

Library. The recommendations are intended to assist the Commission in arriving at its own conclusions and the question of Government considering them at this stage does not arise. The Commission has yet to submit its recommendations on the subject to the Government.

MR. CHAIRMAN : The Question Hour is over.

### SHORT NOTICE QUESTION AND ANSWER

#### NAXALBARI BRAND OF COMMUNISTS IN KERALA

4. SHRI JAGAT NARAIN : †  
 SHRI KRISHAN KANT :  
 SHRI M. P. BHARGAVA :  
 SHRI M. M. DHARIA :  
 SHRI R. P. KHAITAN :  
 SHRI M. PURKAYASTHA :  
 SHRI BANKA BEHARY DAS :  
 SHRI RIZAQ RAM :  
 SHRI CHANDRA SHEKHAR :  
 SHRI M. SRINIVASA REDDY :  
 SHRI A. D. MANI :

Will the Minister of HOME AFFAIRS be pleased to state :

(a) whether the Central Government's attention has been drawn to the Press reports to the effect that Naxalbari brand of communists are active in Kerala;

(b) whether it is a fact that their activities resulted in the death of some policemen during attacks on the police stations; and

(c) whether a detailed report in this connection has been received from the Government of Kerala; if so, the reaction of the Government of India thereto?

THE MINISTER OF HOME AFFAIRS (SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN) : (a) Yes, Sir.

(b) and (c) A statement is laid on the Table of the House.

†The question was actually asked on the floor of the House by Shri Jagat Narain.

### STATEMENT

Central Government have recently received disturbing reports of members of what has been described as the Naxalbari group attacking Tellicherry Police Station and Pulpally Police Picket in Kerala. According to information received from the State Government, about 300 persons armed with spears, daggers, knives, explosives, sticks and choppers, and carrying chilly powder and electric bulbs etc., surrounded Tellicherry Police Station in Cannanore District at about 3 A.M. on November 22, 1968. Before doing so they had cut the telephone wires in front of the Tellicherry Telephone Exchange. They threw an explosive substance at an armed sentry but when they found that the police personnel were moving to charge them they fled leaving behind on the road weapons, flags, pamphlets and photographs of Mao Tse-tung. The police apprehended three persons after the incident and efforts are being made to apprehend others.

2. On November 24 at about 3 A.M. a gang of about 75 persons attacked the Pulpally Police Picket (Kozhikode District), damaged a wireless set and assaulted the wireless staff, the Sub-Inspector and the constables sleeping there. The assailants were armed with country-made guns, country bombs and spears etc. Havildar Kunhikrishnan Nair was speared to death. A constable present there escaped into the nearby forest. The assailants also caused serious injuries to the Sub-Inspector and set fire to records with lighted torches. While the assailants were marching to the nearby Police Station, a country bomb carried by one of them exploded. The persons in the front of the moving column mistook it as an attack from the police and they fled in the opposite direction. The rear group also scattered and disappeared from the locality. Some of them were later traced by the Police with the help of the local people and were arrested. On their way the assailants also looted some houses and intimidated the residents of Chekkodi and relieved them of cash, rice, other eatables and jewellery etc. A case has been registered and is under investigation. Police patrols are combing the area to trace the culprits. We have reports of two other incidents involving attacks on police personnel in Calicut and Alleppy districts. We are getting full details from the State Government.

3. It has been suggested to the Chief Minister of Kerala that apart from the investigations into these specific incidents he may consider taking all possible measures to get to the root of the matter. Government of India are fully alive to the dangerous potentialities of the new trend that is developing and are taking all steps to ensure that the activities of these extremists are curbed and public safety, lives of public servants and the rules of law are not endangered.

**श्री जगदम्बी प्रसाद यादव :** श्रीमन्, हमारा आपसे आग्रह है कि यह जो प्रश्न है बड़ा ही महत्वपूर्ण है। टेबल पर जो स्टेटमेंट ले किया गया, हो सकता है, जिन सदस्यों के नाम में प्रश्न है, उनकी जानकारी में हो लेकिन जिन सदस्यों ने नाम नहीं दिये हैं उनकी जानकारी में नहीं आया है। इसलिये मैं चाहूंगा कि आपकी अनुमति से गृह मंत्री इस पर एक विवरणात्मक वर्शन पढ़ कर उपस्थित करें या जैसे भी पेश करें जिससे हम सब लोगों की जानकारी में सारी बातें आ जायें...

**MR. CHAIRMAN :** I expect every Member to read it before coming to the House and if it is a three-sentence statement, I do not mind but if it is a long statement I cannot allow it.

