

[Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath]  
changed into कहा The word "report" is retained, and "powers" becomes शक्तियाँ —I think it should be अधिकार and not शक्तियाँ

May I invite your attention, Sir, to article 351 of the Constitution which is very pertinent to this matter. It bears repetition. It says:

"It shall be the duty of the Union to promote the spread of the Hindi language, to develop it so that it may serve as a medium of expression for all the elements of the composite culture of India and to secure its enrichment by assimilating without interfering with its genius, the forms, style and expressions used in Hindustani and in the other languages of India specified in the Eighth Schedule, and by drawing, wherever necessary or desirable, for its vocabulary, primarily on Sanskrit and secondarily on other languages."

Now, Sir, in the languages listed there is no English Language. Therefore, either the Constitution should be amended to provide for the inclusion of English in the Eighth Schedule if these words are to be retained in the Hindi that is being inflected upon us in this House or, otherwise, the list of business cannot contain these words if the Constitution has got to be implemented.

Mr. Speaker: That is not a question that can be settled by a point of order. It is a much serious question. Now that my attention has been drawn to it, I will take care and look into that Hindi. I will try to make it simpler, if it is possible. No doubt, I agree that it should be simpler.

Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath: Not hybrid.

Shrimati Renu Chakravartty (Barrackpore): Which is hybrid and which is not hybrid? We always get confused about it and we do not know the posi-

tion. If it is Sanskrit, some people say that they cannot understand it. If it is Urdu, some other people say that they cannot understand it.

12.51 hrs.

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

The Minister of Home Affairs (Shri Nanda): Mr. Speaker, I took your permission to start my speech on a personal note. This refers to the attitude of some of the hon. Members on the other side who spoke in the course of this discussion. It appears that because of certain steps that the Government had to take, some of the friends on the other side have taken a special aversion for me. Yesterday they managed to find some very delectable words or expressions for me. As hon. Members remember them, I do not want to go into this.

I am prepared to make very liberal allowances for the state and frame of their mind. I can understand that there must be a great deal of irritation in their minds. I may assure them and you, Sir, that I am not the sort of person who will take any pleasure in curtailing the liberties of anybody in curtailing the liberties of anybody. What has been done, is out of painful necessity, to protect the vital interests of the nation and there can be nothing more vital than the security of the nation.

I was asked how I make a distinction in my mind and in my dealings between the Rightists and the Leftists in the Communist Party. I believe it will be conceded that political attitudes, affinities and ideas are not static always; they change. There has been a healthy change in Soviet Russia and there are attractive features in Yugoslavia. Therefore, there can be healthy trends here also. Though some hon. Members might not agree with me,

based on my experience of earlier years, I have some appreciation of the constructive outlook on some problems on the part of hon. Members who belong now to the CPI Right. Among the others, those who are called CPI Left there are persons who have passionate devotion for their creed, ideals and cause. As long as they are in support of a desirable objective, they are welcome. But when that passionate devotion gets attached to a position which is inimical to the larger interests of the nation, to its security, then we cannot welcome them and our attitude has got to change.

Our friends, the members of the Right Communist Party, are under a constraint. I can understand their position. They are not able to express themselves in the way they might be feeling and they might have some other duties to discharge. But I may express the hope that in course of time—I hope it will be seen—there will be an Indian Communist Party, shorn of its foreign nexus, and completely pledged to support parliamentary institutions. Let them by peaceful and constitutional ways pursue their radical policies; they will be welcome to do so.

**Shri Ranga (Chittoor):** Then how can it be a Communist Party?

**Shri Nanda:** Apart from Rightists and Leftists, there are some persons who combine in their personalities both the Rightists and Leftists.

**Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath (Hoshangabad):** As you yourself are in the Congress.

**Shri Nanda:** For instance, there is this gentleman called Shri Namboodiripad. I was asked why is it that we allowed him to remain out. The answer is that on our part there is punctilious regard for the proprieties and adherence to our main objectives. If in this case we took some steps against some people, it is because we felt, we knew, we were aware and we

were satisfied, that they had pro-Chinese feelings, they were prepared to go against the interests of the nation, in the interests of China. This gentleman, Shri Namboodiripad, had openly declared that he was not with the Left Communists in this matter; that is to say, he regarded the position of China as that of the aggressor. That was all right and quite good. But what do we find now? This gentleman has allowed himself to take a certain stand recently which is rather disturbing. In the first instance, regarding Right or Left, when a gentleman came to congratulate him, he said that he will not shake with his right hand but only with his left hand. I do not know whether his right hand will be permanently in disuse hereafter. Such is the antipathy.

