

change and the import and export of currency and bullion, for the conservation of the foreign exchange resources of the country and the proper utilisation thereof in the interests of the economic development of the country"

The motion was adopted.

13.51½ hrs.

COMPANIES (AMENDMENT) BILL

EXTENSION OF TIME FOR PRESENTATION OF REPORT OF JOINT COMMITTEE

SHRI NAWAL KISHORE SHARMA (Dausa). I beg to move:

"That this House do further extend upto the first day of the second week of the next session, the time for the presentation of the Report of the Joint Committee on the Bill further to amend the Companies Act, 1956, the Securities contracts (Regulation) Act, 1956 and the Monopolies and Restrictive Trade Practices Act, 1969."

MR. SPEAKER: The question is:

"That this House do further extend upto the first day of the second week of the next session, the time for the presentation of the Report of the Joint Committee on the Bill further to amend the Companies Act, 1956, the Securities Contracts (Regulation) Act, 1956 and the Monopolies and Restrictive Trade Practices Act, 1969."

The motion was adopted.

MR. SPEAKER: Now, we will take up further consideration of the motion of thanks on the President's Address after lunch. We now adjourn for lunch and meet at 3 p.m.

13.52 hrs.

The Lok Sabha adjourned for Lunch till Fifteen of the Clock.

The Lok Sabha reassembled after Lunch at Two Minutes past Fifteen of the Clock.

[MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER in the Chair]

MOTION OF THANKS ON THE PRESIDENT'S ADDRESS—contd.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: We now resume the discussion on the President's Address. Shri Dhote.

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BOSU (Diamond Harbour): Sir, I have raised an Adjournment Motion and it was said that Government are trying to find ways and means to raise the discussion on that subject. I only want to place on record our request that you may be pleased to ask the Government to make a statement so that we can hold ourselves in preparedness to raise an adjournment motion on price rise which is so very vital for the country.

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: Shri Dhote. . .

श्री हुकम चन्द कछवाय (मुरैना) :
उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, मेरा व्यवस्था का प्रश्न है दिल्ली के ग्रन्दर तीन हजार भ्रष्टाचार पकड़े गये हैं, एक हजार भ्रष्टाचारको को नौकरी से निकाला गया है। मैं निवेदन करना चाहता हू कि इसके लिये कामरोको प्रस्ताव स्वीकार किया जाय। यह बहुत जटिल समस्या है, इससे उत्तेजना फैल रही है। इसी तरह से जो कीमते बढ़ रही है उसके लिये भी कामरोको प्रस्ताव स्वीकार किया जाय।

SHRI S. M. BANERJEE (Kanpur): I understand that the hon Minister for Parliamentary Affairs, after consulting the party or the Prime Minister, will decide about having a discussion on the price situation. My second point is this. This is very important. I request the hon. Minister of Parliamentary Affairs to kindly convey this point to the Defence Minister and the Minister of Irriga-

[Shri S. M. Banerjee]

tion and Power. This is about the powercut in the defence factories in Kanpur and throughout U.P. Sir, because of the power-cut, production has been reduced in all the defence factories. Unfortunately, the U.P. Government has exempted HINDALCO, the aluminium factory of the Birlas. But they have not exempted all the ordnance factories, the production of which is so very vital for the defence of the country.

I would only request you, Sir, to ask the Minister of Parliamentary Affairs to convey this to the Defence Minister, to see that the powercut is restored in those factories. Otherwise, all the workers in Kanpur are going on a day's token strike on the 26th of February.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: Well, it has gone on record. The Government are here. They must take note of it. They are taking notes.

श्री हुकम चन्द कछवाय : उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, आपने क्या निर्णय दिया ?

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: It does not call for my comment.

श्री हुकम चन्द कछवाय : मैं जानना चाहता हूँ कि इसके बारे में आपका क्या मत है। आप क्या निर्णय ले रहे हैं ?

श्री दिनेश भट्टाचार्य (सीरमपुर) सभा पटल पर रखा गया है, गवर्नमेंट विचार कर रही है।

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: Now, let him please co-operate. I have allowed him. That is all.

श्री हुकम चन्द कछवाय : मैं जानना चाहता हूँ कि आपका निर्णय क्या है ?

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: It does not call for my comment or my ruling or my remark at all.

श्री हुकम चन्द कछवाय : उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, कुछ तो कहिये, कामरोंको प्रस्ताव स्वीकार करने या नहीं। हरियाणा के तमाम अध्यापकों में उत्तेजना फैल रही है। एक हजार से अधिक अध्यापक नौकरी से बरखास्त कर दिये गये हैं। एक तरफ सरकार कहती है कि रोजगार दिलायेंगे लेकिन दूसरी तरफ बेरोजगारी फैल रही है।

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: Now, let him co-operate. Let him please sit down. He is repeating the same point.

श्री बाबू शंभू (नागपुर) : उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, आन्ध्र में राष्ट्रपति की हुकूमत चल रही है, गोलियों, डण्डों और संगीनों की नीक पर वहाँ की हुकूमत चल रही है, लेकिन गोलियों और डण्डों के बल से आज तक दुनिया में कहीं भी अमन और शान्ति स्थापित नहीं हुई है। यदि वहाँ पर राष्ट्रपति की हुकूमत लागू होने से कोई हल निकलता है तब तो ठीक है, लेकिन यदि हल नहीं निकलता है तो इस पर गौर करना चाहिये। वहाँ पर राष्ट्रपति की हुकूमत से एसा जाहिर आ है कि आन्दोलन और ज्यादा तीव्र होता जा रहा है। आज तक दुनिया में हिटलरशाही के बलबूते पर, गोलियों या डण्डों के बल बूते पर कहीं शान्ति और अमन प्रस्थापित नहीं हो सका है और न ही आन्ध्र में राष्ट्रपति की हुकूमत गोलियों के द्वारा, इस देश की मिलिट्री के द्वारा, इस देश की पुलिस के द्वारा डण्डों के भरोसे हुकूमत कर सकती है। हो सकता है कुछ दिनों के लिये, कुछ समय के लिए शांति हो जाये, लेकिन यह शान्ति स्थायी शान्ति नहीं होगी। बल्कि यह होगा calm before storm

आज हम देश में प्रजातन्त्र की बात कहते हैं—प्रजातन्त्र क्या है ? केवल चुनाव सड़ना या यह संसदीय प्रजातन्त्र या फ्रेंचियाकेन्डी डेमोक्रेसी प्रजातन्त्र नहीं है। प्रजातन्त्र में प्रजा क्या कहती है, यदि हम उस पर गौर नहीं कर सकते तो हम हुकूमत करने के काबिल नहीं हैं। आज आन्ध्र में लोग क्या कहते हैं—यह हम

देख रहे हैं, लेकिन हम चुप बैठे हैं, केवल राष्ट्रपति की हुकूमत वहाँ चल रही है। कारण क्या है? आज आपने देखा होगा कि आन्ध्र में प्रत्यक्ष आन्दोलन में वहाँ की सरकार उत्तर आई है, पार्टी-इन-पावर आन्दोलन में है, वहाँ की सरकार, राज्य और केन्द्र के कर्मचारी आन्दोलन में है और यह खबर भी आई है कि वहाँ की हाईकोर्ट की वार एमोनिशन ने प्रस्ताव पास किया है—सरकार का निषेध करने का, आन्ध्र और तेलगाना की माग करने का। वहाँ की अदालतों और जजों ने अपना काम करना बन्द कर दिया है। ऐसी अवस्था में लोगों की माग पर गौर नहीं करते तो हम क्या कर रहे हैं, क्या करना चाहते हैं, हमारे दिल में क्या है—यह सवाल हमारे सामने खड़ा है।

आज की भयंकर अवस्था को मद्देनजर रखते हुए राष्ट्रपति की हुकूमत उसका अन्तिम साध्य नहीं है। वहाँ के लोग आन्ध्र की माग कर रहे हैं, तेलगाना की माग कर रहे हैं, आन्ध्र और तेलगाना देने के अलावा या एक नया स्टेट्स रिआगनिजेशन कमीशन देने के अलावा और कोई हल नहीं है, लेकिन हम उनको राष्ट्रपति की हुकूमत दे रहे हैं, डण्डे, गोलिया या राष्ट्रपति की हुकूमत इस सवाल का हल नहीं है। यदि हम सवाल का आप्रजातात्विक हल निकालना चाहते हैं तो उसका रास्ता अलग है, उसका ढंग अलग है। लेकिन हम उसके ऊपर गौर नहीं कर रहे हैं। हम सत्ता की मस्ती और उन्माद में रह सकते हैं लेकिन सत्ता का उन्माद इतना भयंकर होता है कि फिर सारा विचार करना ही बन्द हो जाता है। इस देश में फिर से छोटे छोटे राज्यों का पुनर्वर्धन होना चाहिए, यह माग जब की जाती है, जब यह सवाल खड़ा होता है तो मेरे सवाल से यह सवाल और यह मांग देशभक्ति के भाव से की जाती है। इस मांग के पीछे राष्ट्रभक्ति होती है। जब लोग इस तरह का मूवमेन्ट खड़ा करते हैं तो उसके ऊपर सिक्का मारा जाता है कि यह सब कुछ लोगों के स्व, लोगों से लोगों का

मूवमेन्ट है, यह तो बुजुर्ग मूवमेन्ट है, यह तो रिप्रेजेंटेशन का मूवमेन्ट है, यह तो बड़े व्यापारियों का मूवमेन्ट है, क्योंकि कुछ लोग यानी कम्युनिस्ट पार्टी उसमें शरीक नहीं रहती हैं। आज मूवमेन्ट की ऐसी परिभाषा हम देश में की जा रही है। जब आंध्र की पूरी जनता, वहाँ की सरकार, वहाँ के बच्चे, वहाँ के कर्मचारी, तेलगाना की जनता, वहाँ के जजेज, आफिसर्स, मारे के मारे लोग आन्दोलन में हैं, यदि फिर भी वह बुजुर्ग मूवमेन्ट है, वह कुछ लोगों का मूवमेन्ट है, कैप्टलिस्टम का मूवमेन्ट है, ऐसा सिक्का उसके ऊपर मारा जाता है तो मैं समझता हूँ यह लोगों के ऊपर बट्ट बड़ा अन्याय होगा और लोग इसको बर्दाश्त नहीं करेंगे।

एक बात का ध्यान हमें रखना होगा कि आज हम देश में कांग्रेस पक्ष को कोई आर्नोपटव पक्ष नहीं है। कोई प्रोग्रेसिव पक्ष नहीं होने की वजह से पार्टी-इन-पावर, सरकारी पक्ष को कुछ बुनियादी बातों पर गौर करना चाहिए। यदि हम देश में प्रजातन्त्र को निभाना है तो पार्टी इन पावर के लोगों को और ज्यादा जनरल होना चाहिए। आज केन्द्र में जिस पक्ष की सरकार है उसी पक्ष और उसी दल की सरकार आंध्र में है, तेलगाना में है और वही सरकार बगावत करती है। वही सरकार जनता को साथ लेकर यह माग कर रही है। उसी माग पर यदि हम गौर नहीं करते तो समझना चाहिये कि हम देश को एनार्किज्म की तरफ ले जा रहे हैं। फिर भी कोई दूसरा रास्ता नहीं रहेगा और दूसरी कोई आर्नोपटव पार्टी जो कांग्रेस को रिप्रेजेंट कर सके वह हमारे देश में नहीं है। ऐसी अवस्था में यह जो सिक्का मारा जाता है कि यह रिप्रेजेंटेशन मूवमेन्ट है, यह जनता का मूवमेन्ट नहीं है, उन भाइयों से मैं कहता हूँ कि आपने आंध्र में क्या किया, तेलगाना में क्या किया? वहाँ पर आकर कुछ कहते कि यह तो रि-

[श्री: जाकुंत घोटे]

एकशनरी मूवमेंट है। हाईकोर्ट वालों ने जो फैसला लिया है, जजेज काम पर नहीं जाते हैं वह सारे लोग तो इन्स्टेलेक्चुअल ह। कहेंगे कि इन्स्टेलेक्चुअल बुर्जुआ होते हैं। ऐसी परिभषा आ सकती है। तो मेरा कहना है कि ऐसी अवस्था में इस देश को एनार्किज्म की तरफ ही ले जाना होगा। इन बातों पर हमें गौर करना होगा। ऐसे मस्ती में ही चलता रहेगा तो स्थिति सुधरेगी नहीं। दो तीन जगहों पर बम मिले, कुछ बम के कारखाने निकले कुछ दलों पर आरोप लगाया गया कि जिसकी गहराई में मैं जाना नहीं चाहता हूँ। लोग चीखते हैं, चिल्लाते हैं और उसका जवाब हम गोलियों से, लाठियों से, डंडों से और संगीनों से देते हैं। तो फिर लोगों के सामने दूसरा रास्ता क्या है? अगर वह बम नहीं बनायेंगे, हाथ में हथियार नहीं लेंगे तो फिर क्या करेंगे?

