

All the Cut Motions were put and
negatived.

MR. SPEAKER : The question is :

"That the respective sums not exceeding the amounts shown in the fourth column of the order paper, be granted to the President, to complete the sums necessary to defray the charges that will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1970, in respect of the heads of demands entered in the second column thereof against Demands Nos. 65 to 67, 123 and 124, relating to the Ministry of Irrigation & Power."

The motion was adopted.

[The Motions for Demands for grants which were adopted by the Lok Sabha, are reproduced below-Ed.]

Demand No. 65-Ministry of Irrigation and Power.

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 32,58,000 be granted to the President to complete the sum necessary to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March 1970, in respect of 'Ministry of Irrigation and Power.' "

Demand No. 66-Multi-purpose River Schemes.

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 1,81,21,000 be granted to the President to complete the sum necessary to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March 1970, in respect of 'Multi-purpose River Schemes.' "

Demand No- 67-Other Revenue expenditure of the Ministry of Irrigation and Power.

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 7,86,52,000 be granted to the President to complete the sum necessary to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of

March 1970, in respect of 'Other Revenue expenditure of the Ministry of Irrigation and Power.' "

Demand No. 123-Capital Outlay on Multi-purpose River Schemes.

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 17,08,80,000 be granted to the President to complete the sum necessary to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March 1970, in respect of 'Capital Outlay on Multi-purpose River Schemes.' "

Demand No. 124-Other Capital Outlay of the Ministry of Irrigation and Power.

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 20,11,53,000 be granted to the President to complete the sum necessary to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March 1970, in respect of 'Other Capital Outlay of the Ministry of Irrigation and Power.' "

SHRI RANDHIR SINGH (Rohtak) : What about Haryana ? No money has been sanctioned.....

MR. SPEAKER : He will write to you about Haryana.

17. 17 hrs.

DISCUSSION RE : RECENT DEVELOPMENTS IN TELENGANA AND OTHER AREAS OF ANDHRA PRADESH

MR. SPEAKER : Before we take up the discussion on the Telengana and other areas of Andhra Pradesh, I would like to make an appeal to the hon. members. The situation there is already explosive. It is also a fact that the Telengana area was not done due justice in the last twelve years. There is no point in blaming any one individual there. Therefore, any suggestion which will help consolidation will be very useful. I am sure that the feelings of the Telengana people and the injustice done to

them will be borne in mind by the hon. members when they make their speeches and suggestions.

Now, may I request Mr. Ranga to raise the discussion ?

SHRI RANGA (Srikakulam) : Mr. Speaker, Sir, I agree with you that we should be very careful and see that the already explosive situation is not made much more explosive. At the same time I have also to make it very clear that, as has happened on similar occasions when regional disputes were discussed either in the House or outside, our Party has not been taking any partisan view or any view at all as a party. Therefore, I am speaking here for what all I stand in Andhra and in the country as Ranga.

Let me tell you that I would very much like to ask that the present Andhra Ministry should be dismissed, but I have no right to do that here; this is not the forum for that. I would also like to condemn all the Chief Ministers who were responsible, as you say, for the failure to implement this agreement. I do not also want to say much about this because you were also one of the Chief Ministers; now you are the Speaker and so, I cannot condemn you...

MR. SPEAKER : I myself said that.

SHRI RANGA : But one thing is clear that there is an atmosphere, an impression, that an injustice has been done to Telengana all these years. Who is responsible for this ? The Chief Ministers, and they have agreed the present as well as the past Chief Ministers. But what about the Government of India ? Yesterday, in a very cogent manner, my hon. friend, Mr. Narayana Reddy, has presented the facts. I would like my hon. friend, the Home Minister, to read his speech a little more carefully. The late G. B. Pant gave an assurance to the Telengana people that certain assurances were being given and they would be implemented and, therefore, a Council was being formed.

The Council indeed came to be formed by a Presidential order 3 weeks earlier than

his own statement here in this House. That has been working. On it were represented not the representatives of the Andhra or the whole coastal Andhra and Rayalaseema but the representatives, the MLAs, who hail from Telengana itself. Till to-day the great majority of the members elected from the Telengana happen to belong to the Congress throughout. In the beginning a few more Communists, but now a few less. But certainly a great majority, the overwhelming majority of them were from Andhra State. The Chief Ministers were also Congressmen, the Government also was Congress at the Union level, there was Congress at the centre also and the Governors were also Congress. (*Interruptions*)

Under that particular Act and assurance the Governor was charged with the special responsibility to see that these assurances were implemented. Secondly, if at any time there arose any kind of dispute or difference of opinion between the Council and the Ministry in regard to any particular issue, it was the duty of the Governor to arbitrate and to give a decision and that should be accepted by the Cabinet. Not once did the Governor make any such decision. Not once was the Governor asked to make such a decision. Not once did the Governor seek the permission of the Government of India or advice of the Government of India to do anything. More than this there was this Union Government. They gave that assurance here that they would make it a special responsibility to watch and see from time to time that this agreement would be honoured in letter and law. And what did they do ? They never did anything. What is worse, Sir, yesterday I was disappointed with my hon. friend, the Home Minister. Possibly because he has been speaking for nearly one hour. He had to take up this matter at the fag end of the speech. Therefore he was tired and he was not able to give sufficient attention to this matter. I want him to remember that even if he had not known it before, that it is a special responsibility of the Government of India and therefore, a special responsibility of the Home Minister to see that these assurances are implemented properly. I am laying special stress on that because the question of Assam is also

[Shri Ranga]

coming up later on. There also the Home Ministry has to play its own role in order to see that various institutions that are going to be created there, will function properly, one with the other and in co-operation with each other and if there is to be any kind of conflict, the Home Minister has got to help them to get out of that. Therefore, the Government of India has failed. I have every right to ask this House, if it is so minded, to dismiss this Ministry. If anybody who is at fault at all, it is the Government of India. That is what Shri Narayan Reddy has said and I endorse it entirely.

Now what has been done? What is happening there? You were good enough to say that the people of Telengana very much hurt. I am here to say that the erstwhile Andhra people also have a feeling of being hurt. Ever since this trouble has arisen, a large number of them who found it necessary, who found it advisable, who found it profitable also to go and settle in various parts of Telengana came to be treated very shabbily. There was no proper law and order. I charge the Andhra Government with failure to discharge its primary responsibility of enforcing law and order and it failed. When it found that the local Police and magisterial authorities were not able to co-operate, were not willing to co-operate with them or with their orders, in a fright they asked for the Army to come in. This is the most imbecile way of running the show. If you had been there, I need not mention it that this way of tackling the situation would not have happened. I am sure of it. Here is a Chief Minister who does not know anything. He was dancing in power. But the moment the test came the man called the military. If the military had not gone into action in Warangal, many people would have died, men, women and children and much more property would have been destroyed. Damage was done sufficiently and it was bad and it is having its own repercussions in the whole of Andhra. They are a little more politically ripe. Therefore, they are not behaving in the same way as so many of these people are doing in Telengana area.

They are very unhappy. They find that there is no law and order, at all under this regime. And what sort of regime is this, Sir? It is not able to implement the law. Nobody is satisfied with it today. And now the State Government has come to ask the Central Government to amend the Constitution itself for its benefit. What sort of Government is this, Sir? You have the whole Congress Cabinet there. They behave as if to alter the Constitution is of no consequence, as if it can be done for anybody's convenience. They just want the Constitution to be changed to suit their convenience because they are not able to enforce law and order. They are not able to honour this agreement which they had agreed upon twelve years ago. They are not able to keep their children and students under proper control. They simply say that the Constitution itself should be amended.

Now, is my hon. friend going to do that? Let him not forget the experience that he has had only the other day in regard to Assam. Let him be very careful about it. Our party has always stood for looking upon our Constitution with a certain amount of sacredness, decency and decorum. Our party has always been opposed to frequent amendments of the Constitution in such an erratic manner. Under these circumstances what is it that can be done? Something has got to be done. It is said that so much injustice has been done to Telengana. The Chief Minister himself has supplied the information which was retailed by a number of Members. About 4,000 Andhra officers are supposed to be there, in excess, 2,000 of them are teachers. They are all employees from the Andhra area. They are not mulkis and so on. But all those people were appointed by Telengana authorities, by the Congress authorities. The Zilla Parishads were under the Congress authorities. I don't know whether any Zilla Parishad is under the control of the Communist party. They are nowhere in the picture. I say this for the benefit of our Prime Minister. She was unwise enough to say that the Swatantra party is trying to play a party role there. Our party never did that. Here is a Prime Minister who made herself responsible for a

wrong statement. It is no wonder, Sir, this Prime Minister, this Home Minister, the whole lot of them, have been failing all the time. We have been suggesting various ways of improving the working of the Constitution and the working of the Cabinet and also the implementation of the agreement but they have not heeded our advice and now they quarrel with the doctor who prescribed medicine for the ailment. Now, the information could have been supplied by the Chief Minister even before the trouble started. Only after the trouble had arisen this wisdom had dawned upon them. They supplied information through the Public Relations Officer here. And they keep these Public Relations Officers in Delhi in the same way as State Enterprises and private entrepreneurs maintain their public relations officers. They are here to do 'salam' to the grand Vazier of this Government. Now they say, No, no, we have not done any injustice to the Telengana people. They have supplied this piece of information. Telengana has not been getting any justice at the secretariat level and at the ministerial level. All kinds of jobs have been given to Andhras at very high level. I have got this information supplied by the Andhra Government. These have been supplied by the Public Relations Officer. Just look at it : In the High Court, 7 are from Telengana, Andhra 12. The present Chief Justice as well as the next one are going to be Telenganites. Public Service Commission : out of three, two are Telenganites; Board of Revenue : out of five, three are from Telengana; IAS out of seventy-seven, forty-six are from Telengana. It is only one-third and yet look at this. Select list officers : out of twelve, eleven are from Telengana. Secretaries including Special and Joint Secretaries : there are ten from Telengana and only six from Andhra. Deputy Secretaries to Government : Fourteen from Telengana and thirteen from Andhra. Then again, officers holding the posts of heads of Departments : there are 43 from Telengana, 28 from Andhra and 4 from outside States. Where is any injustice ?

Here is this useless Andhra Government which has not got any public relations and goes on doing these things rightly or wrong

gly in favour of Telengana and yet it allows this impression to be created that so much injustice is done to Telengana. This is information supplied by the Andhra Government. That does not mean that no injustice has been done. Jobs are not everything. There is economic development, irrigation and power. Dr. K. L. Rao was saying that scrupulously they did not do any injustice in this direction. What about elementary schools, high-schools, technical schools, hospitals and dispensaries ? Only the other day, we were told that 70 of them had to be brought from Andhra because they did not have trained nurses, there were no Doctors or midwives. All these developments had to be attended to; but they were neglected by these friends. And that is why this grievance has come. What shall we do under these circumstances ? It is being suggested in the Andhra Legislature that the present Chief Minister should resign—he would not resign—that the Present Cabinet should resign—they would not go—and there should be a new leadership and it is not available. I am suggesting that there should be an all-Party Government. To this the Home Minister or the Prime Minister will never agree because they want unity and agreement on all principles and programmes. They are now changing this attitude slowly and they are going to give a go-by to principles and programmes. What is it that we can get done in Andhra ? Do you want to change the Constitutions ? Do you want to give real assurance to those people that their economic and social developments would be properly protected and ensured ? This one you should. But then who is responsible ? That is where the Centre comes. I am here to condemn the Centre. It is the duty of the Centre to justify itself if they have any case. If they have no case, as you have said in generous terms, let them come in sack cloth and ashes and say : We made a mistake; we will hereafter help the Andhra Government and see that justice is done to the Telengana people and we shall see that we take special care about them. Supposing they say this, would that be enough ? That is why some-time ago.....

SHRI SURENDRANATH DWIVEDY (Kendrapara) : According to your statement, they have got more than their due.

SHRI RANGA : But what about economic development, social development and so many other things in which they should have helped these people to progress and they have not progressed? They are still groaning under the development of the earlier feudal regime. You do not know what kind of caste regime there is in Telengana. It is to a much greater extent than in other States. It is as bad as in U. P. But then in U. P. people have not opened their eyes. A time will come for them. Therefore, Telengana people have got to be helped. But do those people believe in the Union Government? No. Therefore, it is a crisis of confidence. Who can go and help them to see reason? To a large extent they are behaving in an unreasonable manner, by taking law into their own hands, by resorting to violence and by destroying not only the property of the local Government, but also of the Union Government and the property of the general public to create an atmosphere of panic in Telengana and to make it impossible for people outside Telengana to go and settle down there in a peaceful manner. All this is not doing Telengana any service at all. It is doing a great injustice. Therefore, they are not behaving in a reasonable manner. But they have got to be brought to reason. While they are being brought to reason, law has also got to be enforced.

Who is to enforce it? Do you think that the Government is capable of enforcing that law and order? Facts are against it. Then whose is the responsibility? Obviously of this Government. The Chief Minister there is their favourite. Indeed, every Congress Chief Minister must be their favourite. Anyhow, within the Union Government, they are all together. Therefore, they must see to it that, that Chief Minister is given proper advice. Advice how? Either to quit the job or at least make the Cabinet broad-based so that it is representative. Now all elements within the Congress are not put in the Cabinet. What scandal it is? The Congress Government itself is a minority government. As for Andhra, it is a majority government; but huge minorities are kept out even within the Congress. Again, they want to keep out another big minority. Therefore, it is a hope-

lessly unrepresentative Cabinet that they have got. Let them at least start making it a really all-inclusive Congress Government. Let this Government give this advice to him.

Then, as they have got so many others here, why not he be brought over here? Earlier, so many Chief Ministers were brought over here. One of them is here now. Therefore, why not accommodate that gentleman and make, as my leader, Sardar Latchanna, has said a Telenganist as Chief Minister. Side by side, they must also enforce law and order—I lay special stress on that. Till today, there is no government at all worth speaking. It is a useless, weak-kneed government, not worth the name. Let there be a real, good government, at the same time, a beneficent government, a wise government, a decent government. That sort of thing we are not having there now. What is there now can only be a part of this Government. Therefore, this also is not a decent-enough government. Let this Government help him to come over here and let them have a real Congress Government, even if they are not prepared to accept my suggestion of an all-party government.

If in spite of all this, there is no solution found, let them go to the people. Let them assure the people on that score. Let them be told to wait for 2½ years till the next elections. Let them be told, 'At the time of elections, you go to the people. If you are satisfied with us, you be with us. If you are not, you get a mandate from your people'.

And who are the leaders of Telengana today? Shri Ranga Reddy—he retired long ago. Then another gentleman, who was a Minister here till yesterday or the day before. He was said to have been given a hero's welcome. I was also given a hero's welcome many times. Yet I was defeated twice! With that experience, I would not lay much store by these hero's welcomes.

The elected members who have come from Andhra and Telengana sitting overthere, have themselves been telling me in the

Central Hall and everywhere else, 'For God's sake, do not ask for a separate Telengana.' Let them go and meet their own people. Let the Telengana MLAs go back to their constituents. Let them be made to see reason. Let them make them behave properly. Even if they were to have a separate Telengana, let Telengana make its debut as a prosperous viable Telengana from the political and social point of view. But if they were to carry on in the manner in which they are doing, I do not think at any time Telengana, or for that matter any other area, can become a socially and politically viable State.

Therefore, let them do that. At the time of the next elections, if they come back, as the Hills people leaders have come back, with a mandate from the people, people who do not belong to any political party as such but belong only to the Telengana party, with the confidence of the people, let that mandate be respected—even as Shri Chavan's disciples did when they wanted a separate Maharashtra; he was also in it at that time. At that time, it would be time enough to know the mind of the Telengana leadership. But today there is no such thing. A group of 10 or 15 people calling themselves 'Telengana leaders' cannot do that. Of course, they confront this useless, incapable, imbecile Government here at the Centre as well as in the State and are making them shiver in their shoes to such an extent that they want Parliament to amend the Constitution. We are opposed to this kind of thing. Therefore, in conclusion I make this appeal to them. The Prime Minister and the Home Minister as also my friend Shri Jagjivan Ram are there. They must see that there is good Government, a representative Government, a decent and effective Government in Andhra, a Government which would stand by its word and a Government which has got strength like the earlier Chief Ministers to implement whatever agreement it reaches and whatever commitment it gives to you and to Parliament.

MR. SPEAKER : Prof. Ranga is one of our respected leaders in Andhra Pradesh. Whether he wins or loses an election is a different matter. He was against constitutional amendment. But he has not touched

upon one other point. We signed a guarantee, and I was a signatory to it unfortunately, that the employment potential in Telengana will not be taken away. That has gone in view of the Supreme Court's decision. That means anybody can be employed. How to safeguard that ?

SHRI RANGA : With your indulgence, if only there would be an all party Government, at least an all inclusive democratic Government, the constituents can agree among themselves to implement the decision. After all, appointments have got to be made. The real trouble arose over the local board appointments. We have had experience and so many people have had this experience. I have also gained from my experience. Jobs can be distributed as 20 for this district, 100 for that district and so on. The district authorities will be the employment officers for this purpose. They will be provided with jobs and Andhra people need not have to go there.

Secondly, if we were to have that kind of gentleman's agreement among us people will be assured that because somebody happens to be the Minister the agreement will be broken and we can go and tell the Andhra people : for God's sake do not apply for any job at all in Telengana as they want those jobs for themselves, the Andhra area people are politically mature enough. . .

AN HON. MEMBER : To go to the Supreme Court.

SHRI RANGA : Not to go to the Supreme Court. It is not necessary to go to the Supreme Court. They will not apply for those jobs and we content with whatever jobs they are able to get in their own area. But are they going to give that kind of leadership ? Do you think, Sir, that this Congress Government in the Centre and the State Government are in a proper mood and mind to give that kind of real and effective leadership in Andhra ? It is a question for which my hon. friends here and the Prime Minister will have to give an answer.

SHRI THIRUMALA RAO (Kakinada) : I rise with a heavy heart to speak on this

[Shri Thirumala Rao]

occasion. I was anxiously listening to my friend Prof Ranga to see what attitude he was going to take on this matter. I was afraid that in his anger and chagrin against so many persons for political reasons he would plump for a separate Telengana. I congratulate him and the Andhra Pradesh people that as leader of Opposition in this House and as a respected leader in Andhra Pradesh, he has taken a balanced view of things and has given constructive suggestions to the Central Government to deal with this problem. In the main, apart from his criticism of parties and individuals I am inclined to agree with the operative part of his suggestion that a constructive approach should be made to this problem. Andhra Pradesh has come into existence by the combined labours of my friend Prof. Ranga and other Congress leaders like our Speaker and the formation of Andhra Pradesh was the result of the sacrifices and a spirit of give and take on the part of the leaders who are still active in the field. They are still active in the field.

But I would like to draw the attention of the House to the fact that this problem is not merely an economic problem. This is not merely a question of jobs and places in Government service. This is an emotional problem. This is a problem of the development of a backward area which has been, due to one reason or another, neglected to some extent. But the blame rests on the shoulders of everybody who has had the responsibility of running the Andhra Government, whether it is from Telengana area or Rayataseema area or the coastal districts. As he said, the Congress Government had an unshakeable majority where power was shared by the representatives of the people from all the three regions. The Telengana committee which has been entrusted with the power of looking to these safeguards being enforced, consists completely of the representatives of the Telengana people. The Telengana people had a majority of Ministers in the Cabinet. Therefore, when things came up, when things have come to a boiling point, everybody was deserting the ship and trying to throw the blame on the others. I say that every-

body should share the blame equally for what has happened in the past.

I do not want to take long time, but I would like to point out the previous history of Andhra Pradesh. Even before Independence was achieved, the whole of the Andhra State, excluding the Telengana area and the Nizam's dominions, has been agitating since 1912 for a separate Andhra Province. Myself, Mr. Ranga, Mr. Sanjiva Reddy, Mr. Venkata Subbaiah, everybody who has been here, has taken an active part in this, namely the achievement of an Andhra State, separate from the Madras State. Afterwards, when the capital had to be decided, what happened? Our Speaker, Mr. Sanjiva Reddy, was remaining us of the story, of the foresight of the then leader, Mr. Prakasam, who wanted Kurnool to be the capital of the new Andhra Pradesh. He said that he did not want the capital to be located either at Bezwada or Guntur or anywhere else. He wanted to locate the capital at Kurnool, which is half-way between Hyderabad and Madras. He said that he foresaw clearly that Hyderabad one day would belong to the bigger Andhra Pradesh, because Andhra had a historical role which it played in the past, which it is playing in the present and which it will play also in the future. Therefore, he had the foresight and that enabled Andhra Pradesh to be formed by a spirit of give and take between the then Andhra leaders Mr. Prakasam, Mr. Sanjiva Reddy, Mr. Ranga and several others, and also Burgula Ramakrishna Rao and Ramanand Tirtha and several leaders of Telengana. They had all come to an agreement that we must have Telengana provided certain safeguards were guaranteed to the backward area of Telengana, and all these leaders, many of whom are still alive, are signatories to the Telengana agreement, but the responsibility of getting it implemented lies equally on the shoulders of all. But you must see the difficulty in the administration here.

