

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: Order, please. This is no point of order. You have no point of order.

SHRI SURENDRA MOHANTY: My point of order is this: whether these gentlemen should not be restrained from intimidating another Member. If this is going to be democracy, let it be decided on the streets for which I throw a challenge. (*Interruptions*).

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: Order, order. Mr. Banerjee.

SHRI S. M. BANERJEE: Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, with your permission I would like to invite the kind attention of the hon. Labour Minister, through you, to the fact that there is a strike going on by 3,000 jute workers of the J. & K. Mills, Kanpur. The issues are that a new system has been introduced, the piece-working system, for calculation purposes. They want the wages which were given to the jute workers of Calcutta. I am told that the hon. Minister has intervened in the matter. I would like to take this opportunity to request him again to see what he can do for the 3,000 jute workers. The hon. Minister is here, fortunately. You should ask him if he could make a statement.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: It is up to him. If he wants and if he comes forward, he can make a statement. I am not here to ask him.

THE MINISTER OF LABOUR AND REHABILITATION (SHRI RAGHU-NATHA REDDY): Government is seriously concerned about what is happening in Kanpur in relation to jute strike. I have already written a letter to the Minister of Labour of the U.P. Government drawing his attention to this fact and I hope that the parties concerned would appreciate the concern of the Government and maintain production.

STATUTORY RESOLUTION RE: PROCLAMATION IN RELATION TO THE STATE OF ANDHRA PRADESH

SHRI K. SURYANARAYANA (Eluru): Yesterday, when I started speaking, my friends from some States asked me to speak in English... (*Interruptions*).

SOME HON. MEMBERS: Speak in Telugu.

*SHRI K. SURYANARYANA: Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, the question of mulki rules came into lime light when it was raised in the High Court and Supreme Court in 1969. It was then that the people understood the implications of these rules. Here I would recount the origin of an agreement that was agreed in between the representatives of the Telengana and the representatives of Andhra region. This was before 1969 and was the basis of the formation of Vishal Andhra now known as Andhra Pradesh. The trouble arose when the mulki rules were sought to be implemented in the State to the detriment of the people belonging to particular region. People went to courts to redress their grievances. In the process the attention of the people was also invited.

When the so called gentlemen's agreement was arrived at the people were not taken into confidence. This fact added fuel to the fire. When the High Court gave a judgment against the Government, the Government went to Supreme Court in appeal. The Supreme Court upheld the contention of the Government of Shri Nerasih-mahrao. We are grateful to Shri Narasimharao and his Government for making us realise the situation in its proper perspective and opening our eyes to the realities. This lead the people to understand and appreciate the situation thoroughly.

The integrationists say that these rules are not against the interests of the people of any region in the State.

In this connection I would like to submit that we had to face a situation when people from a particular region are treated as a second rate citizens in their own State capital when we are in an age of not only the citizenship of a particular State or a country but the slogan is citizenship of the world. A few employees who belong to the Andhra region are on the verge of being forced to relinquish their posts and go back. In that situation they were forced to go to the court of law. When they went to the Supreme Court those mulki rules were struck down earlier because they were detrimental to the fundamental rights enshrined in the Constitution of India. The agitation arose because of a later judgment by the Supreme Court given in October upholding the mulki rules. We carefully considered the implications of the particular judgment and its effects on the people of Andhra region. The problem is not limited to the provision of seats for students in technical colleges or employment of a few people. It is the question of citizenship right of a whole region. We represented the matter to Shri Narasimmarao who was then the Chief Minister and also to the Centre here. Even our minimum request for exempting the twin cities of Hyderabad and Secundrabad from the purview of implementation of the mulki rules was rejected. I told the Government here that you are worried about those people of Indian origin who thrown out Uganda but you are not worried about the agitation of the people who are denied the citizenship rights in their own State. There is no doubt that the love and affection the citizens of Andhra have towards the Prime Minister was taken undue advantage of, and Andhra were sought to be victimised for their innocence or inherent laziness to be roused into action quickly.

When we first met the Prime Minister she told us these mulki rules are for the safeguard of those people who are the citizens of Hyderabad. Then we went to our constituencies and

tried to explain the situation to the people. The people were not convinced because it was a question of self-respect of Andhras and it was a question of their citizenship rights in their own State capital. The movement slowly gathered momentum and develop in its fold not only the students and NGOs but also the various sections of the society the rich and the poor, the industrial workers and the agricultural labourers irrespective of their position and status. You are all aware that we give a lot of importance to our self-respect. Even when we needed food and it is being supplied freely we did not accept it because it was conditional. How do you expect the people of a particular region to reconcile themselves to the status of a second class citizenship in their own State? I would like to mention here that like the Pandvas who were refused even 5 villages when they fulfilled their part of the vow and asked for their share of the kingdom, our request for exempting Hyderabad from the implementation of the mulki rules was refused by the Chief Minister. We had no other alternative but to agitate.

I went on tour of my constituency and the State for about a month. Everywhere I come across people who started questioning me about these mulki rules. I would like to add here that these are the same people who elected us and gave our party a thumping victory in electing 26 members of our party from the State. The same people started accusing me as agent of Shrimati Indira Gandhi and branded me as a poddler of 5-point formula of the Prime Minister. These people consisted not only the students and NGOs but all sections of the society like the lawyers, doctors and the workers etc. I told them that I have come to explain the stand of the Government to the people and not to advocate for the Government. I sought the people's views on the matter. When the mulki rules bill was introduced in this House it took away the opportunity of explaining the Government's stand to the people. I would

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also state that the public opinion in the matter of these mulki rules was not properly reflected in this House here.

When we felt that the Constitution is to be amended in order to do away with the privileges that were guaranteed to the Princely rulers, we did so. We thought that these princes and their feudal system had no place in the socialist and democratic set up. When the people are not convinced of the intentions behind these mulki rules we decided to separate peacefully. This is not a quarrel with the people of Telengana. Trouble arose because of the mulki rules and their implementation. I can say that the constituency of Shri Ram Gopal Reddy is full of people of our region who settled there 20 or 30 years ago. They live in peace and amity in their regions. I will say that you can find Andhras wherever there is good agricultural land whether it is Tamil Nadu or Telengana. The agitation has been going on for the last 3 months in the Andhra region.

When Shri Brahmanand Reddy was the Chief Minister he admitted that injustice was done to the people of Telengana. When Shri Narasimharao was the Chief Minister it was admitted here in Delhi that injustice has been done to Andhras. These statements did not provoke us. We restrained ourselves. When it became the question of self-respect then we had no other alternative but to agitate for our rights. The bill was introduced and passed here on November 1972. When I went to my constituency after that all the people accosted me with the question as to why the bill was passed. It was a fact that all these ministers who resigned from the State Cabinet had first expressed their agreement to these mulki rules here. Those ministers agreed here on the condition that their agreement is subject to the wishes of the people of Andhra region ultimately. As the

people did not agree they had to resign and follow their wishes.

When the State of Hyderabad was sought to be merged with the neighbouring State after the take over from the Nizam, Shri Jawaharlal Nehru wanted the identity of Hyderabad to be kept intact. The region speaking Kannada were merged with Mysore and the region speaking Marathi were merged with Maharashtra and the Telangana region was sought to be merged with the Andhra State if necessary, after the lapse of a period of 5 years. I used to dream as a young boy, never I went to Hyderabad as to when the feudalistic State of Hyderabad would become part of socialistic democratic State of Andhra. I can very confidently say that wherever Andhra settled they developed that particular area with all their heart. Coimbatore district is a bright example. When the question of implementing the recommendation of SRC came up in Bengal and Bihar there was a quarrel between the Chief Ministers and the Centre respectively. Then they were advised to settle their problem mutually. But never were the regional aspirations of the people misunderstood. I would like to make it very clear here that this agitation is not a result of lack of confidence in Shrimati Indira Gandhi and in her policies not is it directed against any particular individual here or there. The situation has worsened to such an extent that the young blood and a majority of the representatives as well as the people were of the opinion that there is no point in remaining in the Congress party when the aims and aspirations of the people are not sought to be given due consideration.

Shri Venkata Subaiah in his speech stated that the Union flag is insulted in Kakinada. I have investigated into this incident and was told that no where the Union flag was insulted. As a result of a quarrel among themselves the Congress party flag was burnt. I am surprised at the statement of our friends sitting here without going to those particular areas to

find out the actual situation. I would like to submit that such an attitude is creating problem for everybody. You might have got reports from your own sources and the governmental machinery which you have at your command. The whole of Andhra region is in ferment.

If we take the help of other parties it was only with one intention to achieve the aim of a separate State. In the case of Bangladesh question did not the Government seek the cooperation of opposition parties here? It is but natural in a peculiar situation which obtains in Andhra now that we take the help of the other parties also. There are no other motives behind this. I would categorically say this, because they agree with us in our aims to be achieved.

Today the Government is saying that it is not going to appoint another States Reorganisation Commission. I would like to appeal to the Telugu speaking members to help us to achieve our State.

I would like to submit that a peaceful atmosphere prevails now in the region. This is the opportune moment for the Government to take the necessary steps in the direction of forming a separate State of Andhra and Telengana.

I would like to conclude by saying that the Government should come forward with a favourable decision to the people of Andhra and Telengana by way of forming two separate States by Telugu New Year's Day. I would also like to submit that the Government should take steps in the above direction so that it would not lose its party following in both the regions of Andhra Pradesh. Jai Andhra, Jai Telengana, Jai Hind.

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA (Alipore): Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, I listened with great attention to Mr. K Suryanarayana and, I hope, I have been able to follow through the translation what he was trying to say.

He made two points which, I am afraid, do not correspond quite with reality. He has waxed vexed eloquent of course about the Mulki Rules and the implications of the Mulki Rules. I do not want to go into a detailed discussion on that issue. The Mulki Rules were a hang-over from the feudal past. There is no doubt about that. And the subsequent judgements by the Supreme Court and the High Courts only made the confusion worse confounded. But the fact remains that no judgment of any court in recent times has validated in toto the old Mulki Rules of the Nizam. A certain part of the Mulki Rules was sought to be revalidated, not the whole thing. But, as far as I know this agitation and this great uproar which was created in the Andhra region was largely due to the fact that an impression was sought to be created that the entire Mulki Rules, as they existed in the time of the Nizam were being revalidated by the court. Otherwise as he himself said the main problem immediately arose only in the case of 500 or 600 or 700 people who were employed in posts in Telengana and who it was apprehended would have to leave Telengana and come away as a result of this Supreme Court judgment. That was actually the magnitude and the extent of the problem at that moment. And if tens of thousands, hundreds of thousands of people have been drawn into this agitation, it could only have been on the basis of an incorrect and distorted idea of what actually was the implication of that Supreme Court judgment. It does not affect the common people in Andhra. It may affect, or did affect, those people who were working in the Telengana region. It affects as I said earlier on, the children of those Andhra people who were resident and studying in Hyderabad and against whom, it is my information also, some discrimination has been practised in the past in the matter of admissions and so on. But it was a limited problem, and nothing I can see in this which

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could justify the type of movement which was launched.

Then Mr. Suryanarayana said, 'We want to part company peacefully, by peaceful means'. But peaceful means have not been employed. Anything but peaceful means has been employed. If they wanted to part by peaceful means, why was it necessary to have this terrific raging violent campaign which has expressed itself in so many forms that everybody knows now? Now it is dying down, it is subsiding.

So, Sir, I would say that the imposition of President's rule, of course, was basically due to the ineptitude, or whatever you may call it, of the ruling Party, a Party which had a majority the magnitude of which it enjoys only in very few other States; I think, they have 217 seats or something like that in the Assembly....

SHRI PILOO MODY (Godhra): Any way, it is a matter of the past.

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA: It is not always a matter of the past because with people like this who are prepared to change sides every day, one never knows when and where they will come back again. When they go away, Mr. Mody is very happy, but they are likely to come back again! That may happen in Orissa also. Can you depend on such people?

But, Sir, the situation was worsened, and the hands of the extreme separatist elements were strengthened—and he says so—by the paralysis of the Government of India in the face of the so-called revolt. I wish to say that it is now the proper time to point out that after the five-point formula was incorporated in the Bill that was passed here...

AN HON. MEMBER: Black Bill.

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA: ...the Government of India did nothing, took no concrete steps whatsoever, for the

implementation of the five-point formula. We support that formula. It gives safeguards, but limited safeguards, to the Telengana region. But the leaders of the Andhra region were not prepared to tolerate even those limited safeguards. Of course, my Telengana friends are not satisfied with those limited safeguards. That is a different matter. But even those limited safeguards are not tolerable to the leaders of the Andhra region.

