुए, उस की रक्षा करने के लिए, निदान का कोई रास्ता ढूँढ निकालना चाहिए । यह खूशी की बात है कि बहो फट परस्ते के साथ देश को जो योग

[श्री रामानुजतर शास्त्री]

उद्देश्य चाहते हैं, जो लोग प्रतिक्रियावाधियों के हाथ में खोप रहे हैं, उनके धाने सरकार अभी तक नहीं झुकी है। इस बात के लिए हम सरकार को ज़रूर शक्यबाध होने। लेकिन सरकार मजदूरी के साथ इस प्रदेश की एकता को कायम करने, उसका विभाजन का जो नारा लाते हैं, उनके विरोध में मजदूरी से नीति निर्धारित करने में पूरी तरह सफल नहीं हो पाई है। अभी भी सरकार की तरफ से कहा जाता है कि हमारा विभाग खूला है। पना नहीं यह विभाग कब तक खुला रहेगा और कब तक वहां की जनता की समस्या का कोई समाधान बोजा जायेगा? खुले विभाग का परिषय तो तब मिलेगा जब शांति से शांति बहा की जनता के अन्दर जो फूट वादी शक्तियां हैं, जो प्रतिगामी शक्तियां हैं, उनकी जो चाल है कि बहा के जन-आन्दोलन को कमजोर करके वहां की जनता को आपस में नडाकर अपने स्थिर स्वार्थ मात्रे जाएं। उनको पराजय दी जायेगी। अगर इसी तरह से आप हीना हवाला करने रहे तो किसी भी समस्या का समाधान नहीं होगा। इस लिए हमारा निवेदन है कि आप शांति बहा शांति प्रदेश की एकता को बचाने हुए निदान निकाले और वहां लोक प्रिय सरकार का स्थापना करे। इस और आप के कदम उठने चाहिए।

अभी भी बहा प्रतिगामी शक्तियों, स्थिर स्वार्थी, उमीदारों की जो बफाखुद करते हैं, उनके प्रतिनिधि बोन गए है। उनकी तरफ से धमकी दी जाती है कि हम फिर आन्दोलन करेगे। मैं कहना चाहता हू कि बहा की गरीब जनता, मेहनत करने वाली जनता किशान मजदूर आदि उनके साथ नहीं हैं। किशान मजदूर शांति प्रदेश की एकता को बनाए रखना चाहते हैं। इस लिए हमारा निवेदन है कि आप उनकी धमकियों में न आकर सही रास्ते पर चले और उसकी एकाग्र हो कायम रखें।

बहा शोक तेलंगना का इलाका —

SHRI M. M. HASHIM (Secundrabad): I rise on a point of order. You have not allowed Shri Suryanarayana when he was speaking to give details of the activities of these people. Now you are allowing him to speak against them here, where they are unable to say a single word.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER. Order please. You have made your point. I have not said that I did not allow Shri K. Suryanarayana to speak against them. I was concerned with time and I was also concerned with the relevancy. The debate at the moment is about the continuance of the proclamation of the President's rule. You can advance reasons for that. But I appreciate that in discussing those matters you cannot but also refer to certain details going on there; there should not be any long reference, however, to that; that is all that I was trying to say to Mr. Suryanarayana. He had made certain charges against them. I think it is only fair that when a charge is made they should have the right to reply. I was only putting a restriction on time and looking at the question from the point of view of relevancy. (Interruptions) Order please. Please go on.

श्री रामानुजतर शास्त्री : मैं बिलकुल प्वाइंट बाई प्वाइंट बोन रहा हूं। मैं कह रहा था कि वहां की जनता की एकता को बनाए रखने के लिए यह आवश्यक है कि जो पिछड़ा हुआ इलाका है, तेलंगना का इलाका हो या राय लमीना का इलाका हो, वहां के लोगों को विकास का पूरा मौका मिलना चाहिए। ऐसा न हो कि किसी एक इलाके के विकास की तरफ ध्यान ज्यादा जाए और दूसरे इलाके के विकास की तरफ कम जाए। किसी इलाके की समस्याओं के समाधान की तरफ सरकार कम ध्यान दे और किसी बिजनेस इलाके की समस्याओं को सुलझाने की तरफ सरकार ज्यादा ध्यान दे। सम्यक रूप से जो पिछड़े हुए इलाके हैं उन को भी धाने बढ़ाने का मौका दिया जाना चाहिए। धाने बढ़े हुए जो इलाके

हैं, उन की हवाने की मेरी संका नहीं है। वे भी जाने बड़े। दोनों प्राई हैं। इस तरह से अगर हम करें तो जी भाषा के आधार पर राज्यों का निर्माण हुआ है, जिस सिधांत को हिन्दुस्तान की जनता ने अपने मन से सीधा है मान्योपन करके, उसकी रक्षा होगी। साथ ही साथ उनके पिछड़ेपन की तरफ ध्यानका इलाज जाना चाहिये।

14.00 Hrs.

पिछड़ेपन को दूर करने के लिए इस बात की भी आवश्यकता है कि सरकार वहां जमीन का बंटवारा करे। अभी माननीय सदस्य ने कहा कि वहां जमीन का बंटवारा किया गया है। मुझे मालूम नहीं है। अगर किया गया है, तो यह खुशी की बात है। लेकिन इस बारे में जो कुछ किया गया है, उनी पर मतौष कर लेना काफ़ी नहीं है। और ज्यादा से ज्यादा जमीन का बंटवारा किया गया जाना चाहिए। जमीदारों और निहित स्वार्थों के शिकवे को तोड़ना चाहिए और जोतने वालों को जमीन देनी चाहिए।

माननीय सदस्य, श्री सुर्वनारायण, ने यह प्रकट करने की कोशिश की है कि आन्ध्र प्रदेश में लोग महंगाई के शिकार नहीं हैं। प्रधान मंत्री कहती हैं कि सारी दुनियां में महंगाई है, सब जगह दाम बढ़ रहे हैं। इसलिए यह नहीं हो सकता है कि आन्ध्र प्रदेश में महंगाई न हो। वहां महंगाई है, और वह इस लिए भी है कि वहां भी चोर-बाजारिये और बड़े-बड़े बर्षिस-मालिक अपनी कर्तियों में अनाव छिया कर रहे हुए हैं, जिस की वजह से कीमतें बढ़ती हैं। कम्युनिस्ट पार्टी है लोगों ने वहां महंगाई के खिलाफ आन्दोलन किया और चोर-बाजारिये तथा जमीदारों के छिपाये हुए कले को निकाल कर शान्तिमय तरीके से उस का बंटवारा किया। उन्होंने यह सही किया— उन्होंने ऐसा पूरे हिन्दुस्तान में किया है— और वे जाने भी करने वाले हैं।

राष्ट्रपति भी कहते हैं कि चोर-बाजारियों के खिलाफ कर्षावही की जाये और उन को

भारत सुरक्षा कानून के अन्तर्गत बन्द किया जाये। हम उसी बात को अमल में लाना चाहते हैं। हम चाहेंगे कि सतारू दल में जो इस बिचार के लोग हैं, उन का इस में सहयोग करना चाहिए उस का बिरोध नहीं करना चाहिए। सतारू दल के लोग कहते कुछ हैं और करते कुछ हैं। हम चाहते हैं कि वे जो कुछ कहते हैं वही करे। अगर नहीं करेंगे, तो जनता उन को ऐसा करने के लिए मजबूर करेगी।

अन्त में मैं फिर कहना चाहता हूँ कि सरकार आंध्र प्रदेश में प्रेडिडेंटल रूल को बढ़ाने के बजाये विधान सभा को काम करने का मौका दे और वहां नाकप्रिय शासन स्थापित हो, जो उस प्रदेश का एकता को कायम रखने हुए ज्यादा विश्वास के साथ जनता की विभिन्न समस्याओं को हल करने का तरीका निकाले।

SHRI JAGANNATH RAO (Chhatrapur): Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, I rise to support the motion moved for the extension of the President's Rule in Andhra Pradesh for a further period of six months.