इस देश में छोटे छोटे राज्यों का पुनर्गठन होना चाहिये। यह मांग राष्ट्रभक्ति की है, देश भक्ति की है। हमारे यहां फेडरल सिस्टम आफ गवर्नमेंट है। यदि यूनिटरी फार्म आफ गवर्नमेंट होती तो फिर छोटे छोटे प्रान्तों की जरूरत नहीं होती लेकिन जब फेडरल सिस्टम आफ गवर्नमेंट है तो हमारे देश में छोटे छोटे राज्यों का पुनर्गठन होना आवश्यक है, स्वाभाविक है। यह हमारे राष्ट्र की मांग है। यदि हम इसको स्वीकार नहीं किया तो इतिहास साक्षी है, प्रान्त केंद्र के खिलाफ बगावत कर सकते हैं। इस लिये इन्द्रीय शासन की मजबूती के लिये, इस देश और राष्ट्र की एकता के लिये भी छोटे छोटे राज्यों का पुनर्गठन होना चाहिये। ऐसा करना बहुत जरूरी है। छोटे छोटे राज्यों के पुनर्गठन पर विचार न करते हुये यदि कोई कहदे कि यह तो सेक्टेरियन मूवमेंट है, यह विघटनवाद है, यह विभक्तवाद है तो वह अनुचित होगा। यह ऐडमिनिस्ट्रेटिव स्माल यूनिट्स की जो मांग है वह देश की

मांग है। यह न तो सेक्टेरियन और न ऐन्टी-नेशनल है। यह देशभक्तों की मांग है :

छोटे छोटे राज्यों का पुनर्गठन करने से कई सावल हल हो सकते हैं। एक तो लोगोंकी आवाज जनता की आवाज शासनकर्ताओं तक पहुंचेगी। जब जनता की बुलन्द आवाज शासनकर्ताओं के कानों तक पहुंचेगी तो उसका काफी प्रभाव पड़ेगा। जब शासनकर्ताओं पर उसका प्रभाव पड़ेगा तो वह ज्यादा जिम्मेदार होंगे। राज्य सरकार जब जिम्मेदार होती है तो परिवर्तनशील बनती है। इसके अतिरिक्त लालफीताशाही बड़े राज्यों की तुलना में छोटे राज्यों में कम होती है। ब्यूरोक्रेसी की जो पकड़ है वह भी बड़े राज्यों की तुलना में छोटे राज्यों में कम होती है। प्रादेशिक समतोल विकास विशाल राज्यों में असम्भव है। रीजनल वैंजेन्स और इम्बैलेन्स की जो हम बात करते हैं उसको अर्थशास्त्र के दायरे में बिठाने की कोशिश की जाती है लेकिन उस वक्त हमें देखना चाहिये कि विशाल राज्यों में, खास तौर पर फेडरल सिस्टम आफ गवमेंट्स में प्रादेशिक विकास के लिये छोटे छोटे राज्यों का होना बहुत जरूरी होता है। आज देश की यह मांग है कि इस पर हमें गौर करना चाहिये। बड़े राज्यों के शासनकर्ता ज्यादा गैर-जिम्मेदार होते हैं। मिसाल के लिए हम देखते हैं महाराष्ट्र में वहां की राजधानी बम्बई में है। गोंदिया से बम्बई 600 मील दूर है। वहां के भूखे प्यासे आदमी, गरीब आदमी, लेण्डलेस लैबरर की आवाज बम्बई तक नहीं पहुंच सकती है। और न वह गरीब लोग बम्बई तक पहुंच सकते हैं। छोटे राज्य होने से जब राजधानी उसके दायरे में हो जाती है तो वहां के लोगों की आवाज का प्रभाव वहां के शासनकर्ताओं पर पड़ता है। इस दृष्टि से भी हमारे देश में छोटे-छोटे राज्य होने आवश्यक है। इस मांग पर विचार करने के अलावा हम आगे बढ़ते हैं और चाहते हैं कि जब तक वहां

पर शान्ति और भ्रमन नहीं होगा, आंध्र प्रदेश में तब तक हम बातचीत नहीं करेंगे और न कोई समझौता करेंगे। प्रजातंत्र के शासनकर्ता ऐसे नहीं हुआ करते हैं कि यदि शान्ति और भ्रमन नहीं होगा तो हम बात भी नहीं करेंगे यह कौन सी बात हुई ? तेलगाना का सवाल, आंध्र का सवाल, विर्ध का सवाल—इन सवालों पर हम गौर क्यों नहीं करते ? विदर्भ और तेलगाना की मांग एक जैसी है। एम० आर० सी० ने यानी फजल अली कमीशन न विदर्भ की मांग कबूल की, तेलगाना की मांग कबूल की। इसी सवाल पर विचार करने के लिए धर कमीशन बैठा था, उसने भी विदर्भ की मांग उठाई, तेलगाना की मांग उठाई। खाम तो पर इसी सवाल पर जे० बी० पी० कमीशन बैठा जिसकी रिपोर्ट आज दफ्तर में है। जवाहरलाल नेहरू, बल्लभभाई पटेल और पट्टाभि-सीतारमैया—इन तीनों की जो रिपोर्ट आई वह दफ्तर में है। उन्होंने विदर्भ की मांग उठाई। सैपरेट विदर्भ में तहा की जनता का कल्याण और उसका निर्माण करना चाहिये। ये सारी रिपोर्टें बहा मौजूद हैं उनके ऊपर गौर न करके सरकार राष्ट्रपति शासन लागू कर दे डंडे चलाती है, गोलिया चलाती है, इससे समस्या का हल नही होने वाला है।

आज हमारे सामने कई प्रश्न हैं, केवल आर्थिक प्रश्न ही नहीं है। इसलिये हर प्रश्न पर हर पहलू से विचार करने की आवश्यकता है। आज सौराष्ट्र का मामला है, महाकौशल है, कर्नाटक है, उत्तर खंड और दक्षिण खंड का मामला है, मध्य भारत का प्रश्न है, इन सबके ऊपर गौर करने के लिये क्यों नहीं हम दूसरा स्टेडस री-आगनाइजेशन कमीशन बैठाते। मैं विश्वास के साथ कह सकता हूँ कि आज अगर सरकार इस बात की घोषणा कर दे कि हम दूसरा कमीशन बैठा रहे हैं तो सारी अशान्ति खत्म हो जायेगी,

अन्यथा गोलिया से शान्ति नहीं आयेगी। अगर यहाँ सदन में आज प्रधान मंत्री कह दें कि हम एस० आर० सी० बना रहे हैं तो मामला शान्त हो जायेगा। गोली और डण्डों से शान्ति नहीं स्थापित की जा सकती। जिस पक्ष का शासन केन्द्र में है उसी का शासन आन्ध्र, तेलगाना और महाराष्ट्र में है, लेकिन बदकिस्मती हमारी यह है कि पार्टी इन पावर के लोगों से नहीं पूछा जाता कि उनकी क्या राय है। विदर्भ में यदि कांग्रेस वालों से पूछा जाय कि उनकी क्या राय है तो निश्चित रूप से कहेंगे कि विदर्भ प्रान्त बनना चाहिये। महाराष्ट्र में जितने मंत्री हैं, चीफ मिनिस्टर से लेकर कनिष्ठ मंत्री तक, उन सबने आवाज बुलन्द की थी कि विदर्भ बनना चाहिये, नागपुर विदर्भ की राजधानी होनी चाहिये। लेकिन उनको कुछ चन्द चादी के टुकड़े मिल गये इसलिये वे आज चुप हैं। सरकार का यह कहना कि वह जो कहती है वही जनतन्त्रीय है और जनता जो कहना चाहती है वह अप्रजातन्त्रीय है, यह उचित नहीं है। सरकार कहती है कि पहले आन्दोलन समाप्त करो तब हम बात करेंगे। क्या इस तरह जनता की भावनाओं को दबाया जा सकता है ? नहीं।

वियतनाम में निक्सन साहब ने, अमरीका ने जो कत्ले आम किया, उसका हम निषेध करते हैं, इजराइल के साथ अरब जिम डग से पेश आ रहे हैं वह भी हम देख रहे हैं और बंगलादेश में याहया खा ने, पाकिस्तान में जो नगा नाच किया उसका भी हम निषेध करते हैं। लेकिन मैं शासन से पूछना चाहता हूँ कि आन्ध्र और तेलगाना में जो आप कर रहे हैं, मासूम बच्चों को पीट रहे हैं, मार रहे हैं, उनके बुनियादी अधिकार छीन लिये हैं, क्या वह उचित है। यह कौन सा न्याय है ? आप डंडे के बल पर तानाशाही चला रहे हैं इससे काम नहीं चलेगा।

[श्री जांबुत घोड़े]

कहा जाता है कि जो इस आन्दोलन का समर्थन करते हैं वे रिप्रेजेंटेशनरी हैं, रिप्रेजेंटेशनरी मूवमेंट है। यह तो सैतान के मुँह में बाइबिल देने वाली बात है। मुझे याद है कि जब आजादी की लड़ाई चल रही थी और नेताजी सुभाष चन्द्र बोस आजाद हिन्द फौज लेकर भारत माता की मुक्ति के लिये आ रहे थे तो इसी देश के कुछ तत्वों ने कहा था कि नेताजी फासिस्ट हैं, उनके दलाल हैं। वही लोग आज कहते हैं कि आन्ध्रा का जन आन्दोलन रिप्रेजेंटेशनरी मूवमेंट है। कल माननीय इन्द्रजीत गुप्त जी ने अपने भाषण में आन्ध्र आन्दोलन को रिप्रेजेंटेशनरी कहा था। हम भी उनकी पार्टी के साथ रहे हैं, उनकी पार्टी जब हमारे साथ रहे तो वह प्रोप्रियस मूवमेंट हो जाता है। और उनकी पार्टी न हो कर अगर कोई दूसरी पार्टी हमारे साथ हो तो वह रिप्रेजेंटेशनरी मूवमेंट हो जाता है, यह ठीक नहीं है।

अन्त में मेरा यही निवेदन है कि स्टेट्स की रीआर्गेनाइजेशन कमीशन बनना चाहिये और उसको यह सवाल सौंपा जाय। यह बहुत जरूरी है। मैं नहीं कहूंगा कि श्रीमती, इन्दिरा गांधी को कोई गुमराह कर रहा है ऐसा कहना उनका अपमान है, क्योंकि वह स्वयं काफी बुद्धिमान हैं। लेकिन विदर्भ, तेलंगाना और आन्ध्र प्रदेश के सवाल पर ऐसा शक होता है कि कोई उनको गुमराह तो नहीं कर रहा है? यदि बाकई में कुछ लोग उनको गुमराह कर रहे हैं तो इस शक का निदान तेलंगाना, आंध्रा और विदर्भ का निर्माण करके किया जा सकता है। यदि आप स्वयं करना उचित न समझें तो एस० आर० सी० कायम करके उसको यह काम सौंप दिया जाय।

SHRI P. VENKATASUBBAIAH (Nandyal): Sir, I very well appreciate the feelings of my hon. friend, Shri Dhote, when he spoke about Vidarbha but I do not understand the

manner in which he has tried to defend violence, acts of vandalism and fascist methods that are perpetrated in Andhra Pradesh. I would like this House to consider the basic points that are involved in this situation. Now I am not going into the merits or demerits of separation of Andhra Pradesh into two parts. I want to deal with a problem that is confronting democracy in Andhra Pradesh. My sympathies go to those unfortunate people who have fallen victims to the firings and other acts of vandalism that have been perpetrated in Andhra. Many of them are innocent and they have been spurred to take to this path of vandalism and violence by certain unscrupulous elements, to further their personal or party interests. I plead with Government that their families should be adequately compensated. My sympathies are also with those unfortunate people who have been burnt alive. Public property has been destroyed. Private property has been looted. Arson and loot have been let loose. By whom? Not by the average Andhra or Telengana person who is no less patriotic than any other citizen of the country.

SHRI RAJAGOPALA RAO (Srikulam): You have ont said anything about molestation of women by C.R.P. (Interruptions).

SHRI P. VENKATASUBBAIAH: Andhra Pradesh has got a glorious history. The separate Andhra movement was started in 1913 even before the Father of the Nation thought of reorganising the Congress Committees on a linguistic basis. But every time there was a national interest, the people of Andhra have subordinated themselves to that bigger national interest. Though the separate Andhra Movement was started in 1913, they could get a separate State only in 1953. When the Simon Commission came to this country, it was the Andhra Kesari who bared the chest and faced the British bayonets. They could not get Andhra State then. Whereas the people of Orissa

and Sind got their own States. The same thing happened subsequently. Whenever the national interest comes, the people of Andhra Pradesh made glorious sacrifices for the cause of the nation. I am confident, even now, they will certainly bear in mind the national interest involved in this movement and rise to the occasion again and play their patriotic and rightful role in the national activities.

I want to ask Mr. Vajpayee: Who is sponsoring the movement there? There are the Senas, the para-military forces, that have been set up in Andhra Pradesh today. The National Flag is being burnt and Andhra flag is being hoisted. I ask my friends: Is this nationalism? Is it the intention of the agitators to lead a secessionist movement?

SHRI K. SURYANARAYANA (Eluru): So far, nobody has burnt the National Flag, not only the National Flag but even the Congress Flag, according to my knowledge. He has no right to say all these things because he has not visited that area so far.

SHRI P. VENKATASUBBAIAH: My hon. friend, Shri K. Suryanarayana, who swears by the Prime Minister for progressive policies, did not raise his voice to condemn the unprintable, the un-speakable, way in which the idol of the nation is being character-assassinated in Andhra Pradesh. I am still to hear my hon. friend.

The national forum should have a clear perspective of the matter. As I said in my opening remarks, the question is not about the separation of Andhra or Telangana. The question is whether parliamentary democracy should survive in this country or not. I want to ask my friends here whether they subscribe to this sort of anti-democratic, fascist and totalitarian methods to be adopted there. I will be one with them to plead for bifurcation of Andhra Pradesh if it is ascertained in a demo-

cratic and parliamentary manner. I am second to none in joining hands with my people to demand for a separation of Andhra and Telangana, if they genuinely feel for it, but not in this atmosphere surcharged with violence.

I may tell my friends that the depression of violence is now on the coast of Andhra and the weather forecast is that it is going towards Vidarbha, it is going towards Madhya Pradesh, it is going towards Mysore, it is going everywhere. This is the cyclone that is going to engulf us. If the leaders of the Opposition come up to the expectations of parliamentary democracy for which they profess day in and day out, they must join hands with all forces of democracy in this country.

First, you must help to bring normalcy in that part of the rife-stricken area of Andhra Pradesh. You must rise to the occasion. I know Mr. Piloo Mody will be laughing because he feels that it is a situation in which he can take advantage. I may tell Mr. Piloo Mody, "If you reap the wind, you are going to reap the whirlwind because the day will not be far off when you have to face it and succumb to this sort of a thing." I ask you: Have you ever seen, in recent events, that a party which has got a overwhelming majority in the State as well as at the Centre that they have imposed the President's Rule? They could have continued the Ministry. The Central Government knew fully well that tempers must cool down and that there should not be an impression created among the common people that the Government is acting in an arbitrary manner. They wanted to give full scope for the people to express themselves in a democratic manner.

If majority of the legislators express a desire that they want a particular thing to be done, I do not think any democratic Government will go against the wishes of the de-

[Shri P. Venkatasubbaiah]

mocratically elected people. In 1971, the Andhra Pradesh people, in a very unique manner, rallied round the Prime Minister under her progressive policies, and the entire 27 seats were captured by the Congress . . .

AN HON. MEMBER: The T.P.S. merged in 1972?

SHRI P. VENKATASUBBAIAH: There was T.P.S. in 1972 when the Assembly elections were fought, the Congress trounced the T.P.S., even in Telengana. This was the will which was demonstrated (Interruption) There was T.P.S. whether it was Satyanarayana Reddy or Viswanatha Reddy, I do not know.

Slogans of North and South were raised. I tell Mr. Vajpayee, slogans of secession were raised. A sort of colour was given as though it was a confrontation between North and South.

SHRI JAGANNATHRAO JOSHI (Shajapur): We never support that.

SHRI P. VENKATASUBBAIAH: You do not support when it does not suit you, you support when it suits you.

I ask my friend, Mr. Piloo Mody, whether he will subscribe to it.

SHRI PILOO MODY: Ask me any question you want.

SHRI P. VENKATASUBBAIAH: Please do not take my turn. Please wait for your turn.

SHRI PILOO MODY: You wanted to ask me something.

