

**DEMAND NO. 10—WORKING EXPENSES—
LABOUR WELFARE**

“That a sum not exceeding Rs. 20,17,16,000 be granted to the President to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending 31st of March, 1966 in respect of Working Expenses—Labour Welfare.”.

**DEMAND NO. 11—WORKING EXPENSES—
APPROPRIATION TO DEPRECIATION RE-
SERVE FUND**

“That a sum not exceeding Rs. 85,00,00,000 be granted to the President to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending 31st of March, 1966 in respect of Working Expenses—Appropriation to Depreciation Reserve Fund.”.

**DEMAND NO. 11-A—WORKING EX-
PENSES—APPROPRIATION TO PENSION
FUND**

“That a sum not exceeding Rs. 12,10,00,000 be granted to the President to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending 31st of March, 1966 in respect of Working Expenses—Appropriation to Pension Fund.”.

**DEMAND NO. 12—PAYMENTS TO
GENERAL REVENUES**

“That a sum not exceeding Rs. 115,90,17,000 be granted to the President to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending 31st of March, 1966 in respect of Payments to General Revenues.”.

**DEMAND NO. 13—OPEN LINE WORKS
(REVENUE)**

“That a sum not exceeding Rs. 11,00,00,000 be granted to the President to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending 31st of March, 1966, in respect of Open Line Works (Revenue).”

**DEMAND NO. 14—CONSTRUCTION OF
NEW LINES**

“That a sum not exceeding Rs. 65,82,32,000 be granted to the President to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending 31st of March, 1966 in respect of Construction of New Lines.”.

**DEMAND NO. 15—OPEN LINE WORKS—
CAPITAL, DEPRECIATION RESERVE FUND
AND DEVELOPMENT FUND**

“That a sum not exceeding Rs. 519,01,64,000 be granted to the President to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending 31st of March, 1966 in respect of Open Line Works—Capital, Depreciation Reserve Fund and Development Fund.”.

**DEMAND NO. 16—PENSIONARY CHAR-
GES—PENSION FUND**

“That a sum not exceeding Rs. 3,12,40,000 be granted to the President to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending 31st of March, 1966 in respect of Pensionary Charges—Pension Fund.”.

**DEMAND NO. 18—APPROPRIATION TO
DEVELOPMENT FUND**

“That a sum not exceeding Rs. 29,23,67,000 be granted to the President to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending 31st of March, 1966, in respect of Appropriation to Development Fund.”

16.03 hrs.

**MOTION RE: HOME MINISTER'S
STATEMENT ON ANTI-NATIONAL
ACTIVITIES OF PRO-PEKING
COMMUNISTS**

Mr. Speaker: Now the House will take up the discussion on the Motion of Shri P. K. Deo.

Shri S. M. Banerjee (Kanpur): Sir, I want to rise on a point of order. I have gone through the Directions by the Speaker under the Rules of Procedure and Conduct of Business in Lok Sabha. But before I do it I would invite your kind attention to page 19 of the statement of our Home Minister under the heading "The parallel party centre and its activities". He has mentioned there.....

Mr. Speaker: He has written to me that he is raising it under Direction 115.

Shri S. M. Banerjee: I am coming to that. He has mentioned there:

"The new party centre which operated from New Delhi under A. K. Gopalan's personal direction became the clearing house for the exchange....."

Mr. Speaker: I must point out to him that he cannot raise it in this manner. If he wanted to point out any discrepancy or inaccuracy in the statement of the Minister....

Shri S. M. Banerjee: I am coming to that.

Mr. Speaker: First I have come to that; therefore, he should listen to me.

Shri S. M. Banerjee: I have already mention it.

Mr. Speaker: He would not listen to me! He has written to me that he wants to raise a point of order under Direction 115(1) and (2). Is that all that he has written to me or is there anything else also?

Shri S. M. Banerjee: This is all. In support of that I will quote.....

Mr. Speaker: No. He ought to have written to me what inaccuracy is there, what is the statement that has been made and what is the correct thing.

Shri S. M. Banerjee: Kindly bear with me; otherwise, how do you know.....

Mr. Speaker: No, This is the Direction.

Shri S. M. Banerjee: Do you consider that there are no inaccuracies in the statement? You allow me....

Mr. Speaker: Shri Banerjee is a seasoned parliamentarian. He is pointing out to me Direction 115. He should kindly read it.

Shri S. M. Banerjee: I am reading it.

Mr. Speaker: It reads:—

"A member wishing to point out any mistake or inaccuracy in a statement made by a Minister or any other member shall, before referring to the matter in the House, write to the Speaker pointing out the particulars of the mistake or inaccuracy and....."

Shri S. M. Banerjee: Exactly.

Mr. Speaker: But he has not pointed that out to me.

Shri S. M. Banerjee: I have not; but I want to raise only that point.

Mr. Speaker: I have not got the particulars. Let him write to me first and then I can allow him.

श्री मधु लिमये (मुंजर) : मेरा व्यवस्था का प्रश्न है, नियम बता दूँ ?

Mr. Speaker: Order, order. One hon. Member is already speaking and Shri Madhu Limaye gets up.

श्रीमधु लिमये : आपने कहा था बुलाया इसलिए मैंने कहा ।

अध्यक्ष महोदय : मैंने आपको बुलाया था ?

श्री मधु लिमये : मैंने समझा कि छत्रम हो गया ।

अध्यक्ष महोदय : यह आपने कैसे समझ लिया ।

I am just making it very clear that Shri Banerjee has not written to me the particulars of that inaccuracy.

Shri S. M. Banerjee: I am submitting to you why I have not done that.

Mr. Speaker: I cannot hear the "why" at this moment. I cannot allow it at moment Shri Banerjee might raise it at some other time after he has given me the particulars of the inaccuracy.

Shri S. M. Banerjee: I did not give the particulars. I am only raising that on a point of order because of one thing in this.....

Mr. Speaker: I cannot allow it. I cannot be taken by surprise.

Shri S. M. Banerjee: There is no question of taking you by surprise. I am not taking you by surprise.

Mr. Speaker: I do not know what he is going to raise. I cannot do that. I am telling him again and again. I cannot do it.

Shri S. M. Banerjee: Kindly hear me.

Mr. Speaker: No. He will kindly resume his seat

Shri S. M. Banerjee: It has been mentioned in the document and we should be given an opportunity.

Mr. Speaker: I have told him thrice to sit down and he will not sit down.

श्री मधु लिमये : मेरा व्यवस्था का प्रश्न है ।

प्रध्यक्ष महोदय : आपने मुझे कोई इत्तला नहीं दी : व्यवस्था का प्रश्न किस बात पर है ?

श्री मधु लिमये : आपने कहा कि इस प्रस्ताव पर बहस होगी । उसी के सम्बन्ध में मेरा व्यवस्था का प्रश्न है ।

प्रध्यक्ष महोदय : किस रूल के मुताबिक है ?

श्री मधु लिमये : नियम 186 तथा 337 ।

मैं विशेषकर आप का ध्यान नियम 186 की दूसरी धारा की ओर खींचना चाहूंगा जहां कहा गया है :

“उस में प्रतर्क, अनुमान, व्यंग्यात्मक पद, अभ्यारोप या मानहानिकारक कथन नहीं होंगे, ”

इसी प्रकार नियम 337 में लिखा है :

“यदि अध्यक्ष की राय में किसी सूचना में ऐसे शब्द, वा वाक्यांश या पद हैं जो प्रत-कोत्मक, असंसदीय, व्यंग्यात्मक, असंगत, आडम्बरपूर्ण या अन्यथा अनुसूचित हों, तो वह, स्वविवेक से, ऐसी सूचना में, परिवर्तित किए जाने से पूर्व संशोधन कर सकेगा ।”

प्रध्यक्ष महोदय, आपको ताज्जुब होगा कि मेरा भी नाम इस प्रस्ताव से जुड़ा हुआ है और मैं यह व्यवस्था का प्रश्न उठा रहा हूँ । शायद आप का ध्यान इस बात की ओर न गया हो इसलिए दिना देना चाहता हूँ ।

प्रध्यक्ष महोदय : मेरा ध्यान चला गया है । उस के बारे में कोई बहस करने की जरूरत नहीं । आप का नाम भी इस में है और फिर भी आप यह सवाल उठा रहे हैं । आप अपनी बात कहिए ।

श्री मधु लिमये : प्रध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं ने जो प्रस्ताव दिया था, हो सकता है कि मैं ने बाद में दिया इसलिए जो पहले आया उसको पहले लिया गया है, मुझे याद है कि उसमें मैं ने लिखा था कि :

“कम्युनिस्ट कार्यकर्ताओं की गिरफ्तारी और उस पर गृह मंत्री का बयान” लेकिन जिस शकल में यह प्रस्ताव हमारे सामने आया

[श्री मधु लिमये]

है उसमें 'कुछ अभियोग लगाए गए हैं ।
एक अभियोग है :

पीकिंग समर्थक साम्यवादी :

दूसरा अभियोग है :

राष्ट्र विरोधी कारबाइयां ।

तीसरा आरोप है तोडफोड़ का और चौथा आरोप है हिंसात्मक कार्यवाही की तैयारी । अब मुझे ऐसा लगता है कि इस प्रस्ताव में यह संशोधन किया जाय और इस रूप में उस को रखा जाय कि कम्युनिस्ट नजरबन्दों की गिरफ्तारी और गृह-मंत्री का उसके ऊपर बयान जोकि 18 फरवरी 1965 को सभा की टेबुल पर रखा गया था क्योंकि यह उनका व्यक्तिगत मत है । हो सकता है कि कुछ लोग उस से सहमत हों और यह भी हो सकता है कि कुछ लोग उस से सहमत न हों इसलिए मैं चाहूंगा कि प्रस्ताव में वह न आये

अध्यक्ष महोदय : अच्छी बात है । मैंने माननीय सदस्य का व्यवस्था का प्रश्न सुन लिया । जब श्री पी० के० देव स्टेटमेंट कर रहे थे कि उस पर बहस हो तो उन के जो शब्द हैं वे मंत्री जी के जो उनकी हैडिंग और टाइटल हैं स्टेटमेंट की उसी को वह कोट कर रहे थे और उन्होंने अपनी तरफ से कोई ऐसी चीज या कोई आरोप नहीं लगाया था ।

श्री मधु लिमये अध्यक्ष महोदय
बह

अध्यक्ष महोदय : बस और नहीं ।

श्री मधु लिमये : उसमें कोटेशन मार्क नहीं था

अध्यक्ष महोदय : अब इस तरह से बहस नहीं चला सकते । आपने जो कुछ कहना था

कह दिया है बाकी फैसला मुझे देना है ।
अब आप क्यों बारबार खड़े होते हैं ।

श्री मधु लिमये : एक ही बात याद रखी जाय कि उस में कोटेशन मार्क नहीं है ।

अध्यक्ष महोदय : यह कोई प्वाइंट ऑफ ऑर्डर नहीं है । उस स्टेटमेंट की जो हैडिंग में दिया हुआ है वह ही यहां पर उन्होंने दिया है ।

Shri P. K. Deo (Kalahandi): Mr. Speaker, Sir, I beg to move....

श्री मधु लिमये : मैंने कहा तो है कि उसमें कोटेशन मार्क नहीं है ।

अध्यक्ष महोदय : आर्डर, आर्डर ।

श्री मधु लिमये : अध्यक्ष महोदय : जब भी हम कुछ कहना चाहते हैं आप हमें इस तरह से डांट करके रोक देते हैं ।

अध्यक्ष महोदय : आप इस तरह से बारबार मना करने पर भी बहस चलाये ही जा रहे हैं और मदाखलत कर रहे हैं ।

श्री मधु लिमये : मैं कोई बेकार में तो मदाखलत कर नहीं रहा हूं । मेरा तो केवल यह निवेदन है कि उस पर उद्धरण चिन्ह लगाया जाय कोटेशन मार्क लगाया जाय ।

अध्यक्ष महोदय : कोटेशन लगाने की कोई जरूरत नहीं है । मेरा खयाल है अब आप मुझे कार्यवाही शुरू करने देंगे और मदाखलत नहीं करेंगे ।

मैं समझता हूं कि श्री पी०के० देल के लिए पन्द्रह मिनट का समय काफी होगा । दो घंटे का समय है और इसमें दस, बारह प्रादमियों को बुलना है ।

Shri P. K. Deo: Half an hour. It is an important debate. We may extend the time, if necessary.

अध्यक्ष महोदय : सब को तो मैं तब भी वक्त नहीं दे सकूंगा अगर बहुत से लोग बोलना चाहेंगे। मेरा खयाल है कि आप पन्द्रह मिनट में खत्म करने की कोशिश करें बाकी लोग दस, दस मिनट लें ले तो ठीक होगा।

Shri P. K. Deo: It is an important debate.

अध्यक्ष महोदय : अच्छा; बात है श्री पं० के० देव बीस मिनट ले लें।

Shrimati Renu Chakravarty (Barrackpore): I also request that some more time be given.

अध्यक्ष महोदय : ठीक है वे बीस मिनट ले लें।

Shri P. K. Deo: Sir, I beg to move:

"That this House takes note of the statement of the Minister of Home Affairs on the anti-national activities of pro-Peking Communists and their preparations for subversion and violence, laid on the Table of the House on the 18th February, 1965."

In this country's history we come across individuals like Jaychandra, Mir Kasim and Mirjafar, who have not only betrayed the cause of the country by their treachery and treason but have brought foreign enemy to this mother land and have changed the course of history.

Shri Abdul Ghani Goni (Jammu and Kashmir): He has made a wrong statement. It was only Mirjafar and not Mir. Kasim. (Interruption).

Mr. Speaker: If there is a mistake, that might be corrected.

Shri P. K. Deo: If there is any error, that might be corrected.

Mr. Speaker: It is a *bona fide* error. He has mentioned that name wrongly.

Shri P. K. Deo: We expected a fully documented White Paper and we expected that this paper will throw some light as to from where large amounts of funds are coming for the pro-Peking Communists. We thought that this document will throw some light regarding the Bank of China affair and the circumstances under which the Indonesian Consulate had to be closed. It has not thrown any light on these things. But at the same time I take the opportunity to congratulate the hon. Home Minister for his bold statement in this grey paper which has completely exposed the sinister design of those misguided men who did not mind to barter away this country's independence, security and honour to the enemy for their personal and party interest.

Since last six years, we have been pressing constantly from these benches that the Government should ban this party with extra-territorial loyalty who always look to Russia and China for their inspiration and finance. But all these words have fallen on deaf ears. Even though the Government realised it, they could not act because of influence and pull of the crypto-communist and fellow travellers inside the ruling party.

On the 12th September, 1959, when the discussion on the first White Paper on Chinese aggression took place in this House, which I had the privilege to initiate, I gave a note of caution to the Government to look at the coming events with eyes wide open. The words of Mr. Dange still ring in my ears when he said:

"Communist Party firmly believes that there will be no invasion from China over this country. I guarantee that there will be no invasion as far as China is concerned. I cannot talk of others."

Shri Surendranath Dwivedy (Kendrapara): There is no invasion; it is only aggression.

Shri P. K. Deo: The time has unfolded: Who is right? Even though some of the leaders of the Communist Party may swear by the Amritsar Congress declaration which envisaged a peaceful parliamentary transition to socialism, important leaders like Ranadive, Muzaffar Ahmed, Harekrishna Koner, Pramod Das Gupta and others came in their true colour in criticising the so-called peaceful evolution stand as nonsense and advocated the path to be followed, set out, by the Chinese in the Peking Review No. 17 of 24th June, 1958:

"Through revolution in one form or another, the working class must smash the bourgeois state apparatus and replace the bourgeois dictatorship by proletarian dictatorship."

In the critique of the gatha, Mr. Marx writes in 1857:

"Between capitalism and communist society lies the period of the revolutionary transformation of one to the other. This corresponds to the period of political transition when the State can be nothing but revolutionary dictatorship of the proletariat."

Lenin in his "State and Revolution" states:

"Dictatorship of the proletariat is the rule unrestricted by law and based on force of the proletarian over the bourgeois."

Sir, these writings from Marx or Lenin.....

Shri Daji (Indore): This is called the devil quoting the scriptures. (Interruption).

Shri Kapur Singh (Ludhiana): He has called the Member who is speaking as a devil. I do not think it is parliamentary.

Mr. Speaker: For the last few days I have really been very much distressed to see how things have been proceeding. If noise takes the place of

argument, then that will be the end of democracy. The House itself should be mindful of its reputation. So far we have created an impression that there is some parliamentary democracy which is prevailing in India.

श्री किशन पटनायक (सबलपुर):
नन्दा साहब ने उस को खत्म कर दिया।

Mr. Speaker: I would request the hon. Members to listen with patience however unpalatable the arguments might be. Arguments should be countered with arguments and not with other demonstrations.

Shri Daji: In regard to the observation which has been made.....

Mr. Speaker: He will kindly sit down. Now he will hear.....

Shri Daji: I want your guidance.

Mr. Speaker: Order, order.

Shri P. K. Deo: I want to point out communist is like *The Bible* to a Christian. The communists follow but one principle and that is the principle of opportunism, and opportunism has but one principle that it follows no principle. Only expediency has determined their course of action and nothing else and by this method Mr. Churchill had said 'Never so few people ruled so many'. In September, 1959, they championed the Chinese cause and described the MacMahon line as a fraud and accused India of aggression.

Shri Kapur Singh: Shame!

Shri P. K. Deo: We also saw that if there was a conflict between national interest and party interest, Mr. Ranadive had advised that they should not take an unprincipled stand saying "that they should not defend the country against Chinese aggression and give up internationalism". Internationalism seems to be their creed. It does not confine itself to national boundaries or look after national interests.

When there was Chinese aggression and forceful occupation of 12,000

square miles of our territory, and when there was the cold-blooded massacre of our policemen in the Hot Springs in 1959, the *New Age* monthly tried to justify those actions by quoting the Chinese Prime Minister's letter. We persistently demanded at that time from this side that the Communist Party should be banned

Shri Jaipal Singh (Ranchi-West): Why?

Shri P. K. Deo: They fooled the Government, one section supporting the Government and the other section opposing the Government. Government are in the habit of not realising the realities. They saw the situation through the wrong end of the telescope. That was so because inside the Cabinet, the dice were loaded in favour of the communists because of the presence of fellow-travellers in the Cabinet, because at that time the Defence Minister was toasting 'Hindi Cheeni Bhai-Bhai' with his Chinese counterpart.

Now, the cat has come out of the bag, and already when the communists were knocking at our door, India's sensitive and palpable border was exposed to communist infiltration and subversion. To exploit the economic distress and ignorance of the hill people in that area, our friends were active giving a rosy picture of China, as if the world did not know that there was large-scale famine and slavery of the worst type perpetuated there. And this whispering campaign and subversive propaganda was going on in full swing in Darjeeling and the Kumaon Hills which are the main recruiting centres of the country. All the official organs of the Communist Party have been supporting this move. Mr. Mao's picture, the picture of one whose hand has been tainted with Indian blood was conspicuously displayed at the communist party conferences at Bagdogra, Gunnur, Bombay city, and Berhampore. Even in the Punjab where this picture was not displayed our friend Surjit says that even though the picture was not dis-

played the picture had been engraved in their hearts.

