

MR. SPEAKER : मंत्री महोदय इसको कल ले प्रायें ।

I cannot afford to wait for so long. You will please bring the amended Resolution tomorrow. For item No. 15 of the Agenda, the same thing will hold good. There are two members. And let both these be substituted by new Resolutions and these may be brought here tomorrow.

SHRI NANDA : Yes, Sir.

MR. SPEAKER : Now, we shall take up Item No. 19 on the Agenda—discussion on the Telengana problem. Shri Goyal.

15.32 hrs.

DISCUSSION RE : TELENGANA PROBLEM

श्री श्रीचन्व गोयल (चण्डीगढ़) : अध्यक्ष महोदय, तेलंगाना का प्रश्न देश के लिए एक महत्वपूर्ण प्रश्न बना हुआ है। तेलंगाना की मांग जिस प्रश्न से निकली है वह एक आर्थिक प्रश्न है। आज देश के अन्दर जो भी प्रश्न उठते हैं, किसी भी प्रदेश की अलाहदगी के जो प्रश्न उठते हैं, उनका आधार प्रायः उन प्रदेशों का आर्थिक दृष्टिकोण से पिछड़ापन है। पुराने जमाने में तो यह कहा जाता था कि जब भी कोई भूगढ़ा होता है तो वह जर, जमीन और जन को लेकर होता था; अर्थात् जायदाद के बारे में, औरतों के सम्बन्ध में और रुपये पैसे के मामले में। लेकिन आजकल जो प्रश्न उठते हैं। वह केवल आर्थिक दृष्टिकोण से उठते हैं इसमें दो चीजें होती हैं। एक तो उस इलाके के आर्थिक विकास का प्रश्न और दूसरे नौकरियों का प्रश्न।

मैं यह कहना चाहूंगा कि जो तेलंगाना का क्षेत्र है, उसके साथ दोनों दृष्टियों से भेदभाव की नीति बरती गई है। इस क्षेत्र को पिछड़ा रखा गया है। बाबजूद इसके सरकारी तौर पर उनके साथ समझौते किये गये थे कि उनके पिछड़ापन को दूर किया जायेगा, उनको नौकरियों

में उचित स्थान मिलेगा, उनके क्षेत्र का उचित विकास होगा, लेकिन यह सब वादे उनके साथ करके भी उनको तोड़ा गया है, जो आश्वासन दिये गये थे उनको भंग किया गया है। मैं कहना चाहूंगा कि जहां तक नौकरियों का प्रश्न है अगर हम उस को सामने रखें, और उनके आर्थिक विकास को सामने रखें तो एक नंगी तस्वीर हमारे सामने आ कर खड़ी हो जाती है। आज भी आन्ध्र प्रदेश के नान-गंजेटेड कर्मचारी कुछ दिनों से दिल्ली आये हुए हैं। उनका रोना सुना नहीं जाता। जो अन्याय उनके साथ हो रहा है उसे बर्दाश्त करते हुए उनको आज चौदह वर्ष हो गये हैं, लेकिन न तो भारत सरकार के कानों में जू रेंगती है और न आन्ध्र प्रदेश की सरकार ही उन्हें किसी प्रकार की राहत देने के लिए तैयार है। मैं तो यह कहूंगा कि आज भारत सरकार भी आन्ध्र प्रदेश की सरकार के साथ साजिश किये हुए बैठी है, वह भी उनके साथ मिल गई है, क्योंकि आज जो हमारी केन्द्रीय सरकार है वह ब्रह्मानन्द रेड्डी की सरकार के ऊपर निर्भर है, उसका अस्तित्व भी आन्ध्र सरकार के ऊपर निर्भर करता है। इसलिए आज जिस प्रकार की मनमानी कार्रवाइया ब्रह्मानन्द रेड्डी की सरकार कर रही है उन सब को मानो भारत सरकार एक प्रकार से मान्यता देती जा रही है।

15.35 hrs.

[Shri K. N. Tiwary in the Chair]

जहां तक तेलंगाना के भाइयों का प्रश्न है, उनके साथ आज तक बड़ा अन्याय हुआ है। जिस प्रकार से उनको आश्वासन दिये गये, उनके साथ आज तक बड़ा अन्याय हुआ है। जिस प्रकार से उनको आश्वासन दिये गये, उनके साथ जितने भी वादे किये गये उनकी कठिनाइयों को दूर करने के, उनको पूरा करने का कोई प्रयत्न नहीं किया जाता। इसलिये मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि वहां पर इतने मुद्दत से जो

भाग सुलग रही है कहीं वह ज्वालामुखी का रूप न ले ले, वह भाग का शोला निकल कर कहीं सारे देश के लिए एक बड़ा भारी प्रश्न बन जाये।

पिछले दिनों जो आन्दोलन तेलंगाना के भाइयों ने चलाया है उसके लिए यह कहना गलत होगा, जैसा श्री ब्रह्मानन्द रेड्डी ने कहा कि वह कुछ अचिन्त का, स्कूल के बच्चों का है, या जो राजनीति से निराश हो गये हैं कुछ इस प्रकार के राजनीतिज्ञों द्वारा चलाया गया आन्दोलन है। यह आंध्र के वह भाई हैं जिन्होंने निजामशाही फ्यूडलिज्म के खिलाफ भंडा बुलन्द करके अपने इलाकों में जनतंत्र स्थापित करने के लिए अनेक प्रकार के बलिदान दिये थे। तेलंगाना के यह भाई हैं जिनकी मेहरबानी से और जिनके स्टैन्ड वेने से यह राज्य बना था। मैं याद दिलाना चाहूंगा कि फज्लेअली की अध्यक्षता में जो स्टेट्स रिआर्गनाइजेशन कमिशन बना था उसने यह भी सिफारिश की थी कि इस को पांच वर्ष के लिए विकास ट्रिप्टि से अलाहदा कर दिया जाय जैसे उन्होंने हिमान्त प्रदेश को दस साल के लिए अलाहदा करने के लिए कहा था ताकि उसका आर्थिक विकास हो सके और उसके बाद उन्होंने कहा कि मंजारिटी से उसका निर्णय कर दिया जाये। लेकिन उस समय पन्तजी ने जो बड़े बड़े प्रदेशों के पक्षपाती थे, कहा कि नहीं, नहीं इस वक्त आंध्र बड़े प्रदेश के लिये मान जाइये, अगर पांच वर्ष के बाद आप को लगे कि आपका पिछड़ेपन दूर नहीं हो रहा है, आपके साथ न्याय नहीं हो रहा है, तब आप अपनी मांग को दुबारा ला सकते।

आज हम तेलंगाना के भाईयों को इस बात का दोष नहीं दे सकते कि उनके अन्दर देश की एकता की भावना नहीं है, या वह लोग देश के हित को नहीं पहचानते। यह आरोप उन पर लगाना जो यथार्थवाद है, उससे आंखें मूंदना है। आज उनके हितों के ऊपर आपको गहराई से विचार करना होगा। मैंने शुरू में निवेदन किया

था कि उनके आन्दोलन के दो मुख्य कारण हैं। एक तो नौकरियों की समस्या और दूसरे उनके आर्थिक विकास की समस्या क्योंकि यदि आप देखेंगे तो आपको पता चलेगा कि आंध्र प्रदेश की जितनी भी भाय थी, उसका ज्यादा हिस्सा उनके पिछड़ेपन को दूर करने के लिए व्यय नहीं किया गया। उसकी जितनी रेवेन्यू तेलंगाना के क्षेत्र से प्राप्त होती थी, उतना उन इलाकों पर खर्च नहीं की गई। इस प्रकार की कमेटियां बनीं जिन्होंने रिपोर्टें दी कि जिनना रेवेन्यू और जितनी इनकम इस क्षेत्र से प्राप्त होती है, उतनी भी इस क्षेत्र पर खर्च नहीं की गई है और न केवल खर्च नहीं की गई थी बल्कि उसको दूसरे क्षेत्रों पर खर्च कर दिया गया है। मैं क्षेत्रवाद की भावना को उचित नहीं समझता हूं। लेकिन इसका अर्थ यह भी नहीं है कि जो पिछड़े हुए हैं उनको हमेशा के लिए पिछड़ा हुआ रखा जाये। जब उनके विकास के लिए गुंजाइश है तो उनका विकास अवश्य किया जाना चाहिए।

कुछ लोग हैं जो हैदराबाद नगर को देख कर यह अनुमान लगा लेते हैं कि यह एक समृद्ध इलाका है। लेकिन मैं इस इलाके का मुकाबला पटियाला की पुरानी रियासत के साथ करना चाहता हूं। पटियाला में सब प्रकार के एशो आराम के साधन थे, सब प्रकार की सड़कें थीं, महल बने हुए थे तथा अन्य प्रकार की लोगों को सुविधायें प्राप्त थीं। लेकिन जहां तक ग्रामीण इलाकों का सम्बन्ध है, अन्दर वाले इलाकों का सम्बन्ध है जो कि पटियाला स्टेट के अन्दर थे वहां शायद पचास साठ मील से ज्यादा लम्बी सड़कें नहीं थी, अच्छे अच्छे स्थानों तक मैं हाई स्कूल तक नहीं थे। यही स्थिति आंध्र और तेलंगाना की भी है। जिस समय निजामशाही का वहां दौरदौरा था तो एक हिस्से पर ही सारा धन और दौलत उड़ा दिया जाता था, हैदराबाद नगर के विकास पर ही वह सब खर्च कर दिया जाता था लेकिन ग्रामीण इलाकों में कोई हाई स्कूल तक भी नहीं

[श्री श्रीचन्द गोयल]

खोला जाता था। अगर आज कोई कहे कि तेलंगाना का विकास तो हुआ है तो इससे इंकार नहीं किया जा सकता है। विकास तो निश्चित रूप से हुआ है। आजादी मिलने के बाद देश का कुछ न कुछ विकास तो होना ही था। लेकिन विकास की तुलना हमको इन दोनों क्षेत्रों में करनी होगी, जो आंध्र का विकास हुआ है और जो तेलंगाना का विकास हुआ है। इन दोनों की इनको तुलना करनी होगी और देखना होगा कि तेलंगाना का जो विकास होना चाहिये था, वह हुआ है या नहीं हुआ है। हम मानते हैं कि आज भारत का विकास हुआ है लेकिन क्या हम कह सकते हैं कि भारत का विकास आज जापान के विकास की तरह हुआ है? अगर हम कहें कि भारत का विकास जापान के विकास की तुलना में बहुत कम हुआ है तो उसी तरह से हम यह भी कह सकते हैं कि तेलंगाना का विकास आंध्र के विकास की तुलना में बहुत कम हुआ है और इसका जिन गति से विकास होना चाहिए था नहीं हुआ है।

अहां तक नौकरियों का सवाल है तेलंगाना के भाइयों को उनका उचित स्थान मिलना चाहिए था। तेलंगाना के भाइयों ने इस बात की आशा भी नहीं रखी कि जो आंध्र के भाइयों का हक है, उनके उस हक से उनको वंचित किया जाये, महकूम किया जाये। लेकिन वे यह तो चाहते ही थे कि जितना उनका हिस्सा है वह उनको प्रबन्ध मिले, अगर ज्यादा नहीं तो कम से कम उतना तो मिले। उनका उचित भाग, उनका उचित भ्रंश उनको प्रबन्ध मिलना चाहिए। लेकिन आज उनको वह भी नहीं मिल रहा है। भ्रंश कमेटी की रिपोर्ट है, वांचू कमेटी की रिपोर्ट है और उन्होंने अपनी रिपोर्टों में इसको स्वीकार किया है कि 4328 नौकरियों जो कि तेलंगाना के हिस्से में आती थीं, उनसे उनको वंचित किया गया है और इन स्थानों पर जो नान-डामिसाइल लोग थे, एमीमेंट के विरुद्ध

जा कर, जो अन्डरस्टैंडिंग थी, उसके विरुद्ध जाकर और तेलंगाना वालों के साथ प्रत्याय करके, उनको लगाया गया है।

आज नान-गजेटिड कर्मचारियों के प्रति-निधि यहां आये हुए हैं। उनका कहना है कि ग्रेडेशन लिस्ट्स को अभी तक भी मुकम्मिल नहीं किया गया है। चौदह वर्ष हो गये हैं और जो कामन लिस्ट्स बहुत पहले तैयार हो जानी चाहिए थी, उनको तैयार नहीं किया गया है। अगर उनको कुछ अर्सा पहले तैयार कर लिया जाता तो कई भाइयों को उसके कारण लाभ हो जाता। लेकिन अब उनमें से कई लोग रिटायर हो चुके हैं, कई स्वर्गवास हो गए हैं। सरकार की डिलमिल और लम्बे अर्से तक प्रश्नों को टालने की जो नीति है, उसके कारण जिन भाइयों को उनका उचित भाग मिलना चाहिये था, वह नहीं मिल सका है। आज भी कामन लिस्ट्स, ग्रेडेशन लिस्ट्स तैयार नहीं हुई हैं। वे विचाराधीन हैं। लेकिन सरकार ने किया क्या है? सरकार ने इन लिस्ट्स के पूरा होने से पहले ही जिन लोगों को एडहाक बेसिस पर नौकरी में लगा लिया था, आरजी तौर पर नौकरी पर लगा लिया था और जो आंध्र के भाई थे, चाहे वे असिस्टेंट इंजीनियर थे या एग्जैक्टिव इंजीनियर थे, बहुत बड़ी तादाद में उन लोगों को उसने पक्का कर दिया है। उन लोगों ने इसका विरोध किया। पहले तो उन्होंने आंध्र सरकार तक पहुँच की। पहले तो वहां की सरकार उस पर झड़ी रही। लेकिन बाद में उनके प्रोटैस्ट करने पर उसने यह फैसला कर दिया कि ये जो लिस्टें हैं ये पक्की नहीं की जाएंगी। लेकिन आंध्र सरकार पर फिर जब जोर पड़ा तो उसने भारत सरकार के ऊपर जोर डाला और तब भारत सरकार ने उस दबाव और जोर के नीचे आ कर जो उचित और ठीक निर्णय था उसको भी बदल डाला। उसके बाद उन लोगों ने हार्ड कोर्ट में रिटें की। आंध्र हाईकोर्ट ने उन रिटों को मंजूर किया

और मंजूर करने के बाद उनके पक्ष में निर्णय दे दिया। हाईकोर्ट ने यह कहा कि सरकार का जो पहले वाला निर्णय था कि ये लिस्टें पक्की नहीं की जायेंगी, वह उचित निर्णय था और जिन लोगों को एडवाक बेसिस पर लगाया गया था उनको अब इस तरह से पक्का करना और तब तक जब तक कि ग्रेडेशन लिस्ट्स मुकम्मिल नहीं हो जाती, दूसरों के साथ ज्यादाती करना होगा। लेकिन दुख की बात है कि हाई कोर्ट के निर्णय के बाद भी आज उस पर अमल नहीं हो रहा है। हाई कोर्ट के फैसले को इम्प्लेमेंट नहीं किया जा रहा है। उन लोगों ने दुबारा हाई कोर्ट में कंटेम्प्ट की दरखास्त दी और कहा कि भारत सरकार कंटेम्प्ट कर रही है, आंध्र सरकार कंटेम्प्ट आफ कोर्ट कर रही है। लेकिन उनकी कोई सुनवाई नहीं हो रही है। हाई कोर्ट का फैसला उनके पक्ष में होते हुए भी आज उनके साथ अन्याय हो रहा है, उस फैसले पर अमल नहीं हो रहा है। हाई कोर्ट के निर्णय के अनुसार अगर अमल किया जाए तो उसका क्या नतीजा निकलेगा ?

"If it were to be implemented, 5 Chief Engineers, 18 Superintending Engineers, 137 Executive Engineers and 265 Assistant Engineers of Andhra region would face reversion."

अगर अमल किया जाता—तो ये सब लोग वापिस भेज दिये जाते क्योंकि गलत तरीके से इनके प्रमोशन हुए हैं, गलत तरीके से इनको पक्का किया गया है। जब तक लिस्टें पक्की नहीं होती, मैं कहूंगा कि जो एप्रोमेंट उनके साथ किया गया था, उस पर अमल आपको करना चाहिए, उसकी खिलाफ वर्जी नहीं होनी चाहिए। लेकिन उसकी खिलाफ वर्जी की गई है। जितने समझते उनके साथ हुए हैं और जितनी कमेटियों की रिपोर्टें आई हैं, उन सबकी घिजियां उड़ा दी गई हैं। मुझे दुःख है कि आज भारत सरकार भी ब्रह्मानन्द रेड्डी सरकार के हाथों में खेल रही है उसकी सरकार के हाथों की कठपुलतल कठपुतली बनी हुई है। यह

ठीक है कि इनको आज अपनी सरकार को कायम रखना है। लेकिन इसका अर्थ यह नहीं है कि जो लोगों की उचित मांगें हैं, उनके साथ न्याय न किया जाये।

जहां तक इस क्षेत्र के विकास का प्रश्न है, कमेटियों की रिपोर्टें आपके सामने तो हैं ही लेकिन मि० कुमार ललित जो कि आडिटर जनरल के दफ्तर में एक आला पोस्ट पर थे उन्होंने भी वहां देखकर यह कहा था कि 64 करोड़ रुपये का रेवेन्यू आंध्र की सरकार ने तेलंगाना रिजन से प्राप्त किया लेकिन उस पर उसको खर्च नहीं किया। उसने सिफारिश की कि 46 करोड़ इस क्षेत्र के विकास के लिए खर्च किया जाना चाहिए। उन्होंने यह भी कहा कि 29 करोड़ रुपया जो एक डिफिंसिट एरिया के ऊपर उस हिसाब से खर्च होना चाहिए था और जिसको हमारी कैबिनेट ने माना भी था, वह भी उस क्षेत्र पर खर्च नहीं किया गया। इस इलाके के विकास के लिए जितनी धनराशि व्यय होनी चाहिए थी वह भी नहीं की जा रही है।

यह जो अलग प्रदेश की मांग है या उस इलाके के अधिक तौर पर पिछड़े होने के कारण है। इसका हमें समाधान करना होगा। मैं सुझाव दूंगा कि भारत सरकार एक हाई पावर्ड कमिशन मुकर्रर करे जो सारे देश में इस प्रकार के जो पिछड़े हुए इलाके हैं, उनका किस प्रकार से विकास किया जा सकता है, उनको बाकी इलाकों के बराबर किस प्रकार से लाया जा सकता है, इसके बारे में सुझाव दे। इन इलाकों में बुनियादी तौर पर कोई गलती नहीं है, वहां कोई कमी नहीं है, ऐसी खामी नहीं है कि उनका विकास हो ही न सके। मैंने पहले ही कह दिया है कि निजामशाही के जमाने में इस इलाके की तरफ कोई ध्यान नहीं दिया गया था। इस वास्ते इसका पिछड़ापन ऐतिहासिक कारणों से है, अन्य किन्हीं बुनियादी कारणों से नहीं हैं। जो कमिशन बिठाया जाये उसके जो टर्म्ज आफ

[श्री श्रीचन्द गोयल]

रैफ़ॉस हों उनमें एक यह भी हो सकता है कि क्या छोटे प्रदेश बनाने से इन इलाकों का विकास जल्दी हो सकता है। भारत सरकार इस चीज को टर्म्ज आफ़ रैफ़ॉस में शामिल करने पर विचार कर सकती है। यह जो चीज मैं कह रहा हूँ, इसलिए कह रहा हूँ कि इसकी मुझे थोड़ी सी झलक फजल अली कमिशन की रिपोर्ट से मिलती है। उसने हिमाचल प्रदेश के बारे में कहा था कि दस वर्षों के लिए उसको एक अलाहिदा सूबा बना दिया जाये, ताकि उस का आर्थिक विकास हो सके। उसने तेलंगाना क्षेत्र के बारे में भी यही सिफारिश की थी। भारत सरकार जो हाई पावर्ड कमिशन मुकर्रर करे, उसके विचारणीय विषयों में यह तो हो ही कि देश के पिछड़े इलाकों का पिछड़ापन कैसे दूर किया जा सकता है, लेकिन उसके साथ वह इस बात पर भी विचार करे कि क्या उसका एकमेव उपाय छोटे प्रदेश बनाना ही है, या दूसरे उपायों से भी वह उद्देश्य पूरा हो सकता है। इसमें सन्देह नहीं है कि हरियाणा और हिमाचल प्रदेश के अलाहिदा सूबे बनाये जाने से निश्चित रूप से उनका आर्थिक विकास हुआ है।