Sir, due to the unfortunate judgement of the Supreme Court, the problem has arisen with regard to the integration of the State. The Mulki Rules, which existed in the erstwhile Hyderabad State before the merger of Telengana with Andhra Pradesh, were allowed to continue under a gentleman's agreement for a period of fifteen years. That is, these should have expired at the end of 1974. This decision of the Supreme Court stirred the feelings of the people both in Andhra as well as in the Telengana regions. The people from the Andhra region feel that the Mulki Rules should not exist inasmuch as they form part and parcel of the integrated State of Andhra Pradesh whereas the people from Telengana Region, feel that they are educationally backward and economically weak and so, they should have some sort of protection. This has resulted in the agitation against the integration of the State. The people

[Shri Jagannath Rao]

from Telangana region are not happy over this. Who is responsible for this? Can the headache be cured by chopping off one's head? The Mulki Rules problem should be solved peacefully. Sir, this is nothing but a domicile certificate from the persons coming from the other area but, who happen to be residing in Telangana area. There was a similar domicile rule in Orissa. When Orissa State was formed in 1936, the people speaking Oriya language, whether they belonged to the erstwhile State or not, or if they came from the neighbouring State, were all treated as natives of Orissa.

Others who lived in the State, including myself, who were not Oriyas in the sense that our mother tongue is not Oriya, were required to take domicile certificates. Of course, there was some inconvenience for some time. But ultimately things have settled down and there is no question of insisting on domicile rules now. I request the Telangana people not to lay much stress on the Mulki Rules and thus try to disrupt the integrity of the State. Andhra with a population of 4 crores odd is one of the bigger States in the country. It has a vast potential. It is the storehouse of foodgrains. It is highly unfortunate that politicians from both sides talk of separation. Separation is no solution to the Mulki rules problem. The time has come when insistence on the Mulki Rules should not be allowed to continue. People from the Andhra region should be allowed to feel that they have as much right in the State as people from the Telangana region.

I quite agree and concede the contention of the Telangana people that they being educationally backward should have some protection in the matter of jobs. In the public undertakings, there is a rule whereby classes I and II posts are thrown open to public competition whereas classes III and IV posts are filled from among the local people, people of the locality where the undertaking is situated. Likewise, posts carrying emoluments of Rs. 300, Rs. 400 or Rs.

500 per mensem should be given only to the local people and others should be excluded, and have competition in respect of classes I and II posts. This may be a satisfactory solution. But who can arrive at it?

The party leaders from both regions who formed the Andhra Cabinet could not come to an agreement. This is unfortunate. The Andhra Cabinet is responsible for this impasse. They have created it. They could not come to an understanding. They did not and could not settle it. Now that the State is under President's rule, the Central Government should arrive at a settlement and see that the people of the regions agree to this principle. Otherwise, there will again be trouble. Mere passing of law would not solve the problem.

I would request politicians on both sides to consider the issue objectively and not be swayed by emotion. Unfortunately, this agitation went on for nearly a year. There was much loss of public property. But what has happened? Now President's rule is there and this has given them good administration. I had occasion to meet some people in the Andhra region and also others. They are very happy that they have got a good and clean administration and they want this to continue for some time. It is only the politicians who are creating trouble and want the Assembly to be reconvened and somebody to be selected as Chief Minister. Therefore, mere convening of the Assembly would not solve the problem. I said so even while supporting the Proclamation originally that it should be extended by another six months. Now this extension is being sought. If no solution is forthcoming, it will have to be extended further by another six months and so on upto three years which we can do when the emergency is in force. I say that the integrity of Andhra Pradesh should be preserved. When tempers cool down and good sense prevails. I am sure it will be found that this is not such a big problem which cannot be solved by

the two parties. Therefore, it is highly necessary that President's rule should be extended by another six months.

Shri Ramabatar Shastri was talking of the CPI and the action they are taking to bring down prices. The CPI are now organising bandhs there and every where, as if that would bring prices down. The other day in Berahampore City, they organised a bandh. They would not allow the fair price shops and other shops to function. My friend Shri Panda, who is an MP was also there. He was one of the leaders. We Congress workers objected to that and prevailed upon the shopkeepers to open their shops. There was clash and lathi charge and so on. Is that the way the CPI think the prices can be brought down? Are not Government conscious of inflation? They are doing whatever is possible to bring prices down. But the CPI is trying to pose as the saviour of the people, the party which can deliver the goods. If the Government of the day cannot do it, no other political party can. Is there any alternative to Congress rule? The only alternative would be chaos. Therefore, allow the Government to function; allow them to bring prices down in the proper way. They are taking various steps for the purpose. Political parties trying to pose themselves as the liberators or saviours of the people will not achieve any purpose. It will defeat the entire objective.

It is necessary that President's rule should be extended by six months. I would request the political leaders from Andhra and Telengana to see that they come to an arrangement. Telengana people should not insist on the Mulki rules, so that a workable and everlasting solution can be found. I was sorry to read a statement in today's papers by Dr. Chenna Reddi saying, if any ministry is installed, it will not last months, not even weeks. If that is the attitude of the leaders, can this problem be solved? Yet not the politicians view it from their own selfish

ends. Let them keep the interests of the people at large before them.

With these words I support the Resolution.

श्री जगन्नाथ राव जोशी (शाजापुर) :
उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, आन्ध्र प्रदेश में राष्ट्रपति शासन की अवधि और 6 महीने बढ़ाने के प्रस्ताव पर हम विचार कर रहे हैं, उसका मैं विरोध करना हूँ। राष्ट्रपति शासन किसी प्रदेश में चले यह प्रक्रिया कोई स्वायी नहीं है, यह अस्वायी है। इसलिए 6 महीने की अवधि सविधान में दी गई है। यदि मंत्री महोदय इस अवधि को बढ़ाने के समय यह बात बताते तक के साथ कि और 6 महीने धागे कपों बढ़ाया जाय तो बात समझ में आती। पत जी ने सिवाय इस के और कुछ नहीं कहा कि इट इज ए काम्प्लेक्स प्राब्लम—यह एक जटिल समस्या है और इसका हल निकालने में समय लगेगा। मुझे लगता है कि इस सरकार के साथ कोई भी समस्या जटिल हो जाती है और उनके पास हल एक ही है कि केन्द्र उसमें हस्तक्षेप करके हाथ में ले। अब चंडीगढ़ की समस्या कोई जटिल है? लेकिन कह दिया की उसे केन्द्र शासित बनाया जाय और बन गया। आन्ध्र में थोड़ी गड़बड़ हो गई उस को भी 6 महीने बढ़ाते बढ़ाते केन्द्र शासित कर दिया। बेलगांव और महाराष्ट्र की समस्या कितने सालों से चली आ रही हैं, 1956 से लेकर आज 1973 तक पहुँचे, कोई हल निकला नहीं। यानि समस्या का हल इन से कोई निकलता ही नहीं। इनको कुछ सूझता ही नहीं। इनके लिए त्रिचसैप्राफ इन्डे-सीशन जो बिजयलक्ष्मी पंडित ने धर्षण किया था, वह धाज भी बँस ही लायू है। इनकी बातें सुनकर मुझे जनरल फ्रांको के बारे में एक बड़ा प्रचलित किस्सा याद आया। कहते हैं कि एक बार जनरल फ्रांको किसी दुकान में कुछ खरीदने के लिए गए। वहाँ से उन्होंने हीरे की थगूठी खरीदी। जब वे देखा तो पैसे तो लाए ही नहीं थे। उन्होंने व्यापारी से कहा कि पैसे तो मैं लाया नहीं। आप तो मुझे जानते होंगे? उन ने कहा कि आप कौन हैं? कहा मैं जनरल फ्रांको हूँ, गेन का सर्वे सर्म। उसने कहा कि

[श्री जगन्नाथ पात्र कोशी]

में तो आपको पहचानता नहीं। किन्तु अभी बल भी एक ऐंसे ही सम्पन्न आए थे। उन्होंने भी एक बीज खरीदी, उनके पास भी पैसा नहीं था, तो उन्होंने कहा कि आप मुझे जानते होंगे, मैं यहाँ का प्रसिद्ध बुल फाक्टर हूँ। मैंने कहा कि आप बुल फाक्टर है यह मैं कैसे पहचानूँ, आप कुछ करके दिखाइए तो उन्होंने झर झर छलांग लगाई, कुछ हाथ पैर झर झर मारकर दिखा दिया। मैंने कहा कि हा, आप बुल फाक्टर हैं। तो आप जनरल फाको हैं वह हम को सिद्ध करके दिखाइए। उन्होंने कहा कि इस समय मैं क्या करूँ, मुझ को कुछ समझ में नहीं आता। तो उमने कहा कि आप की समझ में नहीं आता न कि मैं क्या करूँ तो आप जरूर जनरल फाको है। तो आप के साथ विकुल ऐसी ही बात है। किसी भी परिस्थिति में जब कोई भी कहे कि हम था करे तो Take it for granted that it is Congress Government