SHRI P. VENKATASUBBAIAH: The situation in that part of the country is very peculiar. It is the duty of every political party not to give room to this sort of fascist methods. I appeal to the DMK also because they have given up the idea of secession. I am not attributing motives. They felt that it was futile to preach for secession. They gave up that idea under their great Leader, Shri Annadorai. They know that they

have to play a very constructive role in the mainstream of national life. They knew it and therefore they gave up the idea of secession. I, therefore, ask my friends to help restore normalcy in Andhra Pradesh. After all, Andhra Pradesh is one of the biggest States, having a population of 4½ crores of people.

The President, in his Address, has made a significant observation. The President, himself being an eminent Andhra, is being respected by all sections of the people. This is what the President has said:

"The problem in that State has a long history."

He was associated with its movement for long. He knows that He has actively participated in it. He was the beacon light. He gave the guidance in all the national movements that have taken place in that part of the country. He fought against the feudal Raja, the Raja of Boobili. He did not even visit the place. His photograph was enough in 1937 to rally round him . . .

SHRI P. K. DEO (Kalahandi): In 1957 he lost.

SHRI P. VENKATASUBBAIAH: You are going to lose. Your days are coming to an end.

SHRI JAGANNATHRAO JOSHI: That was because of double member constituency (Interruptions)

SHRI P. VENKATASUBBAIAH: The President, in his Address, has further said:

"We view with grave anxiety the resort to violence in an attempt to settle this problem. Such violence is opposed to the basic values we cherish; it has resulted in the loss of valuable lives and extensive damage to public property."

In no unmistakable terms the President has clearly stated this even in

his previous broadcast speech. The Prime Minister also, in her appeals, has made it clear, that in a democracy no last word is said, there is every scope for consultations, that in a democratic manner all the issues can be settled but no issue can be settled on the streets. That is the clarion call given by the President.

What is happening in Andhra?...

SHRI PILOO MODY: How do you know? You have not been there.

SHRI P. VENKATASUBBAIAH: In Andhra Pradesh, we are struck with a great famine, especially, the Rayalaseema Districts. There are villages after villages without any drinking water. As a matter of fact, in this struggle, Rayalaseema has lost its identity. Nobody thinks of Rayalaseema. Telangana at least has some safeguards in the Constitution because the voice of Telangana has been raised from time to time in this House. So, it received the attention of the Government of India. But, what about Rayalaseema? It is worse than Telangana—I am telling you....

SHRI PILOO MODY: Are you preaching trifurcation?

SHRI P. VENKATASUBBAIAH: There is stark poverty in the Rayalaseema districts. No relief works have been undertaken. Not even irrigation projects were taken up. I have been voicing the feelings of those people. Not even a railway line has been put there. (Interruptions) A railway line which was surveyed in 1905 was not found feasible. They say that relying on the old records of 1905. The entire social and economic life has come to a standstill. Secunderabad and Hyderabad receive milk and rice from the Andhra area but they are denied. They say Telangana and Andhra Bhai Bhai. But they are denied. But, in the absence of it, what is being done? Lorries after lorries are being exported outside by vested interests which have got a stake in this agitation. Such anti-social activities are going on.

Are we to shut our eyes to this sort of anti-social, anti-national policies and activities to be indulged in by these people? I am asking you the question.

When Andhra was separated from Madras, we had our genuine grievances—the people of Rayalaseema. We said that we have got our apprehensions; we are a backward people, and our voice may be suppressed, and we want some assurance. A sort of gentlemen's assurance, the Sribagh Pact was arrived at. It was not a pact that was given a statutory status as was given to the assurances of the Telangana people. We wanted a gentleman's agreement. Leaders from both sides said that Rayalaseema's interests would be protected. We wanted the capital in Rayalaseema. Again, there was an uproar and agitation, led again by the same people who are leading the agitation now. We wanted Kurnool to be the capital. They said, 'Kurnool? No. It should be Bezvada'. But, there were patriotic elements, patriotic persons in the northern Circars who said, 'No, we must honour our commitments'. That is how Kurnool was chosen. The great Prakasam, the Andhra Kesari, said 'Kurnool is being chosen as a temporary capital because our aim is to go to Hyderabad—the Vishala Andhra'. The Vishala Andhra, the people's movement for Vishala Andhra—the Communist Party of India and other progressive parties organised the Vishala Andhra movement. . . (Interruptions) Hon'ble Member, Mr Joshi is forgetting the facts. His party was not there.

Time and again it is being said in this House that the people and leaders of Telangana never wanted an enlarged Andhra State. We are doing the greatest disservice to the memory of those revered leaders who worked and fought and gave up their lives for an enlarged State—Andhra Pitamaha Hanmanta Rao, Jamalapuram Keshava Rao, these are the names worth remembering, who

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fought for the enlarged State. Then, there is Ramakrishna Rao who gave up his Chief Ministership. He made the biggest sacrifice. He gave up his Chief Ministership for the sake of an enlarged State.

Sir, I want to pose some questions. We are not talking today about the viability of the bigger States or the larger States. We have to fight for a principle. It is often said that if the Hindi speaking people are having two or more States why not the Telugu people speaking the same language, why cannot they also have two or three States. These States have emerged out of a historical process. We came from Madras, that is, we the Telugu-speaking people, and again, we were joined with Telugu-speaking people and so this has a historical process and it was a historical fact.

As a matter of fact Sir, the seat of Telugu-speaking empire was in Telengana alone. It is the Kakatiyas of Warrangal who brought all the telugu regions under one umbrella. Now again all the Telugu speaking people were brought under one umbrella. It is a question of time. At one time, at the earlier stages, the Circar districts were ceded to the British. Afterwards Rayalaseema went and then the rest of the telugu-speaking people were in the Nizam State. My friend Mr. Rameswara Rao was the Maharaja of Vanaparathi, he does not know about this thing. Among the Kakatiyas of Warrangal, Rani Rudramma was an outstanding ruler, under whom the Telugu culture and language flourished.

Sir, the very name Telugu has been derived from 'Thrilinga'. I do not know how the word of Andhra has come about. If I were there at that time, at the time of the formation of Andhra Pradesh, I would have put the name Telugu Nadu. That would have been the best, the appropriate name for the Telugu speaking State. In Telugu State, Telugu became the casualty in that this has impaired the

formation of imotional integration. The Tamil Nadu Government gave a status and prestige to the language of Tamil. We failed to do that. That is why we are paying the penalty today.

The assurances given to the people of Telengana in the shape of Public Employment Act would have gone on smoothly and ended by 1974 had not it been for the calamitous judgement of the Supreme Court. Sir, I said on the 21st November last year while moving a Call Attention Motion in this House that we are afflicted by two calamities, one is a natural calamity and the other, man-made calamity that is, the supreme court judgment. It has given a very peculiar judgment. Again recently there was another judgment delivered by Justice Obula Reddi. He said that Telengana people are not Mulkis but people coming from outside and who have got residential qualification of 15 years are mulkis. My friend Mr. Satyanarayana Rao and Rameswara Rao are not Mulkis according to this judgement but my friend Mr. S. B. P. Pattabirama Rao is a Mulki. So, a funny situation has arisen out of the judgment. Are we to go by such judgments which are not at all related to the actual state of affairs? That is why, to remove this anomaly, Parliament came with this Mulki Act. It was the PM's formula. Prime Minister's formula was not imposed on the leaders, but they themselves wanted it. After due deliberation when they failed to come to an agreement the formula was found out. Some of the separatist leaders are my good friends. They went to Vijayawada as integrationists and returned as separatists. Even one hour before the meeting, Mr. B. V. Subba Rao spoke of integration in an Advocates meeting. When he attended the other meeting he said, I stand for separation. At 3. O' clock he was an integrationist and 4 O' clock he became a separatist. He said: I stand for separation, this is what had happened.

The reason for my putting forward this point is that the situation was manipulated in that manner. What was the reason and what was the magic that happened within two hours as a result of which Mr. Subba Reddi who stood for integration started standing for separation and the other leaders who stood for integration turned over to separation?

SHRI T. BALAKRISHNIAH (Tirupathi): He has not understood the great difference between separation and bifurcation. We are not asking for separation but we are asking for bifurcation. (*Interruptions*).

SHRI P. VENKATASUBBAH: Let us face all these facts squarely. I would appeal to my hon. friends, and I would appeal to Shri K. Suryanarayana also. He himself said that he tried his best and he could not do it. But I would make this request to him. Let us sit across and discuss all the problems. There are various problems, for instance, the problems of my area which I would like to put forward. There are these neglected areas. What is going to happen to Rayalaseema? All these aspects have to be discussed. (*Interruptions*). I would like to tell my hon. friends that they cannot cow me down with all sorts of threats. I have got great respect for my hon. friend who is holding a different view, but he must also appreciate my views. Just as a respect his views, he must also appreciate and respect my views. That is my democracy. My complaint is that they are trying to throttle democracy.

SHRI K. SURYANARAYANA: No, Sir.

SHRI P. VENKATASUBBAH: My complaint against my hon. friends is only this that they are not respecting my views. Whatever view I may have, even if I come to the absurd position of agreeing with Shri Piloo Mody, I must have the right to hold whatever view I feel is correct. In a democracy, one should have free-

dom to hold views even if they are diametrically opposite to those of another. That is the kind of situation that has to be created. I would appeal to all these friends to eschew violence.

Andhra occupies a unique position. It is the link between the north and the south. But today the south is cut off from the north and communications have been cut off. For whose sake? If railway property is destroyed, if crores and crores worth of property are destroyed, it is public property and it is our property which is destroyed.

SHRI M. RAM GOPAL REDDY: (Nizamabad): Only one per cent of the people do that.

SHRI JAGANNATHRAO JOSHI: For that, they imposed President's rule, but even with all their police and military, they have not been able to deal with that one per cent.

SHRI M. RAM GOPAL REDDY: Only one man was enough to kill Mahatma Gandhi. My hon. friend knows the history.

SHRI P. VENKATASUBBAH: We have to play a very key role. We have got sixty Members of Parliament from Andhra Pradesh, and so Andhra Pradesh is a big political force. If the majority of my friends do not want integration, let us separate; but let us separate as friends and not in rancour. Let us separate without any cries of confrontation and without raising the slogans of north versus south. These are dangerous trends. This may not stop with bifurcation; it may even go to trifurcation. We have to be ready for all these things.

I tell my friends this; we have to uphold the dignity of Parliament, we have to preserve democratic values and fight it out in a democratic manner. I am second to none in asserting that in a democracy it is the will

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of the majority that should prevail, and it shall prevail. I ask my friends instead of creating complications, instead of allowing themselves to be played into the hands of the vested interests, instead of bringing the entire economic and social life of Andhra to a standstill, let them go and work for bringing about normalcy. Poor people are suffering. Rs 28 crores were given to Andhra whereas Rs 75 crores were given to Maharashtra.

SHRI PILOO MODY And Rs 5 crores to Gujarat

SHRI P VENKATASUBBAIAH But the Rs 28 crores were not spent. People are groaning in poverty, backwardness and famine. We have to help these people. It is the downtrodden, dumb millions who are suffering. We should not make them a fodder to suit our political ends.

SHRI PILOO MODY Only Andhra Congress is suffering, nobody else.

SHRI G VISWANATHAN (Wandiwash) Mr Deputy-Speaker, I will restrict my remarks to Andhra Pradesh. Normally I would not have spoken on this, but I will do so to put the record straight, leaving the rest of the subjects to be dealt with by my leader.

As the President has rightly put it, the problem in Andhra has a long history. It has not suddenly sprung up. It has been there for a long time, from 1956. The situation prevailing in Andhra is very grave. All of us are concerned and, as Shri Venkatasubbaiah put it, all the people from the south are feeling it every minute because the entire south is cut off from the north. That was why the DMK Party and our Chief Minister appealed to the Central Government to immediately find a solution and restore normalcy in Andhra Pradesh and see that bloodshed is immediately stopped.

This was the purpose of visit to some districts of Andhra. But unfortunately, some of the vested interests saw a ghost in my visit and made all sorts of false propaganda.

The movement for bifurcation or division is a mass movement. All sections of society are participating in it. Whether they are teachers, students, gazetted officers or non-gazetted officers, whether they are doctors, lawyers, engineers or ladies—all sections of society are participating in it, irrespective of caste, creed or religion.

Yesterday, I was listening to the speeches of some communist leaders this side and ex-communists on the under side who are now sitting with Congressmen. It was nothing but a repetition of the same thing that this movement is run by vested interests and all are reactionaries. I want to ask them who are the reactionaries and who are the vested interests who are leading the movement in Andhra, yesterday it was sought to be made out that it was only a small handful of people who were running the agitation and it is against the backward people and Harijans. I have been some of the memoranda which I received. One is a memorandum from the Bar Association, Guntur, then there is one from the Muslim population of Guntur. Then there is one from the students from the SRS Government College, Puttur. There is one from the Andhra NGO's Association, Chittoor District, then there is one from the Andhra Teachers' Association. Again there is a memorandum from the Puttur Town Congress Committee—of course the ruling Congress. Here is another from the Andhra Medical Officers' Association, then one from the Tenali Bar Association. Another is by the Andhra Sena, Nellore district Students action committee.

SHRI M RAM GOPAL REDDY: Only one Sena is there.

16.00 hrs.

SHRI G. VISWANATHAN: It is led by his leader, Shri N. G. Ranga.

Then there is a memorandum from the Jai Andhra Mahila Mandal, Eluru, West Godavari district. This is the memorandum from the NGOs of Puthur. Again, this is from the teaching staff of Sri Venkateswara University, Tirupathi. This is from the Town Congress Committee, Tirupathi. (*Interruption*).

SHRI PILOO MODY: Here are the rest.

SHRI G. VISWANATHAN: I will have them too! Now, I want to ask the people who say that this is a movement of vested interests, are all these people vested interests—students, teachers, NGOs, lawyers and doctors. Are all these people vested interests? They said that these are divisive and disruptionist and separatist forces. Let me read from a newspaper which has very great following on that side and this side, *Patriot*. It says who are the vested interests. I wanted to find out. Here is the answer. It is today's *Patriot*. The caption is "Stripped off powers." It says, "Above all, the induction of P. V. Narasimha Rao, a Brahmin, as Chief Minister could not be stomachied by the two powerful communities of Andhra, Reddies and Khammas." Now, who wanted to divide the people on communal lines? Is it not these vested interests that are working behind these things, whether it is from the All-India Radio or newspapers or magazines, these are the vested interests who are working against the mass movement. It is the vested interests who work to quell the mass movement. It is the tyranny of a minority of a handful of persons over the mass movement of the people in Andhra and these are the vested interests. Is it a sin to be born in the Khamma community or the Reddy community?