With regard to the Hyderabad State, you know the political set-up of the Hyderabad State. In the Hyderabad State, the Nizam was a pure replica of the British imperialistic State. He never trusted the local Andhras. The portfolio of elementary

education was personally under the control of the Nizam of Hyderabad. If an elementary Telugu school was to be started in a village, the permission of the Nizam was required, and he would be scrutinising the nature of the people of the village, whether they were rebellious or co operative, whether they were submissive or independent and then only he would grant permission for starting a school. On the old British pattern, he imported for the big jobs, Uttar Pradesh Muslims as Dewans and High Court judges and as Executive Councillors. He imported people mainly from the neighbouring places, from the south and other neighbouring areas, or Marathwada or the Kanarese areas and Tamil Nadu and saw to it that the local Andhras were not given sufficient prominence. A number of Gujaraits and Marwadis have also come in and settled there and they have built up huge businesses and have created for themselves vested interests. The moment Andhra Pradesh was formed, the adventurous and prosperous agriculturists from the coastal districts have gone over. They started farms, and thousands of acres which had been lying fallow were reclaimed and they are now blooming with green fields and fine crops. They have developed agriculture and also business. Therefore, an unexpressed undercurrent of jealousy has started among some non-Andhra leaders of Hyderabad State against coastal Andhra and Rayalaseema Andhra people. That is also working behind the movement. These influential forces which are very rich, are now trying to see that Telengana is separated so that the backward Telengana may be once more, dominated by other vested interests which have settled down there. During the last 12 years, more than Rs. 60 to 70 crores of capital has flowed from the rest of Andhra into Hyderabad State and they were making it a prosperous one. Two cinema houses costing Rs. 50 lakhs have been built. Film studios have been built. Huge grape gardens have come up and they are developing the area. They are also reaping the profits. This is one economic reason creating a little jealousy among other sections.

Sir, you know the agriculturists in coastal districts are equal to those in Punjab

and they are adventurous and versatile. They have reclaimed lands on a large scale in some areas where agriculture was neglected. Therefore, my suggestion is this. Dismemberment of the State is not the remedy for this. You must visualise whether Telengana will be a viable State. Its income may not be more than Rs. 125 to 130 crores a year. If you take the composite area, the coal-fields of Telengana, the mineral wealth of Rayalaseema and the agricultural wealth of the coastal districts make it a composite industrial unit with a great future. In the heat of the moment, people may say whatever they like and demand a separate Telengana. Some of them are putting a claim that the accumulation of Telengana funds is more than Rs. 80 to 90 crores and every day it is mounting up. For the last two or three months, they are calculating compound interests on the accumulations and demanding that amount.

My concrete suggestion is this. If it is possible for the Central Government, they should appoint an impartial, eminent High Court Judge, not administrators or officials, to go into the whole matter, ask the Andhra Pradesh Government to place all the material facts and figures and documents at his disposal and then come to a correct and impartial computation of the money that has been accumulated and that is due to be spent in Telengana area.

With regard to jobs, etc., you are well aware how the permanent officials everywhere in India have come to occupy the most important, powerful and influential positions. Who rules the Central Government? Some people say that excepting a handful of independent ministers with status, the other ministers are dominated by their Secretaries. When Rajaji was Chief Minister of Madras, one ICS Secretary was boasting that it was not Rajaji but himself who was running the Government. It fell into the ears of Rajaji. At once he called that Secretary and chided him. In small States like Punjab, Haryana, etc., it is the officers who ruled and created all the troubles and political intrigues; Officers everywhere are occupying key positions. They have got their own groups and they quarrel among themselves. They are the mainstay

[Shri Thirumala Rao]

of this agitation in one direction. Apart from all these things, the matter has come to a stage where it cannot be further neglected or ignored. I would request the Prime Minister, the Home Minister, all the top-ranking Ministers in the Central Government, the Congress President and the Congress Working Committee to sit together and consider the problem jointly; if possible, one of them should go to Hyderabad and see that the Congress house is set in order first. Afterwards they can send for other party leaders, leaders of Industry, commerce and agriculture and find out what is the real strength behind this agitation. Then, they will have to impress on the people that Telengana will not be a viable State. Once such a State is formed, from tomorrow they have to come here with a begging bowl for money for their development. So, as a responsible member of the party—not as leader of the opposition, like Shri Ranga, who has a role to play not only here, but outside, and also to the gallery—I want to say as a member of the Congress party that the Central Government have got responsibility in this matter and I am absolutely confident that they are capable enough, they have got the status enough, wisdom enough and statesmanship enough to go there and solve the problem or call them here and solve the problem.

SHRI PILOO MODY (Godhra) : Who ?

SHRI THIRUMALA RAO : God has not given him a head proportionate to his body. The matter must be taken up immediately by the Central Government. The Prime Minister and the Congress leaders should first set the Congress house in order and then see to it that every section of the public is called for, giving a hearing and a viable and lasting solution found in the interests of the whole of Andhra Pradesh.

18.00 hrs.

श्री जगन्नाथ राव जोशी (मोपाल) : अध्यक्ष महोदय, तेलंगाना में जो विस्फोटक परिस्थिति आज पैदा हुई है, उस पर हम

विचार करने के लिये यहां आज बहस में शामिल हुए हैं, इस के, अध्यक्ष महोदय, तीन पहलू हैं और उसी हिसाब से तीन जिम्मेदारियां भी हैं। एक तो केन्द्र की जिम्मेदारी, दूसरे प्रदेश सरकार की जिम्मेदारी और तीसरे भ्रान्धवासी जो तेलंगाना के हों, रायलसीमा के हों या सरकार के हों—इनकी भी जिम्मेदारी है। यह जो इलाका है, जिसके बारे में आज हम चर्चा कर रहे हैं—यह तो परम्परागत—अपने देश में जितनी कथा-कहानियां हैं, उन में हमेशा जॉ ब्राह्मण का चित्र आता है, वह तेलंगी ब्राह्मण का आता है, जिसे हमेशा गरीब दिखाया जाता है। मुझे आश्चर्य इस बात का होता है कि जो विज्ञान की बात को लेकर भारत को बहुत प्रगतिशील बनाने की दृष्टि से ज़िद लेकर बैठे हुए हैं, इतना होने के बाद भी जो तेलंगाना का हिस्सा है—आज भी वंसा का वंसा पिछड़ा हुआ है। दिल्ली तक पहुंच कर “दिल्लीश्वरोवा जगदीश्वरोवा” कहने वाला जगन्नाथ पंडित इसी तेलंगाना का था।

विवाद क्या है ? आज आजादी के 20-साल के बाद भी यह क्षेत्र उपेक्षित रहा है—यह बड़े दुःख के साथ स्वीकार करना पड़ता है। निज़ाम के ज़माने में यह क्षेत्र बहुत उपेक्षित रहा, रज़ाकारों की गतिविधियों के कारण अतंकित रहा, बाद में यहां के किसानों और जमींदारों के बीच में तनाव पैदा करने की कोशिश की गई—इस को चीन का युनाण प्रान्त बनाने की कोशिश इस देश के वामपंथियों ने की—इन सब के कारण भी यहां काफी अस्तव्यस्तता पैदा हुई। इस लिये इस का हल केवल मरहम-पट्टी से होने वाला नहीं है। आज इस क्षेत्र की जनता के मन में जो अविश्वास का भाव है, उस के भी कई पहलू हैं। भ्रान्ध के दूसरी जगहों के लोग यहां आ कर खेतीबाड़ी करते हैं, जिन्होंने भूमि को बड़ी उपजाऊ बनाया है—उस के बारे में इन के मन

में एक तरह का अविश्वास का भाव है। गृह मंत्री जी ज़रा ध्यान दें—क्यों भाब वहां की जनता कई बार तकं देकर पूछती है—यहां पर रोक क्यों नहीं लगाई जाती, तेलगाना में बाहर वाले आ कर जमीन खरीदें—इस पर रोक क्यों नहीं लगाई जाती ? जब यह कहा जाता है कि देश के सविधान में जो हम ने स्वीकार किया है, उस के अनुसार ऐसा नहीं कर सकते, तो मिसाल काश्मीर की दी जाती है। जिस काश्मीर के अन्दर हम जमीन नहीं खरीब सकते, घर बसा नहीं सकते। यह गलत तरीका और गलत मिसाल आज देश को एकता की ओर ले जाने के बजाय, अग्र्यक्ष महोदय, अलगवाव का भाव पैदा करती है, माई—माई के बीच में दीवार खड़ी करने में सहायक बन रही है। इस लिये मैं केन्द्रीय गृह मंत्री का ध्यान आकृष्ट करना चाहता हूँ—वह माता अच्छी है जो अपने बच्चे के रोये बिना उस की भूख और प्यास को समझती है, किन्तु वह माता दूसरे दर्जे की है जिसको रोने के बाद उस का पता लगता है कि बच्चा भूखा और प्यासा है। किन्तु केन्द्र की माता तो तीसरे दर्जे की है कि जिसको बच्चे के रोने के बाद भी पता नहीं चलता कि बच्चे को क्या हो गया है। वास्तव में यह जो अविश्वास का भाव है वह केवल यहीं पर नहीं है, यह आपको आसाम में भी देखने को मिलेगा, जम्मू काश्मीर में भी देखने को मिलेगा, महाराष्ट्र में भी देखने को मिलेगा, गुजरात में भी देखने को मिलेगा, करनाटक और केरल में भी देखने की मिलेगा। आज देश भर में यह भाव क्यों है, न्या इस पर कमी आपने विचार किया है ? स्वामी विवेकानन्द महाराज ने एक बात कही थी कि जिनको समाज के अन्दर सुधार करना हो उनकी दृष्टि तीव्र और दूरगामी होनी चाहिए। जो लोग बड़े घरों के एशो आराम और जगमग को न देख कर दूर कोने में अंधेरे में पतिहीन विधवा बैठकर आंसू बहाती है, उसके आंसू जो देख सकते हैं, वही समाज का सुधार कर सकते हैं।

जो जगमग के पीछे जाते हैं वे समाज सुधार नहीं कर सकते हैं। तो जब तक गड़बड़ियां पैदा नहीं होती हैं तब तक आपको पता ही नहीं लगता है। जम्मू काश्मीर के बारे में जो हुमा, आखिर आपने गजेन्द्रगढ़कर कमीशन नियुक्त किया या नहीं ? क्योंकि वहां पर भेदभाव बरता जा रहा था। एक ही प्रदेश होने के बाद भी राशन की मात्रा भी कम और राशन की दरें भी अलग। यह जो भेदभाव बरता जाता है और कमीशन की रिपोर्ट आने के बाद भी उस पर अमल नहीं होता इसी के कारण अविश्वास बढ़ता चला जाता है। मैं गृह मंत्री जी से जानना चाहता हूँ कि क्या ऐसे समझौते जगह जगह नहीं हुए ? महाराष्ट्र के अन्दर समझौता हुआ था कि विदर्भ को भी न्याय मिले। आसाम में भी ऐसा समझौता हुआ था कि पहाड़ी इलाकों के साथ न्याय किया जाये, वहां का एक मंत्री रहे, एक रीजनल काँसिल रहे जोकि सारा देखे। इतना सब होने के बाद भी वहां एक अलग से हिल स्टेट की मांग उठने और उसको शासन द्वारा स्वीकार किये जाने तक की स्थिति क्यों पैदा हुई ? क्या इस देश के विभाजन से यह पता नहीं चला था कि पार्टीशन किसी भी समस्या का समाधान नहीं है। आज पाकिस्तान के अन्दर जो स्थिति पैदा हुई है उससे पता चल जाना चाहिए कि यहां के मुसलमानों में यदि अविश्वास का भाव था भी तो उसका पार्टीशन कोई समाधान नहीं था। उस भाव को कैसे निकालें, उनके मन को कैसे जीतें, उनमें कैसे विश्वास पैदा करें, यह आपने बीस साल के अन्दर नहीं किया। इसी कारण वह अविश्वास का भाव बढ़ता जाता है। पिछले महीने मैं तेलगाना गया था। वहां पर जगह जगह देहातों में दीवारों पर लिखा हुआ है—प्रत्येक तेलंगाना एपंडाली। कहीं कहीं तेलगू बोली जाती है तो उसके हि़साब से लिखा हुआ है—प्रत्येक तेलंगाना बनाइचाली। किन्तु दोनों का मतलब एक ही है। तो यह भावना क्यों घर करने

[श्री जगन्नाथ राव जोशी]

पाई ? क्योंकि उनको पता चला कि कुछ गड़बड़, लूट-पाट, भ्रागजनी की बात हो तो केन्द्र नीचे उतर आता है, केन्द्र हर चीज को मानने लगता है। केन्द्र के सामने और कोई तरीका नहीं है, उसका कोई लक्ष्य नहीं, कोई ध्येय नहीं। जैसे दबाव आता है, वह हिलता है। इसीलिए हमें कभी कभी कहना पड़ता है—

We have got a set of rulers. No, we have got a set of rollers. A push from inside and a pull from outside keep them moving this side and that side.

इसके कारण यह शासन कहां जायेगा, इसका पता ही नहीं लगता है। देश का विभाजन होने के बाद आपने कुछ समझा ही नहीं। इसीलिए कई कई दफा ऐसी मांगें आती रहती हैं। इस देश के भूतपूर्व प्रधान मंत्री, श्री जवाहरलाल नेहरू ने आश्वासन दिया था कि इस देश में छोटे-मोटे ज्यादा राज्य नहीं रहेंगे। पांच सौ से अधिक रियास्तों का मिलाकर जब यहां पर 15 बड़े राज्य स्थापित किए गए थे, उस समय उन्होंने आश्वासन दिया था कि प्रागे चलकर कोई 16वां राज्य नहीं बनेगा। लेकिन उसके बाद भी आपने नागालैंड बनाया। तो जब लोगों को रता लग जाता है कि गड़बड़ी, गुंडागर्दी, भ्रागजनी और लूट-पाट के बाद यह सरकार झुक जाती है तो लोगों के मन में यह भाव पैदा होता है कि इनको करो। बम्बई में शिव सेना की तरफ से जो कुछ हुआ, उन सब के पीछे छोटी-मोटी समस्याएँ ही होती हैं। डा० राव ने यहां पर बताया कि मैं क्या करूँ, लेकिन यह कहने से ही काम नहीं चलेगा। आज कृष्णा, गोदावरी और नर्मदा के पानी की समस्या है, बेसगाम की समस्या है और कंसरगॉड की समस्या है—। एक साथ जुड़ी हुई इन समस्याओं को अगर आप समय रहते हल नहीं करेंगे तो फिर बाद

में जनता की भावनाएँ जागृत होने के पश्चात् गोली चलाने से भी समस्या का कोई हल नहीं निकलेगा किन्तु जनता का क्षोभ जरूर बना रहेगा। इसलिए समय रहते कुछ करिये। आप एक बड़े दायरे में राष्ट्रीयता की बात को सामने रखकर इन बातों को सोचें तो इस नतीजे पर पहुंचेंगे कि कहीं भी अलगाव के भाव से किसी समस्या का हल नहीं निकल सकता है। वरना जैसे पहले हमको लगता था कि भारत से अंग्रेज चले जायें तो देश का भला होगा, अंग्रेज तो चले गए और फिर कांग्रेस आ गई लेकिन अब भी लोगों को लगता है कि अगर कांग्रेस चली जाये तो देश का भला होगा। कई स्टेट्स में कांग्रेस भी चली गई लेकिन देश का भला होना वहीं पर है। मूल बीमारी जो है उसको छोड़कर हम कभी अंग्रेज को समझ बँटे, कभी कांग्रेस को समझ बँटे। इसीलिए अलग अलग मांगें आती हैं, कहीं विदमं की मांग तो कहीं सौराष्ट्र की मांग आती है। मंसूर में भी कहा जाता है कि ऊपर वाले, वारवाड़ वेलगाम, बीजापुर, वे हम पर डामिनेट करना चाहते हैं। तो यह भाव सभी जगह पैदा हो रहा है। इसलिए इसको पीसमिल देखते हुए नहीं बल्कि एक राष्ट्र को सामने रखते हुए इसका समाधान करना होगा। इसलिये आज तेलंगाना के मन में जो अविश्वास पैदा हुआ है इस को निकालना होगा। इस दृष्टि से केन्द्र की जिम्मेदारी होती है, गृह मंत्री स्पष्ट रूप से बतायें कि इस समस्या के समाधान के लिये वह क्या करने जा रहे हैं। मैं कोई आन्ध्र के विभाजन के पक्ष में नहीं हूँ, किन्तु हम को इन का विश्वास नहीं होता। क्योंकि ऐसी बातें हम 1947 से सुनते आये हैं, देश की एकता की बात सुनते आये हैं पंजाब और असम की एकता की बात सुनते आये हैं। यह जो कहते हैं उस के विपरीत होता है इसलिये जब कहते हैं कोई बात तो मन में और डर पैदा होता है कि कहीं इस का उल्टा करने को तो तय नहीं किया।

इसलिये मैं चाहता हूँ कि गृह मंत्री जी स्पष्ट बातें रखें। मैं चाहता हूँ कि केन्द्र मजबूत रहे और फिर शासन की दृष्टि से कैसा गुट या विभाग हो, यह बात बिल्कुल भ्रमल है कि वह छोटा हो या बड़ा हो, क्योंकि जैसे थिरुमल राव जी ने कहा कि तेलंगाना बायेबिल नहीं है, तो मैं जानना चाहता हूँ कि गोम्रा नागालैंड या पाँडिचेरी कौन से बायेबिल हैं? जब गोम्रा वाले चाहते थे कि हम को महाराष्ट्र से मिला दिया जाये तो उन्हें नहीं मिलाया गया और छोटे छोटे राज्य बनाये गये। माही को पाँडिचेरी के साथ जोड़ा जाता है। यह जो सारा तमाशा चलता है इस के कारण लोगों के मन में विश्वास की भावना पैदा नहीं हुई है।

आन्ध्र और तेलंगाना के बारे में एक फारमूला तय हुआ जिस को ATA कहते थे, अर्थात् दो आन्ध्र के तो एक तेलंगाना का। किन्तु आज जो आंध्र के शिक्षक हैं उन की एक खास शिकायत है कि छह हजार तेलंगाना से बाहर वाले वहाँ भाये हुए हैं। इसलिये मैं प्रान्त सरकार से कहना चाहता हूँ कि भूठी प्रेस्टीज में न बैठते हुए शिक्षकों के जो प्रतिनिधि हैं उन के साथ बैठकर राउन्ड टेबिल कानफरेन्स करें और यह समस्या हल करने की कोशिश करें।

सर्वोच्च न्यायालय ने जो निर्णय दिया है उस के कारण एन० जी० भोज० मुल्की रूल्स के अनुसार काम करने की दृष्टि से तेलंगाना के मन में फिर से आशंका पैदा हो गई है। इसलिये सर्वैधानिक दृष्टि से कौन सा रास्ता निकाल सकते हैं उस पर हम विचार करें और वह रास्ता निकालने की कोशिश करें।

तीसरी बात यह है कि तेलंगाना के विकास की दृष्टि से जो आज तक कदम नहीं उठाये हैं वे उठाने चाहियें। एक तो पोचमपाड़ प्रकल्प को जल्दी से जल्दी पूरा करें। नागार्जुन सागर के पानी का प्रयोग जितना तेलंगाना

के जिलों में कर सकते हैं वह करना चाहिये।

इस के अतिरिक्त जो छात्रों का भन्दोलन है उनकी मांगों पर अग्रय विचार होना चाहिये। उन की मांग है कि वारंगल में काकतीय विश्वविद्यालय की स्थापना हो। दूसरी मांग यह है कि एक सेन्ट्रल विश्वविद्यालय हैदराबाद में हो जो सब के लिये खुला रहे। इस प्रकार जो जनता की और विद्यार्थियों की मांगें हैं उन पर सहानुभूति पूर्णक विचार हो। आज विश्वास बनाने की दृष्टि से, मांग करना ठीक हो या न हो, किन्तु आज का जो बड़ा शासन है उस ने जनता का विश्वास खो दिया है इसलिये वर्तमान मंत्रिमंडल को त्याग पत्र दे कर एक विश्वासपात्र नया शासन बहाल बनाना बहुत आवश्यक लगता है।

इस के अतिरिक्त कुमार ललित को भेषा था और उन्होंने जो सुझाव दिये हैं उन पर मोडिफिकेशन के साथ जरूर सरकार भ्रमल करे। इस प्रकार जो तेलंगाना में एक विस्फोटक परिस्थिति पैदा हो गयी है, उस के काबू के बाहर जाने के पूर्व ही समग्र भारत वर्ष में माई माई की स्थिति पैदा करनी आवश्यक है। तेलंगाना के अन्दर सरकार और जनता के बीच का भगड़ा नहीं रहा, वरन माई माई के बीच का भगड़ा पैदा हो गया है जिस से विशेषकर देश की एकता और अखंडता तथा समग्र भाइयों को साथ ले कर जाने वाले भारतीय जनसंघ को तो बहुत दुःख होता है, दिल फट जाता है क्योंकि कुछ लोग ऐसे हैं जो ऐसा कहते हैं कि तेलंगाना भ्रमल हो, हिन्दुस्तान को पत्वारिज और बालकेनाइज किया जाये, उन की चाल में हम न फँसें। केन्द्र मजबूत बना कर समग्र देश के अन्दर हम को ठीक ढंग से न्याय मिलता है यह भावना पैदा करने की जिम्मेदारी केन्द्र की है। और प्रदेश की सरकार, जैसा मैं ने अभी कहा, दु से दी लीस्ट, त्याग-पत्र दे कर विश्वास पैदा करने

[श्री जगन्नाथ राव जोशी]

चाला शासन बनाये। समय आन्द्र में, कोस्टल एरिया हो या रायलसीमा हो सब का दायित्व होता है कि हम एक ही प्रदेश हैं, बीच में अनमुटाब जो पैदा हो गया है उस को मिटा कर फिर एक बार समय आन्द्र के विकास की दृष्टि से, प्रगति की दृष्टि से, साथ खड़े हों।

इन शब्दों के साथ मैं इस का समर्थन करता हूँ।

MR. SPEAKER : Shri P. Venkata-subbaiah.