यदि हम समझते हैं कि हमें अपने देश में प्रशासनिक दृष्टि से बड़े यूनिट्स ही रखने हैं, तो फिर जिन कारणों से इन प्रदेशों के कुछ क्षेत्रों में पृथक राज्य बनाने की मांग जोर पकड़ रही है, हमें उनका उचित निदान करके उन्हें शीघ्र ही हल करना होगा। इसलिए भारत सरकार को इस मामले को सीधे रूप से अपने हाथ में लेना चाहिए। वह इन पिछड़े इलाकों का पिछड़ापन दूर करने का उन्नरदायित्व सम्हाले उसके लिए उचित धनराशि दे और एक टारगेट डेट निश्चित कर दे कि उस समय तक उनका विकास करके अन्य इलाकों के बराबर लाया जायेगा।

जब तक भारत सरकार ये कदम नहीं

उठायेगी, तब तक केवल ऊपर की लीपा-पोती से यह समस्या हल नहीं होने वाली है। वह इस मामले की जड़ और तह में जा कर, रोग का निदान करके, शीघ्र उसका इलाज करने की व्यवस्था करे, वरना यह समस्या देश के और भागों को भी अपनी लपेट में ले लेगी। भारत सरकार की आज तक की नीति यह रही है कि जब तक कोई प्रभावी आन्दोलन न हो, तब तक वह इस प्रकार की समस्याओं की तरफ अपनी आंखें मूंदे रहती है। इसके लिए वह समय रहते इन सब समस्याओं की ओर ध्यान देकर इनको शीघ्र हल करने का प्रयत्न करे। स्वर्गीय पन्त जी देश के इस महत्वपूर्ण क्षेत्र को देश का पेट कहते थे। वह पेट देश रूपी शरीर के बाकी हिस्सों को खून देता है। अगर उसमें कोई गड़बड़ और बीमारी रहे, तो उसका असर देश के अन्य भागों पर भी पड़ता है। इसलिए इस पेट में जो गड़बड़ और बीमारी आई हुई है, समय रहते उसका इलाज करना होगा, ताकि वह सक्षम हो सके और सारे देश की समृद्धि को बढ़ाने में सहायक हो सके। जैसा कि मैंने कहा है, हाई पावर्ड कमिशन इन विषय पर विचार करके अपना निर्णय दे कि क्या केवल छोटे प्रदेश बना से ही पिछड़े क्षेत्रों का विकास हो सकता है, या उसके लिये कोई और प्रभावी उपाय किये जा सकते हैं।

सभापति महोदय : काफी माननीय सदस्य इस डिमकेशन में भाग लेना चाहते हैं। अगर कुछ माननीय सदस्य अपने लिये निर्धारित टाइम को एक्सीड करेगे, तो बाकी माननीय सदस्यों के लिए दिक्कत हो जायेगी। इसलिये मेरा निवेदन है कि सब माननीय सदस्य अपने टाइम में ही समाप्त कर दें।

श्रीमती लक्ष्मीबाई (मेडक) : सभापति महोदय, यह एक महत्वपूर्ण विषय है। यह भगड़ा सोलह महीनों से चल रहा है। लेकिन

इसके लिये सिर्फ तीन घंटे रखे गये हैं, जबकि राज्य सभा में इसके लिए साढ़े पांच घंटे दिये गये थे। इसके लिए टाइम को बढ़ाया जाये।

सभापति महोदय : सामनीय सदस्या को भी बोलने का अवसर दिया जायेगा।

SHRI M. N. REDDY (Nizamabad) : I should like to state at the outset that this matter was raised in the Rajya Sabha the other day and only 2½ hours were allotted in the beginning but in view of its importance it was extended to more than five hours. Here it was posted to be taken up at 3 O'clock and it has started at 3.35. If the Chair wants to stick to schedule, we shall not be doing any justice and we, Members from Telengana, do not want to participate. The whole case has to be put forward by us and the Home Minister has to reply to our case tomorrow or the day after. He can reply even tomorrow. There are some points which he has to consider and study and then reply carefully. I would beg of you once again to extend the time.

MR. CHAIRMAN : This has been discussed in the House so many times. Now the time allotted is 3 hours. It is not possible to extend it to 5 hours. I can extend it by half an hour. The debate cannot be finished today because there is a half-hour discussion at 5.30. So, I would request the hon. member to be brief so that I can allow others also.

SHRI M. N. REDDY : The discussion relates in general to the Telengana problem. I would not repeat those things which we have been saying in this House.

MR. CHAIRMAN : I am sorry. I understand that the decision was that this debate will be finished today and the half-hour discussion will be taken up after this discussion is over.

SHRI M. N. REDDY : The Home Minister can reply tomorrow.

MR. CHAIRMAN : No. It should be finished today. The House will sit late.

SHRI M. N. REDDY : I would remind the Home Minister of what he himself said about this problem when he visited Hyderabad on 8th June last year: He characterised the problems of Telengana as very serious and complex, which require objective and most careful consideration by

the Central Government. Regarding the solution, on 7th June 1969, he said, "The Centre has an open mind on Telengana. A fair and just solution will be found to the Telengana problem." Again on 9th October 1969, at Delhi in a Press Association reception he referred to this problem and said: "For the solution of this problem, we have to convene an all-party meeting on Telengana and this problem needs sympathetic handling by the Centre and the State Government." Later in the Home Ministry Consultative Committee meeting held in October, 1969, an unanimous resolution was passed calling upon the Central Government to convene a Round Table Conference of all the leaders to evolve a solution to the Telengana problem. I want to ask the Home Minister whether he has convened any such Round Table Conference, which was the mandate given by the consultative committee. It was also his own view that the matter required to be considered by an all-party conference representing all shades of opinion in Andhra Pradesh—Telengana leaders as well as Andhra leaders. No such step was taken.

How did the present Chief Minister, Mr. Brahmananda Reddy, himself view the problem? On 30th March 1969, the Andhra Pradesh Cabinet passed an unanimous decision to request the Central Government that the Telengana people are really agitated over their safeguards and unless they are given Constitutional safeguards, it will not be possible to restore their confidence. It was the view of the present Andhra Pradesh Cabinet and it was conveyed to the Central Government. Has that been done? Then again when the Chief Minister visited Delhi on the 23rd April last year, he addressed the pressmen in a press club dinner and stated that the Telengana people are very much anxious and exercised over their statutory safeguards and it is necessary that they should be given statutory, and constitutional safeguards. It was the opinion of the present Chief Minister, and not ours. Has that been done?

16.00 hrs.

Then I want to remind all the political parties which are represented here what their attitude has been. On the 8th April 1969 the Swatantra Party passed a unanimous resolution at Vijayawada, supporting the demand for a separate Telengana.

DR. MELKOTE (Hyderabad) : Sir, I find that the Home Minister is leaving the House. Who will reply to the debate ?

MR. CHAIRMAN : Either the Home Minister or the Minister of State in the Home Ministry.

DR. MELKOTE : If the Home Minister is not replying, it is very unfair. I walk out in protest.

SHRI THIRUMALA RAO (Kakinada) : The Minister of State, Shri Shukla has handled many major pieces of legislation in this House and he can very well represent his Ministry. Such distinction should not be drawn because whatever he say is the stand of the Government.

MR. CHAIRMAN : I quite agree with him.

(Dr. Melkote then left the House)

SHRI M. N. REDDY : The Minister is quite competent and he does not require the defence of the hon. Member.

I referred to certain commitments made by Shri Chavan. Therefore, it was only fair that he should have been present. It was a commitment made by him and not by Shri Shukla. Anyhow, let it remain on record. This shows the attitude of the Central Government towards Telengana.

The national executive of the BKD passed a unanimous resolution on the 28th May 1969 at Delhi, supporting the demand for separate Telengana. SSP and PSP passed resolutions and pleaded in this House, if not for separation, for an autonomous State of Telengana within the State of Andhra Pradesh. Coming to DMK, when the Assam Re-organisation Bill was discussed last year they also supported the demand for an autonomous State. The CPI on the 7th April 1969 submitted a memorandum to the President of India, the Prime Minister and the Home Minister saying that the present Ministry should go, President's Rule should be imposed and the Constitution should be amended to give statutory safeguards to Telengana. CP(M) have made a more or less same demand. The Jansangh on the 6th April, 1969 passed a resolution for the removal of the present Ministry, President's rule and constitutional safeguards.

I am not referring to the Congress Party because that is the government. Now, all the national parties represented here have demanded either a separate Telengana State or autonomous state. Have the Government been supported by any other political party in their present stand ? No. Yet, they have not done anything to meet the demand of any party. That is my grievance against the Central Government.

It is said that the eight point plan envisaged in the statement which the Prime Minister made on the 11th April is a measure that would solve the problem. Most unfortunately, what I have been observing here is that nobody took pains to read the statement in depth and detail. It is neither a Plan, nor a measure nor any solution. It is a cruel joke on the Telengana people. It has made things much worse. What was given to Telengana people under the 19th January, 1969 all party accord in Andhra Pradesh was taken away through this eight-point plan. That is my serious charge against the Central Government. It is a unilateral statement made by the Prime Minister after consulting the Chief Minister and without any consultation with the Telangana leaders or any other person who was affected by such a plan. Shri Nath Pai and Shri Madhu Limaye on the same day said it is a unilateral statement which does not meet the wishes and demands of any party or people of Telangana. So, I submit that the conference was convened on 10th and 11th April, 1969 with the announcement made on 5th April. But on 6th April—all Telangana leaders were arrested. Who came here to attend the conference ? Only two or three Congress leaders were summoned. It was a Congress conference which was not going to solve the problem. Under what background that conference was called you can imagine, whether there was any honest intention on the part of the Central Government to solve the problem. What is the eight-point plan ? It is a fraud on the Constitution. It is an illegal plan and violation of the Constitution and other statutory provisions about which the Home Minister himself may not be fully aware of. A special Article—Article 371—has been brought into the Constitution for Telengana. Under this Article a regional committee has been constituted to look after the interests

of Telengana. Without consulting the regional committee a number of committees have been formed, for instance, Bhargava Committee to determine the surpluses. A committee known as Kumar Lalit Committee was appointed on this subject under the all-party agreement of 19th January, 1969. The Lalit Committee submitted its report on 12th March, 1969. The report was then referred to the regional committee which in turn considered the report. The regional committee consisted mainly of such members who were very close to the Chief Minister, that is, his supporters. They themselves unanimously decided on 7th April, 1969 that the surpluses are to the tune of 108 crores. This report was sent to the Cabinet for their consideration under the Presidential Order of 1958 read with Article 71. When the matter was pending and the amount of surpluses seemed to be huge the Chief Minister and the Andhra Pradesh Ministry decided to hookwink and throw dust in to the eyes of the Telangana people and formed this Bhargava Committee. It is illegal. It has not been formed under the Presidential Order. The Cabinet had to give a decision on surpluses. If they did not agree with the recommendation of the regional committee the matter was to go to the Governor and his order would be final. Therefore the Bhargava Committee has no *locus standi*. A Jurist committee under Mr. Wanchoo, Ex-chief Justice of the Supreme Court was formed, when five judges of the Supreme Court said that this cannot be done. For the self-same purpose. Whether it can be done or not, three jurists were appointed to go into that matter. There was absolutely no necessity of this committee. The high-power development committee. The regional Committee has five committees, that is, on development, education, health, local administration, etc. These are all statutory committees. There cannot be a development committee presided over by the Chief Minister as set out in 8 point plan. No Chief Minister or a Minister can be a Member of the regional committee. They can only address but cannot participate and vote in the committee meetings.

Violating those salutary provisions of the law, in violation of the Regional Committee Order 1958 they constituted a development committee under the chairmanship of the Chief Minister to designate the Regional Committee. Another committee was the im-

plementation committee. That means, the regional committee members are all fools and dunces; they cannot do anything. Therefore, these officials' committee, the bureaucrats' committee and the ministers' committee would look after the functions of the regional committee. It would only appear to sound something big, a high power committee, but they have been appointed in violation of the law and they would not serve any purpose. If anybody goes to the High Court to challenge these committees, the orders appointing those committees will be quashed. Therefore that does not solve the problem.

About the enlargement of the powers of the regional committee. The rule of practice in the past had been that the proceedings of the regional committee would remain confidential. Therefore, no report of the regional committee could be published in the past. All the Members said as to why they have not complained about injustices in the past. They have said that in every report, in 48 reports, but that could not be published. Therefore at the regional committee meeting held on 22nd July, 1969, Shri Vengal, the present Home Minister of Andhra Pradesh and a very close associate of the Chief Minister, himself moved a resolution that the regional committee order should be amended by the Central Government and that this clause should be removed. He said that the regional committee's decision should be mandatory on the State Government. Instead, what have they done? On the 7th March, this year, after considering the matter for one whole year, they have nullified the regional committee order that was issued in 1958 and have added a dilatory provision saying that if there was any disagreement between the Cabinet and the regional committee, the Chairman of the Committee and the Chief Minister would again sit and discuss for weeks and months together without referring it to the Governor. That is a provision which has robbed the regional committee of all effectiveness. They wanted the regional committee decisions to be mandatory; instead, the Central Government have brought in new Procedure under which the decisions of regional committee need not even be referred to the Governor, and the Chief Minister and the Chairman can quietly sit together and go on discussing the matter.

All these committees did not serve any purpose. Unfortunately, the Central leaders

[Shri M. N. Reddy]

have no time. They are looking after their own politics. They have never gone into the provisions and into what was done and what was not done; they are depending on the bureaucrats who are influenced by the Chief Minister and others. Even whatever changes were to be made in the Regional Committee Order 1958 could not be made. This House was unanimous on the 8th April, 1969 that a committee of Parliament Members should be appointed. That was not done. Shri Vajpayee was asked by Shri Chavan to withdraw the motion on the plea that they would consult all the Opposition leaders in solving this problem. But this was also done.

Our demand for a separate Telangana is not for the sake of separation by itself. Separation by itself is something good, is not our contention. But we cannot live in the existing set-up with the exploitation and discrimination by a dominant group that is going on for years. You are unable to prevent that exploitation and discrimination in the present set-up. You are finding yourself helpless and are putting yourselves in a very ridiculous position. You are crushing the democratic movement there. It can only be solved in the way pointed out by the Supreme Court decision in March, 1969 that is a separate State. That was our demand. But you have not considered and acceded even to the demand of other parties and your own members. What else have you done and what are you going to do to solve this problem? Will this problem hang on till 1972?

The problem was never gone into in depth and understood. In the present circumstances I would suggest, let all the Opposition parties nominate their members or leaders. They need not even visit Telangana at this stage. Let them sit in Delhi for a few days and discuss what are the demands of the various sections in Telangana and what are the measures that were really taken by the Central Government so far to solve this problem.

Secondly, what was the objection to implementing the commitment of Shri Chavan, referred to in the preliminary observations, to call an all-party leaders' meeting and the binding resolution of the Informal Consultative Committee of the Home Ministry to call a round table conference? You

have never consulted any Telangana leader in any measure that you propose to take, that you have taken and that you wanted to take. You have always consulted only the big leaders of Andhra here and called the Chief Minister or somebody from there. You have never taken Telangana leaders into confidence. Actually, the problem is that there is a crisis of confidence against the State Government and you want to consult only the State Government. You do not want to create a climate of confidence.

Under these circumstances, I would appeal to you Mr. Chairman, and, through you, to the Central Government and the Home Minister to convene a round-table conference of all the leaders and the Opposition leaders separately and discuss this matter as to whether we can evolve a consensus or a constructive solution to solve the Telangana problem.

Once again, I appeal to you and, through you, to the Central Government and the Home Minister to immediately convene a round-table conference which is overdue.

श्रीमती लक्ष्मीकान्तम्मा (खम्मम) : सभापति महोदय, तेलंगाना समस्या के सम्बन्ध में इस सदन में काफी चर्चा हो चुकी है और उसको दुहराने की मुझे कोई आवश्यकता नहीं है। अभी मेरे मित्र श्री श्रीचन्द गोयल और एम नारायण रेड्डी ने तेलंगाना के प्रश्न के ऊपर अपने विचार प्रकट किये हैं, सविसेज के बारे में उन्होंने कहा है। मुझे अगर समय मिला तो मैं भी उसके बारे में कहूंगी। वैसे जैसा मैंने कहा इस प्रश्न से सम्बन्धित कई बातें कही जा चुकी है और उन सबको दुहराने की इस समय कोई आवश्यकता नहीं है। इसलिए इस परिचित प्रश्न पर जो ध्यान की स्थिति है उसका मेरी समझ में संक्षिप्त उल्लेख ही काफी होगा।

सभापति महोदय, आज कुछ लोगों द्वारा वहाँ के वास्ते जनमतसंग्रह का एक नया नारा उठाया जा रहा है। कुछ लोग इस तरह का सुझाव प्रस्तुत कर रहे हैं। मेरी राय में इससे

बढ़ कर और कोई दूसरा खतरनाक सुभाव नहीं हो सकता है। आप को मालूम है कि राज्य सभा में श्री डी० एस० राजू ने यह मांग की है कि तेलंगाना को मेघालय जैसा स्थान दिया जाय। श्री नारायण रेड्डी साहब ने कहा कि इसे और पार्टियां भी सपोर्ट कर रही हैं तो मेरा कहना है कि मेघालय और तेलंगाना में कोई भी समानता नहीं है। दूसरे वहां के लिए कुछ लोग जो यह ओपीनियन पोल की मांग कर रहे हैं तो उस से बढ़ कर खतरनाक सुभाव दूसरा नहीं हो सकता है। मैं पूछना चाहती हूं कि जनमतसंग्रह का सिद्धान्त क्या हमारे संविधान में किसी भी मामले में स्वीकृत हुआ ? भारत में राज्यों का विभाजन संविधान के अनुसार पार्लियामेंट करती है और पार्लियामेंट को ही करना चाहिए। यदि ऐसा नहीं होगा और राज्यों का पुनर्गठन किसी और ढंग से किया जायेगा तो स्थानीय कारणों के परिणामस्वरूप देश में राज्यों का ढांचा ही बिगड़ जायेगा। यह केवल तेलंगाना या किमी और प्रान्त का प्रश्न नहीं है बल्कि यह प्रश्न पार्लियामेंट के संवैधानिक उत्तरदायित्व का है। इस उत्तरदायित्व से पार्लियामेंट किसी भी परिस्थिति में मुक्त नहीं हो सकती और न ही उसे किसी अन्य पर सौंपा जा सकता है। देश की राज्य व्यवस्था किसी एक प्रान्त को दृष्टि में रख कर नहीं की जा सकती है यह बात बिलकुल स्पष्ट है।

यदि जनमत लेने की ही मांग की जाती है तो यह आवश्यक हो जायेगा कि जनमत लेने की पद्धति को संविधान में समाविष्ट किया जाय और उसे देश की राज्य व्यवस्था के गठन की प्रक्रिया का आधार बनाया जाय। मैं पूछना चाहती हूं कि क्या यह सम्भव नहीं है? क्या यह सदन इस नई पद्धति को अपनाने और संविधान का संशोधन करने को तैयार है। यदि एक बार यह घांघली शुरू हो गई तो इसका अन्त कहां होगा? अतएव मेरी सानुरोध विनती है कि इस नये और खतरनाक नारे का गला

घादि में ही घोंट दें ताकि हमारे इस देश का शीराजा बिलखने से बच जाय।

गोवा का दृष्टान्त जो दिया जा रहा है वह नितान्त भ्रसंगत है। गोवा का इलाका किसी दूसरे देश से हमारे देश में सम्मिलित हुआ था वहां जनमतसंग्रह एक हद तक आवश्यक था और समर्थनीय भी। परन्तु यह तरीका अन्य प्रान्तों या उपप्रान्तों में अपनाया गया तो फिर हमारे देश की एकता को खैरबाद कहना होगा। यही नहीं बल्कि राज्यों के पुनर्गठन का सम्पूर्ण अधिकार जो भारत की पार्लियामेंट को दिया गया है उस प्राविधान का कोई अर्थ नहीं रह जायेगा। मैं पूछना चाहती हूं कि क्या हमारी पार्लियामेंटे अपने इस अधिकार को त्याग देना और उसे प्रान्तों और उप-प्रान्तों, त्रिलों या अन्त में ग्रामों के क्षणिक जनमतसंग्रह पर छोड़ देना उचित समझती है? इसका एक ही उत्तर हो सकता है।

श्रीमती लक्ष्मीबाई (मेडक) : इसका उत्तर कौन देगा ?