Shri M. R. Masani (Rajkot): Shame!

Shri P. K. Deo: Their anti-national character is evident from this that their activities had culminated in the rejoicing and the thundering cheers at the West Bengal Conference when Shri Basavapunnaiiah announced that China had exploded a nuclear bomb. In 1948, at the call of Mr. Stalin that there should be communist uprising in Asia, our friends started the uprising here and the Telengana movement gathered momentum. I do not want to repeat the grim trail of death and destruction left by the communists in the years 1948-51 in Telengana which they wanted to convert as the Yenan Province in China to be a spring-board to overthrow the Government of India by violent revolution. The cult of acid bulb and guerilla struggle advocated by Mr. Mao was fully employed. But the Telengana revolution misfired due to the firm dealing by Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel. They want to repeat the same thing now. There has been a striking similarity in their *modus operandi* at this moment. That is because the external security of the country is being threatened by the presence of a ruthless and a heavily armed neighbour like China at the northern border, who will provide a hinterland and a powerful base for their logistic and ultimate success, if they want to overthrow the Government by revolution.

Inside the country, there have been rising prices, food shortage, corruption and sheltering of corrupt men by Government, and lastly, the presence of a powerful communist lobby inside the Congress, which is ideally suited for the launching of this violent struggle. There has been infiltration inside the Government. In this regard, I would like to point out that the various policies of Government, for which I hold the Government responsible, have led to this situation. This would not have happened if they had listen-

[Shri P. K. Deo]

ed to wise counsel, if they had banned the Government at the right time....

Mr. Speaker: Banned the Government?

Shri P. K. Deo: I am sorry—banned the Communist Party. They should have banned the Communist Party at the right time. Instead, they allowed them to function as a party. They allowed them to contest the election in Kerala. It is a wonder how they allowed a party which does not believe in democracy to function in this way. Their definition of democracy is a one-party government. When the Communist party, somehow or other steps into power, they never quit it in favour of any other party. This is their conception of democracy and this is their state of affairs. But that party has been allowed to function in this country, and now we are to face the music!

Lastly, by the detention of the communists on the eve of the Kerala elections a halo of martyrdom was provided to them. Otherwise, they would never have been returned as the single largest party in those elections.

An hon. Member: How does he know?

Shri P. K. Deo: This is due to the folly of Government. We do not want that anybody should be detained under the Defence of India Rules or that emergency powers should be used for the detention of any individual. Whether he is Sheikh Abdullah or he is my friend, Shri Gopalan, he should be properly tried in a court of law. If the hand of law is not long enough to deal with these people properly, amend the law. We are prepared to support it. Even in the case of the DMK, we went to the extend of amending the Constitution to regulate their activities. To bring to book these communists, if any amendment of the law is required, the Government should come out with concrete proposals and they will get our full support.

A word regarding the Rightist communists. As a result of the world communist ideological conflict, there have been two groups, and there have been two groups in all the satellite states.

Shri Daji: In all parties
(Interruptions).

Shri P. K. Deo: I am sure if China and Russia join hands tomorrow, these two parties will immediately form into one party. There is no doubt about it (Interruption). There is no patriotic urge. It is only a reflection of some difference of opinion between Russia and China. Their support to the Government in this struggle against China is only strategic, to camouflage their real intentions. This reminds me of the Siamese twins; if one is beaten, the other at once cries. Similarly, it is very difficult to distinguish between these two, the invisible and imaginary line between these two. It is like the difference between "investigation" and "inquiry".

I warn Government to be more careful regarding the crypto-communists inside the ruling party. They have infiltrated into the Congress.

Shri Daji: Who?

Shri P. K. Deo: In my own State, I know so many communists have joined Congress ranks and are in the payroll of the Kalinga empire of Biju and Biren Mitra. If you want, I can name them....

Mr. Speaker: Order, order.

Shri P. K. Deo: The sapling of democracy has yet to take firm roots in our country. We cannot afford the luxury of allowing the saboteurs of democracy to function in this way.

Shrimati Renu Chakravartty: May I say that when this particular allegation has been made about Communists in Orissa being in the pay of

Shri Biju Patnaik he should produce some proof? We must know it. He has no right to say it. He should substantiate these things.

Mr. Speaker: Motion moved:

"That this House takes note of the statement of the Minister of Home Affairs on the anti-national activities of pro-Peking communists and their preparations for subversion and violence, laid on the Table of the House on the 18th February, 1965."

I had asked the Mover to take 15 minutes, and he has taken quite 15. Other Members should be equally careful. Shri Mukerjee.

Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath (Hoshangabad): On the adjournment motion on the language issue we sat till 7.15. Let us now sit longer.

Shri S. M. Banerjee: We will sit till 7 o'clock if you allow us.

Shri Jaipal Singh rose—

Mr. Speaker: I have called Shri Mukerjee.

Shri Jaipal Singh: I am rising on a point of order, if you do not mind.

Mr. Speaker: What is the rule under which he is raising it?

Shri Jaipal Singh: I am sorry I have not got the Rules book here. You must give me some indulgence.

Shrimati Renu Chakravartty has raised a point of order which is eternal in parliamentary practice, that is to say, no one can be criticised who is not here unless there is evidence. I am not a Communist, I will never be a Communist, despite the charm that Shrimati Renu Chakravartty and Shri Mukerjee may have, but the point is that certain things have been cited by the Maharaja of Kalahandi. Unless the people are there to defend themselves, or the Treasury Benches defend them,—they might, they have

been doing that all along—we must have evidence. An hon. Member of Parliament has no business to mention in this House anything unless we have evidence.

Mr. Speaker: I am not going into that evidence. He only said that some Communists were in the pay roll. He has not named those Communists, and I have not allowed. Such a statement can be made.

Shri H. N. Mukerjee (Calcutta-Central): In his delightful innocence of political thought and of history, Shri Deo has given us a delectable mishmash of ignorance and malice, and I congratulate Shri Nanda for having at least converted one super-enthusiast advocate for the cause which he has propounded before us.

An hon. Member: Not one, many.

Shri H. N. Mukerjee: I have very little time. I am afraid I shall ignore much of what he has said, particularly regarding some of our people being saboteurs of democracy and that sort of thing. I will treat that kind of accusation with the contempt which it deserves.

The Home Minister has placed before us not a White Paper, but a dark and dismal document which seeks to justify the indefensible detention without trial of nearly a thousand Left Communists on grounds that, as he has propounded them, do not stand a moment's scrutiny. In the process, the Home Minister has dealt a blow to the parliamentary ideas that we have inherited, to which I shall refer in the beginning.

Parliamentary life involves the principle, as Sir Erskine May has pointed out, that service in Parliament is paramount to all other claims. But nearly all Members of a recognised group in this House, including Shri A. K. Gopalan, whose seat is here unoccupied by him, are prevented from performing their service to this House indefinitely and

[Shri H. N. Mukerjee]

by virtue of executive action, executive action stealthily decided upon even before the last session of Parliament was over, and this has distorted the picture of this House as portrayed by your recognition of different political trends in the country. Our friend Shri A. K. Gopalan is being dubbed as a pro-Peking Communist and as an anti-national individual, virtually a traitor to India, and he cannot even come here to face his accusers.

I want to know what is happening in this country. Is there a war being fought on our soil? Is Shri Nanda running a revolution which requires a certain amount of authoritarian decision? No. Shri Nanda and his friends are too busy looking after—I borrow Shri Deo's expression—the Siamese twins of Orissa's politics and other proteges of that unspeakable sort. They are too busy using the Defence of India orders putting in prison our people—the Secretary of my State Committee in Orissa, for example, and so many PSP workers at the time of the agitation in Orissa.

He is too busy doing that sort of thing. And lately he has taken recourse to political vendetta which has landed him into producing this wonderful document. This document makes it clear that the notion of the overriding menace from left communists is a hoax, a hoax intended to camouflage the anti-democratic aims, a political ritual designed especially to alarm the Kerala electorate to vote for the Congress, a plan that has boomeranged on the ruling party. Obviously the people of Kerala did not believe what the Government wanted them to believe about the left communists. Shri Nanda said at a press conference that he was giving the people of Kerala a chance to reject them and the people of Kerala gave

him a fitting reply by sending these communists as a single majority group. Mr. Nanda is trying to take recourse to some manipulation of figures regarding the percentage of the vote. I have seen a statement by Mr. E. M. S. Namboodiripad contesting the claim of Mr. Nanda regarding the percentage of votes cast in favour of the Congress or of left communists. Very amazing. It is a futile controversy. In the Lok Sabha the Congress has a massive majority on the basis of a minority vote. Why this double standard talk is being indulged in, I do not understand.

But, Sir, to come back to fundamentals. Detention without trial, as even my ingenious friend Mr. Deo was constrained to point out, violates every decent democratic instinct. In the *Liversidge* case during the Second World War, the British Judge said how even in the clash of arms the laws of England are not silent. The Government knows that there is the Supreme Court judgment hanging like the sword of Damocles over its head, the judgment which said that in passing the Defence of India Act, Parliament has disregarded the constitutional provisions of articles 14 and 22, that when the Presidential Order under article 359 ceases to be operative, as it must, sometime or the other, the infringement of citizenship rights caused thereby can be challenged in courts of law, that after the Emergency is lifted the executive would remain liable for wrongful detention. We know that the Government had made an effort to amend the Constitution and to avoid the effects of this judgment but that effort has misfired so far. What other mischievous moves are in contemplation, I do not know.

And meanwhile, in the name of emergency which has become in the minds of the people little more than a fake, in the name of emergency which helps to prop up the structure

of an administration which has proved itself inefficient and corrupt and a moral blight on this country, political repression is being practised by the Government in power. In particular, it has happened in Kerala, where the name of the Congress is mud and people have returned the left communists as the largest single party. Therefore, they are entitled in all propriety to be called to form the State Ministry. I have got a copy of a telegram from Mr. Namboodiripad. He says that he has sent a telegram to the Prime Minister and the President asking for facilities so that the members elected and the members of the State Committee of his party are released and they could hold consultations just as the syndicate in Congress and so many other people hold consultations in regard to their parliamentary programme. But of course nothing is being done about it.

Sir, in this country we see most wonderful things. I am very sorry to say this, but I have to say it because it is my country. Indian nationals spying for Pakistan are caught napping in the very act and are prosecuted in court. It is a good thing they are prosecuted in court. But in the case of these people, not one single case of prosecution is there. What I see is this. Political personalities, whether it is Chakravarti Rajagopalachari or Jaiprakash Narayan or lesser people who sometimes lurk in this august House also, have been openly suggesting the giving over of Indian territories to Pakistan, or trickling down to rebel claims to Nagaland, and nothing is done in regard to that. But as far as the left Communists are concerned, not a single step is taken except that of putting them in jail and having no kind of trial about it.

If over the India-China issue anyone violates the country's interests, hold him up by all means, but do not just call left Communists pro-Peking, give them a bad name and hang them. One of their leaders, Shri Jyoti Basu,

has said that his party says nothing more in relation to the Colombo proposals—I have got his statement here—than what has been said by Congress M.Ps.,—among them my hon. friend Shri Khadilkar over there—and the statements which have been made by the Prime Minister himself in regard to the settlement of the India-China issue. This is what has happened.

Shri Nanda's perfervid eloquence before a very safe microphone in All India Radio did not prevent even the *Hindustan Times* of the 6th January speaking of—I am quoting—"...the startling degree of disbelief in the case he has put forward". It further states that "the Government seem to have acted primarily to divert attention from the worsening food and price situation and secondly to evade the imminent Congress debacle in the elections in Kerala." Since then the debacle has taken place and the Government continues in its course of self-righteous arrogance. I am reminded of what Dean Swift once said: "I never wonder to see men wicked: I often wonder not to see them ashamed." Perhaps the Government tries to wear today the mask of pride but its true name is fear.

Is there any proof in this document of imminent danger on account of left Communists to peace and tranquillity or to the security of our country? There is none. If Government has other material, they should not be kept up its sleeves but it should utilise them for prosecutions if they dare to launch them before courts of law. Till such material is brought out and examined, this document is no more than a scrap of paper, except for those who have got to say 'yes' to Shri Nanda and also to some who are blinded by the anti-Communist prejudice. This document will convince nobody who has got a head over his shoulder.

We have our differences, very serious and basic differences, with left Communists who have broken away from the party and formed their sepa-

[Shri H. N. Mukerjee]

rate organisation, but with all our strength, we condemn this flagrant misuse of power against them; we condemn this attack on a political group merely because of its ideological predilections. Those of its leaders who have not been arrested, like Shri Namboodiripad or Shri Jyoti Basu, have challenged the Government to prove one act—one overt or covert act—over the India-China issue. It is not for us to answer the allegations which Government have put in so vaguely. These two gentlemen, Shri Namboodiripad and Shri Basu, have sought to do it to the extent possible.

For instance, Shri Nanda has mentioned the visit to Himachal Pradesh by four Bengal Communists. One of them did not go. They had gone to a celebration, to the Ghadar party, in Jullundur at Bhagat Singh's birth-place. One of them had not gone to Himachal Pradesh. The other three went to Himachal Pradesh, because many people—the Home Minister also—want sometimes to see a very beautiful place. Shri Ramamurthi, a Member of the upper House, went to Himachal Pradesh and it is mentioned here as if he was conspiring with people near the border. Is it open to Shri Nanda to appear to claim that Members of Parliament even, let alone other citizens of this country, cannot go to those places merely because they are very near the frontier and if only they go there, they are going to be hauled up on this kind of suspicion which is not only misdirected, but utterly frivolous and absolutely ridiculous? This is the sort of thing which he is doing.

Shri Jyoti Basu has said repeatedly that there are allegations of propaganda in Darjeeling and other districts of West Bengal and that these allegations are completely false and he has challenged this Government to produce some proof.

Shri Nanda has referred to a meeting, a demonstration, in Trivandrum where most objectionable slogans were supposed to have been shouted,

and Shri Namboodiripad has given a statement to the press that if these slogans were shouted, it is a most terrible thing and he does not surely approve of them, but he knows that these slogans were not shouted because, if they were in a town like Trivandrum, the matter could easily be brought to court.

Then again, Sir, Shri Nanda talks about monies coming from certain quarters, especially from China, to the Left Communists, which has throughout put this party of Pro-Peking Communists in large funds through various clandestine channels. I have been shouting myself hoarse in this House trying to find out who exactly is getting money through the Bank of China. I heard my friend, Shri Dwivedy, referring to certain people, mentioning their names and telling the Government that these were the people who were getting money from the Bank of China. They never said a word about it. On the other hand, I find, in the West Bengal Legislative Council, a member of Shri Tridib Kumar Chaudhuri's party, not a member of our party, placed on the Table of the West Bengal Legislative Council, a whole statement which he had collected, which he certified, which he vouched for, mentioning the names of Congress supporters who had got overdrafts from the Bank of China—like Surajmal Nagarmal, Gian and Sons, Krishna Lal Birani and Co., Rajkumar, Proprietor of Khemchand Rajkumar, Mahanti Corporation, Ray and Sons who are Andamans timber contractors for the Government of India and some other people including a member of the Rajya Sabha who has been welcomed with open arms by the Congress Party and taken in as a member of the Congress Parliamentary Party in the Rajya Sabha. So this matter could be pursued. I want to find out for myself as well as for other people in my party what is the truth of the matter. Shri Jyoti Basu himself has said: "I deny this allega-

tion regarding monies from the Bank of China and challenge the Home Minister to prove his contention." If it is proved, naturally we have to accept it as a fact. But the position at present is that no proof is forthcoming and this kind of allegation is thrown in the air, this kind of kite-flying goes on, so that mud can be thrown at certain people, so that this party may be maligned in the very cheap and malicious manner in which the Swatantra Party tries to indulge in that kind of activity.

In this document of Shri Nanda there is no proof of Left Communists endangering India's internal and external security except very vague allegations regarding what they may be contemplating or what they might be doing. Shri Jyoti Basu has said that if they have planned or are planning an internal revolt to synchronise with a fresh Chinese attack, let them be tried. He has said openly in public "let them be shot, whoever is trying to do that kind of thing in this country, whoever is trying to synchronise trouble in this country with an attack from the side of China". He has said that they should be tried straightaway and shot. If you can do it, certainly it would be an act necessary in the interests of the country. But before you have got the proofs, before Government has got the guts to place some evidence before the country, before Government can at least make one test case in order to show its *bona fides*, this kind of accusation is political chicanery of a sort which I hate to characterise.

Shri Nanda speaks of reliable information which has come to him in the last two months. If they are reliable, test it in a court of law at least in a few cases. If Government cannot do it, let them not smear so many people with slander and stow them away in jail without trial. I know some people like my friends of the Swatantra Party are very happy. They want to go further and ban the Communist Party, to smash the Communist move-

ment; exploiting the opportunity now that the party has split. They are welcome to their hopes.

For over a hundred years this spectre of Communism has haunted some people. But Communism advances in step with history, and whatever the obstacles today, in this country or elsewhere, as sure as the sun will rise tomorrow, a socialist society will be achieved everywhere, including in my country. Meanwhile, the Government do not seem to know that the right of every Indian to his fundamental liberties is wrapped up in the very constitutional bundle and if in fear of Communism that bundle is thrown out protection for the liberties of our citizen will be cast aside. Let Shri Deo have his moments of elation over Government's action against Communists. But let him remember that when the bell of repression tolls, it also tolls for thee of the Swatantra party!

Mr. Speaker: He should conclude now.

Shri H. N. Mukerjee: I am concluding.

Shri Nanda says that he had to make a "very disagreeable decision." Since the document offers no tangible justification, it is a sickening document which makes a mockery of all talk of political democracy. On the flimsiest of evidence Government hauls up a whole section of the Indian Left or the plea that they are anti-national. These are antics of the Government which does not quite know what it is doing unless, of course, astrologers and soothsayers have taken over the reins. For Heaven's sake, I ask the Government, behave with decency and understanding; release the detenus; let the Left Communists be free to form a government in Kerala, if they can, and let some fresh air come and clean up the stink that from Orissa to Kerala pervades our politics today.

Shri Vidya Charan Shukla (Mahasamund): Mr. Speaker, Sir, the document placed on the Table of the House by the Home Minister makes a really revealing study. Professor Hiren Mukerjee was pleased to ask if there is a war going on. He should know that there is really a war going on between India and China. Although it is not being fought at present, the war is very much present, and the people who are put behind the bars by Government, and rightly so, are the agents of China and they are the proved agents of China. We do not need any further proof than are given in the document by the Government.