SHRI P. VENKATASUBBAIAH (Nandyal) : Mr. Speaker, Sir, as you rightly pointed out, the discussion... ..

श्रीमती लक्ष्मीकांतम्मा (खम्मम) : अध्यक्ष महोदय, यह जो डिस्कशन हो रहा है उसे रेज करने वालों में मेरा नाम भी छपा हुआ है.....

MR. SPEAKER : I am going by party names.

श्रीमती लक्ष्मीकांतम्मा : मेरा नाम भी यह डिस्कशन रेज करने वालों में एजेंडा पेपर पर छपा हुआ है। इसके अलावा क्या यह सब तेलंगाना के सदस्य हैं ?

MR. SPEAKER : Will you kindly sit down ? Mr. Nayanar's name is there from the Communist Party but he is not speaking. The P. S. P.'s name is not there but still he will be allowed to speak. Every party has given me the names. You don't attend the Parliament ; that is the difficulty. Every party gives me names. I go by the party list. Supposing, they want to give Mr. Ramamurti's name, can I say, "No ; you cannot speak. Mr. Nayanar alone must speak" ? I have been following that procedure from the beginning. Whichever list of names is given to me by the party, the Communist party, the D. M. K. party, the Swatantra party, or the Congress party, is followed. Not only Mr. Nayanar is not speaking but

Mr. Kanwar Lal Gupta is also not speaking. From the Jana Sangh party, Mr. Jagannath Rao Joshi has spoken just now. I do not know how you have been following. Your name must be in the party list ; the party must give the name.

SHRI P. VENKATASUBBAIAH : Mr. Speaker, Sir, at the outset, I am really happy to note that the discussion has been going on in a very objective manner and I must thank the hon. Members who preceded me to focus and highlight the real problems that are behind Telengana issue.

The hon. Member, Shri Ranga, one of the foremost leaders of our country who has been in a great deal responsible, along with stalwarts like you, in bringing together these people, speaking the same language, under one banner, has today made very useful and constructive suggestions with regard to the various problems that are to be tackled. Whatever may be the facts behind the tension, the dissatisfaction and the unrest, one fact remains that this particular region has not received that much of attention as it deserves.

Further, in pursuance of a gentlemen's agreement, certain assurances were given because the States Reorganisation Commission, in their Report ; recommended for a separate Telengana area. That must be borne in mind when we look to the problem from that angle. Telengana friends were then persuaded to accept the assurances of the people from Andhra area as Rayalaseema people were persuaded to join in forming Andhra States when a separate Andhra State was formed from the composite Madras State. Why I am driving at this point is that, apart from the economic considerations, political aspirations and psychological factors also must be taken into consideration. I want to put this problem in a broad perspective of social, economic and political matter. Unless these three things are fulfilled, unless you create a sense of involvement, a sense of oneness and equality among the various regions, you will not be able to evolve

the homogenous factor that goes into the linguistic distribution of provinces.

I must also emphasize the fact that, when the Andhra State was formed, really we had genuine feelings and fears whether we would be stamped into having to play a secondary role in conducting the affairs of the State because of the political consciousness and economic prosperity and educationally forward-looking of Andhras. As a matter of fact, I was a Member of the Madras Assembly and on the floor of the Madras Assembly I made a speech that we, in Rayalaseema, should not be allowed to join the coastal districts. I said that we would like to be with Madras because our educational institutions were under Madras University, our relationship was with Madras, and we felt that we would be more at home in Madras State than in the Andhra area. That was because of certain misapprehensions that perhaps we might not get an equitable treatment in the political affairs of the country. But, in the long run, we came to realise this: the sense of confidence was restored to us when certain political events took place. Immediately after the Andhra State was formed, the Andhrakesari became the Chief Minister and you, as the veteran Congress leader of our area, became the Deputy Chief Minister...*(Interruption)*. He is a veteran. Then we felt the sense of oneness, the sense of equal participation ; that sort of satisfaction, we could achieve. After the formation of Andhra Pradesh, you became the Chief Minister. Mr. Sanjivayya also became the Chief Minister. I am narrating the events to show that a sort of comradeship, a sense of equality, has to be created when the affairs of the State are to be run. I will also congratulate the political sagacity of our Maharashtra friends and especially the Home Minister. He made his good offices prevail in making two Chief Ministers of Maharashtra from the Vidarbha region. It is not as though that will satisfy or that will bring prosperity to that area. But that is the approach that has been made. When you became the Chief Minister, you did not bring prosperity or millennium to the Rayalaseema area. But we felt that we would have

the feeling of equality and that prevailed in the minds of the people of Rayalaseema, and this is in spite of the fact that even today in some areas we have to go miles to get drinking water, we have no communications ; even our projects are being neglected. I am not saying these in the sense of a complaint. Even this afternoon I asked Dr. K. L. Rao how many decades would they take to complete the Tungabhadra High level Canal project, which is purely intended to bring benefit to the famine-stricken area of Anantapur. Anantapur is 'pur' eternally ! In spite of the fact that we had been as badly neglected as the Telengana area, we thought that in the best interest of our State, we should be a party to this, this sort of a gentlemen's agreement has to be arrived at with our Telengana friends.

So, when you take all these factors into consideration, one predominant factor remains that, along with economic development, psychological and political satisfaction also must be brought to bear upon the people of the Telengana area. This is a problem which has to be viewed from that context. It is not as though it can be separated, one from the other. About certain factors that are going on there, they are known to us. We are very unhappy at the events that are happening. As you have rightly said and as several members pointed out, none of us would like a dismemberment of the Andhra State which has been formed after great sacrifice, after so much of suffering and after a great agitation, I will also join with my hon. friend, Shri Thirumal Rao, in appealing to the central leadership here, both at the organizational level as well as at the governmental level to view this problem in its proper perspective and not to a sort of misunderstand friends when we say certain things in a very candid and frank manner.

I want to make it clear. It is not directed against one individual--X, Y or Z. As Shri Ranga pointed out, this has been a culmination of events that have

[Shri P. Venkatasubbaiah]

taken place. We our selves till yesterday did not know the recommendations made from time to time by the Regional Committee. We did not know that so much of surplus remains to be spent on Telengana area. Mr. Naryan Reddy has pointed out the reasons for that when a diabolical clause is put that the proceedings of the Committee should be kept secret. I can also attribute that to the several forces that have come into play. We should not allow these disruptive forces to take an upper hand and work for the disruption of the State. I very well appreciate when Shri Ranga has said his party's stand with regard to this agitation. I can understand from his speech that he is against the vivisection of the Andhra State. I am very happy to say in this connection that all the political Parties want that this State should be kept intact. But, at the same time, genuine grievances should be looked into and the economic imbalance must be corrected and proper protection should be given to those areas we consider to be neglected.

SHRI J. B. KRIPALANI (Guna) : In every Province there are such areas.

SHRI P. VENKATASUBBAIAH : I would like to humbly submit to Acharyaji that there is an agreement that this area should receive that much of attention as it deserved because they are economically backward and proper care should be taken. In this context I also caution some of our friends that it is not as though language alone is the binding factor. Language is a predominantly a binding factor, but along with that economic and social factors also should be taken into consideration.

SHRI J. B. KRIPALANI : And a good brain.

SHRI P. VENKATASUBBAIAH : About some of the incidents that have happened in both the regions, action or reaction, whatever it is, it is most unfortunate and we are very sorry for that. But one fact remains that given the good-will

every mora' support has to be given by every section of this House to tackle this problem to the satisfaction of our brothers in Telengana and an impression should not go round in this country where every region may come forward with certain demands, as Shri Joshi has pointed out. This has to be viewed in that context and every care has to be taken to go into the grievances of the people of Telengana I have no doubt in my mind that the Centre has got a responsibility to discharge in this matter. They must also come forward in a big way and see that this problem is amicably settled and Andhra is kept intact so that it may continue to play its useful role in the Political and economic aspects of our country.

SHRI SHIVAJIRAO S. DESHMUKH (Parbhani) : Before you conclude I rise on a point of order. The point of order arose out of what has fallen from your lips. It seeks to supplement what has been stated by you. When a member of the House gives a notice to raise discussion, under parliamentary practice it is supposed that he obviously cannot raise discussion unless he speaks on the motion notice of which has been given. The list submitted by the political parties as the list of speakers is in addition to the list of Members who have given the motion. Several Members have spoken ; all of them are from Andhra. This involves a matter of precedent. This is the House of the People which include the people from Telengana. It is in bad taste if they were to be excluded on flimsy grounds on a debate which concerns Telengana.

SOME HON. MEMBERS--*rose*

MR. SPEAKER : Will all of you kindly sit down ?

SHRI THIRUMALA RAO : Our Secretary has used the word 'flimsy', He should not have used it. It is unfair to use the word 'flimsy'. (*Interruption*)

MR. SPEAKER : Order please. I am on my legs. The list of speakers and the order of names are here which has been supplied and the next two persons are from Telengana. Shri Bakar Ali Mirza is from Telengana. Shri Ganga Reddy is from Telengana. There is Shri Tulsidas Jadhve from Maharashtra. There is Shri K. K. Chatterjee from West Bengal. There is Shri P. C. Varma from Himachal Pradesh. Shri K. K. Chatterjee's name is the ninth name, if he gets a chance. All the opposition people are cooperating with me. At least by 8 O' clock we should be able to finish this discussion. I may say that the Party Secretary may kindly improve the functioning of the congress party so that it will be easier for me. I have absolutely no trouble with the parties in the opposition. There was the name of Shri Kanwar Lal Gupta. They said, it is not Mr. Kanwar Lal Gupta, but Mr. Joshi who is speaking. In regard to the Communist party, they said, it is not Mr. Nayanar but Mr. Ramamurthi who will speak. I said all right. I am sure the General Secretary of the party will kindly see to it that he does not give any headache to me and that he will function better.

श्री तुलसी दास जाधव (बारामती) : अध्यक्ष महोदय, जरा मेरी बात सुन लीजिये। मेरा नाम यदि दिया गया है, तो भी मैं नहीं बोलूंगा, लेकिन मेरी एक विनती है। इस देश के तेलंगाना के जो एम० पी० हैं उनको भी चांस देकर, हमें दोनों के प्वाइन्ट आफ विथूज समझने दीजिये।

MR. SPEAKER : You did not hear what I said. You are determined to speak. I said the name of Shri Bakar Ali Mirza is there. The name of Shri Ganga Reddy is there. Both are from Telengana, I said.

श्रीमती जयाबेन शाह (अमरेली) : मैं यह जानना चाहती हूँ कि जिन्होंने इस मीशन पर साइन किया है, उनको चोम पहले मिलना चाहिये या नहीं—इस बारे में आप बताइये ? इस में पार्टी की कोई बात नहीं है।

MR. SPEAKER : I cannot, say, only Nayanar will speak and Ramamurthi. (Interruption) I am on my legs now. Only with the cooperation of all the parties can I manage here. Can I say that Nayanar's name is there ...and therefore Shri Ramamurthi cannot speak and only Shri Nayanar can speak ? Similarly, Shri Kanwar Lal Gupta is not speaking and therefore can I say that Shri Joshi, the Deputy Leader of his Party, cannot speak ? After saying this, can I function in this House ? Will it ever be possible ? Why don't you discuss it in your Party and help me ?

SHRI SEZHIYAN (Kumbakonam) : As you pointed out rightly in the beginning, Sir, a very serious and explosive situation is now prevailing in Telengana. Before we approach the problem and offer some solution, we should understand the background. For that, we should be able to understand the feelings and apprehensions of the people there. We should appreciate their frustrations and the atmosphere that prevails in Telengana. Without understanding the problem and the atmosphere prevailing in Telengana, if you want to offer any solution, it may not work out in the present situation. It is said that wise statesmanship should be judged by its capacity to anticipate and solve the problem before the problem becomes a crisis and to solve the crisis before the problem becomes a catastrophe. Now what we see in Telengana was a problem about 15 years old and now it has become a crisis. Unless it is solved, it may develop into a catastrophe which I do not wish. In Telengana people speak Telugu and in Andhra also people speak Telugu. You should understand and this should be a warning that language alone does not unite people. It may only help. But to attain unity, we should create a sense of confidence we should honour the commitments that we make and we should be accommodative enough. What has happened in Telengana is a crisis of confidence. The leadership has failed there miserably, whatever may be the leadership there. Even now we saw here that the members of the Congress Party did not have any unified approach to speak here. In Telengana it has happened in a worse form.

[Shri Sezhiyan]

The demand for a separate State of Telengana is not a new one. I am not propagating or approving that. It is not a new one. Even at the time of the States Reorganisation Commission, very many people from the Telengana area were very emphatic in their demand that Telengana should be constituted as a separate State. Even those from the ceded districts said that unless Telengana comes in they would not go there. The demand for a separate Telengana has been noted and endorsed in the States Reorganisation Commission's report. It says:

After taking all these factors into consideration, we have come to the conclusion that it will be in the interests of Andhra as well as Telengana if for the present the Telengana area is constituted into a separate State with provisions for its reunification with Andhra after five years.

In spite of that, afterwards, the people of Telengana were prevailed upon to go and form part of Andhra. At that time and very many speakers who preceded me paid encomiums to your good offices and others certain agreement was made which was called a gentlemen's agreement by which certain economic and administrative safeguards were promised to the people of Telengana. To watch the implementation of that agreement, a regional committee was also constituted by a Presidential order. Therefore, I feel that it is the responsibility of the Centre also to look into whether those safeguards and commitments made have been honoured and implemented.

The regional committee has been in existence for over eleven years and I do not know what it has done. The other day Shri Narayana Reddi said that whatever transpired inside the committee has been kept confidential and private. The regional committee consisted only of elected members to the Assembly from the Telengana area and as Shri Ranga was pointing out that area is still a predominantly Congress area. Even in this august House I find that out of 15 members elected from

Telengana, as many as 14, belong to the Congress and only one member is sitting here as an Independent. Therefore, we cannot attribute any political instigation for the present trouble. But whatever has happened has happened because of the failure of the leadership of the Congress there. Not only the Central Government here but the Congress Party also has got a moral responsibility to see that the Regional Committee worked well and that all the commitments made to it were honoured. When the question of a separate Telengana State was mooted by the SRC, I remember the then Prime Minister, Shri Jawaharlal Nehru, the then Home Minister, Pandit Pant and the Congress President, Shri Dhebar, formed into a committee to go into the question of uniting Telengana with Andhra. Therefore, the Congress Party also has a moral responsibility to see that the Regional Committee worked properly.

But what is the fate of the Committee? How has it worked? I have got one report. I think it should have been confidential. After all these years of working, this is the report which has been adopted by the Regional Committee on 7-3-1969. It is the latest opinion, and I think unanimous. It has been stated in para 16 :

“When the national policy is to develop the under-developed areas in all spheres of activities, it is very unfortunate that the State Government, instead of implementing this policy, has been utilising the income of the under-developed region for the development of the already developed region, thus contributing to the apprehension that Telengana region would not receive proper attention while remaining in Andhra Pradesh”.

I am not agreeing with that conclusion, but why have the Regional Committee been driven to such a verdict? After 11 years of working a committee which has been predominantly made up of Congress mem-

bers, has passed such a unanimous stricture saying that it is no use for them to be in Andhra Pradesh? This proves that there has been failure of leadership, there has been bankruptcy in the policy adopted by the leadership there in Andhra as well as here in the Centre and in the Congress High Command. They have not honoured the commitment made to the Telengana area.

What is the solution now? First, I would say that the Government, there as well as here, should be very earnest. There is no use making an announcement that they will create 2000 posts; there is no use saying that they will postpone all panchayat elections. They should create confidence. Whatever measures Government take should be immediate and concrete. There is no use giving more assurances, country is tired of assurances. I say an ounce of action is better than a ton of assurance. Whatever may have been the assurances given 11 years ago, unless statutory form is given to them, unless concrete measures are taken and implemented, we cannot win the confidence of the people of Telengana.

Even now the Government there is lethargic. On Jan., 19, 1969, at Hyderabad an all-parties meeting was held and certain decisions were taken. In page 3, there is one requirement stipulated—“to work out on the basis of the above principles the exact Telengana surpluses which have occurred since formation of Andhra Pradesh, and to avoid any controversy in this regard, the Comptroller and Auditor General of India will be requested to depute a senior officer of the rank of Accountant General, who will be requested to give his finding before 28 Feb., 1969.”

This was passed on 19 January at the meeting of the all-party leaders, as many as 45 members belonging to all parties, inviting the Accountant General to go into the accounts of the surpluses of Telengana and give a finding by 28th Feb., 1969. I am yet to know whether this was fulfilled.

AN HON. MEMBER : Yes.

SHRI SEZHIYAN : Because some Minister himself has given an amount of

Rs. 82 crores. The figure given by the Accountant General has been contested by other Members also. The solution that is found should be immediate, concrete and enforceable by statutory methods. I do not want a gentleman's agreement or some such thing. I may say here that I am not for a separate State for Telengana. We should ascertain the grievances of the people and find out certain solutions within the framework of the present set up. If they could get all the benefit of the safeguards within the present set up, then we can find a way out. Otherwise, a stage would be reached when it would be impossible to resist their demand. The Government here, the Congress Party High Command and the Chief Minister should all join together and give a solution. Just now it was pointed out that some secretaries were from Telengana. They gave some statistics. Shri Thirumala Rao was kind enough to say that the Secretary was more powerful than the Minister. Such arguments do not convince people. The Telengana people can as well reply : “well, if that is so, let the Andhra part take the Chief Secretaryship and we shall take Chief Ministership.” That type of argument will not do. There should be a reasonable solution agreed upon by all parties concerned.

SHRI J. B. KRIPALANI (Guna) I do not think that it is very difficult to solve the problem that has been created by different areas to have separate States : I think it would be advisable that every area that claims to be separate from the original state should be allowed to separate. In India you cannot erase this tendency. We had four castes and now we have four thousand castes. We had one political party. Now we have got twenty political parties. Our genius is like that. Let every area that wants a separate State have a separate State. The Government of India should decide that every State will live on its own and will make arrangements for its own administration and if they want to have an army or a navy or air force, they can keep one. The Government of India should make it plain that help from the Centre will be given according to certain definite principles. Let there be

[Shri J. B. Kripalani]

no expensive Governors. A man of the position of the Collector should be made Governor and he should live as a collector lives and the Centre should lay down principles on which central aid will be given to any area that wants to be separate. There are so many backward areas in India. I say that in U. P. the hills would want to have their own separate State. The hill people control most of the administration on the plains. Any educated hillman comes jump to the plains and gets some job there.