**श्री जगदम्बी प्रसाद यादव :** श्रीमन्, मेरा वह नहीं कहना है...

**श्री निरंजन वर्मा :** श्रीमन्, मैं इस विषय में एक निवेदन करता हूँ कि स्टेटमेंट की केवल एक या दो कापियाँ वहाँ पर पड़ी रहती हैं जबकि पढ़ने वालों की संख्या अधिक रहती है और जो वहाँ पढ़ना चाहते हैं उनको समय नहीं मिल पाता है। इस बात पर कृपया ध्यान दिया जाना चाहिये। स्टेटमेंट की कापी एक या दो पड़ी रहती हैं और पढ़ने वाले ज्यादा होते हैं।

**श्री जगदम्बी प्रसाद यादव :** कापी नहीं मिली श्रीमान, हम लोगों को।

**SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA :** I have not got a copy but I would not like a long statement to be read.

2-45 R.S./68

**SHRI B. K. P. SINHA :** I have to make a submission in this respect. I am glad that a Short Notice Question has been admitted but on 27th November I gave notice of a Calling Attention Motion on this very subject. We do not know what has happened to that. It is a very very serious matter. Therefore I would request you, after allowing these gentlemen who figure in this, to permit at least a short discussion on this matter in the House because when a Short Notice Question can be admitted and replied to, a discussion also can be held. Why should a discussion not be held for a short duration on this matter?

**SHRI ABID ALI :** I had also sent a notice.

**SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA :** We can ask supplementaries. If a Short Duration Discussion is allowed for doing propaganda, I have also other subjects to suggest.

**MR. CHAIRMAN :** This is a Short Notice Question and a short answer has been given. If I really feel after the questions are put and answered that a short discussion is necessary, I shall consider it.

**श्री जगत नारायण :** मैं गृह मंत्री जी से यह पूछना चाहता हूँ कि उन्होंने अपने जवाब में यह तसलीम किया है कि जो हालत इस वक्त केरल में है या नक्सलवादी ग्रुप की तरफ से जो वाक्या हो रहे हैं वह भयानक भी हैं और चिंताजनक भी हैं, तो क्या उनको यह मालूम है कि श्री नारायणन जो कि इस ग्रुप के लीडर हैं, उसको जब पकड़ा गया तो उसने यह बयान दिया वहाँ पर प्रेस वालों को कि :

"Giving his reasons for surrender Narayanan is reported to have said that the revolution has temporarily failed."

उसने यह कहा कि रिवोल्यूशन सिर्फ टेम्परेरली फेल हुआ है। इसका मतलब यह है कि रिवोल्यूशन के लिये उनकी पूरी तैयारी थी और यह तैयारी सिर्फ केरल में नहीं थी। मैं यह जानना चाहूंगा: क्या इस किस्म की तैयारी बंगाल, आसाम, उत्तर प्रदेश, आन्ध्र प्रदेश, पंजाब, हिमाचल प्रदेश, और काश्मीर में भी हो रही है? तो क्या वजीर

साहब को यह मालूम है कि यह वही प्लानिंग हुई है जो प्लान-माओ ने चीन में इस्तेमाल किया था च्यांग काई शेक को बाहर निकालने के लिये और फारमूसा भेजने के लिये। यह जो नक्सल-बाड़ी ब्रान्ड के लोग पूरी तरह गड़बड़ी पैदा करना चाहते हैं हिन्दुस्तान के फ्रंटियर में और दूसरी जगहों पर और उनकी यह खाईश है, कोशिश है कि वह किसी तरह कुछ सूबों पर कब्जा कर लें और वहां पर हिन्दुस्तान को सरकार बना लें और जिस तरह से माओ त्से यंग ने चीन पर अहिस्ता-अहिस्ता हमला करके च्यांग काई शेक को फारमूसा भेज दिया था उस तरह यह हमारी सरकार को अंडमान भेज दें, यह उनका प्लान है तो क्या यह उनकी नालेज में है ? तीसरी बात मैं उनसे यह पूछना चाहता हूं कि वहां पर जो केरल की कांग्रेस पार्टी के लीडर हैं उन्होंने यह इलजाम लगाया है कि चाइनीज इम्बेसी से रुपया मिलता रहा है नारायणन को और उस ग्रुप को, तो क्या हमारे होम मिनिस्टर बतलायेंगे कि क्या उन्होंने इसके मुताल्लिक कोई छानबीन की है क्योंकि चाइनीज इम्बेसी एक तरह का सांप है जो कि हिन्दुस्तान की छाती पर बैठा हुआ है, यहां से रुपया भी जा रहा है, लिटरेचर भी जा रहा है, फोटो भी जा रहे हैं माओ के, नक्सलबाड़ी के लोगों को इस बात के लिये आमादा करने पर कि वह हिन्दुस्तान पर माओ त्से तुंग की तरह हुकूमत कायम करें।

मेरा दूसरा सवाल यह है कि जब 1962 में चीन ने भारतवर्ष पर हमला किया था उस वक्त यहां हिन्दुस्तान में माओ त्से तुंग की फोटो पिक्चर इतनी बहुतायत में नहीं थी जितनी बहुतायत में आज हिन्दुस्तान में हैं। हमारी हुकूमत इसके मुताल्लिक क्यों खामोश है, यह उस पर एक्शन क्यों नहीं लेती जब कि चीन से हमारा झगड़ा है और माओ त्से तुंग की चीन की हुकूमत ने हिन्दुस्तान पर हमला किया और हिन्दुस्तान की पीठ पर छुरा भोंका दोस्त होते हुए। तो फिर गवर्नमेंट क्यों नहीं एक्शन लेती है ? माओ की फोटो और लिटरेचर आने से हिन्दुस्तान की आजादी को खतरा है। मैं होम मिनिस्टर साहब