Are the Khammas and Reddies reactionaries? If this is the definition, what is Mr. Raghu Ramaiah? Is he a reactionary? He is a Khamma. What is Mr. Raghunatha Reddy? He is a Reddy. Is he a reactionary? So long as they are with the people of the Moscow Congress, they are all socialists; all progressive people. Once they go out of it they are reactionaries! That is what I say. Subba Reddy is a reactionary now. But in the month of December he was a socialist. And these 85 MLS of the Andhra region and the 50 or 55 MLAs of the Telengana region were all socialists in the month of December till they resigned, till President's rule was imposed. Once these ministers resigned, they were dubbed as reactionaries. I do not know who is having this magic wand which can convert the social-socialists into reactionaries and the reactionaries into socialists within a minute or so. Shri Indrajit Gupta is having it and he is supplying it often to some of the Congressmen who are all ex-communists. This is the situation in Andhra Pradesh and these people say all the vested interests are doing it. It is not the vested interests; it is this vested interest which wants that militant agitation should die down and the agitators should be driven out, and we are doing all sorts of false propaganda.

SHRI AMRIT NAHATA (Barmer): How about MGR?

SHRI G. VISWANATHAN: If you want to speak, I will stop.

SHRI AMRIT NAHATA: How about MGR?

SHRI G. VISWANATHAN: He is your puppet. (*Interruptions*). They say that this movement was against the Harijans. Let them find out. This is not a movement against the Harijans, or the backward classes. If it is so, who wanted Narasimha Rao to be the Chief Minister? If the Central Government wanted, if the

[Shri G. Vishwanathan]

Prime Minister wanted a really backward class man to lead Andhra Pradesh, that a Scheduled Caste man should lead Andhra Pradesh, why did they choose Narasimha Rao? She should have selected one Muniswamy who resigned. You should have select Subba Rao who was the first Harijan to resign from Cabinet when Subba Reddy and other colleagues were considering to resign or not. A Harijan was the first gentleman to resign from Narasimha Rao's Cabinet. This is not a movement against the Harijans. The Harijans are backing this movement.

The majority of MPs and MLAs are in favour of a re-division or bifurcation. But when these people, want some of them who really want integration like Mr. Venkatasubbaiah, I can understand it. But he did not say so. I was trying to find out whether he supports separation or integration. Till the end I was not able to understand his speech. Most of them are staying in Hyderabad or in Delhi. I want them to go back (An Hon. Member: To Vijayawada?) I am serious; if they feel the movement is misguided and that people are misguided, let them go back and convince people or let them join the movement. This blood-shed cannot continue, let us put an end to it. The CRF and the Army had been despatched to all the 12 districts of Andhra. All the educational institutions are closed. They are occupied by the CRP and the Army. No office is functioning. Even the Collectors and DSPs are sitting in their houses and doing their work. The Gazetted officers have struck work. The colleges are closed and if they want to open them they have to send CRP first and then only the students have to come in. Sales-tax, motor vehicles tax and other commercial taxes cannot be collected and not even this mighty Government of India is able to collect income tax. Where is your

Government in Andhra? It is paralysed.

If you listen to the Vijayawada and Hyderabad Radio stations they will say that normalcy has been restored. On the 19th I heard, when there was a bandh in Telegana and in Andhra when 3.5 crores of people of Andhra and 2 crores of people of Telengana observed a bandh the radio said that a few shops were closed and the RTC buses were plying in Vijayawada. All the papers say that no buses were plying but the radio says that the buses were plying.

SHRI PILOO MODY: I did not get a cup of coffee in 200 miles of travel. Everything was closed.

SHRI G. VISWANATHAN: That is why the angry people of Andhra call the Akashvani as abadhalanvani or avakanavanani meaning thereby it is an opportunist Radio and speaks lies.

Narasimha Rao's Ministry was dismissed. Nobody shed tears. The President's rule was imposed. Mr. Venkatasubbaiah referred to it. Who wanted to change the leadership there? Who said that Narasimha Rao should be dismissed and somebody else should come? It was their own creation. When Mr. Nehru was there he wanted good people and strong people to lead the State. Now the entire thing was put in reverse gear when Madam became Prime Minister. She wanted light weights and people with no following and no grass roots to lead the Government and she nominated such people as Chief Ministers so that they could be easily dominated and powers would come to the Centre. That is why Narasimha Rao has to come to Delhi every week and to consult the Prime Minister even on small matters. For declaring a holiday he had to come to Delhi. (Interruptions)

When the police fired on people so many people were killed. More than 200 persons are dead. But the official figures say only 60. Not even a single

judicial enquiry has been declared. Why do not order judicial enquiries at least in some sample cases? When people die as a result of police firing even the dead bodies are not handed over to the relatives. Any Government will pay some ex-gratia payment to the relatives of the dead when they die as a result of police firing. This morning during the question hour I was here and there was a question on compensation for the loss of properties. For cattle, mules, pigs, and camels which were lost in Kashmir ex-gratia payments were made. I want to ask the Government of India one question when human beings are dead when they lose their relatives, cannot we pay something to them? On the other hand whom are they paying? There are some people who got compensation from the Government. An integrationist M.L.A. Shrimati Sarojini Bai got Rs. 56,000 by way of compensation. What did she lose? She lost a few chairs and some furniture.

Shri Prabhakar Rao, another Congress integrationist MLA was paid Rs. 26,000. The junior partners also must have their share of the booty. The CPI Group leader, Shri Sri Krishna got Rs. 15,000. The poor tax-payer's money is given as a bribe like this, though it is called compensation. Do you want another Narasimaha Rao to lead Ministry there?

About the CRP's atrocities, one must go to the people there and hear them. Mr. Piloo Mody pointed out that there were 140 cases of atrocities in just 3 days in Vijayawada. CRP broke open. They were beaten. The houses of many advocates were broken open. They were beaten, dragged to the streets and made to sweep the streets. There are many cases of thefts of cycles, transistors and watches by CRP. I can give the addresses of the people who have complained. This is the first time we hear that CRP is stealing. One Jivarathnam, a constable in the RPF, was beaten up by the CRP after he

identified himself as a constable of the RPF.

In yesterday's *Hindu* it is said—this news is from Cuddapah—

"In a surprise move, the Border Security Force today took virtual control of the building of the Cuddapah District NGO's Home here and took steps to prevent NGOs and others from entering the building.

The Superintendent of Police, Mr. S. C. Dwivedi, when asked said that the building was taken over under orders from the District Collector and Magistrate by the Border Security Force in his presence and it was the District Collector who could say under what provisions of the Defence of India Rules it was ordered to 'be taken over.'

Under what rules are you doing this? The law of the jungle is prevailing in Andhra. What is the job of BSF in Cuddapah? Are they protecting the borders from Mysore, from Mr. Lakkapah? They should have been in Ladakh and in the borders of Rajasthan and Punjab. This is how Government is misusing the forces. They want to suppress this mass movement.

The Circar Districts are blamed. Yesterday Mr. Indrajit Gupta was blaming them. I do not know what is wrong in being born in the fertile Circar districts through which Krishna and Godavari are flowing. My friend Mr. Maran comes from Tanjore district, which is a fertile district. What is wrong about it? The people there feel they have grievances, even though you may say, they have no grievances at all. You have a round table conference, talk to them and solve the problem. The Circar districts cannot even get soda water bottles. Soda water is banned. For the first time, the mighty Govern-

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ment of India is shaking before soda water bottles. It has been banned because they say, people are using it against the CRP. But who was the first person to use the soda water bottle against peaceful agitators? It was an ex-Minister, Shri Venkata Anam Reddy. He put gramophone needles in soda water bottles and threw them on the peaceful agitators in Nellore injuring a hundred people. Mr. Narasimha Rao, the then Chief Minister, called him to Hyderabad, garlanded him, called him Andhra Kishore and made him a Minister. Of course, he remained as Minister just for two days and the ministry was dismissed. All these things are happening because of the blunders that the Government of India are committing one after another. When this Mulki Rules Bill was brought before this House, speaking on behalf of the DMK, I demanded that the Bill be referred to a Select Committee

Let all the elements, all the interests, in Andhra and Telengana areas be consulted; let us find out a compromise formula, a consensus, of Andhra and Telengana regions and then pass the Bill. But what did the people do? They wanted to rush through everything. The 5-point formula was announced by the Prime Minister; in the evening, the Cabinet had to ratify it. The Andhra gentlemen wanted to have their own consultations. Mr. Narasimha Rao said, "Go to the *varandah* and finish your consultations." They also finished their consultations. Finally, they said that everything is all right. They thought that 5-point formula will be a panacea for all the ills.

Those days are gone. Now, 85 Congress MLAs have resigned; 21 MPs from Andhra and Telengana have given their resignations. You neither accept the resignations nor you talk to the leaders. You call them reactionaries. You pump in money to see that the movement is defeated. Is that going to solve the problem? No. If you really want to stop the blood-shed, to stop the atrocities of

C.R.P. and vandalism and violence of which Mr. P. Venkatasubbiah spoke, you must have a round-table conference of all the elements put together, of all the leaders, and solve the problem.

SHRI PILOO MODY: First withdraw the C.R.P.

SHRI G. VISWANATHAN: Not only that. There is indiscriminate use of the Maintenance of Internal Security Act. Thousands of people are being arrested under the Act. D. M. K. Secretary, Shri T. Siva Pranada Rao, has been arrested. The police are foisting false charges. During our Assembly elections in Pennur, Mr. Gangadar Rao was our candidate and he has been arrested and charged under Section 307 I.P.C., attempt to murder. I asked what is the crime he has committed. They said, he led a procession to the house of one of our colleagues, an M.P., Mr. Ankineedu Prasada Rao. Now, he is facing charges under Section 307 I.P.C.

This is what is going on in Andhra Pradesh. If they still feel that the real issue is not the division or the bifurcation of Andhra Pradesh, that the people are not behind this movement, let them find it out. There are four vacancies in the Assembly, two in Chittoor district and two in Krishna district. Let them have Assembly elections and find out the pulse of the people. If they do not like it, let them have an Opinion Poll on the question of the bifurcation of Andhra Pradesh and let them prove to the world that the people are not behind this movement. I am sure, 99 per cent of the people will vote for the bifurcation of Andhra Pradesh. That is what I could gauge from the feelings of the people there when I visited those areas.

Let them allow the Assembly to meet and decide it. Let the elected representatives from Andhra and Telengana come to Hyderabad and take a decision about the future of

the State. Otherwise, the only alternative will be to dissolve the Assembly and have fresh elections to the Assembly. Let the people give their mandate. If they want bifurcation, let them vote for candidates who want separation. Let the people be given a chance to decide their future.

I want that the police repression should be stopped immediately. All those arrested under the Maintenance of Internal Security Act be released. When this Bill was brought before the House, the Government gave an assurance that it was not be used against political opponents. But they are making indiscriminate use of the Act. All the political opponents are being arrested under the Act. They should be released immediately.

Before I conclude, I would like to say that it is not a new problem. Even earlier, when the Telengana people were asked whether they would join Andhra, the then leader M. J. V. Narasing Rao said in 1956—I quote:

"Any forced merger was bound to result in perpetual conflict."

This is what he said in 1956. We now find a perpetual conflict.

We are not for vandalism and violence. In fact, our late revered leader Anna said that any political movement, any political party, should eschew violence. But we must have the normalcy restored first. The Central Government must take the initiative. The ball is in the court of the Central Government. By calling it an agitation of vested interests, by calling it an agitation of reactionary forces, you are instigating the agitation. You are not going to stop the agitation that way. It is insulting the people of Andhra Pradesh. Already, the Andhra people are infuriated and very angry people. Normally, they are docile people. Once they are irritated, it is very difficult to stop them.

Let me quote a Telugu proverb:

Dharmaja Alugane Alugadu
Aliginawani Edirinchi Waru Ledu

I tell the Government of India that once they irritate them, it is very difficult to stop them. They have to go and talk to the people to find out a solution.

श्री ए० के० ए० भगत (पूर्व दिल्ली) :
उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, पिछले कुछ दिनों से विपक्ष के कुछ दलों में अचानक आन्ध्र प्रदेश के लोगों के लिए बड़ी भारी हमदर्दी और महानुभूति पैदा हो गई है। आज इस नई लोक सभा को आए हुए करीब दो साल हो चले, इन दो सालों में मैंने कभी भी जो देता आज आन्ध्र की जनता के पक्ष में विपक्ष में बैठे हुए बोल रहे हैं इनको आन्ध्र की जनता और उनके जो प्रश्न हैं या उनकी जो मांग हैं या इच्छा है उसके बारे में कभी बोलते हुए नहीं सुना और इस सप्ताह में एकदम उनके दिल में हमदर्दी का समुद्र इतना इकट्ठा हो गया है कि उसमें पीलू मोदी, चावड़ा, जोशी, सब भिन्न कर बहने लग गए हैं। श्री डी. एम. के. के प्रतिनिधि बहुत जोर से आन्ध्र के लोगों की हमदर्दी में बोलें। मैं पूछता हूँ कि आन्ध्र प्रदेश किस के साथ था मद्रास के साथ था? जब मद्रास से अलग हुआ, तो आन्ध्र के लोगों ने कहा कि मद्रास से अलग करो, तो आपने उम समय क्या कहा था और क्या दलील दी थी? यह तो पुराने इतिहास की बात है। मैं उनको एक नई बात याद दिलाना चाहता हूँ और उनके पास जवाब हो तो दें। श्री जब किसानों का एजेंटेशन तामिलनाडू में हुआ और मुझे वहाँ जाने का मौका मिला, वहाँ आन्ध्र प्रदेश की औरिजिन के जो लोग थे, जो तामिलनाडू में नीकर हैं, उनके मकानों और दुकानों पर हमले किए गए दुकानें लूटी गईं, उनको परेशान किया गया, महीनों तक उनकी शिकायत पर कोई केस

[श्री एच० के० एल० भगत]

तामिलनाडु की सरकार ने रजिस्टर नहीं किया। अभी वह कुछ कानून की बात हमको पढ़ा रहे थे। डी० एम० के० के प्रतिनिधि कह रहे थे कि कानून क्या कर रहा है। मैं बतलाना चाहता हूँ, उनमें हिम्मत हो तो कन्ट्रिब्यूट करें कि जिन दिनों में एजिटेशन हुआ तो कुछ लोगों पर कुछ धारायें लगाई, आई० पी० सी० की धारायें अलग लगाई, रेलवे की धारा अलग लगाई, और इल्जाम लगाया कि इस इलाके के लोगों ने रेलवे को नुकसान पहुंचाना चाहा जबकि वहाँ रेलवे लाइन है ही नहीं। यह खबर अखबारों में आई और इन्होंने उसको कन्ट्रिब्यूट नहीं किया। दर्जनों केस इस तरह के रजिस्टर किए गए।