Then there is the Eastern Division; then there is the Western Division. All these want States. And we have the Hill States in Assam. So, the question can be solved only when what I have suggested, is accepted, that the Centre lays down certain conditions for Central help.

I would also say that if any State says that it is being exploited by another State, the farmer must be given the option to take back all its people from other States then. If Bengal complains that Bengal is being exploited, let all the non Bengalis go out. (*Interruption*)

AN HON. MEMBER : Take their wives with them.

SHRI J. B. KRIPALANI : No, no. That you cannot help. I have taken care of my house. You may marry from any where in the world and then your wife does not become a citizen of the original place; she becomes a citizen where she lives. Mrs. Kripalani has been fortunately living outside Bengal, outside the communist regime. That is one good thing about it. So, if any province complains, as Maharashtra complains, that there are people from Tamil Nadu and they are taking away their very subsistence; all right, let all Tamilians go to Tamil Nadu; let all the Maharashtrians go to Maharashtra.

AN HON. MEMBER : No, no.

SHRI J. B. KRIPALANI : We must be logical and we must present this logical position to every area that wants separation:

that the Centre will give aid only on certain principles—population, backwardness, etc. Whatever principles are decided upon must be adhere to. And they will get no more.

I would tell the House that this cry for separate Statehood may then disappear, and even if it does not disappear, we will have peace in India. That is all.

MR. SPEAKER : There are still the communist party the communist party (Marxist), the SSP and the PSP and one more Independent Member. That means about five more. And then there may be four or five on this side also. We will have to finish quickly. May I, therefore appeal to hon. Members that should not take more than five minutes each, so that we will finish the debate today, at least by 8 O' clock at the latest ? Shri Bakar Ali Mirza.

SHRI BAKAR ALI MIRZA (Secunderabad) : Mr. Speaker, Sir, I find it is a very difficult subject to speak on. Some friends said I think it was Shri Thirumala Rao who said,—that it is an emotional problem. Besides being an emotional problem, the people of Andhra Pradesh are also emotional. So, this becomes doubly emotional. Apart from that, we have to view this as a problem, because, after all, this kind of thing might rise again in some other parts of India. If we have to face it in other States, we must look into this problem in depth.

Prof. Ranga made some important suggestions. But one think, I would like to impress upon is this. It is no use going into the causes of this phenomenon; the phenomenon is there. It is no use searching for scapegoats, because that is futile. Why did it happen ? You give a list of people showing so many in Telengana, Secretaries and so on and so forth; and the Telengana people give another list. This sort of arguments is not going to be very helpful. The problem is there and it is facing us, and it is admitted, as you yourself said, that injustice has been done to the Telengana people; let us go on that basis. It is also admitted that this movement is a spontaneous movement. In Maharashtra or Bengal,

even a little student strike means, buses are burnt. If you take the totality of the movements and compare the movement in Hyderabad with similar movements elsewhere you will find that the student community in Hyderabad has been on the whole peaceful.

The problem is, the confidence on the people of a particular region is lost in the administration. That has to be faced. When a thing like that happens, the usual thing is to change the administration or if you have got an election machinery, have fresh elections and change the administration. Since that is not open to us and since the majority party is not prepared to resign, the only way is to understand why this has happened. This is not confined to Andhra Pradesh or Telengana. This sort of movement is going on elsewhere also. I can say that no linguistic State has been successful in gaining the confidence of the minority community, whether it is Maharashtra, Andhra Pradesh or any other State.

The other day, Mr. Chavan said that we should not equate linguistic provinces with a national State. It is very difficult to escape coming to that conclusion or feeling in that way once you have created a State on a linguistic basis. After all, language is a big binding force and also an emotional force. When your frontiers are prescribed, the people of one language function as one nation in fact, though in theory, they may be part of a federation. Look at the reaction of Maharashtra, the best administered State, towards Belguam or Goa. Look at the reaction in the country towards Kachchativu or Aksaichin. There is that difference in emotional content. People in one small linguistic province feel more intensely and they are more nationalistic. There is a great danger in this fact. Our States are like countries. Maharashtra or Andhra Pradesh is as big as France. If you have a State like that, you have this emotional conflict. All of us—the Home Minister, the Government of India and all of us—will have to find a solution.

Loyalty to language has grown into loyalty to a region. That is very dangerous. Since the frontiers are defined, I consider that more dangerous than any Hindu-

Muslim conflict at any time in the history of India. Hindu-Muslim conflict is of an all-India character. In every street, in every village and town, they are mixed and we fight all over India. If a situation like that arises, we will force a decision to be taken. So, the dangers of linguistic States are quite apparent.

Hyderabad State consisted of 3 language groups. That was split up. A part went to Maharashtra, another went to Karnataka and the third went to Andhra Pradesh. Jawaharlal Nehru himself was against the disintegration of Hyderabad State. The States Reorganisation Commission gave a separate State to Telengana. Telengana agreed to for Andhra Pradesh under certain conditions. Those conditions were not honoured and therefore, the present position is there.

An argument has been advanced that division of States into separate States is a disintegrating force. I would like to ask those who have advanced such an argument how it is a disintegrating force. Was the whole country disintegrated because Punjab and Haryana separated or Maharashtra and Gujarat separated? So disintegration of a State is not disintegration of the country. That has to be recognised.

We have also to admit that there is a great emotional force which is compelling the people of one language to come together. We have also to satisfy that urge. That can be done, I submit, if you have language as the basis of administration. At the same time, you should not make it so big as it becomes a danger to the country and you should not make it so big as to make a particular region of community to act as a separatist force. The best thing would be to divide the country into a number of small States. The language principle is there. Having administrations in regional language is there. Once you have smaller States automatically the Centre becomes stronger because the constituents are very small. While, if the States become bigger and stronger, the Centre becomes weaker and weaker. This danger becomes more impressive when you realise that the future make-up of Government is to be on the coalition system based on multi-party

[Shri Bakar Ali Mirza]

system. Coalition governments are, after all weak governments. Therefore the Centre becomes weaker.

Telengana is a problem of the whole country. The demand of the people of Telengana should be given consideration on condition that this whole thing is examined *de novo* and the whole country is partitioned into a number of small States. Therefore, instead of coming to the decision of entrusting the job to a Judge I would request the Government of India to set up a small commission to go into the whole question. After all they set up a commission communal riots. Here a whole region is in flames. They can easily set up a commission over this. I know it will take some time.

Shri Thirumala Rao suggested that we should have a Judge to preside over a Commission. Probably we have forgotten the fate of the Mahajan Commission's report. This sort of thing will not do.

SHRI THIRUMALA RAO : My suggestion is not for a commission. Let him not mix me up with that.

SHRI BAKAR ALI MIRZA : At this moment the people of Telengana and Andhra must be pacified. For that a healing touch is necessary. If the Government of India cannot do that, Sir, I ask you, who has been the Chief Minister there and who has worked and sacrificed much for that part of the country, to give your healing touch and put the people together. As I said, the solution I have suggested will take some time. But if a Commission is appointed this time itself will help in bringing about an understanding among the people and bringing them together. Give them that time to cool down and examine the whole thing again. If the Commission gives a verdict against it we will accept it and the country will be satisfied. I would request the Government to take my suggestion seriously.

19 hrs.

SHRI ESWARA REDDY (Guddapali) : Mr. Speaker, Sir, today is a very sad day

for us, especially for the representatives of four crores of Andhras, who were the vanguards in the formation of linguistic States in India. We have to bow our head in shame and speak in this august House about the danger of disintegration of our own State. It is still more sorrowful for those whose colleagues have sacrificed their lives and undergone many sufferings in fighting British imperialism in Andhra area and the feudal aristocracy and Nizam in the Telengana area, whose sufferings have contributed to get these two areas, Telengana and Andhra integrated into one State in 1956.

Sir, as you know, long before the formation of the Andhra State we were agitating for Vishal Andhra and we also published a book entitled *Visala Andhra to Praja rajyam* Now what is the position ? The very foundation of *Visala Andhra* is being struck by those who came into power since 1956. The present situation is not only sorrowful but horrible.

The present day situation reminds me of the days of partition in 1947 and the atrocities committed by the Shiv Sena recently in Bombay. There is one aspect of this trouble which worse than the troubles arising out of even partition. There might have been some remote and false justification, of course based on unfounded fears and bigotry, for the troubles of 1947 which were taken advantage of by the British imperialism. Similarly, the trouble in Bombay was Maharashtra *versus* non-Maharashtra. But how do you account for the incidents that took place in Telengana and Andhra area ? They both have the same culture and they speak the same language.

SHRI M. N. REDDY (Nizamabad) : That is what is puzzling the Home Minister.

SHRI ESWARA REDDY : Still, brothers were cheating brothers, brothers were killing brothers and arson, looting, setting fire to buses, railway stations and other government property were going on. How to explain it ? I say that this is the result of the enormous crime committed by the government in power all these years. So, they should bear the entire responsibility

for the moral degradation that has set in Telengana.

It was in 1956 that the Congress leaders of the two areas came to a gentleman's agreement to guarantee and safeguard the interests of Telengana, which was a backward area. All these twelve years they did not sincerely, seriously and effectively implement the safeguards which have been agreed upon by themselves in the gentleman's agreement.

It is the irony of the situation that we of the opposition have to request the Congress leaders to set their house in order and implement the agreement which they have reached among themselves. We are not here to fish in troubled waters. In the interest of the unity and integrity of the State, we ask the Congress leaders who are in power : why did you not implement this agreement both in letter and in spirit ? It has established that the surplus of Telengana has not been properly utilized and the Lalit Kumar verdict is there. Similarly, many other injustices have been done to Telengana. Even the clause about Deputy Chief Ministership they followed only for two years. They would not have lost anything by following that convention. Another Congress member from Telengana area would have become the Deputy Chief Minister. Even if there is no such provision in the agreement, in the interest of emotional integration of that area, the Chief Minister should have requested a colleague of his own party from the Telengana area to be the Deputy Chief Minister. That would have gone a very long way towards emotional integration. Even that is denied.

Not only this, the overbearing attitude and the air of superiority shown by high Andhra officers and Andhra landlords, who have recently bought many pieces of land there, looking down upon the Telengana people who are economically and culturally very backward, all these things also aggravated this and from the agitation to safeguards they went to the extent of demanding separation because they have lost all confidence in the present government. Not only was there economic development not taken up but this attitude also aggravated the situation.

I am not going into the details. What is the solution to set right these matters ? Firstly all the surplus funds-Rs. 34 crores are declared and Rs. 30 crores or 20 crores are still to be declared-whatever agreement we come to, should be spent in the next five years in the Telengana area according to the proposals and decisions of the regional committee. The annual surplus revenue also should be spent according to the decisions and proposals of the regional committee.

A special department should be set up under the aegis of a Telengana Minister and a Secretary and staff should also be appointed under him to look into how all these things are being implemented. An audit cell should also be set up in the Accountant General's Office to supervise all these things, as to how allotments are spent, whether they are properly spent or not.

Our Chief Minister may be promising every district of Telengana 1 crore rupees for development but people are asking "Where is the money ?" The Centre also is not giving; the State has also gone bankrupt and it is not allowed to draw overdraft. There is no money. Therefore this farce of prohibition should be ended there. Over the last 12 years we are deficit by Rs. 240 crores. Every year we would have got Rs. 20 crores if there was no prohibition in Andhra area. An area which has introduced prohibition has lost Rs. 240 crores and an area which has not introduced it has got surplus and we have to pay it now. So, the Congress Party should allow the State to scrap prohibition or should give more assistance in order to see that Telengana is given their surplus money back.

But how to solve the economic development question ? There should be structural changes. As there is mistrust and there is no confidence in the present ministry, they are not in a position to believe whatever is said. So, a change of government is the prerequisite for anything to be done. The Chief Minister should be persuaded in the interest of the State to step down and give place to a person from Telengana area. That will lead to emotional integration. Our experience has been told to the House by

[Shri Eswara Reddy]

the hon. Member, Shri Venkatasubbaiah, as to how with Shri Sanjiva Reddy who hails from Rayalaseema area 'owing as Deputy Chief Minister in Andhra State there was to some extent emotional integration in Andhra State though nothing had been done to alleviate the condition of Rayalaseema. So, a Telengana minister should head the State and Shri Brahmanand Reddy should be persuaded to step down. If it is not possible, the Centre and the Congress party, all should come together and take necessary steps towards this end, because Andhra Pradesh was not created for Shri Brahmanand Reddy but it was created for the people.

Our Prime Minister is reported to have said that separation of Telengana will have repercussions throughout India. I am glad that she realised it. But what is the use of swearing by unity and integrity of Andhra Pradesh and not doing anything to get that unity and integrity? If they fail to give a political solution because of factional game that is running right in the State Congress party and then, failing this, if they want to have a military solution, we will not allow it. You should understand this. Andhra people, Telengana people, are against the use of army. We will not allow army there. You should seriously think over this and see that the separation is not there. Let the Centre intervene and see that the Andhra Pradesh is united not only for the sake of Andhra Pradesh but in the interest of the whole of India. That is my request.

MR. SPEAKER : Shrimati Lakshmi-kanthamma.

SHRI M. N. REDDY : I just want to submit one thing. I may be called immediately after her. I want to speak while Opposition leaders are there.....

MR. SPEAKER : Yesterday, we had pleasure of hearing you. Let us see.

SHRI M. N. REDDY : It is all a Congress view-point. They are under discipline. They may not put the whole thing in the right perspective. What is the use of stereotyped speeches in a general

and vague manner? I do not think it serves any purpose. I spoke yesterday on legal aspect and thereby helped the Home Minister.

MR. SPEAKER : I don't mind if you sit till 9 O'clock. I have no objection. Let us see.

19.12 hrs.

[MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER *in the Chair*]

श्रीमती लक्ष्मीकान्थम्मा (स्वम्मम) : अध्यक्ष महोदय, श्री रंगा साहब तेलंगाना के उद्योगों के बारे में एक लिस्ट पढ़ रहे थे। मैं कहना चाहती हूँ कि तेलंगाना यहां भी पिछड़ा हुआ है। यहां प्रपोजीशन के लीडर आंध्र के हैं, स्पीकर साहब आंध्र के हैं, चीफ व्हिप आंध्र के हैं और डिप्टी चीफ व्हिप भी आंध्र के हैं। यह भी देखिये कि चीफ व्हिप ने शुरू में मेरा नाम भी बोलने वालों के लिए नहीं भेजा था।

(उपाध्यक्ष महोदय पीठासीन हुए)

उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, यह तेलंगाना की समस्या मली मांति सदस्यों के ध्यान में नहीं आई है या यों कहिये कि तेलंगाना की समस्या से सदस्यों को मली मांति परिचित नहीं कराया गया है। तेलंगाना की समस्या यह है कि वह एक पिछड़ा हुआ प्रांत है और उसकी उन्नति के लिये विशेष ध्यान देना है। तीन योजनाओं के बावजूद भी तेलंगाना बहुत पिछड़ा है। यह एक आर्थिक समस्या है, पिछड़ेपन की समस्या है, रोजगार व विकास की समस्या है। इस का राज्य की रचना या पुनर्रचना का कोई सम्बन्ध नहीं होना चाहिए। इसे राजनीतिक नारे बाजी से अलग रक्खा जाये। भाषा के आधार पर राज्यों की जो पुनर्रचना हुई है उस के विरोध में कई लोग तब भी थे, अब भी हैं और आगे भी रहेंगे। परन्तु प्रशासन सुविधा की दृष्टि से और जनतंत्र की दृष्टि से यह पुनर्रचना अवश्य सफल हुई है यह मेरा विश्वास है और असंख्यजनों का विश्वास है।

इसलिए इस मामले में पुनर्विचार करने का कोई प्रश्न ही उपस्थित नहीं होता। इस बारे में गृह मंत्री की घोषणा अत्यन्त सराहनीय और उपयुक्त होगी।

ग्राम्य जन महोदय इस समय यहां विराजमान नहीं हैं वरना मैं उन को यह स्मरण दिलाती कि जब से उन्होंने आंध्र प्रदेश के प्रथम मुख्य मंत्री की हैसियत से 1956 में राज्य की बागडोर सम्भाली थी तब से ही राज्य में प्रगति का रास्ता खुल गया था तभी तेलंगाना के पिछड़े हुए इलाके के हित में कुछ बातों में समझौता किया गया जो जेंटिलमैन एग्रीमेंट के नाम से याद किया जाता है। बल्कि राज्य सरकार की तरफ से सरकारी नौकरियों तथा आर्थिक विकास के सम्बन्ध में जो आश्वासन दिये गये थे वे पूर्ण रूप से पूरे नहीं हुए। मेरी समझ में तेलंगाना की समस्या का हल प्रदेश के बटवारे से नहीं होगा, तेलंगाना के पूर्ण रूप से विकास से होगा।

यह ध्यान देने की बात है कि किसी भी राजनीतिक दल ने यह नहीं कहा, और यह ठीक भी नहीं है, कि तेलंगाना की समस्या का समाधान प्रदेश के बटवारे से सम्भव है। तेलंगाना में यह आन्दोलन केवल आज ही नहीं शुरू हुआ, बल्कि आंध्र प्रदेश के बनने के तीन साल बाद ही वहां की रीजनल कमेटी ने यह आवाज उठाई कि तेलंगाना के साथ आर्थिक विकास के सम्बन्ध में न्याय नहीं हो रहा है, और तब आंध्र सरकार ने गवर्नमेंट की तरफ से व्हाइट पेपर आन तेलंगाना के द्वारा क्लेरिफिकेशन निकाला। परन्तु दुःख है कि सरकार के व्हाइट पेपर के बावजूद पहले जो आश्वासन दिया गया था उसे पूरा नहीं किया गया। बारह साल के बाद, आन्ध्र के फार्मेशन के तीन साल बाद जो आन्दोलन शुरू हुआ था, वह फिर तीव्र हो गया।

इस सम्बन्ध में आन्ध्र प्रदेश के मुख्य मंत्री ने सभी राजनीतिक दलों का एक सम्मेलन

बुलाया। उसे मैं उचित समझती हूँ। वास्तव में तेलंगाना की समस्या का समाधान इस बात से नहीं होगा कि आन्दोलन को और तीव्र किया जाये। बल्कि वह इस से होगा कि सभी लोग ठंढे दिल से बैठ कर सोचें कि आन्ध्र प्रदेश कहीं भंग न हो जाये और तेलंगाना के लोग उस हल से सन्तुष्ट हो जायें।

19 जनवरी को जो एक समझौता सभी पार्टियों के प्रतिनिधियों की राय से हुआ, उस पर सभी लोगों की सहमति है। यदि ईमानदारी से उस का पालन करने दिया जाता तो शायद आज की यह स्थिति पैदा नहीं होती। पर दुर्भाग्यवश की बात है कि इस के विरुद्ध सुप्रीम कोर्ट में रिट कर दिया गया, और उस के फंसले से समझौते का एक प्रमुख भाग रद्द हो गया। इस प्रकार की स्थिति से तेलंगाना के निवासियों में निराशा बढ़ी जिस का परिणाम आज आप के सामने है।

प्रदेश की सरकार ने केन्द्र से यह निवेदन किया कि वह संविधान में इस प्रकार का संशोधन करे ताकि तेलंगाना के निवासियों को दिया गया आश्वासन पूरा किया जा सके। संविधान में संशोधन तभी सम्भव है जब पार्लियामेंट का हर दल इस में सहयोग दे। मैं सभी दल के सदस्यों से अपील करती हूँ कि वे इस कार्य में दिल से सहायता करें। यदि ऐसा होगा तभी तेलंगाना के प्रति आप की सहानुभूति सच्ची मानी जायेगी। यदि आप ने ऐसा नहीं किया तो इस का मतलब होगा कि आप की सहानुभूति केवल मौखिक है।

मैं केन्द्रीय सरकार से भी कहना चाहती हूँ कि यदि वे सच्चे माने में तेलंगाना की समस्या को हल करना चाहती है तो वह आन्ध्र प्रदेश के चीफ मिनिस्टर ने जो वक्तव्य 24 मार्च, 1969 को दिया है उसे कार्य-रूप में परिणत करने में सहायता करे। यही नहीं मैं हर कांग्रेसी तथा विरोधी दलों के लोगों से भी

[श्रीमती लक्ष्मीकान्तम्मा]

अपील करती हूँ कि वे इस बात का ईमानदारी से प्रयास करें कि तेलंगाना की समस्या समझीते से हल हो। इसके प्रतिकूल कोई भी कार्य तेलंगाना सम्बन्धी आन्दोलन को तीव्र करने में ही सहायक होगा। तेलंगाना की जनता के साथ खिलवाड़ तथा उनके हितों के खिलाफ वह कार्य जाएगा।

मैं चाहती हूँ कि सभी लोग मिलकर इस इस बात का प्रयत्न करें कि तेलंगाना की समस्या शान्तिपूर्ण तरीके से हल हो। यह नारा लगा कर कि भ्रांघ्र के मुख्य मंत्री को अपने पद से हट जाना चाहिये, लोग स्थिति को खराब कर रहे हैं। ईश्वरा रेड्डी साहब ने इसी तरह की बात कही है। यह उचित नहीं है। मेरी समझ में नहीं आता है कि इस तरह के नारों से इस समस्या का हल कैसे सम्भव हो सकेगा। जरूरत इस बात की है कि इस प्रकार के पग उठाये जायें ताकि तेलंगाना का चतुर्मुखी विकास हो। यदि ऐसा न हुआ तो मुख्य मंत्री यदि तेलंगाना का भी दुश्मन तो भी जनता का कोई लाभ नहीं होगा।

एक अपील मैं समाचारपत्रों से भी करना चाहती हूँ। मैं चाहती हूँ कि स्थिति को सम्भालने में वे अपना योगदान दें। विद्यार्थियों से भी मेरी अपील है कि वे इस प्रकार का ब्यवहार करें जिससे तेलंगाना की समस्या सुलभ सके, उसका समाधान आसान बन सके

श्रीमती अयाबेन शाह (अमरेली) : जब कोई हिन्दी में इस तरह से बोलने का प्रयास करे तो उसको आपकी थोड़ा ज्यादा समय देना चाहिये। अंग्रेजी में वह बोलती तो दस मिनट में अपनी बात कह सकती थीं। लेकिन अगर उन्होंने हिन्दी में अपनी बात कहने की कोशिश की है तो जरा कठिनाई हुई है और अगर ऐसा कोई करता है तो उसको आपकी ओर से ज्यादा समय मिलना चाहिये।

SHRI P. RAMAMURTI (Madurai) : Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, the events that have been happening in Telengana during the last two months have brought to the focus not only this particular issue of not keeping up the agreement solemnly entered into with the people of Telengana but it raises a broader and more fundamental issue. And that issue is the attitude of this Government, not only the State of Andhra but the entire Central Government towards the problem of development of backward areas. It is a very basic question and I do not want to dwell very much on it, I have already dwelt on it when I was speaking sometime ago.