The Government of India, having announced this five-point formula, did absolutely nothing to come forward with some specific development projects, development schemes, or provision of development funds for the backward areas of that State, neither for Telengana nor for that most backward area which is part of Andhra, that is, Rayalaseema area and the Srikakulam District also. These are the most backward parts....

SHRI PILOO MODY: Poor Venkatasubbiah.

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA: Nothing has been done about that even till this day. I know there has been much-repeated controversy, I do not want to raise that to-day. But, after all Rayalaseema is the most backward area of Andhra Pradesh. It has constant famines, drought and all that and no industrial development worth mentioning. But, I would like to ask Mr. Suryanarayana and some of his friends, when you are not prepared to tolerate even limited safeguards for the Telengana region, will you tolerate any special treatment for Rayalaseema in the matter of development? ... (Interruptions) Or will you quarrel again over the allocation of river waters, building up of key industries, the location of capital—these things are going on now.

SHRI K. SURYANARAYANA: Out of the seven or eight MPs from Rayalaseema, except Mr. Venkatasubbiah, all of them have joined this movement.

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA: Because the *Senas* are sitting on their necks. I gave you the other day my friendly advice: 'Stay in Delhi. Don't go back because the *Senas* will get at you.'

SHRI K SURYANARAYANA: I am never afraid of these *Senas*

MR DEPUTY SPEAKER: Order, please This is a funny thing Each time Mr Suryanarayana gets up you sit down Once or twice it can be, not always

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA Generally, on this subject my speeches provoke many people I cannot help it.

As I was saying, the Government of India did nothing about going ahead with the facilities, with the educational facilities for the children of the Andhras staying in Hyderabad nor was any action taken—that the Government should have done—against high-ranking officials who were openly carrying on separatist propaganda. Certainly, that was not the policy of the Government of India Many reports were conveyed to them. Collectors, District Magistrates and the Postmaster General and such people and even the Vijayawada station of All India Radio—what kind of role were they playing? No action was taken. So, it went on snowballing.

Now, at present, the movement in the form in which it has been seen in the last few weeks is subsiding. It is going down. There are reasons for that. They cannot go on like that. NGOs are suffering Students are suffering. Perhaps they have lost a year or so of their studies. People connected with trade, shopkeepers, tobacco people in Guntur, people connected with the supply of milk—everything has got dislocated and disrupted and people are suffering.

3566 L.S.—8.

Now, my information is that an attempt is being made to keep the emotions of the people whipped up and fanned up and somehow keep the movement going, mainly by the activities of the *Senas*. There are many *Senas*—dozens of them, but the principal three which I would like to mention and which are the most numerous and most active, the most organised, the most violent are: one is the Andhra *Sena* which was inaugurated originally by our old friend, Mr Ranga, one-time leader of the grand alliance and now a great stalwart of the Congress Party .. (*Interruptions*) who should have been expelled long ago by Mr. Pant from his Party, but he cannot do that He inaugurated the Andhra *Sena*. Now it is mainly Mr. Piloo Mody's friends who are running that *Sena*. Then there is the Sangarsan Samiti organised and run by my Jana Sangh and RSS friends and then there is the Kakani Brigade which was the main *Sena* formed by the Congressmen or ex-Congressmen or rebel Congressmen... (*Interruptions*) These three are still very active in attacking meetings and offices of generally those people who stand for integration, coercing people, threatening them, terrorising them and extorting money and so on....

SHRI PILOO MODY: There is no CPI in Andhra?

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA: Yes, CPI is fighting these *Senas*. No body else is fighting them. Don't worry, go and find out what is happening. They also are joined by some others. I take information from a paper which cannot be accused of being a communist paper. It is a great favourite of Mr. Piloo Mody, the *Current*. It says:

"The *Tamizhar Padai* (Tamil *Sena*), a militant wing of the Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam (DMK) has deputed a 2,500 strong volunteer force to a place in Andhra Pradesh to learn tactics of guerilla warfare from the Andhra *Sena*."

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Than it says:

"The reported link between the two senas gains currency when viewed in the light of the fiery speeches which Mr. G. Viswanathan, DMK Parliamentary Party Deputy Leader has been making recently during his tour of Andhra Pradesh in support of the separation movement.

Addressing a mammoth public meeting at Vijayawada on February, 6, the DMK M.P. had declared:

'If the Andhra crisis is not solved in accordance with the wishes of the people before the Lok Sabha reconvenes, we will immobilise Parliament.' "

Then, Sir, there is this text of the speech as reported by a paper called *Andhra Jyoti* of February, 6, when he spoke at Nellore. It says:

"Mr. G. Viswanathan said. . in case the Centre takes to threatening postures we shall conduct the fight for the separation of the entire South."

SHRI G. VISWANATHAN (Wand-wash): This is wrong. I have already repudiated it. This is entirely wrong.

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA: Then, he is reported to have said:

"Even a cat becomes a tiger in self-defence."

If South Indians are sought to be threatened by military, they will ask for separation, he clarified". Then it continue:

"If South India separates then your CRP, military units become useless. Hence it is necessary to adopt a very careful attitude towards South India".

SHRI G. VISWANATHAN: Sir, I wish to submit that I have already repudiated it. I did not make that statement.

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA: Now, let me repudiate one or two things..

SHRI PILOO MODY: Why don't you repeat his repudiation?

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA: That is for him to do; he has got a mouth.

Now, Sir, let me repudiate the statement made by Mr. G. Viswanathan on the floor of the House during the President's Address only last week wherein he said that the CPI Assembly Group Leader in Andhra, Mr. Sri Krishna has been paid compensation for property losses to the tune of Rs. 15,000 for the loss suffered by him due to the separatist attacks. And he asked, to the accompaniment of thumping applause by Mr. Piloo Mody, whose money is this, why is people's money being spent for compensation to these people and so on. Now, Sir, you may have noticed this, this has appeared in the papers. Later on, when this was challenged by my colleague, Mr. Easwara Reddy, then Mr. Viswanathan said: "Though orders have been passed for compensation, Mr. Sarin who was sent later, after President's rule, went there and cancelled those orders."

Now, Sir, both Mr. Sarin and Mr. Sri Krishna have come out in the Press. Mr. Sarin said that the charge that these orders were stopped by Mr. Sarin was also baseless. Then he said:

"I checked up the whole thing and found that the CPI leader did not apply for any assistance. Nor did Mr. Rao pass any such order." Mr. Sri Krishna said:

"If an element of honesty or decent human behaviour is left in him it is the duty of Mr. Viswanathan to withdraw all that he had said about me in the Lok Sabha or come out with the same statement outside Parliament and face proceedings in a judicial court."

I just want to put this on record and I do not wish to have a row here with anybody.

My friend Mr. Satyanarayana spoke the other day, he has now become a great champion of the landlords of the Andhra region. He said: 'Mr. Rajeswara Rao, Secretary of the CPI is also a landlord and a Kamma'. He may be a Kamma. Kamma is a caste. But, he said, 'He is a landlord'. I checked it up. Certainly, he was born in a landlord family. There was no doubt about it. So, what? The accident of birth is something which even my hon. friend Shri Samar Guha cannot control....

SHRI PILOO MODY: It is precisely the accident of birth that he has been condemning all these years.

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA: After he has been in the communist party, he has given away all his lands. It is known to the party. At present, he and his wife own some ten or eleven acres of land....

SHRI PILOO MODY: What does the party do with it?

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA: So, the record should be put straight.

SHRI PILOO MODY: Now, logically, the party has become the landlord.

SHRI K. SURYANARAYANA: But, what about his son?

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA: We are not monopolists like the Swatantra Party.

SHRI PILOO MODY: So, it is only too evident that the CPI has become a landlord.

SHRI K. SURYANARAYANA: But what about Shri Rajeswara Rao's son's property?

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA: Nobody wants an indefinite prolongation of the President's rule. I would say

that the only alternative to President's rule ultimately is fresh elections, and I would say that elections should be held once the pre-conditions for holding an election are restored. At present, it is unthinkable because of what is going on. But once conditions are restored to normalcy, I would appeal—though my appeal may not carry weight, to my hon friend Shri K. Suryanarayana and his friends and all others, because my hon friend himself has said that they want to separate by peaceful means, that peaceful means presuppose that there should be conditions in which the arguments for and against separation or integration and the pros and cons can be freely debated and the people who are standing for a particular point of view should be allowed to express their views freely and without duress or without intimidation before the people. That atmosphere does not exist at the moment. Once those conditions are restored, elections can be held. I do not know how long it will take to restore those conditions. I would suggest that political and economic measures are much more important in this than even the use of the CRP and the Army.

I am glad that the Army is being withdrawn from very many areas, as has appeared in the papers, and I hope that conditions will be restored swiftly to normalcy so that the reliance on the military or the CRP can be reduced to the absolute minimum. A political climate can be created in which this question can be debated, and the people of Andhra and Telengana are in a position to express their views freely for and against.

In the meantime, I would appeal to the Central Government that they should go ahead with setting up a statutory development board with allocation of adequate funds and so on—there is a constitutional provision for it and it can be done—for the Rayalaseema area. A statutory development board should be set up with

[Shri Indrajit Gupta] funds at its disposal. In the drought-affected areas of Telengana where there is very acute drought condition, because of what is going on, nobody is paying much attention to its problems. This should be treated on an urgent basis, and drought relief measures should be taken on hand, and help should be sent there and a statutory development board should be set up with adequate funds for the Rayalaseema area.

SHRI B. V. NAIK (Kanara): I rise to support the Proclamation by the President. Since much has been said already, there are no new points which can be contributed to the debate. But I would like to say a word on the last point which was made by Shri Indrajit Gupta that there should be an election held in order to assess the minds of the people. In the past, whenever there was a conflict between an intimate and personal and near Government and a personal and distant Government, we had held a referendum, and whenever the issues are between a smaller State and a bigger State, it is but natural to expect that the people will opt out for the smaller State. Under these circumstances, to make this an election issue would amount to putting in the backyard so many other issues which are of greater relevance, whether it is for the people of Andhra or it is for the people of any other State in the country.

Speaking in abstract, as it is necessary to do, I think we should not put the issue of separation *versus* integration on the same level as the issue of secession as against non-secession. Under these circumstances, I feel that even though much has been made of these Mulki Rules which affect a small fraction of the population, it was essentially a case of a people in search of a cause to fall apart, and in that they have been able to identify as a bone of contention the Mulki Rules which have been blown up by the press and have been complicated by the judiciary and now ultimately the

whole issue has come to Parliament. I think it should be the duty of Parliament, all of us participating in the discussion, to do our part of the duty to a neighbouring State.

The history of Karanataka—it is shortly going to be named Karanataka—and the history of Andhra has been common for at least five centuries. The Presidential Proclamation says that the President shall assume powers under art. 3 of the Constitution during the period of suspension of the legislature of the State, and art. 3 relates to the formation of States. I therefore feel that for the original sin or act of omission or commission of having taken up issues or taken up stands on a particular issue of integration or separation, the existing legislators of the State of Andhra and the Andhra Legislature who stand suspended today and not dissolved, should not be given the dire punishment of being dissolved and asked to go, as and when peaceful circumstances prevail, to the polls once again, because by that time the issue will have been a dead issue.

In this case, I have to recant the experience, personal but relevant, about the position of the Centre in regard to the States. I think now is the time for us to assert it as at least on 1st January, the day prior to the *bandh* in Andhra, it was not possible to travel in honour even in railway compartments under secure conditions.

The Central Reserve Police has been much maligned. But after all, I think the police in this country, whether at the Centre or in the States, are people who have sent there to perform a duty. Under these circumstances, these people who have been sent there from far off places, instead of being maligned, though it is within our freedom and rights to do so, should not be questioned in doing their duty because they will not be able, identical situations, to deliver the goods or to restore law and order in any part of the country in case their actions are

brought into question each time. After all, the CRP is accountable to Government which is accountable to this august House, and I think for having done a good job, it is also the bounden duty of all of us, including even hon. members opposite, to give them a pat on the back when the time demands.

SHRI PILOO MODY: I will give them something on the back just now.

SHRI B. V. NAIK: One of the hon. members of the Jan Sangh Opposition referred yesterday to the question of taking bold and quick decisions. An issue becomes a political issue when it becomes insoluble. I would like to ask these advocates of bold and quick decisions—doing it in the smart way—not only in India but all round the world, which are the major political issues in the course of the last 25 years which have been solved; have we solved the Arab-Israeli question? Have we solved the Taiwan question? Have we solved, let us say, even the question of Ulster in the course of the last 500 years? Have we solved the demand of the Irish people?