Then, coming to the main point, recently this gentleman has said that he will launch mass agitations. Mass agitation may be all right. But for what purpose? To break the jails? This nation will not brook such a threat.

**Shrimati Renu Chakravartty (Barackpore):** He has not said that he will break the jails.

**Shri Nanda:** Well, he has not at least contradicted it. And this is the essence of what he has said on several occasions. This will not be tolerated. Of course, he is free to use all the constitutional means and methods that are available. That is all right. But this kind of agitation will not be tolerated or permitted. I hope they will desist from pursuing a course of that kind, because it is not only a threat to this government, it is something like a challenge to the whole nation.

**Shrimati Renu Chakravartty:** Would it not be constitutional to agitate for the release of the prisoners?

**Shri Nanda:** Then, Sir, there is something more disturbing. I do not know in what mind or mood this gen-

[Shri Nanda]

tleman was, but when somebody asked him whether the detention of these people will affect our position, the position of this country, he says: "May be, so far there has been no aggression by the Chinese. But who can say whether this will affect that position?". This is a blackmail of the nation. Because some action has been taken against him or a few other persons, therefore, he talks in this fashion. It is something which is extraordinary.

श्री मधु लिमये (मुंगेर) : आप भी यही कहते थे चार साल पहले ।

अध्यक्ष महोदय : आब आप और स्पीच चला रहे हैं ?

डा० राम मनोहर लोहिया (फर्रुखाबाद) : नन्दा जी, गिरफ्तारियों के पहले आप ने महर्त्त दिखलाया ? (इंटरप्रेशन्) ।

Shri Nanda: Then Shri Namboodiripad said that if it encouraged China to do so, Shri Nanda should take the entire responsibility for it. May be, this nation might have to function under handicaps, may be it will be pitted against another stronger nation, may be it is against heavy odds, but this nation will do everything in its power, mobilise all its strength to safeguard its liberties, its integrity and its independence. It was shown at the time of the invasion by the upsurge, the enthusiasm and the spirit of sacrifice generated in those days. It will be generated again and, I believe, many of the things which are coming in the way, the impediments . . .

13 hrs.

श्री मधु लिमये : यह आप के द्वारा नहीं हो सकता ।

Shri Nanda: . . . will be removed in the way of strengthening the Indian nation.

डा० राम मनोहर लोहिया : अब की बार पचास मील एक दिन में भागना ।

Shri Nanda: Children were mobilised in Kerala going about shouting that if you do not vote for the Left Communists, we will call China.

Shrimati Renu Chakravartty: Who?

Shri Nanda: I do not want to disclose it. I have a source of information which the hon. Members will recognise when I will tell them; I need not tell them now. It is not the question of a personal source; it is general information. This is the position. I would now come to . . .

Dr. Ranen Sen (Calcutta East): Is it the way to explain away the defeat of the Congress Party?

Shri Nanda: I will come to that. I will show whether it was a defeat or what. This is a very facile way of putting a colour on something . . .

श्री मधु लिमये : कुछ तो शर्म कीजिए ।

अध्यक्ष महोदय : यह तो नहीं चल सकता कि उग को स्पीच करने की इजाजत ही न दी जाय । एकाधबार इंटरप्रेशन् आ सकता है और वह समझ में आता है, किसी वक्त इंटरप्रेशन् डिबेट को लाइवली भी बना देता है । लेकिन अगर स्पीच को बदस्तूर रोका जाय तो हाउस का काम नहीं हो सकता । मैं चाहूंगा कि मेम्बर साहिबान आराम से सुर्गें ।

डा० राम मनोहर लोहिया : कभी कभी मजेदार बात—बढ़िया रोक अच्छी, घटिया रोक बुरी ।

अध्यक्ष महोदय : नहीं नहीं, आप इस को मजेदार बात समझते हैं ।

**Shri Nanda:** The hon. Member raises this question of the election. I will say her clearly, categorically and with the fullest conviction that the elections there did not have the least bearing on the decision that was taken. It was absolutely unrelated to it. There was no political motivation in it. I am saying it with all the confidence and conviction that I can command. This is the actual fact. We knew then the position that might arise in Kerala and that it is liable to be misconstrued; also, that it may be that it might lend some advantage to the other party at the moment, temporarily.

**Shri Ranga:** Indeed.

**Shri Nanda:** But we thought that the nations security was of much greater consequence than even a little loss in the elections to one party. I thought that though this has not occurred. I will be able to explain that that has not been the outcome for various reasons.