अभी वह आन्ध्र की बात कह रहे थे। मैं पूछता हूँ कि उनके अपने स्टेट में जब लाखों लोग खड़े होकर उनके खिलाफ बोलते हैं, उनकी सरकार के डिस्मिसल की मांग करते हैं तो उस समय आप कहते हैं कि हमारा स्टेट नार्मल है। पड़ोस के घर में लगी आग में नेल डालकर उसको भड़काना आसान है। अपने घर में आग लगे तब पता लगे। आन्ध्र प्रदेश अलग हो या न हो यह एक महत्वपूर्ण सवाल है। राष्ट्रपति जी ने उसके ऊपर कहा है, उसके ऊपर बातचीत होनी चाहिए। लेकिन उससे भी बड़ा महत्वपूर्ण सवाल है कि आया इस देश में जो हिंसा हो रही है, रैलों रोकती जा रही हैं, पटरियां उखाड़ी जा रही हैं, पोस्ट आफिसिज पर हमले किए जा रहे हैं, लोगों को पकड़कर मारा जा रहा है, खुलमखुला वहाँ पर बायलेंस का इस्तेमाल होता है, प्रजातन्त्र के अन्दर बैठे हुए ये सब दल यह कहते हैं कि हमारा प्रजातन्त्र में विश्वास है, मैं उनसे जानना चाहता हूँ इन विपक्ष दल के नेताओं ने इस सदन में खड़े होकर जिसमें उन्होंने संविधान की कसम खाई है, कभी इस बायलेंस की, इस आलेसनेस की उन्होंने निन्दा की या नहीं की? एक

शब्द उन्होंने निन्दा के नहीं कहे। शक्ति उस बायलेंस को इन्साइट करने के लिए, उनको भड़काने के लिए, उसे जना पैदा करने के लिए, समस्या को कम्प्लीकेट करने के लिए काम किया। आन्ध्र के लोगों से आपको हमदर्दी नहीं है। यह आन्ध्र के लोग भी जानते हैं।

अभी एक पत्रकार से मेरी बात हो रही थी। मैंने कहा कि ये अपोजीशन के लोग इन बातों से फायदा उठाना चाहते हैं। उन्होंने कहा कि जनता इसको समझती है। कल आन्ध्र प्रदेश अलग हो गया तो एकदम से इनको कोई नहीं पूछेगा, फिर कांग्रेस वहाँ पर आ जाएगी।

सवाल सीधा है—आज सवेरे इस हाउस के अन्दर खुलमखुल्ला जिस तरह की बातें हुई, पहले भी होती रहीं हैं, डेमोक्रेसी के नाम पर कुठाराघात किया जाता है, खुलमखुल्ला देश की जनता को भड़काने के लिए, ला-लेस-नेस क्रियेट करने के लिए हवा पैदा की जाती है। कुछ दिन पहले मैंने वाजपेयी जी का एक भाषण पढ़ा, जो उन्होंने कानपुर संशन में दिया था। उसमें उन्होंने कहा था—हम हर तरीके से, हर मुहाज पर, हर प्रकार से, पूरी शक्ति से प्रधान मन्त्री के खिलाफ संघर्ष करेंगे, जंग करेंगे। उन्होंने अपने कार्यकर्ताओं को कहा—तुम्हारा एक पांव रेल में और एक पांव जेल में होना चाहिए—यह नारा उन्होंने दिया मुझे पता नहीं रेल और जेल को उन्होंने कैसे जोड़ा। रेल से तो वह जेल में जाता है जो बिना टिकट चलता है या रेल का रूल् चोरी करता है, या कोयला उठा लेता है या रेल को धाग लगाता है, उसको रोकता है, उसके धागे लैट जाता है। उनका सीधा मकसद यह था कि कार्यकर्ताओं को तुम जाओ और देश की जनता को भड़काओ उसको कानून के खिलाफ उकसाओ और देश में ऐसी स्थिति पैदा कर दो कि राज्य-पाज को काम चलाना मुश्किल हो जाए। मुझे

बाजपेयी जी से हमदर्दी भी है—उस समय मधोक जब शायद वहाँ बैठे हुए नहीं थे, लेकिन उन्होंने भूत जलूर उनके दिमाग पर सवार था। उन्होंने भाषण दिया और उसको पूरा करने की कोशिश देश में की जा रही है।

अभी छोटे जी ने भाषण दिया—उन्होंने दुःख प्रकट किया कि आज कांग्रेस का कोई बदल देश में नहीं है। उन्होंने कांग्रेस को कुछ कांग्रेस को सलाह भी दी, कुछ प्रधान मन्त्री को भी सलाह दी। जो दुःख उन्होंने प्रकट किया, उमसे मझे हमदर्दी है, लेकिन वह जरा गहराई से मांके आखिर इन 25 वर्षों में—यह बड़ा महत्वपूर्ण प्रश्न है—कांग्रेस का बदल देश में कोई एक दल या यूनन से दल मिल कर क्यों नहीं बना सके? इसलिए नहीं बना सके कि आपने कांग्रेस के बदले न तो देश का कोई अच्छा संतुल्य दिया, न कोई नीतियां दी, न कार्यक्रम देने की कोशिश की और न जनता में विश्वास पैदा किया ताकि कांग्रेस को बदला जा सके। आपने विरोध को विरोध की खातिर किया। मैंने एक अपोजीशन के मेम्बर से पूछा, मैं उनका नाम नहीं लूंगा, आप ऐसा क्यों कर रहे हैं? उन्होंने जबाब दिया कि हम क्या करे, और कोई काम नहीं है, इस लिए आज लगाएंगे, जनता को भड़कायेंगे। याद रखिए जनता इस तरह से आप के साथ नहीं आएगी।

कहा जाता है कि सेंटर ज्यादा पावरफुल है, सेंटर का इन्टरफियरेंस ज्यादा होता है, सेंटर-स्टेट रिलेशन्स को दोबारा देखा जाए—दूसरी तरफ कहते हैं कि छोटी छोटी स्टेट्स शानभो ताकि सेंटर ज्यादा मजबूत हो, सेंटर को मजबूत करने के लिए छोटी छोटी स्टेट्स का नारा दिया जाता है—ताज्जुब की बात है न तो छोटी स्टेट्स से हमदर्दी है, न ग्रान्ध के लोगों से हमदर्दी है, इन बातों से जनता आपकी तरफ नहीं आएगी। याद रखिए — जनता उनके साथ नहीं आएगी जो आज लगाने

वाले हैं, जनता उनके साथ जाती है जो प्राग में जलकर मरने वाले होते हैं, जो उसूलों के लिए लड़ाई करते हैं, अपनी राय पक्की रखने हैं, अपनी राय पर कायम रहने हैं। जनसंघ ने पहले क्या कहा और आज क्या कह रहा है? एकदम से जनसंघ की राय पलट गई। लेकिन मैं महसूस करता हूँ कि अब समय आ गया है कि सरकार गम्भीरता से इस सवाल पर विचार करे और मैं मांग करता हूँ कि सरकार एक कमीशन बनाए—हार दी प्रीबेन्शन आफ इन्साइडमेंट आफ वायलेन्स बाई पब्लिक अगेंनाइजेशन एण्ड पब्लिक मेन। यह एक स्पेसियल कमीशन होना चाहिए। अगर कोई पब्लिक मेन, चुनाव हुआ नुमाइन्दा किमी भी पार्टी का हो, कांग्रेस का हो, विपक्षी दल का हो, अगर वह अपने एकशन में जनता को इन्साइड करना है वायलेन्स के लिए, तो कमीशन उसको नोटिस दे, उमने खिलाफ कार्यवाही करे।

उमके एविडेन्स को अगर वायलेन्स के लिए जिम्मेदार ममझा जाये तो कमीशन की सिफारिश पर राष्ट्रपति को पावर हो कि उस दल को डीरिक्नाइज कर दे और उस दल से चुने हुए सदस्य को पार्लियमेंट से बाहर कर दे। यदि डेमोक्रेसी की रक्षा करनी है तो इस तरह की बात होनी चाहिए। आज तो लालेसर्जिस का खुल्लम-खुल्ला प्रचार किया जा रहा है। विपक्षी दल के कुछ हमारे लायक दोस्त लड़ाई चुनाव में हारे तो आज उमको वह गलियों में ले जाना चाहते हैं। हम स्ट्रीट्स में लड़ाई को ले जाने के हक में नहीं हैं। हमारा विश्वास प्रजातन्त्र पर है, हमारा विश्वास कानून पर है। मैं विपक्ष के अपने लायक दोस्तों को चेतावनी देना चाहता हूँ कि पहले भी आपने गलत भ्रन्दाखे लगाए हैं। मूट्ठी भर लोगों को आपने देश समझा है, देश की जनता समझा है लेकिन आपके भ्रन्दाखे गलत हुए हैं। आज फिर आप मिसकैल्कुलेट कर रहे हैं इस देश की जनता को, उसके मिजाज को। इसलिए मैं

(श्री एच० के० एल० भगत)

चेतावनी देना चाहता हूँ, कोई धमकी नहीं दे रहा हूँ, अगर हमने देश की जनता को पुकार कर कहा, कांग्रेस ने कहा कि इन्स्पैसिबिल लोग अपोजीशन पार्टीज में हैं तो मैं जिम्मेदारों से कहता हूँ कि उनको रेस्पासिबिल करने के लिए जनता सोचेंगी। आप हमको कह रहे हैं कि हैदराबाद जाकर दिखाओ, मैं कहता हूँ आप दिल्ली में नहीं आ पायेंगे (व्यवधान)

श्री पीलू मोदी को नदी मालूम है कि जनता किसके साथ है। मैं उनका चाहता हूँ कि आंध्र प्रदेश का हल शान्ति के वातावरण में होना चाहिए। मुझे अफसोस है कि विपक्षी दल के एक नेता ने भी यह नहीं कहा कि मैं रेल उखाड़ने की निन्दा करता हूँ, पोस्ट आफिस पर हमले की निन्दा करता हूँ। आज वहाँ पर लाखों लोग बेरोजगार हो रहे हैं और उनकी मुसीबत में आप हस रहे हैं, मुस्करा रहे हैं। इसलिये इसका हल शान्ति के वातावरण में निकलना चाहिए। हमारे राष्ट्रपति जी न और प्रधान मन्त्री जी ने इस बात को कहा भी है।

दो एक बातें और कह कर मैं समाप्त कर दगा। यहाँ पर इस बात की चर्चा हुई पहले भाषणों में कि देश में बड़ी बेचैनी है। कई कारणों से लागो में बेचैनी है इससे कोई इनकार नहीं करना। लेकिन मैं जानना चाहता हूँ कि कुछ विपक्षी दल जो हैं वह क्या इस देश में जो बेचैनी है उससे बेबेचन हैं या खुश हैं? उस बेचैनी से उनको कोई बेचैनी नहीं है बल्कि बेचैनी को और बढ़ा देने के लिए बेचैन हैं। बेचैनता को और बेचैन करना चाहते हैं। बसवाल का कोई हल नहीं निकालना चाहते। उनका कहना है कि सरकार ने यह नहीं किया, वह नहीं किया, सरकार ने बहुत सी खामिया की लेकिन इम सदन के रिकार्ड को कल परसो से मैंने पढ़ा और एक भी सुझाव मुझे विपक्ष की ओर से नहीं मिला जिसमें कहा गया हो कि हमारी आर्टिक्ल तजवीज यह है और सरकार इसकी करे। विपक्ष का मतलब केवल

विरोध करना नहीं होता है बल्कि जनता में विश्वास जगाना होता है कि जो बड़े हम कह रहे हैं वह दूसरों के मुकाबले में धमकी नहीं देता है। मैंने यह बात नहीं देखी। जनसभ के सदस्य तो अभी बोलने वाले हैं लेकिन पहले कुछ बोले भी हैं और हमारे पीलू मोदी साहब हैं, किसी ने भी माग नहीं की कि ब्लक-मार्केटिंग को पकड़ो, हार्डर्स को फासी लगाओ, एडव्हेटर्स को फासी लगाओ (व्यवधान)। पीलू मोदी साहब यहाँ पर खड़े होकर वकालत करेंगे कि होलसेल ट्रेड की न लिया जाये। वह वकालत करके बस्टड इन्स्ट्रुम्स की, वह वकालत करके मरमायेदारों की और रिपब्लिकनरी इन्स्ट्रुम्स की।

एक बात कह कर मैं खत्म कर रहा हूँ। मैं सफाई में कहना चाहता हूँ कि फिर कुछ विपक्षी दल अपने पुराने नारे पर आ गए हैं। वह पुराना नारा था—प्रधान मन्त्री को हटाओ। सीधे उसी नारे पर वायलेन्स के जोर से आए हैं। (व्यवधान) मैं विपक्षी दल के सदस्यों से बहुत विनम्रता के साथ कहना चाहता हूँ कि इस देश की जनता के मिजाज को मलन मत ममझो।

प्रधान मन्त्री आज भी देश के करोड़ों लोगों ने जो नया रास्ता शान्ति से शान्ति का पन्हा है उसकी वह नेना हैं। अगर आप गलत रास्ते पर चले तो आप ही दुख पायेंगे, कोई दूसरा नहीं पायेगा, और जानबूझ कर आप देश में ऐसा वातावरण पैदा करना चाहते हैं जिसमें बदअमनी हो। अगर आप कांग्रेस की जगह लेना चाहते हैं, उसका सपना देखते हैं, इच्छा है तो कांग्रेस से अच्छे नेता पैदा कीजिए, अच्छी नीतियाँ लाओ, अच्छे कार्यक्रम लाओ। लेकिन पहली बात यह है कि प्रजातन्त्र में और प्रजा में विश्वास रखिये। आप का विश्वास प्रजातन्त्र से उठ जाता है, असेम्बली में, पार्लियामेंट में और बाहर आप डेमोक्रेसी का खन कर

कर रहे हैं, यह देश का दुर्भाग्य है कि बिरोधी पक्ष की जो झूठी होनी चाहिये उसको पूरा करने में बिल्कुल विफल रहा है, नाकाम रहा है और विपक्ष के नाते जो उन्हें देश को नेतृत्व देना चाहिये उसमें असफल रहा है। यह सबाल उनके सोचने का है। मैं आशा करता हूँ कि वह समझने की कोशिश करेंगे, हालाँकि उम्मीद है वह समझेंगे नहीं।

श्री हरकम चन्द कछवाय : आपने कहा था कि गुड़गाँव को सीधा फ़ोन है, लेकिन कहीं कुछ नहीं। इसलिये आपका काम ही झूठ बोलना है।

श्री ए. व. कं० एल० भगत : आप को क्या पता कि क्या सही है, क्या गलत है।

उ. र. श. महोदय, राष्ट्रपति जी ने ठीक कहा कि पिछले मालों में हमारे देश के अन्दर की नीतियों का और विदेश नीतियों का बहुत बड़ा इम्तिहान हुआ और उसमें हम सफल हुए। उन्होंने कहा हमारे सामने कुछ संकट हैं, दिक्कतें हैं जो कि टैम्पोरेरी हैं, और उनका मुकाबला हिम्मत से, ताकत से मिल कर करना होगा न कि मातम की मेंटलिटी से। पहले भी इन्होंने बड़ी भविष्यवाणी की सरकार अन्न गिर जायेगी, माननीय चाबडा जी की पार्टी के एक नेता ने भविष्यवाणी की पिछले 6, 8 महीने से सरकार गिर जायेगी।

I would like to tell them 'You are prophets of doom. India will not be doomed, but you and your parties will continue to be doomed'. This is what I would like to say.