इनकी कुछ समझ में ही नहीं आता। एक मामूली भीमा समस्या हल करने में आप को 12-12 और 13-13 माल लाने हैं तो भ्रान्ध की समस्या का भाग्य चल कर क्या हल निकलेगा यह मैं कुछ समझ नहीं पाता हूँ।

अब किसी ने एकना की बात बही। उत्तर प्रदेश एक ही है। एक होने के बाद झगडा क्या है? मेरे मित्र जगन्नाथ राव कह रहे थे कि

There is no alternative to congress—
it is only chaos

तो भ्रान्ध में आज काँग्रेस ही है, पिछले 25 सालों में कांग्रेस ही थी और भागे भी कभी कांग्रेस ही रहेगी।

In spite of congress continuing for
so many years there is chaos.

यह समझ में नहीं आता। यानि हल क्या है? हल तो सही है, आप तो चाहते थे मुल्की कम जो आप ने पास करवाया बहुमत के बल पर, उसी समय हथ न कहा था यह कोई तैलेवागना या भाँ झवाला स्वीकार नहीं करेगा। यह कोई हल नहीं है। या तो पत्त जी बलसी कि भागे छ

महोनों में कौन सा सुझाव यह रख रहे हैं वह हमें पता चलता।

Government is proceeding simply to declare to the world that Government has an open mind. I accept that the open mind of the Government is a blank mind. It is absolutely blank. भागे चल कर छ सहीने में भी वे कुछ हल निकाल सकेये इस पर मैं विश्वास नहीं करता इसलिए लोकसब का यह सकाजा है, आज भी भाँझ में काँग्रेस का बहुमत है —

there is no opposition party to challenge the supremacy.

यदि भरतिहराव भागे साथ सब का ले नहीं जाते तो विधान सभा को बुलाइये, नर नेता का चुनाव कराइये यदि नर नेता का चुनाव नहीं हो पाता या होने के बाद विधान सभा चल नहीं पाती।

then the only course left is to dissolve the Assembly and hold fresh elections to know the mind of the people

जनता का चाइना है क्योंकि in the absence of this — Ramavtar Shastri gets a good chance to say that

इसके पीछे पीजेंटम नहीं है, वर्कमें नहीं है। बामब में इसके पीछे यदि ताकत नहीं होती तो इस सरकार को इनकी समय नहीं लगता हल निकालने में। आज आप विधान सभा बुला कर चला नहीं सकते न आपके पास नेता हैं, न आप चला सकते हैं तो यह क्यों है? कारण यह है कि तैवेगाना की जनता यह ही चाहती, वह तम था। यदि, उसने देखा कि इनके साथ ठोक व्यवहार नहीं हुआ, उनको न्याय नहीं मिला। दोनो हिस्सों में कुछ रिमागनाइजेशन करेता यह एकना के लिए कोई खतरा नहीं है। It is a sort of reorganisation on the basis of a different administration कोई भलनाब का भाव बहा है ही नहीं। मैं भाँझ वालों को कहना हूँ कि don't use the word separatists—you call it bifurcation. यानि देश के हित और जनता की बुझिवा तथा आवश्यकता की दृष्टि से आप, दोनों में

देश में कई प्रदेश बचाये हैं जो भाग्य चल कर देता नहीं है कि एक भाषा सब एक ही प्रदेश ही। हिन्दी भाषा के कई प्रदेश हैं। यदि आप को ऐसा लगता है कि भाषा की सारी जनता इस बात को स्वीकार करती है और तेलंगाना की जनता इनको स्वीकार करती है तो कोई आसमान टूटने वाला नहीं है। एस और सी में अलग तेलंगाना के लिए कहा या कि ऐसा नहीं है कि यह प्रदेश बन नहीं सकता। पोलिटिकली वायेबल और इकोनॉमिकली सेल्फ सफिसेंट नहीं है ऐसी बात नहीं है। ऐसी स्थिति में आज देश की एकता बनाए रखने के लिए यह कहा जाता है श्री रामावतार शास्त्री जिन्होंने पार्टिशन को स्पॉट किया है, वह देश अब की एकता के लिए बोले यह हमारी समझ में नहीं आता यानि आज देश की एकता के लिए चाहें हैं कि आंध्र और तेलंगाना की जनता आपस में झगड़ा न करें।

श्री शशि भूषण (दक्षिणी दिल्ली)
 पार्टिशन को तो आपने स्पॉट किया, श्यामा प्रसाद मुखर्जी ने किया था।

श्री जगन्नाथ राव श्रीश्री . श्री श्यामा प्रसाद मुखर्जी ने तो जहा तक मुझे याद है—

I would like to recall what Shyama Prasad Mookerjee said. He said, I partitioned the partition. He never stood for partition. He said, I partitioned the partition. You people allowed the whole of Bengal and the whole of Punjab to go to Pakistan. It is because of Shri Shyama Prasad Mookerjee that we got back half of Punjab and half of Bengal. I would like to place the facts straight.

इतिहास को आप बदल नहीं सकते। हमारा कहने का भावय यही है कि वह जो आंध्र में मांग रही रही है कि तेलंगाना अलग करो, यह कोई उपरेक्षण नहीं है, इट इज जस्ट ए राइट आफ वाइफरकेसन। जनता यदि चाहती है अपने हित की दृष्टि से और विकास की दृष्टि से तो मुझे ऐसा लगता है कि या तो आप आज विधान सभा बुलाइए या नया चुनाव कराइए। यदि वह सं नों नहीं करते तो बार बार हमारे सामने

आना और कहना कि उ यहीने और बढ़ाओ यह कोई हल नहीं है। इसलिए कम से कम उत्तर देते समय पंत जी बताए कि यह कैसे काम्प्लेक्स प्राबलम है, इसने क्या क्या हुआ है और उनका सुझाव आगे क्या है, इस पर क्या क्या विचार हो रहा है इन सब बातों पर वह प्रकाश डाले तो हम कुछ करने का मौका मिल सकता है।

इन सबको के साथ मैं इस अवधि बढ़ाने के प्रस्ताव का विरोध करता हूँ।

SHRI MALLIKARJUN (Medak):
 Sir, while welcoming the resolution moved by Shri Pant for the extension of President's rule in Andhra Pradesh, I would like to reiterate persistently and emphatically what I have told this House earlier, namely, that the formation of a separate Telengana State is the only solution for the present political crisis, to give the maximum satisfaction or minimum dissatisfaction to the people of both the regions.

I have given on various occasions the variety of reasons for the demand of a separate State of Telengana. It is needless for me to go into the background now since this is connected with the extension of the Proclamation of the President's Rule. I can appreciate the agony, the zeal, the enthusiasm and the firm feeling of the Government of India to see that Andhra Pradesh remains in tact which according to me is un-removable under any circumstances whatsoever. The concept of unconditional integration sponsored by the power-conscious political elements who carry neither the people nor the people's representatives with them is basically of no value. It is utterly absurd. In support of my case for a separate Statehood, it necessitates the need to reveal to this august House, the people's representatives in majority in both the regions, that the people by will in and out feel for the separation or the bifurcation of Andhra Pradesh.

Even during the President's Rule, it is very painful to reveal that recently six Session Judges were appointed

[Shri Malikarjun]
and they were all from Andhra region and it was only later by our intervention that it was stopped. To what extent such things will continue?