19.24 hrs.

[MR. SPEAKER in the Chair]

It is absolutely clear that so long as this Government follows the present policy of developing in this country big monopoly capital and perpetuating feudal relations in agriculture, it will not be able to bring to bear that outlook on this problem which alone will lead to a permanent solution of the basic problem facing this country. That is a fundamental question. But here take this question of Telangana. I know before 1946 the people of Telangana started what is called Andhra Maha Sabha. It was not started in the other area but the people of Telangana took to the Andhra Maha Sabha in 1940-41 and the Andhra Maha Sabha developed and their main aim was Vishalandhra. That is what I was pointing out. When they were fighting the Nizam, they inscribed this slogan on their banner. At the time of the formation of the linguistic States the States Reorganisation Commission did not accept that demand. It literally refused to accept that demand. They said :

“We understand that the leaders of the existing Andhra State may be prepared to provide adequate safeguards to protect the interests of Telengana in the event of its integration in Vishalandhra. These safeguards may take the form of a guarantee (presumably on the lines of Sri Baug Pact between Rayalaseema and Coastal Andhra...”

Sri Baug was the residence of the late Deshauddaraya Nageswara Rao Pantulu. The pact was entered into between the leaders of the coastal Andhra and Rayalaseema region in order to facilitate formation of Andhra State. They referred to that. Having accepted that they said, even this will not solve it and they rejected it. I must say to the credit of Telengana people that, in spite of this categorical rejection of the States Reorganisation Commission they accepted the gentleman's agreement. They accepted these safeguards and they said it is better for us to be in this State. Now, today, after 12 years when they find that their hopes have been belied, a tremendous agitation takes place. But, if this is the case with regard to the solemn undertakings given, what will be the fate of other people where there are no safeguards? This is the real question. This is the basic question. We have to understand the basic attitude of the Government towards this problem. Here is an area which is politically backward, economically and in other respects, backward; and this is the basic question which is involved here. I have no hope that as long as this Government exists this problem will be solved. I am absolutely certain about it. But we have got to find a solution for the immediate problem. What is the problem? Unfortunately, there are certain forces operating inside the Congress party. The Chief Minister is there. Against the Chief Minister there are forces arrayed from inside the Congress party, not from outside. Mr. Chenna Reddy, Mr. this Reddy and that Reddy is there, so many Reddy's are there and I don't know all the names. They are all arrayed. This gentleman Mr. Brahmananda Reddy has been sitting there on a volcano, all along not knowing that he has been sitting on a volcano. He has been absolutely complacent about the situation. And he thought, probably, after getting rid of you, Sir, his position is absolutely safe. He tried to get rid of certain persons, but they joined together and we are today faced with this situation.

I think my hon. friend Shri Ranga read those extracts regarding the number of officers. What does it show? It shows that the majority of the Congress was there and the Telengana ministers were there in

majority and it was thought that by giving them Ministerships this problem can be solved. But this problem could not be solved. This is a fundamental question. It could not be solved. There are so many other factors inside their own party, various other vested interests, non-Andhra vested interests who were there in Hyderabad and who were operating all the time. All these factors are there. We have to find a solution to this problem. But how to find the solution? Even though it is a temporary solution, we should find such a solution so that these democratic forces come to their own and this diversionary aspect is completely removed and people begin to look at this problem from an objective angle, from a realistic angle. That is what I am more interested in. How can it be done?

Now, certain suggestions were made. What is the wonderful suggestion which Mr. Ranga made? The only suggestion was an all-party Government there. I don't know if he accepts. Then, what is the use of the constructive suggestion? That is the only constructive suggestion that he made. The other constructive suggestion he made was, remove those imbeciles. Is that what you agree with? Anyway, Sir, the problem is there. How are we to create confidence in the people? That is the basic question. Somebody referred to the agreement that Shri Brahmananda Reddy had with leaders of the opposition parties and congress party. That does not solve the problem. You have to face facts. In spite of the assurance which Shri Brahmananda Reddy got from the leaders of the opposition inside the Andhra Assembly this problem has not been solved. The basic question is this. Here is a gentleman who is allergic to some people. He would not meet some people. There are people inside the Congress party itself in Andhra, M. L. As., who will go and agree with the Chief Minister, but they will come back again and tell the people: 'No, you go ahead with your movement'. They will come out and tell the Opposition leaders all sorts of things—I do not want to use the language I have heard. So long as this problem is there, you will not be able to create confidence. Suggestions are made that the Central Government should

[Shri P. Ramamurti]

give the guarantee. Why should they do it now ? Central Government has been there for 12 long years and then the Central Government was found to be wanting. Why should Central Government guarantee with any statement that they may make today ? I will be happy if those people accept it. The question is that the people may not accept any declaration made even by the Central Government that these guarantees should be kept. That is the basic question. Therefore, in all humility, I would suggest that it is for the Congress Party to look at the problem not from any narrow angle of Party point of view, but to look at the problem from the point of view of the basic issues involved, namely, the integration of the State itself, and to see that the forces of disintegration do not set in because if they set in there will be a chain reaction in a number of other States. If you want to avoid it, the best thing is to get that gentleman to resign. But that itself will not solve the problem. Even if you make a Telengana man the Chief Minister, that itself will not solve the problem. Along with that, those people have got to be given some confidence and that confidence can come if the entire Parliament—the entire Opposition and the Government together sit together and go before the people of Telengana and enter into a dialogue with them. That is the basic question. Today we are talking at them. The Chief Minister Shri Brahmananda Reddy is talking at them and these people are talking at him with the result there is on dialogue between the Chief Minister and these people, there is no dialogue between the Central Government and these people and there is no dialogue between them and us inside the Parliament. Therefore, I would respectfully suggest that along with this we should form a Committee of Parliament. Let the Government at least agree to that. Let it not be treated as their own problem. Today the entire Parliament has got to come to save the Government from the situation. Therefore, let there be a Committee of Parliament and let that Committee go to Telengana and have a dialogue with all the Parties there. Many of them may not be members of the Congress Party. Some ordinary

people have come up. Let us create confidence in them and on that basis find out how exactly their aspirations can be fulfilled, and how confidence can be created. I would, therefore, request the Government to at least accept these two things. Otherwise, if the Government consider this as a question of prestige, then your prestige will be no where and the situation will further worsen and ultimately you will be forced to deal with the situation militarily and militarily this problem cannot be solved.

MR. SPEAKER : Now I will appeal to the Congress friends to allow me to call Shri M. N. Reddy and Shri T. Viswanatham, both of whom belong to the Independent Group. One is from Telengana and the other is from Andhra. They do not belong to any particular Party and therefore it will be to the benefit of the House if we hear them.

SHRI TENNETI VISWANATHAM (Visakhapatnam) : It is really a sad day on which people of my age have to stand here and talk about a problem on which not only we from Andhra Pradesh but everybody in the country are exercised. We Andhras are said originally to be the children of Viswamitra. Then we seem to have crossed the Vindhya and settled somewhere down in this country in a place called the Andhra Valley and then travelled along the river to the East Coast near Godavari and also along the Krishna. Because of three important jyotirlingas at Sri Sinlam, Kalahaks and Draksharana they were known as Trilingas which later on became Telugus. I belong to Telengana. Now I am galled an Andhra for purposes of debate. My surname is Tenetti from the village name of Tenneru in Telengana. The surnames of many people living in Andhra area are bearing the names of villages on Godavari or Krishna rivers at their upper reaches. Though we are from the East Coast, we sing the heroism of Rudrama Devi and we sing the heroism of Kakatiyas who ruled Warrangal. As a student, when I went to Warrangal, and its dilapidated fort, I collected a bit of old plaster. I still retain it as a memento. The only other piece of plaster I collected was from Chi-

ttorgarh. It is places like Warangal and Chittorgarh that inspired us to step into the national movement, inspired our patriotism. It is Warangal which has given one of the greatest Sanskrit books, *Alankar Shastra* by Pratap Rudra. I suppose those with knowledge of Sanskrit know it. It is from that area that Bhakt Ram Das came; it is from there that Bhakt Potana, who has written Bhagavatham, which is said to excel even Vyasa's Bhagavatham, came.

This is our heritage. It is not the heritage of this area or that area. It is the heritage of the whole Telugu people. The Kakatiya dynasty was there long ago. The last of them was short dead two or three years ago at Bastar, over which Parliament had a discussion.

Then we come to the Krishnadevaraya period. Krishnadevaraya was one of the great rulers. The French writer who travelled through India at that time had said that Krishnadevaraya was one of the first in rank of the emperors who existed during those days. It is from that area, which is now called Rayalaseema, that Shayanacharya, the greatest commentator on the Vedas, came. This is our heritage, the heritage of what is called Rayalaseema area, the heritage also of the Telugu people.

Then we travelled along the rivers. Sometimes there were years of drought. It was said that even in Kashi, there was continuous drought and Vyasa had to travel south to Draksharana. But we expanded from the Andhra Valley right up to the east coast. It was all Telugu people. Whether the ruler was Hindu or Muslim, we were all Telugu people. Then the 18th century came. By 1765, the East India Company grew a little strong. They were building their forts. Foolishly, we used to invite them, give them money, give them concessions, spend our own money to build forts for them. In 1765, they went to the Nizam and said 'On the east coast, we are not free to go where we like. Therefore, lease us that area'. This way the Northern Circars came to be parcelled out. He was unwilling at first, but then the company brought him chiming clocks, lots of liquor

bottles backed by 600 soldiers. The Nizam leased us away, sold us for a song.

The East India Company did not keep quiet even then. It went on instigating the Nizam against Mysore, Mysore against Maharashtra, Maharashtra against Mysore. It kept its own accounts and later produced them before the Nizam and asked him to pay the money. The Nizam said, 'I have no money'. 'All right, give us some of territory'. He gave away those districts, which are now the Ceded Districts of Rayalaseema. This was in 1801 or 1802. We again became further divided.

Luckily, thanks to Mahatma Gandhi, thanks to the great fight which we put up, independence came. Those of us who were divided became reunited. We made further efforts in 1956 and we again became united.

MR. SPEAKER : It is very interesting. But as time is limited, let him come to the present.

SHRI TENNETI VISWANATHAM : Whenever you feel I should sit down, just tell me.

MR. SPEAKER : I do not want him to sit down before coming to the present day.

SHRI TENNETI VISWANATHAM : The present is rooted in the past. The future must be rooted in the present. Having been separated for 200 years, we became reunited. Today how can we say that we should divide ourselves again? If there is division, what is the consequence? The consequence is that there will be so many other demands in the whole country. Therefore, if I ventured to go a little back into history, it was because that the present was based upon the past, upon the same cultural heritage and tradition. This should continue and that is my plea.

Long before Andhra was formed, Orissa had been formed in 1936; Sind had been formed in 1936. Then came the great sacrifice of Amerajeevi Potti Srimamulu and Andhra was formed. By that time, the Vishal Andhra movement was very strong in Andhra as well as in the present so-called

[Shri Tenneti Viswanatham]

Telengana. But, it took a little time as Fazl Ali was ill. Then came the reorganisation of States in 1956. We were an undeveloped area and we had to divide ourselves from Madras. It is this undeveloped area that had to join or combine with another undeveloped area called Telengana. That is how in 1956 two undeveloped areas were combined. An impression is gained that in 1956 Andhra was prosperous and Telengana was not prosperous and these Andhra people created some trouble. We were both undeveloped. The present annual income at the Centre is nearly 3700 crores, The total income for twelve years in Andhra Pradesh, Telengana plus Andhra area, put together in just less than Rs. 2,100 crores. If you asked the Chief Minister, he will tell you : I had to distribute my poverty between the two in the proportion of 2:1 as was agreed in the general agreement. But how does it help ? Because when the feeling of grievance appeared in Telengana, it was his duty to see that feeling was removed. In the first four years after the formation of Andhra, there was surplus of Rs. 22 crores. It was not as if these things were discovered by the Accountant-General now. Year after year, in the budgets it is published that the Andhra income is so much and Andhra expenditure is so much and Telengana income is so much and expenditure is so much. In 1959 an agreement in consultation with the regional council was arrived at about the way in which this money should be spent; appropriations and credits were according to these principles. It is true that out of the total expenditure of Rs. 2100 crores over twelve years some distortions came about; they should not have come. If a person of my type had been there-I do not boast myself; I do not think I am immodest-I would have struck to the formula of the gentleman's agreement and seen that not a single pie of the Telengana area was spent on this side. But the accounts are clear. The gentleman's agreement was that money should be spent only in Telengana. In sixty to sixty two, the Deputy Chief Minister was one of the stalwarts of Telengana area. The Finance Secretary has been a Telengana gentleman till two years ago; Even now a

non-Andhra, non Telengana man is Finance Secretary. They were all there. When there was need for incurring some expenditure, instead of borrowing from the Centre or from the public they were using the surplus; there was acquiescence. There were sometimes protests too but they were answered and those answers are not before us, The reports of the regional committees are secret and what answers the Government gave, we do not know. But year after year in the budgets we used to see the total receipts and total expenditure and the surplus and all that. Supposing Mr. Brahmamand Reddi is brought to the bar of Parliament and he says : All right, I am giving them all this and one were to ask : where from do you give ? and he replies : I am going to get some money for the Fourth Plan and I shall set apart their Rs 34 or 40 or 42 crores for their expenditure. Then he has taken certain steps but too late, but the confidence has gone. When confidence has gone, what is to be done ? The gentleman must create conditions in which--

AN HON. MEMBER : How ?

SHRI TENNETI VISWANATHAM : He must create conditions in which confidence can grow again in the Government. How ? Some friends have said, and some other friends are unwilling to say what they have in their mind--

AN HON. MEMBER : Even you; spell that out.

SHRI TENNETI VISWANATHAM : I ? That is my way of talking. Now, if I am not disclosing any secret, I approached the Home Minister nearly two months ago and told him, "Things are not so good as you imagine. Because Mr. Brahmamand Reddy has got a powerful majority in the Assembly, you say 'Everything is all right' But we outsiders who do not belong to any party but who belong to the people go out and we see it. You step in. After all, ultimately, you are the final arbiter. In the SRC Rules, there is your responsibility. Kindly do it." Of course, the Home Minister has got his own difficulties. He is ruling the entire country and things have been going about in their own way. My own

belief is, if Mr. Brahmananda Reddy took steps which he has taken now, if he had taken those steps in the month of November last, perhaps things would have been much better. Perhaps this trouble would not have arisen. If the Central Government had stepped in as soon as the trouble arose, in the last week of January or in the first week of February, to discharge their responsibility under the SRC rules, without waiting for some request from Hyderabad, perhaps things would have been much better. But today, as our friends have said, it is a crisis of confidence. There is no use saying, "No, no; we do not believe in the change of leadership." When a national crisis comes, when a change of leadership is necessary, if a change of leadership could restore confidence in the people who have lost confidence, there is nothing wrong in doing it. As I said, we are a nation which is noted for self-sacrifice: Sibi was born in this country; Harischandra was born in this country. There is nothing wrong in a man trying to set right matters by bringing in other elements or by stepping out and giving place for other elements. After all, he is not going anywhere. He is coming to a higher place here. He is not resigning; he is still wielding a majority. It is not as if he is a defeated man. But he is not able to create that confidence in the people whose destinies are placed in his hands. And he is not able to create or restore that confidence. He has taken a number of measures; and he has actually done them. But even what he has done is not believed nowadays. They have completely lost confidence in a man whom I like; I am very sorry to say so. But the Centre must take the responsibility. If it is a question of replacement, he must willingly do it. He is a strong man, But a strong man can invite somebody and say, "under my aegis you do these things." Sometime ago, some Members a few days ago-if I may strike a personal note-the Members of Parliament from Andhra Pradesh met together, and they requested you to bring together, gather all the loose ends and bring together all the differing elements and all the differing elements within the Congress rank, and if they are all brought together, something could perhaps be done. I do not say

that cannot be done. God willing, it could be done; bring all the Congress elements together. They are in a majority there. And in this process, even the Opposition will help you, help the Congress party, because we are more interested in the uniform development, in the integrity and in the prosperity of Andhra Pradesh, in the name of Andhra Pradesh which has been besmirched today.

Thank you very much.

MR. SPEAKER : Shri Madhu Limaye has returned today from Hyderabad. I think we should hear him also.

श्री मधु लिमये (मुंगेर). अध्यक्ष महोदा, आज की बहस का श्री सरकार के रवैये का मेरे मन पर असर हुआ है कि इस मामले की गम्भीरता को हम लोग नहीं समझ रहे हैं। मामला बहुत दूर तक जा पड़चा है और अगर बुनियादी बात में हम नहीं जायेंगे तो हो सकता है कि जो आज तेलंगाना में घट रहा है, समूचे देश में कल को घटे।

राज्य पुनर्रचना का जो चक्र है वह तेलुगु भाषा भाषियों ने चलाया था आज से करीब पंद्रह सोलह साल पहले। आज मैं इस बात को ले कर चिन्तित और परेशान हूँ कि क्या तेलुगु इलाके से ही इसके विघटन का नया चक्र तो शुरू होने वाला नहीं है? कटु सत्य यह है कि हमने तीन पंचवर्षीय योजनाओं को पूरा कर लिया। प्लानिंग कमिशन बर्गरह भी है। लेकिन बीस इक्कीस साल पहले जो असन्तुलन विभिन्न राज्यों में और विभिन्न प्रदेशों में था, जो अंग्रेजों से विरासत में मिला था वह असन्तुलन बीस साल की आर्थिक नीतियों और योजनाओं के बाद भी कम नहीं हुआ। उदाहरण के लिए बिहार उड़ीसा को आप लें। वहां जो फी व्यक्ति आमदनी है उसको लें। कुछ राज्यों की आमदनी से वहां की फी व्यक्ति आमदनी आधी से भी कम है। उसी तरह से हर राज्य के

[श्री मधु लिमये]

अन्दर ऐसे इलाके हैं जिन की ग्रामदनी भी जो विकसित इलाके हैं उन से आधी से भी कम है। जो राज्य पुनर्रचना का काम हुआ भाषा के आधार पर इस में जैसे कि अभी विश्वनाथन साहब ने कहा, केवल यह आंध्र की बात नहीं थी, बल्कि जो इलाके अलग अलग सूबों और शासनों के तहत रह रहे थे उन को हम लोगों ने इकट्ठा किया। उसका नतीजा यह हुआ कि कुछ तनाव उत्पन्न हुआ; उसके बारे में हम लोगों ने गहराई में जा कर नहीं सोचा।

यहां पर कहा गया है और इस बहस का एक निष्कर्ष यह भी निकाला जाता है और सब लोग इस बात को ले कर मुतफिक हैं कि वर्तमान नेतृत्व को हटना चाहिये, ब्रह्मानन्द रेड्डी की सरकार को बरखास्त किया जाना चाहिये। इस बारे में दो रायें नहीं होगी। लेकिन मेरा कहना यह है कि ब्रह्मानन्द रेड्डी साहब के हटने के बाद और तेलंगाना के किसी व्यक्ति को मुख्य मंत्री बनाने के बाद क्या यह जो तनाव और संघर्ष है इस पर हम काबू पा सकेंगे ?