**Shri S. M. Banerjee (Kanpur):** Tell your own party people.

**Shri Nanda:** This could be the position in the short run. I was told the next day when I was in Hyderabad that this may give an advantage to the communists. Well, it may be; we have to pay the price for it, because we could not for a single day postpone that decision as there was something much bigger involved there.

Now, I come to the verdict of the electorate and what it means. In the first place, I might ask hon. Members to bear this in mind that when we think of national security, it is not a small part of one State; it is the security of the whole nation. Therefore the issue has to be viewed in relation to the entire country. It is not the question of a few persons; they may have attached themselves to a certain party for a period and they continue to fasten on to certain ideas for a time because they have been coloured by those ideas. I know it

from the labour movement; days that the worker has a loyalty; even though he suffers he carries on that loyalty for a time and it takes some time to wean him away. That may be so; but here it is the whole nation and, therefore, this has no meaning from that point of view. It is the interest of the entire country and in that interest it has been done. It is said that there has been a fraud on the Constitution. If the elections do not lead to the formation of a ministry then the election process becomes abortive. Therefore we would ourselves like to avoid that situation as long as it is consistent with that other bigger purpose of which I have given an indication, that is, national security.

I may ask those friends who put up as candidates people who were detained—it was a voluntary choice—as to how they assumed that they were going to be let off since they were detained for a certain purpose. Then, they should at least not have assumed that they were going to be let off simply because they would stand for election and some of them might be elected. Therefore if they find themselves in that position now, it is their own making. They should not have exposed themselves to this situation.

**Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath:** You gave them all facilities to contest the election.

**Shri Nanda:** How were those votes obtained? There may be other reasons which may be explained. Children of these detenus were sent round to meet the children of the voters and say, "If you give us a vote, we will be able to get the release of our fathers".

**Shri S. M. Banerjee:** Every son, every boy says that. Do not bring those children here.

**Shri Nanda:** Large portraits were displayed with the detenus behind the bars and begging with this gesture (with folded hands), "Please give us

[Shri Nanda] votes in order that we may be released".

**Some hon. Members:** What is the harm there?

**Shri Nanda:** No harm; the people have natural sympathy.

**श्री स० मो० बनर्जी :** सारे फूलपुर में घापने हाथ जोड़ कर नेहरू जी के नाम से चुनाव जीता है । कुछ शर्म कीजिए ।

**Shri Nanda:** But ultimately what happened? Let us see that.

**डा० राम मनोहर लोहिया :** नन्दा जी, जुझा खेले थे हार गए, क्यों नाराज होते हो ।

**श्री नन्दा :** नहीं हार गए, यह गलत है ।

It was said there. It was claimed as if it was a victory for something which they stood for. It is not so. How can it be interpreted in a context where the CPI Right, Left and Independent, together get 19.5 lakh votes? This makes a percentage of 29 and odd against their previous one of 44 or 45 per cent. Such a big drop in the record of elections in the case of any big party in one election—I do not think it has happened. Such a big drop—drop in the number of votes, drop in the percentage of votes!

It may be said that there are some fallacies. What is the fallacy? They contested between themselves, the Left, the Right and the Independents, for all but ten seats. That was about the same in the previous election also; it was about six seats. All the persons who wanted to vote Communist had voted. If we add even the votes of the Samyukt Socialist Party which got their support and if

we say that they made a contribution of even half, it will not make any substantial difference.... (Inter-ruption).

**श्री किशन पटनायक (सम्बलपुर) :**

यह विषय पर बोल रहे हैं या चुनाव पर बोल रहे हैं ?

**Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath:** How many Ministers lost?

**Shri Nanda:** That is an individual matter. The swing is very, very clear. In every district—if I take district by district—they have lost consistently in the number of votes and the percentage of votes; in every district. There is not a single district where they have improved their position.

**Shri A. V. Raghavan (Badagara):** Not one Congress member from Kozhikode District was elected.

**Shri Nanda:** I may be told that the question is of the number of seats won here. There are independent factors which are very familiar. At any one time one party fighting alone against all the others combined, naturally the result is different. It has different kinds of complications—alliances and all those things. Therefore, from that no conclusion can be drawn. The Congress Party had to fight in conditions when there had been food agitation and there had been all those things which naturally influence the mind of the people. And then there is the question of resources. I thought that the Communists are rather poor people. But the information is that they had massive resources there. I will have to throw some light on that. It is not those poor people on whose behalf they function.