से दख्वास्त करूंगा कि इस पर रोशनी डालें। वह कहेंगे हमें सब पता है, हम सब इसके बारे में एक्शन ले रहे हैं। च्यांग काई शेक भी इसी तरह जवाब दिया करता था हमारे पास फौज है, पुलिस है, हम सब इतजाम करते हैं।

MR. CHAIRMAN: Why do you anticipate what the Home Minister is going to say. You have put the question. Sit down.

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN: The Member has given a very graphic description of the ideology and how they are proceedings in China. It is quite all right. I do not think we should take a rather exaggerated view of what is happening. At the same time, I do not want to take a complacent view of the developments. Such isolated groups are functioning in parts of Bengal, parts of Andhra and Kerala.

SHRI B. K. P. SINHA: In Bihar also.

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN: In North Bihar and some parts of U.P. also, I am told. I can only say that there are people with fantastic ideas and I do not want to underestimate them.

श्री जगदम्बी प्रसाद यादव : क्या आप चाहते हैं देश भर में उनका कब्जा हो ...

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN: At the same time it would be wrong to take an unnecessarily exaggerated view of these things. The Member said that the photograph and literature of Mao are available in this country. Yes, they are but we do not know what legal action can be taken against photographs because the constitutional position is there. In this matter we will have to depend on the people's belief in democracy and their national pride. That is the only guarantee in this matter.

श्री जगत नारायण : चाइनीज इम्बेसी के बारे में मेरा सवाल था कि वह रुपया दे रहे हैं, कांग्रेस पार्टी केरल के लीडर ने चार्ज लगाया है कि उनकी तरफ से रुपया दिया गया। उसके मुताल्लिक क्या राय है, क्या एक्शन लेना चाहते हैं ?

**SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN :** That matter is being looked into by the External Affairs Ministry.

**SHRI KRISHAN KANT :** May I know from the Government two things. One is, the Communist Party—Naxalites as they are called—has been thrown out of the C.P.I.(M) and a third party is growing and even the C.P.I.(M) does not want to touch it with a pair of tongs because of its ideology. May I know what the Government is doing? Is it really taking action against such a third party which is growing? What has it done till now because it is growing not only in one State but all over the country? Secondly, what I find is an ideological change is taking place in the CPI(M) also as is known from Mr. Sundarayya's statement. The Marxists do not rule out violence. He says :

"The party wanted to change the existing system of peaceful means but implied that recourse to violence was not ruled out. As a party of professional revolutionaries it would have to be prepared for all eventualities."

It is working as a parliamentary, constitutional party but in the ideology it is pursuing, it is now changing to violence. These two situations are there. May I know how the Government is going to tackle this? Will it be allowed to function by professing violence? It is these parties that are some of the causes for creating conflict in this country.

**SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA :** Sir, you organise a seminar on Marxism-Leninism so that we can discuss these.

**SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN :** As far as violence is concerned and the rule of law is concerned, the Government is committed to take all necessary action about it and the Government will take it.

**SHRI M. P. BHARGAVA :** I want to have two clarifications arising out of para 3 of the Minister's statement. He has stated therein :

"It has been suggested to the Chief Minister of Kerala that apart from the investigations into these specific incidents he may consider taking all possible measures to get to the root of the matter."

The first question is whether he has received any information about the action being taken by the Chief Minister of Kerala. And if he fails to take action, what does the Home Minister propose to do in the matter?

The second clarification is about the next sentence, that the Government of India are taking all possible steps to ensure that the activities of these extremists are curbed, and public safety, lives of public servants, and the rules of law are not endangered, namely, whether he has fixed any time limit to see that these things are restored.

**SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN :** As far as taking care of law and order and safety of Government servants is concerned, there is no question of any time limit. This should be done constantly and always. As far as the first part is concerned, half of the question asked information from me whether the Kerala Government has given any information. Yes, Sir; they have.

**SHRI M. P. BHARGAVA :** To the suggestion made by you that they should get to the root of the matter?

**SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN :** Of course they are going into it and they have certainly given me information as to the action they are taking. If they do not take action what to do, is a hypothetical question.

**श्री आर० पी० खेतान :** क्या माननीय मंत्री जी बत्तालायेंगे कि अब तक केरल में इस संबंध में कितने आदमी पकड़े गये हैं और उनके विरुद्ध क्या-क्या कार्यवाही हुई है ?

**SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN :** I have not got the exact number but some people connected with both these attacks have been arrested.