Shall we have to simply say that we believe in national unity? We definitely believe in national unity and national prosperity. It is our prime moral duty. But it does not mean at the cost of people's wishes; it does not mean at the cost of injustice to various sections of the society in backward region of Telengana. With the background of all these things, now the course left is only the division of the State. If some people believe in the unconditional integration, making a free zone of twin cities, replacing Telengana Regional Committee with some Development Board, removing separate planning and budget of Telengana, it is highly deplorable. We will fight tooth and nail. As I said last time, we will not forgive under any circumstances whoever comes here and compromises with whatever the capacity they have. We have the capacity to fight even the mightiest of the Government, whatever it is. I am very clear on this point

About the popular Government, we are least bothered. Even if the President's Rule is extended by another year, we are not bothered. But let the Government take into cognizance the intelligence reports which have been submitted to the Government periodically on various occasions. What does it reveal? It firmly says that the people in both the regions feel that there should be separation. If anybody feels, whether it is C.P.I. people or other party people, that this landlord movement is demanding separate Statehood, it is absolutely baseless and meaningless. If you believe in democracy, let there be elections, let there be bye-elections. You go in for bye-elections and find out the views of the people whether they are in favour of separation or not. If you have any doubt about the genuineness of the people's wishes, you go in for elections. Do you believe in democracy or not?

What I mean to say is, if the Government of India or the people at large in this country believe in democracy, let there be elections. If the preliminary formalities have not been completed by the Election Commissioner in respect of other constituencies, you have a bye-election in Luxetipet in Telengana.

You judge the people's feeling. The Congress Forum For Telengana headed by Dr. M. Chenna Reddy has made it very clear to all the leaders that you ascertain the people's feeling by conducting an opinion poll, if not to-day, after six months or after one year and whatever they decide, we will abide by it. But neither you want an opinion poll nor you want separation. You simply speak of the philosophy of national integration where integration cannot be maintained. Therefore, to live in Andhra Pradesh at this juncture is as good or as equal or identical with living in a fools, paradise.

Lastly, I say with full conviction that the people will fight till the separate States are formed. Therefore, let the Government not come with the imposition of any formula enunciated by any one or by any pseudo-integrationist coming here. Already those people who believe in integration have themselves come to Delhi and told the Prime Minister that they do not want a free zone for the twin cities. Then I do not know what my Andhra brethren are expecting. If my Andhra brethren believe in fraternity and if they want that our mutual lives should be prosperous, the life in both the regions, the only solution is separation, otherwise, there will be bitterness in both the regions. Till a separate Telengana State is formed we will fight with all determination.

With these words, I support.

*SHRI E. R. KRISHNAN (Salem):
Hon. Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, I rise to say a few words on the Resolution seeking the approval of the House for extending the President's rule in Andhra Pradesh which has been in-

*The Original speech was delivered in Tamil.

introduced by the hon. Minister of State in the Ministry of Home Affairs, Shri K. C. Pant. I am thankful to you for giving me this opportunity to express my views on the Resolution on behalf of my party, the Dravida Munnetra Kuzhagam.

Sir, during 7½ years of Shrimati Indira Gandhi's administration of the country the President's rule had been imposed on the States for 22 times and, during the earlier 15 years rule of the Congress Party, ten times the President's rule had been imposed. I point out this to show that now frequent recourse is taken to the constitutional provision of imposing the President's rule over the States for one reason or the other. I may go to the extent of saying that the constitutional provision, Article 356 of the Constitution, has become the hand-maid of the ruling Congress Party here.

The principal reason for bringing Andhra Pradesh under the President's rule was the divergence of views and difference of opinion in the ruling Congress Party. Initially, the Congress Party Members of Telegana region of Andhra Pradesh demanded separate statehood for Telegana region. At that time, the Congress Party Members of Andhra region opposed the demand for separate statehood for Telegana region. Later on, the Congress Party members of Andhra region also joined the fray and demanded separate statehood for Andhra region. But the ruling party at the Centre expressed its opposition to this demand. The responsibility for the resultant chaos and confusion that prevailed in Andhra Pradesh for months, crores and crores of rupees of loss to railway stations, railway lines, post offices and other public properties should lie squarely on the shoulders of the Congress Party and the elected Congress Members of Andhra Pradesh Assembly. The violent agitation there was spear-headed by the Action Committee which was constituted by

the Congress Party Members. Not only they gave encouragement and support to violence, but also they actively participated in that. In this case the ruling party here cannot console itself by blaming the Opposition parties for murder, loot and arson in Andhra Pradesh. If the ruling party had any evidence of the complicity of the opposition parties in such violent activities, it would not have kept quiet; criminal proceedings would have been started against them by now. On the other hand, just because the ruling party members were involved in these anti-social activities no action under any law of the land has so far been initiated against them.

I would like to know whether there are any plausible reasons for keeping the Andhra Pradesh Assembly under suspension. If you compare the situation in Andhra Pradesh with that of Orissa, you will find that in Orissa when the United Front Government comprising of all Opposition Parties enjoyed the majority in Orissa Assembly and when the Congress Party could not manouvre majority in the Assembly, the Opposition Government was sent out short of dismissal and the Assembly was dissolved paving the way for fresh elections. In the Uttar Pradesh and in Andhra Pradesh the Congress Party had absolute majority in the Assembly. That is why both these Assemblies have been suspended for the time being. The dispensation of justice from the hands of the Central Government differs from State to state, depending upon the strength of the Congress Party in the Assembly. In Orissa there is one kind of justice and in Andhra Pradesh there is another.

Only 4, 5 days back the hon. Minister of Finance, Shri Chavan, announced a cut of Rs. 400 crores in the plan expenditure of Fourth Plan on account of grave economic situation in the country. A circular has also been sent to all the State Governments that in view of difficult economic situation prevailing in the coun-

[Shri E. R. Krishnan]
try the State Government should exercise utmost economy in their expenditure. But, the Andhra Pradesh Assembly Members, though the Assembly has been suspended, continue to get their salaries and all other amenities. I want to know whether such extravagance should be allowed to continue in the worsening economic situation. It was stated that the Assembly was suspended due to deteriorating law and order situation in the State. Now during the past several months the law and order situation has improved and normalcy has been restored. When that is the situation, the Central Government should either re-convene the Assembly so that a new Ministry can be constituted or the Assembly should be dissolved and the fresh elections are held immediately. If one Chief Minister has been sent out, is not the Congress Party in a position to elect a new leader in Andhra Pradesh? It is inexplicable to me that the Congress Party should be unable to find out another Congress Member fit for becoming the Chief Minister.

Similarly, I am compelled to point out that the Congress Party is also not willing to hold the elections after dissolving the Assembly. That is because the Congress Party is not sure of getting majority in Andhra Pradesh if elections are held now. The hold of the Congress Party on the State is being perpetuated by taking course to the President's rule. As I had pointed out earlier, there is one kind of justice for the Congress Party and quite a different one for the Opposition parties.

Can this be called a democracy? I am tempted to say that this is a kind of Indira democracy and not democracy known all over the world.

Sir, Andhra Pradesh is a big State with vast potential for development. At the moment only 20 per cent of the waters of great rivers, Krishna and Godavari are utilised for agricultural purposes and the remaining water runs waste into the sea. If

Andhra Pradesh is given a good and efficient Government, if agriculture is given its due importance as is being done in Tamil Nadu, I have no doubt in my mind that Andhra Pradesh would become the granary for the entire country. Since Andhra Pradesh is a part of dravidian belt of Southern Region and the people of Andhra Pradesh have in them the dravidian culture and racial affinity, I speak from the bottom of my heart and demand that either the Assembly should be re-convened and a new Ministry allowed to function or the Assembly should be dissolved and fresh elections are held forthwith.

Last week the Indian Railways Act was amended enhancing the punishment for damaging and destroying the public property. Even before that the Central Government had more than enough powers to take punitive action against public offenders. There is the Maintenance of Internal Security Act and there is Emergency in the country. But all these powers have not been exercised because the offenders in Andhra Pradesh belonged to the Congress Party. I would like to urge upon the Government that appropriate action should be taken against all the people, irrespective of their party affiliations, who have caused damage and destruction to public property. The Central Government should give a go-by to the policy of 'neither here nor there'.

Before I conclude, I would like to refer to another important point. Many ruling party members inside and outside this House have declared that the bureaucracy is the greatest stumbling block in implementing socialist programmes formulated by the ruling party. But the chasm between word and deed is widening consistently. The States of Orissa, Uttar Pradesh and Andhra Pradesh have been entrusted to the care of the same bureaucrats. I wonder whether the Government would ever be able to establish an egalitarian society in the country if this trend continues.