Now, it is very easy to say that it does not need much delaying, even a conscious ministerial decision or a governmental decision. Sweeping remarks were made, by asking what has happened to the Krishana-Godavari dispute, what has happened to Narmada dispute, Belgaum, etc., etc. But I think that for the purpose of restoration of peace and for the purpose of restoration of law and order and for re-asserting the will of the Centre so that identical questions do not erupt in other parts of the country—it may be A, B, or C—one question arises. I would like, here again, to add a rider to the question before I conclude; and that is, whether the Andhra experience, in the thinking of the Government, is a repeatable experience. On this, I would like to be very categorical and say whatever is happening in Andhra Pradesh and Telengana is unique. There are no fears about it that will be picked up tomorrow by Mysore

or Karnataka or the day after tomorrow by Maharashtra even though by a single votary in that cause. In all circumstances, the Andhra case and unique has to be treated as a unique case.

Here, only one point emerges, and that is, we have been talking all these years about the regional imbalances. There has been a certain degree of regional imbalance between various States. Within the State, whenever there is a regional imbalance, whether in the development or in the disbursement of funds or in the giving of projects, whenever these imbalances reach a particular stage, it is at that time that the people begin to cry and cry hoarse.

Today, it is not only a question between the separatists and the integrationists. It is a tripartite question. There is also the third party which is interested in disintegration, and this disintegration has to be contained, and there has to be a meaningful dialogue. Therefore, it is good time now for all the States—A, B, or C—to take cognizance of what has happened in Telengana and try to remove the regional disparities as they exist within a State.

SHRI MURASOLI MARAN (Madras South): Sir, I rise to oppose this clamping of President's rule, under article 346 of the Constitution, on Andhra Pradesh. We all know that it is the old, hated section 93 of the Government of India Act, 1935. Let us look into the genesis of the President's rule. The Governor is supposed to be the eyes and ears of the Central Government, but he made his appearance in the newspapers only when his emissary went to Delhi with his report to fulfil the constitutional obligation. He sent that report to the President but I do not think he is the author of the report; it is ghost-written. The *ad hoc* committee of the Congress Party of Andhra Pradesh has been removed and a high-powered Congress committee has been appointed. A high-powered Congress Secretary goes there, and they sit together and take a decision that the Chief Minister should resign, and President's rule

[Shri Murasoli Maran] should be clamped. Until then, the Governor was not at all in the picture and until then the elected representatives of Andhra Pradesh were not at all in the picture.

16.00 hrs.

Here is an instance where, at the behest of a high-powered committee and the high-powered Secretary of the Congress Party, President's rule came into being in Andhra Pradesh. Sir, I want to read a report from the *Statesman*. This is by Mr. Kuldip Nayar. It says:

"On Tuesday, Mr. Rao, the Chief Minister of Andhra Pradesh, was asked over the telephone to reach Delhi immediately. On Wednesday morning, after his arrival, he tried to have a meeting with Mrs. Gandhi. Instead, he was taken to the meeting of the Cabinet Political Affairs Committee."

"The Chief Minister argued during eight minutes stay....."

It goes on like that. He was asked to appear before the Political Affairs Committee of the Cabinet which is the highest policy-making body of the Government of India. Here the distinction between the Congress Party and the Central Government vanishes. We know the Congress is the premier political party. (Interruption). The office of Governor and the Constitutional provisions should not be used to suit the convenience of the ruling party. Is the President of India's rule in Andhra Pradesh or the Congress President's rule? It makes a mockery of the valuable distinction between the ruling party and the Government; the maintenance of this is the life and soul of parliamentary democracy. This is also the negation of our federal policy, States being considered as Centre's wards. There is a notion that President's rule is a wonder drug and a cure for all the problems. I want to ask one question. Even under the President's rule, it is the same officers, same Police Per-

sonnel, who are going to maintain law and order there. Under the President's rule if bullets are fired from the guns of the CRP and Military will they kiss the agitators instead of killing them? No. They have a feeling that the President's rule is the cure for all the maladies of Andhra Pradesh. On the other hand I put the blame entirely at the doors of the Congress and the Central Government. They were committing mistakes without diagnosing the malady.

Even under the President's rule the same dislocation in law and order continued. Here is a petition received from the citizens of Guntur on 22nd February, 1973. Many ladies went to the house of the Superintendent of Police to call on him and give him a petition. Meanwhile lady Home guard were called and ordered to remove the clothes of the women agitators and they were made naked. Then a Sub-Inspector of Police rushed towards them. The petition goes on like that and I do not want to read further. The name of the Sub-Inspector is also mentioned. This is what is happening in Guntur, which is the Constituency of our Minister of Parliamentary Affairs. Here is the signed petition. and I shall give this to the Minister of States in the Home Ministry.

We know the old saying for want of a nail the horse was lost, for want of the horse the soldier was lost, for want of a soldier an army was lost and for want of an army the kingdom was lost. Here, for want of a popular Chief Minister the entire Andhra is lost.

I have very high regard for Mr. Narasimha Rao, he is a well educated and learned man. Anyhow, being a nominated Chief Minister from far away Delhi without grass roots he cannot bear the burden.

We are hurling abuses. We have not understood what is the root-cause of the malady in Andhra. Instead we have been attributing motives to the people. Just now Mr. Indrajit Gupta was reading from Current and saying

that about 20,000 persons from Tamil Nadu had been sent by D.M.K. to Andhra Pradesh to learn guerilla warfare. We do not believe in the theory of violence. If at all we want to learn guerilla warfare, we will not send people to Andhra Pradesh; we shall learn it from Mr. Indrajit Gupta and his friends. Mr. Viswanathan went to Andhra Pradesh to study the situation. People saw a ghost in his presence in Andhra Pradesh. Even the other day, Mr. Eswara Reddy was making a wild allegation that Mr. Viswanathan received about Rs. 10 lakhs from the American Embassy which is to be spent in Andhra Pradesh. This not only maligns the hon. member but it insults the very people of Andhra Pradesh. You make them more angry. This kind of accusations will not solve the problem. On behalf of my friend, Shri Viswanathan, I deny it. We can also afford to be frivolous and irresponsible in making counter-attacks but we do not want to do it.

We all understand the advantage of a bigger State. On the other hand, we should look to the other side also. There is a feeling that heavens will not fall down if Andhra is bifurcated. Now what is the position? There is a Telengana Regional Committee. All the Bills passed by the legislature should receive the assent of the MLA's from Telengana on this committee. It is a legislature within a legislature. They prepare two budgets. There are two Chief Secretaries, one in charge of Andhra and another in charge of Telengana affairs. Central revenues like income-tax, excise duties etc. which go to the divisible pool are deposited in different accounts. So, virtually there are two States *de facto*. They only want a separate Governor, a Chief Minister and a capital. This should be looked into.

Many people were arrested under the Maintenance of the Internal Security Act. In Andhra people detained under this Act are paid Rs. 4.50 per day where as in Telengana they are paid Rs. 7.50. This kind of discrimination also should go. I do not think the people of Andhra Pradesh worry

about a few hundred jobs. Many of the agitators might not have even seen Hyderabad in their life time. The people of the south are very docile. The Andhras especially are very sober and sensitive. They feel their self-respect is being challenged. They feel they are second class citizens in their own State and in their own capital. Unless this psychological feeling is removed, we cannot solve the problem. So, if at all they are to part, let them part as friends, not as bitter enemies.

श्री बी० तुलसीराम (पेदापल्लि) :
उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, पिछले चुनावों में तेलंगाना प्रान्त से एम० पी० में से 10 तेलंगाना प्रजा समिति के चुन कर आये हैं। 6 पाइंट फार्मूला प्रधान मंत्री की तरफ से जो दिया गया था उस के तहत हम लोग कांग्रेस में मिले। लेकिन उस का अमल कुछ नहीं हुआ। उसी दमियान में सुप्रीम कोर्ट से मुल्की हल का जजमेंट आया। उस जजमेंट के बारे में आन्ध्र और तेलंगाना के लीडर्स ने बैठ कर जो चर्चों की उस पर कोई हल नहीं निकला वह प्रधान मंत्री पर छोड़ा गया। प्रधान मंत्री ने पांच प्वाइंट फार्मूला दिया। लेकिन वह आन्ध्र की जनता को, तेलंगाना की जनता को, दोनों जगहों के लीडर्स को पसन्द नहीं आया और उस के लिए आन्ध्र के लोग बड़ी भारी संख्या में एजिटेशन कर रहे हैं। उस से रोज ब रोज वहां की हालत बुरी तरह से खराब हो रही है। हम सब लोग इस बात को जानते हैं। लेकिन कुछ लोग सेंट्रल हाल में बैठ कर या लाबीज में बैठ कर कहते हैं कि वहां कुछ नहीं हो रहा है। मैं प्रधान मंत्री जी से और सरकार से अपील करता हूं कि वहां सचमुच कुछ हो रहा है या नहीं हो रहा है, इस को देखने के लिए दूसरी स्टेट्स के कुछ सीनिअर पार्लियामेंट के सदस्यों की एक कमेटी वहां भेजी जाय। वह तेलंगाना

[श्री तुलसीराम]

एरिया और आन्ध्र एरिया में जा कर देखें कि सच्चाई क्या है, हकीकत क्या है और वहाँ उस की रिपोर्ट दें।

आज अकाल के कारण आन्ध्र और तेलंगाना एरियाज में पानी की, राशन की और केरासिन आयल की जो तकलीफें हो रही हैं उन के लिए गवर्नमेंट को कोई रास्ता निकालना चाहिए और जो रिलीफ वर्क वहाँ हो रहे हैं उन को बढ़ाना चाहिए।

इसी बीच में मैं अपने चुनाव क्षेत्र पेट्रापल्ली गया था। वहाँ पर करीमनगर जिले में रामगुंडम गोदावरी कनी एक लेबर एरिया है। वहाँ हम को लोग बड़ी मुश्किल में दिखाई पड़े। उन को बड़ी तकलीफें हो रही हैं। अभी अभी मेरे पास टेलिग्राम आया है। वहाँ पर एक केशोराम सीमेंट फ़ैक्ट्री है। वह बड़ी भारी फ़ैक्ट्री है। लेकिन बिजली न होने से वह बन्द पड़ी है। इस समय वहाँ के लोगों को काम मिलने की और खाने वगैरह की जो तकलीफें हो रही हैं उनके लिए सरकार को जल्दी से जल्दी कुछ सोचना चाहिए।

हमारे एक मित्र कहते हैं कि जो लोग तेलंगाना प्रजा समिति के टिकट पर चन कर आये वह केवल 2 हजार, 3 हजार या 4 हजार मतों से जीत कर आये हैं। हमारे मित्र श्री राम गोपाल रेड्डी कह रहे थे अपने भाषण में, कि वह बड़ी मैजोरिटी से जीत कर आये हैं, और वह कहते हैं कि वहाँ पर कुछ लोग ही मूवमेंट कर रहे हैं वहाँ कोई बड़ा एजिटेशन नहीं हो रहा है। जो दस लोग तेलंगाना प्रजा समिति की ओर से जीत कर आये हैं उन में से मैं भी एक हूँ। यहाँ के डिप्टी मिनिस्टर श्री एम० आर० कुल्ला के मुकाबले में मेरा कंटेस्ट था और मैं 1 लाख 8 हजार की मैजोरिटी से जीता हूँ। मैं श्री राम गोपाल रेड्डी से कहना चाहता हूँ कि अगर वह यह

देखना चाहते हैं कि वहाँ की जनता की मैजोरिटी इस मूवमेंट के पीछे है या नहीं, तो मैं भी रिजाइन करने के लिए तैयार हूँ और वह भी रिजाइन कर के मेरे साथ कंटेस्ट करें। मैं श्री रामगोपाल रेड्डी को ही कुछ नहीं कहता, अगर और कोई भी मुझ से मुकाबला करना चाहे तो वह भी रिजाइन करे और मैं भी रिजाइन करने के लिए तैयार हूँ। मैं कुछ नहीं हूँ, मेरी अपनी कोई ताकत नहीं है। वहाँ की जनता की जो आवाज है, जो उन की उमंग है, उस की ताकत पर मैं बोल रहा हूँ।

आज लोगों का यह भी कहना है कि हम प्रधान मंत्री का साथ नहीं देते हैं। लेकिन मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि हम बग़बर उनके साथ रहे हैं और साथ देगे, लेकिन एक ही बात के कारण, यानी अलाहदा तेलंगाना की मांग के कारण हमारे और उन के बीच में कुछ गड़बड़ हो गई। अगर अलाहदा तेलंगाना की बात वह कबूल कर लें तो मैं फिर कहता हूँ कि हम उन के साथ हैं। वह जल्दी से जल्दी राष्ट्रपति शासन को हटा कर अलाहदा तेलंगाना का एलान करें। सिर्फ इस एक बात को छोड़ कर सब चीजों में हम उन के साथ हैं।

आखिर में मैं फिर प्रार्थना करता हूँ कि वह अलाहदा तेलंगाना बनाने का काम जल्दी से जल्दी करें।

SHRI PILOO MODY (Godhra): Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, I do not intend to go into the background of the entire history of this sad state of affairs. It is too well-known the series of blunders, misadventures, callous disregard that has led to the situation in Andhra today....