Really one wonders at the forbearance and tolerance shown by this Government towards these modern traitors and Quizzlings and it is actually late in the day to put them in the jails. One really wonders why they were released earlier. After the Chinese invasion they were arrested and kept in jail for some time. In fact, they should have been kept in detention until the Chinese aggression was removed from our borders, from our motherland. Unfortunately, the democratic instincts in our leaders, particularly in our Home Minister, are too strong. We do not relish the idea of keeping anybody behind the bars. Probably because of this, the Home Minister released these traitors and Quizzlings and put them again to action. But they could not be left out for long. They began to indulge in their nefarious activities and even when such activities came to the notice of Government, they still hesitated in putting them behind the bars by taking action against them.

Really, the late arrest of these Communists gave them some advantage in Kerala, to which Shri P. K. Deo has already referred. I am sure the Government will not be taken in by all these protestations that are being made here by the Right Communists. I need not describe the Right Communists or what they are. They have

been amply described by their Left comrades how they are and what they are. I can quote from a document that the Left Communists have circulated in Kerala, and this is what they consider Professor Hiren Mukerjee and his party to be:

"The people of Kerala are not deceived by these renegade Communists who have provided cover for the large-scale attack by the Indian troops against Chinese troops."

So, according to the Left Communists those people are the renegades. We need not go into the details of what they are.

I must congratulate the Government on the very swift and very secret sweep they made on these traitors in our country. It speaks very well of the organisation of the Home Ministry and its grasp over the affairs of the country. I would warn the Government that they should not consider these wolves to be democrats when they talk of elections and forming a Government in Kerala or when they talk of democracy. The document placed on the Table of the House by the Home Minister gives only a small part of the evidence that is in the possession of the Government. It is said so by the preface of the Home Minister. Even then, it is such damaging revelation that we can ask the Government to set up a special tribunal by a special Act of Parliament and try these people as the Nazi war criminals were tried after the Second World War. They could be tried by a special Act and a special tribunal. We do not fight shy of trying these people. I am quite sure that all these allegations against the traitors can be easily proved.

I need not quote a good deal of it, but I will quote a few instances which are given in this document and where their faith in violence is amply prov-

ed. The document referring to that on page 29 says:—

“With reference to the Indian situation, it added:

‘Democracy in our country is recently introduced and deep roots have not yet been struck by it. The working class and other mass organizations have not been united and powerfully built; the Communist Party in itself is very weak; most the parties either of the Left or the Right category in the country are rabidly anti-communist. . . . The bureaucracy and the armed forces are strictly kept in isolation from any impact of political and social activities. To be more plain, it is sought to be maintained more as a mercenary type as in the former British days. In the face of all this reality, to talk of the peaceful path in our country more or less as a fact of reality as an inevitable path, is nothing but self-deception and deception of others’.

Another elaboration of this attitude is given on page 34 of this document. At a press interview given by Mr. Basavapunniah in Calcutta on November 8, when he was questioned by pressmen, he said about the equivocal nature of the resolution which they passed at their Calcutta conference that they were not in a position to come out openly with their stand on the border dispute because of the Defence of India Rules. So, they always keep the people and the Government in the dark and try to mislead them. Still, whatever they said in public has put them in very unfavourable light and has proved their unfaithfulness to the country.

The mouthpiece of the Tamilnad Communist Party, which is known as *Sengodi*, says in an editorial:—

“Our slogan is the lesson taught by Lenin that there is no revolutionary party, if there is no revolutionary idea.”

They say—

“Our aim is to follow the path shown by Castro of Cuba”.

They want to initiate in this country the same kind of bloody revolution as was initiated by Castro.

The demand for the release of the elected detenus in Kerala is very funny in my opinion. This is particularly so with reference to what Shri Nambudiripad said which is very revealing and which will just show what are their designs in Kerala and in the country in general. Here is what Shri E. M. S. Nambudiripad said:—

“The Left communists when once in power want to utilise their being in power as a springboard for promoting conflicts between the Centre and the State Government and accentuate ‘class struggle on a Government to Government plane’.”

This is from the article that was published in *Desabhimani*, Left CPI daily, on August 27, 1964. Here he is also angry at the limitations placed on the powers of the State in the present Constitution.

This clearly shows what their designs are in Kerala and it rightly gives us the basis to reject their demand to allow them to go and form the government in Kerala.

17 hrs.

Sir, Prof. Hiren Mukerjee talks of morals. It is hardly left to Communists to talk of morals. I will give a few instances of what these comrades have done in Kerala, as to how they have amassed wealth and made purchases. I do not know where from they get the money. But they have done so. I will challenge anybody

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from Kerala to disprove these allegations that I am making. Mr. Gopalan, a Member of this House, has purchased a cardamom estate in Kerala recently . . . (*Interruption*). He has purchased a costly cardamom estate and his wife has recently acquired a big cinema house in Allepey district.

Shrimati Renu Chakravartty: Since they are not here, these things should not be allowed. If it is a legitimate acquisition, there is no point . . . (*Interruption*).

Shri Indrajit Gupta (Calcutta-South West): Are we allowed to say what Mr. Shukla has done?

Shri Vidya Charan Shukla: Yes. I throw a challenge . . . (*Interruption*).

Mr. Speaker: Order, order. Members should first take care to see that the facts are correct. (*Interruption*) It is always left to the good sense of the Members. They must be sure of the facts that they want to state on the floor of the House. This freedom of speech is there. But that privilege should not be misused at any moment. One must first make enquiries about it. I do not say that the reference is irrelevant in that context. Probably, he wants to prove that they have been getting money from some other sources.

An hon. Member: Yes, Sir.

Mr. Speaker: Order, order. But when we are accusing someone, a Member of the House, or the Members of his family who are not here, certainly we ought to take the greatest care that might be possible so that there is not any mistake.

Shri H. N. Mukerjee: Would it not be necessary from the point of view of the regulation of the proceedings of this House, when this kind of a statement is made, that the source, the basis on which statement is made, is also indicated and, if necessary, the

papers concerned might be placed on the Table of the House?

Mr. Speaker: If someone writes to me that this was incorrect, certainly I will find out from the Member from where he got it and the House has the authority to take action against the Member if any wrong statement is made. That is the usual practice. At this time, I cannot stop him. The other day also in my ruling I said that the House in England has taken action, very strong and very severe action, if an irresponsible or incorrect statement has been made.

Shri Vidya Charan Shukla: I am making the statement with full sense of responsibility. I want to repeat the allegations again and I challenge the Members of the Communist Party to disprove what I say. If they disprove this, I am prepared to apologise and I am prepared to undergo whatever punishment you want to give me. I am absolutely sure of the facts.

Mr. Speaker: His 10 minutes are over.

Shri Mohammad Elias (Howrah): You go to Kerala and make the statement where Mrs. Gopalan defeated the Congress Member by 17,000 votes.

Shri S. M. Banerjee: They have sacrificed much more. You are talking nonsense. Something is being said against a lady. That is their characteristic. We should also be allowed to say such things.

Shri Vidya Charan Shukla: Mrs. Gopalan is a politician. She is not a housewife. (*Interruption*).

Mr. Speaker: Order, order.

Shri S. M. Banerjee: You release Mr. Gopalan and he will reply to your charges.

Shri Vidya Charan Shukla: These members of the Communist Party

amassed wealth from sources which are undisclosed to us and the assets have been acquired under very suspicious circumstances.

Shri S. M. Banerjee: What about your father? There were charges against him.

Shri Vidya Charan Shukla: They were cleared in a court of law and the Blitz which had made these charges had apologised.

Shri H. N. Mukerjee: He talks nonsense, absolute nonsense, rabid nonsense. (*Interruptions*).

Shri S. M. Banerjee: Once you encourage this sort of a thing, everything is going to be. (*Interruptions*).

Mr. Speaker: If one Member is speaking, others have to listen.

Shri Mohammad Elias: He must not speak nonsense at the back of the Member of this House who is not here.

Shri S. M. Banerjee: It is the moral degradation of the Congress if I use this expression.

Shri H. N. Mukerjee: On this occasion you will see the provocation which was there. We have all known Shri A. K. Gopalan here and he has a reputation in Kerala; I was there only ten days ago. I know the kind of reputation which some Congress leaders have in Madhya Pradesh. It is a rabid thing, it is a rabid lie to say that moneys are being acquired by men like Shri A. K. Gopalan in this way, and then to get away with it only because Shri A. K. Gopalan is not here to contest it; how can I contest it? How can I tell him that it is false? How can a Member of the Communist Party, who is not Shri Gopalan himself, tell the House that this accusation is a damn lie?

Shri Vidya Charan Shukla: He can say this later on.

Mr. Speaker: That would mean in another manner that no allegations can be made against all those Communists who are not here as to how they acquired money and from which sources . . .

Shri H. N. Mukerjee: He has mentioned Shri A. K. Gopalan and his wife. I am not saying anything . . .

Mr. Speaker: What can I do? That is under discussion? How can I bar it? But I shall ask the hon. Member to take greater care.

Shri Muhammad Elias: He has no right to talk about morals. It is all immoral. In spite of the CBI report and the report in Punjab, my hon. friend is still talking about morals.

Shri Vidya Charan Shukla: I want to take very strong objection to what Shri S. M. Banerjee said. Those charges were cleared in a court of law, and the people who made the allegations had apologised . . .

Shri S. M. Banerjee: The people have said that. I have not said that.

Shri Vidya Charan Shukla: I am very sorry, therefore, that my hon. friend Shri S. M. Banerjee should have chosen to repeat that kind of thing on the floor of the House. Shri S. M. Banerjee is only revealing himself. I need not say anything further about it.

Shri S. M. Banerjee: My hon. friend is revealing.

Shri Vidya Charan Shukla: The Left Communist Party members have revealed themselves in many ways as for instance on the issue of Kashmir. When China and India were together they were always saying that Kashmir was an integral part of India and there should be no plebiscite. As soon as Pakistan began to flirt with China, they changed their view; they took a somersault and they had begun to say that the integration of Kashmir with India was not final and that a plebis-

[Shri Vidya Charan Shukla]

cite should be held. My hon. friend Shri H. N. Mukerjee was alleging that some Congress leaders had accounts in the Bank of China. May I ask him to deny whether the following members whom I am going to name had accounts in the Bank of China or not? The names of those persons are: Sarvashri Niranjan Sen Gupta (CPI Left), Promode Das Gupta (CPI Left), Muzaffar Ahmed (CPI Left), S. A. Dange (CPI Right), Jolly Mohan Kaul (CPI Right), Naren Sen (CPI Left), and Mohammed Ismail (CPI Centrist). All their accounts were bad and overdrawn also.

Shri Dinen Bhattacharya (Serampore): All wrong.

Shri Vidya Charan Shukla: I allege this. If my hon. friend has got the guts and has got the facts, he can prove this to be wrong, and if it is proved to be wrong I am prepared for any punishment which the **Speaker** may decide.

All the leading members of the Communist Party have been maintaining accounts in the Bank of China and they have been lavishly given overdrafts from that bank, and I am sure Government will make inquiries and find out the position.

Shri Surendranath Dwivedy: Government have already made inquiries.

Shri Vidya Charan Shukla: May I again reiterate my demand that a special Act of Parliament should be passed to set up a tribunal to try these traitors?

श्री प्रकाश बीर शास्त्री (बिजनौर) : अध्यक्ष महोदय, इस सरकार से मेरी सब से बड़ी शिकायत यह है कि स्वतंत्रता के बाद पिछले 17 वर्षों में इस ने कुछ इस प्रकार के निर्णय जिनका कि प्रभाव देशव्यापी या विश्वव्यापी पड़ता हो, जब भी लिये हैं वह हमेशा आधे

मन से लिये हैं। उस का दुष्परिणाम यह होता है कि उस में देश को भी फंसना पड़ता है और सरकार को भी फंसना पड़ता है। यह समस्या जो इस समय उपस्थित हुई यह भी लगभग उसी प्रकार की है। एक ओर सरकार कश्मीर को भारत का अभिन्न अंग मानती है दूसरी ओर सरकार शेख अब्दुल्ला जैसे व्यक्ति को खुली छूट भी देती है। एक ओर सरकार नागालैंड को भारतवर्ष का उसी प्रकार एक भाग मानती है जैसे कि अन्य प्रदेश हैं दूसरी ओर यही सरकार है जिस ने पादरी स्टाक को खुली छूट भी दे रखी है। एक ओर यही सरकार गोवा को भारतवर्ष में मिलाने के पश्चात उसको भारत का एक अभिन्न अंग बनाना चाहती है लेकिन फिर उसे आधे मन से गोवा को अभी तक न जाने क्यों महाराष्ट्र से अलग किये हुए है। भाषा समस्या के सम्बन्ध में भी सरकार की दुर्बल नीति का यह दुष्परिणाम है कि एक ओर वह संविधान की प्रतिज्ञा का पालन भी करना चाहती है और दूसरी ओर श्री कामराज और उन के साथियों को प्रसन्न भी रखना चाहती है और इस तरह भाषा समस्या को उलझाये भी रखना चाहती है। आधे मन से जब जब सरकार ने निर्णय लिये हैं उस का दुष्परिणाम इस देश को देर तक भोगना पड़ा है। यह ही स्थिति आज साम्यवादियों की गिरफ्तारी के सम्बन्ध में भी है। साम्यवादियों की गिरफ्तारी के सम्बन्ध में मैं गृह मंत्री जी से मैं पूछना चाहता हूँ कि यह कहां तक की बुद्धिमत्ता थी कि वाम-पंथी साम्यवादियों की गिरफ्तारी के नाम पर आप ने 600 से ऊपर साम्यवादियों को तो गिरफ्तार किया लेकिन जो उनकी बागडोर संभालने वाले हैं, श्री नम्बूदरीपाद और श्री ज्योति बसु, उन को जेल से बाहर रखा? आधे मन से लिये गये निर्णय का आपका क्या प्रमाण है? दूसरा ओर मैं यह पूछना चाहता हूँ कि क्या सरकार को जब पता है कि यह इस प्रकार की अराष्ट्रीय कार्यवाही

कर रहे हैं जिस से देश की सुरक्षा किसी भी समय संकट में पड़ सकती है तो क्यों नहीं यह सरकार साहस के साथ इस प्रकार का निर्णय लेती कि भारतवर्ष में साम्यवादी पार्टी पर ही प्रतिबन्ध लगा दिया जाय ? जब जब यह सरकार आधे मन से काम करती है, उस का दुष्परिणाम देश को—और इस सरकार दोनों को—भुगतना पड़ता है चुनावों से पहले इस प्रकार के आधे मन से लिए हुए निर्णय के जो परिणाम स्वाभाविक थे, केरल के चुनाव-परिणामों से वे स्पष्ट हो गए ।

मैं साम्यवादी दल के बहुत लम्बे चौड़े इतिहास में नहीं जाना चाहता, लेकिन अध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं सरकार को कुछ पुरानी याद जरूर दिलाना चाहता हूँ । 1939 में जब गांधी जी ने व्यक्तिगत सत्याग्रह आरम्भ किया, तो साम्यवादी पार्टी हिन्दुस्तान की वह पार्टी थी, जिस ने यह कहा कि क्या एक एक आदमी को जेल भेजने से गांधी देश को स्वतन्त्र करा सकता है । लेकिन गांधीजी उस समय देश में एक वातावरण का निर्माण कर रहे थे । 1942 में जब उन्होंने देश में वातावरण का निर्माण कर के “डू और डाई” का नारा लगाया, उस समय यही पार्टी थी, जिस ने उस का भी विरोध किया और कहा कि जत्र गांधी ने देश को तैयार ही किया तो फिर उसने सारी जनता को एक साथ क्रान्ति की भट्टी में क्यों झोंक दिया ।

गांधी जी को छोड़िये, नेताजी सुभाष चन्द्र बोस जैसे क्रान्तिकारी व्यक्ति को कम्युनिस्ट पार्टी के लोगों ने क्विजलिग और कौमी गद्दार तक कहा । पर यह क्यों ? जिस समय द्वितीय महायुद्ध हो रहा था, तब नेताजी के आन्दोलन से या आजाद हिन्द फौज के आन्दोलन से ब्रिटिश गवर्नमेंट को चोट लगती थी और ब्रिटिश गवर्नमेंट को चोट लगने का मतलब यह था कि चर्चिल को चोट लगती थी और चर्चिल को चोट लगने का मतलब था कि स्टालिन को चोट

लगती थी, क्योंकि वे दोनों मिल कर हिटलर के खिलाफ लड़ रहे थे । कम्युनिस्ट पार्टी का पिछला इतिहास इस प्रकार गद्दारी का रहा है ।

क्या हम नहीं जानते कि देश-विभाजन के समय किस प्रकार आधे कम्युनिस्ट मुस्लिम लीग की पीठ थपथपाते थे और उस को देश विभाजन के लिए प्रेरित करते थे? क्या हम नहीं जानते कि काश्मीर के प्रश्न पर यही साम्यवादी दल कुछ समय पहले तक यह कहता था कि काश्मीर भारत का अभिन्न अंग है, उस के सम्बन्ध में जनमत संग्रह जैसी कोई मांग नहीं हो सकती, लेकिन श्री नम्बूदरीपाद ने मई में त्रिवेंद्रम में और प्रमोद दास गुप्ता ने 25 जून को मुजफ्फरपुर में जो प्रेस वक्तव्य दिये उनसे यह स्पष्ट नहीं हो जाता है कि जबसे चीन और पाकिस्तान की समझौता हुआ है कम्युनिस्ट पार्टी का भी मस्तिष्क बदल गया है वक्तव्य देने के ढंग बदल गए हैं ? सरकार ने कम्युनिस्टों की गतिविधियों पर तेनाली अधिवेशन के बाद विशेष रूप से ध्यान देना आरम्भ किया जहां माओ-त्से-तुंग और चाऊ-एन-लाई के चित्र लगा कर उन की पूजा की गई जो हिन्दुस्तान के सैनिकों के हत्यारे हैं जिन के हाथ उन के खून से रंगे हुए हैं ।

जिस दिन श्री नन्दा ने यह श्वेत-पत्र इस सदन में उपस्थित किया था मैं ने उसी समय भी पूछा था कि उन के पास कौन सा इस प्रकार का पैमाना है जिस से वह वामपन्थी और दक्षिण-पन्थी कम्युनिस्टों को पृथक पृथक करते हैं ? जब कम्युनिस्ट पार्टी का इस प्रकार का इतिहास ही है कि जिस तरह आज उन्होंने दक्षिण-पन्थी और वामपन्थी ये दो अलग अलग चोले पहन लिए हैं उसी तरह वे पहले भी समय के आधार पर अपनी नीतियों में परिवर्तन करते रहे हैं । आज प्रो-पीकिंग और प्रो-मास्को पृथक-पृथक दिखाई देने हैं लेकिन खुशचैव के हटने के बाद अगर कल प्रो-पीकिंग और

[श्री प्रकाशबीर शास्त्री]

प्रो-मास्को दोनों गूट एक हो जाते हैं मास्को तथा पीकिंग की दोस्ती हो जाती है तो श्री नन्दा के पास कौन सी शक्ति है कि वह वामपन्थी और दक्षिणपन्थी कम्युनिस्टों को अलग अलग बना कर रखेंगे ?