I would urge upon the Central Government to take a quick decision either to re-convene the Assembly or dissolve the Assembly of Andhra Pradesh paving the way for fresh elections.

With these words I conclude.

SHRI M. RAM GOPAL REDDY (Nizamabad): Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, I support the Resolution moved by Shri K. C. Pant in this House for the extension of the President's Rule in Andhra Pradesh.

Sir, I am amazed to hear the speech of the D.M.K. Member as also Shri Joshi from Jan Sangh. Shri Joshi's party in Andhra Pradesh Assembly is conspicuous by its absence. They set up many candidates but, fortunately or unfortunately, all of them had lost their deposits! Now, they want that there should be election so that they may find a place in the Assembly.

SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE (Burdwan): Why should he be amazed? Are you happy that although you have an absolute majority; you are unable to form a Government?

SHRI M. RAM GOPAL REDDY: In our country, the Opposition always talks in perversive terms. These Opposition Parties, instead of cooperating in the nation-building activities, always go on indulging in anti-national activities.

SHRI PILOO MODY (Godhra): You call this as a nation-building activity?

SHRI M. RAM GOPAL REDDY: When there was some trouble in Andhra Pradesh, all leaders from the Opposition went there; they included D.M.K. too just to pour oil into the fire in Andhra Pradesh. Now they demand that there should be fresh elections? Sir, this Congress is not afraid of any election. What has happened in 1960 and 1970. In 1970—27th December—our Prime Minister, Shrimati Indira Gandhi, dissolved Parliament just to face the electorate.

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If required, again, we will face the electorate. We are not afraid of facing them.

SHRI PILOO MODY: One swallow does not make a summer.

SHRI M. RAM GOPAL REDDY: It is they, who are afraid that in the future elections, their strength would get reduced by 35 per cent. That is not so far as we are concerned. We are maintaining the strength. The people of Andhra Pradesh neither want a separate Andhra State nor the people of Telangana want a separate Telangana State. They only want their problem to be solved peacefully. One speaker after another went on talking so many things. I have known our people.

If we go for any election with the question whether they want fertilisers or bifurcation of the State, you will find that 99 per cent of them will say that they want only fertilisers. They are not getting sufficient quantity of fertilisers to meet their demands. That is why the Agriculture Minister was requested to see that sufficient fertilisers are supplied to Andhra Pradesh. (*Interruptions*). Sir, the President's Rule may continue for another six months if required. The Members from the Opposition were talking that the prices were rising so high. Now, Sir, I have to plead that the prices are falling far below and now the Minister should come to the help of the agriculturists. Sir, with the new pulse coming into the market—I now talk about my constituency, Nizamabad—the price of pulse has fallen from Rs. 160 a quintal to Rs. 100 a quintal—a fall of 60 per cent. That is why I say there is no price rise so far as Andhra is concerned. Recently, the Advisers have taken a very good decision. They have enlarged the area of the zone and immediately the prices in Telangana area—in Hyderabad—particularly, in my district (Nizamabad) the price of rice has gone down from Rs. 40 to 35 a quintal.

SHRI RAMAVATAR SHASTRI:
Who says?

SHRI M. RAM GOPAL REDDY:
I say this. I have gone there. If Andhra Pradesh is given sufficient fertilisers, we will be able to feed the entire India with rice. That is the capacity that we are having. That is why I request the Government to supply the fertilisers.

I now come to the Plan. Allocation made for the Fifth Five Year Plan is not sufficient for Andhra Pradesh. They have allotted only Rs. 10.75 crores. It should be Rs. 1250 crores. If this much allocation is made, that will solve many of the problems in Andhra.

Without allocation of sufficient funds, not much progress could be made in Andhra Pradesh. The people from both the Telangana as well as from Andhra demand more funds for the Plan. Jobs can be created only by planning. Planning means more money. For the last twenty years, all our money has been invested only in the Nagarjunasagar, Pochampad, Srisailem and other big projects. All our energies have been spent on creating irrigation potential which is a national asset. If sufficient funds are allotted for industrialisation of the State, there will be no problem and the people, both in Telangana and in Andhra, will be engaged in some good work.

SHRI PILOO MODY: It is with some considerable amount of amusement but much more consternation that I heard the last speaker. I did not know for a moment whether we were discussing Andhra and the severe problems that have afflicted it, particularly the constitutional problems that have afflicted Andhra or we were discussing the distribution of fertilisers in Andhra.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: You show the example now.

SHRI PILOO MODY: I am going to show an example by allowing my friend to do the distribution of fer-

tiliser and talking only about the basic issue, that is, the extension of President's rule in Andhra.

The very fact that this rule has had to be extended is an admission of the singular failure of this Government to provide any solution to any of the problems that exist in the country, particularly the problem of Andhra which has now been haunting us in the last so many months. They have tried every conceivable method, every conceivable high pressure tactic, every conceivable type of subterfuge, every conceivable type of skull-duggery in order to get these two—shall we say?—groups with differences of opinion to work together in one Government. They have failed. I do not grudge them the time they have taken in coming to this conclusion, but I do condemn them for not having come to the conclusion that these two areas need to be separated.

Therefore, unless we are prepared to take these decisions by the democratic process and not by executive fiat, unless we are prepared to keep an ear to the ground and listen to what the wishes of the people are, there is no point taking one person's word against another's word, against my word in the matter. There are perfectly reasonable methods of assessing what the people of Andhra and Telangana want. If you feel that election is one way of finding it out, find out through election; if you think a referendum is another way, get it through a referendum; if you prefer an opinion poll, get it through an opinion poll. But do not allow subjective opinions to be delivered by people who are only fertiliser-oriented, who will get up and say..

SHRI M. RAM GOPAL REDDY:
That has given food to you.

SHRI PILOO MODY:... I am the only man who knows what the people of Andhra and Telangana want'.¹

SHRI M. RAM GOPAL REDDY:
Yes, of course.

SHRI PILOO MODY: Everyone has an opinion and he can express it. Those who have observed what has happened in Andhra can very well say that the people of Andhra are determined and they will not prevaricate. This Government can go on dithering, they can go on prevaricating, but the people of Andhra are not going to prevaricate. They have made up their mind that nothing short of separate statehood is going to satisfy them and they will get nothing short of it. Whether it is now or later, whether you extend President's rule indefinitely, whether this Government lasts or does not last, whether another Government takes its place or not, the people of Andhra and Telengana will get their States.

This does not mean that they are in any way reluctant to co-operate or live together with the people of Telangana. They want separate administrations, they want separate Governments, separate States. And there is no reason why they should not have it. After all what is the sanctity of these borders that have been drawn by the States Reorganisation Commission? What is the sanctity of the borders that have been drawn by this Government from time to time to seek political advantage? What is the sanctity of the constituencies? See the process of gerrymandering in U.P. at the moment. You will see that like vultures swooping down on a map they are trying to redraw their constituencies, thinking that by doing so they are going to push their unwanted voters on somebody else, their own neighbours. There is no sanctity about these things. After all they are human beings; their sense of well-being and security, their sense of fellow-being and companionship and sense of belonging and participation—these are important things. Not fertilisers. Fertilisers are necessary for the field, not for human brains.

SHRI M. RAM GOPAL REDDY: You have got a fertile brain.

SHRI PILOO MODY: It does not need fertiliser. That is why I am suggesting fertiliser to you. Some people use fertiliser to get higher yields; some people take fertiliser to produce hybrids. Anyway the main point is that the People of Andhra want a separate State and the extension of President's rule is not going to help it. How long are you going to do it. Why don't you once and for all decide that you are not immortal that you are not infallible, that you are just like us human beings which burn with fire and wet with water.

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF HOME AFFAIRS (SHRI K. C. PANT): May I ask him if he is fallible?

SHRI PILOO MODY: Yes, of course.

SHRI K. C. PANT: I am glad.

SHRI PILOO MODY: Why is he glad? He should have known that. The very fact that at this age he has realised all of a sudden that somebody else can be fallible does show the fallibility of a situation like this. Why does not this Government realise that it has made a mistake? 90 per cent of the fault and failure of the Government arises out of the fact that it refuses to accept its mistakes. They think that once they have pronounced they will lose all face if they ever go back on their pronouncements and therefore they will twist, turn and bend the constituency, purchase people like cattle. They will do anything in order to see that their writ prevails. This is not the essence of Government. If you want to continue more than the few months that are left for you I sincerely suggest that you mend your ways. Even today it is not too late. Confess your mistakes and do what the people want you to do.