अभी महाराष्ट्र की बात बताई गई है। 1962 के बाद लगातार सात साल तक वहां विदभं और नागपुर इलाके के मुख्य मंत्री रहे हैं। लेकिन जब कृषि विश्वविद्यालय का मामला खड़ा हो गया तो हम लोगों ने देखा कि एक दम आग लग गई पूरे विदभं इलाके को। फिर भी महाराष्ट्र के राजनीतिक दलों ने और सरकारी पार्टी ने भी इस भावना की कद्र करते हुए यह फैसला किया कि विदभं को कृषि विश्वविद्यालय दे दो। लेकिन कोई भी नहीं कह सकता है कि मुख्य मंत्री बनने से विशिष्ट इलाके के इन मामलों को हम हल कर पायेंगे।

मैंने हैदराबाद में पता लगाया है कि आज तेलंगाना में पचास हजार प्रोजेक्ट्स हैं जिनको

रोजगार नहीं है। बेकार लोगों के नाम दर्ज करने के जो केन्द्र हैं उन में पच्चीस हजार लोगों ने अपने नाम दर्ज करवा रखे हैं। यह बेकारी की समस्या अग्रर रहेगी तो कुछ नतीजे निश्चित रूप से उसके निकलेगें। मुझे ऐसा लगता है यह जो आन्दोलन चल रहा है इसके बारे में शहरों से भी ज्यादा तीव्र भावना देहातों में है। यह आन्दोलन किसी राजनीतिक दल की शरारत नहीं है। अभी तक आंध्र के किसी भी राजनीतिक दल ने, अखिल भारतीय दल ने, पृथक तेलंगाना राज्य के हक में अपनी राय नहीं दी है। फिर भी क्या वजह है कि आग फैल रही है ? मुझे लगता है कुछ बेकार और कुछ ऐसे लोग जिन को बढ़ोतरी वगैरह नहीं मिली है नौकरी में और ये नए नए लड़के होते हैं, छात्रों के साथ इनका सम्बन्ध रहता है और इन्हीं लोगों ने इस आन्दोलन को फंलाया है।

भाषावार राज्य जो बने वे क्यों बने ? हम कहते थे कि यह लोकतांत्रिक मांग है और भाषावार राज्य बनने के बाद जनता की बोलचाल की भाषा में शासन का काम काज चलेगा। लेकिन हुआ इसके बिल्कुल उलट। जन भाषाओं की जगह पर अंग्रेजी का बोल बाला बढ़ा है। अगर आप गहराई में जायेंगे तो देखेंगे कि तेलंगाना के लोग उर्दू वाले या हिन्दी वाले तेलुगु वाले थे, उन से आंध्र के लोग ज्यादा अंग्रेजी पढ़े लिखे थे। इसलिए जब अंग्रेजी शासन का माध्यम बनी रही तो उनको इससे लाभ हुआ। आज भी यह एक खेद की बात और है।

आन्ध्र प्रदेश की विधान सभा में मैंने सुना है कि बहुत सारे लोग अंग्रेजी में भाषण करते हैं। यही पहलू है कि जिसको लेकर तेलंगाना के लोगों पर यह असर पड़ा है कि हमारी तो कोई सुनवाई ही नहीं होती है। इस लिये मैं यह अर्ज कर रहा था कि वहां की जनता के अन्दर विकास की भूख जगी है, शिक्षा की प्यास जगी है। लोगों को, युवकों

को रोजगार चाहिये, शिव सेना के पीछे जो भावना है, वही भावना इस समय समूचे हिन्दुस्तान में काम कर रही है और उस का एक मात्र कारण है कि संतुलित विकास की ओर केन्द्र सरकार ने और योजना कमिशन ने ध्यान नहीं दिया। सब से महत्वपूर्ण बात यह है कि हमारे देश में विकास की गति, आर्थिक विकास की गति अत्ररुद्ध हो गई है। आप पहली दो पंचवर्षीय योजनाओं को ले लीजिये—इस काल में साधारण तौर पर प्रति वर्ष सिर्फ 4 या साढ़े चार प्रतिशत का राष्ट्रीय आमदनी में इजाफ़ा हुआ है और तीसरी योजना में तो यह और भी कम हो गई है—मुश्किल से साढ़े तीन प्रतिशत का इजाफ़ा हुआ है। मान लीजिये कि अगर हमारी आर्थिक नीति ऐसी रहती जिससे 7-8 या 9 प्रतिशत का राष्ट्रीय आमदनी में इजाफ़ा होता, मैं यह तो नहीं कहता कि उस से सारी समस्या खत्म हो जाती, लेकिन उस की तीव्रता निश्चित रूप से कम हो जाती। तो घूम फिर कर मामला वहीं आता है—क्या इस असंतुलन को खत्म करने के लिये, आर्थिक विकास की गति में तेजी लाने के लिये, कोई व्यापक योजना हमारे पास है? यह दीर्घकालीन नीति हुई।

तात्कालिक दृष्टि से मुझे यह कहना है कि हमारे संविधान की एक विचित्र बात है—दुनिया में सब से लम्बा—चौड़ा संविधान हमारा है। हर चीज के बारे में उस में धारार्य हैं—नतीजा यह हुआ है कि हमारे संविधान में कोई लचोलापन नहीं रहा। हर मामूली एडजस्टमेंट के लिये हम को संविधान में परिवर्तन करना पड़ता है। संविधान में परिवर्तन का मतलब हुआ—दो तिहाई बहुमत होना चाहिये। आसाम बिल पर जो कुछ हुआ, आपने देखा। दिन-प्रति-दिन यह बात बहुत मुश्किल होती चली जा रही है और भविष्य में और ज्यादा मुश्किल होने वाली है।

इस समय हम तेलंगाना की ही बात को

ले लें—आन्ध्र के दायरे के अन्दर अगर तेलंगाना की जनता की आकांक्षाओं को पूरा करना है तो संविधान में कुछ परिवर्तन करना पड़ेगा, लेकिन वह मुश्किल है और अलग तेलंगाना का राज्य बनाना हमारे संविधान में सब से आसान है। आप संविधान की धारा 2, 3 और 4 को देखिये—उस में कहते हैं कि अलग राज्य बनाने से अगर अनुसूचि में, जो लिस्ट राज्यों की है, उस में परिवर्तन होता है या चुनाव सम्बन्धी धाराओं में परिवर्तन होता है तो सादे बहुमत से जो कानून बनायेंगे, उन से इन धाराओं में भी परिवर्तन हो सकता है। और एक ही राज्य के अन्दर किसी उपराज्य की या प्रादेशिक स्वायत्तता की कल्पना कार्यान्वित करते हैं तो उस के लिये दो तिहाई बहुमत से परिवर्तन करना पड़ेगा। आज इस बात को बोर्ड न माने, लेकिन हमने और हमारे दल के नेता डा० राम मनोहर लोहिया ने अपनी मौत के पहले इस सदन में कहा था—एक जमाना आयेगा, जब पूरे देश को यह महसूस करना पड़ेगा कि नया संविधान बनाने के लिये बालिग मताधिकार के आधार पर जल्दी ही आपको संविधान बनाने वाली परिपक्वता का निर्माण करना पड़ेगा, वरना यह जो शासन का चक्र है, वह एक दम स्थगित होनेवाला है, यह देश विघटित होनेवाला है, यह बहुत बड़ा सवाल है। इस समय मैं इस चीज पर नहीं बोलूंगा, जब इस का विधेयक आयेगा, तब बोलूंगा, लेकिन मैं यह निवेदन कर रहा था कि हमारे सामने दो ही रास्ते हैं—एक रास्ता यह है कि रिजनल कमेटी के लिये भी संविधान में लिखा हुआ था, 371 धारा में प्रेज़िडेन्शियल आर्डर भी निकला है, लेकिन इस में दो त्रुटियाँ हैं—बजट, विकास, खर्च वगैरह के बारे में अन्तिम निर्णय रिजनल कमेटी का नहीं है, कानून की दृष्टि से विधान सभा का है और अब तक रिजनल कमेटियों के निर्णयों की अवहेलना हुई है। उस की रिपोर्ट हमारे सामने नहीं है, लेकिन 19 ता० का जो करारनामा है, उस

[श्री मधु लिन्से]

में इस बात को कुबूल किया गया है। अब तक जो करारनामे हुए, उन का पालन नहीं हुआ। अब दिक्कत यह है कि प्रादेशिक कमेटी की जो रचना है, उस से तेलगाना की जनता का बिबलकुल सत्तोय नहीं होनेवाला है, तसल्ली नहीं होनेवाली है। तो प्रान्तीय स्वायत्तता या प्रादेशिक स्वायत्तता की जो कल्पना आप आसाम को लेकर सामने लाये हैं, उस को आसाम तक ही क्यों महदूद या सीमित रखना चाहते हैं? आप जब आसाम का बिल लायेंगे तो उसमें कुछ ऐसे अधिार ले लीजिए जिससे पार्लमेन्ट अगर आवश्यक समझे तो उसको क्षेत्रीय या प्रादेशिक स्वायत्तता राज्यों में देने की सुविधा या अधिकार रहे। यह सुभाव आपको मानना चाहिए।

20 hrs.

एक और झंझट है। जो 16 वीं धारा है उसकी तहत, यद्यपि संविधान में परिवर्तन करके किया गया है, अगर कोई राज्य नौकरियों के लिए निवास की शर्त रखे तो उसकी वंघता को सुप्रीम कोर्ट ने संविधान में परिवर्तन होने के कारण उसको कबूल किया है। लेकिन जब यह केस वहां पर आया था तो जैसा मैं ने मुना है, जस्टिस ग्रोवर और जस्टिस सहा जोकि कास्टीट्यूशन बेंच के जज थे, उन्होंने पूछा था कि क्या इसका मतलब यह है कि पंजाब वाले या गुजरात वाले नौकरी नहीं पायेंगे। तो वकील साहब ने कहा कि केवल यही नहीं कि पंजाब वाले और गुजरात वाले नौकरी नहीं पायेंगे बल्कि मुल्की नियम का यह मतलब है कि आंध्र और रायलसीमा वाले भी नहीं पायेंगे। जज लोग परेशान हुए कि एक तो बैसे ही क्षेत्रीयता बढ़ती जा रही है और अगर प्रादेशिक निवास की भी शर्त लगी है तो फिर राज्यों के बाद जिलों में भी यह बात पहुंचेगी। बैसे मुल्की नियम के बारे में मुझे भी प्रसन्नता

नहीं है। मैं साफ कहना चाहता हूँ कि विकास के लिए पैसा खर्च करना, उद्योगीकरण करना और शिक्षा के लिए मौका देना, ये सारी बातें ठीक हैं लेकिन यह मुल्की वाला मामला कहांतक पहुंचेगा, यह समझ में नहीं आता है। आज रोजगार बैसे ही सिकुड़ते जा रहे हैं और इसी के कारण मुल्की वाला मामला बहुत गम्भीर रूप धारण करने लगा है।

इसलिए मैं एक विनम्र निवेदन करूंगा कि जहां वर्तमान नेतृत्व को तो हटाना जरूरी है ही क्योंकि उसके बिना विश्वास पैदा नहीं होगा लेकिन सिर्फ ब्रह्मानन्द रेड्डी की सरकार को बर्खास्त करने से भी यह मामला हल होने वाला नहीं है। दो रास्ते हैं। या तो संविधान में परिवर्तन करके आप प्रादेशिक स्वायत्तता के लिए कोई इन्तजाम कीजिए या अगर सीधे और आपान रास्ते से जाना चाहते हैं तो पृथक राज्य की प्रस्थापना संविधान की धारा 2, 3 और 4 के अन्दर करिये। वरना फिर तेलगाना का मामला कहां रहेगा? सदियों से अलग-अलग शासन में रहने के कारण जिस तरह से वहां अलगाव और तनाव पैदा हो गया है। उसी से इस नयी स्थिति में संघर्ष बढ़ जाने का खतरा उत्पन्न हो गया। पुराने मैसूर राज्य के कुछ लोग जिनसे मेरी बातचीत हुई वे कहते हैं कि हैदराबाद और कर्नाटक के लोग आये और हमारे यहां लिंगायतों का दर्चस्व हो गया। फिर पुराना मैसूर राज्य होगा, तो बहुत अच्छा होगा, लेकिन फिर यह मामला आगे महाराष्ट्र में भी जायेगा, गुजरात और सौराष्ट्र में जायेगा। मध्य प्रदेश तो इतना कृत्रिम राज्य है कि उसको विघटित करने की मांग स्वाभाविक रूप से सामने आयेगी। इस तरह से यह मामला बढ़ता जायेगा। इसलिए मैं चेतावनी देना चाहता हूँ कि गम्भीरता से हम लोग सोचें। कि विघटन के और दूसरे झगड़े चालू हो रहे हैं इसलिए संविधान में लचीलापन लायें। आसाम को लेकर तो आप पराजित हुए हैं। लेकिन मैं तो मानता हूँ कि वह अच्छा

ही हुआ है। अगर इन व्यापक समस्याओं पर सोच कर हम कोई वुनियादी परिवर्तन लायेंगे तो ज्यादा फायदा होगा। आज यही चेतावनी देकर मैं अपना भाषण समाप्त करता हूँ।

श्री गंगा रेड्डी (आदिलाबाद) : एक जवान और एक तमदुन के लोगों के एक रियासत में रहने की गरज से मुल्क की जो लस्सानी बेसिस पर तक्सीम हुई थी उसी के बाद आंध्र प्रदेश बना। उस वक्त तेलंगाना की सेफगाइंस के लिए एक मुआहिदा हुआ था जिसको कि जेंटिलमेन्स एग्रीमेन्ट कहते हैं। उस जेंटिलमेन्स एग्रीमेन्ट में मानी हुई शरायत पर भ्रमलाचारी न होने की वजह से ही आज वहां पर यह एजिटेशन हो रहा है। मेरे दोस्तों ने कहा कि आंध्र प्रदेश के कुछ लोगों ने वहां आकर जरायत खरीदकर अपनी माली हालत बेहतर की, इसी वजह से उनसे ऐसा बताव किया जाता है। स्पीकर साहब, आप खुद वहां की हालात से बखूबी वाकिफ हैं कि व्यापार के मामले में गुजराती, मारवाड़ी और सिंधी लोग आज जितने प्रास्परस हैं वैसे आंध्र के भाई नहीं हैं। इसलिए इसमें कोई एकोनामिक सिचुएशन की वजह से नहीं, बल्कि पोलिटिकल एक्सप्लायटेशन की वजह से यह एजिटेशन हो रहा है। सविसेज में जो 16 हजार लोगों की इन्टेग्रिटी सीनियारिटी लिस्ट थी उसकी वजह से और 6 हजार आंध्र प्रदेश के लोगों को जो नौकरी देने की प्रान्लम है, जिसके बारे में जो ललित कुमार की रिपोर्ट है उसमें भी कहा गया है कि लैप्सेज हुई है। इस बात को चीफ मिनिस्टर ने भी माना है, प्रदेश कांग्रेस ने भी रेजोल्यूशन पास किया है और गवर्नर एड्रेस में भी बताया गया है कि लैप्सेज हुई है। उस की वजह से यह एजिटेशन हुआ। इस एजिटेशन के लिये मैं पूरा जिम्मेदार आफिसर्स को ठहराता हूँ जिन्होंने नफरत का जजवा पैदा किया कि तुम बैवकूफ हो, तुम्हें कुछ काम नहीं आता, तुम

चपरासी बनने के काबिल भी नहीं हो, और तेलंगाना वालों को सैकेन्ड ग्रेड सिटिज़न कर दिया। वही तेलंगाना के लोग जो महाराष्ट्र कर्नाटक गये वह बहुत मज्जे में हैं।

प्रोफ़सर रंगा ने बहुत बड़ी लम्बी चौड़ी फहरिस्त सदन में पढ़ कर सुनायी। लेकिन वह तो आई० ए० एस० और गजेटेड आफिसर्स की लिस्ट है। यहां तो नान-गजेटेड लोगों का मसला है।

कहा जाता है कि अफरा तफरी की हालत है। लेकिन मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि ऐसी बात नहीं है। आखिर यह ऐजिटेशन कैसे चल रहा है, वाखादगी से यह क्यों चल रहा है जब कि उन के पीछे कोई भी पोलिटिकल पार्टी नहीं है फिर भी क्या वजह है कि निज़ाम दरहम बरहम हो चुका है। कहा जाता है कि मिनिस्टर्स ने, रीजनल कमेटी ने और एम० एल० एज० ने क्या किया। मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि विदर्भ के लोगों की छाती पर हाथ रख कर के देखें कि वह लोग क्या चाहते हैं, विदर्भ के चीफ मिनिस्टर के रहते हुए वह लोग क्या चाहते हैं? इसी तरह से माराठावाड़े के लोगों से पूछिये। अगर साबिका हैदराबाद हो तो हम खुशी से आयेंगे। मैं उन की दिल की बात कह रहा हूँ।

अब यह कहना कि अभी तक अन्याय हुआ 13 साल से, तो आज यह मामला क्यों उठा? मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि यही तो हमारी बैंकवर्डनेस की निशानी है कि हम पर जुल्म ढाये गये, हमारा नुकसान हुआ और हम पहचान नहीं सके। और जब पहचाना तो हम पर इल्जाम लगाया जाता है। हमने क्या किया? मैं पूछना चाहता हूँ कि हुकूमत ने क्या इख्दाम नहीं किया? आल पार्टी मीटिंग बुलायी 19 जनवरी, 1969 को, जी० ओ० इशू हुआ, ललित कुमार ने रिपोर्ट पेश की। जी० ओ० का निफाज़ होने वाला था तो वहां के लोग

[श्री गंगा रेड्डी]

अदालत में चले गये और अदालत से जो फ़ैसला हुआ वह हम सब जानते हैं। अब हमें यह गौर करना है कि इस फ़ैसले के बाद हमें क्या रास्ता अख्तियार करना चाहिये।

अब अगर यह कहा जाय कि चूँकि कानूनी कोई मामला नहीं लिहाजा तुम्हें कोई अधिकार नहीं इस चीज के करने का तो मैं इस से इत्फ़ाक नहीं करता। हमें सोचना होगा कि गवर्नमेंट ने जो भी ऐक्शन लिया उस पर लोगों का एतमाद चला गया वह कैसे लाया जाय। कहा जाता है कि किसी के इत्तदार में आने से या किसी के हट जाने से लोगों में एतमाद चला गया है, मैं इस को नहीं मानता हूँ। ये काफी दिनों से जमे हुए जज्बात हैं लिहाजा सेन्टर को भी कुछ फ़ौरी इंतजाम करना चाहिये, मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि आप ऐसे सुभाव दीजिये कि जो वहाँ के मुसीबतजदा लोग एजिटेशन कर रहे हैं उन के लिये वह काबिले कबूल हों। आज कोई लीडर इस स्थिति में नहीं है जो उन को तसल्ली दे सके कि यह चीज ठीक है आप खामोश रहिये। वह आज चाहते क्या हैं? जाहिर है कि दस्तूरी तहफ़ूज़ात, कांस्टीट्यूशनल गारन्टीज की उन की मांग है, और यह उन का अधिकार है जो मैं समझता हूँ कि उन को मिलना चाहिये। आज तक जो अन्याय उन के साथ हुआ उस के लिये मैं किसी को दोष नहीं देता, मजबूत आदमी हमेशा कमजोर आदमी को दबा देता है। बड़ी मछली छोटी मछली को खा जाती है। तो सब लोगों से मेरी प्रार्थना है कि इस के लिये अगर दस्तूरी तर्फीय करने की जरूरत पड़े तो वह करें और देखें कि किम तरह से तेलंगाना के लोगों के लिये दस्तूरी इमदाद कर सकेंगे। लोगों ने कहा कि सैपरेट तेलंगाना की मांग नहीं करनी चाहिये। तो हमने कहा कि क्या बुरी बात है। जब भाई भाई में झगड़न हो तो क्या हम शमलात जायदाद

का बटवारा नहीं करते? हिन्दू धर्म में पहले डाइवोर्स नहीं था लेकिन तजुबे ने साबित कर दिया है कि जब ऐसी बात हो कि आपस में न बने तो अलग होना ही अच्छा है, और अब हमने उस मुताबिक कानून भी बना दिया।

इसलिये वहाँ के लोगों को समझाने के लिये आप के पास ठोस दलायल होनी चाहिये। मेरा निवेदन है कि आप जा कर कहें, कानून अगर इजाजत न दे तो भी उन से जा कर कहें कि हाई कोर्ट और सुप्रीम कोर्ट के दरवाजे न खटखटायें।

मैं यह कहूँगा कि सेंट्रल गवर्नमेंट के नेताओं की और पूरे देश के जो बड़े बड़े नेता हैं उन के लिए यह एक गम्भीर प्रश्न है। हालात वहाँ दिन पर दिन खराब हो रहे हैं। एक, एक दिन का हमें खयाल करना पड़ेगा और अगर 15 दिन तक वहाँ के हालात के लिए कोई माझल इंतजाम नहीं किया गया, कोई एक हल नहीं तलाश किया गया तो वहाँ की हालत काबू से बाहर हो जायेगी। मैं सरकार को आगाह करना चाहता हूँ कि वहाँ के हालात को बंदूक, लाठी और डंडे के जरिए सम्भाला नहीं जा सकेगा। इस बारे में अध्यक्ष महोदय एक बड़ा अहम रोल प्ले कर सकते हैं। तेलंगाना और आंध्र वाले दोनों ही आप पर भरोसा रखते हैं। आंध्र के रहने वाले की हैसियत से आप का फर्ज हो जाता है कि इस समस्या को हल करने में आप लीडिंग पार्ट प्ले करें। इसलिए हम आप से धिनती करते हैं कि इस बारे में आप लीड लीजिये और देखिये कि इस समस्या का क्या हल हो सकता है ताकि आंध्र प्रदेश के दो टुकड़े न हों और साथ ही स्वर्गीय सरदार पटेल ने जो एक सुदृढ़, संगठित और शक्तिशाली भारत के लिए काम किया था और आकांक्षा की थी वह पूरी हो सके और यह देश टुकड़े टुकड़े न हो जाय।

MR. SPEAKER : Shri S. M. Krishna,

SHRI M. N. REDDY (Nizamabad): Mr. Speaker, Sir so far only a distorted, one-sided, view has put up except Mr. Madhu Limaye's speech. What is the use of having this sort of debate? I have been trying for the debate; I have been begging of you to send a committee..