श्रीमती लक्ष्मीकान्तम्मा : इसका जवाब जनता देगी, क्योंकि पंचायत के एलेक्शन भा रहे हैं।

जनमतसंग्रह का नारा निकम्मा है और तेलंगाना के मामले में उसे लागू नहीं किया जा सकता। यह तो मैं ने संविधान की बात कही, जिस पर सदन को विचार करना होगा। बाकी आज तेलंगाना में जनमत संग्रह भी बड़े आन्ध्र प्रदेश राज्य के ही अनुकूल है, यह मैं पूर्ण विश्वास के साथ कह सकती हूं। यह बात दिनों दिन अधिक स्पष्ट होती जा रही है। एक और बात में सदन से और गृह मन्त्री से बतला देना चाहती हूं कि अगर आप आज तेलंगाना में जनमत संग्रह की बात को एक्सेप्ट करेंगे तो कल काश्मीर में भी अगर लोग जनमतसंग्रह की मांग करेंगे तो आप क्या जवाब देंगे ?

[श्रीमती लक्ष्मीकान्तम्मा]

एक और नारा दिया गया है कि तेलंगाना को मेघालय जैसा स्थान ही दिया जाये। यह नारा भी ऊट पटांग है। मेघालय और तेलंगाना में रात और दिन का अन्तर है। मेघालय मुख्यतः गिरिजनों और उनकी भाषा, संस्कृति आदि की विभिन्नता पर आधारित है। हमारे संविधान में आदिवासियों और अन्य गिरिजनों की भाषा और संस्कृति को बनाये रखने का स्पष्ट आदेश है। वास्तव में मेघालय उसी आदेश का परिवर्धित स्वरूप है। ऐसी दशा में इस फ़ार्मूले को तेलंगाना प्रदेश पर लागू करना संविधान की विडम्बना के अतिरिक्त और क्या हो सकती है? मेघालय में भाषा और संस्कृति की भिन्नता है तो तेलंगाना में भाषा और संस्कृति की अभिन्नता है। परिस्थिति बिल्कुल उल्टी है। समझ में नहीं आता कि इसके बावजूद मेघालय की समानता का नारा क्यों लगाया जा रहा है।

यह बात भी स्पष्ट है कि तेलंगाना का प्रश्न मूलतः राजनीतिक नहीं है, आर्थिक है, विकास सम्बन्धित है। यह पिछड़ेपन से जुड़ा हुआ है। अतएव इसके लिए किसी राजनीतिक समाधान की मांग करने का कोई अर्थ नहीं, कोई तुक नहीं। राजनीतिक निर्णय तो राज्य की जनता और राज्य के विधायक ही ले सकते हैं। यह सही है कि तेलंगाना प्रान्त से अब तक कोई आन्ध्र प्रदेश का मुख्य मन्त्री नहीं बना। परन्तु इस सदन में कई लोगों को पता नहीं होगा कि 1960 में ही, जब श्री संजीव रेड्डी ए. आई. सी. सी. के प्रेजिडेंट बने तो राज्य का मुख्य मन्त्री पद तेलंगाना वालों की मुट्ठी में आ गया था। उस समय तेलंगाना के व्यक्ति को मुख्य मन्त्री बनाने की खूब-खूब चर्चा चली थी। आन्ध्र प्रदेश के कई विधायक भी इसके पक्ष में थे। उस समय में भी विधान सभा में थी, इसलिए मुझ को सब कुछ मालूम है। परन्तु मुख्यतः तेलंगाना प्रान्त के विधायकों ने

ही जिनमें हमारे नये संसद सदस्य श्री बी. बी. राजू प्रधान हैं और श्री रामचन्द्र रेड्डी ने तेलंगाना के व्यक्ति को मुख्य मन्त्री बनाने की मुखालिफत में निर्णायक रोल भ्रदा किया था।

श्री जी बंकटस्वामी (सिद्दिपेट) : बोले कौन ?

श्रीमती लक्ष्मीकान्तम्मा : आपको मालूम है कि इस पर चर्चा हुई। श्री संजीव रेड्डी तेलंगाना का मुख्य मन्त्री बनाने के लिए तैयार थे। सिर्फ तेलंगाना के लोगों ने इसका विरोध किया था।

श्री जी बंकटस्वामी : हमने गलती की कि संजीव रेड्डी को प्रेजिडेंट बनाया।

श्रीमती लक्ष्मीकान्तम्मा : मैं एक दो बातें इस सम्बन्ध में और कहना चाहूँगी। उन दिनों तेलंगाना के विद्यार्थियों और जनता को जो आंकड़े दिये गये, और जिनका ठीक समय पर खंडन नहीं हो पाया, उन्हीं आंकड़ों के कारण अलगाव की भावना प्रबल हो गई। उदाहरण के लिये यह कहा गया कि एक लाख से भी अधिक मुलाजमतें जो तेलंगाना के निवासियों को मिलनी चाहियें थीं, आंध्र प्रदेश के लोगों ने हड़प कर ली है।

सभापति महोदय, यह भी कहा गया है कि— तेलंगाना की आमदनी में से सौ करोड़ रुपये से भी अधिक आंध्र प्रान्त के विकास पर खर्च किया गया है और तेलंगाना को उसके वाजिब विकास से वंचित रखा गया है। इन आंकड़ों से स्पष्ट है कि लोगों में इस प्रकार का प्रचार किया जाता है ताकि उनमें तीव्र असन्तोष पैदा हो और क्रोध उनमें भड़के। आप देखें कि इन मामलों में सत्यांश कितना है? अधिकृत आंकड़ों के अनुसार जहाँ 92 हजार से अधिक मुलाजमतें सम्भूति के अनुसार तेलंगाना के प्रमाणित निवासियों को दी गई, वहाँ लगभग चार हजार मुलाजमतें आन्ध्र प्रान्त तथा अन्य प्रान्तों के

निवासियों को मिलीं। ऐसा भी क्यों हुआ और इन चार हजार मुलाजमतों की तफसील क्या है, इस और भी मैं सदन का ध्यान आकषित करना चाहती हूँ। इन चार हजार मुलाजमतों में से 1600 से अधिक शिक्षक थे। 1800 नर्स और मिड वाइव्ज थीं और 400 से अधिक स्टैनोग्राफर थे। लगभग 700 बपड़ासी और बाकी 500 के करीब अन्य थे। शिक्षक, नर्स और स्टैनोग्राफर किसने नियुक्त किये? ये तेलंगाना की जिला परिषदों द्वारा नियुक्त हुए न कि वहाँ की गवर्नमेन्ट ने इनको नियुक्त किया।

इस संदर्भ में आन्ध्र सरकार ने यह भी माना था कि यदि किसी भी कारण से एक पंचवर्षीय योजना में तेलंगाना के विकास पर खर्च किये जायें वाले रुपये में कोई कमी रह जाये तो उसकी पूर्ति अगली योजना में अवश्य की जायेगी। इसी के अनुसार दूसरी योजना में जो कमी पाई गई, वह तीसरी योजना के समय पूरी कर दी गई। उसके साथ-साथ तेलंगाना में विकास की गति बढ़ाकर अधिक खर्च करने का प्रयास हुआ।

अभी अभी हमारे एक माननीय सदस्य ने 107 करोड़ की बात कही है। रिज्जनाल कमेटी का इसके बारे में कुछ और ही कहा था। भागवत कमेटी ने 28 करोड़ की बात कही थी और बताया था कि आन्ध्र पर यह राशि खर्च कर दी गई। अनौपचारिक भाषणों और अनधिकृत वार्तालिपियों में तो यहाँ तक कहा गया है कि दो सौ करोड़ से भी अधिक पैसा तेलंगाना से लूट कर आन्ध्र में लोग खा गये हैं। इस प्रकार की जो बातें हैं वे राजनीतिक आशय से तथा अतिशयोक्तिपूर्ण प्रचार करने की दृष्टि से कही जाती हैं।

श्रव परिस्थिति में स्पष्टता आई है। प्रधान मन्त्री ने स्टेटमेंट दिया है। उन्होंने इस मामले में इंटरैस्ट लिया है। उन्होंने तेलंगाना के वास्ते अष्ट सूत्री योजना प्रस्तुत की है। उनके सुझावों पर धमल हो, इस लिये हमको कुछ समय देना

होगा। मैं पार्लिमेंट के मੈम्बरों से अनुरोध करती हूँ कि उनकी इस योजना को कार्यान्वित करने के लिये कुछ समय देना उचित होगा।

SHRI HEM BARUA (Mangaldai) : Sir, the Telangana problem is to be studied and examined in a wider context. In the context of independence, every region of India considers itself to be submerged and exploited. There is no doubt about it.

Even Uttar Pradesh, which has supplied three Prime Ministers consecutively, thinks that it is a backward area. Here is a movement whereby every region wants to go to the surface, go over much ahead, and this has produced a sort of deadlock in political thinking in this country.

Whatever that might be, Sir, it is Socialism which can alone solve the problem of the people; and, exploitation, from whatever source it might come from is a reprehensible thing. All exploitation must be ended.

What is happening in India, Sir? Today political vested interests are growing in this country. It is this mentality of the rulers which has divided the people from the rulers. There is no doubt about it.

There is no doubt about it. Now, here is a fact that Telangana has been exploited both economically and administratively and I can cite instances galore. There was a gentleman's agreement on 20th February, 1956. What has happened to that agreement? It has made one thing clear that they did not agree with one another. Telangana is a compact area. There is no doubt about it.

Now, when we talk about the language, there is no reason why we should apply the language in the case of Andhra Pradesh alone and not apply it in the case of other States of India? There are five or six Hindi-speaking States in India. Why have you forgotten that after all the language is a binding force? And there is no doubt about that. Why should you cut out Hindi-speaking States into six different States?

My point is that this exploitation of the Telangana area is a fact. The fact that the Prime Minister had to come with eight-point programme to end this exploitation is a confirmation of the fact that Telangana was neglected during all these years. And the very fact that the present Chief Minister

[Shri Hem Barua]

of Andhra Pradesh, Shri Brahmananda Reddy, has come out with his assertion that whatever progress has been achieved in Telangana was during his regime—he became the Chief Minister in 1964—is a confirmation of the fact that Telangana has been exploited.

Now, the non-gazetted Officers' Union has submitted a memorandum to the Prime Minister from the bachelors' quarters in Hyderabad and it gives details of the cases as to how people are being exploited and how the people's promotion is being retarded. Take the case of the Civil Assistant Surgeon, A list for promotion containing 107 names was prepared. The hundred and seventh man was promoted by-passing the claims of all the 106 Telangana men. Is it not a case of injustice or exploitation? Can you tell me that it is not an evidence of injustice? In the case of Assam, you have had Meghalaya. Meghalaya was not economically or linguistically exploited by the people of the plain? And yet you had this; and you accepted Assam as a laboratory for all sorts of experiments. What was the gentlemen's agreement here? There was a discussion and during the discussion the minds of the people were known. When Vishal Andhra was constituted, it was stated that there should be Telangana and Andhra Pradesh—the new State should be called Andhra-Telangana. That shows that there is no unity so far as the minds of the people are concerned.

Shri Fazl Ali Commission apprehended one thing, that the two regions are different. Unless the Central Government takes interest in the matter, nothing will be done. What has the Central Government done? It has not taken any interest whatsoever in the welfare of the people living in the Telangana region. Even Shri Chavan and the Prime Minister visited Hyderabad only after the trains had been burnt. There is a tendency in this country to say that the Telangana movement was pitted against something by the students and then the politicians jumped into the band wagon of the movement. Now, this is also a fact. The idea uppermost in the minds of the politicians is to become ministers. The minister's job embraces not only political power but also economic power. If you cannot become a Minister through the usual democratic process, how can you become a minister? That is not so

as far as Telangana is concerned because the movement was started not by the politicians there but it was started by the students.

Now, Sir, Shri Reddy had described this as movement of urchins which as joined by the politicians his compatriots, whom he describes as vultures.

SHRIMATI LAKSHMIKANTHAMMA : May I clarify the position? I was present at that meeting where he said it. He was referring by the term 'vultures' to the feudals who was exploited the people of Telangana.

SHRI RABI RAY (Puri) : The use of the term 'vulture' was uncivilised.

SHRI HEM BARUA (Mangaldai) : He described those politicians as vultures, but then he forgot that those vultures were once his compatriots. You know that Mr. Liu Shao Chi was the Chairman of the Communist Chinese country, but when he was de-throned, he was declared as a traitor. If the same thing were to happen here also, then what is the difference between democracy and dictatorship? If you can call your own compatriots as vultures, then what is the difference between democracy and dictatorship?

This is a movement, not of the urchins, but of the students. The police had resorted to firing as many as 200 times in Telangana, and 300 souls were lost, and 74 lakhs of students, boys and girls, boycotted their schools and colleges for a complete year. If that be so, how do you call it a movement of the urchins? You cannot call it a movement of the urchins. Now, my suggestion is this. In the consultative committee, a suggestion was made by Shri Surendranath Dwivedy, and it was accepted, that a round-table conference of the leaders of the two regions at least should be called, and the whole problem thrashed out. What have the Government done about the round table conference? They were sleeping over it. Now, the people of Telangana are losing confidence not only in the State Government there which has exploited it threadbare, but also in the Union Governments' because it is the duty of the Union Government to look to the develop-

ment problems of the under-developed parts of a country.

I think that a round-table conference should be summoned immediately, and a parliamentary delegation should visit that area immediately in order to find out the real situation there.

SHRI K. NARAYANA RAO (Bobbili) : Now, the position is very clear there, and, therefore, they can go now.

SHRI HEM BARUA : Whether the position is clear or not is immaterial. A parliamentary delegation should go and visit and try to know the psychology of the people living in the Telengana region, and know how they have been exploited.

Economic exploitation of the people of Telengana by the Andhra region is a fact ; there has been economic exploitation as well as exploitation in the matter of services. Otherwise, why did they promote the 107th man to the civil surgeon's office neglecting the claims of 106 Telengana people ? If you read the memorandum submitted by the non-gazetted officers to the Prime Minister, you will get a clear view of the writing on the wall of time, it is very clear ; only the blind cannot read the import of this writing on the wall of time.

SHRI G. S. REDDI (Miryalguda) : I am one of those who believe that the linguistic division of India is a wrong done to our country, because our society is divided into several castes, communities and creeds, and our past history tells us that we have not been ruled by any single ruler from north to south in the past. So, in such a society, if language is added as an additional factor and a division is made on that basis, then our country suffers, as it has been suffering now. From the different kinds of internal struggles that are going on between one State and another, it is clear that the division of the country on the basis of the linguistic pattern has been a great mistake.

Parochial and regional loyalties are being nurtured at the cost of our national interest. Our parochial and regional loyalties take us far away from the real goal. Looking at our past history, we find that we were subject to several invasions from

foreign countries. The Dutch, the French and the British and the Moghuls had invaded our country and we were the sufferers. We could not unite and we could not develop the Indian culture. In such a situation our country has again been divided into different States on a linguistic pattern.

The quarrels between one State and another remind us of our past wrangles before the Muslim and British rulers invaded our country. If our past history has taught us any lesson, it is that united we stand, divided we fall.

AN HON. MEMBER : Good sermon.

SHRI G.S. REDDI : It is not a sermon but a fact.

With this sole aim, I have been carrying on a campaign against linguistic States. From the replier I have received from several MPs and other leaders in the country, I find that my angle of thought is correct.

This aim of abolishing linguistic states is a difficult one to achieve because we have tasted power and authority after the carving of small states and have developed selfish and separatist tendencies. Are we going to put a full stop to all these fissiparous tendencies or are we going to allow them to take as a full turn down to Doomsday ? Will our national leaders bestow serious thought to our national failures and rise to the occasion and fight these tendencies ?

Coming to the Telengana problem, I want to say that backward Telengana has been neglected. But what is the remedy for backwardness, unemployment and under-employment. The first sign of any backwardness is want of education. So I want to open more schools. When I want to open more schools and get my children educated, I want more teachers. We should get these teachers. But were to get them in Telengana ? As Chairman of a zila parishad, I had to borrow hundreds of thousands of teachers so as to see that schools are opened and our children are educated. I have competed with the chairmen of other zila parishads in Telengana to see that more and more schools are opened, more and more children are educated. Therefore to say that there should be no education and we should remain separate is doing great injustice to Telengana.

[Shri G. S. Reddi]

I had to get a number of B. Eds, mathematics teachers, specially lady teachers, nurses and midwives. If my district and my people are to prosper and count among others, there is no alternative to this. Today I can boast that my district can be compared to the neighbouring district of Guntur in the number of schools and high schools.

This year we are faced with the problem of opening more and more colleges. But we are up against the same difficulty.

We have plenty of land in Telengana. But they are barren. There is no capital, there are no inputs. Our Telengana farmers are backward. Therefore, we have to sell part of the land to the Andhra people. But now we are able to grow our crops for better than those in the Andhra region. Is this wrong? Why should landlords and zamindars feel jealous that they were not able to grab lands cheap at rates dictated by them so that they may be fattened further and our poor farmers may get thinner and poorer? Who can stop this talent flowing from one region to another? Who can stop talent flowing from higher levels to lower levels? Can we put artificial barriers against this kind of flow of thought? We see nothing wrong in our getting foreign talent, foreign know how to develop our industry. So why grudge our Andhra brethren sinking their money and talent for the overall improvement Andhra Pradesh as a whole?

Has not Hyderabad improved since the merger? Have not industries grown? Have not new factories been set up? Have not new colonies grown? Have not all the vacant sites and barren lands been made green and fruit? The grapes of Hyderabad have earned the pride of place in India?

The Nawabs and Jagirdars, who kept big estates vacant, barren and fruitless, sold them out and today we see life in every nook and corner of Hyderabad and Secunderabad. Is it wrong if our Jagirdars got some needed money to improve their lot as they can no more depend on Government jobs? If my land which cost hardly Rs. 2 per sq. yard in the past sells at Rs. 20 to Rs. 50 per sq. yard today, it is loss or a gain?

If our rich landlords and well-to-do people are able to go to Andhra parts and Andhras come in search of good dowries, can anybody stop this in flow of people, brides and bridegrooms to Hyderabad to enrich the city of Hyderabad? All the Andhras take pride in this vast expansion of Hyderabad unforeseen for many years, Madras or Kurnool people should complain.

Let us not generate feelings of separation. That will spell disaster to all of us. I will quote a single instance to show how the non-vigilant, non-alert people suffer. The other day, the Joint Committee on Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes visited Hyderabad to hear the complaint of the fishermen. The fishermen are called Agnikula Kshatrias or Pal'is in the Andhra region, and Gangaputras in the Telengana region. When the Committee visited the Andhra region, the fishermen of the Andhra region were able to get their name included in the List of Scheduled Tribes, whereas the Gangaputras fishermen of the Telengana region were not able to get their name included in the List.

SHRIMATI LAXMI BAI: Thousands of them were there.

SHRI G.S. REDDI: But they were not able to assert themselves and get their name included.

SHRI G. VENKATASWAMY (Siddipet): The Andhra people are so clever.

SHRI G. S. REDDI: You should also be clever.

This is one instance to show that when we are not able to assert ourselves, there is no use of blaming others. It may be, as Mr. Venkataswamy said, the Andhras are clever, but we should also learn from their cleverness to be more clever. Inter Eternal vigilance is the price of liberty.

We had great leaders like Burgula, Sanjiva Reddi, Sanjivayya and Brahmananda Reddi as Chief Ministers. We have our Telengana leaders, now out of power, like Konda Laxman Babuji, V.B. Raju, N. Ramachandra Reddi, Sada Laxmi, K. V. Ranga Reddi and Dr. Chenna Reddi. They were Ministers in the Cabinet with important

portfolios. If they were not vigilant or assertive or protesting, how can they now say that the Andhra employees rushed in and captured all the Telengana vacancies, lands and surpluses.

There was a time when our Telengana leaders K. V. Ranga Reddi and Dr. Chenna Reddi fought for separation and we all joined. Shri V. B. Raju and the late Burgula were for integration. Some how, all these fighters, on one fine morning, joined hands without our knowledge. In spite of it, we bowed our heads in reverence and obedience. Now, our leaders are asking us to revolt against what they have committed themselves solemnly to, good or bad. How can we? We have grown and begun to think, especially I have begun to think, that separate or linguistic States are intrinsically bad.

The latest demand according to Mr. V. B. Raju, who made a speech the other day, when he was pressed to say what he wanted, is this. This is what he said.