SHRI PILLOO MODY: On a point of order. The hon. Member said that not only should anybody who incites violence be put in jail but his party should be dissolved. At the moment, he threatened us against entry into Delhi. I, therefore, suggest that he should be put behind the bars and his party dissolved.

श्री फ्रैंक चान्थो : मैं माननीय पीलू मोदी जी का समर्थन करता हूँ।

SHRI FRANK ANTHONY (Nominated—Anglo-Indians); Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, my amendment to the motion of thanks reads:

"but regrets that there is no mention in the Address of the failure of policies to arrest galloping inflation, galloping unemployment and galloping corruption."

If I may say so, these three gallopers appear to have become the main steeds in the Government's economic chariot today.

I was among those who in their humble way had supported the ruling Congress on the eve of the last elections, because I felt that we must have a viable Government at the Centre. But after the massive majority that the Government and the ruling party had achieved, I said it would not be able to ball ack on any anibls.

Unfortunately, the grim realities of the economic situation have overtaken the Government, and the reason is, if I may say so with respect, that the Government has got bogged down in a swamp of slogans and gimmicks. They may have been all right to win an election, but a policy that seeks to substitute a slogan or gimmick for action and efficiency tends to get bogged down in this particular way.

So today you see the ruling party looking round widely, failing out all kinds of scapegoats, real and alleged. Quite frankly, I am a little cynically amused when I hear communists, crypto-communists and other fellow-travellers who have joined the Congress party talking of right reactionaries and left adventurists. The party as a whole seems to have rubbed off the vocabulary of the communists.

[Shri Frank Anthony]

I remember many years ago—my young friends will not—when the Russians used to refer to Gandhiji as a 'bourgeois reactionary' and the Chinese to Nehru as 'the running dog of imperialism'. Times have changed indeed. I do not know. People in glass houses should never stop to throw stones. When Congressmen today talk in these terms, abusing people right, left and centre, don't they ever stop to think that they are people living in glass houses? This is a piquant example of the pot calling the kettle black.

At least it was Gandhiji who recognised that the Congress had never been a party; it had always been a movement, an umbrella that covered the whole miscellany of the nation. Today you see this party as a political melange the like of which you have perhaps got in no other country, paupers and princes, big businessmen and little pickpockets, communists and crypto-communists, gentlemen to hoodlums, non-violence-wallas to Naxalites. According to a responsible newspaper, the party has taken over the whole hoodlum machinery in certain States which belonged to certain leftist adventurists.

Then you have got the kulaks and the landless labourers, both extremes. Then you have grass-eaters at one end and beef-eaters at the others. Lastly you have the card-holding communists; I do not know whether they still hold these cards. Then you have got the rank opportunists, and last but not least, the unashamed defectors. So with this kind of umbrella, I am a little surprised that the Congress party should venture to talk about right reactionaries and left adventurists.

I think the Food Minister has been looking rather helplessly and hopelessly for alibis. He is talking about drought. This is nothing new. He has been old enough in this political game to know that drought is a periodical feature in this country. I think it has come regularly every five years.

But this drought is nothing like the catastrophic drought that came in 1960 or even in 1966. And in any case, you taxed us to the hilt so far as the war with Pakistan was concerned.

But the crux of the problem, as I see it is this and I think people who know about economics see it as I see it—that you have this runaway increase in the supply of money without the samblance of any corresponding increase in the supply of goods and services. That is the crux of the whole problem today. According to figures I have from the Reserve Bank of India, report, your money supply has increased at a minimum rate of 15 per cent per year but your supply of goods and services has barely increased by 3 per cent a year.

That has been the whole crux of this problem. There has been galloping inflation; since 1965, I have got the figures here to show how money supply has doubled from Rs. 4,236 crores to Rs. 8,333 crores. And what are the causes for this? First of all you have deficit financing. Then there is the criminally wasteful expenditure and last but not the least, galloping corruption. And today Government has become a symbol for this criminally wasteful expenditure. We hear the slogan, in this slogan-mongering age that we have entered, of austerity. Of course austerity is necessary in a desperately poor country like this, but quite obviously austerity is not meant for the ruling Congress, because, today, you constitute a new class, a new class of political princes and princesses of India—a new class, the ruling class.

Sir an urban ceiling is good perhaps in principle, but how you are going to apply it in practice—the complete muck-up which you are going to make—is going to be nobody's business. But I am interested to know what will happen when this urban ceiling is put on the Statute-Book: how you will attempt to apply it from

the Prime Minister down-wards. What are you going to do to your ultra-posh huge houses with your plush furnishings or piled carpets, with the furniture which you keep changing around each time a new Minister goes into another house? What are you going to do with it? Who has calculated what it costs the poor man—keeping a Minister in these houses? What is the cost of a house occupied by most of the Central Ministers—anything between Rs. 30 lakhs and Rs. 50 lakhs. What is the cost of maintaining it. Anything between Rs. 5,000 and Rs. 20,000 a month. And you talk of austerity! You insult the people of this country because as I say, you are the new princes and princesses of India; you destroyed the old princely class. This is what I do not like.

If I want to have my peg I have my peg of whisky. I do not go into the bath-room. I forgot to mention this also. You have the dry-minded prohibitionists and the drunkards in the Congress party. You have them at pole ends. What is this hypocrisy of wearing khaddar outside and inside your houses you wallow in luxury—yes—and vulgar ostentation? Go into the houses of most of your Ministers today. Just vulgar ostentation. I think one of your senior Congressman in a moment of frankness referred to the Ministers as Impala socialists of today. Why don't you at least give the Impalas to the State Trading Corporation? As somebody said, that is the only source of profit to the State Trading Corporation. They get it at rack-bottom price from the diplomats and sell it at extortionate prices. You are tying up so many of the Impalas with your Congress Ministers.

Then there is much criticism, and rightly so, of this operation of a parallel economy in the black market, another source of tremendous inflation. But who is the inspiration and the comfort of the blackmarketers except the ruling Congress?

Like everything else, there has been galloping inflation with regard to the election expenses. I do election cases and I know that your ceiling on election expenses is a dishonest joke. But where are you getting your lakhs and crores from? After having placed a ban on companies making any donations, your only source is the blackmarketer, and that is the mainspring of the operation of the black market economy in the country. I say it because you are the only beneficiary—I won't say the only beneficiary but you are the main beneficiary of these operations, with all the strings of political power and patronage are in your hands. What did Rajaji, to whom you paid a deserved tribute the other day, call it? The Licence-quota-permit Raj. All the strings are there.

So some cynic has remarked, you will never have demoneytization, because what will happen to the crores of black market money in the political coffers of the ruling congress and to a lesser extent, what will happen to the lakhs, if not crores, in the black market coffers of money of the Ministers in the ruling Congress?

There is another tremendous impetus to inflation—lack of production. Why? You have put thousands and thousands of crores into the completely unproductive public sector. I may agree with you that you must have certain heavy-based industries in the public sector. But whenever Government takes over anything, they have all the stigmata of Government's administration—inefficiency, corruption and nepotism. I have got figures here taken from the Reserve Bank Report. From 1968-69 to 1970-71 the number of your public sector undertakings that ran at a loss went up from 31 to 37. Over the three years you had an overall loss of Rs. 35.92 crores in these thousands of crores of money of the people... (Interruptions). That is one of the main impetus. Some of your card holding communists have this slogan:

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nationalise. I may give a somewhat bawdy joke it was said that Churchill refused to share the same urinal with Clement Attlee saying that Clement, when he saw anything that was health he wanted to nationalise it.... (Interruptions).

The other day you took over non-cooking coal. You took over one from of coal before that.

Shortly thereafter because of your usual inefficiency and because the wage structure goes up the prices of coaking coal were up by 10 per cent. I do not understand when you talk about people in the private sector giving impetus to inflation. Who are the main culprits? Who gives the main impetus to inflation? You did not have it yesterday I like my friend Mr. L. N. Mishra in the Lobby Look at him talking arrant nonsense The freight has gone up by 8 per cent on items that will communicate itself to all kinds of goods—steel, fertilisers, everything. You increase the freight charges That is bound to give a further impetus to inflation.

What about the postal charges, telephone charges? I can never get a trunk call through, usually, because of utter inefficiency I keep writing to my friend Mr. Bahuguna and he writes to me nice letters Anything govt. touches, the prices just go up—Telephone and postal charges, milk, drugs or steel Your steel is the most expensive in the world. My education trust tries to put up some buildings but we cannot do it during the last three years because of the cost. The cost of building has gone up by 75—100 per cent These imptils are given by the Government but then you use dirty words about the private sector. I am sorry The Food Minister is here. He talked about a crash programme. What has happened to your last crash programme. It has crashed ignominiously. This is another slogan. You have been caught up in this disease of slogan-mongering. I

do not know into whose pockets the money for the crash programme went..... You fixed a target of 15 million tonnes for your kharif-crash programme but I do not think you achieved 40 per cent of your sloganised target. What has happened to your green revolution? It has turned brown and it is getting browner. I am sorry I put no faith in the slogans of the Food Minister.

I think I said it at the meeting with the Prime Minister. Yes, ceilings you are bound to have. But if only somebody in the party had a little practical common-sense, and govt. was not overborne by the communist and crypto-communist slogans. You have largely destroyed whatever there was in the green revolution I tried to calculate how it came about My estimate was this Only 12 per cent of your farmers were the people who gave you your green revolution, who held anything between 25 to 30 acres and more, because they could resort to fairly modern methods and techniques You have destroyed them I get a lot of clients from Punjab and Haryana and I have no reason to disbelieve them. They tell me, "We are not going to produce but we are tearing up our private tubewells, so that we could get a maximum of holding" If one does not have self-irrigated land, he can have about 50 acres invested of the prescribed 12 or 18 acres The Food Minister gave us wrong statistics. Every day we are being deled out wrong statistics. Your food production last year was short not by 2 million tonnes but by 10 or 15 million tonnes against your sloganised target Today you are going with a begging bowl to the Americans whom the communist pals in your party never lose an opportunity of abusing. They are taking it out of you. They are making you pay for your imports of grain through the nose. They are charging us even more than what they are charging the Russians.

As for the private sector, what do your leaders in the private sector say?

Your private sector is going to recede completely because whatever you may say, the term "private sector" has now become a dirty word. You had this pool of talent, of expertise and managerial capacity and you have destroyed it. So, they are not going to come to the rescue of your gallopers.

I have no interest at all in the wholesale grain trade. You can take it over or do what you like. But this is going to explode in the face of the country. A very good and old friend of mine was Rafi Ahmed Kidwai. He said, "In this country, I will never have rationing if I can help it. We have not got the expertise. We have not got the administrative infrastructure". And, we have got built-in official corruption. That is what is going to happen when you attempt to take over the wholesale trade, apart from spending Rs. 500 or 600 crores. I get reports from West Bengal that your fair price shops are not fair in any way. Even the grain they dole out with difficulty is adulterated filth. That is going to happen and the poor people are going to suffer. As I said, it will ultimately explode in your face. My communist friends say, what else to do? I say, you cannot have this kind of thing in a country which purports to pay lip service to democracy. It is all right in Russia where there is no right to strike, where they cut off your head or send you to Siberia. But you cannot do that sort of thing in this country and there is no way of stopping this all-pervasive corruption in your administration. And, it is going to get worse. Every time you give the officials more power, to that extent you add to this all-pervasive corruption. What is happening at your door-step? You keep on ranting about other people living in ivory towers, but you do not seem to know the slightest thing of what is happening in the country. We pay—I do not know what you pay—a durban Rs. 250 a month and every six months, we put it up. And they say, "We cannot live.

We can get nothing in Delhi." You have got lakhs of ghost ration cards. Do you expect your wholesale grain trade take-over to have any semblance of effectiveness? As I said, the whole thing is going to explode in your face.

You have those urban ceilings. I do not know how you are going to implement it, how you are going to cut up the houses and how you are going to take over these huge buildings. But the only effect has been this that today there is rent-racketeering in Delhi. I used to pay about Rs. 5000 as rent for my teachers' quarters. In the last two years, it has gone up to over Rs. 10,000. All private building activity has been put a stop to and every person who owns a house is a rent-racketeer in Delhi. That is the direct effect of this threat of an urban ceiling.

17.00 hrs.

May I just say a few words about the other two galloping phenomena? There is galloping unemployment. I was reading the President's Address and, with due respect to the President, all that I could find was an anodyne assurance that everything will be rosy in the Indian garden at the end of the Fifth Plan. But my memory is not so short as the memory of our 75 per cent of illiterates in this country. You had the same assurance in the Fourth Plan. What happened to that? In your public sector, there was a shortfall in your targets in the Core sector varying between 20 to 50 per cent. Why is the country suffering today? It is because of the shortfalls in steel, fertiliser, power, transport, and so on. This is what happened to all your sloganised targets in the Fourth Plan.

Do you expect me to believe that you are going to achieve even remotely the sloganised targets, your anodyne assurances? You are not go-

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ing to achieve them. What is the basis of your estimates? I do not know. Either your estimates are based on ignorance or they are the result of deliberate political gimmickry.

How many unemployed persons are there? No one will go to your employment exchanges to find that. Your estimate is 20 million unemployed persons. Other people have put it at 40 million. Don't you think that at the end of the Fifth Plan, that will be increased by another 10 million? You have got the Census Report now. It does not require any effort to arrive at that figure. You are bound to increase that number by 10 millions. It is simple arithmetic. At the end of the Fifth Plan, you will have probably 50 million unemployed persons.

Look at the crash programme for employment, a special programme to provide employment opportunities for 500,000 educated persons. Here is another crash programme for educated people. You don't tell us whether you are going to have brick-layers, brick breakers or what. Already, your MAs and Ph.Ds are breaking bricks. I am reminded of the crash programme on a much smaller scale in 1970. You sloganised the crash programme. You said that you were going to spend Rs. 50 crores. In 1972, some inept official said, "We have not spent anything like that." Your crash programme had crashed. You could not spend Rs. 50 crores on your crash programme of employment.

Then, there is this paramount problem of run-away population explosion. What are you going to do about the family planning programme? That is your paramount problem. That overtakes what little progress we make in our country. There is not even one syllable in this Address. You have not even touched the periphery of the problem with the result that every-

thing is galloping. Within the last 10 years, you have added 53 million illiterates to this illiterate population of ours. We have the dubious distinction that 75 per cent of the illiterate population of the world is contributed by India. You have added 53 million illiterates to our illiterate population. Do you think at the end of the Fifth Plan, you will not add another at least 10 millions?