MR. SPEAKER: That is why I wanted to give you a hearing before I call the Minister.

SHRI M. N. REDDY: What is the use of speaking?

MR. SPEAKER: Mr. Krishna may kindly resume his seat.

I thought it will be an important speech if I called him before the Minister. Normally, any Member who speaks before the Minister is an important Member, an important speech, so that the Minister might remember his view-point. All right; you may speak now.

SHRI M. N. REDDY: Sir, I am grateful to you. But I want to submit that this debate has been arranged to focus the attention on the Telengana problem, not on Andhra history or some other thing. The Telengana problem has not been touched the way in which it should have been done. How would the Home Minister take any measures in so far as the debate is concerned?

What I heard from the hon. Members of Andhra gives me an impression that a little bit of injustice has been done to Andhra or they are trying to defend the bungling and blundering of politicians and officers in Andhra. I am one of those persons who have great admiration for Andhra people, the common people, not for Andhra politicians and officers. They have bungled and blundered and brought bad name to Andhra. The common man is now the talk of the country as if they have done something to Telengana people. It is not the common man. The relations between the common man of Andhra and the common man of Telengana are very good. It is the blundering and bungling of politicians and officers that has brought the trouble. The Andhra leaders do not understand

they. They try to defend and try to hold a brief for these persons. My submission is that parties or leaders should not import their personal view in the matter because Telengana was recommended to be a separate State. The Telengana merger is not the creation of the S. R. C. It is the result of a gentleman's agreement. Otherwise, it would have been and should have been a separate State.

What Mr. Madhu Limaye or some other leaders think about Mulki rules, whether it is proper or improper, is not a question to be considered, in 1969, by this Parliament. This has been approved by this Parliament, as the mirror of the public opinion of the entire country, and that such rule should be enacted in order to give protection. It was agreed as a pre-condition for merger. We cannot import our personal view. Maybe, personally, I am very much against it. But the Parliament, the entire nation, has committed to that principle as a pre-condition for merger. How can we now say that it is proper or improper. First of all, the people were not taken into confidence in those days when you reorganized the States on a linguistic basis. You only considered the common language and the common culture as basis. You did not consider that you were bringing together unequal regions with different political and historical background. How to bring them on par with the other advanced regions, was never considered. A Constitutional guarantee or arrangement should have been made. Our Constitution is found to be wanting to meet the situation now. This was never visualised. It is only over the years, with the bitter experience of the various people in the under developed areas, that it has come to the notice of Parliament and big leaders. What I submit is that it was inherent in such a merger because you had not merged two equally advanced regions or two regions which were equal in all respects. You conducted a marriage of unequal partners, and naturally the major partner would have all dominance and exploitation over the minor partner after the expiry of the honeymoon period, i. e., the emotional integration or whatever it is. There should be a rational integration. Emotional integration would only lead to emo-

[Shri M. N. Reddy]

tional disintegration. The rational integration would come out of fair treatment, out of honouring the commitments that you have made. There need not have been even a statutory provision if the Andhra leaders and officers wanted to implement these assurances.

With great respect to Mr. Ranga, I would say that he should not have quoted the figures. I only want to refute them. Now what are the assurances and safeguards? We do not seem to have any idea of them. The assurances are very plain and simple. They were four, broadly speaking. One was in respect of non-gazetted employment Posts carrying a salary below Rs. 300 were to be reserved for Telengana people in the Telengana area and not the posts of Directors, IAS or anything of that kind. You may not have had many officers in Madras State when you ceded. But it was in respect of non-gazetted posts, in respect of whom the assurance was given, that 6,000 persons without mulki certificates and another 6,000 with bogus mulki certificates, in all about 12,000, were employed over a period of 12 years. It is not necessary for the Telengana leaders, whether they are in the Congress or in the Opposition, to point out that you are doing this bungling. Who has done it? It is the Andhra officers who have done it. They are flouting the assurances given. It is a "gentleman's agreement." It was for them to see that nothing was done against the spirit and the letter of that agreement.

The second assurance was about economic development. Already under the Plan, a number of schools and hospitals have been constructed everywhere, including NEFA. But that was not the assurance. The assurance was this. Telengana was a surplus State by Rs 3 crores before November, 1956, while Andhra was a deficit State by about Rs. 6 crores prior to the integration or the merger. Therefore, the apprehension of the Telengana people was this. We were not only backward in all respects but, fortunately or unfortunately, we had a surplus income. The fear was that the people in the majority might use that surplus

in Andhra. It is not a question as to how many hospitals or schools were built. The question is whether the income of Telengana was spent on Telengana as per the assurance given. That has to be seen and not a hand-out saying that so many hospitals or schools were built; that is spoiling the entire atmosphere and is further aggravating the situation.

Regarding the economics of surpluses, Mr. Kumar Lalit said, Rs. 34.10 crores, if I accept the number of clarifications of the State Government which are not normally accepted in the financial terms that we have in this country. If I do not accept them, it goes beyond Rs. 40 crores. Mr. Konda Lakshman, who has resigned from the Andhra Cabinet recently and who has met all of you at the Centre, the day before yesterday said that it comes to Rs. 82 crores. We were expecting it to be more than Rs. 70 crores. He has given the figure of Rs. 82 crores. That is to say, Rs. 82 crores, which were due to Telengana and which should have been spent there over a period of ten years, were spent in Andhra. At this juncture, I should like to recall, with greatest respect, the Resolution that you Mr. Speaker had sponsored and the speech that you delivered on 1st February, 1956, in the Andhra Assembly. You were then the Deputy Chief Minister of Andhra.

What you said and assured Telengana was that not only the surplus income of Telengana will be spent on Telengana but some amount from Andhra will be spent in Telengana so that they may come on par with Andhra in a quicker time, sooner than later. Some such assurance was given. It is the concept of safeguards. I want your indulgence, the leaders of the Opposition. The concept of safeguards was put forth by the Andhra leaders as a substitute for a separate State. Telengana leaders never asked including J.V. Narsingh Rao, the then Congress President and Shri B Ramakrishna Rao. I know you were angry in those days when the decision was delayed. You blamed Mr S. K. Patil having reported something wrong. I can very well realise the feelings of the Andhra people. You never imagined that things would go wrong that way. You were really keen to have State because that

was the situation then. The actual thing was that Dr. B. C. Roy—historically I am referring to these things. When the Telengana decision was to be taken in a day or two, in February, 1956, Dr. B. C. Roy and Shri Krishna Sinha announced all of a sudden in the morning “We are merging Bihar and Bengal”. Next morning, Mr. Rajagopalachari the present leader of the Swatantra Party, said ‘We will have a Dakshina Pradesh comprising Madras, Kerala and Mysore’. Immediately, Mr. Hanumanthaiya convened a meeting and said, ‘We shall have a Dakshina Pradesh’. That was the atmosphere. Then Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru said that two big States are merging, ‘Why are you asking for a separate State of the same language’. That was the atmosphere when the decision was taken. But he also said, ‘You study the Scottish devolution, The Regional Committee has not come all of a sudden of its own. He said ‘You take any safeguard you want’. Mr. Pant said on 16th February, 1956, ‘You take an autonomous Regional Committee. In all other safeguards which you want in or to safeguard your interest we are with you’. On that pattern Regional Committee order was issued by the President.

Now it is not merely the question of whether it is Rs. 40 crores, or 60 crores or 80 crores I am not concerned with the quantum. I want all the hon. Members to realise this. If this Rs. 40 crores were spent 10 years ago, what would have been the development? How much wealth and progress it would have created. What is the big concession you are giving? All right take 40 crores to-day. Then that was not said over a period of 5 years. What is the cost of the projects today? Our own Nagarjuna Sagar, Mr. Speaker, you might be aware, when it was originally estimated, would have cost only Rs. 91 crores, not a pie more. But on account of the delay, not on account of revised plans the cost has come to Rs. 165 crores and it has not yet been completed. Another Rs. 10-15 crores are required. Is it the magnanimity you are showing? You take Rs. 40 crores or 50 crores which is due to Telengana. Even if you double that amount, you will not be compensating the loss.

Everybody says, ‘Short of separation we will support you’. I do not hear any constructive suggestion. We are also not asking for separation. But I did not hear any magnanimous words. This is the question that should be realised by the members. I represent young generation. The present generation is very impatient. They do not believe in the words of the big leaders who have no concern except their own position. That is the impression. That is the impression of the younger generation. I have submitted yesterday to the Home Minister all the facts. Now the Andhra members are saying ‘What your Telengana Ministers were doing’. When we say, ‘You have done an injustice’ they say ‘Why have you not pointed it out earlier?’ ‘Why are you pointing it out at this time?’ and all that. If this is the approach I can say frankly, you are not going to solve the problem. I may give this friendly advice. If this is the attitude of our own Members you are not going to solve it. If you want to disarm the enraged people who are rightfully indignant over these matters. It is better to disarm them, but at least you should be candid enough to say “All right; we have committed a mistake; we have ill-treated you.” But what they are doing drives us to a situation where we want to separate. That will be the inevitable reaction because they don’t understand the feelings of the people involved. They talk about this and that in the Central Hall without understanding the situation. They say, Telengana people have a separatist tendency. This is the irony of our fate. I may say that such things have a snow-balling effect. We want to work for a united Andhra. But I would say that I cannot put up with any insinuation. When any State for a particular justifiable cause wants to separate, if you term it as separatist or divisible tendency and use such types of jargons, I may say, that is not good for the country. By this you are not appreciating and understanding the feelings of the people. You have not realised that we are all glorified prisoners. We have lost contact with the people. We do not know what the people in the rural areas feel, as has been stated by Shri Tenneti Viswanatham.

[Shri M. N. Reddy]

This problem has not come all of a sudden. It has been there. You will find this in all the Reports that have been there with the Government. I don't want to blame any particular Minister or Chief Minister. It is not going to solve the problem. If I am assured of solution I would certainly blame. But the solution will not come merely by blaming persons.

The solution is, how to restore the confidence of the people. The Central Government is equally to be blamed. They are more concerned with Madhya Pradesh whether to have 40 or 50 or 60 Ministers. They are also concerned with Bihar. I don't know how long that Ministry will last. But they are not concerned with Andhra Pradesh which has given them the most solid strength. They are ignoring at their own risks and peril. The Andhra Government is the most stable Government for the Congress. They are not concerned with Telengana which has given them 14 Members out of 15. What sort of attitude are they exhibiting? Is this the way to present before the public, to the common people, how competent we are to solve the problem?

If the Central government had acted 2 months ago or 1½ months ago the situation would not have been the one which is there today. The State Government has complicated the matter.

About the Supreme Court decision I have a serious complaint. I want hon. Members to note this. A Union legislation was challenged in the Supreme Court. This was a Union legislation - according to Mr. Datar's words - "intended to help a backward area". You will all be shocked to know that the Attorney General of India has not appeared before the Supreme Court. He has not defended the Union Government and the legislation which this Parliament has passed. What for have we got this Attorney General? The Attorney General was very much present in the precincts of the Supreme Court. He was not briefed, to defend the Union of India. Is it for any oblique motive that he was not briefed? I want

to ask this question. [I want the Home Minister to answer this if not today, at least after some days after finding out the reasons and tell the House as to why the Act passed by this Parliament was not defended before the Supreme Court by the Attorney General of India. A private Advocate Mr. Setalwad defended. It is a matter to be taken seriously. He was retained by Andhra Pradesh. I do not consider the judgment of the Supreme Court as a very correct decision. It can be an erroneous decision, if it is examined by the legal experts. But after all it is the Supreme Court. What I say is that Art. 35 which is part of the Chapter on Fundamental Rights was not at all referred to in the judgment thought it was argued by a different Advocate engaged by the NGOs of Telengana. This was not properly explained to the Supreme Court. The Advocate General argued very ably, but he had not come here to assist Shri Setalwad, if not the Attorney General. What I submit is this: I do not think that the case was not ably defended. But there is suspicion because the Attorney General did not appear. That gives suspicion to the people. Why has he not appeared? Already you have not appointed anybody to the post of Solicitor-General. Whatever may be the reasons, for so many months since November this office has been lying vacant. This is another ground for suspicion of the people]

Then All Party accord was signed giving the deadline as 28th February. It should not have been given as the deadline. Till 29th February nothing was done and as a reasonable and prudent man I must say that it was not possible also to do everything by that time. It is not possible to do all those things that were mentioned in the All Party accord. There was not much agitation before the 28th. Agitation was called off by 25th January and the Army was called on 29th January. The Telengana Convention people, seeing the psychology of the people and the attitude of Government, announced on the 23rd February that Telengana would observe Bundh and on the 3rd March it was all bundh, and nothing was done. On the 8th and 9th the Telengana Convention was there attended by several thousands of people.

What I say is on the 12th of March Kumar Lalit sent his report. People were agitating, but nothing came. Now, three courses are open to the Government. Before I suggest them, I would like to take one minute to tell this august House that the problems of Telengana people are different from other problems. Many of the Hon. Members and the Home Minister belong to other States. They should realise one thing that a majority—about 80 per cent—of the Telengana people were under the rule of a minority kingdom for hundreds of years since the inception of the Bhaini rule. Later, after the Police action we thought that we were liberated. But that was partly, with all respect to the late Sardar Patel, because along with the Military, a huge civil administration consisting of several thousands of officers and subordinate staff came to Telengana. It was there not for months, but for years. They brought in several thousands of people who were appointed from all over India. This is not the first agitation, Mr. Speaker. I want to disabuse that impression from the minds of Hon. Members and say that it is not the first time that non-mulki agitation was started. In 1952 when we were in colleges there was a serious non-mulki agitation involving police firing in which seven students were killed and 176 were injured in those days because then it was felt that it was not the liberation in the real sense. The cause of that agitation was the same.

SHRI SHIVAJIRAO S. DESHMUKH :
And it was a popular movement.

SHRI M. N. REDDY : That is the background. That agitation continued only for 17 days, not for three months like the one now. Then, Government took immediate steps to restore confidence. It is in that background, Mr. Home Minister, that the Telengana people including the Pradesh Congress and other appeared before the State Reorganisation Commission and said : We do not want any more outsiders, because we have our own apprehensions. It is against that background and not out of any hostility against Andhras as such. We have had enough; we wanted to do things on our own, by ourselves.

MR. SPEAKER : Come to the point.

SHRI M. N. REDDY : I would quote some staggering figures.

SHRI S. M. BANERJEE : What does he want now ?

SHRI M. N. REDDY : 1707 gazetted officers were retained in Telengana on the trifurcation of Hyderabad, out of whom only 609 were Telengana Telugu people. Out of 18,842 non-gazetted civil servants retained in Telengana, only 8,441 Telugu speaking Telengana people were there. More than 10,000 in this category and more than a thousand gazetted officers were already there from different places—due to which the 1952 agitation took place.

This was the background. How they suffered, how the 50,000 unemployed young men of Telengana have been feeling—this should be realised. It is not a question of your feeling or my feeling that should count, it is the feeling of these people who are suffering that must be the paramount consideration when we attempt a solution.

I suggest three things. They have suggested amendments without knowing what amendments should take place. If at all an amendment of the Constitution to enact legislation is contemplated, I say that without any reference to Telengana it is necessary for Government and Parliament to have the Constitution amended giving power to enact legislation to enable the weaker sections and weaker areas to be brought on par with other sections and areas. Otherwise, in this rat race, the weaker sections and weaker areas will always be exploited and neglected and development would be on the lines of how the political powers that we want.

For this reason, only one expression has to be added in Art. 16(3), that is add after 'within the State,' the following 'or any part of the State.' For this we have to accept Shri Nath Pai's Bill—there is no doubt about it.

If this is not possible, as the Government are not sponsoring Shri Nath Pai's Bill

[Shri M. N. Reddy]

it is contemplated to reintroduce the Constitution Amendment Bill relating to Assam on 15th April. There an amendment may be proposed giving power to create some more autonomous States.

If this is also not possible, then I will quote the words of Shri Chavan, Home Minister, 'where there is need, you have to yield'. Where there is need, they will yield. This is the third alternative.

In the meanwhile, there is another course. I have been fighting for it, canvassing support of all the leaders of the Opposition. I have also written to you, Mr. Speaker, and begged of you to appoint a parliamentary committee. But you have been feeling very embarrassed. I do not see any reason for you to feel embarrassed in this matter, as so many members here and elsewhere have stated that you enjoy the confidence of both the regions. You should have appointed such a committee long ago to visit the place, to have a dialogue with the people.

MR. SPEAKER : Without the blessings of the Central Government and the State Government, what is that delegation to do ?

SHRI M. N. REDDY : They should all have jumped at the suggestion.

श्री मधु सिमये : मा० रघुरमैया श्री प्रबल मंत्री, दोनों नहीं हैं, उन से पूछिये कि उन की क्या राय है ।

MR. SPEAKER : I sent it to the Minister of Parliamentary Affairs, Shri Raghu Ramaiah, three days ago. Lest an impression may go round in Telengana and the Andhra area that I have not done anything on it, I must clarify the position. The Government here must bless and co-operate, the Government there also must co-operate. Otherwise, it would not serve any purpose sending some members there. Therefore, I sent it to the Minister of Parliamentary Affairs so that he might consult and let me know. Otherwise, there is no

point in my doing it. I clarify my position so that I may not be misunderstood . . .

SHRI M. N. REDDY : For the information of hon. members, I would say this. Political parties or political leaders do not count in this agitation which I have seen for the first time. There are three parties to this agitation. All of them have to be taken into confidence. The first is the non-gazetted employees, whose President was jailed yesterday. They are a big force in Telengana. There are teachers in every village and they are party to the agitation and so are the students from primary schools to the colleges in Telengana. It is not a small place with 3.5 lakhs of people as in Nagalands or 13 lakhs of people as in the autonomous districts of Assam, it is a place inhabited by 15 million persons, that means 1.5 crores, in nine districts. It is very good place I do not call it backward. They are fighting for the assurances that were not implemented. Then, thirdly, come the leaders. The Opposition Political parties are importing their own views because if they say something here they will be slapped in the face in Andhra and if they say something there, they will be in a dangerous position here; it is very ticklish. I do not think that whatever they are saying is good far the State. They are politically motivated. There is no Telengana party. Only the Telengana Congress Committee had been formed two days ago for the State in which the Congress MLAs can join.