The other thing, which is the principle question, is: Why it that we had detained them? Here I have to first refer to the hon. Members there. The question is: Why had we to resort to extraordinary powers of

preventive detention to deprive so many citizens of their freedom? What are the grounds? What is the justification? Why did we not put them to the test of the criminal law in the courts? That is the question. Members of the C.P.I. sitting here are in a very good position to give a satisfactory answer to this question.

**Dr. Ramen Sen:** We have not arrested them.

**Shri Nanda:** They are in a position to give an answer....

**श्री मधु लिमये :** अध्यक्ष महोदय,

**Shri Nanda:** They were close to the scene and knew a good deal in spite of the fact that the activities of the....

**श्री मधु लिमये :** अध्यक्ष महोदय, यह मामला दक्षिण पक्षी और वामपक्षी कम्युनिस्टों की

**अध्यक्ष महोदय :** श्री लिमये द्वारा इस तरह की बार बार की मदाखलत को मैं बर्दाश्त नहीं कर सकता। उन को मैं ने 5, 6 दफे चुप बैठ कर सुनने के लिए कहा है लेकिन अगर वह शांति में बैठ कर नहीं सुन सकते तो इस का इलाज वे खुद कर सकते हैं। सही या गलत जो भी वह कहना चाहते हैं उसे सुनना पड़ेगा।

**Shri Nanda:** Those who are now the Left Communists were functioning along with them. Their activities must be familiar to them although an attempt was made on the part of the Leftists to shroud their activities in secrecy so that they could hide their activities from them also. I ask them why they had to give up their association with them. It has caused them a very great wrench to part from them. One does not easily give up old ties and break with people who have been comrades in the fields of activity for many years.

It must have been a very serious matter. It could not have been a light thing for them. The separation took place not on account of any fine shades of ideology. There were substantial reasons. There were also prolonged efforts to avoid this split. I have to say this to Shri Hiren Mukerjee and to the other members of the Party here that they were right in taking up this course. That is why they are called the Right Communists.

They will recall the adoption of the November 1962 Resolution of the National Council of C.P.I. The Party—and it is to their credit—condemned China for transgressing south of the MacMahon Line and thus committing aggression on Indian territory. They offered to support the Government effort to defend the country against Chinese aggression. The Leftists opposed the adoption of such a resolution. They even earlier supported China over the border question even before the invasion in October 1962. They were disloyal to the country during the Chinese aggression and during the period of invasion, they adopted a line in keeping with Peking's open call to revolt. That was published in Peking Peoples' Daily on October 17, 1962.

Some of the leaders of the Right C.P.I. have at least apparently worked themselves into some kind of a righteous indignation. But may I ask them if it was not the considered judgment of their own leaders that the Chinese leadership wished the Indian Communist Party to help their advance into NEFA by an attack from within the country and thus hold the Nehru Government in a sort of pincer movement? And did they not indicate fairly broadly that the Left faction in the Communist Party was willing—if it could—to come up to the Chinese expectations? That is well known.

**An hon. Member:** Shame!

**Shri Nanda:** There was the Central Control Commission that was set up.

[Shri Nanda]

It has now said in its report published in April, 1964 that the pro-Peking Communists are indeed guilty of disloyalty to the country and are a menace to our internal as well as external security. I have no doubt myself that what the Central Control Commission has said is true.

**Shrimati Renu Chakravarty:** After all this, they were released by your High Courts.

**Shri Nanda:** They were released and they were re-arrested and they have been detained—that is not relevant at all.

**Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath:** Let us bury the past!

**Shri Nanda:** How did the Left faction break away from the Communist Party of India? I want to bring that out. They know well enough that this rift did not originate in India. It was in response to a call from China. Peking call was to form a real Communist Party and not a bogus Communist Party. This coincided with the failure of the bilateral meetings between the Communist Parties of Soviet Russia and China in July, 1963.

The schism occurred on the initiative of China in order that unhampered by the nationalist elements in the Party, the Left faction might pursue with vigour an ideological line and programme of action congenial to Peking and suited to Chinese purposes and designs. The faction then held an All-India Convention at Tenali in July, 1964. And I may tell the friends here that a powerful motive was at work behind this decision that there was the need for secrecy regarding the further courses of their action. They could not remain together. Then, they could not pursue their ways unobserved—secrecy not from the people and the Government alone but also they could not trust the Rightists.