क्या श्री नन्दा यह नहीं जानते कि जब 1933-34 में पापुलर फ्रंट का आन्दोलन चला था उस समय कम्युनिस्ट पार्टी का एक विंग ऐसा था जो उस में सम्मिलित होने के लिए कहता था और दूसरा ग्रुप ऐसा था जो अलग रहने की बात कहता था ? क्या उन को यह बात पता नहीं है कि जब फ्रांस में लियों ब्लम की गवर्नमेंट बनी थी जो कि सोशलिस्ट । तो कम्युनिस्ट पार्टी के एक विंग ने उस की गवर्नमेंट में सम्मिलित होना स्वीकार किया और दूसरा विंग उस से बाहर रहा ? क्या श्री नन्दा को यह पता नहीं है कि देश विभाजन के समय इसी कम्युनिस्ट पार्टी का एक विंग मुस्लिम लीग के साथ था और दूसरा उस से अलग मंचा बना कर काम करता था ?

मैं श्री नन्दा से यह भी पूछना चाहता हूँ कि तेलंगाना में जिस समय भीषण नरसंहार—कस्ले-ग्राम—चल रहा था तो क्या श्री राजेश्वरराव, जो आज अपने आप को दक्षिण-पन्थी कम्युनिस्ट कहते हैं उस समय कम्युनिस्ट पार्टी के जेनेरल सेक्रेटरी नहीं थे । आज जिस तेलंगाना का उदाहरण दे कर वामपन्थी कम्युनिस्ट पार्टी यह कहती है कि हम तेलंगाना के इतिहास को दाहराना चाहते हैं क्या यह बही राजेश्वरराव नहीं थे जिन्होंने तेलंगाना के उस सारे कांड को करवाया था ?

Shrimati Renu Chakravarty: Mr. Shastri was a supporter of Godse.

श्री प्रकाशबीर शास्त्री : केरल में जो अभी चुनाव हुआ है उस के परिणामों से सरकार की आंखें खुल जानी चाहिए । जिस प्रकार वामपन्थी कम्युनिस्टों को दक्षिण पन्थी

कम्युनिस्टों ने समर्थन दिया है, जिस प्रकार यह मिस्री हुई कुश्ती केरल में हुई है कम से कम अब सरकार को उस से सीख लेनी चाहिए और आगे के लिए इस उदाहरण से शिक्षा ले कर काम करना चाहिए ।

अगर मेरी किसी बात में असत्याश है तो मैं चाहूंगा कि दक्षिण-पन्थी साम्यवादी लोग आज इस बात की घोषणा करें कि हम तथाकथित प्रो-पीकिंग वामपन्थी कम्युनिस्टों की अराष्ट्रीय गतिविधियों का साथ नहीं देंगे और दूसरी पार्टियों की राष्ट्रीय गतिविधियों का हम साथ देंगे । अगर उन की तरफ से आज इस प्रकार की घोषणा होती है तो उस से अनुमान लगाया जा सकता है कि वास्तव में कम्युनिस्ट पार्टी में दो ही विंग हैं और उन दोनों के सोचने के ढंग अलग अलग हैं । लेकिन आज दक्षिणपन्थी कम्युनिस्ट जिस तरह से यहां और इस सदन के बाहर वामपन्थी कम्युनिस्टों को समर्थन दे रहे हैं क्या उस के बाद भी सरकार वामपन्थी और दक्षिणपन्थी कम्युनिस्टों को अब अलग अलग मान कर ही चलेगी और क्या उस के निर्णयों की स्थिति इसी प्रकार की रहेगी ?

जहां तक कम्युनिस्टों की अराष्ट्रीय गतिविधियों का सम्बन्ध है मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि भारतीय सीमाओं पर पीछे जो आक्रमण हुआ था उस की भी भूमिका कोई नहीं थी बल्कि उसके पीछे एक बहुत बड़ा इतिहास था । जिस समय मास्को में बैठ कर साम्यवाद को दुनिया में फैलाने का कार्यक्रम तैयार किया गया उस समय एक नारा लगाया गया था कि यूरोप में साम्यवाद का झंडा लगाने से पहले एशिया को विजय किया जाये । अंग्रेजी में शब्द ये थे : रोड टु पैरिस थ्रु शंघाई एंड कलकत्ता । इसी के अनुसार कम्युनिस्टों ने शंघाई को विजय करने के बाद कलकत्ता को निशाना बनाया था । मैं श्री नन्दा

ये वहाँ पूछना चाहता हूँ कि क्या इसी कम्युनिस्ट पार्टी की नीति इस प्रकार की नहीं रही कि उस ने भारत के पूर्वी भाग को, चाहे वह नेफा हो, चाहे नागालैंड हो या आसाम या पश्चिमी बंगाल हो, अपनी गतिविधियों का विशेष रूप से केन्द्र बनाया .

चीनी आक्रमण के समय साम्यवादियों की क्या तैयारियाँ थीं ? यह बात दूसरी रही कि देश कुछ सावधान था, देश की जनता सावधान थी । इस लिए साम्यवादी अपने स्वप्नों को साकार नहीं कर पाए, लेकिन श्वेतपत्र में जिस एक सर्कुलर की चर्चा की गई है, उस में कहा गया कि अक्टूबर, 1962 में जो गलती हम से हुई, उस को हम अब नहीं दोहरायेंगे । जिन देशद्रोही साम्यवादियों का यह इतिहास रहा है, सरकार कब तक उन को क्षमा करना चाहती है ?

मैं श्री नन्दा से यह बात भी स्पष्ट पूछना चाहता हूँ कि सरकार के पास जो तथ्य हैं, उन को वह दबा कर क्यों रखना चाहती है । आज सरकार बताए कि नागालैंड और बर्मा के द्वारा पीकिंग के साथ कम्युनिस्ट पार्टी की कम्यूनिकेशन लाइन थी या नहीं, वहाँ से कुछ हथियार आए या नहीं और आगे भी कुछ हथियार मंगाने की योजना थी या नहीं, जिस से देश में सशस्त्र विद्रोह होने वाला था । आखिर श्री नन्दा ये सब बातें देश को स्पष्ट भाषा में क्यों नहीं बताते ?

आज से दो साल पहले हांगकांग में हिन्दुस्तान की मुद्रा की जो कीमत थी, आज उस के ड्योढ़ा और दुगना होने के पीछे क्या रहस्य है, जब कि दुनिया में हिन्दुस्तान की करन्सी की कीमत सब जगह गिरी है ? पहले हांगकांग में हमारी करन्सी करीब तीन करोड़ के लगभग साल में खपती थी, लेकिन आज एक साल में ग्यारह, बारह करोड़ की करन्सी की मांग क्यों होने लगी है ? स्पष्ट बात यह है कि चीन हमारी करन्सी खरीद रहा है और अग्र्यक्ष महोदय, आप मुझ आज यह बात

कहने की इजाजत दें कि हिन्दुस्तान में दो इस प्रकार के राजदूतावास हैं, जिन के द्वारा वह करोड़ों रुपया भारतवर्ष में कम्युनिस्टों के लिए आता है । क्या भारत सरकार के विजिलेंस डिपार्टमेंट, गुप्तचर विभाग, ने श्री नन्दा को इस प्रकार की जानकारी नहीं दी ? एम्बेसी के जिन बैगज को कोई नहीं खोल सकता, क्या इन राजदूतावासों के द्वारा उन यह रुपया आता रहा है ?

क्या गुप्तचर विभाग ने श्री नन्दा को यह जानकारी नहीं दी कि कलकत्ता के दक्षिणेश्वर मन्दिर में इस प्रकार का बैग हँड भ्रोवर करने का पता चला है ? क्यों इन तथ्यों को छिपा कर रखना चाहिए ? मेरी मांग है कि देश की सुरक्षा को खतरे में डालने के लिए यह करोड़ों रुपया जिन राजदूतावासों के द्वारा चीन से आ रहा है—मैं स्पष्ट शब्दों में उन राजदूतावासों का नाम किसी कारण नहीं लेना चाहता हूँ—उन दोनों देशों से भारत सरकार को राजनीतिक सम्बन्ध-विच्छेद कर लेना चाहिए ।

मैं ने संसद् के पिछले अधिवेशन में भी चाइना बैंक की चर्चा को उठाया था । अब फिर मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि चाइना बैंक के साढ़े सात करोड़ रुपये के इतिहास को, उस की पूरी रिपोर्ट को, सरकार प्रकाशित करे । श्री हीरेन मुकर्जी ने कहा है कि उस में सूरजमल नागरमल का एकाउंट पाया गया और दूसरों का एकाउंट पाया गया । मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि सूरजमल नागरमल ही नहीं, अगर प्रकाशवीर शास्त्री का भी एकाउंट चाइना बैंक में पाया गया और वह पैसा देशद्रोह की गतिविधियों में भाग लेने के लिए लगाया गया, तो उस को वही सजा देनी चाहिए, जो बड़े से बड़े देश-द्रोही को मिलनी चाहिए, चाहे वह कोई भी क्यों न हो । वह कोई व्यापारी हो या कोई दूसरा क्यों न हो । लेकिन क्या आज श्री हीरेन मुकर्जी अधिकार-पूर्वक इस बात को भी कह सकेंगे कि चाइना बैंक के एकाउंट्स में श्री ज्योति बसु और

[श्री प्रकाशवीर शास्त्री]

श्री डांगे का नाम नहीं पाया गया? मैं चाहता हूँ कि सरकार उस रिपोर्ट को सामने लाए। वित्त मंत्री, श्री कृष्णमाचारी, अपनी जेब में उस को क्यों छिपाए बैठे हैं? कब तक इस रिपोर्ट को दबाए रखेंगे?

दूसरी सब से बड़ी बात मैं कांग्रेस सरकार को और विशेषकर गृह मंत्री नन्दा जी और प्रधान मंत्री श्री लाल बहादुर शास्त्री जी को कहना चाहता हूँ। अगर इस देश की स्वतंत्रता को बचाना है, पौने नौ सौ साल की लम्बी जद्दोजहद के बाद जो देश आजाद हो पाया है, उसको बचाना है जिस स्वराज्य भवन की भित्ति में, मूल में न जाने कितने अनगिनत बलिदान लगे हैं अगर उस स्वतंत्रता की रक्षा करनी है तो आज केवल कम्युनिस्ट पार्टी पर ही प्रतिबन्ध नहीं लगाना होगा बल्कि आपको अपने घर में भी झांक कर देखना होगा कि कम्युनिस्ट कहीं उधर भी तो नहीं है? कम्युनिस्ट इधर ही नहीं बैठे हुए हैं आपके घर में भी बैठे हुए हैं। आपको अपनी गिरहबां में मुंह डाल कर देखना चाहिए।

अपने बक्तव्य को समाप्ति की ओर ले जाते हुए जहाँ मैं यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि जहाँ भारतवर्ष में इस प्रकार की राष्ट्रीय सुरक्षा को संकट में डालने वाली कम्युनिस्ट पार्टी जैसी पार्टी को देश में काम करने का कोई अवसर नहीं मिलना चाहिये, इसकी गतिविधियों पर प्रतिबन्ध लगाया जाना चाहिए वहाँ एक बात मैं श्री हारेन मुखर्जी को भी कहना चाहता हूँ। उन्होंने सरकार को चुनौती देते हुए कहा है कि जो हमारे सिद्धान्त हैं, ये ऐसे ही जीवित रहेंगे, इसी तरह से विकसित होते रहेंगे जैसे कि सूर्य का उदय होता है। उनसे मुझे यह कहना है कि वर्तमान सरकार जो सामने की बैचों पर बैठी हुई है उसकी दुर्बलता से हो सकता है कि अराष्ट्रीय काम करने वाले देश के अन्दर जीवित रहें लेकिन अब देश की जनता जाग कर खड़ी हो

गई है और कम्युनिस्ट पार्टी जैसी पार्टी को वह देश की सुरक्षा को संकट में डालने का अवसर नहीं दे सकती है। मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि कान खोल कर आप सुन लें कि भारतवर्ष में कम्युनिस्ट पार्टी की सी राष्ट्रीय सुरक्षा को संकट में डालने वाली पार्टी का भविष्य सूर्योदय की तरह नहीं है, कम्युनिस्ट पार्टी का भविष्य अस्त होने वाले सूर्य की तरह से है (इंटरप्रांज)। भारतीय जनता कम्युनिस्ट पार्टी को उसी तरह से समाप्त कर चैन लेगी जिस तरह से सूर्य अस्त होने पर आराम के क्षण आते हैं (इंटरप्रांज)।

Shrimati Renu Chakravarty: Was he not opposing the arrest of Shri Golwalkar of the RSS under the D.I.R.?

श्री प्रकाशवीर शास्त्री : शोर मचा कर जिस तरह का दूषित वातावरण कम्युनिस्ट पार्टी के सदस्य यहाँ बनाना चाहते हैं, इस तरह का वातावरण सफल नहीं हो सकेगा। इस पार्टी को उसी तरह से देश से समाप्त कर दिया जाएगा जैसे जीवन का अन्त होता है, सूर्योदय की तरह यह पार्टी राजनीतिक आकाश में अब नहीं रहेगी।

श्री मधु लिमये : अध्यक्ष महोदय, नन्दा जी ने हमारे सामने यह किताब रखी है जोकि 45 सफे की है। पहाड़ खोद कर नन्दा जी ने उस में से क्या निकाला है? एक चूहा निकाला है और वह भी मरा हुआ। मुझे हैरत होती है कि जिस सरकार के रहते हुए चीन के बारे में गलत नीतियां चलीं और दो ढाई साल पहले सारे भारतवर्ष को अपमानित होना पड़ा आज वही सरकार एक दूसरे दल के बारे में यह आरोप लगा रही है कि वह चीन के साथ मिला हुआ है और उनकी गतिविधियां देश-हित विरोधी हैं। मैं नन्दा जी से जानना चाहता हूँ कि जिस दल के वह नेता है और मंत्री हैं और जिस दल के हाथ में मुल्क की बागडोर पिछले 17-18 साल से चली आ रही है,

उस दल की चीन सम्बन्धी नीति क्या रही है? भीमती रेणु चक्रवर्ती और गोपालन के हाथ में कम से कम देश की बागडोर नहीं थी। अगर कोई इस देश में मुल्जिम है तो हमारे सामने जो बैठे हुए हैं गृह मंत्री जी वह मुल्जिम हैं।

1950 या 1951 में जब तिब्बत की आजादी का हनन हुआ तो नन्दा जी उस वक्त बम्बई में मंत्री थे। अपने मंत्रीपद से वह हटे नहीं और जवाहरलाल नेहरू जी की हकूमत में मंत्री बनने के लिए दिल्ली आए। उसके बाद 1954 में कांग्रेस की सरकार ने पंचशील की संधि उसी चीन के साथ की जिस ने तिब्बत की आजादी का हनन करके भारत की उत्तरी सीमा पर संकट पैदा कर दिया था। क्या नन्दा जी ने उस वक्त इस नीति की आलोचना करते हुए इस्तीफा दिया था या वह अपने पद पर चिपक कर बैठे रहे?

उसी तरह से 1954 में जब यह पंचशील की संधि हुई और उसके ऊपर जो स्याही थी वह सूखने भी न पाई थी कि चीन के द्वारा लद्दाख में आक्रमण का सिलसिला शुरू हुआ, उस वक्त नन्दा जी और उनकी दल ने और उनकी सरकार ने आक्रमण के इस तथ्य को इस सभा से छिपाये रखा। उस वक्त भी नन्दा जी ने इस बात को ले कर इस्तीफा नहीं दिया।

उसके बाद भी चीन ने आक्रमण किया। इस हमले को उन्होंने कभी कबूल नहीं किया और संयुक्त राष्ट्र संघ के सामने बरसों तक भारत के प्रतिनिधि यही कहा करते थे कि यह तो एक सीमा का झगड़ा है, सीमाई विवाद है। उसके बाद भी अगस्त, 1962 में इन लोगों ने घोषणा की थी कि भारत की भूमि पर से जब तक चीन नहीं हटता, उसके साथ कोई वार्तालाप या समझौता हम नहीं करेंगे। लेकिन अक्तूबर 1962 में जब रणभूमि पर हमारी हार हो गई, उसके बाद हमारी सरकार अपने वादे को भूल कर कोलम्बो प्रस्ताव

लेकर समझौते के रास्ते पर चली।

मैं जानना चाहता हूँ कि चीन को लेकर कांग्रेस सरकार की और कांग्रेस पार्टी की जो नीति है उस नीति में और वामपंथी कम्युनिस्टों की नीति में क्या फर्क है। वे भी राजनीतिक समझौता चाहते हैं और भूमि का सौदा करने के लिए शायद तैयार है और नन्दा जी और उनकी हकूमत भी चीन के साथ राजनीतिक समझौता चाहती है और अपनी भूमि का सौदा करने के लिए तैयार हैं।

चीन का जहां तक ताल्लक है कांग्रेस सरकार की नीति, नन्दा जी की नीति और वामपंथियों की नीति में कोई अन्तर नहीं है। आज वामपंथी कम्युनिस्टों के बारे में जो आरोप लगाये जाते हैं, उनका समावेश इस किताब में किया गया है। क्या इस में हमें मिला है? 45 सफे में कहीं दो पैरे ऐसे हैं जिन में वामपंथियों की कार्रवाइयों का जिक्र है। 43 सफे पर जो 26वां परिच्छेद है उस में 1948 और 1950 में जो उन्होंने काम किया था उसका जिक्र है। 49 सफे पर एक परिच्छेद 28 नम्बर का है। उस में उनके वर्तमान कार्यों के बारे में कुछ जिक्र है। यह कहा गया है कि वामपंथी कम्युनिस्ट नेता डलहौजी गये, मनाली गये, कुल्लू गये। कौन कहा जाता है या नहीं जाता है, इसकी एक लिस्ट दे कर आप इन आरोपों को साबित नहीं कर सकते हैं क्योंकि हो सकता है कि कुछ लोग बम्बई में जाते हों और अपनी भाग्य रेखा पंडितों और ज्योतिषियों को दिखा कर उन से पूछते हों कि क्या मैं प्रधान मंत्री बन सकता हूँ। कोई कहा जाता है इसमें कोई चीज साबित नहीं होती है। पूरी किताब में कम्युनिस्टों की कार्रवाइयों के बारे में एक जमला तक नहीं है। दो वाक्य मैं पाता हूँ। एक उनका कार्यक्रम है कि किसानों, मजदूरों, बेतिहर मजदूरों, औद्योगिक मजदूरों को संगठित करके एक जन आन्दोलन छेड़ा जाए। इस सदन में विरोधी दल के जो अधिकतर सदस्य