"A Separate Budget is already agreed to; a separate developmental plan is agreed to; a separate industrial planning is agreed to; separate educational facilities are already there. The Regional Committee sits separately with 100 Members. The latest is the Chief Minister has agreed for separate services. What is left is only separate politics."

Then Members asked what he means by separate politics. He replied that it meant the aspirations of the people of Telengana. 'Separate politics' means the Chief Ministership or the Deputy-Chief Ministership that is the interpretation that I give. Finally he came round and said that he had the 'Meghalaya type statehood' in mind.

I have been the chairman of a zila parishad and I can say what the people want... (*Interruptions*) What is the symptom of the people? In our zila parishad there was a chairman who was a pro-Telengana man and all the zila parishad members met together and passed a motion of no-confidence against him and brought in a man who was for integration. Is this not an indication of the people's aspirations?... (*Interruptions*) I shall quote a few lines from Mr. Kota Punnasiah's speech.

This is what he says :

"Everybody speaks of the people. I do not understand the meaning of 'people' because 20 per cent. of them are Scheduled Castes, 60 per cent. are of the Backward Communities and among that 20 per cent. also 10 per cent. are the sufferers for ages, particularly the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes I cannot understand therefore the crocodile tears of these people."

He further says :

"In the name of the Telengana people lootings take place and in the name of the Telengana people everything is taking place there but the Telengana people have nothing to do with this agitation. They are not concerned with any of these atrocities. They are in the villages."

The Telengana people who are in the villages are not at all behind this movement. It is only an agitation in the urban areas which everybody can see.

SHRI MUTHYAL RAO (Nagarkurnool) Mr. G. S. Reddi in his speech has referred the proceedings of the Rajya Sabha. May I therefore request you to expunge all his speech from the proceedings of this House? (*Interruptions.*)

MR. CHAIRMAN : Shri A. T. Sarma.

SHRI A. T. SARMA (Bhanjanagar) : Sir, I want to give a complete picture of the agitation and why it started at all. It started in January 1969. Originally it was organised by the students. But after a few months, ex-minister Dr. Chenna Reddy, Konda Lakshman and others joined together and it took such a severe shape that it was unbearable and the citizens of Andhra were afraid of these people. The agitation was very severe. About 16 lakh students boycotted the schools and colleges. Schools and colleges were closed. There were 200 firings and about 300 lives were lost. But not a single judicial enquiry has been made till now. At that time it was very severe and the Prime Minister was obliged to visit the area and promise that safeguards would be given to the people of Telengana.

Telengana was a part of Hyderabad State. When Hyderabad was annexed to

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the Indian Republic, it consisted of three parts Marathwada, Karnatak and Telengana. The recommendations of the Commission which was appointed, were published in October 1956. They recommended that Marathwada should go to Maharashtra, and Karnatak to Mysore. But they were afraid and they did not recommend that Telengana should go to Andhra because the people of Telengana were innocent and they did not know what civilisation was. Except Hyderabad, the people of Telengana are innocent and backward in every respect. But the people of Andhra are advanced and powerful. So, the commission thought that Telengana people would suffer if Telengana was given to Andhra. So, they recommended that Telengana should remain a small, separate State. That is the history. But the leaders of Andhra approached the Centre and voluntarily offered safeguards to the Telengana people. Pantji was in charge of the Home Ministry here and under his able guidance, there was a compromise or agreement between the Telengana people and Andhra people. The following safeguards were given to the Telengana people :

1. Protection in government services in Telengana.
2. Income of Telengana to be spent on Telengana development.
3. Constitution of regional council.
4. Telengana Deputy Chief Minister.
5. Separate PCC for Telengana.

These were the safeguards promised to the people of Telengana.

AN HON. MEMBER : Nothing was implemented.

17.00 hrs.

SHRI A. T. SARMA : I am coming to that.

This was known as the Gentlemen's Agreement. Pantji was the author of this agreement. Under his guidance, this agreement was given to the people. These safeguards were given statutory shape in the following manner. Public Employment Regulation Act, 1957 was passed by Parliament to protect the interests of the Telengana people in service. Secondly, article 371 of the Constitution was amended to constitute regional committees for Telengana and special powers were given to

the Governor of Andhra Pradesh to safeguard the interests of the Telengana region and its people. Thirdly, a Presidential Order was issued in 1958 constituting regional committees for Telengana. Besides these, there were many other safeguards. For instance, the State should be called Andhra-Telengana State.

AN HON. MEMBER : That was not agreed to at that time.

SHRI A. T. SARMA : I am stating everything. These are the three important conditions—one is the province should be called Andhra-Telengana State ; secondly, the income from Telengana area should be utilized for the development of that area ; thirdly, if the Chief Minister happens to be from Andhra area. These were the three most important safeguards which were promised to the people of the Telengana.

Telengana consists of 9 districts with a population of $1\frac{1}{2}$ crores. Nothing has been done about these safeguards. Even though the interference of the Prime Minister and the appointment of the Central Advisory Committee had the effect of making the agitation subside for nine months, nothing has been materialised. So, the agitation is coming up again. What the SRC anticipated is happening in Telengana area.

The people of that area want to exercise their power and the innocent people do not know how to do it. Because they are hungry people they commit all sorts of impropriety. That is what we see in Telengana area in the form of disturbances. Why are they agitating ? They are agitating because they are being exploited by others and they have no place anywhere. They are being killed like ants. There is police raj. Previously, firing used to take place occasionally. Now it is taking place in hundreds and yet no inquiry has been ordered even for a single firing. You can imagine their miserable life. There is no law and order and there is police raj. Whether the people of Telengana area demand a separate State or not, it is our duty to ensure that human beings are not made to suffer. They should not suffer. They are our brothers. We must take pity on them. I request both the Central and the State Government to show pity to their brethren. In the name of humanity I appeal

to them to be polite to their brethren. The action they are taking is inhuman and that is why they are agitating.

Now, what is to be done? The S.R.C. did not recommend the inclusion of Telangana in Andhra. The people there now want that they should have a separate State. So far as I am concerned I am dead against it. Why? Our policy is to form provinces on linguistic basis and at that time also this policy was adopted. The people of Telangana speak Telugu and the people of Andhra also speak Telugu. The language is the same but there is difference of opinion and behaviour. They want unity and want to live with their brothers just like in a family but they are forced to do these things because there is no other alternative. We should see the safeguards are materialised. They want their money is utilised for that area. Some hon'ble Member said that teachers are not available. I know teachers are available there but they are not in a position to compete with the teachers from Andhra Pradesh. They are being thrown away and these teachers go there and exercise their mastership. There is party politics in the handling of this matter by the Central and the State Governments. Here I do not like such nasty party policies when human beings are suffering like anything. Therefore, I request the Government to do justice to the people of Telangana and see that their interests are not otherwise exploited. For that purpose they should depend on the representatives from that area. There are representatives from Telangana. They were not consulted in matter. The Government does whatever it likes. If things are sincerely done: If the representatives of what area are consulted and Government acts according to their views, I think, this movement will not last any longer. The people there do not want to be away from their brethren; they want justice; they want their services; they want their money for the development of their area.

****SHRI K. SURYANARAYANA** (Eluru): Mr. Chairman, Sir, this discussion on Telangana has not thrown up any new or constructive suggestion for the solution of the Telangana problem. Similar discussions have been held in the past also. When there are more pressing problems facing the

country I feel it would be better for the people of Andhra as well as the Telangana regions if the Central Government, the State Government and the leaders of Telangana sit round a table, discuss the question and come to an agreed solution. It is not only Telangana area which is backward. There are a number of backward and undeveloped areas in our country. Even in Telangana, Nalgonda district is the most backward area. After the Panchayat elections, they hope to improve the conditions there. When we talk of backward areas, I may tell you that my own constituency is much more backward than Telangana region. In the constituency of Shrimati Radha Rai, there are still some people of backward classes who cannot afford clothing to cover their modesty. In fact, our country itself is one of the most underdeveloped nations in the world. This bogie of backwardness of their region is to my way of thinking, being raised purely on political considerations as stated by Shri Narayana Reddy and Shri V.B. Raju I find no other explanation for the agitation. I submit that we are not the only representatives of the people; there are the members of the State Legislature also who are more intimately concerned with the problems of the region. These are the people who elect the Chief Minister and therefore I submit that the problems should be discussed more appropriately in the Andhra Pradesh Legislative Assembly.

If you look at the genesis of this agitation, as I stated earlier you will find that it is a political agitation and nothing else. When Dr. Chenna Reddy invited people from Guntur district to the Telangana region for its development, there was no voice of opposition raised then. If the Andhras have gone to the Telangana region it is only to bring prosperity and plenty to that region. There is no politics involved in this (*Inter-uptions*) There was no dispute when the enlarged Andhra State was formed in 1956 and subsequently also when the people from Andhra region migrated to Telangana to contribute towards its development. But it is a unfair and improper that we, the people from the Andhra region, should also be involved in the political wrangle there. It is a well known fact that where the people grid up their loins and work hard, that area develops and progresses,

**The Original speech was delivered in Telugu.

[Shri K. Suryanarayana]

be it Telengana, Andhra or any other part of the country. I can cite the example of the coastal region of Andhra where people have constructed two anicuts across the rivers with their own labour, and developed that area during the British time. This was looked up on with suspicion by the people of Madras who felt that the revenues of the composite State of Madras were being expended on the Andhra region only. But even then, when we parted company in 1953 on the creation of Andhra State, we did not resort to violence or agitation. The demand for a separate State of Telengana is obviously inspired by political considerations so that more people can become ministers in the State. Except this, I do not see any validity or justification for this agitation. I have already stated earlier that there is no use in discussing this problem here; the MLAs of the Andhra Pradesh should discuss this in the Assembly. In the near future there will be elections to the Panchayati samitis and Zilla Parishads in Andhra Pradesh. These elections can be utilized to decide this issue. I request my hon. friends here that irrespective of party affiliations, they should place this issue before the people and abide by their verdict. When we wanted the Andhra State, under the leadership of late Shri Prakasam, Shri Tenneti Viswanatham and I agitated but at the same time carried on discussion with the leaders. We did not resort to violence. There was no damage to property or loss of life in our agitation. On the issue of a separate Andhra State all the 7 assembly members then resigned and were subsequently re-elected thus demonstrating the overwhelming support of the people to the issue involved. So what I suggest once again is that the seven Assembly members in a parliamentary constituency there, shall act likewise to create and demonstrate the public opinion on the issue of Telengana in a democratic way. This will be a better course than having these discussions in Parliament.

In support of its stand each side is quoting facts and figures on development of the respective regions. These are not figures compiled by private individuals but by Government agencies only. Even Shri V. B. Raju when he was a Minister in the State Government vouched for these statistics. I would not like to the time of the House by extensive quotations but I shall limit myself

only to two instances. In the matter of electrification of towns and villages in Telengana region the figures have gone up from 3.2% in 1956-57 to 30.2% in 1967-68. Similar by in the matter of education there was 40.6% increase between 1956-57 and 1966-67 in regard to the establishment of schools. If this is not development what else is? From this it is evident that no injustice has been done to the Telengana region in the matter of development. When the State was under the Nizam there was no electricity or schools in the Hyderabad State except in the twin cities of Hyderabad and Secunderabad. This has been accepted on all hands.

As I have submitted earlier this is only a political game. They are calling it a people's agitation but it is not so. Last April when I was going in my car it was stopped on the road by some people; Shri Sanjiva Reddy's car was also stopped. When I asked them for the reason, they had no answer except that this was a method of collecting some money. That was all. If I had my way, I would plead with them and convince them that, if they thought that by resorting to agitational tactics, their purpose would be achieved then they were mistaken. Violent agitations leading to loss of life and property will not solve the problem. In the game of power politics innocent people are the worst sufferers. To achieve your aims, I request you humbly to go to the people, convince them and achieve your object through democratic means. I have no objection if a separate Telengana State is formed. But my only worry is that the proliferation of small States which will not be economically viable will only weaken our country.

My own district is a backward area. 70% of the people have to purchase grains from the market. In spite of this, when grain was procured by Government, we gave them 3 lakhs tonnes. This necessitated payment of higher wages to the agricultural labour to compensate them for the rise in the price of foodgrains which worked out to Rs. 23/- per quintal. My point in citing this is to show that we should be prepared to accommodate each other for the common good. If this problem is to be solved, there should be a spirit of give and take. The best forum is the Andhra Pradesh Legislative Assembly. Let the venue be shifted to Hyderabad. My submission is that there

should be no suffering caused to the common men either in Andhra or in Telengana because of this agitation. The atmosphere is vitiated by suspicion in the minds of the people about the *bona fides* of one another. The Andhras are there everywhere, they are not only in Telengana. Wherever there has been agricultural development you would find Andhras there. Even after 17 years you still find Andhra farmers in Tamil Nadu and there are about 30 Andhras in Tamil Nadu Assembly and about 30 to 40 Andhras as Chairmen of Municipalities in Tamil Nadu. There are Andhras in Katui, Jabalpur in Madhya Pradesh. These people have not gone there to dominate over those places. We are all farmers and people from the middle class; we are not landlords. Shri G. S. Reddy is under a misapprehension if he thinks that to perpetuate a feudal order the Andhras are there in Telengana. The majority of MLAs and MPs are from the middle class only.

If the dispute is to be resolved, let public opinion and a favourable climate be created. The forthcoming panchayat elections can be fought on this issue in a democratic way. I therefore, request all parties to bear in mind the realities of the situation and ensure that a peaceful solution to the problem is found soon.

SHRI S. KANDAPPAN (Mettur): The hon. Member who just preceded me has made a case that instead of discussing this issue on the floor of this House, it would have been better if it was discussed on the floor of the local Assembly. I wish it could be done, but unfortunately, the constitutional position being what it is, I am afraid, you cannot discuss the question of creation of a State on the floor of the Assembly unless you concede my point that more powers should be given to the States and the Constitution should be radically amended accordingly.

I would like to take up the point raised by Mr. G. S. Reddy, namely, that 'United we stand'. That is the caption, I find, of one of the booklets brought out by the Government of Andhra Pradesh. I have nothing against the slogan provided it could succeed. What I feel concerned about is this. He made a case which, I don't think, is relevant. He found fault with the creation of linguistic States. I feel this sort of argu-

ment is raised everywhere. The creation of linguistic States, according to me, has done immense good. That is my feeling. If we cannot follow it up and if you encounter difficulties due to other reasons, there is no use blaming the creation of linguistic States. It is not only being said in this House but it is expressed elsewhere also. It is often repeated as if it is the panacea for all our ills and that we should do away with the linguistic States and then the country should proceed further and get strengthened. Sir, one quotation I would like to give from the report of the Nehru Committee of the All-Parties Conference in 1928. This is again from the same pamphlet circulated by the Andhra Pradesh Government.

"If a province has to educate itself and do its daily work through the medium of its own language, it must necessarily be a linguistic area. If it happens to be a polyglot area difficulties will continually arise and the media of instruction and work will be two or even more languages. Hence it becomes most desirable for provinces to be re-grouped on a linguistic basis. Language as a rule corresponds with a special variety of culture, of traditions and literature. In a linguistic area all these factors will help in the general progress of the province."

I don't think we can quarrel with this basis. The difficulty arose due to so many other reasons. Look at the formula given by the States Reorganization Commission. In most of the cases after the S.R.C. has given certain formula, the difficulties arose precisely because the follow-up action to be taken afterwards was not properly taken. Take the case of Telengana. Even S.R.C. has not recommended a unitary State. In fact they were for the creation of a separate Telengana State. Afterward it was due to the Gentlemen's Agreement which was repeated off and on everywhere, that these two parts were united and administration was carried on for the past more than a decade.

Sir, I would like to make my position very clear. If one were to believe the pamphlets circulated by the Andhra Government, my feeling is that there is more powerful case for Andhra to separate from Telengana than for Telengana to separate from Andhra. (*Incorruption*) Let us look at

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facts. I may tell Mr. Rao that I have no axe to grind in Andhra Pradesh either presently or in future and we have no intention of starting a D.M.K party at this stage, though we would like to have a southern Federation within the Indian Union. I am talking of things objectively. You have got to explain to us as to how this agitation started in such a spontaneous manner.

Sir, everybody has agreed that at least a minimum of 300 people have been killed and more than 200 firings took place. As some previous speakers pointed out, there was no judicial enquiry in any of these firings. Not only that. The agitation was spontaneous and is being sustained till now though there is some lull now and there is no violence. But, there is no guarantee that in future the atmosphere of peace will prevail for all time to come. Because, Sir, the other day, after discussion had taken place in the Rajya Sabha, I found immediate reaction in Andhra Pradesh, from students and many other organisations of the Telengana area, issuing statements that they are not even going to accept formula suggested by Dr. Raju.

Such being the emotion, I fail to understand, how you could ignore the problem altogether. If you could ignore it, or as Mr. G. S Reddy put it, if they could prevail upon the people in Telengana, it is well and good. I have no objection.

After all, Andhra is a very great State : it has got a history behind it. Even Aitareya Brahmana refers to the name 'Andhra'. Even in our ancient Tamil literature there is reference to 'Andhiran' and many of the historians of Tamil literature are inclined to believe that it refers to Andhras.

But, let us be objective. Even the atmosphere prevailing in the House during this discussion goes to prove that there is a psychological anti-feeling against each other. When Mr. A. T. Sharma suggested that the name should be changed as Andhra-Telengana immediately it was objected to.

SHRI THIRUMALA RAO (Kakinada) : Andhra Pradesh is a well established name agreed by all parties. Why do you rake up old things for your argument ? (*Interruption*)

SHRI S. KANDAPPAN : Sir, I am not arguing either for the name as Andhra

Pradesh or for the other one suggested by Mr. A. T. Sharma. Why I point this out is because I don't find the atmosphere of give and take on the floor of the House. That is my point. If the addition of the word 'Telengana' to Andhra Pradesh and calling the State as Andhra-Telengana could satisfy their sentiments, why should it be objected to ? But we find that on the floor of the House that atmosphere of give and take is lacking. It is very clear from this that the prevailing atmosphere there is not so conducive as some Members try to make out. This is my objective observation.

I entirely blame the Central Government for this state of affairs. This is, I think, the fourth time that a discussion on Telengana is taking place in this House...

SHRI RABI RAY : Fifth time.

SHRI S. KANDAPPAN : Yes. I myself have spoken for the third time or second time, most probably, apart from other spokesmen from my party.

Now, what I want to emphasise is this. Unless there is some live agitation and violence, Government do not seem to move at all. I would like to quote a famous author.—I think it is the Russian author, Mr. Turgenyev,—who said :

"Weak-willed people never put an end to anything, but wait for the end to come."

That is exactly what the Government of India is doing in respect of this matter. They allow things to drift without taking a firm decision when the time is ripe.

So, I insist upon the suggestion which was already agreed upon by the Government in the Consultative Committee that there a Round-Table Conference.

What is the difficulty in discussing this problem ? This is rather the time, before we allow any further provocation, to settle this problem. Even to-day I find that the hon. Home Minister's behaviour in not remaining present here may provoke these people.

MR. CHAIRMAN : He was not keeping well. But, still, the Minister of State is present.

SHRI S. KANDAPPAN : I see the agitation in a different context. The people to-day react even to this kind of small things. After all, he was present when the discussion was initiated and then he left suddenly. Of course we know his difficulty; he was not doing well. But this sort of lukewarm attitude of the Government in not coming to any decision whatsoever may also provoke these people and it may make it difficult to find any solution in future.

The Government of India, without further loss of time, should at least convene a round table conference, or as Shri Reddy suggested, a Parliamentary Committee or something else to discuss this matter and find a solution when there is an atmosphere of peace prevailing in Telengana. Let us not wait for a situation that there should be again an agitation when a lot of lives and properties should be lost and then we should try to settle this issue.

With these words, I again appeal to the Government that we should not spoil the whole atmosphere.

Thank you.

MR CHAIRMAN : Shrimati Sangam Laxmi Bai.

SHRI S. R. DAMANI (Sholapur) : Sir, there is my half-an-hour discussion.

सभापति महोदय : अगर आप आज नहीं चाहते हैं तो कल भी नहीं हो सकता है। फिर भ्रगले सेशन में ही हो सकता है।

SHRI S. R. DAMANI : I want it to-day. The timing for this discussion is fixed at 17-30 hours.

MR. CHAIRMAN : After finishing this discussion, we shall take up your half-an-hour discussion.

SHRI S. R. DAMANI : At what time will this be taken up ?

MR. CHAIRMAN : By 7 P. M. the debate will be over and then we shall take up your half-an-hour discussion. Or if you agree, it can also be postponed.