AN HON. MEMBER: By whom?

SHRI PILOO MODY: By the Government of India, more specifically

the Home Ministry then presided over by Prime Minister Shrimati Indira Gandhi.

We are dealing with a mass of humanity, the people of Andhra and the people of Telengana. It was only two years ago that the people of Telengana with the same anguish that it is today in Andhra demanded a separate State for Telengana. At that time, God knows how much blood was shed, how many lives were lost, how much misery was experienced by the people. At that time, instead of bringing a matter to solution, the Prime Minister and the Government of India sat back on their prestige and, ultimately, won in breaking the movement in Telengana. But the people of Telengana gave a very befitting reply not only to the Government of India but to the Congress party by voting them out of power and voting for a group of people whom they thought they could trust. Unfortunately, as is endemic with all Congressmen, they cannot be trusted. In spite of the fact that having raised these people to shed blood, having misled them into a movement, having won on their votes that they were opposing the Congress, they came over here—you know the methods and means used by the Government—and prostrated before its deity and sold themselves, sold the people that they represented, sold the people that they represented, sold the people of the entire region and joined the Congress. Well, good-ridden, I say.

Today, we have a very similar situation which is built on the blood and sufferings of those people only two years ago except that this time it is Andhra. For some reason or the other, an agitation has gone to the other side. Now they both want separation. If both sides want separation, what is the law which says that they must live together? Even the Hindu divorce law is not as rigid as the un-intelligence of the Government of India in dealing with matters like this. We have a situation in which the people of Andhra have decided that they want separation. The so-called people who wanted integration only two

years ago have, because of the misbehaviour of this Government, decided "No; separation is the only alternative." For that purpose, they have resurrected a beautiful movement in Andhra.

I wish some of you had the courage to go and visit Andhra today. It is really the most beautiful thing that I have seen in this country. It is so completely non-violent apart from the reports that you hear about the violence. The students started it; the N.G.Os and G.Os joined it. My Party and others supported it. And you have today a situation in which the people are really governing themselves. They have demonstrated the need of having no Government. It is so entirely free, so entirely motivated, and it is absurd on the part of Shri Indrajit Gupta to say that it is tinkering of a few landlords. The students are not landlords, the NGOs are not landlords; it is they who started it—and acknowledgeably so—throughout and there is no person who has denied it. Yet, Mr. Indrajit Gupta, who cannot live outside his cage of class conflict, class consciousness, says that it is the Swatantra Party whom he is now accusing of being militant and having a Sena of its own and Mr. Ranga who is now a venerable member of the Congress Party, of having done all this completely forgetting the students and the NGOs who are really the backbone of the movement. It is really beautiful; there is complete peace over there; there is no Government at all there. The writ of Shrimati Indira Gandhi does not, today, hold good in Andhra; the writ of Shri V. V. Giri does not hold good in Andhra. There is no local Government. The Governor's rule, as it is so called, does not apply to Andhra. There is no local administration; there is no municipality. The people are governing themselves and are very happy.

The only miscreants in Andhra today are the CRP and the police and, perhaps, the CPI. These are the only miscreants in Andhra today. I have,

[Shri Piloo Mody]

here, a list of 139 incidents created by the CRP and the police in three days in one town, Vijayawada; from 20th to 24th January, in Vijayawada alone, there were 139 incidents, I did not prepare these cases; this was prepared by the Bar Association of Vijayawada, a somewhat more respectable organisation than the Government of India, a somewhat more truthful organisation than the Government of India. This report was prepared and handed over to me saying, 'Here are 139 cases of deliberate attempts to incite violence by the CRP and the police'; not only violence, but rape, loot and all manner of things are documented here, in case you care to go through this. Trade organisations, one organisation after another, are sending telegram after telegram saying, 'Do something; have some pity on us'....

SHRI K. NARAYANA RAO (Bobilli): Of all the people, why are trade-men interested?

SHRI PILOO MODY: Trade men also get interested. You may not believe. They are also humanbeings. It is not that only lawyers are humanbeings.

I want to know what are the established procedures that we have now in this country, what are the systems that we have established, whereby people can get their legitimate demands attended to. What are the established procedures by which people can get their grievances redressed in this country? This is not merely a monumental problem—Andhra-Telengana. You look at the street corners, look at the Ministers' houses; there is a *dharma* or *morchha* or fast or rally—something is going on all the time. Look at the question of Haryana teachers. Look at the question of Faridabad medical students. All have to come here and prostrate before the Devi because this is apparently the only place where decisions are taken in this country.

SHRI G. VISWANATHAN: The only person who matters.

SHRI PILOO MODY: Yes. When the Prime Minister was replying to the debate on the President's Address, I asked her, 'Is there no democratic process by which Andhra and Telengana can be bifurcated and has it to be left to you and you alone?' Her answer was, 'It has to be left to the Government.' But we all know what this Government is. I do not know what the other fifty nine are called. There is only one person in this Government and, therefore, it means that all democratic processes in this country have come to a halt and unless the Prime Minister herself decides, nothing can happen in this country. A student cannot get an education, teachers cannot get salaries, NGOs cannot get redress, workers cannot do this, farmers cannot do this, nobody can do anything unless the lady approves and the lady has no time to approve.

This is the first vicious thing that has happened to our democratic system....

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: The hon Member's time is up.

SHRI PILOO MODY: I would like to warn that while nothing can work by the bell, even the railways do not work by the bell....

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: I have to work by the Rules. Please conclude now.

SHRI PILOO MODY: I do not like issuing threats and warnings, but I did warn when this five point formula which was also Mrs. Gandhi's five points, when that was being passed, after we had seen that it was not introduced on the last day but in spite of that, through back dealings and underhand dealings, it was re-introduced because the Prime Minister felt that she must have her way, I warned that if this Bill was passed, there

would be blood-bath and I withdrew from the House, washing my hand and that I would have no part in the guilt. But, in spite of that, the Bill was passed and the result we see now.

Now, I would like to make an appeal to Mr. Pant in person through you. Forget the rights and wrongs of the situation. Forget the position of 'Meri-teri' that goes on here between the Government and the people, just think that you have a particular duty to perform and that is to see that the wishes of the people of Andhra and Telengana are acceded to and two separate States are formed.

SHRI M. S. SANJEEVI RAO (Kakinada): I rise to support the proclamation of President's Rule in the State of Andhra Pradesh by replacing the democratic Government of Andhra Pradesh which has lost the confidence of the people of both Telengana and Andhra. I only hope that the Central Government will soon restore the democratic government in Telengana and Andhra by two separate governments very soon, by bifurcating the State.

Let me tell you that I have toured intensively the Andhra region and I found that 99 per cent of the people want separation and I also understand that the people of Telengana also want separation as they have started their agitation as long back as 1969. I only appeal that the centre should realise this situation and give separation as soon as possible.

SHRI PILOO MODY: Take it yourself. Why do you ask for it?

SHRI M. S. SANJEEVI RAO: Let me tell you that the creation of the State of Andhra is not a new thing. It was there from 1953-56. Only the Centre has merged the Telengana part of Hyderabad State in 1956. This unfortunate marriage which has taken place—I do not know at what time it was done—is all the time full of distrust in each other. There was always

suspicion and distrust towards one another all the sixteen years. So, today if you are to enforce a compromise on them, I do not think it will last longer. The reason is that even the NGOs from Andhra and Telengana cannot sit in one room and work together. This is the situation and as such, they should soon bifurcate. I am proud of the fact that our country is the biggest democracy in the whole world. There are great democratic traditions established by great statesmen like Panditji, Rajendra Prasad, Lal Bahadur Shastri, Gobind Ballabh Pant and others. I only hope that this great tradition should be kept up and should not be tarnished.

We hope that the genuine aspirations of both Telengana and Andhra regions will be respected and that the State will be bifurcated soon.

Even the great Pandit Nehru, in his speech in the year 1956, on the President's Address said on the 23rd of February, 1956. I quote.

'I do not know how some people have been saying that in my broadcast about States Reorganisation I had used the words 'Irrevocable' decisions. I have looked through my broadcast and it is not there. In a democratic structure of Government, there is nothing irrevocable. We can sit down and consider any matter at any time.'

Sir, lot of people have been saying, what will happen to the innumerable problems like water and power and so on. Let me tell you this. The Madras State had constructed the Tungabhadra Dam and the people of Andhra Pradesh and Mysore are enjoying the fruits amicably. The Tungabhadra Dam Board with Centre's nominee as Chairman is successfully tackling the problem and both the States are enjoying the waters. As regards Nagarjunasagar project, this project was conceived and constructed when Andhra State was separate from the erstwhile Hyderabad State. It is

[Shri M. S. Sanjeevi Rao]

planned and constructed in such a way that the right bank canal serves Andhra and the left bank canal serves the Telengana districts. So also is the case with power. I am sure, with the congenial and happy atmosphere between Telengana and Andhra leaders this can be resolved very easily.

Again, Sir, I would like to submit a proposal to the Central Government that they should see that the whole of the Electrical Power Generation should be taken over from the States by the Centre. Already the Southern Grid is formed. The Northern Grid is about to be completed. Once both these Grids are connected, we can have a uniform tariff throughout the country. We can generate lot of power through hydel power dams, through thermal stations and through nuclear power stations. We can give power to all at a uniform rate. This is one of the most important things, because, unless there is a uniform rate, you cannot develop the States uniformly. The aggressive and dynamic States would take advantage of the situation and the undeveloped States will continue to remain undeveloped.

Finally, I appeal to the Centre that they should take a bold decision soon. I know that Shrimati Indira Gandhi has already decided in her heart of hearts to bifurcate the State. I only wish that she announces it as early as possible and thereby creating two Governments for the two regions, instead of the President's Rule. Thank you.

SHRI SHYAMNANDAN MISHRA
(Begusarai): Sir, our party's stand on this issue is well-known.

We would have been glad if there had been a united Andhra. We would have been glad if any formula—even the Prime Minister's formula—had worked to the satisfaction of both the parts in Andhra. We had told the Prime Minister, when she was consulting the Opposition in respect of the

Bill that she proposed to bring up before the House incorporating her formula, that she had not done enough of human engineering before bringing up the measure before the House. The result was that both the parties in Andhra were not supporting this measure. We had, therefore, apprehended that it might lead to further accentuation of the troubles.

You will recall, Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, that we had at that time dissociated ourselves from the debate which had taken place on that measure, and now we find that we were right. We would have been happier if we had been proved to be wrong on this issue. But circumstances have so conspired, and compulsions have been created in such a way that now there seems to be no other go but to undertake this surgical operation.

It is a complete travesty of truth to say that this situation had been created by the Opposition parties there. Two elements were principally involved in creating and reacting to this situation, and those elements were the Central Government and the State Government, and no other element could be blamed so much for whatever violence or disturbance had occurred. It may be that whatever has happened later must be condemned by all of us, namely, the happenings in the form of violence, in the form of disruption of communications and so on. But the origin of the trouble has to be traced to the acts of omission and commission both of Central and State Governments.

The Central Government failed to take the warning properly and deal with it in time, when the Telengana agitation took place about three or four years ago and when the intimations of the immensity of the situation reached them. At that time also we had felt very much disturbed about what had happened there. The immediate cause of action was

that the Chief Minister of Andhra Pradesh referred the Mulki Rules issue to the Supreme Court. Which Opposition Party, I ask, has created or contributed to this situation which resulted from these acts of the Central and the State Governments? The Opposition Parties came only later on the scene, and there also, the rebels from the ruling party seem to be dominating the scheme. I repeat, even there, it seems that it is their dominance.

Again, the absence of the civil authority there which could quickly respond to the variations in the situation, while the CRP was functioning, has been responsible for the aggravation of the situation. May I say that it shocked me very much when I came to learn that the composition of the CRP and the manner in which it worked might have led to some feeling of estrangement between the regions? It is said that the composition of the CRP was such as could not be admired. I would not like to spell it out more clearly than this. But whoever might have been remiss, whoever might have defaulted, whoever had been responsible for the present state of affairs, the situation now cries for urgent solution.

We do not think that we can make a religion of the Prime Minister's approach, while the situation goes on deteriorating, and permit things to happen as they have been happening all these three or four months in Andhra. There has been complete disorganisation and anarchy in Andhra during the last three or four months. The administration has not been functioning; the educational institutions have not been functioning; transport and communications have been badly disturbed. All in all, the process of development in Andhra has not only been at a standstill but it has decelerated.