[श्री मधु लिमये]

हैं उन में से एक एक सदस्य इस काम को करता है और मैं भी करता हूँ। अभिमान के साथ यह काम करना मैं अपना कर्तव्य समझता हूँ।

वामपंथी कम्युनिस्टों के साथ मेरा मतभेद है। अगर इन में से कोई ऐसे हैं जोकि पेंकिंग की ओर देखते हैं तो उनके साथ लड़ने के लिये मैं तैयार हूँ और अपने दोस्तों से कहूंगा कि पेंकिंग की ओर देख कर या मास्को की ओर देख कर या वाशिंगटन की ओर देख कर या लंदन की ओर देख कर हिन्दुस्तान की तरफकी नहीं हो सकती है। हमको अभिमुख होना है भारत के जो गरीब लोग हैं उनकी तरफ, मजदूर और किसान जनता की तरफ, मध्यम श्रेणी की जनता की तरफ और उसकी ओर अभिमुख हो कर और उनको संगठित करके ही हमारे देश में समाजवाद स्थापित हो सकता है।

जहां मैं यह कहता हूँ वहां साथ साथ सरकार का इस वक्त जो काम है उसकी भी कटु आलोचना करता हूँ। संकटकालीन स्थिति की सरकार ने घोषणा की है। संविधान में लिखा हुआ है कि अगर युद्ध का खतरा हो, अगर कोई हमला होता है, फौजी चढ़ाई होती है या आन्तरिक विद्रोह की परिस्थिति है तो संकटकालीन कानून जारी किया जा सकता है। आज न जंग चल रही है, न फौजी लड़ाई हो रही है, न कोई हमारे देश में हिंसात्मक आन्ति होने जा रही है। फिर मैं जानना चाहता हूँ कि संकटकालीन स्थिति को बनाये रखते हुए और भारत सुरक्षा कानून को बनाये रख कर हजारों लोगों की जो स्वतंत्रता छीन ली गई है, उनके बारे में नन्दा जी क्या करना चाहते हैं। एक ही चीज वह करना चाहते हैं। वह जानते हैं कि जनता में असन्तोष है और जनता को अगर मौका दिया जाएगा तो उनकी सरकार एक दिन के अन्दर खत्म हो सकती है जैसे केरल में हो चुका है। नन्दा जी ने कहा कि लोगों को वोट देने का

जो अधिकार दिया हुआ है, उसको नहीं रोक सकते थे, लोगों को इलेक्शन में खड़े होने से नहीं रोक सकते, कानून इसकी इजाजत नहीं देता है, तब मैं कहूंगा कि नजरबन्द कम्युनिस्टों को अगर आप रिहा नहीं करना चाहते हैं तो जो विधान सभा के सदस्य हैं उनको आप वोट देने की इजाजत दीजिये। जेल से नहीं छोड़ना चाहते तो न छोड़िये। अभी केरल में विरोधी दलों की हकूमत बन सकती है। जहां तक मेरे दल का सम्बन्ध है कल मेरे दल ने प्रस्ताव किया है कि जो सब से बड़ा केरल में दल है उसको राज्यपाल को न्यौता देना चाहिये कि सरकार बनाने के लिए और उस सरकार को बहुमत दिलाने के लिये ठोस और निश्चित कार्यक्रम के आधार पर हम सहयोग देने को तैयार हैं। लेकिन मुझे ऐसा लगता है कि वामपंथी कम्युनिस्टों को गिरफ्तार करके और नजरबन्द रखकर नन्दाजी राष्ट्रपति की गैर-जिम्मेदार और अप्रजातांत्रिक हकूमत को केरल में बनाये रखना चाहते हैं। केरल की जनता ने कांग्रेस को तो उखाड़ कर फेंक दिया है लेकिन राष्ट्रपति की हकूमत की आड़ में छिप कर केरल की जनता पर वह अपनी नीतियां ठोस देना चाहते हैं जिन्हें की केरल की जनता ने अस्वीकार कर दिया है। तो हमारे सामने सवाल यह है कि संकटकालीन स्थिति की घोषणा अब खत्म करनी चाहिए। अगर संकटकालीन स्थिति खत्म होती है, तो भारत रक्षा कानून की वे धाराएं जिनके अन्तर्गत इन को गिरफ्तार किया गया है समाप्त हो जाएंगी। सर्वोच्च न्यायालय का फैसला है कि इन धाराओं का संविधान के अन्दर जो बुनियादी अधिकार है उनके साथ टकराव है और ये धाराएं तभी खत्म हो जाएंगी जब संकटकालीन स्थिति खत्म हो जाएगी।

अध्यक्ष महोदय, आज देश-हित के नाम पर ऐसे कानूनों, संविधान की ऐसी धाराओं का इस्तेमाल किया जा रहा है जिनका

इस्तेमाल केवल जंग, या फौजी चढ़ाई या हिंसात्मक विद्रोह का जब खतरा रहता है उसी समय किया जाना चाहिए। सरकार ने जो यह 45 सफों की किताब निकाली है इसको मैं गृह-मंत्रालय की बुद्धिहीनता का प्रतीक मानता हूँ। अगर आप इसको ले कर भ्रदालत में जाएंगे तो भ्रदालत में यह किताब टिक नहीं सकेगी, इसको कोई सबूत नहीं कह सकता। अगर कम्युनिस्ट आन्दोलन में मतभेद हैं और उनके बारे में किताब लिखनी थी तो किताब लिखी जा सकती थी। लेकिन कम्युनिस्ट पार्टी का जो वाम पन्थ है या दक्षिण पन्थ है उनके विचार क्या हैं, उनकी विचार प्रणाली क्या है, उसके बारे में चर्चा करना इस किताब का, इस पुस्तिका का, उद्देश्य नहीं हो सकता था। इसमें लिखा है "राष्ट्र विरोधी कार्यवाई" "राष्ट्र विरोधी काम"। हो सकता है कि हमारे देश में कुछ लोग ऐसे हैं जो समझते हैं कि प्रजातन्त्र खराब चीज है और जनाधिपत्य की जगह एकाधिपत्य आना चाहिए। क्या ऐसे लोगों को आप जेल में बन्द करेंगे? जब तक वे इस सरकार को हिंसात्मक तरीके से उखाड़ कर फेंकने का काम नहीं करते, तब तक ऐसे लोगों को भी अपनी राय रखने का अधिकार है। इसलिए मैं एक जोरदार ढंग से आपकी मारफत सरकार से निवेदन करूंगा कि सरकार यह जो अपने हाथ में अधिकारों को केन्द्रित करने की नीति को चला रही है, उस नीति को वह छोड़ दे। इन कम्युनिस्ट नजरबन्दों के खिलाफ भ्रदालतों के सामने मुकदमे चलाए। लेकिन अगर वह यह भी करने के लिए तैयार नहीं है तो जैसे उनको बोट देने का अधिकार दे दिया, उसी तरीके से ये जो 29 कम्युनिस्ट नजरबन्द केरल की जेलों में बन्द हैं, इन को विधान सभा में समय समय पर बोट देने के लिए भी कोई सुविधा दें। अगर यह हो जायेगा तो मैं समझता हूँ कि देश में प्रजातन्त्र पनप सकता है।

अन्त में मैं एक ही बात और कहूंगा।

मुझे बड़ा दुख होता है जब विरोधी दलों में से ही एक तबका इस तरह की मांग करता है कि फलां फलां दल के ऊपर पाबन्दी लगाओ। मुझे इस मांग से बड़ा सदमा होता है। दक्षिण-पन्थी कम्युनिस्टों ने हाल ही में अपनी कांग्रेस में मांग की थी कि राष्ट्रीय स्वयं-सेवक संघ पर पाबन्दी लगायी जाय, और अब हमारे जन संघ के मित्र कहेंगे कि वामपन्थी कम्युनिस्टों पर या दक्षिणपन्थी कम्युनिस्टों के ऊपर पाबन्दी लगायी जाए। तो इससे न तो जनसंघ सत्ता में आएगा और न दक्षिण-पन्थी कम्युनिस्ट सत्ता में आवेंगे, यह जो नन्दा जी की जनता-विरोधी हकूमत है वह वैसे ही कायम रहेगी। इसलिए मैं अपने मित्रों से भी अनुरोध करूंगा कि नागरिक स्वतन्त्रता के सिद्धान्त की बुनियाद पकड़ो, सिद्धान्त की जड़ में जाओ और किसी दूसरे दल को खत्म करने के लिए कांग्रेस सरकार के साथ सहयोग करने का और जनता की पीठ में छुरी भोंक देने का पाप न करो।

Mr. Speaker: Shri Venkatasubbaiah.

An hon. Member: Sir, how long are we going to sit?

Mr. Speaker: How long will the hon. Minister take?

The Minister of Home Affairs (Shri Nanda): 45 minutes—I have to answer all the points that have been raised.

Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath: Let us sit up to 7:30.

Shri P. K. Deo: Let us continue this tomorrow.

Mr. Speaker: That is not possible. I will call the hon. Minister at 6:15. We can sit up to 7:00.

Shri P. Venkatasubbaiah (Adoni): Mr. Speaker, Sir, I have been listening very attentively to the eloquent speech of Shri Mukerjee waxing eloquence over the misdeeds of this Government. My charge against this Gov-

[Shri P. Kenkatasubbaiah]

ernment is that it has been very late in arresting the Left Communists who are proving to be a danger to the security and sovereignty of this country. The other day when the question of installing a statue of Shri Subhas Chandra Bose was raised in this House. Shri Mukerjee worked himself up and chastised the Government for not installing his statue to perpetuate his name. Public memories are proverbially very short. But I would like to remind my hon. Communist friend that when Netaji was waging a war against British imperialism he was dubbed by the Communists as an agent of Tojo of Japan. Then, conveniently they changed their tactics and their plans also. Parliamentary democracy is only an expedient, not a matter of principle, for them.

If they believe in parliamentary democracy then I would straightaway ask my Communist friends one question. We in this country have adopted a Constitution which gives us the freedom of speech and expression, no matter to what community, caste or political party we belong to. The only condition is that the freedom of speech should not be misused for subversive and anti-national activities that will bring danger to this country.

Public memories are very short. Which of the national leaders the Communists have not criticised and dubbed as the agents of British imperialism. The father of the nation also did not escape their criticism. So, also Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and Subhas Chandra Bose. People of hallowed memory and respect, people who were held in high esteem by the people of this country, people who were in the forefront of our freedom struggle, these were the people who were characterised by the Communists as agents of British imperialism. I know many instances where our Communist friends have acted during the Quit India Movement as paid agents of the British Government. At that time

they were responsible for putting into jail and torturing many Congressmen who have sacrificed their very lives for the sake of the freedom of this country.

I was also very much amused to hear Professor Mukerjee speaking about the Kerala elections. I would like to ask of him only one question. Were the Kerala elections fought on this issue? What was the election manifesto of the Left Communists in the Kerala elections? Did they ask for a verdict or referendum of the Kerala people on the detention of these people by the Government? No, not at all. They have played on the innocence of the local people, as they have done earlier in Andhra and other places. Here I will narrate one instance. During 1952 general elections our Communist friends went about Andhra promising the voters five acres of land and one cow if they were returned to power. They always play on the innocence of the people to catch their votes. In Kerala also the same thing has happened. They have exploited the innocence of the people in the matter of food scarcity and they were able to secure some seats.

They say that they have got the majority of seats in Kerala elections. At the same time, they contradict or refute the right or claim of the Congress Party to rule the country because, according to the Communists, the Congress has got only a minority of votes. So, I would ask of them: how are you entitled to rule Kerala when you have got only a minority of votes? So, you have no right to speak on behalf of Kerala and your statement is incorrect.

Coming to the statement that has been laid on the Table of the House by Shri Nanda, I will quote only a few instances. A meeting was held in Tenali where they displayed the portrait of Mao Tse-tung, who is the aggressor, who has committed aggression on our country, who wants to put

this country under his heels, if he can. The portrait of such a person was displayed in Tenali. So, these people are masquerading themselves as patriots and they are really traitors. They have no faith in democracy.

At no time, even at the time of aggression, has the Communist Party made any statement about its line of action. It did not even say whether the Chinese have committed aggression or not. The Communist Party was unequivocal and it was very halting in coming forward and saying that the Chinese have committed aggression. Even today I was amazed to hear my hon. friend, Shri S. M. Banerjee, say that it is not an invasion but only aggression. I do not know the difference between aggression and invasion. They are accusing us as having some fellow-travellers in our midst. I do not know to which category Shri S. M. Banerjee belongs.

Shri S. M. Banerjee: I am a democrat.

An hon. Member: What is democracy?

Shri S. M. Banerjee: Don't teach me that. I am not going to learn patriotism from you.

Shri P. Venkatasubbaiah: I would like to ask of Shri Mukerjee one question. What led him to differ from the Left Communists? What was the difference of opinion? Was the difference of opinion this that China had not committed aggression? What led you to this difference of opinion because of which the party split into two parts? I may or may not agree but their own fellowmen, their own comrades, have denounced Dange saying that he has written a letter some 20 or 30 years back that he would act as an agent of the British. Without going into the merits of the case I will say that even the best people of their party have disbelieved Shri Dange. I would like to know if my statement is correct. I am afraid, Shri Hiren Mukerjee also holds the same view.

This is the history, this is the activity of the Communist Party in our country. Their flirtation with the Muslim League, of the communists with the communalists . . .

Shri Indrajit Gupta: What has that to do with the Muslim League?

Shri P. Venkatasubbaiah: . . . clearly shows the combination of Peking and Pindi. The inspiration comes from there. The flirtation between Peking and Pindi is very well reflected in the Kerala elections, in their flirtation with the Muslim League which is a rank communalist body. I will only plead that we must be very careful so far as these friends are concerned. Their history sheet is bad. Their activities are suspicious. They never claim this country as their motherland. They have got extra-territorial loyalties. Their inspiration is from somewhere. So, beware of these friends. I will only request the Home Minister to be more emphatic and bold enough to see that they are put in their proper place. As Shri Prakash Vir Shastri has very rightly pointed out, people are aware of these people's activities. I know, except some bungling or some debacle in Kerala or other places, nowhere, in no part of this country they are going to tolerate this party which has got a very suspicious history behind it and which has been trounced by the electorate. The electorate has given time and again its clear verdict against the anti-national activities of this party and I request Shri Nanda to deal very firmly so far as these Communist friends are concerned.

Shri N. C. Chatterjee (Burdwan): Mr. Speaker, Sir, I beg of this House to approach the problem in all seriousness, without passion and prejudice. To us India is first; India's security, India's independence—that is our primary concern. We will strike down anybody mercilessly if he goes against India's integrity or India's territorial sovereignty. We will not tolerate it. But I had the privilege to work with

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Shri Gopalan in this House for many years and it is difficult for me to believe that Shri Gopalan is guilty of any treasonable or any traitorous activity. I do not believe it.

I looked for any real evidence to connect him with treachery or with treason. I have read this document with due care, but I find that it falls short of requisite proof. My first charge is that Shri Nanda has said in this document, on the first page, that on December 30, 1964 about 900 active members of the Communist Party of India had been detained in different cities under Rule 30 of the Defence of India Rules. This Parliament was sitting day after day up to the 24th December. Shri A. K. Gopalan was functioning in this Parliament. Why was this Parliament treated with scant courtesy? Why did the Home Minister not confront Shri Gopalan and take this Parliament into confidence and tell us what treasonable or anti-Indian or anti-national activities these Communists and these Members of Parliament were indulging in? Surely, it is only fair to them, fair to the Parliament that they should have been told. We should have been taken into confidence. This is a wonderful display of ministerial responsibility. Shri Nanda says that on the 1st January, 1965 he made a broadcast over the All India Radio announcing the aggression on the freedom and on the cherished human rights of 1,000 citizens. This is a serious matter and I honestly feel that they have not done their duty. Out of these 45 pages, if you scan them, you will find 32 pages which are devoted to quotations from all the ideological speeches and all sorts of thesis pointing out the split between the Right and the Left. We are not concerned with the split between the Right and the Left. We have nothing to do with that. We wanted facts. This was merely the Home Minister's political judgment which he pronounced on his political rivals and he threw it over to the electorate in

Kerala asking them to accept it or reject it. They have rejected it. It is quite clear that the intelligent and educated electorate of Kerala has not accepted this *ferè ipse dixit* of the Home Minister: Why? It is because you did not give facts. They wanted facts; they wanted concrete data; they wanted legal evidence. You have not given them.

Here are quotations spread over the period of 10 to 12 years. No new facts have been given. If you look at the last chapter—that chapter is the most serious chapter and I expected to get something there—that chapter is headed as "Preparations for subversion and violence". It starts on p. 32. You look at p. 32 and you will find that they have given quotations from a speech by a Bengal Member Mr. Jyoti Basu. What did Mr. Jyoti Basu say? Please remember that upto chapter IV, there is no real evidence of any subversive activity. Preparation for subversion and violence are given in chapter V. What is the first charge? What is the tangible evidence the Home Minister propounds? He has pointed out that Mr. Jyoti Basu had made a speech in Calcutta or somewhere else in Bengal. What is the speech? It is:

"When a huge wave of anti-imperialist mass struggle swept through the land at the end of the Second World War, the big bourgeoisie leadership of the India National Congress betrayed the struggle instead of leading it, and assumed power through compromise with British imperialism . . . Bengal was partitioned. The land overflowed with blood, the dark blood of fratricidal strife, not the sacred blood that is shed in a liberation war".

What is wrong there? If Mr. Jyoti Basu said this that we have to pay the price of partition . . .

An hon. Member: Is that all?

Shri N. C. Chatterjee: That is what is quoted here. If Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose had been here, if Dr. Shyama Prasad Mukerjee had been here, they would have talked in the same strain and possibly in a more severe language. Is there any justification for saying that there have been acts of subversion and violence?

Sir, you know, the Supreme Court of India has declared categorically, in the judgment of the Chief Justice of India, that this Defence of India Rule 30 is unconstitutional and illegal. You remember that I read out in this House that portion of the judgment where the Attorney General of India appearing for the Government of India clearly admitted that this is unconstitutional and that this is repugnant to articles 14, 21 and 22 of the Constitution. The Chief Justice pointed out that the Government should beware that they are guilty of unlawful and illegal confinement of citizens and that they will have to pay the penalty after the Emergency is over. In order to put it right, they sought to bring forward the Eighteenth Constitution Amendment Bill. We protested against that. Shri Jawaharlal Nehru was then the Prime Minister and he in his wisdom withdrew the Bill. That was the greatest tribute that could be paid to democracy and parliamentary form of Government. They withdrew it. Now, the situation is that here is the unconstitutional law. Why have you resorted to that? Even when London was being bombed everyday, even when the Midlands were subjected to destruction, even when the whole British Empire was crumbling to pieces, the British Government did not take such power. Even then, the Home Minister, under the Defence of the Realm Act . . .