SHRI P. NARASIMHA REDDY (Cittoor): While supporting the nece-

[Shri P Narasimha Reddy]

asary evil of extension of President's rule in Andhra Pradesh I endorse the hope expressed by Shri K. C. Pant that this will be shortly terminated in favour of establishing a popular set-up in that State. But at the same time let me express my diffidence and state specifically that I do not share his hope of ever maintaining the integrity of the States as he is trying to do. The previous speakers have dwelt at length and most emphatically stated the impossibility or even the incompatibility of the competing claims of the two regions, and the impossibility of reconciling them in the integrated context. Mr. Pant and Mr. Dixit have been making efforts in the recent weeks, both here and at Hyderabad by meeting all sections of the people to explore a way out of this impasse. I request Mr. Pant to take the Members of the House into confidence: on what basis he has been entertaining hopes for resolving the crises in the context of an integrated State.

I would in this connection refer to a judgement of the Andhra Pradesh High Court delivered on 10th July 1973 striking down Obul Reddy's judgement. The Adviser's Government now functioning in Andhra Pradesh is ignorantly and indiscriminately trying to apply Mulki rules to all employment matters without knowing that the Mulki rules apply only to original appointment and not to promotions or transfers or retrenchment.

So, that has struck a death blow, in my opinion to the efficacy or effectiveness of the Mulki Rules. So also in the previous judgment the regionalisation was severely restricted. You cannot regionalise promotion. All these things have been struck down by the High Court. Now the Mulki Rule is challenged in the Andhra Pradesh High Court and I do not have any doubt about the fate of the Mulki Rules. So, one by one, all the assurances and commitments which the Government have held forth to the Telengana

brethren in respect of employment or educational opportunities and economic advancement do not stand, do not hold water because it is constitutionally impossible to implement them. The result is, as correctly stated by Shri Mallikarjun who voices the public opinion of Telengana, the people have got completely disillusioned with the changing ways and attitudes of the politicians of all hues on a vital issue which is agitating the people of Andhra and Telengana. I also share this disillusionment in this respect. The only alternative is to ascertain the feelings of the people by going to them, by holding the elections. That is the only way we can ascertain the opinion of the people and not by imposing something from here.

That is why I say that President's Rule, which has got to be extended under the circumstances, is a necessary evil. I would once again appeal to Shri Pant and the Government to realise the impossibility of continuing the present situation. Before things deteriorate further, before issues get complicated, it is high time that they realise that bifurcation will be the only solution in the circumstances. Because of bifurcation the heavens will not fall. Because of this we are not going to bifurcate any State hereafter. So, I would suggest and repeat emphatically that this disillusionment of the people should be removed at an early date and the only solution possible and feasible is the bifurcation of the State.

SHRI K. NARAYANA RAO (Bobbili): Sir, I welcome the extension of President's Rule in Andhra Pradesh. There was no other alternative in the circumstances prevailing there. But before I come to the vital issue relating to Andhra Pradesh, I want to seek some clarifications and get certain guidelines from the hon. Home Minister about the status of the MLAs when the Assembly is suspended and not dissolved.

In those States where there is President's Rule there is a feeling in the bureaucracy that the MLAs cease to

be the representatives of the people. They feel that President's Rule means bureaucracy. This impression should be dispelled. In fact, it is not merely an impression; it is shown in actual practice. Shri Pant knows some of the instances because they were brought to his notice.

When the Andhra Pradesh Assembly used to be in session, when the MLAs went to the guest house at Hyderabad they used to be charged Rs. 18. The moment President's Rule was imposed the rate for MLAs was raised to Rs. 21. Now of course that has been revised on representation. Similarly, the telephone connections of MLAs were removed. Now that has also been corrected. There was another humiliating situation. Due to water shortage, MLAs quarters were getting water supply for only eight hours. That was completely stopped where as the House of the Assistant Warden, which was situated in the same premises, was getting water for 24 hours. These are some of the reasons for my saying that we must have guidelines on this question.

The problem of Andhra Pradesh cannot be solved by discussion between politicians. That will only result in the deterioration of the situation. We have to find out the genuine grievances of the people. That we cannot do by talking in the air. We have to find out the genuine difficulties of the civil servants in both the areas and try to remove them.

This problem cannot be solved by legal battles and going to the courts. Take the case of the Mulki Rule. This matter should have been referred to the Supreme Court for advisory opinion. There are two types of Mulki Rules. One set of Mulki Rules was promulgated under the Nizam. They related to the services. During Nizam's regime after independence, Mulki have been defined as by birth descent and marriage. All these have been deleted by circulars and notifications. On the basis of that, Justice

Obdul Reddi has come to the conclusion that so far as requirement of residence is concerned, that is valid. The matters has now gone to the Supreme Court and the judgement is awaited. That is one set of Mulki Rules.

The second set of Mulki Rules came into being after integration. For admission to the colleges there was a condition of 15 years' residence. Nobody has any objection to that. But subsequently there were circulars and Government Orders which said that residence of fifteen years is not sufficient but there should be domicile. There is a lot of difference between residence and domicile. The proof for domicile is permanent intention to reside. Suppose an Andhra boy stays there for 20 years. If he has a house elsewhere, he cannot get a domicile certificate. Prima facie, this is not legal.

These are some of the issues which the Home Minister must consider and try to get solutions so that we will have a lasting solution to this problem.

श्री श्री तुलसीराम (रैडपॉलि) : उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, प्राध और तेलंगना की जनता अपने निर्णय पर अटल है। कुछ मिनट इस हाउस में कुछ कहने है और बाहर निकल कर कुछ कहते हैं। पता नहीं, वे ऐसा क्यों करते हैं यहां के लीडर समझ कर सुनते हैं या न समझ कर सुनते हैं, यह पता नहीं है। वहां के लोग यह देख रहे हैं कि सेंटर के लीडर क्या करते हैं। प्राध वे जान्ति वे हैं, कुछ गड़बड़ नहीं कर रहे हैं। प्राधम मिनिस्टर ने भी कहा था, और हम लोगों—पार्लियामेंट के सदस्यों—ने भी यह धरील की थी कि जान्ति से रहने से कुछ हल निकल जायेगा। इसलिए प्राध वे जान्ति हैं और देख रहे हैं कि यहां के लीडरों हमारे लिए क्या रास्ता निकालते हैं। लेकिन अभी तक रास्ता निकालने या हल निकालने जैसी बात नजर नहीं आ रही है।

धरती वहाँ के लोगों के सामने कोई ऐसा सुसाव या प्रोभोजन नहीं है, जिस को ले कर वे अपनी ताकत दिखा सकें। वे लोग इस सोच में हैं कि जब कभी ऐसा टाइम, आयेगा, तो उस समय यह हम जाहिर करेगे कि हमारी ताकत, हमारा मंगा और हमारा इरादा क्या है ?