**SHRI M. PURKAYASTHA :** Will the hon. Home Minister be pleased to state if it is a fact that the all-India coordinating committee of communist revolutionaries met in Calcutta in the third week of October and they gave a call for setting up revolutionary bases in rural areas and if as a result of that call they decided to set up some pockets in Andhra, Kerala, Bihar, Bengal and Assam? Is the Home Minister aware of this and has the Government

found out whether these incidents which took place in Kerala have any connection with those communists revolutionaries and, if so, will the Government be pleased to state what steps Government propose to take to curb their activities? And is it not a fact that because the Communist Party (Marxist) has a leader in Mr. Namboodiripad who heads the Government in Kerala, they are conniving at the activities of those communist revolutionaries, as is evident from the fact that the Communist (Marxist) Party has thrown the blame on the C.I.A. for the incidents in Kerala?

**SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN :** Sir, the historical fact is that this Naxalite group, or the extremist group as it is called, is a faction of the Communist Party (Marxist) but they have publicly stated that they have severed connection with them. And I am prepared to accept that statement.

Sir, as far as this coordinating committee meeting is concerned, it is true that such a meeting did take place, but I cannot say 'yes' or 'no' as to whether they were directly responsible for the activities in the Kerala area; these are matters which we will have to keep a close watch on.

**SHRI RIZAQ RAM :** Sir, will the Home Minister be pleased to state whether it is a fact that the extremists held a convention some three or four months back and drew up a programme for preparing the peasantry in the country for a violent revolution and decided upon starting a programme of non-payment of rent, a no-tax campaign, and encroachment on cardamom plantations and on forest lands, and whether, in pursuance of that objective, they actually encroached upon certain forest lands in the Western Ghats and started training camps in those areas in which these extremists were given training in guerilla warfare etc., and whether it is also a fact that the Chief Minister of Kerala also visited one of the camps where their Gopal Sena people were also being given training and whether it is also a fact that it was the desire of the organisers of those camps that the Gopal Sena people and the trainees should be equipped with arms and whether with that objective in view these raids on police stations were made by those people to collect arms and to arm those

trainees and—I ask one more question, Sir, and that is the last—whether it is a fact that this Narayanan came to receive a money order—which was sent by the Chinese Embassy—on the day he was arrested, and whether he used to receive similar money orders before his arrest even, and whether these facts were within the knowledge of the Government, namely that camps were being organised and training was being imparted? If so, what were the steps the Government had taken before these actual raids on police stations?

**SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN :** I do not know if the hon. Member himself remembers all the questions he asked—there were so many questions, Sir. What he wants to know is whether they have any revolutionary programme—these groups. They certainly talk in terms of a certain classic revolutionary programme. Whether it has any relation to the Indian conditions or not is a different matter. And we know that they are thinking in those terms. There are some people and, as I said, they are fanatical people in this group. So we have to be very careful and watchful in this matter, but I do not want to go into the details about it.

Then he said that certain things had happened in Kerala, and I have also some information about them. About the Gopal Sena, Sir, I had received certain reports about this matter, and I wrote to the Chief Minister, Mr. Namboodiripad. And he has explained that Gopal Sena is not a Sena in that sense but that it is a voluntary organisation of their own party, and he has denied any connection of this with any military training, etc. Sir, the State Government has given this explanation and I think I should indicate this to the House.

**SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA :** You should accept it.

**SHRI RIZAQ RAM :** I had raised the point about the receipt of a money order from the Chinese Embassy by Mr. Narayanan on the day of his arrest.

**SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN :** Sir, I had answered that question and therefore I did not repeat the answer that the matter is being looked into.

**SHRI CHANDRA SHEKHAR :** Mr. Chairman, is the hon. Home Minister aware that one of the persons arrested has confessed that they were getting money from the Chinese Embassy? May I know whether the Government have got such a report that in the confessional statements one of the accused has owned that the Chinese Embassy was giving financial help to these people? That is number one. Number two, may I know from the hon. Home Minister whether his attention has been drawn to a statement made by the hon. Mr. Govindan Nair, a Minister in the Kerala Government, belonging to the Communist Party of India, that the activities of the Communist Party (Marxist) were responsible for such extremist happenings in Kerala State? If it is so, may I know, Sir, whether the hon. Home Minister is inclined to agree with the Chief Minister, Mr. Namboodiripad, or with another colleague of the Chief Minister, Mr. Namboodiripad, who is an equal participant in the same Ministry? May I know, Sir, whether these contradictions in the Kerala Government have come to the knowledge of the Government and moreover whether the Central Government, through their own agencies, have got certain information which corroborate the statement of Mr. Govindan Nair, a Minister in the Kerala Government?

**SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN :** Sir, as far as the first part is concerned, about this confessional statement, etc., I have not got any official copies with me, and because these matters are still at the investigation stage, I cannot say but, as I said, about the connection of the Chinese Embassy, this and the other matters have to be looked into. I cannot rush to make any statement about them just now.

About the differences between Mr. Namboodiripad and Mr. Govindan Nair, there may be many other differences. Why should I take the side of one or the other? I have got my own assessment of the matter. As I have said, this inconvenient activity is the product of the ideology of the C.P.M.