Shri C. K. Bhattacharyya (Raiganj): That is not correct. I would request my hon. friend to read the book "Lawless Laws" published by Late Shri Hem Chandra Nag, Editor of the Hindustan Standard.

Shri N. C. Chatterjee: I have read many books, and I have argued many

cases including this particular case before the Supreme Court, and I ought to tell my hon. friend that there, even in the worst stage of the crisis facing the British Empire, they had an advisory board consisting of judges and jurists to whom the case of every detenu was sent.

Shri C. K. Bhattacharyya: They had Regulation III of 1818.

Shri N. C. Chatterjee: All that I am pointing out is this. Immediately this critical situation came, I wrote to the Home Minister Shri Nanda and I requested him "Will you at least consider the advisability of having a board of advisers, consisting of the Chief Justice of India, Mr. Justice Gajendragadkar, Mr. S. R. Das, the former Chief Justice of India who presided over the Commission of Inquiry on the late Sardar Pratap Singh Kairon, and also Mr. Mehr Chand Mahajan, another Chief Justice of India who has retired. He wrote to me that he would consider all that.

If you are satisfied that Shri A. K. Gopalan and these people are guilty of treason or guilty of violence or guilty of acts which are nothing short of treason, why do you not put them before a court of law and have them punished? We do not want that the taxpayers' money should be utilised for the purpose of keeping them behind the prison bars and they should enjoy the benefit of being State guests in this way. They should be subjected to condign punishment. Why do you not do it? Why do you deprive them of the opportunity of defending themselves? Even for the Preventive Detention Act arrests, we have provided in article 22 of the Constitution that there must be a charge-sheet given within five days; otherwise, the detention becomes illegal. Why do you not give them a charge-sheet and give them a chance of defending themselves? Even a murderer is given that opportunity. What crime have these people committed? I think the Government are exaggerating the importance of some

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statements made by men like Mr. Hare Krishna Konar or Shri Promode Das Gupta or by Mr. Ramamurti. We in India are pledged to non-violence. This Government should not be so feeble, and our people should not be so chicken-hearted as to think that just because some Member somewhere has spoken about violence, therefore, the country is going to pieces. The country will go to pieces not because of such statements but because of poverty and mass hunger which this Government is tolerating and is con-
 vining at. That is the real problem. I would beg of the Home Minister to consider even now that the judicial process should be allowed to operate. Otherwise, these people should not be kept behind the prison-bars without trial, without an opportunity for defence, and without the formulation of any kind of charge-sheet against them.

Shri Kappen (Muvattupuzha): I was surprised and taken aback . . .

Shri S. M. Banerjee: At the Kerala election results.

Shri Kappen: . . . at hearing Shri H. N. Mukerjee waxing eloquent on the injustice of arresting and keeping in prison the Left Communists. He was saying that the Home Minister had arrested them on the ground that they were pro-Peking. May I kindly ask one question of Shri H. N. Mukerjee? Was it the Home Minister who said first that they were pro-Peking? Was it we who said on this side first that the Left Communists were pro-Peking? Will my hon. friend kindly search his heart and see whether it was not he himself and his leader Shri S. A. Dange who had said that the Left-Communists were pro-Peking? Now, my hon. friend comes forward and says that the Home Minister has arrested them on the ground that they were pro-Peking. When my hon. friend said this, was he honest in his heart or was he lying in his throat when he said that they

were pro-Peking? It is really surprising that people should change their attitudes and come and argue and wax eloquent on matters like that.

Much has been said about the Kerala election. My hon. friend Shri H. N. Mukerjee said that there was the verdict of the people. May I ask my hon. friend whether he is prepared to abide by the verdict of the people with regard to his party and liquidate it?

An hon. Member: Why not?

Shri Kappen: His party has secured only three seats in the legislature. Probably, after the Kerala election results, my hon. friend is trying to hug the legs of Shri A. K. Gopalan. Probably you want to join the Left communists now because you have found that you have place in the country. I cannot understand your argument except in this light.

Shri Indrajit Gupta: What a wonderful logic!

Shri Kappen: This is really wonderful.

Coming to the question of their arrest and detention, I have only one question to ask Government. Why is it that EMS Namboodiripad is allowed to roam about freely? Why not put him in prison at the earliest opportunity? Do not allow him to roam about. That is what I would advise Government to do.

Now there is no party in Kerala except probably the Left Communist who want the Left Communists to be released. What happened in Kerala in the elections? I would ask this of Shri Hiren Mukerjee. His party tried to form a united front with the Left communists, but were unable to do it. Why? They said because the Left Communists had joined with the Muslim League in an alliance, an alliance with a communal party. The Right

communists were not prepared to join them on that ground.

Shrimati Renu Chakravartty: Is that a charge to put them into jail?

Shri Kappen: I am speaking about the Kerala elections and its results. What are we to read from this? Mr. Mukerjee's Rightist party refused to join the united front because the Leftists had gone and joined a communal party. I would tell Shri Mukerjee that had it not been for this alliance they would not have got even one seat in Malabar. It is simply because of the communal alliance of the Left communists that they got what they got.

Shri Indrajit Gupta: You did the same thing before.

Shri Kappen: Let us analyse things as they are, seat by seat. Take, for example, Poonjar. Take my own constituency, Palai. Was there not an understanding between the Right and Left communists in the election? Why did you withdraw your Right communist candidate from Poonjar in favour of the Left communist candidate?

Shrimati Renu Chakravartty: Is this an argument to be used in this discussion?

Shri Indrajit Gupta: What is it that we are discussing?

Shri Kappen: I do not know what noise they are making.

Mr. Speaker: He will please address the Chair.

श्री मुकुन्द चन्द्र कच्छवार (देवास): सच्चिदानन्द सत्रको उद्भव लगन है ।

Shri Kappen: I know truth is not palatable to many people. I am really sorry I have to say unpalatable things.

Mr. Speaker: He might say all that to me.

Shri Kappen: I was speaking about the Kerala elections. If I remember aright, Shri M. N. Govindan Nair, leader of the Right communist party said that the election manifesto prepared by them when they were together contained a clause to the effect that the integrity of the frontier will be maintained. Shri Nair said that when the Left communists alone wrote their manifesto, they omitted that portion. What does it show? I shall quote not from the Home Minister's statement but from what Shri Hiren Mukerjee and Shri M. N. Govindan Nair and all their leaders said about what these Left communists are. If they are pro-Peking, if they are Chinese agents, should they be allowed to roam about freely and do harm to the country?

श्री मधु लिये : सब से बड़े एजेंट तो आप हैं ।

Shri Kappen: Therefore, I feel the Government are perfectly justified in the action they have taken. I would urge them to take stronger action, if necessary keep them in prison all the time they are found to be treasonable. No country will allow any other action. Is there any country which can be pointed out where it has allowed traitors to roam about freely in that country?

I am really happy about Shri N. C. Chatterjee's speech, because gratitude is a quality which man must have. He has been returned to this Parliament because of the help rendered by the Communists.

18 hrs.

Shri N. C. Chatterjee: No, Sir. Also PSP and also other opposition parties.

Shri Kappen: Therefore, I congratulate him for his splendid speech, because he is a grateful man. I must congratulate him for that.

I strongly maintain, and I would challenge Shri H. N. Mukerjee or

[Shri Kappen]

anybody to again fight the elections in Kerala on the question whether the Left Communists are to be freed from prison, and I can assure them that if that issue is placed before the electorate and the election is contested, not one seat will be given to the Left Communists. If the Left Communists have gained certain seats in Kerala, it is simply because democratic votes have been split, because of the Kerala Congress which has been formed. Therefore, I can say that the Left Communists have got 20 or 25 seats merely because democratic votes have been split. My submission is that the Kerala election is no index for deciding whether the Left Communists ought to be kept in prison or released. On the other hand, I maintain that the Kerala election definitely shows that these people, traitors, have to be kept in prison, as long as they continue to be traitors.

Shri Indrajit Gupta: What about the Palai Central Bank (*Interruptions*).

Mr. Speaker: Shall we have a debate or fight here? When he is making a speech, he should be allowed to have his say. We are having a debate in Parliament.

श्री हुकम चन्द कछवाय : जिसको नैति
संगड़ा करने का ही तो क्या करें।

Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath: My hon. friend Shri Nanda, the Minister for Home Affairs, a former Prime Minister, a former Minister of Planning and Labour, the President of the Bharat Sevak Samaj, the President of the Bharat Sadhu Samaj, the *sadguru* of *Anugata Andolan* and *Sadachar Samiti*, the gallant Knight Errant who has vowed to exterminate corruption from the country by the end of this year, a Minister so conscientious and honourable that he righteously shrinks for committing the ocular sin of looking at a secret document laid on

the Table by a private Member with the permission of the Speaker, has given us this White, but not a bright, Paper, this little, incomplete brochure.

What does this brochure, this so-called White Paper, contain? What is the charge sheet, what is the indictment of the Left or pro-Peking Communists as they are called? I have not much time to read *in extenso* from the document, but on page 2 we have got a reference to the Left Communists. I wonder if in 1959 there were any Left Communists. There was one Communist Party, neither right nor left, but one upright or down-right or whatever it was, Communist Party at that time. But one charge is that Communists of those days, 1959, Left Communists as Shri Nanda says, did not agree with the rest of the nation as regards the charges against China with regard to the "liberation" of Tibet. Is the ruling party, the Government, itself free from blame in this matter? I remember that day when the Prime Minister, Shri Jawaharlal Nehru, in 1950, after having wondered what this "liberation" of Tibet was about, suddenly committed a *volte face*, and in the United Nations when El Salvador brought up a motion on Tibet, our representative Shri Gopaldaswamy Ayyangar quietly backed out of the promise that had been given.

The Government of those days, so far as China was concerned a pusillanimous, invertebrate, myopic Government, a boneless wonder of a Government of those days, a Government which President Radhakrishnan himself rightly chastised as wilfully negligent and credulous, the Government of those days had enjoyed the blissful honeymoon with China which made them oblivious of realities. Those were the days when that lullaby, the opiate of *Hindi-Chini bhai bhai* reverberated from Shangai to Madurai. Those were the days when the Congress and the Communist

Party were supposed to be so friendly, regarded as so friendly in China itself that I heard from a very reliable source, a friend of mine who visited China, in those days the slogan raised in China was "Nehru ke baad Namboodiripad". Those were the days when the Government financed the India-China friendship society in India it was headed by an eminent Congressman, even after China had committed aggression in this country. How can this Government, with what face, indict the Left Communists when these Congress people themselves were toeing the same line as the Communist Party in those days? Here is an indictment of the communists. May I ask the Home Minister, why it is that up to this date, till now, why it is that they have kept the report on the accounts of the Bank of China a secret document, as secret as the CBI report? Is the obvious motive not to disclose the names of Congressmen? My hon. friend and colleague, Shri Dwivedy asked a pointed question on this matter in regard to their activities and the funds that the Communist Party got through the Bank of China and the other sources. My colleague Shri Dwivedy mentioned the name of a Member of the Cabinet. I shall quote from the proceedings of the Rajya Sabha, in the other place. The name of Mr. Biren Roy was mentioned. I shall quote from the records. The Finance Minister, Shri T. T. Krishnamachari refused to say anything in the matter and claimed secrecy for the document and then—what did he say?—he went on to say in his reply—it is rather amusing—"the House should trust the Government in these matters to take appropriate action". After their performance with regard to the Orissa affair, after the Orissa skeleton rattling so noisily in their cupboard, how can we trust this Government? They call the left communists as agents of China. Maybe, they are agents of China. But is it not the pot calling the kettle black? That is what they themselves were doing. They cannot hunt with

the hounds and run with the hare. They were toeing more or less the same policy as the communists with regard to China, till August 1962. My party had the honour, had the privilege of drawing the attention of the Government, since 1954, or even earlier, against the menace that China was to this country, to the peace of Asia and to the peace of the world. My party was dubbed as war mongers even as late as August, 1962 in this House, when the then Defence Minister, after a brief interlude in London where he said that there was no danger from China—in October, it was before the invasion, when he was toasting Marshal Chen Yi in salubrious Switzerland mouthing *Hindi—Chini bhai bhai*, we here this House had to face this abuse and invective which came from the Treasury Benches, that we were war mongers. And these peace mongers! It is these peace mongers who brought war to our doors. That is the record of the Government. Now, we are asked to believe this document which has been circulated to Members. My hon. friend, Shri Mukerjee, has tried his very best to defend the left communists. But may I read from this document? I do not know whether it is correctly reported in this booklet or brochure. His own party leader, Shri Dange, according to this report, on page 31, referred to the left communists in a meeting in Bombay on 20th June 1964 that the left communists were Chinese agents. Shri Dange says that—I do not know whether he was correctly reported. (*An hon. Member: Mr. Mukerjee accepts that*) they were left communists in the sense that they subscribed to the Chinese views on the analysis of the Indian political situation and on the methods to be pursued in bringing about a political revolution.

Now, I charge the Government that it was their credulity and criminal negligence led to the debacle in NEFA and was national humiliation, and India's prestige in Asia had suffered, and that gave a fillip to the

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pro-Chinese elements in our country. That is the charge against this Government, this pusillanimous and boneless wonder of a Government, which I condemn. (*Interruption*).

May I ask this Government why they did not answer the question of mine on the floor of this House as regards the money that passed from China to the leftist faction of the Communist party of India? They said that it could not be disclosed in the public interest; let alone discussion of the matter, it could not even be disclosed. My charge against the Government is that the plea of public interest—as you have rightly referred to it in another connection—is to my mind,—for this Government—a cloak or rather, may I say a quilt for this somnolent or at best a somnambulist Government, to hide, to cover a multitude of bumbles and blunders which have brought the country to this pass, this national humiliation.

Mr. Speaker: The hon. Member's time is up.

Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath: I shall finish in a minute or two. Before I conclude, may I say that in this document which is placed before us by the Government, they have charged the left Communists with certain crimes, with certain preparations for violence and subversion. Now, the left Communists have a certain philosophy and they perhaps want to implement their philosophy. According to me, the only way to counter, to fight that philosophy is with a more potent philosophy, with a more potent ideology—political ideology or political philosophy—and with an active, firm, determined, socio-economic policy and programme. Let the Government come out with it.

Shri Indrajit Gupta: They cannot do that. They have not got the guts.

Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath: If that is not done, I am afraid the Government has no face, no clean face to

show before the public. (*Interruptions*).

Mr. Speaker: Order, order. The hon. Member's time is up.

Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath: I shall finish now. I have learnt from authentic sources that the Government has in its possession sufficient material. It is also said in this brochure—there is an indication of it—that it is not complete, and that there is more material. I have learnt from reliable sources that the Government has in its possession sufficient material to bring these left Communists to trial. Let them bring them to trial; why hide these facts? They have done so before; let them bring them to trial, lest there should be disaster. (*Interruption*). If they do not bring these left Communists to trial, what will the judgment of the country be? I have learnt today, this morning, that the Home Ministry has supplied some Members of the Congress party with a brief, a note, containing more material than has been given to us.

Some hon. Members: No, no. (*Interruption*).

Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath: I have heard; I have seen it myself; I have seen the brief myself. (*Interruption*).

Mr. Speaker: Order, order. The hon. Member should conclude now.

Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath: I am finishing, Sir.

Shri Bhagwat Jha Azad (Bhagalpur): If my party briefs me, what is wrong? (*Interruption*).

Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath: Is it proper, Sir,—while Members of the House are not supplied that material in the national interest, perhaps, the Congress party has got it supplied by the Government, by the Home Minister, but which has been denied to us? I ask the Government to bring those left Communists to trial because

the Government have the requisite material with them. Otherwise, the Government will be dubbed as a pusillanimous Government, a boneless wonder of a Government.

Shrimati Renu Chakravartty: Reference was made to the document and to what Shri Dange has said. Shri Dange had given a statement to the National Council refuting this. It was stated in the newspapers that in a private meeting he had called them agents of China. This whole matter was discussed and it was clearly stated by Com. Dange that he had spoken only about ideological differences. Everybody knows that there are differences in the ideological field between China and Soviet Union and other communist countries of the world. This was what was said and that is the statement which he has made.

Shri Dinen Bhattacharya: Mr. Speaker Sir, at the very outset of the discussion of this motion, you kindly reminded us, the Members of the House, that we in India have a democratic principle and tradition and we have to maintain it. I put a simple question to you Sir which was tried to be raised by my hon. friend Shri S. M. Banerjee. What is this type of parliamentary democracy when a Member of Parliament, not of this Lok Sabha only but who has been a Member of the Lok Sabha for the last 10 years,—Shri Gopalan—is under detention? He was in the first Lok Sabha. He was the leader of the Communist Group. Still he is the leader of the party. Behind his back Shri Nanda has made derogatory remarks against him. What is this sort of democracy? Where are we being led to by this Government?

Shri Nanda has come out with a statement containing 45 pages. The issue is not between the Left CPI and the Government of India, it is a question of democracy and the democratic principles that are in danger. An eminent jurist, Shri Chatterjee, has amply described how illegal it is at

this stage to detain persons without trial. The people of India expected that at least after the Kerala elections some good sense will prevail on the Government and they will invite Shri E. M. S. Namboodiripad, who is the leader of the majority party, to form a government. But, Sir, the Government is now conniving, is now trying to make hotch-potch arrangements with the Kerala Congress, and trying to form a Government putting the elected members inside the prison. Is this justice? Is this democracy? Is this parliamentary democracy?

Shri Bhagwat Jha Azad: Sure.

Shri Dinen Bhattacharya: Certainly not. One hon. Member from that side spoke. I do not know whether he belongs to the Congress or the Kerala Congress. From his remarks I understood that he was pleading for the Kerala Congress getting into power.

Shri Bhagwat Jha Azad: What are you, Left or Right?

Shri Dinen Bhattacharya: The statement that is there is absurd. It is full of false statements that I do not want to go into the details. Shri Jyoti Basu, the leader of the Left CPI has come out with two Press statements. The Government had not the guts to reply to them.

The Left CPI members are accused as being pro-China. I say it is a false statement, it is a lie, it has got no foundation. Shri Jyoti Basu has said:

“We did not take the advice of any party, whether CPC or CPSU with regard to our party activities. We acted on our own considering the situation in India and our party.”

If anything contrary to this is there, why is the Government afraid of bringing those persons before a court of law where everything can be

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settled? I know this Government has the least respect for the verdict of a court of law or the rule of law. One Shri Biren Dutt, a Member of this House, was released by the Supreme Court of India. The other six persons arrested were also released by the Supreme Court. But within a month they were re-arrested and detained without trial. Where is justice in this country? The people are losing all faith in this Government and in their activities.