How such we want Andhra to suffer or to need is the crucial question. If two brothers cannot live together happily, the best thing

that can happen to them is to separate gracefully and in a peaceful way. If we believe in the law of divorce, as many hon. members have stressed, I think we cannot strongly object to two brothers separating.

It is being said by the Government that there cannot be any decision under duress. May I ask the Government then, can there be any unity under duress? If there cannot be any decision under duress, unity under duress also cannot come about.

But it does seem to me that this issue of separation does not require much argument at this stage. The issue seems to have been settled. It is only the ceremony or the prestige which is coming in the way of Government announcing the decision at this stage. I think that is the most objectionable thing that could happen. If the Government has made up its mind, even a single day's delay causes incalculable harm and damage to the State of Andhra, and for that the Government will have to shoulder all the blame and responsibility.

I would, therefore, say that if this issue is now settled, if the Prime Minister's mind is also made up and the Government's mind is also made up, let the announcement be made today, this evening. That will satisfy the people of Andhra. May I also remind the House that while it is being suggested that separation is now the only course which we can adopt, we have also to remember what the States Reorganisation Commission had said about it, particularly in respect of Telengana? With these few words, I would now very earnestly urge upon Government to make up its mind and announce the decision this afternoon.

SHRI PATTABHI RAMA RAO (Rajamundry): Mr. Deputy Speaker Sir, it was after the great sacrifices made by all the people of Andhra that the Andhra State was formed.

16.43 hrs.

[SHRI K. N. TIWARY in the Chair.]

It is wrong to think that that it was the wishful thinking of only a few people in Andhra as a result of which the State was formed and that there was opposition from the Telengana people for the formation of a United Andhra.

I once said in this very House some time ago that it was as a result of the great part played by four leaders in Andhra which resulted in the formation of Andhra Pradesh in 1956. They were Andhra Kesari Prakasam Pantulu, Ayyadevara Kaleswar Rao Pantulu, Madapatty Hanumantharao Pantulu and Burghul Ramakrishna Rao. The last two of them are from Telengana. These four leaders played a great part in the formation of Andhra Pradesh.

It is not true, as alleged by Dr. Melkote, that 90 per cent of the Telengana people did not agree to the formation of a combined State. The combined Andhra Pradesh could not have been formed without the support of all the people because a democratic leader like Pandit Nehru would never have agreed to the formation of a United Andhra Pradesh without such support from the people. It was because there was an agreement on this that the United Andhra Pradesh was formed. Of course, there cannot be unanimous agreement on any point. On anything and everything there will be some dissent. Some people might have disagreed with it....

SHRI S. B. GIRI (Warangal): 90 per cent of the people of Telengana disagreed.

SHRI PATTABHI RAMA RAO: I do not want to be interrupted.

SHRI S. B. GIRI: Do not mislead the House. 90 per cent of the Telengana people were against it.

SHRI PATTABHI RAMA RAO: I am recounting some facts of history.

After all these deliberations, the United Andhra Pradesh was formed and it has been in existence so far. For 14 years the State has functioned well.

SHRI S. B. GIRI: It has not (Interruptions).

SHRI PATTABHI RAMA RAO: It was only in 1969 that a few disgruntled politicians started a movement for a separate Telengana and intensified the agitation.

SHRI S. B. GIRI: Do not say 'disgruntled'. Withdraw the word.

The movement was started by the people.

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF HOME AFFAIRS (SHRI K. C. PANT): May I suggest that Shri Giri may give him the points and he may speak on them!

MR. CHAIRMAN: You had your say. A democracy cannot run like this. You have to be patient and tolerate what other members say.

SHRI PATTABHI RAMA RAO: Then, the agitation for a separate Telengana was started in 1969, any yet subsequently, the State is still continuing as a united Andhra Pradesh. Afterwards we had the election; we fought the elections both for Parliament and for the State Assembly. In the Assembly, those who have separated themselves for a separate Telengana have supported the Congress and then the Congress government had been formed with the understanding that a Telengana leader should be elected as Chief Minister of Andhra Pradesh. Accordingly it was done. It was wrong for Dr. Melkote to say yesterday that the Andhras did not like the idea of a Telengana man being continued as Andhra Pradesh Chief Minister.

Here, I might say, if I am not revealing a secret, that in the high-powered committee consisting of 20 people, there is one-third Telengana and two-thirds Andhra people, and it was an almost unanimous opinion expressed there that President's rule should be imposed to see that there was peace in the State. There are Telengana leaders in that committee also. It is wrong therefore for Dr. Melkote to say that the Andhra area people alone did not like the idea of having Mr. Narasimha Rao as Chief Minister, because he comes from Telengana. As a matter of fact, if at all he had any support, it was mostly from the Andhra area, and even today we have respect for him. We have nothing against him personally. Because the situation in the State was such that peace should be restored soon, President's rule had to be imposed. With the Congress majority in Andhra and the Congress government here ruling at the Centre, if President's rule was imposed in Andhra where there was Congress majority, it will not be fair for the other political parties to accuse the Centre at any time of partiality.

It is said that conquest is easier than consolidation. Similarly, agitation is easier than achieving the objective. It is no doubt easy to agitate for many things and possibly to achieve them, but to set them right again, after achieving them, to keep the house in order is not an easy thing. Today, Andhra Pradesh is one of the biggest States in the country. It is having its own prestige in the country. Tomorrow, if it is divided into pieces, I am sure it will not command that much of respect in the country as it does today.

So, I plead that the State should not be divided, but there are some difficulties experienced by the Andhra in the city of Hyderabad. There is no doubt about it. These difficulties must be removed.

MR. CHAIRMAN: The hon. Member's time is up.

SHRI PATTABHI RAMA RAO: I want just two or three minutes more. These difficulties must be cleared. Now that the leaders, the separatist leaders have finally agreed to come and discuss the matter with the Congress high command here, I am sure there will be an intelligent discussion and finally there will be an agreement for keeping Andhra Pradesh as a big State and also the difficulties that are being experienced now will be resolved. As one big State it will have more strength and become richer, and I am sure that it will contribute much to the country in general.

I would only appeal with folded hands to the NGOs to come back to their desks. I would also appeal to the young students, since the future of the entire country is in their hands, to go back to their classes and leave the rest of the things to be settled by the bigger politicians who are at the Centre and in the State, to the satisfaction of all.

With these words, I support the motion.

SHRI P. K. DEO (Kalahandi): In the crucial bye-election to Rajya Sabha from Orissa an Independent has won by 17 votes. This proves that the Congress Legislature Party has lost the majority in the House and the Governor should not be guided by what they say. The Government should take note of this fact.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Order, Order.

SHRI M. SATYANARAYAN RAO (Karimnagar): I rise to oppose the President's rule in Andhra Pradesh. I know that it has been imposed there in order to avoid a resolution by the majority of the Legislature in the Assembly to bifurcate this State. Because the majority of the M.L.As from Andhra as well as Telengana support bifurcation of the State, the

[Shri M. Satyanarayan Rao]

Central Government thought it fit to impose the President's rule in order to prevent them from passing such a resolution, unanimously or by a thumbing majority. My friend Shri Pattabhi Rama Rao was just now telling the House that it was not the Central Government but that it was on the recommendation of the so-called high power Committee....(Interruptions) This committee is not elected by the Congress men there. This is nominated by the AICC President from Delhi just as the Chief Minister is nominated from Delhi. This Committee has no power to recommend anything because the Central Government wanted it, it has managed through the Committee for the imposition of the President's rule. It is undemocratic and unconstitutional.

SHRI K. C. PANT. You would have preferred to let that Government continue.

SHRI M. SATYANARAYAN RAO: Certainly. I am not opposed to any Government. Myself, Mr. Giri and another, three of us issued a statement criticising you for the imposition of the President's rule. It is against the wishes of the people. Why should you impose the President's rule? There was no crisis and it was not aimed against any Chief Minister. The movement was only for demand. The majority of the M.L.As demanded bifurcation.

Yesterday I heard Smt. Indira Gandhi speaking in Rajya Sabha and saying: nothing considered, nothing ruled out. She has enunciated a new principle. The six point formula was evolved at the time of our merger. Mr. Pant knows very well what role he played in that. I want to remind him of that. I do not support violence and I condemn the methods adopted by some mischievous people. Do not say that these things were adopted by the legislators there. My friend Shri Indrajit Gupta says that those agitators were responsible for this. I

ask him whether it was by those persons who really want separation. Those are against, provocateurs. May be your persons also. People who want to retain the integrity of the state may also be behind it. After all he is a man of great experience and he started so many agitations. I am happy that Mr. Indrajit Gupta is now propagating peaceful and non-violent methods. He must know that the Russian Revolution was achieved through violence by murdering people may be for a good cause. I do not say we must also kill people here. But you adopted those methods there and now you say that peaceful, non-violent methods must be adopted. Because you do not want separation of the State you say so many things.

Before the Cabinet expansion, everybody was expecting that Mr. Pant will become a Cabinet Minister. But because he is not conceding the demand of the people of Andhra for separation, that pop has come on him. Otherwise, he would have become a Cabinet Minister. I like him, he is a very able man. He is a greater son of a great father. But unfortunately in the Andhra situation he is not advising the Prime Minister properly. That is the whole difficulty. His father also supported our cause; may be for different reasons he wanted integration and he gave so many safeguards. History is repeating itself. The daughter of Jawaharlal Nehru and the son of Govind Ballabh Pant are now the Prime Minister and Home Minister. Both Jawaharlal Nehru and Govind Ballabh Pant promised that if the people of Andhra Pradesh were not satisfied, they could separate after 5 or 10 years. Now it is in your hands and in the Prime Minister's hands to bifurcate the State. Do it immediately.

SHRI SAMAR GUHA (Contai): Sir, enough has been said in this House in favour of bifurcation and against it. I do not want to add any new logic. For me to decide such issues, one principle is enough—i.e.,

will of the people. In a democratic set-up, the ultimate criterion for deciding any issue will be the will of the people. The people of Andhra Pradesh and Telengana have extraordinarily united themselves in their demand to divide themselves peacefully and amicably. The question may be raised, how do we ascertain that it is the will of the people that is acting behind the movement for separation? Certainly I have no categorical answer to it. But I want to draw attention to what has happened during the last few months in Andhra area. There has been a complete administrative breakdown, complete dislocation of communications and a complete breakdown of the socio-economic life of the people. Andhra is a peculiar representation at the moment of a Stateless State. There is only CRP and army. Actually there is no rule of law there. If it was not a popular movement, would it be possible for a few conspirators, a few *agent provocateurs* to start this movement and bring the whole people into such a massive movement?

To justify the brutal repressive measures of the Government in deploying army, CRP and para military personnel to crush the people's movement, there enough has been said in this House. The opposition parties have been accused that they are instigating it. It has even been said also that there has been the hand of the foreign agents in instigating the movement. Today my hon. friend, Shri Indarjit Gupta, made another profound discovery, namely, the discovery of the hands of the *senas*, even *Swatantra senas* behind this movement.

17 hrs.

The Government is assisting the demand for the bifurcation of Andhra State not in the interests of either Telengana or Andhra. But Government is afraid that if Andhra is bifurcated, it will set in process a chain reaction and there will be similar

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demands in other parts of the country. That is the main worry because of which government is resisting the demand for the bifurcation of Andhra

In fact, I would say that the Andhra movement for separation into two States is a boon in disguise for the whole country. The demand for linguistic States and the emergence of big States has resulted in linguistic chauvinism which is now propounding the new theory of the sons of the soil which will lead to the disintegration of the country, unless some timely steps are taken to check it. Therefore, the Andhra movement will give a new direction to the problem of integration of our country. If the bigger States are split into smaller States, if bigger unilingual States are made into smaller States, it would be a good thing. I quite agree with the Prime Minister that this is not the time to ask for the appointment of a new States Re-organisation Commission. But all the thinkers and leaders of the country should re-examine what is the effect of the emergence of the linguistic States and the consequent emergence of linguistic chauvinism which is now threatening the unity of the country.

I want to conclude by saying that the government should give up the attitude of political somnolence. They say they have an open mind. But their eyes are actually shut and their ears are closed. Otherwise, such popular massive movement in Andhra could not have been so long ignored by the government.