**SHRI B. K. P. SINHA :** Before I put the question, I repeat my request that a short duration discussion should be permitted on this matter. I do not

know what was the implication of the answer of the hon. Home Minister that isolated groups in different parts of the country have come up. I do not think that they are isolated groups. There may not be a directing centre inside India co-ordinating their activities and directing their activities but there is a Radio outside the borders of India which by remote control is directing all these operations. And this is really not Maoist tactics; it is a refined, developed and more aggravated form of that. This is something like the activities of Che Guevara. This is terrorist activity, not revolutionary activity. In such circumstances when in various parts of the country they are coming up why should not Government take an overall view of the matter and evolve some policy which curbs this at the initial stages because if it is not curbed at the initial stages it will grow and develop. They appear with spears and knives—and that is how they began in China and other countries—and attack isolated police stations and armed pickets and get hold of sophisticated arms. With the help of those sophisticated arms they attack bigger formations and get hold of still more sophisticated arms and then they begin attacking in brigades and divisions as they do in North Vietnam and other countries. This is a very serious matter and I should like to know from the hon. Home Minister whether an overall watch is being kept on this matter and if so what is being done. Anyway, the last part of my question I shall omit because I do not want him to disclose what is being done.

**SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN :** I can very well understand the anxiety of the hon. Member that this is something which has rather very dangerous potentialities. I do not want to ignore the dangerous potentialities of it and that is why I have said we are taking an overall view of this matter. When I said that they are isolated I did not mean that they have not got any common inspiration. I did not mean that; what I meant was that organisationally they were appearing in an isolated way. Certainly there is some sort of common thinking behind it; there is common inspiration behind it. That is why it has dangerous potentialities. I can only assure the hon. House that we are taking a co-ordinated view of this matter.

**SHRI ABID ALI :** Is it not a fact that these people use democracy as a shield and they are using democracy to kill democracy and all that it stands for? The hon. Minister says that we have no legal remedy so far as Mao's photo is concerned. It is not merely a photo; it is a symbol and the way the people are using it, the way the anti-national elements and fifth columnists are using it shows, as the hon. Minister has said, that it is a concerted action. So the hon. Minister should not say that an exaggerated view should not be taken of it. Agreed but the way the hon. Minister is trying to evade action is also not good. There has been a steady deterioration in the situation from 1955 to 1960, 1965 and 1968 and now this situation has arisen and we have been telling the Government to be alive to this danger. There are these certain people working on the Chinese border, on the Pakistan border and in Central Hyderabad and in Kerala to bring about in this country a situation similar to the situation in Congo, Korea and Vietnam. Is the Government waiting for that? Is it not a fact that regular senas are being trained in the use of arms in Kerala particularly and is it not a fact that they have now committed murders and damage police stations and people who were seen, who have been recognised as having participated in these incidents, have been released for political reasons before the police completed the investigations? If the police completes the investigations and says it has no evidence then it is all right but those people have been released even before the investigations started. May I know whether the Government will take a very effective stand and not blame democracy saying that democracy has limitations? Democracy is for the country and the country is not for democracy.

**SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN :** I can very well understand the hon. Member's views and I share his vehemence but at the same time we have also to be realistic. As I said, we must not allow ourselves to be led into taking an exaggerated view of the matter. That will amount to making propaganda for these people. We will have to take care of that also. I can certainly assure the hon. Member that we are not blind to the dangerous potentialities of

this thing. We are watching carefully and will be taking, and are taking, necessary action.

**SHRI A. P. JAIN :** These incidents started first with an attack on the Tellicherry police station. In regard to that I would like to know from the hon. Home Minister whether the Government of Kerala had, prior to the attack on the Tellicherry police station, given any inkling to the Government of India about the preparations that were being made.

Secondly, is the Home Minister satisfied that the Government of Kerala is giving him co-operation in curbing these activities to the extent that he would desire?

Thirdly what is the extent of participation of the members of the Gopala sena in these activities?

Lastly, there are two letters purported to have been written by the Chinese Embassy to some of these Naxalites. These two letters have been reproduced in the Press. May I know at what stage the investigation about these letters is pending, whether they are genuine and whether they have established any link between the Naxalites of Kerala and the Chinese Embassy here?

**SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN :** As far as Tellicherry is concerned, the Government of Kerala did not give us any intimation before that.

As for the question whether I am satisfied with the action that they are taking I do not think the hon. Member would press me to give an answer to this because my presumption is that they are taking action. They have told us that they are taking action and where is the question of my expressing satisfaction or not? We have to watch this matter.

About the Embassy matter I have said that it will take some time before I make any statement.