I again challenge this Government. If they have got any material, any evidence against anybody who has been arrested or are detained, let them be put before a court. If they are proved to be traitors, pro-Chinese or Chinese agents, or that they were contemplating some subversive activities, let them be given the proper punishment by the court. Then the whole country will be behind the Government in their action. Until the Government does it, the history will show that only to keep the ruling party in power, only to hoodwink the people, to be-fool the people such a statement was made. Before that statement was made, people were told that it will be a white paper. Now it has come as a statement and it will go down in history as a black paper; not a statement. It does not contain even an iota of truth; only some ideological questions have been raised.

In Murat conspiracy case Justice Sulaiman has said in his judgment that you cannot impeach, you cannot punish, a person for his thought. If a person has some ideological view, you cannot punish him for that. You can punish a person only for his activities. Where is the proof of the pro-china activities of the people who have been detained Professor Mukherjee has said it; and I also repeat it, that supporters and financiers of Congress took overdraft from the Bank of China and it has been categorically stated in the West Bengal Legislative Council by Shri Jyoti

Chakraverti. Not a single member of the Communist Party, either of the Right or of the Left, has got a single farthing as overdraft from the Bank of China. If the Government have got the guts, let them deny it and say what the truth is. If anybody has taken money from the Bank of China, it is the agents of the Congress and people who wanted to exploit the situation.

Before concluding my speech, I would again ask the whole House to consider this point. It is not a question of Shri Gopalan being released or not. In 1962 you had given reference to 1959. I say that all the members who were arrested, they were elected in 1962 in spite of your this type of propaganda.

This time Shri Nanda's speech, in which the Left Communists were dubbed as pro-Chinese was circulated by thousands in Kerala. Yet, the people refused to believe that cock and bull story of Shri Nanda and has elected the Communists in large numbers. Shri Namboodiripad has come out with a statement, contradicting the illusion that was sought to be created by Shri Nanda by saying that the Congress has got the majority of votes. I say that it is not the Congress but the Opposition, including Rightists and Leftists and their supporters, that has got more than 47 per cent of the votes, which is more than what they obtained in the 1960 elections.

So, I would submit that Government should immediately release all the detained members. Let the elected Members of Kerala come out of detention and let Shri Namboodiripad form the Ministry. Let there be competition between the parties. Let the Communist Ministry function for some time. The Central Government have got ample powers to impose President's rule at any time by dismissing the Ministry, as they have done in 1959. It can be done again, but let there be a fair trial. Let the Government give a fair chance to the electorate and their elected represen-

tatives to serve them by forming the Ministry.

I will conclude by saying that this is a dishonest attempt to get some petty advantage for the ruling party by saying that other parties are anti-national or pro-Peking. Take Shri Gopalan. Can anybody face him in an election in Kerala? I make a challenge. Let Shri Nanda resign his seat and go to Kerala. Let Shri Gopalan also resign. Let them stand for election from Kerala. The people of Kerala will show who is the beloved son of this land, who is a patriot and who is not a patriot.

श्री राम सहाय पाण्डेय (गुना) : श्रीमन्, इस सदन के माध्यम से श्री नन्दा जी ने सारे देश का ध्यान ऐसे संकट और ऐसे देश द्रोहियों के कार्यों की ओर आकर्षित किया है कि देश उस के लिए उनका अनुगृहीत होगा। वैसे तो श्रीमन्, साम्यवादियों का एक अपना इतिहास है। संसार भर में यह प्रसिद्ध है कि उन का एक अपना इतिहास है। वह इतिहास लाल रंग की स्याही से लिखा हुआ है। इन का इतिहास तोड़ फोड़, सशस्त्र क्रान्ति, विस्तारवादी प्रवृत्तियाँ और जनता को भुलावे में रख कर अपना उल्लू सीधा करना है। इन का देशप्रेम यदि किसी तुला पर रख कर तोला जाय तो तराजू टूट जायगा और अगर किसी फीते से उन की भावनाओं को आँका जाय तो वह फीता भी टूट जायगा। इन की विचार संगति की यदि खोज की जाय तो एक बड़ी भारी क्रान्ति के संदेश की सर्वहारा का प्रतिनिधित्व करने का नारा लगाते हैं लेकिन वह अपने देश के लिए नहीं वरन् चीन के लिए है। इन की भावनाएँ, इन की क्रान्ति, इन का सर्वहारा जन प्रतिनिधित्व का सुन्दर चित्र मास्को और रूस के लिए है, पेकिंग के लिए है। इन के दो रूप हैं। पश्चिमी साहित्यकार के एक नायक डा० जयकल का स्मरण आता है। उस ने कहा है कि एक डा० जयकल थे जिन्होंने कि सर्वहारा के माध्यम से बड़ी प्रतिष्ठा समाज में

प्राप्त कर ली थी, रात को वह डाक्टर जयकल मिस्टर हाइड हो जाते थे और वह फिर भी नशे में मस्त हो कर ऐसे जघन्य और भ्रवाच्छनीय कार्य करते यहां तक कि डाका भी वह डालते थे। मुझे स्मरण होता है कि मास्को के सर्वश्रेष्ठ प्रतिनिधि श्री लुश्चेव जब यहां आए तो कश्मीर संदर्भ में यह कहा कि कश्मीर की घाटी में अगर कोई खतरा पाकिस्तान से हो तो इन पहाड़ों के ऊपर चढ़ कर पार्वती मंदिर के निकट पुकार देना हम तुम्हारी रक्षा के लिए आ जायेंगे। हमने देखा कि ठीक उस के कुछ दिन के बाद उन्हीं के एक साथी, पेकिंग के अधिष्ठाता माओत्से तंग और चाऊ एन लाई ने हमारे पर्वतराज हिमालय पर आक्रमण कर दिया। जब तक हम अपनी उस धरती को वापिस नहीं ले लेंगे तब तक वह खून के छीटे धोये नहीं जा सकते हैं।

श्रीमन्, एक बार चर्चिल ने इन कम्युनिस्टों और उन की विचारधाराओं का समन्वय करते हुए कहा था। कुछ समय चर्चिल भी उन का साथी था। द्वितीय विश्व युद्ध के संदर्भ में उस ने कहा था कि यह ऐसे लोग हैं कि यह ख्वस की और वफादारी की प्रक्रियाओं को बड़े ढोंग के साथ एक गाड़ी में लाद कर चलते हैं। इन से सावधान रहना चाहिए। इतना ही नहीं हमारे राष्ट्रपिता बापू ने अपने 1942 के स्वाधीनता आन्दोलन की गतिविधि के संदर्भ में हरिजन में एक लेख लिख कर एक इंटरव्यू को शायी किया था जिसमें उन्होंने कहा था कि इन की साम्यवादी विचारधारा और इन के आदर्श से हमारा कोई मतभेद नहीं है लेकिन इनकी जो अंडरग्राउन्ड या जो तोड़फोड़ की और सशस्त्र क्रान्ति की जनता को बरगलाने की जो प्रवृत्ति है हम निश्चित रूप से उसके विरुद्ध हैं। वह बापू का एक संदेश था। चर्चिल जो संसार का एक बड़ा भारी राजनीतिज्ञ और विशिष्ट प्रकार का जन नेता था उस का दूसरा कथन था। आज श्रीमन्, चाहे यह कहें कि कांग्रेस कम्युनिस्टों के विरुद्ध है लेकिन

[श्री राम सहाय पाण्डेय]

हमारा इतिहास बतलाता है कि हम तो बिलकुल विरुद्ध नहीं हैं। अगर विरुद्ध होते तो हम ने अब तक इन को जो बर्दाश्त किया वह कभी नहीं करते। गांधी जी के आन्दोलन के इतिहास के साथ इन का एक इतिहास जब बना तब मालूम पड़ा कि यह हमारे देश में देशद्रोह कर सकते हैं। उस 1951 के परिपत्र में जो सशस्त्र क्रान्ति का आवाहन किया तो पता चला कि घर का भेदी लंगड़ा सकता है। यह हमारे ही आस्तीन के सांप हो सकते हैं जो हमारा दूध पीकर हम को डस सकते हैं।

जब इस प्रकार की स्थिति आई तब हम को थोड़ी आंख रखनी पड़ी। श्री नन्दा ने उनको गिरिपत्तार करके बड़ी सुरक्षा के साथ अन्दर रख दिया है। वहां कोई खतरा नहीं है। माननीय सदस्य क्यों परेशान होते हैं? मैं समझता हूँ कि वहां उनके लिए अच्छी खुराक और पानी का इन्तजाम है।

जैसा मैंने कहा इन साम्यवादियों का हमारे देश में अपना एक इतिहास बन गया है। ऐसा लगता है कि उनका एक ही सिद्धान्त है—यह उनका बड़ा सिद्धान्त है—कि कोई सिद्धान्त नहीं है। अनेक विचार-धाराएँ हैं उनकी और उन विचार-धाराओं के पीछे पीकिंग की तानाशाही की छाया है। उनके विचार के कुछ देश भी हैं जिन में जनता का कोई अधिकार नहीं है। उनके कुछ दिमाग भी हैं जो लाल रंग के भूसे से भरे हुए हैं—वह भसा भी रंगा हुआ है, शुद्ध भूसा नहीं है। ठीक ठीक सीधे सीधे और अच्छी व्यवस्था के साथ वे किसी देश में नहीं रह सकते। जो माननीय सदस्य मास्को गुट से लगे हुए हैं वे खुद फैसला करें कि पीकिंग के पिठठुओं के सम्बन्ध में उनकी विचार-धारा क्या है।

श्री इन्द्रजित गुप्त : मास्को ने ही अपको बचा कर रखा है।

श्री राम सहाय पाण्डेय : श्रीमन्, मास्को गुट ने कम्युनिस्ट पार्टी के सेंट्रल कंट्रोल कमीशन के द्वारा पीकिंग गुट के सम्बन्ध में जो जांच कराई मैं आप का ध्यान उसकी रिपोर्ट के एक अंश की ओर खींचना चाहता हूँ। आप देखिए कि वे स्वयं साम्यवादियों के चीनी-पीकिंग गुट के सम्बन्ध में क्या कहते हैं:

“इस प्रतिक्रियावादी गुट ने अन्तर्राष्ट्रीय प्रालिटेरियटवाद का मार्ग त्याग दिया है और अंधे राष्ट्रवाद और क्रान्तिकारी जनता तथा श्रमिक वर्ग के प्रति सन्देह का मार्ग अपनाया है।”

यह कांग्रेस नहीं कहती, यह श्री नन्दा नहीं कहते, यह कहती है श्री हीरेन मुकर्जी की पार्टी जो मास्को के साथ लगी हुई है।

इस श्वेतपत्र के पृष्ठ 29 पर यह बताया गया है कि स्वयं कम्युनिस्ट पार्टी के नेताओं ने वामपन्थी गुट के सम्बन्ध में क्या राय दी। उन्होंने कहा :

“विश्व साम्यवादी आन्दोलन के अन्तर्गत सैद्धांतिक वाद-विवाद की उग्रता के साथ अधिकांश कामरेडों (वामपन्थी) ने अपने विचारों तथा कामकाज का चीनी साम्यवादी दल की स्थिति के साथ गठबंधन कर दिया है।”

यह श्री नन्दा नहीं कहते, यह श्री हीरेन मुकर्जी की पार्टी कहती है, जो अभी बहुत जोरों से बोल रहे थे।

श्री सरजू पाण्डेय (रसड़ा) : माननीय सदस्य के पास क्या सबूत है? वह तो हमारी ही बात कह रहे हैं।

श्री भागवत झा आजाद (भागलपुर):
मियां की जूती मियां के सिर ।

श्री राम सहैया पाण्डेय : श्वेतपत्र के
पृष्ठ 31 पर कहा गया है :

“चीन समर्थक नेताओं ने चीनी साम्यवादी दल की सेंट्रल कमिटी के वैकल्पिक सदस्य चू-यांग द्वारा 26 अक्टूबर 1963 को चीनी विज्ञान प्रकादमी के समक्ष दिये गये भाषण को प्रसारित किया । इस भाषण में दुनिया के साम्यवादी दलों में फूट डालने के सैद्धान्तिक औचित्य के बारे में कहा गया था ।”

साम्यवादी दल की ओर से कहा गया है कि वह पार्लियामेंटरी प्रथाओं और प्रणालियों में विश्वास करता है लेकिन उसकी ओर से 1951 में एक दस्तावेज प्रकाशित किया गया, जिसमें यह कहा गया :

“हिन्दुस्तान एक बहुत बड़ा देश है जहां की आर्थिक स्थिति बहुत पिछड़ी हुई है और यहां के 80 प्रतिशत लोग खेती पर निर्भर करते हैं । इस तरह के देश में, जैसे कि चीन के अनुभव से मालूम हुआ गुरिल्ला युद्ध पद्धति किसी भी क्रान्तिकारी आन्दोलन के लिये बहुत ही असरदार हथियार है और राष्ट्रीय आजादी के युद्ध में कम्युनिस्ट पार्टी या साम्यवादी दल को इस हथियार को काम में लाना पड़ेगा । चीन के मुकाबले में हिन्दुस्तान में यातायात की बड़ी तरक्की हो गई है और इस तरह हमारे गुरिल्ला युद्ध के खिलाफ सरकार तेजी के साथ बहुत बड़ी सेना हमारे सामने उपस्थित कर सकती है । सबसे बड़ी बात यह है कि हिन्दुस्तान की भौगोलिक स्थिति

कुछ ऐसी है कि हम लोगों के पास दूसरे पड़ोसी दोस्त ऐसे राज्य नहीं हैं जो पीछे से पूरी ताकत और दृढ़ता के साथ हमारी मदद कर सकें ।”

ये शब्द उस पत्रिका, पैम्फलेट के हैं, जिसको चुपके चुपके बांटा गया और जो अब भी साम्यवादी दल के अपने रिकाइंड में मिलेगा । इस से सिद्ध होता है कि इन लोगों का सशस्त्र क्रान्ति में पूरा विश्वास है, यह पीछे से चाकू घोंप कर आगे जाना चाहते हैं, चीन के साथ गठबंधन करना चाहते हैं और प्रजातंत्र की हत्या करना चाहते हैं । ये ऐसे देशद्रोही हैं, जिनके खिलाफ कड़ी से कड़ी कार्यवाही की जानी चाहिए । मैं समझता हूँ कि सरकार ने उनके साथ बहुत रियायत की है । आखिर गिरफ्तार करने से क्या हाता है? हमारा देश एक प्रजातंत्र है । इस में नन्दा जी ज्यादा से ज्यादा क्या कर सकते हैं? जेल में रख सकते हैं, जहां अच्छा खाना दिया जाता है । यहां पर श्री हीरेन मुकर्जी तड़क तड़क कर बोल सकते हैं और उसका विरोध कर सकते हैं, पायंट आफ आर्डर उठा सकते हैं और सदन की कार्यवाही को भंग करने की प्रक्रिया को अपना सकते हैं । लेकिन आप कल्पना कीजिए कि अगर ये लोग चीन में होते—अगर रूस में भी होते—और वहां पर उस देश के विरुद्ध कोई आवाज उठाते तो जेल नहीं होती, — — —

एक माननीय सदस्य: गोली से मार दिया जाता ।

श्री राम सहैया पाण्डेय : बल्कि किसी चौराहे पर कुछ फँसला होता और वह फँसला क्या होता, माननीय सदस्य वहां जा कर देख लें, उन को पता चल जायेगा । (Interruption) मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि अगर सरकार इस प्रकार का कोई निर्णय न करती और सजा न देती, तो फिर जनता स्वयं अपने भाग्य का फैसला करती,

[श्री राम सहाय पाण्डेय]

वह स्वयं इन्तजाम करती और डट कर अच्छी सेवा करती ।

जहां तक रूस का सम्बन्ध है, जब लुशचेव यहां आए, तो वह पहला अवसर था कि रूस का कोई अधिष्ठाता यहां आए । लाखों की भीड़ ने उस का स्वागत किया और उस की आंखें खुल गईं । बाद में पंडित जी का वहां पर स्वागत किया गया । तब उस ने समझा कि संसार में सह-अस्तित्व, जनता की प्रतिष्ठा और गरिमा को स्वीकार करना पड़ेगा और थोड़ा खचछन्दता का वातावरण देना होगा । लुशचेव को भी हटा दिया इन लोगों ने । (Interruption)

जहां तक चीन का सम्बन्ध है, वहां एक पार्लियामेंट है, जिसकी प्रोसीडिंग्स हम ने अभी पढ़ीं । 3532 लोग एक पार्क में खड़े होकर दो रोज सेशन करते हैं । यह वहां का प्रजातन्त्र है, यह वहां की विस्तारवादी मनोवृत्ति है ।

श्री नन्दा धरारयें नहीं, जरा डट कर इन का मुकाबला करें । सारी जनता और कांग्रेस दल उन के साथ है । आप कस्टोडियन आफ डेमोक्रेसी हैं । अगर आप अपना हित चाहते हैं, तो कम्युनिस्टों की भत्सना में आप भी साथ दीजिए ।

श्री हुकूम खन्व कछवाय । माननीय अध्यक्ष महादय, मैं अपने दल की ओर से गृह मंत्री का बड़ा धन्यवाद करता हूँ कि उन्होंने इतना अच्छा कदम उठाया । दुर्भाग्य इस बात का है कि नींद तो खुली, लेकिन काफी समय बाद खुली । यह कार्यवाही काफी समय पहले होनी चाहिए थी, परन्तु वह काफी लेट की गई । इस पुस्तक में जो विवरण दिया गया है, यह हम ने अनेकों बार समाचार-

पत्रों में पढ़ा है और रेडियो से सुना है । लेकिन इस में बहुत अच्छी बातें हैं, जिन को ले कर हम सारे देश में जनता को बता सकते हैं कि वामपन्थी कम्युनिस्टों की गतिविधियां क्या हैं ।

इतनी अच्छी पुस्तक के बारे में हमारे एक मित्र कहते हैं कि इस में कुछ भी नहीं है । उन का कहना ठीक है । चूंकि उन के दिमाग में कुछ नहीं है, इस लिए वह इस पुस्तक से कुछ नहीं समझते । इस सम्बन्ध में मैं यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि जो व्यक्ति अपराधी को सहारा देता है, सहयोग देता है या उसकी वकालत करता है, वह भी उतना ही अपराधी है ।

आज हमारे देश में कम्युनिस्टों की जो गतिविधियां चल रहीं हैं, उन के सम्बन्ध में सरकार को और कठोर कदम उठाना चाहिए । आज हम जिस बात पर चर्चा कर रहे हैं, वह तो पहले ही समाप्त हो जाती । जिस समय देश पर आक्रमण हुआ, तब हमारे भूत-पूर्व गृह-मंत्री, श्री लाल बहादुर शास्त्री ने कुछ कम्युनिस्टों को एरेस्ट किया । मैं चाहता था कि उन को एरेस्ट न किया जाता ताकि देश की जनता यह बताती कि देश-द्रोही कौन है और देशभक्त कौन है । इस देश में देशभक्तों का भंडार भरा हुआ है, कन्या कुमारी से ले कर काश्मीर तक, दक्षिण से ले कर उत्तर तक, देशभक्तों का जाल बिछा हुआ है । वे इन से निपटने की ताकत रखते हैं । वे इन को पिस्सू की तरह मसल दें, परन्तु हमारी सरकार के द्वारा इन लोगों को बढ़ावा दिया गया है ।