There is your poor Education Minister, a quiet chap, and the Education Ministry has been put into the doldrums—it is a second-class or third-class Ministry. He was regaling us with what he was going to do in the hope of getting Rs. 3200 crores. And you cut it by thousand crores.

According to a UNESCO Report, half of the children at the primary stage leave school and they fall back into illiteracy. So, at the end of the Fifth Plan, you can be very certain that you will have more than 400 million illiterates in this country.

Finally, may I say a word about galloping corruption? One can feel it. It is a miasma. It is tangible. In Delhi, you can do nothing, nothing moves without paying grease money. It has become a way of life.

I am defending every day the small bribe-takers; I have not had the luck of defending any Minister yet because Ministers are not usually caught. This has become a way of life. The excuse smaller people give is that they cannot live without it. But you have this miracle in the new India that Ministers who never had any registrable occupation till they became Ministers suddenly emerge as crore-paths and lakh-pathis. How did they become? (*Interruption*) No, no; these are not lawyer-Ministers.

The country has reached the end of its tether. Everybody is feathering his nest. As the *Indian Express* had it

in a number of your sick public sector undertakings officials and contractors are feathering their nests. An ex-judge told me—he has something to do with nationalised banks—that they are all feathering their nests. He says, you go to a nationalised bank, you will find that it has almost become institutionalised now. All the little loan-walls who go for loans are asked, 'Do you want a loan? How much? Rs. 6,000? Allright, pay Rs 1,000 to me'. He says, 'Saheb, what will I do?' The reply is, 'Take Rs. 5,000 and never return it'. That has become institutionalised. I would like to know how much of your loans, what percentage of your small loans has been recovered.

Today, *Garibi Hatao* is not only a mocking illusion; it has become a symbol of increasing pauperisation and starvation for the people.

SHRI J RAMESHWAR RAO (Mabbubnagar) Mr Deputy-Speaker, Sir, we respect the President too much to feel easy at not wanting to support the motion of thanks. We have great respect for the Prime Minister too. Yet, it is with a certain amount of anguish that I would like to point out that the President's Address did not have any material reference to the solution of the problem of Andhra and Telengana. Of course, the President did say that, as soon as normalcy is restored, discussions would take place, etc. I wish he had indicated, which means, I wish the Government had indicated the direction in which their mind was moving.

17.07 hrs.

[SHRI K. N. TIWARY in the Chair]

In certain democracies, there is a possibility of impeaching individual Ministers for wrong policies or wrong advice. Earlier, I said, we have great respect for the President and the Prime Minister. But individual Ministers seem to advise them in a direction which leads to catastrophes.

On the 19th December, when the Prime Minister met the Members of Parliament from Andhra, I begged of her, 'Please do not go through with the Mulki Rules Bill; because it is not Mulki rules'. I told her that, if anything, it was a Bill to *de facto* recognise or validate wrong appointments and promotions and should have been termed the Wrongful Appointments and Promotions Validation Bill and not as Mulki Rules Bill. I also mentioned to her that we were meeting in February—February was not far away—for the Budget Session and that this matter could be considered then. The Prime Minister said, 'I am advised that it is necessary that a Bill should be enacted now'. I did not feel competent enough to ask the Prime Minister as to who advised her, but, I presume it is one of the hon. Ministers. Could we start impeaching individual Ministers in this House or wrong advice which is landing this country into a great deal of confusion? How did they impeach Ministers in England 300 years ago?

It is difficult to understand or explain why a people inhabiting a certain area suddenly feel the need to demand the recognition of their separate identity. It is for sociologists and social scientists to give an explanation. Very often these explanations are given after the event and appear to be rationalisations. The people of Telengana, for some reason which I do not know and I cannot explain, started to feel the need to assert and to demand the recognition of their separate identity. For 20 years they have been asking for a separate State in the Union of India. Telangana is not a new area. It is an old area and the people are an ancient people. They have had linguistic and cultural links with the people of the surrounding area. One hears of Telangana even in the Asokan edicts. My friend, Mr. Venkatasubbiah, referred to Trilinga Desa and called it Andhra. I wish he had read his history a little better. Trilinga Desa is modern Telangana.

[Shri J Rameshwar Rao]

Historically, the Telugu-speaking areas have never been under a single political rule. Under the Andhra Satavahanas most of the Telugu-speaking people were under their rule. So was the whole of Maharashtra because Andhra Satavahanas' kingdom extended from coast to coast. But Rayalaseema did not form part of this Andhra Satavahana kingdom and the word 'Andhra' derived from this kingdom who used Sanskrit as their language, not Telugu which derived from the Trilinga Desa. Even under Pratapa Rudra and under the Kakatiya Rudra Kingdom, which Mr Venkatasubbiah referred to—I wish he had read the history better—Rayalaseema did not form part of the Kakatiya Rudra kingdom. Under the Bahmanis most of Rayalaseema and some of the coastal districts also did not form part of this state—the area which was under Bahmani rule.

Under the Vijayanagar Empire, while Rayalaseema and the coastal districts formed part of the Vijayanagar Empire—it was called a bilingual empire because Telugu and Kannada were used at the court and this was a period of great Telugu effluence, Telangana did not form part of this empire. It was only and briefly under the Nizamate between 1690 and 1800, that all the three regions the coastal districts Rayalaseema and Telangana were under one political rule. So was Marathwada. So was the Kannada-speaking districts which have gone to Mysore. So was part of Berar. The Nizam handed over the Circars, the coastal districts, first to the French and then to the British and ceded the Rayalaseema districts to the British in 1805.

In the long history of India, there have been occasions when large groups of people have asserted their separate identity and demanded its recognition. My friend, the successor of the great Chhatrapati Shivaji, is not there in the House. Otherwise, I would have reminded him. (Interruptions) I cannot be disrespectful to my friend. After all he is my Party

member and I have to give him respect. I did not equate him with Chhatrapati, I said he was his successor.

The Marathi-speaking people who were one of the more recent people to assert their demand for recognition of their separate identity. First they wanted full autonomy in the Moghul Empire and later they asserted their separate Statehood.

The recognition of the separate identity of a people as a sub-culture will not weaken the Indian Union. India has always been a group of different nationalities and subcultures owing a common allegiance to the concept of a united India and to a single Indian culture. Economic disadvantages do not deter a people from desiring the recognition of their separate identity if that gives them deep emotional and psychological satisfaction.

The arguments of backwardness, lack of development and neglect of an area may be rationalisations for justifying this deep urge and demand of a people for the recognition of a separate identity. This desire appears to be more emotional or psychological and if this identity is not recognised, it is bound to lead to deep psychological scars and distort the growth of a people towards their cultural fulfilment. It is the very essence of democracy that this desire should be recognised and the sub-culture of a separate group be permitted to be woven into the national pattern. It has often been said that the demand for a separate Telangana comes from vested interests and reactionaries. This is not a correct appreciation of this situation. In any movement of this kind it is natural that the intelligentsia, the intellectuals, the students, the dominant peasant groups, take the initiative. Even in Maharashtra when the Maharattas asserted their demand for separate Statehood it is the peasantry under Shivaji which took up this demand for separate Statehood. Would you call them re-

actionaries? Would you call them vested interests? Even in the Indian national movement, who were the people who led the movement? It was the intelligentsia, intellectuals, students and the vast majority of dominant peasant groups. They were not reactionaries. There is nothing sacrosanct about this theory of one language, one State. If we can have six Hindi-speaking States within the Union of India, there is no reason why there should not be two Telugu speaking States in the Union of India. This theory of one language, one State is neither historically nor currently true.

If you forgive me for a minute, I will quote an example from outside India. I would like to give you the example of Austria and Germany. The Austrians resented very deeply the attempt by Germany to incorporate Austria into the German Reich. Fortunately for the Austrians the Second World War and the defeat of Germany enabled them to regain their separate identity and nationhood. The Austrians say that even the German spoken in Austria is softer and more delicate than the German spoken in Germany. It is possible that the cultural synthesis that took place in the Imperial Hapsburg Capital of Vienna may have contributed to this desire for a separate identity. Whatever be the historical reasons, it is a fact which we have to take into consideration. So too in Hyderabad, for over five hundred or six hundred years, we have built up a composite culture. There are Kannada-speaking people, Marathi-speaking people, Urdu-speaking people, Muslims and Kayasthas from UP, Marwaris from Rajasthan and Gujaratis all mingling with the vast majority of the Telugu-speaking people to create a new composite culture. It is possible that this has influenced the thinking of the people of Telengana. The people of Telengana want a separate State, and what is interesting is that the people of Andhra also now want a separate State. It has taken them sixteen years to realise that there is something genuine in the demand of the

people of Telengana for a separate State. So, I am grateful to my colleagues in Andhra for having articulated their desire for bifurcation of the State.

I am second to none in condemning violence, arson or looting. But it is time that the Government recognises that this urge is a deep urge. People from the village, from the talukas, from the districts and the cities, doctors, lawyers, intellectuals, engineers Government servants, and NGOs,—everyone wants it. If both regions want separation there seems to be no earthly reason why we should deny it.

The various safeguards provided such as regionalisation of services, a separate regional committee, separate budget for Telengana are but palliatives. We have now two Chief Secretaries in Andhra.

SHRI FRANK ANTHONY: You have only to put the *de jure* stamp on it.

SHRI J. RAMESHWAR RAO: There has only to be a separate High Court and a separate Cabinet. That is all.

SHRI FRANK ANTHONY: You have additional secretaries.

SHRI J. RAMESHWAR RAO: All this is already there. All these, and the Mulki Rules Bill or the six-point formula or the five point formula are only palliatives. They do not solve the basic problem.

In fact, Shri P. Venkatasubbaiah, while he was speaking, mentioned two very interesting judgments which have come from the Andhra High Court in the last few days. One was delivered by Justice Obul Reddy. He says that a mulki is a person who has come from outside and reside in Hyderabad or Telengana for fifteen years. This gives more power and more strength to the elbow of my Andhra friends. The people in Telengana are not mulkis according to this judgment; this is what he has said.

[Shri J. Rameshwar Rao]

Yesterday, a second judgment has come, delivered by Justice Chinnappa Reddy. He says that these mulki rules do not apply to casual vacancies, and the junior engineers who have been appointed in the casual vacancies cannot be removed, even though he concedes that numerically this goes against the accepted ratio of one-third two-third. What has happened is that confusion is becoming worse confounded.

I would only like to add that if people of both regions want a separate State within the Union of India, it is wise to concede this. Otherwise, we shall perpetuate mutual suspicion, disharmony and antagonism, when the mere fact of two separate States would lead to peace and amity.

Jawaharlalji used to say that peace and progress are indivisible. This desire to be separate has become a road-block for work, growth and progress, and unless it is removed the development of the region will be seriously affected.

The intense agitation like the one that we witnessed in Telangana in 1969-70 and the one which is now taking place in Andhra will all subside. After all, these agitations cannot last very long in the very nature of things. Even the agitations, even the movements sponsored and led by Mahatma Gandhi did not last in all their intensity for more than three or four months. How can they last? They just cannot last. So, normalcy will be restored. Whether you use the armed police or you do not use the armed police, normalcy will be restored. But if separation is not conceded, it will only leave anger, bitterness and frustration behind. Even if external peace is restored by the use of armed force, there would be no peace in the minds of the people, because they would continue to be emotionally and psychologically agitated. Without this peace, how can there be work, growth and progress? Theoretically, even if separation is to the economic disadvantage

of both regions, the mere fact of separation will release such tremendous energy that this energy when put to work, growth and development, will more than compensate for the theoretical economic disadvantage, whereas if these areas are kept together, even the theoretical advantage will be lost in stagnation.

This whole problem of the desire of Telangana to be separate raises another fundamental issue. In democratic society, how does a minority of people persuade a majority to recognise their urges and aspirations; that they have a point of view, that they should be heard with consideration, with sympathy and respect? The people of Telangana, 15 million of them, have been agitating for a separate State for 20 years. It took that long for the people of Andhra to recognise that there is something in this demand. It is possible that the Prime Minister in her wisdom, and this hon. House in its wisdom, might decide not to concede separation. All that the people of Telangana can do is to agitate, there can be strikes, there can be satyagrahas, there can be processions, there can be mass hunger strikes. Further in the periodic elections that take place, the people can show through their vote what they want, as they did in 1971 for the elections to this hon. House, when out of 14 seats, 10 of us were returned to this House on the mandate of a separate Telangana. How else does a people express its opinion in a democratic society?

When the Government or the Parliament does not recognise or concede this demand, what does or can this minority do? A democracy presupposes difference of opinion, discussion, compromise and consensus. It does not mean the rule of 51 over 49; it does not even mean the rule of 90 over 10. In a tyranny by a minority there is hope. There is hope that the majority can revolt against this tyranny by the minority and overthrow the minority. But what does a minority do against the tyranny of a

majority? This is the fundamental issue which in every democratic society we have got to ponder over.

Gandhiji had often said that the tyranny of the majority over the minority can be the worst form of tyranny. The minority can only go under or be submerged or disintegrate. Surely this hon. House will not want the 15 million people of Telangana to feel angry, bitter, frustrated, unhappy and emotionally and psychologically disintegrate. That surely is not the wish of this hon. House. I beseech you, Mr. Chairman, and through you the hon. House and the hon. Prime Minister to concede the demand of Telangana for recognition of their separate identity as a separate State in the Union of India so that the people of Telangana can also participate in the economic and cultural growth of the country and weave their sub-culture into the national pattern. I beg the Prime Minister to look at this problem from the emotional and psychological angle of the people of Telangana. If the cries of anguish from Bangla Desh could reach the ears of the Prime Minister, surely the cries of anguish of the people of Telangana can also reach her ears. Thank you.

SHRI P. K. DEO (Kalahandi): Mr. Chairman, without meaning any disrespect to the President, it was the compulsion of the current events that prevented the Swatantra Party from attending the Presidential Address to the joint sitting of the two Houses. It was because of the mass killing and repression by the CRP to suppress the unanimous popular demand of the people to bifurcate Andhra Pradesh, and secondly Government's failure to curb the unprecedented price rise.

There is the failure to check the alarming unemployment; stagnation in economic and industrial growth; growing lawlessness and inadequate and ineffective measures to relieve the people's sufferings in the drought-affected areas; delay in the submission of the Pay Commission's report;

scuttling of parliamentary democracy by encouraging defection and defectors and rewarding defectors with Ministership and not bringing the Anti-Defection Bill even though it was unanimously recommended by all parties; and lastly, by excoriated the Chief Minister of Haryana in the face of proved facts in the memorandum submitted by 129 MPs and MLAs.