**श्री सुन्दर सिंह भंडारी :** मैं मंत्री महोदय से यह जानना चाहूंगा, जैसा कि आज कुछ समाचारपत्रों में यह छपा है कि होम मिनिस्ट्री की तरफ से सारे राज्यों को एक सरक्युलर भेजा गया है जिसमें इस बात का उल्लेख है कि

केरल की ये घटनायें अक्टूबर मास में कट्टर-पंथियों की समन्वय-समिति की एक बैठक के बाद हुई और तोड़ फोड़ का उसमें कार्यक्रम बनाया गया था। तो अब अक्टूबर मास की इस बैठक की रिपोर्ट के बाद ये घटनायें दिसम्बर महीने में हुई। अगर गृह मंत्रालय को अक्टूबर मास में हुई इस बैठक का समाचार था तो इन घटनाओं को रोकने के लिये उन्होंने क्या पग उठाये? जैसा कि अब उन्होंने दूसरे प्रदेशों को इसके बारे में सूचना दी है तो दूसरे प्रदेशों ने इस प्रकार के मिलने वाले समाचारों के आधार पर जो तोड़ फोड़ की सम्भावित घटनायें उनकी नोटिस में लाई गई हैं उसके सम्बन्ध में क्या कदम उठाये हैं?

**SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN :** As and when such information keeps coming to us we specially invite the attention of the State Governments to it. Even in the case of the October meeting we did it, but especially after these two incidents in Kerala happened and this matter was discussed in the other House, I thought it better to bring it to the notice of the State Government concerned—the strong feelings expressed in this House also. That was my intention and again I emphasised the matter—not that it was done for the first time.

**SHRI K. P. SUBRAMANIA MENON :** I read in the newspapers today that the Home Ministry has sent a circular. Now, it is all right that we have to condemn the incidents in Kerala which have been perpetrated by a sort of people who are thoroughly irresponsible, but in this case I fear that a sort of tension is being built up in the country to use this as a pretext to suppress the mass movements and especially . . .

(Interruptions)

**HON. MEMBERS :** How?

**SHRI K. P. SUBRAMANIA MENON :** That is what is being done. Especially this circular is ominous. It mentions the struggles of the agricultural labour, which is the most exploited section of the people and it is specially pointed out that the Naxalite type of activities are likely to spread among

the agricultural labourers. Now, imagine, a sort of provocation has been done in Kerala and some people are here to take advantage of that and use it as a pretext to launch a sort of repressive action against all mass movements. May I know from the Government of India whether it is their intention to use it as a pretext to suppress the mass movements which are taking place in the country?

**SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN :** This is the difficulty with the Communist (Marxist) Party. They try to talk in terms of mass action, but this is not mass action. This is something which is an action of adventurers, of misled people. I would request him not to connect this with the mass movement.

**SHRI K. P. SUBRAMANIA MENON :** I agree that this is not a mass movement and that is why we have condemned it, but you are using it . . .

**SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN :** There is no question of suppressing any just movement, movement against exploitation, but if anybody in the name of exploitation starts leading the country to an armed revolt, that will be very effectively suppressed.

**SHRIMATI YASHODA REDDY :** Having heard the definite and almost emphatic views of the Home Minister, I am very happy to note that he has taken serious note of the situation. We have been very considerate in the name of democracy in allowing almost all parties including communists—I have nothing against the communists and I have got great respect for people like Mr. Bhupesh Gupta,—but what I want to ask of the Home Minister is whether today even in the communist party there is a variety of communist parties coming up, namely, Marxists, Naxalites, the purple red, all these people and especially the last three which I have mentioned? Their only intention or policy seems to be to disorganise and under any pretext, just as my hon. friend said, exploit in the name of mass movement and something more innocent and sweet-sounding words, a sort of promoting a revolution in India. That being the case, has this Government ever thought it fit to ban such parties? May be they will say we do not ban them. But coming to this particular aspect, I am not asking the



communist party—I have yet faith in some people there—but some of the offshoots like the Naxalites and the purple reds, whose only intention is to take inspiration from other countries and to disorganise what we have in India. Has the Government ever thought it fit to ban them? What are their ideas and have they even thought in that way?

**SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN :** As far as ideas are concerned, it is difficult to ban ideas. They will have to be fought by the thinking processes, in the field of ideas. As far as the other suggestion about banning this particular group is concerned, that is a suggestion for action and I will have to consider it.

**SHRI M. RUTHNASWAMY :** May I know if the Home Minister is satisfied that the Government of India possesses enough resources, besides the ultimate resort to the Army, to make up for the deficiencies of the State Government in regard to the maintenance of law and order in the State?

**SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN :** I do not think it is necessary to resort to the Army in this matter.

**SHRI M. RUTHNASWAMY :** Are you satisfied about the resources of the civil power?

**SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN :** I just cannot say what action should be taken at what time. It must be left to the better judgment of the Government.

**SHRI D. L. SEN GUPTA :** It appears from the press that in the Consultative Committee of the Home Ministry the hon. Home Minister expressed the view that the problem of the Naxalite communists should be dealt with in a political manner and thereafter possibly the Governor of West Bengal told the press that the Naxalite communists should be treated as criminals . . .