इस सम्बन्ध में मैं यह कहना चाहता हूँ हम यह बात जानते हैं और सभी लोग जानते हैं कि जब घर के अन्दर खटमल, मच्छर, पिस्सू इत्यादि, बढ़ जाते हैं तो उनको समाप्त करने के लिए, उनको खत्म करने के लिए, उनका नाश करने के लिए कौन सी दवाई

की जरूरत पड़ती है। उनको खत्म करने के लिए डी० डी० टी० के पाउडर की जरूरत होती है। ये जो खटमल, मच्छर इत्यादि हैं ये बढ़ रहे हैं और इनको मारने के लिए इस पाउडर का ही इस्तेमाल करना होगा। आप निगाह डालें, आपको देश भक्तों की टोलियां मिल जायेंगी और वे ही इन का नाश कर सकती हैं। आप उन पर कोई अंकुश न लगायें वे अपने आप इन से निपट लेंगे। आपको भागदौड़ करने की आवश्यकता नहीं पड़ेगी।

जो यहां चीनी दूतावास है, उससे आपको चाहिए कि आप सम्बन्ध तोड़ लें। आज आप उससे सम्बन्ध बनाये हुए हैं। दूतावासों में होता क्या है? इन्हीं दूतावासों में देश के विरुद्ध काम करने की सारी योजनाएँ पाकिस्तान द्वारा और चीन द्वारा अनेक प्रकार की बनाई जाती हैं, देशद्रोही योजनाएँ बनाई जाती हैं। जहाँ तक कम्युनिस्ट पार्टी का संबंध है, उसको नाजायज़ ठहराया जाना चाहिए, पूरी पार्टी को समाप्त आपको करना चाहिए। मैं यह बात अपने दिल की ओर से आपके सामने रख रहा हूँ।

सुरक्षा कानून के अन्तर्गत जिन लोगों को बन्द किया गया है उनको इस तरह से आपको बन्द नहीं करना चाहिए, उन पर आपको मुकदमे चलाने चाहिए। आपने उनको इस तरह से बन्द करके हीरो बना दिया है, नेता बना दिया है, उनको चमका दिया है। उन पर आप मुकदमा चलाओ। देश द्रोही के साथ जो व्यवहार होता है, वह व्यवहार आप इनके साथ करो। जिस तरह से किसी देश द्रोही पर मुकदमा चलता है, उस तरह से इन पर भी आप मुकदमा चलायें। तब जो सरकार ने कदम उठाया है, उसको ठीक कदम समझा जायगा।

इस पुस्तक में बहुत से तथ्य नहीं दिये गये हैं। सरकार को सभी तथ्य देने चाहिए। क्यों उनको छिपा कर आपने रख छोड़ा है। पूरी बात बताई जानी चाहिए, कुछ छिपाया

नहीं जाना चाहिए। चाइना बैंक का जहाँ तक सम्बन्ध है, उससे सम्बन्धित जितने भी नाम हैं, वे सब सदन के सामने आने चाहिए। उन सब नामों की जानकारी जनता को दी जानी चाहिए। जनता को पता लगना चाहिए कि वास्तव में उनकी गतिविधियाँ क्या हैं।

चुनावों से पहले जिन को पकड़ा गया है और अब चुनाव के बाद उनको न छोड़ने की जो नीति अपनाई गई है उसके सम्बन्ध में मैं इतना ही कहना चाहता हूँ कि सरकार को उस पर गम्भीरता से विचार करना चाहिये, उनके ऊपर जो लाञ्छन लगाये गये हैं उनके ऊपर सरकार को गम्भीरता से सोच विचार करके जितना कड़ा से कड़ा उनको दण्ड दिया जा सकता हो देना चाहिये। जो व्यवहार देश द्रोहियों के साथ होता है, वही उनके साथ भी होना चाहिये।

यह परिस्थिति पैदा क्यों हुई? कृष्ण मेनन साहब हमारे प्रतिरक्षा मंत्री थे अगर वह सजग होते तो यह स्थिति पैदा न होती। उन्होंने सदन को बताया कि हम पूरी तरह से तैयार हैं। उन्होंने सदन को धोखे में रखा, सरकार को धोखे में रखा देश की जनता को धोखे में रखा। आज हमारे चग्हाण साहब सजग हैं। उनकी तरह से उनको भी सजग होना चाहिये था। उनकी तरह से उनको भी सतर्क रहना चाहिये था। इतना बड़ा अपराध करने के बाद उन्होंने केवल हटा दिया गया और कुछ दंड नहीं दिया गया। उन्होंने इतना बड़ा अपराध किया कि हजारों सैनिकों को मरवा दिया लेकिन फिर भी उनको बेदाग छोड़ दिया गया। यह कहाँ का न्याय था। प्रजातंत्र में जो अपराध करे उसको दण्ड न मिले यह कहाँ का न्याय है? इस तरह से क्या प्रजातंत्र टिक सकता है? नहीं टिक सकता है। अब भी समय है कि भूतपूर्व प्रतिरक्षा मंत्री पर मुकदमा चलाया जाए। उनके ऊपर भी देश द्रोह के लाञ्छन लगे हुए हैं। तब आने वाली जनता को हम बता सकेंगे कि प्रजातंत्र

[श्रीं हुकम चन्द कच्छवाय]

में क्या क्या हो सकता है। तब हम लोगों को बता सकते हैं कि हमारे देश में जो अपराध करता है वह दण्ड भी भोगता है।

वामपंथी और दक्षिणपंथी की भाषा बोलनी किस ने शुरू की? यह नारा किस ने लगाया। यह नारा हमारी सरकार द्वारा ही तो लगाया गया है। इसी कांग्रेस द्वारा ही तो लगाया गया है। कुछ कम्युनिस्ट ऐसे हैं जो उपद्रव करना नहीं चाहते हैं, जो चीन का साथ नहीं देना चाहते, जो चीन का समर्थन नहीं करते हैं और कुछ ऐसे हैं जो समर्थन करते हैं, यह बात हमारी सरकार द्वारा ही तो बताई गई है। मैं दक्षिण पंथी कम्युनिस्टों से कहना चाहता हूँ कि वे गजदूरों की बड़ी दुहाई देते हैं तो क्या कारण है कि यहां देश के अन्दर बहुत से मजदूर संगठन हैं, मजदूर यूनियन हैं, उन में शामिल हो जाते, क्यों नहीं वे उनके साथ मिल कर काम करते, क्यों नहीं उनके साथ कंधे से कंधा मिला कर काम करते? आपके मन में तो यही है कि तोड़ो, फोड़ो, और उपद्रव कराओ मजदूरों को भड़काओ, उनको पेट भर अगर नहीं मिलेगा तो हमारी दूकान चलती रहेगी यह इनका नारा है?

देश के अन्दर ऐसी और भी पार्टियां हैं जो देश द्रोह का काम करती हैं। स्वतंत्र पार्टी भी उन में से एक है। क्या स्वतंत्र पार्टी यह नहीं चाहती कि काश्मीर अलग रहे? क्या शेख अब्दुल्ला को उन्होंने छुड़वाने के प्रयत्न नहीं किए? क्या उन्होंने अंग्रेजी भाषा को जो एक विदेशी भाषा है, बनाये रखने को नहीं कहा है और यह नहीं कहा है कि अंग्रेजी देश की भाषा होनी चाहिये। क्या जयप्रकाश नारायण जी के भाषणों का उन्होंने समर्थन नहीं किया है? मैं यह नहीं कहता हूँ कि पूरी की पूरी पार्टी ऐसी है। उस पार्टी में कुछ लोग अच्छे भी हैं। लेकिन उन में से भी जो ऐसी भाषा बोलें, जो काश्मीर को अलग करने की बात करें, उन पर प्रतिबन्ध लगाना चाहिये।

नन्दा जी से मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि वह इस बात को न भूलें कि देश के अन्दर जो देशभक्त हैं, उनको भी आपने सुरक्षा नियमों का इस्तेमाल करके अन्दर कर दिया है। कई स्थानों पर खास करके महाराष्ट्र के अन्दर हमारे कार्यकर्ताओं को इन्होंने पकड़ा है। क्या कारण था उनको पकड़ने का? कोई कारण नहीं था। उनको छोड़ा जाना चाहिये, बिना शर्त रिहा करना चाहिए। उन्होंने कोई अपराध नहीं किया। जो अपराध करते हैं वे तो वाहर रहते हैं और जिन्होंने कोई अपराध नहीं किया होता है उनको अन्दर कर दिया जाता है। यह जो गलत ढंग से इस कानून का इस्तेमाल किया जा रहा है, यह बन्द होना चाहिये। उन पर मुकदमे चलने चाहिये अगर उन्होंने वास्तव में कोई अपराध किया है तो।

बड़ी हिम्मत के साथ नन्दा जी ने जो कदम उठाया है, उसकी मैं सराहना करता हूँ। लेकिन पुस्तक में जो कमी है उसको पूरा किया जाए, यह मैं उन से प्रार्थना करता हूँ।

श्री सरजू पाण्डेय : अध्यक्ष महोदय, जिस पार्टी के बारे में इस सदन में इस वक्त विचार हो रहा है उसके बारे में बहस इस बात की है कि जो आरोप लगाये गये हैं क्या वे इतने काफ़ी हैं, क्या वे ऐसे हैं कि इतने सारे लोगों को जेल में बन्द कर दिया जाए और उन पर मुकदमा भी न चलाया जाए। बहुत से माननीय सदस्यों ने और खास तौर पर प्रकाशवीर शास्त्री जी ने और दूसरों ने भी कम्युनिस्ट पार्टी पर इस बात का आरोप लगाया है और जहां तक हो सका है यह साबित करने की कोशिश की है कि ये देश भक्त नहीं हैं। हमारा कहना यह है कि देशभक्ति इस बात से नहीं आंकी जाती है कि किस का विचार क्या है। मैं उन लोगों को भी जानता हूँ जो लोग आज अपने आपको

देश भक्त बताते हैं, जो देश भक्ति की बात करते हैं लेकिन अगर उनका जो इतिहास रहा है उसको देखा जाए तो पता चलेगा कि ये कभी भी देश भक्त नहीं रहे हैं और न भविष्य में रहेंगे। गलत बात करने से और गलत आरोप लगाने से देश का और प्रजातंत्र का स्तर गिरता है।

हमारा कहना यह है कि अगर किसी के बारे में, किसी दल के बारे में या किसी व्यक्ति विशेष के बारे में कोई ठोस आरोप है तो सरकार को उन आरोपों को सामने लाना चाहिये। गलत बातें कहना और गलत बातें पढ़ना और ऐसी बातें कर देना जिन में कोई तथ्य न हो, उससे देश के सामने भ्रम उत्पन्न होता है और लोगों का विधान और इस सदन में विश्वास उठता है। नन्दा जी को चाहिये कि था अगर उनके खिलाफ कोई आरोप थे, उनके पास कोई ठोस प्रमाण थे तो उनको हमारे सामने लाते। इनका सी० आई० डी० विभाग कहाँ था, कहाँ तक इनका वह सारा झमला जो इस तरह की हरकतें करने वालों का पीछा किया करता है, कहाँ है इनका सारा और कार्यकलाप जिससे पता लगता कि सही मानों में इन लोगों ने ऐसे कार्य किये हैं जिन का बदौलत इतने साले लोगों को जेलों में बगैर मुकदमे चलाये बन्द करने की जरूरत पड़ गई। ये जो ठोस प्रमाण हैं, ये आने चाहिये थे। इस तरह का कोई भी प्रमाण हमारे सामने पेश नहीं किया गया है।

माननीय सदस्यों ने कई प्रकार के आरोप कम्युनिस्ट पार्टी पर लगाये हैं। मैं उनको बतलाना चाहता हूँ कि कम्युनिस्ट पार्टी में ऐसे ऐसे भी सदस्य हैं जो आप से बीस गुना ज्यादा कुर्बानियाँ दे चुके हैं। अगर इस तरह की कोई बात कही जाती है तो मैं भी यह कुर्बानियों की बात दावे के साथ कह सकता हूँ।

जो भी आदमी देश के साथ गद्दारी करता

है, जो सही मानों में देश में विश्वास नहीं रखता है, उस पर मुकदमा चलना चाहिये। यहां बहस यह भी हो रही है कि रूस में प्रजातंत्र नहीं है। एक कांग्रेस मिनिस्टर ने पूछा था जेलखानों में कि अगर आपके राज में ऐसा होता तो आप क्या करते? हम कहते हैं कि किसी भी आदमी को सजा देने के लिए सरकार को पवित्र होना पड़ेगा। जिस पार्टी के सारे मंत्री भ्रष्टाचार में लिप्त हैं, जिस पार्टी के मंत्री चाइना बैंक के मंत्री हैं, जिस पार्टी के सारे मंत्री दूसरों से पैसा लेते हैं वह पार्टी कभी भी जनता का विश्वास प्राप्त नहीं कर सकती है। गोली मारने के लिए भी साहस चाहिये।

प्रजातंत्र का क्या अर्थ है अगर कोई प्रमाण उपस्थित नहीं किये जा सकते हैं? सिर्फ गालियाँ देकर कम्युनिस्ट पार्टी को दबाया नहीं जा सकता है। यह सिद्ध करने की कोशिश करके कि हम ही देश भक्त हैं और दूसरी तरफ बैठने वाले लोग देश भक्त नहीं हैं, मैं, श्रीमान् कहना चाहता हूँ कि कम्युनिस्ट पार्टी को कोई भी आदमी दबा नहीं सकता है।

हमारे हिरेन मुखर्जी साहब ने कहा कि सूरज की तरह कम्युनिस्ट पार्टी के सिद्धान्त सत्य हैं। इस सम्बन्ध में मुझे यह कहना है कि कांग्रेस बैंचों पर बैठने वाले माननीय सदस्यों ने भी तसलीम किया है कि बगैर समाजवादी अर्थव्यवस्था के देश का कल्याण नहीं हो सकता तब फिर बहस किस बात की है? आप भी तो समाजवाद चाहते हैं। फर्क सिर्फ इतना है कि आप समाजवाद का बाना पहन करके देश को धोखा देना चाहते हैं और हम सच्चे समाजवादी हैं। हमारा चार्ज ही यह है कि आप देश में गलत बातों का प्रचार करना चाहते हैं। उद्धरण दिए जाते हैं कि कम्युनिस्ट पार्टी में मतभेद हैं। लेकिन इसमें क्या बहस है। बहस तो इस बात की है कि उन्होंने कौन सा ऐसा कार्य किया है, उनका कौन सा ऐसा डाकूमेंट आपको मिला है जिससे आप इस नतीजे पर पहुँचे

[श्री सरजू पाण्डेय]

हैं कि वे गद्दार हैं। अगर ऐसी कोई बात है तो उसे सामने लाना चाहिए। अगर इसी तरह के आरोप लगाकर आप लोगों को जेलों में डालेंगे तब तो आप उन सब लोगों को जेल में डाल देंगे जो आपके खिलाफ भ्रष्टाचार की बात कहते हैं। आप उन लोगों को जेलों में डाल देंगे जो कि आप से गरीबों की मांगों के लिए लड़ते हैं। अगर आप ऐसी बातें करेंगे तो लाजिमी तौर पर देश में प्रजातंत्र समाप्त हो जाएगा। हम चाहते हैं कि नन्दा जी कुछ प्रमाणों के साथ देश के सामने आवें। लेकिन एक जनरल बात कही जाती है कि हम बिल्कुल सही हैं और बाकी सब लोग गलत हैं और इसी चीज को देश के सामने रखा जाता है। मुझे इस सिलसिले में सिकन्दर और डाकू की एक बात याद आती है। एक डाकू सिकन्दर के पास पकड़ कर लाया गया। सिकन्दर ने उससे पूछा कि तूने डाका क्यों डाला। उसने कहा मैंने तो एक डाका डाला है, तू तो रोज डाके डालता है। वही हालत सरकार की है। दूसरों को गालियां देते हैं और खुद गलत काम करते हैं। कुछ ऐसे लोग जैसे शास्त्री जी हैं जो कि देश में देश भक्ति के नाम पर जातीयता का प्रचार करते हैं। ऐसे ही लोगों ने हिन्दी भाषा को बदनाम किया है और इन्हीं के कारण अहिन्दी भाषी लोग हिन्दी का विरोध करने के लिए मजबूर हुए हैं। यही आदमी है जिन्होंने देश में हिन्दी को बदनाम किया है। इन्होंने ही जातीयता का प्रचार किया है। यही लोग हैं जिन्होंने देश में साम्प्रदायिकता फैलायी है। ऐसे लोगों को सरकार को जेलों में बन्द करना चाहिये। हम आपसे कहते हैं कि जनसंघ के लोग—जिनमें शास्त्री जी हैं यद्यपि अपने को निर्दलीय कहते हैं—प्रतिक्रियावादी हैं। . . .

श्री बड़े (खारगोन) : क्या व्यक्तिगत बातें यहां लायी जा सकती हैं।

श्री सरजू पाण्डेय : ऐसे ही लोग देश में जातीयता का प्रचार करते हैं।

श्री यशपाल सिंह (कौराना) : क्या व्यक्तिगत आक्षेप यहां किए जा सकते हैं ?

श्री सरजू पाण्डेय : हमको कोई ऐतराज नहीं है आप कम्युनिस्टों को बन्द कीजिए लेकिन प्रमाण तो उपस्थित कीजिए। लेकिन उनकी बात पूछिए जो देश भक्त बैठे हैं जो ऐसे पूंजीपतियों के पीछे हैं जो आज भी चीन को चावल बेच रहे हैं, और इस चीज को उत्तर प्रदेश के चीफ मिनिस्टर ने भी स्वीकार किया है। यही देश भक्त हैं जो हिन्दी के नाम पर, जाति के नाम पर, धर्म के नाम पर भगवान के नाम पर देश में साम्प्रदायिकता फैलाते हैं। अगर आप हमको बन्द करते हैं तो इनको भी बन्द कीजिए।

Mr. Speaker: Mr. M. P. Mishra....
(Interruptions.) He is not here?

Some hon. Members rose—

Mr. Speaker: The hon. Minister.
He may begin his speech.

Shri Nanda: Mr. Speaker, Sir, may I start on a personal note?

Mr. Speaker: If it is personal, we will have it tomorrow. He can continue tomorrow.

18.54 hrs.

The Lok Sabha then adjourned till eleven of the Clock on Friday, March 12, 1965/Phalguna 21, 1886 (Saka).