Sir, I will now take up this Andhra question. We note with great concern the unfortunate happenings in Andhra Pradesh consequent on the stubborn attitude of the Prime Minister by refusing to heed the unanimous demand of the people of Telangana and Andhra for bifurcation. There has been an enormous loss of life and property. A reign of terror has been let loose there by the CRP and the army who are functioning in that State like the occupation forces as in Bangladesh 300 persons have been killed. Here is a bunch of telegrams from the various areas narrating the harrowing tales of repression and this is a memorandum submitted by the Bar Council of Vijayawada which cites as many as 139 cases of police excesses, police firing, molestation of women, and looting and raping and indiscriminate beating which have been resorted to in that city. When this Mulki Rules (Amendment) Bill was being discussed in the House, Shri Piloo Mody had rightly forecast the coming blood-bath through which Andhra Pradesh may have to pass. As a protest we staged a walk-out on the five-point formula. I cannot understand why the Prime Minister should arrogate to herself the power of the grand arbiter and give the award. Why not this issue be decided in a democratic manner as suggested by the previous speakers?

The Telangana people have already proved in the 1971 elections by sending a large number of MPs to this House from the TPS, thereby making clear the mandate of the people regarding separation. Now also, the Andhra MLAs, Sarpanchs, the Andhra Panchayat Samiti Chairmen, most of

[Shri P K Deo]

the Andhra MPs have appreciated the bifurcation of Andhra Pradesh into Telengana and Andhra

Sir, the Swatantra party leader, Mr Latchanna, has taken a leading part in this movement because both the units would be viable units. The Swatantra party has always joined the mainstream of popular agitation. When there was the case of the Punjabi Suba, my leader Mr Pherum made the supreme sacrifice of his life by fasting, and Punjabi Suba was created. Similarly, the Swatantra party has joined this mainstream of popular movement in this case here, and I cannot understand any reason why the Government is going to delay its decision on this reasonable demand.

Shri Hridayanath Kunzru the only living member of the States Reorganisation Commission, has categorically stated that the demand of the Telangana people has to be conceded and Andhra and Telengana should be formed as separate States. Similarly he has suggested, as was previously recommended in the SRC report, that there should be a separate Vidarbha State. He has again reiterated in his latest statement that the Government should also yield to the demand for the formation of the Vidarbha State so vociferously stated by my friend Mr Dhote.

As expected, the President's Address is an empty ritual. It is void of realities and hardly touches the fringe of the burning problems of today. Jobs, food, clothing and shelter are the basic requirements of the common man. Jobs alone are not enough if prices of basic commodities rise higher and higher every day. Prices can remain stable if there is increase in production in relation to money supply.

Garibi Hatao means atleast two square meals a day and a job to earn this and at the same time stability of prices.

The Prime Minister came to the saddle in 1966 and since then she has been presiding over the destinies of the nation. 1969 was heralded as a new era because of Bank nationalisation. In 1971 she assumed further power by the slogan Garibi Hatao. As pointed out by the previous speaker, Mr Frank Antony, Government has been bogged down in morass of mere slogans and there has been no achievement.

In 1969, there were 31 lakh registered as unemployed in the various employment exchanges. In 1972 this figure rose to 51 lakhs and by July 1972 it rose to 57 lakhs. We all know that those who live in the rural areas do not register themselves in the employment exchanges even if they do not get jobs and so the number of unemployed is much more than 57 lakhs and this figure is not real. Recently the study team on education and total employment constituted by the forum of education of New Delhi has highlighted the magnitude of the problem of unemployment. There are in this country 60 million unemployed and 300 million under employed. One lakh engineers and 20,000 doctors for whose education so much has been spent by the State remain unemployed and there is growing unemployment among the educated. This constitutes the most potential danger to national stability. There has been no indication in the President's Address as to how they are going to tackle this massive problem. India's manpower is its biggest asset and that has to be properly harnessed for productive purposes. So far there has been no manpower planning. What has been done has been most unrealistic. Government's policy and the educational system have failed to spark any confidence and a spirit of self employment. The creative genius of the people has been dampened by the licence-permit-quota raj prevailing in the country accompanied by corruption and nepotism. It is ironical that such a potentially rich country is inhabited by poor people.

On the other hand when we come to the State undertaking we find colossal loss. According to the latest Bulletin of the Reserve Bank of India the loss incurred has increased from 2.05 points in 1969-70 to 2.15 points in 1970-71. By March, 1972 Hindustan Steel has incurred a loss of Rs. 45 crores in a single year as against the accumulated loss of nearly Rs. 200 crores by Hindustan Steel alone.

The Sindhri Fertiliser Plant has been losing Rs. 1 lakh every day. There has not been full utilisation of our installed iron and steel capacity in public sector. The railways which have been always contributing to the Consolidated Fund of India have also started losing. With this experience, the National Development Council envisages doubling the outlay in the public sector in the fifth plan, i.e. nearly two-thirds of the investable resources of Rs. 51,000 crores

Coming to rising prices, the consumer price index for the working class has gone up by 18 per cent. In one year there has been an increase of 12 to 14 per cent in the price index. The Pay Commission has been completely silent over this matter. There has been no announcement regarding the interim relief. So, it is a great hardship, the last straw on the camel's back so far as the working class is concerned.

Food production has been declining. In 1970-71, the production was 107 million tonnes. Next year we expected 110 million tonnes but slid back to 104. Self-sufficiency and green revolution has been made a myth and we are going to start importing food-grains. The price of bajra which is the poor man's food has jumped up by 52 to 60 per cent in Rajasthan and Gujarat. The price of jowar has risen by 27 to 40 per cent. Similarly production of pulses has gone down and the prices have gone up. Roti and dal, which is the only food of the common man, has become costlier in spite of our slogan of garibi hatao. On the other hand, the present tax-free

salary, allowances and perquisites of the Central Cabinet Ministers amount to Rs. 70,920 per year which is equivalent to a taxable income of Rs. 12,09,777 per year!

For all these failures, some scapegoats have to be found. The princes were the scapegoats. Now the scapegoats are CIA agents or the various opposition parties. Government is now saying that the failure on the economic front is due to non-cooperation or sabotage by the opposition parties. Nobody is going to believe them. They cannot go on fooling all people for all the time.

I now come to the question of take-over of foodgrains. With a corrupt distribution system, it will make people face starvation. There is no doubt about it. I take this opportunity to caution the Government that they will have to streamline and gear up their machinery of distribution. Otherwise, under the present circumstances, with their record of mismanagement, corruption, Iqbal Singha and profiteering, with all the evils of a monopolist, they will ultimately squeeze the farmer. The farmer will not get his fair price and the consumers also will be exploited. I know the particular case of procurement price of paddy given to agriculturists in Orissa. They were paid at Rs. 66 per quintal at the time of procurement. When the same is sold to them as seed, they have to pay Rs. 110.

Lastly, I would like to point out that in spite of the assurances of the Government that they will bring forward Anti-Defections Bill, in spite of the recommendation of all the party leaders, including eminent jurists, like, Mr. Setalwad, Mr. Kumaramangalam and Mr. Daphtary and eminent personalities, like, Mr. Jaya Prakash Narayan, that defectors should not be rewarded, this game of defections is being not only encouraged by black money but defectors are being rewarded with Ministerships.

[Shri P. K. Deo]

This toppling game has been going on and this has taken concrete shape in my State of Orissa where the defectors have been made Ministers. The sermons and the advice given by the Speaker in the Presiding Officers' Conference at Srinagar and Bhopal have gone to the winds and the Anti-Defections Bill has been put in the cold storage.

What has happened to the Lok Pal and Lok Ayukt Bill? If this Lok Pal and Lok Ayukt Act would have been on the statute book, Mr. Bansil Lal could not have gone scot-free with proved charges of corruption. How could the Prime Minister arrogate to herself the power of a judge and give an award on charges of proved corruption? The Administrative Reforms Commission, as early as in 1966, in their first Report, said that an institution like Ombudsman should be created where public complaints and grievances should be heard and a finding should be given so that the persons could be charge-sheeted or cases could be started against them. But instead of doing that, I am sorry to say that a person of the stature of the Prime Minister is going to shield a very corrupt person like Shri Bansil Lal.

SHRI DINESH CHANDRA GO-SWAMI (Gauhati): Mr. Chairman, Sir, but for one or two speeches the entire debate has turned into Andhra debate. Much heat has been generated during the debate and emotions have been roused. But I would ask my friends of the Opposition to bear with me for a moment and ask themselves that if we discuss this subject in an atmosphere of heat, will not our minds be clouded? Will it be possible for us to come to a correct solution? Therefore, in the context of the present situation in the country, I would ask my friends of the Opposition not to be too emotional over the issues but to discuss the issues in a calm and rational atmosphere.

After all, today, we are passing through a time of crisis, a critical

period, which I consider to be more dangerous than a period when our country was faced with external aggression. I say so because at the time of external aggression, this country has shown determination to fight the external forces and every Indian, at that time, is imbued with a spirit of self-sacrifice and dedication. But, unfortunately, we cannot say so when this country is threatened with internal disruptive forces because there are political forces and other forces which try to encourage the divisive forces. We have seen how political parties have tried to actually inflame the entire country by using its power to encourage divisive forces, at the present juncture.

The main problem, the crucial problem, in this country is at the present moment the problem of unrest. The problem of unrest has arisen mainly on two points or on two types of issues—firstly either on linguistic or regional issues; and secondly from economic causes and economic reasons. I will not enter into a debate with my friends here as to whether regional issues or linguistic issues that have appeared on the horizon of different States are just and genuine or not. I will not enter into a debate at this stage whether the case made out by Telengana or Andhra is just and genuine. But I will ask my friends opposite and also every Member of this House to ponder seriously as to which direction we will be going if some serious attempt is not made to curb this unrest lawlessness and violence that we see in this country today. There has been a concerted and consistent effort by many political forces and, I think, even outside forces to exploit these issues. We have seen the result of it in my State of Assam. We have seen it in Andhra, we have seen it in other places. It must be remembered that the way in which the political powers have utilised these issues has not helped in the solution of the issues, but the issues have been put in the background. For example, in Assam, we fought for the regional language to find its proper place in

the educational system of the State. But the issue was diverted in some places in such a direction that the main issue was lost track of.

Today in Andhra what is happening? The railway properties are being looted. They claim that Andhra is a backward region. May I ask my friends whether the backwardness of the region is going to be removed or prosperity is going to be gained in Andhra by destruction of railway property? May I remind my friends that in Assam for years together we have been fighting for a railway line because we feel that the economic progress, to a great extent, has been hindered because of want of a broad gauge line? But, curiously and paradoxically, we find that a backward region destroys its own railway properties in order to get progress. I do not understand this. (Interruption)

An argument is advanced that there should be separation or bifurcation of Andhra. I have not gone into the merits of the case. But I would say that I can speak on separation with a certain amount of authority because no State has undergone more separation than my State. Assam has been separated into six States. We have divided ourselves into six States without rancour or bitterness. Let me tell my friends that now there is a demand for a separate State of Cachar, and I can say boldly that even if Cachar is separated, there will be further demand for separation within the territory of Assam. Therefore, may I remind all those friends who are asking for bifurcation of Andhra Pradesh into Andhra and Telengana that mere separation of Andhra into two separate zones will not solve the problem? It will have a chain reaction, a reaction of causing a multiplicity of small States.

Mr. Vajpayee was saying that India could be transformed into 40 or 50 small States. May I remind Mr. Vajpayee one thing that the small States have tremendous administrative costs which a backward country

like India cannot bear. (Interruption) In the eastern region there are some six States with High Courts in each. One of the judges of a High Court lamentably spoke to me, 'Look, I go to the court at 10.30 A.M. and come back at 10.45 A.M. because there is no work'. Can you imagine what is the administrative cost that each High Court is to bear? Today we are creating High Courts with no cases with all their administrative costs which we could divert to more profitable purposes. Therefore, creation of 40 States will not solve the problem of this country. It will only add to the poverty of this country and I will ask my friends in Andhra and Telengana to ponder over all these aspects. We must learn lessons from history. History tells us that India has always been cowed down by foreign powers because of internal dissensions when small States quarrelled among one another. Today we find among ourselves many mirajfers who was instrumental to the defeat of Siraj-ud-aula in the battle at Plazi. We know how history had depicted those people. May I remind my friends on the Opposition who are playing with fire that history will not forgive us if in this crucial moment today we cannot take measures by which we can continue with the united strong independent India. Therefore, in that context, I will ask my friends to discuss and ponder over the entire issue.

Then I come to the other question of restlessness, the restlessness on the economic question and the restlessness on the angry young generation of this country to-day. This angry young generation of the country to-day is the greatest problem before the country because every young unemployed angry man is a volcano itself. It is causing tremendous political and social problems. If I look to the youth of to-day with whom I have a certain amount of connection, I find that the youth of this country to-day can be divided into two broad categories. One group which is absolutely indifferent to what is happening in the country to-day. These youth,

[Shri Dinesh Chandra Goswami]
being frustrated in their aspirations not being fulfilled, have already become indifferent to life itself. That is a colossal national waste. The other group, the group of super-zealous and over-zealous young men who have become super-zealous and over-zealous think that the only way by which they can bring a prosperity to the country and prosperity to themselves is by breaking the entire order.

Both these categories of youth are dangerous to the country because the youth who are indifferent is a national waste and then the other group of super-zealous and over-zealous youth which are trying to break the basic principles of the country is also a very dangerous force and we must to-day take proper notice of them.

I have noticed one thing among the youth of to-day, that most of the youth have lost their political perspective and that is why they have joined, whenever opportunities have arisen, with the regional or communal or linguistic forces. I do not know whether the slogan that students should keep themselves away from politics has reared its proper harvest because students have been attracted to the left extremist parties but the democratic parties, the national parties have not accepted the students more or less in their parties because our slogan has been that students should keep themselves away from politics and I feel thereby they have lost the political perspective and joined reactionary parties. I can quote the example of West Bengal because it is a State where I feel there is an immense possibility of regional or communal conflict but the students

there in West Bengal admirably have kept themselves out of the regional and communal conflict. They might have joined the political conflict but they have kept themselves out from the regional or communal conflict because the students of West Bengal have a much better political perspective than the students of other States.

Therefore, I will, particularly the Education Ministry to ponder and consider about this question. I feel that it is necessary to-day to overhaul and change the entire educational system. When I am asking for a change, I am not asking that there should be a change in the number of years of study in secondary education. What I want is I want a change in the entire approach. We say we are trying to build socialism in the country. But I ask and I ask myself does the educational system to-day help a student to understand what is socialism and what are the basic values for which we stand? To-day we find that there has been some amount of lack of discipline in the country and the lack of discipline in the country can to a great extent be attributed to the generation gap which we see between the students and the elders. I will cite two or three examples as to how I find that there has been this generation gap. In my brother State I find a poem is taught, the poem of Casablanca which I think many of you might have read.

MR CHAIRMAN: You may continue tomorrow

18.00 hrs.

The Lok Sabha then adjourned till Eleven of the Clock on Friday, February 23, 1973/Phalguna 4, 1991 (Saka).