**SHRI ABID ALI :** That is correct. Worse than criminals.

**SHRI D. L. SEN GUPTA :** One may differ with the activities of the Naxalite communists and I am one of those who seriously differ, but it will be at the same time oversimplification of the matter to say that the Naxalite

communists are not political and they are criminals. I want to know from the Home Minister whether his view, as revealed in the press, and the view of the West Bengal Governor are inconsistent and, if so, whether he still maintains that the Naxalite communists should be treated as political.

**SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN :** It is a matter of approach to the problem. I have said that this question will have to be attacked in a two-pronged way. It will have to be treated as a political problem and also as a law and order problem and effectively dealt with as such. So, there is nothing much of a contradiction between what I said and what the West Bengal Governor said.

**SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA :** You will have noted that in asking supplementaries our friend, Mr. Abid Ali, brought in the name of Vietnam. He thinks that what is happening here and what is happening in Vietnam are comparable things. *(Interruption)* May I know, Sir, first of all whether the Home Minister of the country will protect himself against such absurd suggestions? That is No. 1. Secondly, is it not a fact that the left and the democratic movement, including the communist movement, is quite alive to certain adventurist trends in this country, which are clearly isolated and have nothing to do with the mass movements which have taken place recently. If Mr. Chavan says that it has nothing to do with the mass movement . . .

**SHRI ABID ALI :** He is wrong. It is a very dangerous suggestion.

**MR. CHAIRMAN :** One at a time.

**SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA :** Therefore, would it not be better, in the opinion of the very wise Mr. Chavan, to leave it to the democratic movement to tackle the broader ideological political questions involved, which some of you at least do not understand? I should like to know whether the hon. Home Minister is also aware of this? He need not have said when a question was asked about Mr. M. N. Govindan Nair that there are differences over this matter. As to the nature of action that took place, the adventurist action, there is no difference between Mr. M. N. Govindan Nair and Mr. E. M. S. Namboodiripad. The Kerala United Front Government is dealing with the

situation, as it should, and politically also others are dealing with this question.

AN HON MEMBER : What is the question?

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : The question is, if the hon. Home Minister wants to speak on this subject, then he should take all these things into account, rather than allow my friend, Mr. Abid Ali, to run away with all kinds of ideas.

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN : I have nothing to say. (*Interruption*) In the first place, he asked for my views. I do not think I can give views during the Question Hour. Secondly, he gave an explanation on behalf of Mr. Govindan Nair. If Mr. Govindan Nair accepts his explanation, I have nothing to say against it.

MR. CHAIRMAN : Mr. Rajnarain.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : It appeared in the press . . .

MR. CHAIRMAN : It should be understood that once a Member gets up, it is over. Mr. Rajnarain.

श्री राजनारायण : श्रीमन्, इस सदन में जो विभिन्न प्रश्न हुये। उन प्रश्नों को देखते हुये क्या सरकार हमारे मुद्दाव पर विचार करेगी कि सरकार इसको महसूस करे कि इस देश में इस सरकार की जो वर्तमान क्षमता है उसको देखते हुये जो व्यक्ति और जो पार्टी जो कुछ भी बनाना चाहे वह बन सकती है। राजनारायण यदि आज चाहे तो जो वस्तु-स्थिति है देश की उसमें उग्र और आतंकवादी व्यक्ति बन सकता है। बन क्यों नहीं रहा है। क्योंकि उसका विवेक है और अपने विवेक से वह इसको गलत समझता है, इस लिये नहीं बन रहा है। मगर जो इस देश की मौजूद स्थिति है उस स्थिति में कोई भी आतंकवादी बन सकता है, अराजकवादी बन सकता है, जनआंदोलनकारी बन सकता है, व्यक्तिगत आंदोलनकारी बन सकता है, शांतिपूर्ण आंदोलनकारी बन सकता है, अहिंसक आंदोलनकारी बन सकता है, हिंसक आंदोलनकारी बन सकता है,

है, जनतांत्रिक आन्दोलनकारी बन सकता है, सामन्ती विद्रोह कर सकता है, पूँजीवादी विद्रोह कर सकता है, समाजवादी विद्रोह कर सकता है . . .

श्री ब्रजकिशोर प्रसाद सिंह : एक बात आप भूल गये जोड़ना कि अर्जक संधी भी बन सकता है।