Yesterday the Prime Minister said that nothing is conceded and nothing is ruled out in a dialectical pattern. I want to say here that in Tamil Nadu the Anna DMK was going to be used as a fuse for causing internal explosion in the DMK rule but the Andhra movement saved DMK rule in Tamil Nadu. Perhaps, the back thrust of the Orissa crisis will have some sober effect now on the government and they will give up their attitude of political somnolence and they will accept

[Shri Samar Guha]

the will of the people who, I repeat, are extraordinarily united in their demand for dividing themselves amicably and peacefully. If two new States emerge, that will not undermine the unity of India, that will not undermine even the rule of your party. If Assam could be divided into so many smaller States and if that has not endangered either the progress or the unity of Assam, or the unity of India, the division of Andhra Pradesh into two States accepting the verdict of the people, the will of the people, will in no way undermine either the unity of the country or the rule of Congress over Andhra.

SHRI K. NARAYANA RAO (Bobbili): Mr. Chairman, Sir, I only wonder what will be the reaction of Prof. Samar Guha if there is a proposal to divide West Bengal ..

SHRI SAMAR GUHA: As he has said pointedly—I have no time—if I get time, I will deal with this new idea. This linguistic chauvinism will disintegrate our country. If I get a chance, I will deal with it. Certainly, I will not in any way hesitate if there is a genuine demand for the formation of north Bengal as a separate State because the smaller States, multi-lingual States, will be helpful for the integration of the country and for the progress of the country.

SHRI K. NARAYANA RAO: Prof. Samar Guha qualified that by saying, if there is a "genuine" demand—genuine within quotes—by the people, he would concede to it.

Sir, there are a couple of points that I would like to make. Now, the present demand for separate Andhra and separate Telengana, certainly, hurt the feelings and sentiments of some people. If the people are agitated on the basis of sentimental ground, similarly, there are some genuine people in Andhra who really believe in the integration of the State.

I do not want to go into the entire gamut of the historical background of the movement. What I want to say is, how this movement has started, from step to step, how the events have overtaken and how much is spontaneous and how much is inspired. We have to delink these and, for that, we have work in a calm and congenial atmosphere.

Then, what I want to submit is that in this five-point formula, there is nothing new except a couple of few areas. One of the new items included in the five-point formula is the inclusion of Assistant Civil Surgeons and, secondly, the period of duration, 1977 and 1980. So far as these points are concerned, the people of Andhra region were well-acquainted earlier, right from 1956 and they have been used to it. They have not found anything extra-ordinary in that. Though students are agitated over it—naturally, students will take active interest—there are certain other factors that also activate it.

Yesterday, the Prime Minister referred to the latest judgment of the Andhra High Court which places the entire issue in a rather awkward situation. Anyway, the judgment is an anti-climax to what we have passed in this Parliament. According to that judgment, there is only one class of Mulki, that is, persons who have come to Telengana, settled and domiciled there. We cannot blame the High Court judgment as such because that is the necessary and logical position according to the interpretation of the present law.

We had a gentleman's agreement in 1956. Several events have taken place. What I humbly submit is that we have to sit down and discuss calmly and quietly all the issues, to see what are the irritants that are there, that are responsible for erupting periodical emotional disturbances, and what steps we have to take in a phased manner, one by one, so that real integration of the two regions is

ensured. This is a matter which all the leaders should consider.

Lastly, I come to education. In our own Capital, Hyderabad, we cannot find educational facilities for our children unless we produce a Mulk certificate. This is something unusual, for which, honestly enough, we are not in a position to give a valid explanation. Here, I have a suggestion to make. In India, there are about six Central Universities and all of them are situated in the North, not even a single one is in the South. In the light of the politico-legal complexities that are existing so far as Andhra Pradesh is concerned may I request the Government of India to give a serious thought to establish a Central university at Hyderabad, so that the present problem can be solved and also the facilities for high learning may be available to the people in the South.

SHRI S B GIRI How many universities are there in Andhra? How many Telengana students are there in Andhra? (Interruptions)

SHRI K NARAYANA RAO I am asking for a Central University for the convenience of the people of Andhra Pradesh, for the entire people in the South. Instead of going to Delhi or Aligarh or Banaras they can go to Hyderabad. It is desirable that one Central University—at the cost of the Central exchequer—is established in Hyderabad.

श्री राय सहाय पांडे (राजनंद गांव)
सभापति महोदय, मैंने बड़े ध्यान से आन्ध्र की समस्या पर माननीय सदस्यों के विचार सुने। कुछ ऐसे विचार जैसे श्री पीनू मोदी के—वह चाहे कितने ही मोटे हों लेकिन सौ वर्ष तक जियेंगे, स्मरण करते ही उन्होंने दर्शन दे दिया, उन की काफी उम्र होगी—कुछ विचार श्री विश्वनाथ जो के—वह भी स्टेडी करने पहुँचे बहा पर। उन के यहाँ से कभी कभी ऐसी ध्वनि आती

है, श्रुत आई थी, कि वह पृथक राष्ट्र को निर्माण करना चाहते हैं। बीच बीच में वह लोग यह बात कहते हैं। जब उन का ध्यान इस ओर आकर्षित किया जाता है तब उन को वह कट्टरपंथी कर देते हैं। मैं पूछना चाहता हूँ कि वह आन्ध्र की स्थिति की स्टेडी के लिए जाते हैं, लेकिन बना कर क्या आते हैं? क्या विरोधी दल के नेताओं में से कोई खड़े हो कर कह सकेंगे है कि उस न आन्ध्र की एकता के बारे में कहा है, उस ने अनेकता में एकता के दर्शन करवाये हैं? उस ने जा कर यह कहा हो कि खून बहाना बन्द करो, बसों को तोड़ना बन्द करो, रेलों को खराब करना बन्द करो। इस में जो बीम करोड़ की सम्पत्ति की हानि हुई है यह तुम्हारी है? उसके बाद यहाँ आ कर कि प्रधान मंत्री डिक्टेटर है, प्रधान मंत्री अनडिमाक्रेटिक है, मैंने इस तरह से बात करना जो सम्मान से दूर हो तथा टाट से भरे सम्बोधन से प्रधान मंत्री को स्मरण करना, ठीक नहीं है।

सब लोग एक बात को समझ लें कि अगर निर्णय होगा तो प्रधान मंत्री ही करेंगे निर्णय जो करेगी वह हमारी पार्टी करेगी, दायित्व हमारे ऊपर है। प्रधान मंत्री जी ने राष्ट्रपति के प्रति कृतज्ञता ज्ञापन के प्रस्ताव के उत्तर में कहा था कि वानावरण शांत होने दो, स्थिति अनुकूल होने दो, हम सब से परामर्श कर के कोई न कोई रास्ता निकालेंगे। यह एक स्वस्थ रास्ता था। यह वह रास्ता है जो प्रजातन्त्रवादी विचारधारा का है, प्रजातन्त्र के अन्तर्गत है। इस में अनडिमाक्रेटिक होने की क्या बात है। मैं समझता हूँ कि यह बात ठीक नहीं है।

मैं आप से एक बात पूछना चाहता हूँ। देश के भूगोल के बटवारे में, चाहे प्रदेश का हो या आन्तरिक हो, रंग भरने का काम, लकोर खींचने का काम, क्या सड़क पर

[श्री राम सहाय पांडे]

होगा, गलियों में होगा, मार पीट से होगा ? मैं समझता हूँ कि इस बात पर अगर सम-दर्शी निर्णय हो जाए, यह कहीं भी हो, तो अच्छा है। मैं तेलंगाना और आन्ध्र के अलग होने के औचित्य का विरोध नहीं करता, यदि औचित्य हो तो सीधा सादा रास्ता है कि वह साथ नहीं रहना चाहते, यदि उन्होंने अपने विकास की परिकल्पना में यह जोड़ दिया है कि हम अलग रह कर ही विकास कर सकते हैं, तो वही सही। आखिर आप ने हरियाणा और पंजाब के सम्बन्ध में इस तरह का कटु निर्णय किया था। यहाँ पर मंत्रिमंडल है, पन्न जी बैठे हैं। उन्होंने सदन के विचार को समझा है। अगर वह समझते हैं कि किमी निर्णय में पहुँचना है तो उस में देर क्यों की जाये ? इन बेचारे मासूम बच्चों का खयाल कीजिये, राष्ट्रीय सम्पत्ति का खयाल कीजिए। लोगों को क्यों मारा जा रहा है, उन का खून क्यों बहाया जा रहा है, राष्ट्रीय सम्पत्ति का विनाश क्यों किया जा रहा है। दूसरा रास्ता क्यों नहीं अपनाया जाता जो लोकतन्त्र का रास्ता है।

उपसंहार की ओर जाते हुए मैं एक बात कहना चाहता हूँ कि एक निर्णय विरोधी दल को भी करना होगा कि जो कुछ भी निर्णय किया जाये जनता के नाम पर उस का समर्थन वह करें। वह हमेशा कहते हैं जनता, जनता, जनता। नेता अगर एक बार बिगड़ जाय तो जनता को भी बिगाड़ सकता है, नेता अगर सर्वनाश का संकल्प कर ले तो सर्वनाश कर सकता है। यह भारतीय लोक सभा है, इस में नेता को अपना दायित्व समझना चाहिए। जनता हमारी है, जनता भोली है, जनता रोटी चाहती है, जनता कपड़ा चाहती है, जनता अधिकार है, लेकिन जनता अच्छी भी है। उस पर जैसा रंग डाला

जाये पिचकारी से वह उसी रंग में रंग जायेगी। मैं समझता हूँ कि यह दायित्व नेता का है वह जनता की विचारधारा को ठीक करें। नेता अगर मिलाना चाहे तो मिला सकता है, बिगाड़ना चाहे तो बिगाड़ सकता है, लड़ाना चाहे तो लड़ा सकता है। नेता का चमत्कार जरूर होता है। नेता का दायित्व सदन के सामने यह है कि वह इस बात को देख ले कि कौन सी प्रक्रिया है, कौन सा संकल्प है, कौन सा प्रवधान है जिस के अन्तर्गत शांति के माध्यम हो सकता है। अलग होने की बात अच्छी नहीं लगती है, लेकिन अगर अलग होना ही है तो हो जाये। सर्वसत्तामान, ज्ञान की गंगोत्री जो समृद्ध है, जहाँ हम सब आ कर बैठे हुए हैं, विरोधी भी, इधर के भी और उधर के भी, वहाँ पर कहे कि हम ऐसा चाहते हैं। मैं पूछना चाहता हूँ कि क्या किमी ने कोई आर्थिक डेटा, एकानामिक डेटा दिया ? श्री इन्द्रजीत गुप्त ने कहा कि गायलसीमा बैंकवर्ड है। राजस्थान के आधे से ज्यादा हिस्से को प्रकृति ने बैंकवर्ड बना रक्खा है। मध्य प्रदेश का बस्तर जिला है, मध्य प्रदेश के बहुत से क्षेत्र हैं जो बैंकवर्ड हैं, जैसे धावुआ है। वहाँ पर आज लोग आसानी से पहुँच नहीं सकते हैं। लेकिन अगर वहाँ के लोग यह कहे कि हम बैंकवर्ड हैं हम को अलग कर दिया जाये तो मैं नहीं समझता कि यह ठीक बात है।

मैं अन्त में एक निवेदन और करना चाहता हूँ। हम यहाँ एक बात का निर्णय करने हैं कि लोक सभा सर्वोत्तम है, लोक सभा सत्तावान है, जो निर्णय लोक सभा करेगी हम उस को मानेंगे। अगर हम इस निर्णय पर पहुँचते हैं कि आन्ध्र और तेलंगाना को अलग अलग करने से देश का और प्रदेश का कल्याण हो सकता है तो वह निर्णय लीजिए और भीमता से लीजिए तथा आन्ध्र और ते माना में

जा कर अपने नेतृत्व का प्रदर्शन कीजिए, सम्पन्नता में कीजिये। शालीनता से कीजिये और शांति स्थापित करने के लिए, शालीनता बनाने के लिए, एकता पैदा करने के लिए समता का भाव पैदा करने के लिए प्रधान मंत्री जी का साथ दीजिए जिस में हमारे प्रदेशों में स्थिति अच्छी हो सके। आन्ध्र बड़ा सुन्दर प्रदेश है, बड़ा नदिया हैं, पानी है, अच्छे लोग हैं, तेलगाना में भी अच्छे लोग हैं। अगर उन दोनों में लकीर खींचनी हो तो खींच दीजिए और जल्दी कर दीजिए, ताकि लड़ाई बन्द हो और मैत्री में भग्न मिलाप हो और लोग प्रेम में रहे। मैं समझना हूँ कि हम इस प्रकार का निर्णय करेंगे।