A Committee of M.Ps. can have a dialogue with these persons and see and understand the intensity of the feelings and find out what arrangement they want short of a separate Telengana State. When the entire nation and the different political parties including the Congress are represented on the Committee and when that Committee goes to Telengana, I do not think that they are naive or foolish enough not to have a dialogue with them and suspend the agitation for the time being. But a wrong approach had been made by the State as well as the Central Government. We asked for a Commission. I have not even received an acknowledgement from the Home Minister so far. For some petty poli-

tics in Bihar, the parliamentary board meets in order to decide on the resignation of a Minister. A part of the State in Andhra is burning and they are fiddling. Did they show the required statesmanship? I know there are no statesman left, Mr. Speaker, they are all politicians. Still one of them or some of them can still become statesmen and retrieve the lost prestige and thereby become great leaders without assuming big position in order to become big. It is the interest of the nation that they have to think of. The need of the hour is to appoint a committee. Let the Home Minister go there, he will not be hurt like the other ministers who had gone and who had received tomatoes. Let him go there for a dialogue and find out what would satisfy them short of a Telengana State. Whatever is necessary should be done by this Parliament. A commitment was made in 1956 with the blessings of the Central Government and Parliament was committed to the legislation of 1957 but it was struck down by the Supreme Court. Merely because it was struck down by the Supreme Court, this Parliament cannot remain a silent spectator and thereby aggravate the situation. We have to do whatever is necessary. It is not that we are creating a precedent for the first time in this year of the Republic. The situation has to be tackled in a statesmanlike manner. I am grateful that all the parties have shown the greatest sense of responsibility and urgency and despite their meagre funds they had sent their representatives but the Congress and the Central Government had not done their duty so far. Lastly, I am thankful to you, Mr. Speaker, for having given me this chance and I am also obliged to the Members who have given me a patient hearing.

SHRI S. M. KRISHNA (Mandya) : The House has just heard the vice of Telengana. I consider this as an important debate because of the dire consequences involved in the crisis and any formula that the Parliament in its wisdom could evolve could save a great national catastrophe. If Potti Sriramulu, on whose sacrifice Andhra Pradesh came into being, if it is going to be in vain by the act of omissions and commissions of politicians who came to power after his death, this debate would

have served a useful purpose if Parliament would summon all its statesmanship and foresight so that we could soothe the hurt feelings of the people of Telengana and we could heal the wounds. A grim warning has come from Telengana and this has come at a stage when fissiparous tendencies are raising their ugly heads elsewhere.

I was amazed only the other day when the first shot was fired in Telengana about the injustice that has been done to this particular region, and when a Chief Minister who did not have a correct diagnosis of the disease came out with a putulant statement attributing that a few politicians are involved in this agitation. With the passage of time and the subsequent events, we have come to realise that this was not a movement, or an agitation, or an upsurge, engineered by a few disgruntled politicians, but it was a spontaneous upsurge of feelings of distrust in certain regions of Andhra Pradesh.

This should not be an academic exercise in debate. Millions and millions in Andhra Pradesh would await the decision the Parliament of this country is going to take on such an important crisis that they are facing.

What are their grievances? The Mover of the motion today, Prof. Ranga, did touch the point. There is a feeling of deep discontent, simmering discontent and a subterranean feeling of deep distrust in Telengana that, they are being exploited, that they are being betrayed, and that they are being deprived of what belongs to them lawfully. It is that feeling which has to be assessed and taken not of by this Parliament and by the country.

In an important debate, it is unfortunate that the leaders of this country, the Prime Minister, is not present in this House. It is being freely said outside the House that this country has a Prime Minister but no leader. There is a great constitutional obligation on the part of the Union Government, they have to act before it is too late. At so late a stage in the debate, I would not like to burden the House with giving more facts about the injustice that

[Shri S. M. Krishna]

has been done to the Telengana region. Prof. Ranga quoted and my friend Shri Sezhiyan did quote from the regional committee report. I would quote one other piece to show that this feeling has been there throughout. Since the year 1956, this feeling has been persisting in the Telengana region and they said :

"Since the last 10 years, the Regional Committee on more than one occasion has been requesting the Government that the income of the backward region of Telengana should be spent on its development, and that the wide disparity in respect of providing basic amenities in both the regions should be narrowed down to speed up emotional integration. The Government also gave the assurance that every pie derived in Telengana would be spent in that region but it is unfortunate that the assurance still remains unimplemented in spite of the lapse of 12 years. "

This is the stark reality. How are we going to resurrect confidence in the people of Telengana ? It is being freely said that the Chief Minister goes about with a sense of guilt and shame haunting him. Whenever he goes, there are black flag demonstrations. Nobody should feel that I am making any derogatory reference to the Chief Minister if I refer to newspaper reports that when he was flying to Delhi the other day, he had to get into Begumpet airport through the rear door, because thousands of demonstrators were waving black flags and shouting slogans against him,

Sir, we are not interested in who becomes the Chief Minister there. We know that for some time a Congressman will be the Chief Minister. We hold no brief for A B, or C. But the fact remains that there is a crisis of confidence. The breach is becoming wider. Today we have to start with a clean slate. We have to infuse confidence. The attitude of arrogance that has been betrayed in the last few years

has to be substituted by an attitude of understanding, compassion and sympathy. If these three considerations are brought into this endeavour, I am sure even now the damage done can be minimised and eventually eradicated.

Prof. Ranga mentioned a few facts about the number of IAS officers, etc. The Telengana people reel out some figures also. They say, the Chief Minister, the Speaker of the Assembly, the Chairman of the Council, the Chairman of the Public Service Commission, I. G. of Police, Commissioner of Police, Vice-Chancellors of all universities, the Chief Secretary, the First Member of the Board of Revenue and the Pradesh Congress Chief are all from Andhra and we will not get any justice. Sir, we are not going to solve the problem by just reeling out one set of figures from one side and another set of figures from the other side. The time has come when the Parliament and the Union Government have to take serious note of the situation.

Article 256, under which the Union Government can very well act says :

"The executive power of every State shall be so exercised as to ensure compliance with the laws made by Parliament"--we have made laws--"and any existing laws which apply in that State, and the executive Power of the Union shall extend to the giving of such directions to a State as may appear to the Government of India to be necessary for that purpose. "

I would like to know from the Home Minister how many times directions have been given to Andhra Pradesh Government. There is a growing impression--not a very healthy development that whenever people resort to burning buses and trams, then only the Centre takes note of a particular situation, Otherwise, they act Jolly well complacently. Mr. Limaye who had been to Hyderabad only yesterday met a few students in Hyderabad and told them that they have to carry the Parliament and the country with them. They seem to have

said, to him that, "We know how to carry Parliament and Government of India with us. We will burn a few more buses and a few more things." If this is the impression going round, it is an ominous development and the Union Government must dispel any such impression and set things right.

I would like to support the plea made by so many other members that it is a matter in which Parliament can and should act and intervene. A parliamentary committee representing all shades of opinion in this House has got to visit and learn firsthand the real problems bothering our brothers in Telengana. Such a committee would be able to create an atmosphere wherein the parties can come together and start a dialogue; and, something can come out of such a dialogue. The Prime Minister and the Home Minister have to act now in order to save Visala Andhra, failing which I am afraid Visala Andhra would have been only a passing phase of our history.

श्री शशिमूर्धन (खारगोन) : अध्यक्ष महोदय, हैदराबाद में जो विद्यार्थी शहीद हुए हैं, आपके माध्यम से मैं उसके प्रति श्रद्धांजलि अर्पित करना चाहता हूँ। देश के विद्यार्थियों ने जब जब कुर्बानियाँ दी हैं, सन 1942 से लेकर आज तक तब तब उन्होंने देश को एक नई रोशनी दी है। आन्ध्र के विद्यार्थियों ने गौआ के आन्दोलन में भी शहादत दी थी, वहाँ की विद्यार्थी कांग्रेस के दो विद्यार्थी गौआ में शहीद हुए थे, इस के लिए मैं उन को मुबारक बाद देता हूँ।

अध्यक्ष महोदय, आज वहाँ के विद्यार्थियों ने जो इस समस्या को अपने हाथों में लिया है, इस का मूल कारण आर्थिक विषमता है। अगर आर्थिक विषमताओं के लिए विद्यार्थी जाग्रत होते हैं, तो हमें उन से भयभीत नहीं होना चाहिये, उन से बातचीत का रास्ता निकालना चाहिये। हमेशा अगर यह दोष दिया जाय कि विद्यार्थी गलत हैं—मैं इस बात को नहीं

मानता, आर्थिक दृष्टि से तेलंगाना काफी पिछड़ गया है। वहाँ पर बेकारी की समस्या है, भूख की समस्या है, जिसने उन को आवाज उठाने के लिए मजबूर कर दिया है।

वहाँ के कार्यकर्त्तियों ने दो प्रदेश कांग्रेस कमेटियाँ बनाई। दो प्रदेश कांग्रेस कमेटियाँ किसी प्रदेश में होना नई बात नहीं है। महाराष्ट्र में भी दो हैं—बम्बई और महाराष्ट्र वहाँ के जो कांग्रेस के नेता हैं, वे हमारे अपने नेता हैं और हमें पूरी उम्मीद है कि वे इस समस्या को हल करेंगे, लेकिन मैं आपकी मारफत एक सुझाव देना चाहता हूँ—एक हाई पावर्ड वमीशन पार्लियामेंट के मेम्बर्सों का वहाँ भेजा जाय जो अपने हाथ में फैसला लेकर वहाँ जाय और वहाँ की समस्या को सुलझा सके। अगर वहाँ के लोगों को वह सहमत कर सके, तब तो ठीक है, वरना अगर संविधान में परिवर्तन करना पड़े तो हमें करना चाहिये। आखिर हम ने हरियाणा बनाया, पंजाब बनाया। जब जोशी जी राष्ट्रीय और राष्ट्रीय-भावना की बात करते हैं तो एक लाख आदमी हिन्दी आन्दोलन के लिये वहाँ भेजे थे, गुरु मुखी के लिये भी वहाँ आदमी गये, फिर भी दो सूबे बने। इस लिए मैं इस को गलत नहीं समझता हूँ, इस में कोई अराष्ट्रीय भावना नहीं है। अगर आर्थिक विषमता के लिये विद्यार्थी कदम उठते हैं तो हमें उन से बात करनी चाहिये।

मुझे विश्वास है कि हमारे कांग्रेस के बड़े नेता वहाँ जा कर उनसे सीधी बात करें तो जरूर किसी नतीजे पर पहुँच सकेंगे।

21 hrs.

श्री तुलशी दास जाधव (बारामती) : अध्यक्ष महोदय, आन्ध्र में जब आप चीफ मिनिस्टर थे उस वक्त मेरा भी 8-10 महीने का ताल्लुक आया था और तेलंगाना में घूमने का बहुत मौका मिला था। रेड्डी साहब और कई लोगों को सुनकर मुझे ऐसा लगा कि यह

[श्री तुलसी दास जाधव]

कोई आम बात नहीं है। जो सुझाव दिए गए हैं, वह ठीक हैं, उनको आप जाकर समझाएँ या जो कुछ भी करना है वह करें। लेकिन एक बात यह है कि अगर लोगों की इच्छा के खिलाफ, आप किसी बात को खींचते रहें तो वह बात मुआसिब नहीं होगी। एक बात जो मैं कहना चाहता हूँ वह आपको सारे देश के लिए लागू करनी होगी और वह यह कि जो लोग सत्ता में हैं जिनके हाथ में पावर है उनको चाहिए कि लोगों के नजदीक जायें। आपस में चाहे कुछ भी डिफरेंसेज हों लेकिन एक भावना यह जरूर रहनी चाहिए कि हम सब एक हैं। ऐसी भावना हमें लोगों के अन्दर पैदा करनी चाहिए। अगर उनकी कोई भावना है जिसको वह उठाते नहीं, वह दबी रहती है तो उसके मायने यह नहीं होते कि सब कुछ ठीक चल रहा है। यह बात हर प्रान्त के लिए आवश्यक है। मैं तो ऐसा समझता हूँ कि जो लोग सत्ता में हैं उनका जनता से मास कन्टैक्ट टूट गया है। जो हम करते हैं वह अगर हम जाकर लोगों को भी समझाएँ और उनकी राय को भी लेकर चलें और फिर उसके बाद चाहे हम कुछ कम भी करें लेकिन वे नाखुश नहीं होंगे। मैं तो यहां तक कहूंगा कि आपने वहां पर भेजने के लिए कुछ इन्तजाम किया लेकिन वह चला नहीं। इसलिए जो लोग सत्ता में हैं और जो एम० एल० ए० और एम० पी० हैं, जनता के चुने हुए नुमाइन्दे हैं उनको, जब कही पर कोई बलवा होता है, तो वहां पर भी जाना चाहिए और लोगों को समझाना चाहिए। जो लोग जनता के वोट पर आये हैं और किसी श्रीहदे पर पहुंचते हैं वह लोग जब गुलाब का फूल लेते हैं तो उसके साथ साथ जनता के क्रोधान्नि भी लेकर काम करना चाहिए और तब मैं समझता हूँ कोई दिक्कत नहीं पैदा होगी।

SHRI KRISHNA KUMAR CHATTERJI (Howrah) : Mr. Speaker, Sir, although it is very late, I have to make a few observations and end as soon as possible. The tragic developments in the Telengana area in Andhra Pradesh is a dangerous trend which is developing in the country and it has highlighted certain aspects of our national life which need immediate attention not only from the State Government of Andhra but also from the leaders of the country who are running the government from the Centre. This symptom has to be tackled at the very root. People seething with discontent, frustration and despair have taken to violence. Still, I have my sympathies for them. They have shown commendable patience. Because, in spite of the solemn agreements and repeated assurances, they were observed more in the breach even in financial allocations, development matters, employment facilities to be given to people belonging to this area especially non-gazetted officers and in many other respects. Hence this violence.

Violence, as you know very well, is a perverted expression of despair and dejection. These violent methods are sometimes adopted to highlight certain points, to draw the attention of the leaders at the Centre to the fact that regional imbalances are there, social, economic and political disparities of certain regions of the country are becoming more and more pronounced.

It is only necessary for the Telengana people to act in some way so that they can make their existence felt. Therefore, although the demand of the Opposition Ministers for the removal or the resignation of the Chief Minister does not sound to be a very honest proposition--it may be politically motivated--I quite agree that the setting up of a parliamentary committee to visit the Telengana area would perhaps be a wise step. Although the Central Government may not very enthusiastically accept this proposition and the State Government may give co-operation hesitatingly, even then that experiment will be good. Therefore I appeal to you, as the Speaker presiding over this august House, particularly because you belong to Andhra Pradesh, you know both the regions and their problems and you have

tremendous sympathy for the Telengana people as we could see in the Business Advisory Committee meeting when we were discussing this, that should set up a parliamentary committee of all parties to visit Telengana and make recommendations to the Central Government and to the State Government also for acceptance.

Something will have to be done about the Supreme Court judgment which has nullified the Mulki service agreement that was there and even the legislation passed by Parliament. Something will have to be thought out so that these people who are underemployed and unemployed are given full opportunities of employment. I know that the Telengana people, although are very peaceful people, are agitated now and may act in a way which may endanger the solidarity and unity of a very important State which is the very stronghold of the Communist organisation and which has the destiny to play a part in this country for many years to come.

SHRI SEZHIAN : Sir, yesterday when the question of setting up a parliamentary committee was mooted in the business Advisory Committee, the Minister of Parliamentary Affairs who was there said that he would consult the Government and let you know the position. I want to know whether the decision has been conveyed to you.

MR. SPEAKER : No. From the Chair also I said that again. We have to await the reply of the Home Minister for that.

SHRI NATH PAI (Rajapur) : For the appointment of a parliamentary committee you do not require the sanction of this Government. Your authority is absolute under the Rules of Procedure. In case the Government is not co-operating with you, you may use your discretion and appoint a committee of Parliament.

SHRI K. SURYANARAYANA (Eluru) : Sir, after hearing all senior and eminent Members of Parliament and leaders of various parties I have only one thing to say to you, and that is that you have put Brahmanand Reddy in that place as Chief Minister and if there is anything

wrong done by him against country or the people, as the other day also when raised, you said that he is the first man to get out of this. But these M. Ps. have not elected him. When they are trying the SVD or coalition with other parties without any majority in the other Assemblies, how can we ask for the resignation of a leader of a party who has been elected by his own party's MLAs ? As leader of Andhra Pradesh, morally or on principle, you can ask anybody, Shri Brahmanand Reddy also, in consultation with the Government of India if necessary for any kind of settlement in the State. This is the only one thing where I differ from all the other friends. I agree with the other sentiments expressed by Shri Narayana Reddy. He has got our sympathies. In his constituency migrated Andhras have settled 90 per cent of them, and he is very happy with them. So many friends have expressed their views without knowing the facts, that it is politically motivated. What the other parties ask you, there is no new thing except sympathies towards the backward areas. So, please consider all this and in consultation with Government you may do as you please, we are with you.

श्री मधु लिमये : अध्यक्ष महोदय, आप ने कहा कि सरकार की प्रतिक्रिया जब तक हम को नहीं मिलती है तब तक आप को कुछ हिचक है। लेकिन इस में सरकार की बात नहीं आनी चाहिए यह सदन का मामला है और और सदन के मामले में सब से बड़े अफसर आप हैं और दूसरा स्थान होता है लीडर आफ दी हाऊस का। सदन के नेता का भी कुछ कर्तव्य होता है लेकिन चूकि सदन के नेता इस समय यहां पर मौजूद नहीं हैं इसलिए मेरी प्रार्थना है कि चम्हान साहब को थोड़ा समय इस पर सोचने और सलाह आदि करने के लिए दे दिया जाय और वह कल शाम तक इस बारे में अपना जवाब दें। इस बारे में यहां लोक सभा के करीब करीब सभी दलों के लोगों ने अपनी अपनी राय दे दी है और हम चाहते हैं कि चम्हान साहब को उस पर सोचने और सलाह

[श्री मधु लिमये]

आदि करने के लिए कल तक का मौका दे दिया जाय ।

MR. SPEAKER : I agree with you.

SHRI S. M. BANERJEE : (Kanpur) I would only like to add that the line between hunger has become thin in Telengana and there is going to develop a situation which may not be controlled by anyone. The feelings have been expressed by all, whether on that side or this side of the House. It is but necessary to heal the wound and a Parliamentary Committee should be appointed. I would only request you, as you expressed yourself in the Business Advisory Committee very vocally, to impress upon the Government not to stand for any formality. If the Home Minister has to consult the Prime Minister and his colleague, he can do so. In that case, he should not reply to-day. He should reply tomorrow. A Parliamentary Committee should be appointed. In case they refuse, you, Sir, appoint a Parliamentary Committee here and now.

SHRI NATH PAI : That is very clear.

MR. SPEAKER : It is already very late. As I said in the beginning itself, this debate has been very useful. I have been throughout sitting here and hearing the speeches. It is very delicate for me to take any action on this issue. I am a guilty

party; let me own it. I have been a signatory to this agreement and if it is not fulfilled, I feel, something unfortunate has happened and it must be corrected. I do not know how it can be corrected. It must be corrected. As a signatory to it, I feel guilty.

SHRI NATH PAI : We shall help you.

MR. SPEAKER ; All of you heard Mr. M. N. Reddy's speech. He symbolises the youth of Telengana. There is no denying the fact. The other friends have also spoken. There is no question of individuals now. You will have to forget individuals now, I am sure, the Government of India will take a decision about sending a Parliamentary delegation and all that. Now, I think, Mr. Chavan should have time to think about it, as suggested here, and also I too feel there is no use rushing with the reply. It is a very delicate matter about the constitutional position and the Supreme Court has struck down that thing. Naturally, Mr. Chavan will need a little time. Tomorrow, sometime in the evening. I will request him to reply. There is no hurry about it. Let them think about it. So, we adjourn now to meet again tomorrow at 11 A. M.

21.13 hrs.

*The Lok-Sabha then adjourned till Eleven of the Clock on Wednesday, April 2, 1969
Chaitra 12, 1891 (Saka)*