श्री राजनारायण : श्रीमन्, देखिये, बीच में अनावश्यक ढंक से सिनाह जी खड़े हो गये। तो मैं यह चाहता हूँ कि सरकार यहाँ पर कोई ऐसी व्यवस्था करे जिस से नक्सलवारी में संपत राय सुरीखा व्यक्ति भी बच सके क्योंकि नक्सलवारी का जो भी विद्रोह या आन्दोलन या विकृत आन्दोलन हुआ उसका मुकाबला किया संपत राय ने। वह संपत राय जिस ने वहाँ पर उग्र से उग्र कहने वाले नक्सलवारी आन्दोलन का मुकाबला किया उसके पीछे तीन तीन, चार चार हजार किसान चलते थे और यह सही है कि जब उसका घर वामपंथी कम्युनिस्टों ने घेरा तो जनता अपने यहाँ से निकली बंदूकों के साथ और तीन कम्युनिस्ट उसीके दरवाजे पर मारे गये। इस आन्दोलन को क्या कहा जाय। इस को आतंकवादी कहा जायगा या इस को हिंसक कहा जायगा या इस को जनतंत्रीय कहा जायगा, क्योंकि उस इलाके की बहुमत जनता कम्युनिस्टों के वितंडावाद को खत्म करने के लिये संपत राय के साथ हो गयी। संपत राय जब घर नहीं पहुँचे तो उस के घर को घेरे हुए कम्युनिस्टों पर गोली चलने लगी और उस गोली के अपराध में राष्ट्रपति शासन में संपत राय पर मुकदमा चल रहा है। कल ही उन का तार आया, चिट्ठी आयी कि हमारे ऊपर अभी तीन बेसेज है और हमारे मित्र बता रहे हैं कि एक मैं पांच साल की सजा हो गयी है। घर मंत्री ने कई शब्दों का प्रयोग किया तो मैं यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि केवल टैक्निकल या परंपरावादी शब्दों का प्रयोग कर के यहाँ पर घरमंत्री जी अपनी किकर्तव्य विमूढ़ता की रक्षा करने की कृपा न करें।

इस देश की स्थिति विषम है। यह हमारे मित्र जो यहां पर हैं यह कहते हैं कि क्या सरकार संतुष्ट है और उन के पास इतनी सामर्थ्य है कि वह इन तमाम खुराफातों का मुकाबला कर सके। सरकार निश्चित रूप से कहेगी कि हम संतुष्ट से संतुष्ट हैं। मैं निवेदन करूंगा कि मेरे मुझाव पर सरकार विचार करे और विचार कर के इस देश की स्थिति को ठीक करने के लिये पहले अपने दिमाग को ठीक करे कि वह जनतंत्रवादी है, सामन्तवादी है, या अराजकवादी है। मैं चाहूंगा कि गांधी जी का एक वाक्य सरकार यहां पर स्मरण कर ले। क्या सरकार को यह ज्ञात है कि देवली जेल में जब जयप्रकाश नारायण जी बंद थे...

MR. CHAIRMAN : What has that to do with this? You do not go into such things. Please put a question.

श्री राजनारायण : मैं सवाल ही पूछ रहा हूं। क्या सरकार को ऐसा स्मरण है कि गांधी जी ने कहा था कि जयप्रकाश जी को अहिंसक रहने की सलाह मैं दे सकता हूं, लेकिन जो सरकार तलवार के बल पर, गुंडई के बल पर टिकी हुई है, अगर वह सरकार अहिंसा के साधनों से नहीं हटती है और जयप्रकाश जी समझते हैं कि हिंसा के प्रयोग बिना वह सरकार नहीं हटेगी तो जयप्रकाश जी को पूरा हक्क है कि वह हिंसा का प्रयोग करें। मैं चाहूंगा कि घर मंत्री गांधी जी के इस वाक्य का स्मरण करें और यह समझ लें कि यह वितंडावाद केवल डंडा मार कर, डंडा चला कर रहेगा नहीं।

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN : I do not want to enter into philosophical discussions of the issues he has raised. If at all it is a question of assessment of the political situation in the country I do not agree with the hon. Member. Certainly, I cannot say that we are all satisfied about what it is all about, but I have no doubt that the democratic forces are being gradually strengthened in the country. It will be the duty of everybody to strengthen the forces of democracy by resorting to constitutional and peaceful means and not starting...

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : You also observe the Constitution.

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN : I do stand by that. It is these impulsive, adventurist elements which are really speaking creating difficulties for themselves and the counter.

DR. (MRS.) MANGLADEVI TALWAR : I would like to ask a very small question and that is, these groups in different States, are they connected with the very integrity and sovereignty of the country? I greatly appreciate the firm stand and the statement by the hon. Home Minister that he and his Government are alive to the situation. I would like to know one thing. The different States with full confidence in their Government give their own picture and their own reports. As the question is very important, have the Central Government any machinery in different States to find out either to confirm or otherwise, the reports received from the State Governments? Another request I have to submit to you is, in view of the interest shown by the hon. Members on both sides, let there be a longer debate on this question.

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN : I have noted the suggestion the hon. Member has made.

#### WRITTEN ANSWERS TO QUESTIONS

##### PAKISTAN SPIES IN DELHI AND ASSAM

\*499. SHRI N. R. MUNISWAMY: Will the Minister of HOME AFFAIRS be pleased to state whether, in view of the fact that the number of persons involved in spying for Pakistan in Delhi and Assam is greater than all the other States after the Indo-Pak Conflict, any special stringent measures have been taken to curb the activities of such spies?

THE MINISTER OF HOME AFFAIRS (SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN) : It is not true that the number of persons arrested for spying for Pakistan in Delhi and Assam after the Indo-Pak Conflict is greater than in all the other States. Adequate machinery, however, exists for countering the activities of spies in the country.