THE MINISTER OF FOREIGN TRADE (SHRI B. R. BHAGAT) : The hon. Member agrees to the postponement of his half-an-hour discussion.

MR. CHAIRMAN : All right. The House agrees for postponement of his half-an-hour discussion to the next session. May I take it like that ?

SEVERAL HON. MEMBERS : Yes, Sir.

श्रीमती लक्ष्मीबाई (भेडक) : चेयरमैन महोदय, तेलंगाना की समस्या केवल तेलंगाना की ही नहीं बल्कि पूरे देश की समस्या बन गई है। हमने इस बहस के लिए कई प्रस्ताव दिये तब जा कर तीन घंटे का समय मिला जो कि समस्या की गम्भीरता को देखते हुए काफी नहीं है। इस पर भी जिन लोगों ने इस बहस के लिए कोशिश की उनको समय नहीं दिया जाता है। और जो हमारे खिलाफ आंध्रा के एम० पी० हैं उनको बोलने का अधिक समय दिया जाता है। अब तक तेलंगाना का केवल एक एम० पी० ही बोल पाया है। ऐसा नहीं होना चाहिए। जिनकी अपील से यहां मोशन आया उनको समय मिलना चाहिए।

तेलंगाना का एजीटेशन क्या है इसको आंध्र प्रदेश के एम० पी० नहीं जानते हैं। राज्यसभा में भी जो आंध्रा के एम० पी० हैं उन्होंने भी वहां यह कहा कि तेलंगाना अलग नहीं होना चाहिए क्योंकि भाषा, रहन-सहन सब एक है। यह तमाशा, नाटक, ड्रामा आंध्र के एम० पी० कर रहे हैं। वह यह नहीं सोचते कि आखिर यह झगड़ा क्यों उठता है, लोग अलग तेलंगाना क्यों चाहते हैं। इस तेलंगाना एजीटेशन में केवल विद्यार्थी ही शामिल हों ऐसी बात नहीं है। बल्कि इसमें बहनें, किसान, डाक्टर, ऐडवोकेट्स टीचर्स और रिटायर्ड आई० ए० एस० ऑफिसर भी शामिल हैं। इन सब का इस एजीटेशन में हिस्सा है, सब के रिप्रजेन्टेशन अलग-अलग इस बारे में आते हैं। यह समस्या उसी प्रकार है जैसे कोई बीमार हो अस्पताल में उसको दवा न दी जाय

[श्रीमती लक्ष्मीबाई]

अन्य सुविधायें न दी जायें और कहा जाय कि तुम चित्लाओ नहीं, चुप रहो। आखिर पलंग पर लेटा हुआ वह बीमार कब तक चुप रहेगा? आखिर कब तक हाथ पैर नहीं मारेगा? यह अफसोस की बात है कि उन बेचारों का कोई दुःख दर्द पूछने वाला नहीं है, कोई उनके जह्मों पर मरहम लगाने वाला नहीं है। आज हालत वहाँ पर यह बनी हुई है कि पिछले 16 महीने से तेलंगाना की विभिन्न बस्तियों में पुलिस भारी तादाद में तैनात है। मैं जो भी चाहें उन्हें ले जाकर दिखा सकती हूँ कि एक छोटी सी बस्ती में 50, 50 पुलिस मैन लगे हुए हैं कुल मिला कर मैं समझती हूँ कि 6000 से 10,000 सैट्रल रिजर्व पुलिस के जवान पिछले 16 महीने से तेलंगाना की बस्तियों में तैनात हैं और उन पर एक दिन का खर्चा मैं समझती हूँ कि कोई 50,000 से लेकर 80,000 तक होगा। अभी मेरे जो एक भाई व बहन बोले हैं और उन्होंने कहा है कि तेलंगाना को अलगव्य की बात नहीं करनी चाहिए और उसे आंध्र में ही बना रहना चाहिये तो क्या ये लोग वहाँ पर वगैर पुलिस की जीप के लोगों को अपनी यह सलाह देने को तैयार हैं? मेरे यह मित्र जैसा मैंने कहा वगैर पुलिस की जीप के वहाँ गांवों में नहीं जा सकते हैं। तेलंगाना की पबलिक को यह फेस नहीं कर सकते हैं। उनका एक पैर तेलंगाने में है तो एक पैर आंध्र में है और मैं चेतावनी देना चाहती हूँ कि वह पबलिक को ज्यादा दिन भ्रम में नहीं रख सकते हैं। मैं उन लोगों से कहूँगी कि वह मेरे साथ चल कर देखें कि जहाँ से जनता ने उनको चुन कर पार्लियामेंट में भेजा है उनकी आवाज को वह सुनें और उसकी यहाँ पर सही तरीके से नुमायन्दगी करें।

मुझे बड़े वेद के साथ कहना पड़ता है कि आंध्र के चीफ मिनिस्टर तेलंगाने के पापुलर सेंटीमेंट की कद्र नहीं कर रहे हैं और वह सेंटर को वहाँ की जो गम्भीर स्थिति है उसकी सही

जानकारी नहीं दे रहे हैं बल्कि उसे एक तरीके से सप्रैस ही कर रहे हैं। तेलंगाने के लोगों के सुख, सुविधा की कोई फिक्र नहीं की जाती है। सेंटर से पैसा ले लिया जाता है लेकिन वह तेलंगाने के ऊपर खर्च नहीं किया जाता है। दरअसल चीफ मिनिस्टर वहाँ की दर्दनाक हालत को देखने के लिए होम मिनिस्टर और प्राइम मिनिस्टर को नहीं आने देना चाहते हैं। जो लोग यहाँ बोलते हैं कि तेलंगाना नहीं देना है, आंध्र के टुकड़े नहीं करना है और उसी तरह के भाव अभी मेरी एक बहन ने सुन्दर हिन्दी बोलते हुए प्रकट किये हैं तो मैं उनको दावत देती हूँ कि वह मेरे साथ चलकर जनता के सामने अपने यह विचार रखें तो पता चलेगा कि आज उनके विचारों और जनता के विचारों में कितनी भिन्नता है।

अभी थोड़े ही दिन की बात है कि रेड्डी भाई बाँयज होस्टल जो कि पुराने हैदराबाद में एक नामी होस्टल है वहाँ पुलिस घुस गई और लड़कों पर मार लगाई, दरवाजे और खिड़कियाँ तोड़ डाली, बच्चों को पुलिस वालों ने वहाँ इस तरह से घुस कर बेरहमी से मारा, कि 5 बच्चों के शरीर नीले पड़ गये और कई के सिर फूट गये और खून बहने लगा। पुलिस के इस अत्याचार को देख कर वहाँ के जो ओल्ड स्टुडेंट्स थे जिनमें से कि आई०ए०एस० और चीफ इंजीनियर हैं उन्होंने हमारे पास एक सर्वसम्मत प्रस्ताव भेजा है कि पुलिस के इस अत्याचार की जांच के वास्ते जुडिशिएल इनक्वायरी होनी चाहिए अलबत्ता अगर बच्चों की गलत पाई जाय तो उन्हें सजा भी अगर दे दी जाय तो मैं उफ नहीं करूँगी। मैं चाहती हूँ कि सरकार इस बारे में अवश्य ध्यान दे और उसकी जुडिशिएल इनक्वायरी की डिमांड को मान लेना चाहिये।

मैं श्री थिरूमलराव की बहुत इज्जत करती हूँ। वे बहुत तजुबेकार व्यक्ति हैं लेकिन मैं दो,

तीन सवाल उनसे भ्रवश्य करना चाहेंगी। वह कहते हैं कि तेलंगाना को आंध्र से अलग नहीं होना चाहिए लेकिन क्या यह वाक्या नहीं है कि यह आंध्र के लोग मद्रास में जब थे तो यह तेलंगाने के लोगों के मुकाबले कहीं अधिक एजुकैटेड और खुशहाल थे? यह सब जानते हैं कि एजुकैटेड लोगों का बड़ा परसेंटेज मद्रास में है। वह लोग बहुत पढ़े लिखे हैं, उनके पास काफी पैसे हैं। उनकी पोलिटिकल लाइफ तब से शुरू हुई जब से आजादी की लड़ाई शुरू हुई। उन्होंने कई एलेक्शन लड़े और बहुत से उनमें से मिनिस्टर बने। उनको सब कुछ मालूम है। लेकिन तेलंगाना की पोलिटिकल लाइफ सन् 1946 से शुरू हुई जब वहां पर कांग्रेस पार्टी बनी। उसके पहले निजामशाही की वजह से कोई पोलिटिकल लाइफ वहां के लोगों की नहीं थी। 1947 में वहां तेलंगाना समिति बनी और 1952 के एलेक्शन के बाद वह लोग राजनीति में आये। श्री जी० एस० रेड्डी हमारे ग्रुप में थे और बहुत युनियर थे। वह जिला परिषद् के चेयरमैन हो गये थे। वह कहते थे कि हमको प्लानिंग के मामले में कुछ नहीं मालूम। आंध्र से वह टीचर्स को हमारे यहां एजुकेशन फैलाने के लिए ले आये।

मैं आपको बतलाना चाहती हूँ कि हमारे हैदराबाद में एजुकेशन बहुत कम थी। सिर्फ एक बी० टी० ट्रेनिंग कालेज था जिसकी स्ट्रेंथ 200 थी। आंध्र बनने के बाद उन्होंने एक और कालेज बढ़ा दिया वारंगल में। लेकिन अपने यहां उन लोगों ने 9 कालेज खोल लिये और वहां के हर एक कालेज की स्ट्रेंथ 500-500 थी। मैं शिक्षा के विषय में कुछ जानकारी रखती हूँ इसलिए मैं इस चीज को जानती हूँ। इसका नतीजा यह होता है कि वहां से तो हजारों आदमी ट्रेड हो कर हर साल निकलते हैं और तेलंगाना में डंप कर दिये जाते हैं।

एक बात साथ में और भी है। हमारे यहां

पर राजभाषा उर्दू थी। उसकी वजह से औरतें तो पढती ही नहीं थीं क्योंकि उर्दू पढ़ना लड़के लड़कियां बुरा समझते थे। पहले यह होता था कि हर एक जिले में हम लोग युनियर ट्रेनिंग स्कूल रखते थे, लेकिन आंध्र बनने के बाद उसको खत्म कर दिया गया और मैट्रिकुलेशन ट्रेनिंग शुरू हुई। नतीजा यह हुआ कि जो नान उर्दू वाले थे उनको ही या तो, आंध्र वालों को उसका फायदा पहुंचाने लगा। जिसकी वजह से तेलंगाना वाले बहुत नाराज हैं। मैं आप को बतलाऊ कि चूंकि उर्दू राजभाषा थी इसलिये मेरे पिताजी तो फारसी जानते थे लेकिन मेरे मामा उर्दू कविता लिखते थे। उस समय उर्दू ही पढ़ाई जाती थी। आंध्र में अंग्रेजी में नारा काम होता था क्योंकि वहां की राजभाषा अंग्रेजी थी। चूंकि वहां पर उन लोगों की मैजस्ट्री थी इस लिए सब जगह आ कर उन्होंने उर्दू वालों को हटा दिया। हमारे यहां जो जज थे, मुंशी थे, इंडबोकेट थे सब बेकार हो गये और हजारों लोग तयाह हो गये। इंग्लिश न जानने की वजह से तेलंगाना वाले सेक्रेट क्लास सिटीशन बन गये। तेलंगाना के लोग गरीब हैं लेकिन वे खराब लोग नहीं हैं। दूसरों को दुख नहीं पहुंचाते, जरा उनमें नवाबी चाल जरूर है। फिर भी गरीबी में दिन बिता लेते हैं।

मैं आपसे एक सवाल करना चाहती हूँ कि जब एक स्टेट बन गई तब वहां पर कानून भी एकसा होना चाहिये। लेकिन वहां पर लैंड रिफार्म आज तक नहीं हो रहे हैं। हमारे यहां तो 1954 में ही लैंड रिफार्म हो गये थे, मगर आंध्र के लोग इस तरह से सोचते ही नहीं हैं। वहां आज तक लैंड रिफार्म अमल में नहीं आये हैं।

आप जमीन की हालत को देखें। आंध्र रिजन में एक एकड़ जमीन की कीमत दस हजार से पच्चीस हजार है। तेलंगाना में वह पचास रुपये से लेकर दो सौ रुपये है। अब आंध्र वाले क्या करते हैं? अपने यहां वे आंध्र या एक

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एकड़ बेच कर हमारे यहां आ कर पचास एकड़ उसी पैसे में खरीद लेते हैं। इस तरह से हजारों लोग इधर आ कर जमीन लेकर बस गये हैं। डाक्टर उनके, एडवोकेट उनके, टीचर उनके। ऐसी हालत में तेलंगाना में असन्तोष क्यों नहीं फैलेगा ?

आप लैंड रेवेन्यू की बात को लें। राजा महाराजा और देशमुख, तीनों मिल कर हमसे लैंड रेवेन्यू ज्यादा लिया करने थे। वही स्थिति अब भी चल रही है हमारे यहां पर चौबीस रुपये एक एकड़ पर लैंड रेवेन्यू लिया जाता है तो भ्राम्र में वह बारह रुपये ही लिया जाता है। इससे भी जो असन्तोष फैलता है और लोग बगावत पर उतारू हो जाते हैं। उनसे बारह रुपये और हमसे चौबीस रुपये। हमने कहा कि हमारे भी बारह करो और अगर नहीं करते हो तो उनके भी चौबीस करो। हमारी इस मांग को माना नहीं गया। अब क्या किया गया ? यह कह दिया गया कि पचास परसेंट इसमें इनक्रीज कर दी जाये। इसका नतीजा यह हुआ कि हमारे तो 36 रुपये हो गये और उनके बठारह ही हुए। आप हमारी जमीन को देखें। वह पथरीली जमीन है और हमारे यहां जमीन की कीमत भी कम है। एक एकड़ में दो तीन बीले ही धान के निकलते हैं। हमारे सौ एम० एअ० ए० हैं—और उनके दो सौ हैं। हमारे पक्ष में कोई फेसला ही नहीं होता है। क्यों एपीटेशन ऐसी अवस्था में नहीं चलेगा।

सारे देश में हमारे यहां तेलंगाना में लोगों को तनख्वाहें ज्यादा मिलती थी। निजाम के जमाने से ही ज्यादा मिला करती थीं। शायद हिन्दुस्तान भर में वहां तनख्वाहें ज्यादा थीं। उत्तर प्रदेश वाले तथा दूसरे प्रान्तों वाले हैबराबाद आकर नौकरियां किया करते थे। वहां से तो कम तादाद में आते थे लेकिन महाराष्ट्र, तथा कन्नड़ भाषी वहां ज्यादा हैं। तान गजेटिड अफसर को हमारे यहां 130 रुपये

जब वह नौकरी में आता था मिला करते थे। शुरू-शुरू में इतने मिल जाते थे लेकिन भ्राम्र में 90 रुपये मिलते थे। वहां से लोग इधर चले आये। उनके 90 से 130 रु० बना लिया। गजेटिड अफसरों की सैलरी भी यहां बहुत ज्यादा थी। जब लोग इधर आकर तेलंगाना वालों का हक मारते हैं तो क्यों यहां के लोग नाराज नहीं होंगे। हमारे यहां उर्दू भाषा थी यह भी एक कारण है कि हमारे साथ ज्यादाती हो रही है।

जो भी आता है लैंडर देकर चला जाता है। जो भी महानुभाव आता है, हमें ही लैंडर देता है। लेकिन वहां जो स्थिति है, उसका अध्ययन नहीं करता है। जो बुनियादी कमजोरी है, उसको दूर करने की कोई कोशिश नहीं होती है। सोलह महीने से तेलंगाना में पुलिस राज चल रहा है। बच्चे स्कूल नहीं जा रहे हैं। पुलिस वाले बच्चों को रोकते हैं और जब बच्चे बाज नहीं आने है तो उन पर गोलियां और लाठियां बरसाई जाती हैं। वहां पर बच्चे और टीचर्स दोनों स्ट्राइक पर हैं। जब पुलिस बच्चों को रोकती है, तो वे पत्थर फेंकते हैं और इस तरह भगड़ा होता है। आखिर यह स्थिति कब तक जारी रहेगी ? डा० चन्ना रेड्डी के घर पर तीन बम फेंके गये। (व्यवधान) गवर्नमेंट को एक कमेटी वहां भेज कर इन सब घटनाओं की जांच करनी चाहिये।

एक माननीय सदस्य ने अभी कहा है कि भ्राम्र प्रदेश के लोगों ने तेलंगाना में दो सौ करोड़ रुपये लगा कर इंडस्ट्रीज खड़ी की हैं। सवाल यह है कि उन इंडस्ट्रीज से फायदा किस को हुआ है। उन कारखानों में हमारे लोगों को नौकरी नहीं मिलती है। जैसा कि दिल्ली में किया जा रहा है, हमारे यहां भी गरीब किसानों की जमीन दो रुपये के हिसाब से खरीद कर पच्चीस रुपये पर बेची जाती है और वह नफा बाहर के लोग कमाते हैं। हमारे यहां के लोगों को कोई फायदा नहीं हुआ है।

मिनिस्टर साहब हमारे यहाँ के हालत का पना लगाने के लिये एक कमेटी वहाँ भेजें। अगर मेरी कोई भी बात गलत साबित हो, तो मैं पनिशमेंट लेने के लिये तैयार हूँ। गवर्नमेंट को अन्नग तेलंगाना राज्य बनाने के लिये तुरन्त कार्यवाही करनी चाहिए।

आपने मुझे समय दिया है, इसके लिए मैं आपको धन्यवाद देती हूँ।

SHRI VASUDEVAN NAIR (Peermade) :
Mr Chairman, we had been discussing this most complicated problem so many times over. I can very well understand the anguish, frustration, disappointment and anger of the Members who come from Telengana region in Andhra Pradesh because in the last few months or perhaps a year the people of that region had gone through great sacrifices for an aim which they consider to be a very noble one and the Government of Andhra Pradesh had thought it fit to answer that movement with lathis and bullets and tried to crush that movement with brute force. We have on previous occasions also roundly condemned the use of brute force to suppress this popular movement. Even today our position is that the movement for separate Telangana cannot be dealt with like that; the answer to that movement cannot be brute force; something else is the answer. All this arises, as I said, from the frustration of the people. When the great State of Andhra Pradesh came into being in 1956 at the time of the States' reorganisation, the people of that region had great expectations.

When martyrs like Potti Sriramulu laid down their lives for the formation of a linguistic States, all of them had very great expectations of a prosperous Andhra Pradesh. When that State was constituted, naturally there were comparatively backward regions like Telengana and Rayalaseema and it was right and proper that for Telengana, special steps were taken to see that their development is taken care of, that revenue from those areas will be mobilised and reinvested for the development of that region, special care for employment of people from that region—all that was provided for. That itself shows there was a lot of apprehension in the minds of people in that region.

But after so many years of Congress rule in that State, all these expectations have proved to be false. I want to ask my Telengana friends. Is it the experience of Telengana people only? If they think this is only their experience, they are thoroughly mistaken. As a matter of fact, we have discussed this question of development of under-developed regions in this country over and over again in the context of the Five Year Plans, industrialisation of this country, etc. After discussing this vital question, we have always come to this conclusion that pretty little could be done all over the country for uplifting the poorer people and developing the more under-developed areas. You yourself, Sir, have the experience of your State. It is a vast State with a lot of resources, but I think it is perhaps at the lowest level of development considering *per capita* income and other things. I have experience of my own State also. For historical reasons, there were concentrations of development in some areas, some cities in some States and only by a deliberate and conscious policy of developing the backward areas adopted by the Central Government can the backward areas be developed. My charge is first against the Central Government. The first accused will be the Central Government and the second accused will be the Andhra Government. It was the bounden duty of those in authority at the Centre to see that such areas are given a helping hand so that they may develop industrially and their backwardness may be removed. This is a national problem, not a local problem and it has to be tackled from that angle.

From this frustration has come up a movement. The basis, the ground, the subjective factor is that. No body can deny that the movement has sprung up from that subjective factor, but that does not mean that the movement and its aim are correct. That is the position of my party. We appreciate this feeling and the fact that the Government at the centre as well as in Hyderabad all these years did not do their duty to develop this area; they miserably failed in that duty.

Rather, they even violated some of the undertakings which they gave to the people of Telengana. All this is a fact.

18.00 hrs.