श्री शशि भूषण (दक्षिण दिल्ली) : महापति महोदय, आन्ध्र में जो कुछ हुआ या जो कुछ हो रहा है वह हमारे देश में जो एक प्रजातन्त्र राष्ट्र है, बहुत देर तक बर्दाश्त नहीं किया जा सकता है। आंध्र में राष्ट्रपति शासन लागू हुआ। वहाँ कुछ भोलेभाले लोगों को टुकड़ा करके राजनीतिक लोगों ने राजनीतिक वातावरण बनाने के लिए ऐसी परिस्थिति बना दी थी कि इसके सिवा कोई चारा नहीं रह गया था। खास तौर से देश में एक हवा सी बह रही है आजकल। जब मैं हमने बगला देश को सहायता दी है तब से बाहर की बड़ी बड़ी शक्तियाँ और उनके बड़े बड़े नेता हमें चलेज दे चुके हैं और कह चुके हैं कि जूँकि आपने इस में हिस्सा लिया है इस वास्ते आप भी इस आग में झुलस सकते हैं। उनकी चेतावनियाँ अखबारों में आई हैं। हमारे देश में उनके जो आक्रांकारी लोग हैं जो हमेशा अखण्ड भारत की बात करते थे अब खण्ड भारत की बात करते हैं। वही लोग आज देश को पचासो टुकड़ों से बाट देना चाहते हैं। ऐसा वे सिर्फ उनके इशारों पर, बिबेकी बड़े राष्ट्रीय नेताओं की

चेतावनियों के फलस्वरूप कर रहे हैं। लेकिन हमारे देश को इन चेतावनियों की कोई परवाह नहीं और न ही उमने कभी की है। हम लोग शांति चाहते हैं। प्रजातन्त्र में हम विश्वास रखते हैं। हम हर मसले को प्रजातन्त्री ढंग से हल करना चाहते हैं। बाहरी शक्तियाँ हिन्दुस्तान में राजनीतिक लोगों को तोड़ फाड़ के लिए जिस तरह इन्फेमान करती हैं उसमें लोग अवगत हो गए हैं, इन घटनाओं ने उनकी आँखें खोल दी हैं, आंध्र की घटनाओं ने उनकी आँखें खोल दी हैं। हमको आगे से बहुत सतर्क रहना चाहिए, अपने देश की एकता बनाए रखने के लिए। आज देश में अवाल की स्थिति है, सूखा पड़ा हुआ है, और भी बहुत में प्रश्न है, और उन प्रश्नों के बीच में भावनात्मक राजनीतिक शुरू कर दी गई है, तब शुरू कर दी गई है जबकि सब का मिल कर राष्ट्र के निर्माण में हाथ बटाना चाहिए। आंध्र का प्रश्न तो हल होगा ही आग देश की एकता भी बनी रहेगी, उसे काँट लाड़ नहीं सकता है लेकिन जा ताकने विघटन का काम करती रही है उनको कभी आन पाने हिन्दुस्तान के इतिहास में कोई माफ नहीं करेगा। जो बड़ा एकता के लिए काम कर रहे हैं वाशिंग्टन के हमारे साथी और हमारी सहयोगी पार्टी, वह सराहनीय है। उन्होंने ऐसे वक्त में एक सही रास्ता मुल्क के सामने रखा है। वे मुल्क की एकता के लिए काम कर रही हैं।

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF HOME AFFAIRS (SHRI K C PANT) Mr Chairman, So there was hardly any opposition to the Resolution which I have placed before the House, namely, that the President's Proclamation in Andhra should be approved. By and large, the House has accepted that Resolution without any serious criticism or debate.

After the Prime Minister's speech in this House and the other House on

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the Government's attitude in regard to various points of view projected before the House on the question of integration or bifurcation of Andhra Pradesh, I am in the fortunate position of not having to comment on it. The Government's mind is already known to the House. I really compliment the hon. Members who participated in the debate that in spite of this knowledge beforehand, they injected a lot of interest into the debate. I find that my hon. friend Mr. Rao Birendra Singh is not here. Yesterday, in the course of his speech, while advocating the cause of bifurcation, he went on praising smaller States and it is no small gain that he saw the rapid advances which Haryana had made under Shri Bansilal.

DR. KAILAS (Bombay South): He is dreaming of vishal Haryana.

SHRI PILOO MODY: This is not fair.

SHRI K. C. PANT: He is not here, but it is on record, and as I say, it is no small gain.

I am thankful to Shri Piloo Mody for giving me a chance to learn something about Hindu law. As you know, Sir, I am not a lawyer, and I do not claim any knowledge of Hindu law. When he made a statement that the Government's attitude was even more rigid than the divorce laws in the Hindu law, I was tempted to find out what those laws were....

SHRI PILOO MODY: I warn him.

SHRI K. C. PANT: I find that the Hindu law provides that when a case for divorce comes up, there should be no collusion between the two spouses.

SHRI PILOO MODY: Mutual consent is permissible.

SHRI K. C. PANT: If there is collusion, then the judge does not permit divorce.

SHRI G. VISWANATHAN: What will he do?

SHRI K. C. PANT: He will look for extraneous facts and circumstances which would justify divorce.

SHRI G. VISWANATHAN: That is allowed under the special Marriage Act.

SHRI K. C. PANT: Otherwise, he would not dissolve the marriage easily, and both the spouses have to prove to the satisfaction of the court that there is no collusion.

SHRI M. SATYANARAYANA RAO: There is no collusion here.

SHRI K. C. PANT: And the judge is required to call both the parties and investigate for himself and satisfy himself that they cannot continue to live together.

SHRI PILOO MODY: He claimed that he knew nothing about it, but he knows the entire gamut of the laws. How long has he been studying them?

SHRI K. C. PANT: This is in a way very germane. He has to satisfy himself that they cannot live together, and only then does he grant divorce.

Another very pertinent point is that the judge has to be very careful about the role of enticers in the matter.

SHRI PILOO MODY: They are all co-respondents.

SHRI G. VISWANATHAN: That is not there in the Hindu law, I am sure.

SHRI K. C. PANT: He has to make sure that those with some motives in that situation do not take advantage of it to bring about this divorce. That is why I have said that I am grateful to Shri Piloo Mody for giving me a chance to learn something about Hindu law. I think we all have to beware of enticers under any situation, particularly when he is a self-confessed enticer. He says that he

thanks the Prime Minister for giving his party a chance to take advantage of, what, of agitation and destruction of property....

SHRI PILOO MODY: No, of stubbornness and mulishness.

SHRI K. C. PANT: He has made a peculiar complaint which one hears sometime from other friends opposite, that the Prime Minister has a power to take decisions and why she should have the power. Well, the people have given her that power. They have not given them that power. That can be a source of complaint, but really it is not democracy to make a complaint of this. Why tag it on to democracy? It is very democratic when the people give her the power, and that is the source of her strength, and I do not know why he should find fault with it.

SHRI PILOO MODY: I would not argue these points since the hon. Minister's knowledge of constitutional law is limited like his knowledge of Hindu law.

SHRI K. C. PANT: This debate has thrown up various problems which are of great significance not only to Andhra Pradesh but to the whole country. The basic question which was raised in yesterday's debate, more than even today was whether our parliamentary democracy was capable of finding solution to difficult problems, which involved the emotions of large numbers of people. I think that looking back to the series of problems which this Parliament has been able to solve and for which it has been able to find a way out, no one in this House should seriously question either the wisdom or the ability of this Parliament to find solutions to these difficult problems, and, therefore, there is no scope for tackling the problem in a manner which denies Members of Parliament and others concerned the chance of rational discussion, the chance of a meaningful debate, and the chance of mutual give-and-take, because this is the core

of the democratic process, and these agitations which may excite people's minds do not, however, give a chance for this democratic process to operate.

That is the main aim of Government's policy today, to see that conditions are normalised so that this democratic process can take place and then Parliament can in its wisdom come to a decision and Government can come to a decision. That is the crux of the matter.

Another issue was raised by Shri Suryanarayana, among others, about the implications of our Constitution, the directive principles, the question of common citizenship and all the other constitutional matters relating to the different rights that flow from citizenship of this country in any State. These are certainly serious matters and before discussing them in the context of Andhra Pradesh, one would have to go into the background. One has, as the PM said the other day, to start writing on a clean slate. But I am surprised that his wild fancy took him to Uganda. This is an indication of the emotionalism with which he approaches this problem that he flew to Uganda to find a parallel. That is all I have to say about his speech.

The other question of backwardness was raised, of economic backwardness, of disparity between various regions and the like. As many members pointed out, these things do exist not only in Andhra Pradesh but in other States. But should they be made the ground for diversionary tactics for taking the people's minds away from peaceful economic progress which alone can solve these problems. That is the point to be considered.

So these and the important issues were raised and I would have welcomed the chance to discuss these at length, if necessary. But I have a difficulty and that is that I do not want in any way to create a wrong impression that the Government has any particular solution in mind or that the Government is canvassing

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support for any particular solution to this problem. Therefore, I have to be somewhat inhibited and guarded in discussing these problems. Normally, it would be very useful to discuss these issues because it would clear the air, but as I said, in a surcharged atmosphere, any attempt to clarify any point of view would involve arguments and ideas which may be read in the wrong context. Therefore, I am refraining from discussing these issues in that light.

There is also the fact that discussions are going on between the Central leaders and the leaders of Andhra Pradesh.

SHRI PILOO MODY: Ex-leaders of Andhra Pradesh.

SHRI K. C. PANT: Yes, ex-Ministers, for instance, of the Andhra region. He may like to call them ex-leaders, but some people in Andhra like to call them leaders. I leave it to Shri Piloo Mody.

SHRI G. VISWANATHAN: Shri Ranga was his leader. That was why he said 'ex-leaders'.

SHRI K. C. PANT: He has lost his leader.

SHRI PILOO MODY: Now you have two leaders in your party.

SHRI K. C. PANT: The leader of his party does not necessarily become the leader in our own. He should have known that.

SHRI PILOO MODY: He was a leader in your party before he even came to our party.

SHRI K. C. PANT: Any one going from our party becomes a leader in yours. (Interruptions). This should be enough to indicate the relative merits of the two parties.

SHRI PILOO MODY: May be the relative size.

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA: The leader may become a misleader!

SHRI K. C. PANT: While the discussions were going on, it is very strange that some friends should have taken objection to the Prime Minister saying that we do not refuse any idea or we do not reject any suggestion or we do not accept any suggestion just now. She and other Central leaders were in the midst of these discussions with people favouring bifurcation, favouring integration and, as the Prime Minister said, with these who are trying to bridge the gap between the two. Therefore, at this stage it would hardly be proper for any of us to express any opinion once we are holding these talks.

There was a reference by several Members to the history of Andhra Pradesh. Shri Hanumanthaiya yesterday referred to the happiness with which people reacted to the creation of the State Shri Pattabhi Ramo Rao today referred to some of the leaders who had at that time worked for the creation of a united Andhra Pradesh. Sir, while the atmosphere today is also very surcharged, at one stage the atmosphere was very surcharged in favour of a Vishal Andhra.

Shri Pattabhi Rama Rao referred specifically to certain names in both the regions. It is history now, and it is no use quarrelling about it. I am only referring to it as a historical fact. There were serious deliberations at that time, and there were sacrifices made, and ultimately Andhra Pradesh came into being. It is true—

SHRI S. B. GIRI: I want to correct one thing; because, for forming the Andhra area there were sacrifices, but at the time of the formation of Andhra Pradesh there were no sacrifices. Actually, the Telengana people opposed it. It is a historical fact. (Interruptions)

SHRI M. SATYANARAYAN RAO: Ramakrishna Rao never sacrificed for

Andhra. He was Chief Minister. Before his death, do you remember what he expressed? "I have committed a grave blunder in my life in supporting the formation of Andhra Pradesh."

SHRI K. C. PANT: I do not deny to the people of Telengana the capacity to sacrifice as some friends seem to be doing. But that is not the point. (Interruptions) Some of them referred to the recommendations of the SRC. These are too well-known to require repetition. But the point to remember is that there was a unilateral offer of safeguards for the people of Telengana, and this was made by a unanimous resolution of the Andhra Assembly on the 25th November, 1955. The assurance was reiterated hardly three months later, on the 1st February, 1956, by a resolution introduced by the then Deputy Chief Minister, Shri Sanjeeva Reddy. It was as a corollary to this resolution that the gentlemen's agreement came to be signed. This is the background of the gentlemen's agreement to which some reference was made.

After that, there was the Public Employment Act which was later on struck down and even after it was struck down, the leaders from Andhra and Telengana continued to cooperate with each other in trying to work out a scheme of regionalisation and they sought the assistance of the Centre also. We also helped them in working out a scheme of regionalisation of the services, so that the spirit of the agreement of the Public Employment Act, to the extent it was possible, could be honoured. That is how matters were proceeding, when the Supreme Court judgement came in October, 1972. It is after that that we have seen agitation in Andhra Pradesh. This is the historical background. Now as a post-script, the High Court of Andhra Pradesh has pronounced its judgement on the question of who is a Mulki and who is not a Mulki. Another judgement is expected. This is the kind of background to this situation. I am not too clear about what the ultimate judge-

ment is going to be. This is where matters stand.