जहाँ तक आंध्र और तेलंगाना की समस्या है, पहले तेलंगाना में गडबड शुरू हुई है और उस के बाद आंध्र में गडबड शुरू हुई। इस वकत आंध्र वाले भी अलग होना चाहते हैं और तेलंगाना वाले भी अलग होना चाहते हैं। जब दोनों भाई-भाई की तरह अलग हो कर अपने-अपने एरिया का बिकाम करना चाहते हैं, अपने-अपने एरिया का बोनम सम्भालना चाहते हैं, तो पता नहीं, इस में प्राइम मिनिस्टर और श्री पन्त को क्या तकनीक है। उन को तो जितना हो सके, हर एक स्टेट पर उस का बोझ डालना चाहिए और अपना बोनम कम करना चाहिए, लेकिन मालूम नहीं क्यों, वे एक एक स्टेट का बोनम अपने मिर पर लेने जा रहे हैं जिम में परेशानिया बढ़नी जा रही है।

जब आंध्र और तेलंगाना भाइयों की तरह अलग हो कर अपना बोनम सम्भालना चाहते हैं, तो उन को कोई एनराज नहीं होना चाहिए। उन्हें उन दोनों को अलग कर के आशीर्वाद देना चाहिए ताकि वे अपने अपने एरिया को सम्भाल कर उन का डेवेलपमेंट कर सकें।

अभी इस हाउस में डिस्ट्रिक्ट जजों के एराइमेंट का बिक्रम किया गया है। कुछ दिन पहले तेलंगाना के इंजीनियर्स की समस्या सुप्रीम कोर्ट तक जाई गई है। इस हालत में कैसे यह मसला सलने है कि हम तेलंगाना के लोगों के साथ इन्फाक होगा, न्याय होगा ? हम नहीं समझते हैं कि एक रफने में हमारे साथ कभी न्याय होगा। इसलिए मैं प्राइम मिनिस्टर, श्री दीक्षित और श्री पन्त से, और वहाँ के अन्य लीडरों से, प्रार्थना करता हूँ कि वे

जल्दी से जल्दी उन को बलाहिदा कर के अपना बोझ उतार दें और हम लोगों पर वह बोझ डाल दें।

राष्ट्रपति शासन का टाइम नहीं बढ़ाना चाहिए था। कोई तरीका निकाल कर उस को खत्म करना चाहिए था। लेकिन मजबूरी की वजह से राष्ट्रपति का शासन का टाइम बढ़ाया जा रहा है। उस के लिए जो रेजॉल्यूशन रखा गया है, उस को मैं रिपोर्ट करना हूँ। चूँकि आंध्र और तेलंगाना में कुछ अन्तर नहीं है, इसलिए मैं जब तेलंगाना, अब आंध्र और जयहिंद कहते हुए खत्म करना हूँ।

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE
MINISTRY OF HOME AFFAIRS
(SHRI K C. PANT): The debate itself has highlighted the complexities of the situation in Andhra Pradesh about which everybody except Mr. Jagannatha Rao Joshi is aware. He wanted me to explain to him the complexities of the situation in Andhra Pradesh. If he is not aware of the complexities in Andhra Pradesh, I am a little surprised because he is generally very alert and well-informed and if he is not, then the speeches in the House to-day would have shown him that the situation is indeed complex. We have heard members from the Andhra region of Andhra Pradesh speaking in favour of integration and in favour of separation, both. We have also heard from members from Telangana region speaking in favour of separation as well as integration. So, these differences will show you that there is a divided opinion and hence, the effort to bring together friends from both parts of the State and to evolve a solution which is acceptable to the maximum number in both the parts must continue. There is no other choice. The division of opinion is plain in the House itself. This debate has brought out this basic difficulty and I need not refer to the details at this stage.

My friends from the CPM who spoke yesterday said that there were differences and there was rivalry with-

in the Congress Party which led to the imposition of President rule in Andhra Pradesh.

I think the House will recall that when originally the imposition of President's rule in Andhra Pradesh was discussed in the House, most of the Parties agreed to it and most of the Parties saw in the prevailing situation that this was the best step that the Centre could take. The CPM may find it difficult these days to agree with anybody on anything but most of the other Parties certainly saw the wisdom of that step.

I would briefly refer to the situation prevailing at that time. To-day when the situation is once again normal, one tends to forget the kind of agitation, the kind of violence which one was witnessing in Andhra Pradesh those days. I would remind the House for instance that almost every second day we had some call attention notice or the other with regard to incidents of looting, of arson, regarding firing and deaths due to firing and clashes of various kinds, with regard to certain number of cases of sabotage, burning down of railway stations, burning down of railway wagons and attack on police stations, etc. This is the kind of cases that were coming out of Andhra Pradesh every day and the House was concerned about it and it responded to this concern by raising the issue again and again in the House. So, I do not think that anybody could have forgotten that, Sir, 32,800 persons were arrested in connection with this agitation. That will show you the magnitude of the agitation.

Students were on strike. The NGOs were on strike. Engineers were on strike. Lawyers were not going to the court. I remember, gazetted officers were on strike in some areas for sometime. It was in this situation that the House, after due consideration, agreed that President's rule was the best solution to the problems of the day. Therefore, today, to criticise President's rule is to forget the realities of the situation existing at that time.

It was not a party matter. It was not because of internal party differences. It was because of the objective conditions about which the House is fully aware. Since then the administration, at the beginning at any rate, has been concentrating on the restoration of normalcy in respect of law and order situation and I am glad to say that in a relatively short time normalcy was restored and I would say without any fear of contradiction that the cooperation of the people of Andhra Pradesh was mainly responsible for the quick restoration of normalcy. Emotions were roused; sentiments were roused; it was naturally an issue on which sentiments did get involved. In spite of that fairly quickly the army could be withdrawn, the BSF could be withdrawn, the CRP could be withdrawn. The agitation became firstly less violent and then later on it stopped altogether. Students went back to their classes. Govt. employees went back to their work. Communications were restored and as I said earlier, in a relatively short period, conditions were created in which political dialogue could be started.

Now, Sir, the political dialogue has been going on. Friends from both the regions have been meeting each other. They have been exchanging views. Certain steps have also been taken but there are still difficulties in the way and in order to appreciate these difficulties I would beg of the House to consider the history of this particular problem, which would explain the difficulties for easily finding a way out. The problem was there from the time when Telengana became a part of Andhra Pradesh and the Mulki rule gave certain safeguards to the Telengana people. When Andhra Pradesh was formed the overwhelming sentiments for Vishal Andhra permeated the thinking of people in the Andhra region and number of people in the Telengana region. And, in order to create this large Andhra State, Telgu-speaking State, the people of Andhra and the leaders of

[Shri K. C. Pant]

Andhra, all of them agreed that certain safeguards would continue to be there for the Telengana people. There was a gentlemen's agreement and there was a certain law and under that law certain safeguards continued.

Unfortunately, that law was struck down. And later on also, an effort was made with the help of the Central Government pointing out the spirit of the gentleman's agreement as to how the law that has been framed, with but perhaps legal cover, short of legal cover, could be administered. This was the attitude of both sides. And therefore it was possible to evolve a certain formula, a certain mechanism, in respect of employment and development, which, I think, would be largely acceptable to the leaders of both sides. Unfortunately, this was the moment, when the problem was near the solution, when the supreme court gave its judgment. The judgment upheld the validity of the Mulki Rules. After that, an agitation was started in Andhra Pradesh. I do not want to go into the reasons or causes for that agitation. But, I want to say that thereafter the courts have given various interpretations, various judgments and various aspects of the problem which had kept on confusing the issue further. To-day we are not quite sure who is Mulki and who is not Mulki. As somebody mentioned one of the judgment says that the Mulki Rule would apply to the recruitment and not to promotion and so on and so forth. These judgments of the courts have further created a difficulty in finding a way to go out of the situation, because, legally, the position is not quite clear in respect of the basic problem. Therefore, these talks have been taking place against this background.

There is history for the agitation in Telangana and Andhra succeeding one after another in the course of a few years. That means the problem is in existence both in Telangana at one period of time and later in Andhra Pradesh at another period of time.

Now, when we come up before the House with this Resolution, it is because we have to face the complexities of the situation that are prevailing to-day. We request the House to see the complexity of the situation in the light of the background which I have just now placed before the House and then to decide whether it is better for the Centre or the leaders of the States or both together to try to sort out this problem under the President's Rule or whether the responsibility for finding a solution should be transferred to a Government to be elected under the conditions that prevail to-day. Is it reasonable to expect in the present situation the restoration of the Assembly and Government in Andhra Pradesh? Would it lead to a situation which would be easier from the point of view of finding out a solution? Is it suggested that a mere restoration of an Assembly would produce an immediate solution? I do not think that can be suggested. Therefore, we are not to transfer the burden, in finding a solution, to the State Assembly. The only possible solution at the moment is to continue the President's Rule as Mr Surayanarayana was suggesting in the hope—expectation—of finding a solution acceptable to all, if not, to the majority of the people. It is with this hope in view that I have come before the House. Some friends have asked me to tell them what is the position now and how far we have progressed in our talks.