But, to us a separate Telengana is not the answer to any of the problems that

[Shri Vasudevan Nafr]

haunt the people of Telengana. We appeal to the people of Telengana, the leaders of Telengana, for God's sake forget the slogan of separate Telengana. We will all put our heads together, we will all join together in our efforts to try to remove all the disparities, because this is a common problem. After all, we have to find a solution together. The great people of Andhra Pradesh, whether of the coastal region, or Rayalaseema or Telengana, they have to remember their glorious past. They have fought against the Nizam, they have fought against the British they have fought against the feudal landlords. Now they have to fight shoulder to shoulder against their common oppressor, In their internal quarrel against one another, let them not forget their common oppressor.

It is true that it is very difficult for them to forget their bitter experiences. It is not very easy. For example, my elder sister referred with feeling to young boys and girls being butchered and young innocent people being killed in the agitation. In the face of that it is very difficult to listen to the sermons. They may dismiss our advice as sermons. But these are not sermons. If we are dividing the existing linguistic States into similar ones, if we are cutting them into pieces like that, that will not solve the problem.

If we can be convinced that these problems can be solved by such division, then it can be considered. But, according to us, creating more and more States in India will not solve the problem, especially when the States were constituted on the basis of a sound and scientific principle of linguistic States. Even today we believe that the formation of linguistic States in this country was a very correct step, even though some people have begun to speak against linguistic States. Some of them say that this has become a big threat to national unity and that we should go back to something like division of the country into regions. We shudder to think of such a situation. That will only add to our problems, create more difficulties. Therefore, these States have to be kept intact. If, unfortunately, the State of Andhra Pradesh is divided on a future date, it will only multiply the problems which we cannot visualize today. It is only when it actually happens that we will be confronted with the immensity of the problems that will be thrown up

as a result of such division. So, we will once again request the people and the leaders of public opinion in that part of Andhra Pradesh to think about it calmly.

If my hon. friends think that a round-table conference will help, that an exchange of views between the leaders of public opinion in Andhra area, Telengana area and other regions will help in finding a solution, we are all for it. Let there be exchange of views and let there be discussion. But our basic position is very clear. The solution should be something without the division of State. As far as we are concerned, we are very clear on that. All other problems could be considered. Immediate steps should be taken so that the progress of that area could be expedited and the development of that region should be given the highest priority.

And the Central Government, if necessary, should come to the aid of such places so that they are developed with the utmost speed possible. If only such steps are taken and their problems are basically tackled—especially the problem of unemployment; the problem of industrialisation; agrarian reforms and the oppression of the people by the feudal lords—then only these problems can be solved. That is the approach of our party to this problem.

Unfortunately, nobody can say that the Government of Andhra Pradesh or the Central Government ever followed a realistic approach to this problem. That is the tragedy of this country. They have helped to complicate the problems. They have helped the accumulation of already complicated problems. I do not know what they will be able to do. If Mr. Brahmananda Reddy's Government is a curse to Andhra State and if his Government is a burden to that State then the counterparts on the other side—I do not want to mention their names but I am forced to do so—Dr. Chenna Reddy and others were all together for six years in the ruling party. They gave promises, hopes and ultimately failing the people altogether. What is the fun for the people of Telengana running after one group when the other group has forsaken them? If something new is to be tried then I will say the most down-trodden toiling people of the State have to be approached and organised; their problems will

have to be taken up and a movement has to be built both in Telengana and Andhra Pradesh, and they will find solutions to the problems of the whole State, and the whole State will be saved from the tragedy. That is the only solution to the problems of Andhra Pradesh and Telengana.

श्री जी० बंकटस्वामी (सिद्धिपेट) : अध्यक्ष महोदय, तेलंगाना की प्राबल्य पर जो बहस यहां चल रही है उसमें इस सदन के काफी मेम्बरों ने पार्टिसिपेट किया है। अभी तक जितने भी बोले हैं सभी करीब करीब आन्ध्र के सपोर्टर्स थे। पहले हमने इस चीज को जब पालेमेन्ट में उठाया था तो सारी पार्टीज के लोग समझ रहे थे कि यह बकावास है, यह मूवमेन्ट तेलंगाना का मूवमेन्ट नहीं है। वे समझ रहे थे कि तेलंगाना के सियासी लीडर्स इस मूवमेन्ट के लिए उकसा रहे हैं। लेकिन मैं समझता हूँ कि हर मूवमेन्ट के पीछे एक राज जरूर होता है। पहले कोई मूवमेन्ट चिनगारी बनकर शुरू होता है और बाद में वह शोला बनकर भड़क उठता है। यह भी पहले चिनगारी बनकर शुरू हुआ था लेकिन अब पार्लमेन्ट के सारे मेम्बरों के दिमागों में यह शोला बनकर भड़क रहा है। ये इस मूवमेन्ट के बारे में साफ कहना चाहता हूँ कि यह पैदा क्यों हुआ और इसके लिये कौन जिम्मेदार है। क्या तेलंगाना के लोग जिम्मेदार हैं? सन् 56 में जो तेलंगाना का मूवमेन्ट था उसमें हम लोग ही थे। लेकिन उस वक़्त हमारे साथ एक जेंटिलमैन एग्जिमेन्ट किया गया और उस एग्जिमेन्ट को अगर पूरी तरह से फुलफिल किया जाता तो यह आवाज नहीं उठती। हमारे दोस्तों ने कहा है कि चन्द पोलिटिशियन्स को तरफ से है। लेकिन मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि मैं इंटिप्रेशन कमेटी का चेयरमैन था। किसी की दम नहीं थी कि जा करके तेलंगाना के लीडर्स का मुकाबला करता लेकिन मैंने उनका मुकाबला किया और जुलूस निकाला और उनसे कहा कि भाई ऐसा मत करो, आंध्र प्रदेश को मत तोड़ो। लेकिन

अफसोस के साथ कहना पड़ता है कि मुझे जैसे जो सपोर्टर थे आंध्र प्रदेश के उनको बकरों की तरह से बल्कि उससे भी बुरी तरह के पीटा गया और गोलियां बरसाई गईं। दुर्गबिलास में एक घटना हुई, एक बच्चे ने दूकान बन्द करने के लिये कहा तो उसे पकड़ कर होटल में रखा गया और उस बीस साल के नौजवान बच्चे को वहां मार डाला गया। अब बताइये कि अगर वह मेरा लड़का है और कोई एजीटेशन कर रहा है अपने राइटर के लिए तो क्या उसकी जान आन्ध्र के गुंडों को बुलाकर ले ली जाए?

श्रीमती लक्ष्मीकान्तम्मा : अध्यक्ष महोदय, इसका जजमेन्ट हुआ हैर्टी कोर्ट में कि वह सेल्फ डिफेंस में मारा गया।

श्री जी० बंकटस्वामी : मारा तो गया। मूवमेन्ट आया जनता के अन्दर से, स्टूडेंट्स के अन्दर से। यह मूवमेन्ट कोई पोलिटिकल लीडर्स नहीं लाये हैं। मजबूर होकर हमको श्री ब्रह्मानन्द रेड्डी को कहना पड़ा कि जब हमारे लोग गोलियों से मर रहे हैं तब हम आप के साथ नहीं रह सकते। क्योंकि मुझे पब्लिक फील्ड में रहना है इसलिये लोगों की भावनाओं को देखते हुए मेरा आप के साथ रहना असम्भव है। मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि यह एजीटेशन पब्लिक के अन्दर से आया है। जो पंचायत राज का पुनाव होने वाला है मैंने कहा कि आप यह दीजिए कि यह पुनाव पंचायत राज का तेलंगाना के डिसेजन के लिये है, हम इसको कबूल करने के लिये तैयार हैं। और अगर आप नहीं मानते तो फिर जनता की राय ले लीजिये। आखिर आप उससे क्यों घबराते हैं। जब डेकोरेसी हमारे यहां चल रही है तो जनता की आवाज को आपको स्वीकार करना चाहिये। लेकिन ऐसा न करके माननीय शुक्ला जी की पुनिस हमको गोली मार रही है। हम एम० पी० और एम० एल० ए० को नहीं छोड़ते हैं, क्यों कि पुलिस वाले यू० पी० से आते हैं उनको नहीं

[श्री जी० बंकटस्वामी]

मालूम कि कौन क्या है। एक लाख लोगों ने सत्याग्रह किया और एक लाख लोग जेल में गये हैं। सिर्फ 9 महीने के अन्दर प्रिवेन्टिव डिटेंशन ऐक्ट में 200 से ज्यादा लोगों को गिरफ्तार किया गया और 300 से ज्यादा लोगों को गोली का शिकार बनाया गया। कम से कम आप उन के आंसुओं पर रहम करें। जो बच्चा अपने एजीटेशन के लिए जाता है तो क्या उसके सीने पर इस डेमोक्रेसी में गोली बरसायी जाए? हम को फंडामेंटल राइट है कि हम अपनी आवाज बुलन्द कर सकते हैं।

आपने सुना होगा कि रेड्डी होस्टल में कमरों में घुसकर पुलिस ने वहां के रहने वाले बच्चों के सर फोड़ डाले। मैंने कमिश्नर को टेलीफोन किया कि सुबह उसका इम्तहान है कम से कम छोड़ दो ताकि वह इम्तहान दे सकें लेकिन बेरहम गवर्नमेंट ने उसको नहीं छोड़ा। एक तो साल भर होस्टल में रहा दूसरे उसका साल भर त्रिगड़ गया। क्या यही डेमोक्रेटिक गवर्नमेंट की निशानी है? अगर आप जानते हैं कि तेलंगाना की जनता आन्ध्र प्रदेश में रहना चाहती है तो आप हमारी बात मत मानिये बल्कि गोवा की तरह ओपीनियन पोल करा लीजिये। मगर साल भर हो गया, प्राइम मिनिस्टर ने कहा कि पहले शान्ति लाइये तब जरूर कुछ न कुछ करेंगे। मैं पूछना चाहता हूं कि एक साल हो गया है आज तक कोई भी ऐक्शन आप ने लिया है? भागव कमेटी आप ने बनायी, मुझे अफसोस के साथ कहना पड़ता है कि वहां के चीफ मिनिस्टर ने असेम्बली में कहा कि 33 करोड़ रुपया हम ने आन्ध्र प्रदेश में खर्च कर लिया है।

क्या यह इसका सबूत नहीं है कि हमारे दिलों से एक दूसरे के प्रति विश्वास खत्म हो चुका है? जब ऐसी हालत हो तो जबरदस्ती उन्हें जोड़कर रखना कहां की अकलमन्दी है? इसलिए फेद रहना बहुत जरूरी है। जब प्रिवी

पर्स चली जायगी तो कैसे उन शासकों के मन में शान्ति रहेगी, असन्तोष ही पैदा होगा। उसको घर नहीं मिलेगा, वह दरिद्रखाना बन जायगा। इसलिए जैसा मैंने कहा हमारा फेद कम्प्लीटली चला गया है।

फैक्ट्स ऐंड फीगर्स जोकि आपने असेम्बली में दिए हैं उस में बतलाया है कि हमने इतने करोड़ रुपया आन्ध्र में खर्च किया है। यह भी वायदा और जेंटिलमैन एग्रीमेंट हो गया था कि तेलंगाना चूकि बैकबैंड एरिया है इसलिए हमें तेलंगाने के ऊपर ज्यादा से ज्यादा खर्चा करना चाहिए लेकिन अफसोस इसका है कि आप ने उस वायदे के बरखिलाफ उल्टा किया है। ऐसी हालत के रहते हम कैसे मान सकते हैं और कैसे हम विश्वास करें? आखिर किस वेस पर हम अपने छोटे-छोटे बच्चों का भविष्य इनके हाथों में सौंप दें?

मैं भारत हैवी एलैक्ट्रिकल्स की यूनियन का प्रेसीडेंट हूँ। सिथेटिक ड्रस की पब्लिक अंडर-टेकिंग है वहां के आंकड़े आप देख लीजिये और उस तेलंगाना एरिया में रहने वाले गरीब मजदूर के भी आंकड़े देख लीजिये और तब बतलाइये कि कैसे उस एरिया के अन्दर आप हमको उन के साथ मिल कर रहने के लिए संदेश देते हैं? नागार्जुन सागर प्रोजेक्ट के अन्दर भी कर्मचारियों में मेजारिटी आप आन्ध्र के लोगों की पायेंगे। इस प्रोजेक्ट में 14 या 15 सुपरिन-टेंडिंग इंजीनियर्स हैं लेकिन उस तमाम नागार्जुन प्रोजेक्ट के अन्दर केवल एक ही चीफ इंजीनियर बस तेलंगाने का है। अब क्या हमारे तेलंगाने के पास इंजीनियर्स नहीं हैं? लेकिन हकीकत है कि पूरे आन्ध्र प्रदेश में आज एक ही चीफ इंजीनियर तेलंगाने का है बाकी 15 के 15 आन्ध्र के हैं। यह चीजें और भेदभाव तेलंगाने के लोगों के साथ वर्त्ता जाता है। साल भर से एजिटेशन चल रहा है और 300 स्टुडेंट्स के मरने के बाद भी आज यह हालत है। ऐसी हालत के

रहते प्राप जो इन्हें मिलाकर रखना चाहते हैं तो यह कैसे हो सकता है ? लिफ्ट कैनल प्रोजेक्ट का फाउंडेशन जो स्वर्गीय श्री जवाहरलाल नेहरू ने रक्खा था उसके पहले ही मद्रास गवर्नमेंट और हैदराबाद गवर्नमेंट में यह एग्रीमेंट हुआ था कि वह लिफ्ट कैनल तेलंगाने में जायेगी और किस और से जायेगी इसका पूरा नक्शा भी एग्रीमेंट में है जिस पर कि चीफ मिनिस्टर के सिगनेचर हैं। उसमें बतलाया गया था कि वह लिफ्ट कैनल तेलंगाने के नलगोंडा और खम्मम को सैराव करेगी। लेकिन होशियारी और तारीफ देखिये, डा० के० एल० राव के दिमाग की तारीफ देखिये। उन्होंने लिफ्ट कैनल निकाली तो जरूर मगर ले गये कृष्ण डिस्ट्रिक्ट में और तेलंगाने के लोगों को उससे इस तरह से होशियारी से महरूम कर दिया और ग्रान्ध को फायदा पहुंचाया है। वहां के महापुरुष अभी बोल रहे थे कि तेलंगाना के लोगों को भ्रलगाव की बात नहीं करनी चाहिए और ग्रान्ध के लोगों के साथ मिलकर रहना चाहिए लेकिन हालत हमारी यह की जाती है कि हमारी तेलंगाने की जमीन भी ले लेते हैं, हमारी नहरें भी ले लेते हैं, हमारी नौकरियां भी ले लेते हैं। हमारे स्टुडेंट्स हालांकि पोस्ट्स के लिए क्वालिफाइड होते हैं लेकिन उनको नौकरियों पर नहीं रखते हैं।

चूँकि घंटी बज चुकी है इसलिये मैं और अधिक नहीं कहूंगा। आखिर में मैं यही कहना चाह रहा था कि हम तेलंगाना के लोगों ने एक राय से अपनी मांग रखी है, संप्रेंट तेलंगाने की मांग सब संकशस की और से की जा रही है तो सरकार को समय रहते उसका कुछ न कुछ रास्ता और हल तो निकालना चाहिए। हम चाहते हैं कि शान्ति से हमारा मसला हल हो जाय भ्रलबत्ता कम्युनिस्ट पार्टी को पूरे तौर से रैबोलूशन पर विश्वास है। मैं उनको बतला देना चाहता हूँ कि इनकिलाब हर प्राप को विश्वास है लेकिन यह कोई हमारा एक

कम्युनिस्ट इनकिलाब नहीं है। यह संप्रेंट तेलंगाने के लिए एजिटेशन के बारे में मैं एक मजदूर की हैसियत से प्राप को चैलेंज के साथ कह रहा है कि यह मजदूरों का है, किसानों का है। यह तेलंगाने के गरीबों का इनकिलाब है और इस को प्राप रोक नहीं सकते हैं। अगर इसे रोकने की कोशिश करेंगे तो जितने भी तेलंगाने में काम करने वाले स्टुडेंट्स हैं, नौजवान हैं व बच्चे हैं, शुक भद्रा करो कि वह सारे के सारे नक्सलवादी नहीं बने जोकि बंगाल और कलकत्ते के भ्रन्दर बने थे। यह लोग तेलंगाना भ्रूवमेंट को चलाना चाह रहे हैं और इस पापुलर भ्रूवमेंट को प्राप दबा नहीं सकेंगे। लेकिन यह जरूर है कि हमारे यहां के नौजवान नक्सलवादी नहीं बनने वाले हैं।

नलगोंडा और वारंगल के भ्रन्दर एक ताल्लुका है। मुल्का ताल्लुका की बात मैं बतला रहा हूँ। उन लोगों ने अर्थात् नक्सैलाइट्स ने हमें पंचायत एलेक्शन में चैलेंज किया था। पंचायत एलेक्शन में नामिनेशन दिया तो एक टांग उनकी खत्म हुई, नामिनेशन पेपर मंजूर हुआ तो दूसरी टांग खत्म हुई और अगर कंटैस्ट किया तो मुंह की खानी है। भ्रन्त में मैं सरकार से यही प्रार्थना करूंगा कि तेलंगाना के सभी संकशस की संप्रेंट तेलंगाने की युनाइटेड डिमांड है और वहां के जितने भी स्टुडेंट्स हैं, नौजवान हैं उनकी उस भ्रावाज को प्राप को सुनना पड़ेगा। संप्रेंट तेलंगाना प्रापको देना पड़ेगा उसके भ्रलावा और कोई रास्ता नहीं है। अगर प्राप को हमारे नौजवानों को इन नक्सैलाइट्स के भ्रसर से बचाना है तो उनकी मांग को मानने में जल्दी करो। अगर प्राप को बचाना है तो दिल से उस के लिए कोशिश कीजिये, उन गलतियों को दूर करने की जो हो चुकी हैं। बर्ना अगर प्राप इस तरह से उनको मिलाने की कोशिश करेंगे तो वह मिलने वाले नहीं हैं। अगर प्राप समझते हैं कि लोग दिल से दूर हो चुके हैं तो मिल बैठ कर, प्रापस में बातचीत करके उस स्टेट को भ्रलग

[श्री जी० वेंकटस्वामी]

कर दीजिये। अगर भाई भाई की तरह परिवार के लोग अलग हो जायें तो उनमें एक दूसरे के लिए रिस्पेक्ट रहती है, लेकिन अगर लड़ाई भगड़ा करके लोग अलग होते हैं तो वह रिस्पेक्ट खत्म हो जायेगी। हमारी प्रार्थना यह है आन्ध्र के भाइयों से कि हम लोग गले मिल कर रहे। लेकिन अगर नहीं रह सकते हैं तो वह भी अलग हो जायें और हम भी अलग हो जायें, नहीं तो दोनों को कष्ट होगा। तेलंगाना तो होगा ही क्योंकि आन्ध्र के मैजस्ट्रिटी एम० एल० एज० का यह कहना है। हम यहां प्रेम के साथ रहें तो अच्छा है, लेकिन हमारी अलग स्टेट तो होनी ही चाहिए। आज वहां के एन० जी० प्रोज० ने भी यही नारा लगाया है। मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि सेपरेट तेलंगाना, जय तेलंगाना के सिवा और कोई रास्ता नहीं है।

श्री रवि राय : सभापति महोदय, यह चौथी या पांचवीं बार है जब हम लोक सभा में तेलंगाना के बारे में बहस कर रहे हैं। असल में पिछले कुछ सालों से हम इस सदन में इस पर बहस करते आये हैं लेकिन आज यह एक अहम सवाल हम लोगों के सामने खड़ा हो गया है क्योंकि यह सवाल 1 करोड़ 50 लाख लोगों का, जो तेलंगाना के अधिवासी हैं, नहीं है, यह एक राष्ट्रीय सवाल है और राष्ट्रीय सवाल समझ कर ही इसके बारे में बहस करनी चाहिये।

पिछले दो तीन घंटों से जो बहस चल रही है उसमें तेलंगाना के तटीय इलाके के सदस्यों और आन्ध्र के तटीय इलाकों के सदस्यों के बीच में जो तर्क वितर्क हम लोग सुन रहे थे, उससे पता चलता है कि हम लोगों की राष्ट्रीयता कुछ कम हो गई है। हम लोग सारे सवाल को एक राष्ट्रीय दृष्टिकोण से न सोच कर, संकीर्ण दृष्टिकोण से सोच रहे हैं और बात कर रहे हैं, जिस के कारण किसी का भी समाधान नहीं हो पाता है।

इस सवाल के बारे में जो हमारी नीति है, जो हमारा सिद्धान्त है उसको रखने के पहले मैं आपकी सेवा में संविधान की धारा 371 (ए) को पढ़ना चाहता हूँ। संविधान की धारा 371 (ए) को अगर आप देखें तो वह कहती है कि :

"Notwithstanding anything in this Constitution, the President may, by order made with respect to the State of Andhra Pradesh provide for the constitution and functions of regional committees of the Legislative Assembly of the State, for the modifications to be made in the rules of business of the Government and in the rules of procedure of the Legislative Assembly of the State and for any special responsibility of the Governor in order to secure the proper functioning of the regional committees."