Yesterday, Mr. Reddy or somebody else questioned: why did the Government come forward with the Mulki Rules Bill. I am a little surprised, because after the Supreme Court Judgement and in view of all that I have stated, a situation of great uncertainty was created in Andhra Pradesh. Various people spoke to us. Questions like retrospective effect being given to the Mulki Rules, what would be the fate of Andhras who have been appointed in the Telengana region ever since 1956, etc., were the questions which concern thousands of people and they have taken certain decisions in these many years. Those decisions, whether they would be called into question or not,—are all administrative matters with serious repercussions. Therefore I am surprised that there should have been any question as to why we took these steps. It is to remove the air of uncertainty. If we had not done so I think we could have been taken to task for not having made up our mind and given some view on a matter which has created so much uncertainty in this State.

While coming to the five point formula all the stand-points of all the leaders in the Andhra region, Telengana region, Members of Parliament and others concerned were taken into account. It is not as though it was not done through democratic process in that sense. Shri Chavan held long and detailed talks with all concerned and at the political level leaders of the State were asked to come to an agreement. The House will recall that they did try but they could not come to any agreement. It is then that the leaders of the State, the State Government, the Members of Parliament and others, all asked the Central Government to take decisions on these complicated issues. It is not as though the Centre took upon itself *suo motu* to lay down its fiat in these matters. Nothing like that. It was at the request of the leaders of the

State, in view of the situation then prevailing, that the Centre agreed to help in evolving a solution.

It is in this manner that the five-point formula was evolved and the Act was to give effect to this 5 point formula. It is a solution which has not satisfied all. Many persons are not satisfied with it, and if you will recall the Prime Minister's statement at that time, she had stated that it would be well nigh impossible to find a solution which will be satisfactory to all. If it had been so easy to find a satisfactory solution, one that satisfied all interests and all parties, then perhaps the leaders of the State themselves could have arrived at such a solution. But the problem was such. Therefore it is but natural that many criticise it as not being a perfect solution. In these issues it is very difficult to find a perfect solution. Solutions that are found with the best of will and with the utmost human ingenuity sometimes do not fully answer the situation. But I have not seen anybody come forward with any other solution that would have fitted this particular problem better.

Now, Sir, some reference was made by Shri Jagannath Rao and Shri Indrajit Gupta to the need to provide educational facilities in terms of the five-point formula. The House will recall that an important plank of the five-point formula was in relation to educational facilities, i.e. educational facilities would be expanded and made available to all the persons without any restriction as to residence. They would be open to anybody who chose to take advantage of them but the students of Hyderabad and Secunderabad would not suffer in the sense that the facilities available to them would not be adversely affected. It is not at their cost but it is in addition that we wanted to create facilities. That is a part of the formula. It is not at though we have not been thinking about this problem or explored it further or drawn up some plans. We have. But this is hardly the time to

complain of inadequacy of educational facilities. Students are not utilising the facilities available to them. The first thing is to see that the students do go back to their classes. Both the teachers and the students are missing valuable time. It would be a pity if the students lose one year of their academic life in this way. I hope the students will go back to their studies. I appeal to them to do so because these matters are under discussion now at the political level in Delhi as well as in Hyderabad. If the students go back to studies, one year will be saved for a large number of them. This is the first priority at the moment. Besides, the additional educational facilities would have to be created by the time the next academic session starts. There is time for it and the House need not have any anxiety on this score. This is very much in our minds and we have prepared the necessary plans for this purpose.

श्री शशि भूषण : जो तोड़ फोड़ कर रहे हैं उनकी कार्यवाही बन्द करने के लिए कुछ कर रहे हैं ? उन्हें बंद कर रहे हैं ।

श्री भूषण बन्धुन : जो तोड़ फोड़ कर रहे हैं उनका भी जितना इलाज हो सकता है वह कर रहे हैं ।

श्री शशि भूषण : बेरा तो सिम्पल मकलम पार० एल० एल० से है ।

SHRI K. C. PANT: Reference was made to the problem of backwardness. There is no doubt that there is economic backwardness in many parts of Andhra Pradesh. It is there in Telengana, in Rayalaseema and other areas of Andhra also.

SHRI MARTIK ORAON (Lehar-doga): In Chotanagpur and Santal Parganas area also.

SHRI K. C. PANT: I stand corrected—in Chotanagpur also. The point is, there is economic backwardness in many parts of the country. This is nothing new.

श्री राज लहाय दांडे : हमने भी कुछ
देकर किया है, वह भी बता दीजिये ।

SHRI K. C. PANT: Mr. R. S. Pandey also discovered a few pockets of backwardness today. But it is very difficult to say that the right way of removing this backwardness is to destroy public property by having long agitations. The only answer to this question is to have a sound national view of the problems, not a parochial or regional view. Because, we are all concerned with the backwardness of all the backward areas in the country. But the problem cannot be solved unless we take a broader view of things. The backward areas should be helped by the other areas which are relatively prosperous by diverting a part of their resources to overcome the backwardness of those areas. For that the people of the backward areas should try to get the goodwill of the people of the other areas. The national viewpoint has to be a commitment to develop the backward areas and it has to be with the co-operation of all those who are sitting here in Parliament. Unless one can take a broader view of these things, these problems cannot be solved. Therefore, it is not by narrow parochialism that this backwardness can be solved. In the Fifth Plan also this is our thinking, and it is this approach which is going to solve the problem of backwardness.

Shri Reddy and Shri Giri referred to the current problems of Andhra Pradesh. Shri Indrajit Gupta referred to the food problem.

SHRI S. B. GIRI: Yesterday we requested you to clarify why the legislature of Andhra Pradesh was not consulted before imposing President's Rule.

SHRI K. C. PANT: The answer is very simple. The Congress Party has a huge majority there. So, the Governor came to the conclusion that after the Chief Minister, there is nobody else who can carry on the administration. I do not think that Shri Giri or anybody else could have formed the government. So, President's Rule was imposed. I do not think it is so complicated. The facts and figures speak for themselves.

The problems of Andhra Pradesh are serious. Violence and lawlessness have dealt a serious blow to the economy of Andhra Pradesh. Let all of us realise that this has hurt Andhra Pradesh. What has been going on there for the last few weeks? Every day I used to get reports even now I get reports—of derailment of trains, burning of railway stations and attack on post offices and telephone exchanges. How does this help the development of that region, I ask those who are pleading for bifurcation. I do not know what this senseless destruction will lead to. The State is facing a drought situation. Shri Indrajit Gupta referred to it. In Andhra and Telengana there is drought and he wanted some relief measures. I can understand that kind of suggestion. But my hon. friends from Telengana did not talk of the drought situation.

SHRI S. B. GIRI: I talked of it.

SHRI K. C. PANT: He talked of food.

SHRI S. B. GIRI: I talked of food, supply of water and many other things.

SHRI K. C. PANT: The drought is there. But Shri Giri has no time to help the people in the drought situation. He has no time to organise the people to arrange for relief work. He has time only to make speeches when lakhs of people are suffering. My point is that to talk is not enough. I am not going to treat the sufferings of the people lightly.

SHRI K. RAMAKRISHNA REDDY (Nalgonda): On one side you ask for normalcy. On the other side, provocative pamphlets are issued by the integrationists. Are you going to control them?

SHRI K. C. PANT: I do not want to go into this. There is the drought situation. Communications have been wilfully disrupted and movement of essential foodgrains has been impeded.

Can you imagine in a situation of today that foodgrains movement has been impeded? I am sure, Shri Giri knows about it; I know Dr. Melkote knows about it. We have discussed it. At a time, when the State is in the grip of power shortage—I think, so many Members referred to it—the movement of coal is being disrupted. My friend, Shri Qureshi says, 60,000 wagons. Just think of it. I am sure, almost every Member of the House knows of some people or the other who have to travel from north to south India, whose entire plans were disturbed because they could not travel through Andhra Pradesh.....

(Interruptions)

MR. CHAIRMAN: I am not permitting. Nothing will go on record.

(Interruptions)

SHRI K. C. PANT: I am not for a moment suggesting that leaders like Dr. Melkote would go and provoke violence. How can I suggest that? I know his whole background. I know that he is a Gandhian. But the point is that thousands of people look up to everybody sitting in this House and take their cue from the direction given by the pronouncements in this House or outside by their leaders. Therefore, if there is no word of strong condemnation, if they do not go there and say, don't do this, then the people take their own cue. That is what makes the task of public leaders for more responsible. It is not a question of individual act of opposing violence or

not approving violence. In this context, we have to act as leaders of that area. Therefore, I would suggest with all humility that it is high time that everyone came back to their normal vocations; students should resume their studies; the NGOs should come back to work. Normalcy should be restored. An end should be put to the harassment of the common man. This is my appeal to my friends that the common man should not be harassed any more.

There was reference to the role of the C.R.P. and the armed forces. I agree with my hon. friend, Shri Indrajit Gupta, that this is an issue in which economic and political measures have to be taken rather than the use of the army and the C.R.P. But the point is: Can anybody deny the lawlessness that prevailed there or the various acts which were mentioned in the House of destruction of public property that took place? There is no denying these facts. For those who are interested in figures, I would say, according to an estimate upto 14th February, 1973, 1964 incidents of lawlessness have been reported in the State; there are 2 cases of murders; there are 290 cases of arson; 47 instances of sabotage; 13 cases of loot; 85 instances of attacks on Government offices....

AN HON. MEMBER: By whom?

SHRI K. C. PANT: Whoever did it. I did not hear Shri Piloo Mody condemning it. I was listening very carefully to him..

SHRI PILOO MODY: I went there and condemned it in Andhra. You go and do it there.

SHRI K. C. PANT: Certainly, I can do it there.

SHRI PILOO MODY: I condemned it in front of thousands of people there. You go there and do it. Let me see. Don't talk about self-righteousness to me.

SHRI K. C. PANT: There are people, senas, to protect you. That is your safety.

18 hrs.

SHRI PILOO MODY: If I have senas, you can take your army with you, if you like.

SHRI K. C. PANT: You did not require the use of our army. You had your senas.

SHRI PILOO MODY: I did not require your army or your senas or your CRP. (*Interruptions*)

SHRI K. C. PANT: The point is that CRP and armed forces had to be deployed, with ample justification. It is unfortunate that many deaths have occurred due to police firings, and all our sympathies go to the victims and the bereaved families; all our sympathies go to those who have lost their private properties, those who have suffered in any way during these agitations. Whoever has suffered, where does the blame lie? The blame must squarely lie on the forces of disorder and violence let loose in the State. They must take the responsibility. I am not apportioning the blame here. I do not want to blame any individuals at all. It is these forces of disorder which were responsible. Many times agitations may be started with good motives by good people, but once they are started, they lose control over them and anti-social elements come in and do all kinds of things, and then it becomes very difficult for them to bring them back. This is an experience which, I think, many people must have undergone—who were in the thick of many struggles. It is not that I blame hon. members or I blame responsible people. But the facts speak for themselves. These things have happened in Andhra Pradesh.

Therefore, I would appeal to all hon. members and to other responsible citizens in Andhra Pradesh to bring the situation under control and to see that

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this agitational approach is halted. It only serves to strengthen the hands of those whose objective is to destroy the values held in democracy.

It has already been stated in the House that, as normalcy is restored in any pocket of the State, the CRP or army, whatever it is, will be withdrawn. We do not want to keep them even for a day longer than is absolutely necessary. As you probably know, the army has been withdrawn from several districts and as peaceful conditions are restored, it will be withdrawn from other areas also.

Sir, whatever decision Government take, whatever the final outcome of the political dialogue, no durable solution will be possible without mature consideration. That is why, it is necessary that all aspects of the matter should be considered in a cool, calm and rational manner. And this is what the Prime Minister herself stated in the House the other day. Nothing can be more counter-productive than an agitational approach on this issue. Violence does not stimulate discussion but stifles it. It only succeeds in unleashing a process whereby coercion usurps the rightful place of consent in politics.

MR. CHAIRMAN: The question is:

"That this House approves the Proclamation issued by the President on the 18th January, 1973, under article 356 of the Constitution in relation to the State of Andhra Pradesh"

The motion was adopted.

RAILWAY BUDGET 1973-74— GENERAL DISCUSSION

18.01 hrs.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Now we take up General Discussion on the Budget (Railways) for 1973-74.

Shri Mohammad Ismail.