The House probably knows that after the restoration of normalcy, both the Home Minister and I had been to Hyderabad twice. Before that, leaders from Telengana and Andhra visited Delhi, a large number of them, some several times. Discussions were held here and in Hyderabad and slowly areas of agreement kept growing. I do not share the sense of what I call despair of some members who appeared to feel that there could be no areas of agreement between the people of the two regions. I share this feeling on the basis of the discussions which we have held with a large number of leaders from both the regions. I quite

see there are large areas of agreement. What is even perhaps more important, there is a willingness to understand each other's point of view. There is basic goodwill. The important thing to see is that there is no recrimination, there should be no attempt at apportioning blame for what happened. There should be a certain large-heartedness in our approach to the problem today. Otherwise, if we merely want to justify some positions we had taken earlier, whether right or wrong, that will not help. In that I agree with Shri Piloo Mody that we have to adjust our positions in the larger interests of the nation. That is what I appealed to him also. This has to be our appeal to others, they in Andhra that forgetting the past, without trying to apportion blame, without attributing motives, without doubting each other's *bona fides*, can we put our heads together and work out an acceptable and agreed solution?

I am not at all hope-less; I am hopeful, because I have seen this meeting of minds, this area of agreement growing, I have seen a kind of consensus emerging. In the face of this experience, how can I tell the House that this is a hopeless case? It is not. I have every hope that given this kind of goodwill, which I have found, and understanding, the leaders of both the regions will be able to work out some solution acceptable to the people of both the regions.

SHRI MADHU LIMAYE (Banka):
But when?

SHRI K. C. PANT: It is very difficult to say; you cannot really impose a time limit in these matters.

SHRI P. G. MAVALANKAR (Ahmedabad): Till then go on extending President's rule.

SHRI K. C. PANT: We hope it will not be necessary. We are working on that hope. Our hope is based on the goodwill we have found, on the understanding we have perceived, the willingness to understand each other's point of view. After all, those are positive features in the situation. Once

there is willingness on the part of people of both sides to understand each other's point of view, the problem becomes easier of solution. We must see that there are many basic affinities also operating, the same language, the same culture. There are so many affinities, of history and so on. I need not spell them out. All these do hold them together. There are certain things that appear to pull them apart, but it is not as though there is nothing that holds them together. In this situation, we are trying to widen this area of agreement, to help them to the extent we can. It is primarily for them to agree. We can only help. We will give whatever help is necessary.

At this stage, much as I would like to, I would not really say any thing more. It is a delicate stage in our talks and it is very difficult for me to go into it. I hope the House will not expect me also to go into details about the various points under discussion.

Friends from Telengana and Andhra, of course, know what are the main points being discussed. I think it would perhaps be counter-productive for me to spell out these details today because a wrong move or a wrong step can undercut all the good work done so far.

Shri Narayana Rao referred, towards the end of his speech, to the advisability of making a reference of the Mulki Rules to the Supreme Court. We considered this matter. The point is that reference to the court will not bring about any finality. Still the normal legal processes for reference to the Supreme Court will remain open. Do we today really help to finalise this matter by reference to the Court? This was the main question that prevented us from taking recourse to this course. I have noted his suggestion. It is not that I am rejecting it out of hand. This is the difficulty and that is the reason why we have not proceeded on those lines.

There was some reference to fertilisers when Mr. Ram Gopal Reddy

[Shri K. C. PANT]

was speaking and Mr. Piloo Mody found it very amusing. Only an urban-bred man should be so completely insensitive to fertilisers particularly in the conditions of today. This explains the distance of his party from the ground. If he only knew a little more about fertilisers I think he would make a better leader for his party... (Interruptions).

There are various development projects which have been taken up by this Administration but I should not like to take the time of the House by going into details. I should only say very broadly that President's rule is not only for maintaining law and order; it is there to give fillip to developmental activities and it will do its best in the short time. The time is very short; I agree with my hon. friend and we should like the normal constitutional Government to come back as soon as possible... (Interruptions) Congress Government, certainly. Today the Congress Government is the national Government.

SHRI PILOO MODY: I strongly object to this sort of abuse, not only to this sort of abuse, but slander. I would go as far as to say that the Congress Government is anti-Indian, anti-national Government, anti-people Government. No national Government would have him as Home Minister. It is a minority Government, a petticoat Government. He calls it a 'national Government.'

श्री मधु लिमये : चनाब में इन को 43 तिगत वोट मिले ।

श्री सुजय चन्द्र वल्लभ : हमारे 350 मेम्बर हैं ।

श्री मधु लिमये : देश की मेजागिटी प्राप के खिलाफ है ।

SHRI K. C. PANT: I would ask Mr. Piloo Mody whether he could

form a national Government; I would ask Mr. Madhu Limaye and other friends that question... (Interruptions). I see before me a conglomeration of diversities which calls itself the Opposition.

SHRI PILOO MODY: Do you realise what we see before us? We see a bunch of opportunists that have been got together with money; a purchased organisation calls itself a political party—money-bred and money-fed people.

SHRI K. C. PANT: No amount of anger is going to make our 350 seats 349. It is a fact of life. People of this country have given us votes and we are here. What are you going to do about it? There was some reference to the food agitation. There was also some reference to a particular agitation in Andhra Pradesh.

SHRI PILOO MODY: This is what the national Government does!

SHRI K. C. PANT: I do not want to go into the details of the economic situation. I am not here for that. But it impinges on the law and order situation; these days various bandhs and strikes and agitations are being organised. Some friends try to create the impression as though the Central Government and the State Governments are not concerned with this situation of prices there and that they have not taken any steps.

I would like to take it up specifically because this kind of thing has been said. The other day it was said that some circular has been issued by the Home Ministry and it was criticised. I looked up the old circulars that went round. On 8th June 1973 the Home Minister had addressed all the Chief Ministers and Lt. Governors and stressed the need for ensuring success of the procurement operations and for maintaining the smooth supply of essential commodities. He had also suggested a review of the administrative arrangement with a view to plugging loopholes, correcting negligence and stopping malpractices. The State Governments and Union

Territories were also urged to take exemplary action in respect of the activities of blackmarketeers, hoarders and other antisocial elements with a view to dislodging the hoarded stocks and bringing the offenders to book. It is important that you understand what the Government has done. Recourse to the relevant provisions of MISA was also advised in serious cases of defiance of law or mala fide intentions. These suggestions have been generally accepted by the State Governments.

On 10th August, the Home Minister again addressed all the Chief Ministers and Lt. Governors suggesting that the present difficult conditions warrant recourse to the DIR. This has appeared in the press. You may have seen that Government of Maharashtra has used this. I am only mentioning this because some friends want to create an impression as though they are the only persons who are interested in this. Government alone can do this in an orderly manner and the Government is taking steps. I accept that individual protest has its place and importance. Any attempt to create an atmosphere against hoarding and malpractices has also its importance. But the trouble is all too often this goes beyond limits and it leads to violent clashes. If everybody takes the law into his own hands, who is to obey the law? You cannot substitute individual function for the function of the State. In this case, there have been many instances where looting has taken place and the law has been broken. I do not want to blame anybody for it, but once this happens, it gets out of hand. This is the whole danger.

Secondly, these bands interferes with distribution. The intention is to help the common people in getting food-stuffs. But when distribution is interfered with, it is the common people, the most vulnerable section, who suffer most. I would request hon. members to bear this in mind that anti-social elements tend to take advantage of such situations. Government is doing all that is possible

and with some success, as mentioned by my friend, Shri Ram Gopal Reddy. He said, there were certain raids and prices of dal came down rapidly. It is just an instance. I know that prices are high in several other areas but he mentioned this. The main thing is, we have to see that production and distribution are maintained. This is the best way to tackle this basic problem of distribution of essential commodities.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: The question is:

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

The motion was adopted.

15.35 Hrs.

RE. HALF-AN-HOUR DISCUSSION

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: We will now take up Private Members Business.

SHRI DINEN BHATTARCHARYYA (Serampore): Sir, before you take up that may I mention that the half-an-hour discussion on Starred Question No. 211 regarding starvation deaths in Orissa is going to lapse. Sir, you will remember that when this question originally came up in the House, the member in whose name the question was standing was whisked away by Shri Raghunathaiah. Subsequently, when so many members protested against this, this half-an-hour discussion was assured. Now it is going to lapse. So, I would request you, Sir, to find some way in which this can be discussed in this House. We have also given our names for asking questions on this.

SHRI KRISHNA CHANDRA HALDER (Ausgram): Why should