आप को मालूम है कि संविधान में यह चीज दी हुई है कि प्रेजिडेंट को आर्डर देकर इस चीज को करना चाहिए। इसमें केन्द्र सरकार की पहली जिम्मेदारी है। मेरा आरोप है कि केन्द्रीय सरकार ने जान बूझकर इस सवाल को नजर अन्दाज किया है। बावजूद इसके कि पिछले कुछ सालों से हम लोग बार-बार ध्यान दिलाते रहे हैं कि यह करना चाहिये, वह करना चाहिए, सरकार ने कुछ नहीं किया है। सरकार बचन-भंगी है। इसलिये मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि सरकार एकता को बढ़ाना नहीं चाहती।

मैं जानता हूँ कि पिछले साल जब हम लोगों ने इस सदन में कहा कि एक संसदीय कमेटी दौरा करने के लिए आन्ध्र प्रदेश के तेलंगाना क्षेत्र में जाय, तब एक तरह से सरकार का दिमाग बन गया था कि संसदीय प्रतिनिधिमण्डल जाना चाहिये, लेकिन उसी समय श्री ब्रह्मानन्द रेड्डी हवाई जहाज से दिल्ली पहुँच गये और उन्होंने हिदायत की कि नहीं जाना चाहिए। बूँकि वह प्रधान मंत्री को समर्थन दे रहे थे, कांग्रेस के अन्दरूनी भगड़े में इसलिए प्रधान मंत्री ने भी इशारा दे दिया कि नहीं जाना चाहिए यहां से संसदीय प्रतिनिधिमण्डल

चव्हाण साहब सी मुकर गये। भिवण्डी के सवाल को लेकर गृह मन्त्री जी को इस सदन में रोने की नीवत आ गई थी। हालत क्या है ? यह मानी हुई बात है कि एक साल में तीन सी लोग शहीद हो गये हैं। सोलह महीने से लगातार 144 घारा वहां लागू है। यह एक अनोखी चीज है। फिर भी न्यायिक जांच ज्यादातियों की नहीं करवाई जाती है। हमारे घर मन्त्री की ओर से इन घटनाओं के प्रति कोई दुख प्रकट नहीं किया जाता है। जो नवयुवक, जो बुद्धि-जीवी, जो किसान और मजदूर लड़ रहे हैं या शहीद हो गए हैं, उनके प्रति क्या आप सहानु-भूति के दो जब्द भी नहीं कह सकते हैं ? शायद इस चीज की इस सरकार से आशा करना बेकार है। सरकार जान-बूझकर आंध्र के बारे में जो संविधान की धारये हैं, उनका पालन नहीं करती है। यह पहली बात है।

दूसरे मुद्दे पर मैं आता हूं। क्या यह सही नहीं है कि केन्द्रीय सरकार ने साजिश करके भार्गव कमेटी मुकरंर की थी ? पहले आडिटर जनरल के यहां से के० लाल की कमेटी वहां गई थी और उसने हिमाब लगाकर बताया था कि सौ करोड़ सरपलस तेलंगाना का था। यह जो सरपलस रुपया था इसको घटाने के लिए केन्द्र ने पिछले साल भार्गव कमेटी को मुकरंर नहीं किया ? अगर किया तो साफ हो जाता है कि सरकार ने इसको एक राजनीतिक सवाल बना लिया और 1 करोड़ 50 लाख लोगों की जो इच्छा है और जो जन आन्दोलन में प्रकट हुई है, उसको नजर भंदाज किया है।

तेलंगाना पर दो तरह की मार पड़ी है। एक तो निजाम के जमाने में पड़ी। हैदराबाद शहर को तो उन्होंने खूबसूरत बना दिया था लेकिन गांवों को भूखा नंगा रखा। ग्रामीण लोगों को तेलंगाना में दूसरी मार पड़ी जब भाई भाई में भगडा करवाया गया। वहां के लोग महसूस करते हैं कि डेढ़ करोड़ लोगों के साथ अन्याय हुआ है रुपया खर्च करने के मामले में,

विकास के मामले में। यह मार उन पर आजादी मिलने के बाद पड़ी है। यह इस रूप में पड़ी है, कि रुपया उस पर खर्च नहीं किया गया और आंध्र पर कर दिया गया। उसकी रिपोर्ट यहां टेबल पर रखी जा चुकी है। वह रिपोर्ट हमको आडिटर जनरल की मार्फत और रिजनल कमेटी से जो सूचना प्राप्त हुई उसके आधार पर उन्होंने हमारे सामने रखी।

में राष्ट्रीय मुद्दे पर आता हूं। एक ही राज्य के अन्दर दो भागों में नाबराबरी है। यहां पर ही हो ऐसी बात नहीं है। दूसरे प्रान्तों में भी यह चीज दिखाई देती है। आंध्र में तटीय तथा दूसरे इलाके में गैर बराबरी है। आंध्र में इस नाबराबरी को लेकर जो ऐजीटेशन हुआ है और हो रहा है और तेलंगाना वालों की तरफ से जिसको चलाया जा रहा है, उसने संसद के सामने एक नीति का प्रश्न उपस्थित कर दिया है। तेलंगाना में विकास का काम हुआ ही नहीं है। इस वास्ते एक ही राज्य के दो भागों में गैर बराबरी हमें देखने को मिलती है। इस को खत्म करना होगा। इसका हमें समाधान खोजना होगा।

श्री बंकटस्वामी ने जो कुछ कहा है, उसका मैं समर्थन करता हूं। एस० एस० पी० की इस बारे में राय माफ है। हिछले साल प्रधान मन्त्री ने हमको बहस के लिए बुलाया था। उस बक्त मैं साफ कहा था कि आप मेघालय को लेकर संविधान में संशोधन करने वाला विधेयक ला रहे हैं और इस समय आपको जो दीवार पर लिखा हुआ है, उसको पढ़ना चाहिए। आप तेलंगाना की स्थिति को देखकर वहां उसकी एक सब स्टेट बनाइये। मैंने कहा था कि तेलंगाना और आंध्र की एकता को अगर कायम रखना है और तेलंगाना के लोगों की उन्नति करनी है, उनकी जो कठिनाइयां हैं, उनकी जो शिकायतें हैं, उनको दूर करना है तो उसका एक ही रास्ता है और वह बही है जो संयुक्त सोश-लिस्ट पार्टी ने सुझाया है कि वहां एक सब स्टेट

[श्री रवि राय]

बना दी जाए। यह सुभाष एस० एस० पी० ने प्रधान मन्त्री को दिया था। अब भी समय है कि सरकार इस बारे में विचार करके तेलंगाना और आन्ध्र प्रदेश के जन-नेताओं की एक गोल मेज बैठक बुलाये और उस में इस आशय का फैसला करे। इस आन्दोलन में जो लोग शहीद हुए हैं, उनके बारे में एक न्यायिक जांच की व्यवस्था की जाये। इस प्रकार तेलंगाना के लोगों के मन में हिम्मत पैदा होगी कि देश की संसद् में उन के लिए आवाज बुलन्द हो रही है और उसकी समस्या का समाधान किया जा रहा है। मैं श्री शुक्ल से यह अनुरोध करूंगा कि वह इस चर्चा का जवाब देते हुए भारत सरकार की ओर से यह आश्वासन दें कि मेधालय की तरह तेलंगाना के 150 लाख लोगों की एक सब-स्टेट जल्द से जल्द बनाने पर विचार किया जायेगा।

SHRI K. RAMANI (Coimbatore): At the outset, I want to clearly say that my party does not accept the demand for a separate Telengana State. But, I am glad to hear some of the hon. Members directly coming from the Telengana area not demanding for a separate Telengana State. It is good that they have try their experience realised this. But, at the same time, certain safeguards assured to the people of Telengana by the Central Government and also the State Government should be implemented in toto without fail. For that all arrangements, whether statutory or non-statutory, should be made by the Central Government.

At the same time I want to place squarely the blame firstly on the shoulders of the Central Government and then on the State Government of Andhra Pradesh. For the last twenty years, the Congress Party enjoyed its power and ruled the Andhra State. From 1956 onwards Telengana also joined and there was a Vishal Andhra State. For this a big heroic struggle was conducted by the Andhra people as also by the Telengana people.

18.32 hrs.

[Shri Basudevan Nair in the Chair]

And then such a State was formed. And

for the last twelve years, their rule was going on in that particular State under the leadership of the same Congress Party. I want to put a question to the Congress leaders as well as the leaders of the State and Central Governments as to why such a problem arose in Telengana with such a big struggle involving several lakhs of peasants and ordinary workers and middle class Government employees and students to give a fight heroically? I am not prepared to accept what the hon. Member, Shri Venkataswamy said that this was a revolution. How can we accept this kind of struggle as a revolution? This struggle was inspired by interested persons by diverting the wrath of these people into a chauvinistic line. How can it be called a revolution? That won't be correct. Anyhow, the people fought their battle heroically. In this fight more than 300 lives had been lost and 200 rounds were fired on the people there by the Police and Army, these were big losses of property. A pamphlet was issued by the Andhra Pradesh Government stating that about Rs. 52 crores worth of property was destroyed. These properties were burnt and looted during that fight. Why such a heavy loss of life and property was incurred even after twelve years of their rule? This is the most important thing to be taken into consideration and it should be pondered over by the Central Government as well as the Congress leaders and State Government. There was actually group fighting among the Congress leaders to establish their power or position between different groups from Telengana area as well as from the other areas. If the Telengana people had gone on fighting for their rights, in unity with the brother Andhra people, then the rulers would really have been forced to look into the problems of the Telengana people. The real problem there is the exploitation of the people by the landlords and the big capitalist; that is taking place not only in the Telengana area but also in the other areas of Andhra Pradesh. Driving away the Andhra people who are in the Telengana area or, in Hyderabad or elsewhere in those nine districts, is not at all a solution to the problem. If that is going to be the solution, then what will happen to the Telengana people if they go to some other States for jobs etc.? If we accept that as the criterion, then the disruptive forces will use it for disruption of the

democratic movements of these people? The Telengana people must think about this matter calmly. No doubt, the Telengana area is an under-developed area and it should be developed. We have got our complete sympathies with Telengana people in this regard. But if we accept the above said criterion, then what will happen? The Shiva Sena in Maharashtra will then say that all the Southerners in Maharashtra should go away from there. Suppose the Telengana people go to some other States, then they would not get any employment there also.

SHRI G VENKATASWAMY : Why do they not merge those six Hindi States?

SHRI K. RAMANI : Let my hon. friend hear me patiently. The dauntless attack on non-Maharashtrian residents of Bombay, particularly on South Indians by the Fascist—like Shiva Sena leaders and the riots and looting against the Rajasthanis, and the hate-campaign worked against the Bengalis by the Assam chauvinists through the Lachit Sena in Assam and the anti-Andhra hysteria worked up in and around Behrampur in Orissa and the anti-Andhra hate-campaign and the riots organised in the Telengana region, all belong to the same category. In all these, there is a direct hand by one section of the Congress leaders or the other, and the established complicity of the Congress Governments at the States as well as the Centre.

Several of these dangerously disruptive movements, it seems, are not only financed by certain big landlords and big business circles but also by foreign agencies like the American CIA also. These are the real reasons behind Telengana agitation. Our party has exposed with so many examples, and facts and figures which have been published in our party organ several times, and people know about the whole thing. We have got complete sympathy with the Telengana people in general and the down-trodden and oppressed people of Telengana in particular.

Now, I want to ask one question. Suppose a separate Telengana State is carved out tomorrow. Where is the guarantee that there will be a socialistic regime there? Where is the guarantee that the working class and the peasantry can take power into their

hands, and the peasantry will not be attacked by the landlords and the monopoly bourgeois sections or the usurers and other exploiters? That guarantee can only come when against landlordism, and against capitalism, the Telengana people along with the coastal Andhra people and the Rayalaseema people join together and fight against the common enemy and capture power, and throwing away the power of the exploiting classes, and if necessary, Brahmananda Reddy or any other Reddy, from power. Then alone, they can enjoy such a right; otherwise they cannot.

The revolutionary struggle there was started by our Communist Party. The wrath of the people against the hated Nizam rule was the base of this struggle, because the area was under-developed all along. Under the Nizam's rule, the heroic people of Telengana fought against the Razakars for years together. The communist party led that struggle, 6000 lives were lost, and in about 2000 villages, the lands were captured from landlords. But what has happened to that? The landlords have again taken it away under Congress rule. Again, the peasantry have demanded the lands, the working classes demanded jobs and they rise in struggles. I vehemently condemn the attitude of the Central and State Governments in repressing the people, in attacking the people in firing upon the people and killing students and butchering women and children, using the wrong form given to their struggles by the reactionary disruptive forces. That is the only language known to the Central Government and the State Government led Shri Brahmananda Reddy. That is why, today, the Congress Party has not been able to solve these kinds of problems and put an end to the fissiparous and chauvinistic tendencies that are developing in the various States. For instance, in Assam, the Lachit Sena is there; in Maharashtra, the Shiva Sena is there, and then there is the anti-Andhra campaign in Telengana area.

There was the movement for a separate Tamil Nadu. Then, there was a movement for the Kerala State. Were all these movements wrong? No. Were all the linguistic movements wrong? Certainly they were not wrong. And we have seen the Madras State come into existence, and also the Kerala State and other linguistic States come into

[Shri K. Ramani]

existence. In all these cases certain regions carved out from a particular State and formed into a separate small State within the same linguistic State, is wrong. It is alleged that the acceptance of the principle of linguistic States is itself wrong. This view is being indiscriminately propagated. No, the acceptance of the principle is not wrong. For our development, it was necessary to have linguistic States. We wanted to develop because under imperialist rule for 200 years, we were suppressed. So everybody wants to advance. That urge cannot and should not be suppressed. For advancement, the Andhra State must look in to the problem of Telengana people, if necessary at some sacrifice to themselves. Is necessary, at some sacrifice to the development of the more developed regions, the Telengana region should be developed. They must put in more money, more education, more employment in Telengana area.

I want to ask the protagonists of Telengana State : By forming 8 or 9 districts into one State, will they be able to solve the unemployment problem ? No, they will not be. You cannot solve the unemployment problem, you cannot stop the eviction of the peasantry until the landlords and capitalists are put off and power comes in to the hands of the working class, the peasantry and the middle class who believe in democracy. Therefore, the solution is not to carve out a particular region into a separate State.

When the Andhra people were fighting for a separate Andhra State, we the Tamil Nadu people supported the movement because it was a healthy, democratic movement. But they raised a wrong slogan at that time—they may remember it—"Madras is ours." We patiently explained to them as it was a wrong slogan. Madras is a big city. It was built by the joint labour and sacrifices of the Telugu people, the Malayali people, the Tamil people and the Kannada people. We accept it. Even then, Madras city belongs to Tamil Nadu. Today thousands and thousands of Andhra people are residing as well as employed in Madras city. We are not hating them ; we are sending them away. They are our brethren.

What the people of Telengana and Andhra must do is that they must get rid of

this bourgeois landlord regime which wanted to share the spoils by making the people fight a fratricidal war, killing each other. By this way, the wrath of the people is misdirected and the movement get canalised into wrong channels. That gives a handle to the Central Government as well as the much-hated State Government to kill people by resorting to firing, sending the police and army there to suppress them. Therefore, they should against this danger.

The problem of the under-development of Telengana region should be specially looked into and the assurances given should be implemented expeditiously. Money collected from that region should be spent for their development. If necessary, more money should spent from the Andhra region at some sacrifice to the Andhra people for the purpose of development of the Telengana region. Then alone this kind of fissiparous tendency, division and sub-division can be avoided and real, healthy development of linguistic States made possible. If reactionaries come in the way, they should be thrown out and a people's government should be established in the States as well as in the centre which will really serve the interests of the people. That is the only solution that is possible.

SHRI BAKAR ALI MIRZA (Secunderabad) : First of all, I am very glad that the Home Minister is here and has taken the trouble, in spite of his illness, to join the debate and reply to the discussion.

Quite a number of points have already been made and I need not dwell on them. But I would like to say one or two things. About the forest rangers' and engineers' cases which were quoted, there were judgments of the High Court and the Supreme Court. Still, it is not implemented. The fact I want to stress is that this was after the Prime Minister announced the 8-point programme. After the submission of all the reports, these judgments were there, but they are not implemented even till today. The Prime Minister gave the assurance on 11.4.69, and the judgment was on 31.8.69. Still, up till now nothing has been done in the case of the Forest Rangers. Similar is the case of the Public Health Engineers. This I would like to stress especially because the Prime Minister gave us hope that her eight-point miracle would do a great deal for Telengana.

While the movement was on, the Prime Minister rushed at mid-night to talk to people, and the Home Minister paid more than one visit. Both the Prime Minister and the Home Minister said that once normalcy was restored, separate Telengana would also be an issue for discussion, but as soon as normalcy was restored, all that was shelved and now there is no question of a separate Telengana at all. They say anything but a separate Telengana. That is not quite fair.

SHRI G. VENKATASWAMY
Bet.alal.

SHRI BAKAR ALI MIRZA : After normalcy has been restored, what is now happening is the use of the strong arm by the Chief Minister. The Chief Minister is in a stronger position than he was in a year or two ago because of the split in the Congress Party, his own weight and the weight of the votes he commands that help him. The police is taking the law in to its own hands. We heard about boys being beaten up inside Reddy hostel. They are all CRP people. When some Members of Parliament were attacked here by a few lathis, a judicial enquiry was ordered straight away, but when the CRP men go inside the hostels and beat up people, firing takes place and 300 people die, there is no judicial enquiry. We talk about giving up of privileges and an egalitarian society. Is this giving up of privileges, is this an egalitarian society that we are building up ?

Already much has been said about the eight-point programme. Wanchoo is a great judge. He says that for getting over the trouble about the Mulki rules, Collectors and District Officers should be allowed to recruit. I am not a lawyer, but I cannot see how by just changing the agency of recruitment, the principle of Mulki rules, which is declared *ultra vires* of the Constitution, can be got over.

A lot has been said about backwardness. All depends on what you mean by backwardness. In the Hyderabad State, the administration was run in an Indian language, the High Court judgements and trials were in an Indian language, the University's medium of instruction was an Indian language. It will take another twenty years for the rest of India to reach that stage, and from that we went back.

It is not backwardness. In every State there is backwardness. Even in United States there are regions which are backward. You cannot avoid backwardness. I have got a different reason for a separate Telengana. Even if there was no backwardness, I say there should be a separate Telengana. The reason is this. Partition would not have taken place if there was not a concentration of Muslims in a particular area. Partition took place because the will was there, the material was there, the opportunity was there to create a separate country. If in Ireland the Protestants and the Catholics were mixed together, there would not have been Eire and Ulster. If the Harijans were concentrated in one place, I assure you there would be a Harijan State in India today. Therefore, the concentration of a particular type of people in a particular area is a danger to the unity of the country. What have we done by the creation of linguistic States ? We have created boundaries and within those boundaries we have homogeneous populations. What is, after all, a nation ? In these linguistic States, there are language, religion culture and definite boundaries. The defence trouble is not there.

All that exist in every State today. They are not States, they are potential nations. They have huge coastline which is much bigger than the coastline of independent countries such as Germany and Norway. There is a potential danger of the division of the country. Everywhere there is demand that there should be more power to the States. The control of Centre over the States is getting weaker every day. There are two controls ; finance and the army. Finance is getting more and more liquidated because the Finance Commission lays down certain rules and there is not much say left to the Central Government. Only the army remains. Can you control a country like this with the help of the army alone, especially if some foreign power is interested. I ask Mr. Chavan to consider this question of Belgaum. Do not the Maharashtrais feel more strongly about Belgaum than Aksai China ? Let him put his hand on his heart and say if it is not true. He can in fact ask Mr. Nijalingappa also how he feels. That is going to be a great danger. An institution like the Shiva Sena or Lachit Sena is not possible if the States are not as big as they are. There are no such Senas in Hindi speaking States. If they revolt and if they are supported by

[Shri Bakar Ali Mirza]

some foreign power, what will happen? Do not think that there will be no support from foreign power? If after Mao there is division of China, the whole country will cack because you have created such conditions. It is easy for any foreign power to exploit the situation. It is a suggestion which I am making for serious consideration by the Government. In the interest of the country, in the interest of the unity and integrity of the country, there should be as many small States as possible, there should be no objection as it also involves the linguistic principle. With smaller States there is more chance of languages growing. We are not against linguistic States: what we are against is having one big State, people speaking one language in a huge big area which can be isolated in fact just like pressing an electric button and putting on an electric light, you can form a different country. That should be avoided. My whole case for a separate Telengana is that there is a case for separate smaller States all over the country. The problem is so great and complicated that they should at least set up a body of people to examine them. Let them test the truth of what I am saying. You can then see, whether what I say is correct or not. Apart from all the assurances and all the other arguments this is what I am saying. I should also point out that the Government of India has not fulfilled the promise it made. If the Home Minister thinks that strong arm tactics will suffice, he is badly mistaken because Telengana is a place where there was the communist movement; the Razakars were anti-communists. It was only through a political solution that the movement there could be countered by the Government of India and calm down Telengana. It is quit possible that the young boys might go the Naxalite way or any other way. That is why I say that smaller States are necessary. Finally, I submit that separate Telengana is the peoples demand and it is non-negotiable. Everything else you can negotiate but not Telengana because I feel that it will lead to a chain reaction which might upset some people who are interested in big States because they are their empires. But it will lead to a chain reaction and number of small States will emerge and they will help in creating a more united India, and will satisfy Telengana.

SHRI K. NARAYANA RAO (Bobbili) : Sir, I have never participated in any discussion on Telengana so far, because I did not want to excite the sensitive susceptibilities of my friends during the earlier period when there was a lot of tension in Telengana. Now that the situation has become normal, I think probably we can talk of it so that the facts may be placed before the House and the country in the correct perspective. My colleague, Mr. G. S. Reddy has placed certain refreshing facts before the House so that people may understand what really happened and whether there was anything *mala fide* on the part of Andhras towards Telengana people. The Andhra Government has now come forward with facts and figures which have not been rebutted. Even my friend, Mr. Narayana Reddy, has not rebutted any of the facts mentioned in the publications brought out by Andhra Government, whether it is about education, irrigation, jobs etc. They are there on record. I am very happy to find that my friend, Mr. Kandappan, could say, after going through the report, that perhaps there is a case for Andhra to separate, though he might have said it in a jocular manner. He also asked a very interesting question: How is it and why is it that if such a remarkable change has taken place, there should be such sustained agitation in Telengana? That requires an answer.

Let us see under what circumstances Andhra came into being in 1953. At the time of independence, what was the position? The different political units in the country were created due to exigencies of the political situation and they had no logic behind their creation. Therefore, even at the time of making the Constitution, there was a widespread feeling that the States must be redistributed in a certain rational way. That is why article 3 provided that reorganisation of States can be made by legislation by Parliament. Somebody called it a sin that Andhra initiated the reorganisation of the country on a linguistic basis. Though the sin has been attributed to us, a great injustice has been done to us. At the time of the reorganisation, certain areas which must have necessarily come to Andhra have been unjustly denied to us like Eastern Bastar, Ganjam, Koraput, some areas in Bellary and Kollar District. The SRC has mentioned

some of these areas. Even though these areas were denied to Andhra, the Andhra people did not launch any agitation. Now a cruel joke is being perpetrated on us and even this truncated Andhra Pradesh is sought to be divided further.

It is a historical fact that Andhras have been a neglected people. In the region, there were two patterns of development. So far as jobs were concerned, the Nizam never had confidence in the local Andhra people. He used to induct people from outside. In industry also, people used to be brought from outside. Therefore, the native Andhras were never given any fillip for development. That is why today with the union of Andhra, people of Andhra feel that after hundreds of years, they have come together.

There is a new awakening all over Andhra Pradesh and Telengana. At the same time, the hegemony of certain vested interests, though it was indirect in the beginning, is increasing. I do not want to go into all that for want of time. As a result of that, all these things started taking place last year and there was agitation. Certain people wrongly incited the people and there was violence. The agitation went on for a long time and it could not have been sustained for such a long time unless it was financed by certain vested interests. Yet, everybody has accused the Andhra Government and ultimately Andhra Government could not control it. Now the situation has come to normalcy.

19.00 hrs.

In spite of all this agitation a large section of the people of Andhra and Telengana are still united. Even among these who are pleading against integration there are various shades and it is extremely difficult to identify them. Among the followers of Shri V. B. Raju and Shri Konda Laxman Babuji also there are different view points.

Over a period of time the historical process is going on and people are going to adjust themselves. Whatever be their differences, due to historical process they will take care of themselves and we hope and trust that a united Andhra will continue to prosper.

SHRI DATTATRAYA KUNTE
(Kolaba): When the Constitutioⁿ was first

framed there were part A and Part B States and so on. Later on, we found that Part B States were abolished. Yet, some how, if we look at the administrative pattern we have big States like U. P., bigger States in area like Madhya Pradesh and, at the same time, we have created Nagaland. Very recently we have tried another experiment by creating Meghalaya which is not a State really but a State within a State. In addition to that, for certain historical reasons we may say, we have separate Pondicherry and separate Goa. In all these things one does not see rhyme or reason. The Government of India or this House has been going from one expediency to another. That is all one sees with the result that it raised hopes in the minds of the people that they can as well ask for a separate State and get their difficult problems solved.

Here are our friends from Andhra who are now saying that Telengana shall not separate. But will they remember that they asked for separation from Madras, not on the language issue at all? The argument that they advanced was that if in Tamilnadu area there were at least 9 or 19—I do not remember the exact number but I know that it is not less than nine—towns and cities with pipe water and drainage, there was not a single town with underground drainage in Andhra Pradesh. So, they were considering the question from the point of view of the comparative development or otherwise—I would not like to use the word "discrimination"; I would say comparative development.

Now, having done that in 1956, because they were alive to the position they entered into a gentleman's agreement and Telengana had some benefits under the gentleman's agreement. But as time passed on they had forgotten that gentleman's agreement. They are now again alive to that agreement and want even to go a step further. But the defence which Telengana man like G. S. Reddy gave was of his having to import teachers, lawyers, doctors and even agriculturists—what a fine defence he gave—and if he was a Chairman of a District Committee why could he not enthuse the local people there. One does not really understand how the people of Telengana has gone down so low in their intellectual capacity that they could not, with all the good wishes of the Andhra people—rise up all these years.

[Shri Dattatraya Kunte]

Now, whether it is Bhargava Committee, or any other Committee, whether they were entitled to Rs. 40 crores or Rs. 108 crores, it is admitted on all sides that Telengana has not been given the benefit of the money to which they are entitled. My hon'ble friend, Shri Ramani, wanted to say that Andhra should be more liberal. These people are just arguing, "Why do you offend." This is really surprising. In this particular respect now the Central Government is in a very difficult position. First of all, the Constitution is there where in the maximum that the Central Government can do is they can say under Article 3 we will make and unmake States. Beyond that if they want to go, their writ does not run now. There were days when because of Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru being there and because of one party being there it ran but now it does not run. And when their writ does not run they must tell the people that 300 people might have been shot dead we have no authority, we will privately ask the Chief Minister to hold an inquiry. If he does not hold an inquiry they will keep quiet.

SHRIMATI LAKSHMIKANTHAMMA (Khammam): Sir, I want to make one clarification. The Home Minister of Andhra Pradesh said that he would resign his Ministership if the number is 300. According to him it is 57. Even that is more. One death is a terrible thing.

SHRI DATTATRAYA KUNTE: Even if 57 lives have gone I have only said hold an inquiry to find out who is responsible.

The writ of the Central Government does not now run. In addition to this there is another factor which is affecting them, that is, break-up of the Congress party and its losing influence day by day in the country. Therefore, what do we find? We found it when Shri Lal Bahadur Shastri became the Prime Minister; we found it on the second occasion when the present Prime Minister became the Prime Minister or was elected the Leader of the Party. The provincial satraps—the Chief Ministers—said the Working Committee has nothing to do. We will control. They are really threatening. The Parliament has to take note of this. The Government of India has to take note of

this and not quietly and in its usual manner of the past talk of platitudes and advise the people.

If they are able to deliver the goods, let them say that they are prepared to deliver the goods.

This Telengana question has been debated in this House not for the first time and hours have been allotted to it. At the end the Home Minister will make a speech, "I am very deeply hurt and I would like to do the best for them. But what can I do I am not able to persuade Shri Brahmanand Reddy." That is the burden of his song.

In that respect I must say that the people in the areas concerned must also, first of all, take the responsibility. There will be backward areas and there are backward areas. The Fourth Plan, which has been laid on the Table today, will also indicate to you that with all the platitudes laid down in the Plan there is no real effort at bringing all these backward areas up to the standard of the advanced areas, though there have been promises galore.

I may just give you an instance. I do not want to hold any grievance; I can fight my own battles. But, for instance, in the State of Maharashtra the Chief Minister has said, "I agree that konkan districts are backward areas, that they are suffering but now I am prospectively planning for the next 15 years." When he was asked what his present year's budgets showed, he said, "As yet we have not touched the imbalances but when the new Plan comes, like the moon that is promised to Ramchandra, you will get it."

What has he done? He has written to the Planning Commission and, as it was demonstrated in the Rajya Sabha, in the backward districts of Maharashtra there is his district Ycotmal and Chanda and the four district of Marathwada; he has forgotten the other backward areas in Maharashtra namely konkan.

The Government of India has no control over these satraps. Therefore my hon. friends from Telengana must take note that mere promises from the Home Minister are not going to help. The Government of India also must understand that now because of the Constitution and the party wrangle

their writ does not run and, therefore, they must be alive to the situation and behave differently.

THE MINISTER OF HOME AFFAIRS (SHRI Y.B. CHAVAN) : Mr. Chairman, Sir, unfortunately, I could not attend the debate at its earlier stages and, therefore, could not hear some of the speeches of hon. Members but I have tried to acquaint myself with some of the points that they have made. I heard the speech of Shri Goyal and partly the speech of Shri Reddy. He began with a grievance that I had made certain promises and commitments which I have not fulfilled. I would like to refer to it briefly; I do not want to go into the details of that matter.

I had assessed the problem of Andhra in May or June 1969 when I had visited Andhra. If I remember aright I said then that it was a people's movement and that there was a spontaneity in the movement. I have not revised that assessment. I have always said that it is a complex and difficult problem which required very careful attention. I have not revised that assessment of mine even now.

I had expected that possibly we might come to some sort of an understanding in the discussion here but hon. Member knows that at that time I did not succeed in persuading the people to withdraw the agitation and the resultant discussion that was contemplated in Delhi could not take place. Therefore there was no question of withdrawing from are going back on certain statements made. As far as the assessment of the characteristic of the demands or the movement, is concerned, there is no denying the truth in that even now. That has also been repeatedly said by my hon. colleague in the other House when he replied to the debate on Telengana in Rajya Sabha. There is no doubt that there is a justifiable grievance of the people of Telengana about two matters: one about their share in the services and the other about their development problems. On these two points there was no doubt in the mind of the Government of India and I do not think even the Government of Andhra or even the Chief Minister, Shri Brahmanand Reddy, has refused to recognise these two positions. These are the facts.

Now the question is how to solve this problem. I see that there is a basic difference. There are two views about this matter. One is held by some people who try to find out the solution by an agitational approach aiming at the separation of Telengana.

The other approach to which I have extended my moral support, my intelligent support and my conscious support is to identify the problems of this area and to solve those problems and see that there is no further scope for the grievance of the people of Telengana as far as their development is concerned and their other aspirations are concerned. We should think about ways and means, work out programmes and see that they are implemented. If we find there are any difficulties, impediments, in the way, you try to remove them. This was the basic difference in approaches.

I do not want to repeat this because it has been repeated several times and, therefore, I am not going into the details of it. Immediately after the problem became very serious the Prime Minister herself invited all the leading members of the Telengana political life to Delhi. We had some successive discussions here and some seven or eight steps were contemplated at that time, that we should do this and that. We wanted to go into the problem of unemployment of the people; we wanted to go into the problem of the services and we wanted to go into the development of Telengana and many other aspects. On 18th February, the Government of India issued a press communique which detailed all the problems, the steps that were contemplated and the steps that were taken, the committees appointed, etc.

I want to repeat one thing. The hon. Member, Shri Bakar Ali Mirza and the hon. Member, Shri Kunte, who spoke last have tried to generalise the problem; as to whether there are no backward areas in the country. Yes, there are backward areas in the country, in different States and there are regions also which are patently backward, chronically backward. That is a fact. There is no question of denying it.

What is the solution for it? The regional development is one of the serious problems that the Planning commission will have to deal with for years to come. The real trouble starts were choose propose to

[Shri Y. B. Chawa]

make this a political problem from the point of view of reorganizing the States. That is the question that we have to ask ourselves. Some people have tried to find fault with the reorganisation of States on linguistic basis. Will, I do not want to go into that controversial subject again. But I think it was a universal demand of the 50s, practically from all political parties excepting a few individuals that it is much better to rationally reorganise the country or the basis of languages. Personally speaking, I feel, that was a very correct analysis and that was a very correct decision that was taken.

SHRI BAKAR ALI MIRZA : But small States.

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN : I am coming to the theory of small States. The basic approach that was adopted at that time was to my mind the correct approach. But in all linguistic States there are bound to be areas which are more advanced and others which are less advanced. There are geographical considerations ; there are economic considerations and there are historical reasons for the backwardness of those areas. I think, we will have to go deeper into those matters because, as is the case with Telangana, there were different regions which ultimately came together and there historical reasons why certain areas were backward and certain areas were more advanced. There were geographical reasons also. Take, for example, Rayalaseema. Rayalaseema was backward not because it was with Nizam but there were certain geographical reasons and certain climatic reasons also. The coastal areas of Andhra Pradesh are very prosperous. But the coastal areas of Maharashtra are not prosperous. There are certain geographical reasons, certain historical reasons so, what is required is to identify these problems, find out the economic reasons for it and adopt an approach of special developmental planning for these areas.

Sir, this is a national problem. This is not a Telangana problem. This is not a Konkan problem. This is not a problem of one particular region alone. The regional development and the regional imbalances have many aspects. If I can put it that way,

the regional development and regional imbalances have different facets in this country. Political aspect is one and I quite agree that the responsible leadership at the State level will have to take a warning from Telangana. Telangana is a warning not only to the State of Andhra Pradesh, I would like to say that Telangana is a warning to leaders of all the States because what is happening in Telangana may happen in any other part of the country. They will have to adopt more serious approach to the question of planning and development of their States because the question is not only of areas, it is also of progress of the different social strata. The poor naturally feel that they are neglected. That is also another aspect of it. If you take merely regional imbalance, it will not help. There are demands from the Adivasis. There are some areas with are predominantly occupied by tribals. Those regions are also backward. So, it is not merely the geographical reason, the historical reason but there are also social reasons for backwardness of certain regions. It is much better to look at the problem of planning and development from an entirely different view. This is really speaking a national problem. This is not a problem merely of organizing the country again in small States which is a very pet theory of my hon. friend, Mr. Bakar Ali Mirza. I have great respect for him because he is one of the oldest nationalist leaders in this country and I do value the sentiments he has expressed. But, at the same time, I beg to differ from some of his views because trying to re-organize the country in small States consisting of 4 or 5 Districts is bringing in chronic instability in the country. That is my personal view. I do not want to commit the Government to a particular view. This is my personal view that re-organizing the country in small States making them a sort of monopolies of a group of politicians or a clique of politicians. (Interruptions) Therefore, personally I am not for any theory of small States. This is another theory which I think, puts the unity of this country in danger.

I do not accept the theory that the present unity is because of some strength of the army. I think this is perhaps the most unrealistic not only unrealistic but basically unhealthy theory in the conditions obtaining to-day. I have no doubt that

although there may be some difficulties, etc. the country is united because the people of this country have decided to remain united. I have no doubt about it. Can we say that the different States to-day are united because there is powerful army sitting here and people are together merely because it is prepared to intervene? It is absolutely wrong. He has misunderstood the significance the historical significance of the unity of this country.

Hon. Member, Shri Kunte, said that the writ of the Central Government does not run. Well, I beg to differ from him on that point. It runs. It is wrong to say that it does not run. Possibly it does not run in the same sense as in 1946 or 1947 or 1950. What he said is right. We have not got the same Party ruling in all the States. Well, this is a very natural thing to happen to-day. What is the use of saying that one party rule does not exist? It can not be expected to exist for all time to come. Possibly, the present multiparty rule in states may exist for decades to come. But that does not mean that the Central Government has lost its power to keep the unity of the country.

SHRI M. N. REDDY : It has not got its will.

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN : Not at all. It is because we are running our writ. There is some sort of understanding in the country. That is why you are trying to persuade me and I am trying to persuade you.

SHRI S. M. BANERJEE : You can reply to Gen Cariappa.

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN : So, Sir, I don't think this is the correct way of looking at the national problems. Therefore, the problem of Telengana is that there is a feeling in the minds of the people of Telengana that they should have a greater participation in the political apparatus of the State. That is the basic thing. I wish and I hope and I think that it will be the effort of every political Party and every political thinking man in this country, to see that this aspiration is ultimately fulfilled.

And, therefore, in order to achieve this I would make a request to all the important leaders of Telengana who are sitting here.

They are important people because they are representing millions of people here. And, even if they are angry, I would respect their anger, but I would make a request to them, to adopt a more constructive approach. Please give up this agitational approach and don't think in terms of separatism. Ultimately we have to work together, sit together,—if necessary, quarrel also together,—but we have to see that we ultimately come out with some agreed solution and agreed approach to this problem.

SHRI M. N. REDDY : Why then C. R. P. stands between you and us?

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN : I assure him that C. R. P. is not sent there to separate Telengana friends and Andhra friends. This is none of the business of the C.R.P. The C.R.P. goes to help the State. Well, if there is resentment, I will try to find out why it is. But normally the C.R.P. goes there not to help any particular political move, not to penalise any particular political group. It normally goes, as you know, to help the State to maintain the law and order. When we sent the C. R. P. to help the situation in West Bengal, which Chief Minister were we trying to help? Ultimately, the C.R.P. is an instrument which is kept in reserve by the Central Government for the assistance of State Government whenever they ask for it.

Naturally, it is not my desire that C.R.P. should be used to suppress the democratic will of the people of Telengana. But, at the same time, I would make a request to the people of Telengana and their leaders to see reason. You are dealing with the people there; there are democratic ways of arguing this matter. We are discussing various things; you can certainly create public opinion; that is a different matter. But why create law and order situation in a beautiful city like Hyderabad where trade was stopped for many days. The university was closed and intelligent young people who are trying to take advantage of the university education were denied for months together the facilities of education. It was not something that you wanted, that I wanted. Therefore, Sir, I would make an appeal...

SHRI M. N. REDDY : What is your final appeal?

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN : My final appeal is what I just now indicated. Let us give up this agitational approach. I do not think there is any difference between the people of Andhra and the people of Telengana. The poor people of Telengana and the poor people of Andhra have got the same problems. I think it is the difficulty at the power-level of politics that creates difficulty in this matter.

Let us therefore try to take a more constructive approach to see that the problems of the people of Telengana are genuinely solved.

In this matter, Sir, I can only assure the Government of India's position that we will certainly try to help as much as possible a feeling of cooperation and create conditions for the proper development of the people of Telengana.

SHRI M. N. REDDY : What about the Round Table Conference promised by you in the Consultative Committee Resolution ?

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN : I would like to make that clear. We were discussing in the

consultative committee and a suggestion came, why cannot some leaders of various parties in Andhra State sit together and then I had said, I have no objection to this thing. But conferences can be called only if there is a feasibility of evolving something out of it. Merely to call a Round Table Conference only to say that we have agreed to disagree,— there is no point in that

SHRI M. N. REDDY : Such a Resolution was passed.

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN : I know. As a practical administrator I do not think it necessary to call a Round Table Conference when people have committed themselves to different approaches permanently and to bring them together would only be to ultimately to declare that we have failed to achieve anything. Thank you.

19.30 hrs.

The Lok Sabha then adjourned till Eleven of the Clock on Tuesday, May 19, 1970/Valsakha 29, 18-2 Saka.