The instructions to them were that underground apparatus should be set

up, as secret as possible—it was a specific instruction—that information should not leak out to the Rightists because the masses have to be prepared for an armed revolution.

The history of their struggle and strife with the left faction inside the Party is certainly better known to them. The separation had become inescapable. If it has been possible for either faction to detain the members of the other, they would have done it. But it was not possible for them. The Government had to step in for similar reason in the national interest.

**Shrimati Renu Chakravarty:** You are obliging us? That is exactly the point that is being stated. It is not necessary for you to oblige us. We can look after ourselves.

**Shri Nanda:** We are not obliging you.

**Shri Bhagwat Jha Azad (Bhagalpur):** How can we oblige you?

**श्री मधु लिमये :** अध्यक्ष महोदय, मेरा एक व्यवस्था सम्बन्धी प्रश्न है। मैं आप का ध्यान नियम संख्या 352(8) की ओर आकर्षित करना चाहता हूँ जिसके कि अन्तर्गत कहा गया है कि कोई भी सदस्य और उस में मंत्री भी आते हैं, सदन की कार्यवाही में बाधा डालने के लिए अपने भाषण का इस्तेमाल न करें। यह जो प्रस्ताव हमारे सामने है वह वामपंथी कम्युनिस्टों के देश तोड़क कार्य, तोड़फोड़ के कामों के बारे में है। वामपंथी कम्युनिस्टों की विचार प्रणाली, यह इस प्रस्ताव का विषय नहीं है। अगर वह रखा जाता है तो हम बहस के लिए तैयार हैं। अध्यक्ष महोदय, मेरी आप से यह अर्ज है कि मंत्री महोदय का यह फर्ज है कि इस प्रस्ताव पर बोलते समय उन्होंने ने जो, जो देश तोड़क कार्य, विचार नहीं, विचार प्रणाली नहीं, लेकिन क्या ऐसा काम किया है, हिंसात्मक काम, उस के बारे में वे अपना निवेदन करें नहीं तो इस नियम के अन्तर्गत मंत्री महोदय से आप कहें कि सदन की जो अगली कार्यवाही है वह चलने दें। वे हमारा समय

बरबाद कर रहे हैं और सदन की कार्यवाही में बाधा डाल रहे हैं इसलिए वह अपने भाषण को अब समाप्त कर दें ।

**Shri Nanda:** I only touched the position of the Rightists. As for the Leftists themselves....

**श्री मधु लिमये :** मैं आप का फ़ैसला सुनना चाहता हूँ ।

**अध्यक्ष महोदय :** मुझे आप के सवाल में ऐसी ताकत नज़र नहीं आई कि मैं फ़ैसला दूँ ।

**Shri Nanda:** Regarding the Left Communists, they are self-confessed. It is not necessary at all to cite the testimony of the Right Communists for establishing the true character of the Left Wing, because they themselves have said it, and in so many ways and at so many places they have proclaimed their identity and their mission. They have made no secret of their stand regarding the Chinese aggression. They have been in favour of launching campaigns and mass struggles to force the Government to come to terms with China without insisting on any pre-condition.

Now, I come to their propaganda during the last few months. Their propaganda has been all along based on the pronouncement of Chinese leaders, and the literature they have disseminated on a large scale drew heavily on the Chinese documents. This has been emphasising the importance of revolutionary armed struggle. These are the things which are being disseminated in the country at a time when the country is engaged in a struggle for survival, and thus the will of the people is being undermined in this manner. A large mass of clandestine literature is being distributed. There was secret printing of some of the Chinese documents. There was the CPI, but this faction, that is, the Left faction,

had set up a parallel centre, and it functioned in the country through a parallel organisation. Separate organs were created by some of them such as a number of newspapers, and magazines to propagate their anti-national views. The basis of the ideology was that violent revolution was the universal law, transition to socialism through peaceful means was impossible, and that the party should get rid of its legalistic illusions and should strengthen the underground apparatus, and that Communism can come to India only through Chinese help. They have rejected the Soviet line of a peaceful transition. There are three peaceful approaches, namely peaceful coexistence, peaceful competition and peaceful transition. They have rejected all these peaceful things. Their leaders, the leaders of the Left Communist maintained contact constantly with the Chinese Embassy in Delhi for directions and funds, so that a parallel party owing its allegiance to Peking was thus coming into being.

**डा० राम मनोहर लोहिया** मंत्री  
महोदय एक भी कम्युनिस्ट का नाम बता तें, जो बढ़ती हुई चीनी सेनाओं के सामने भागा न हो । जब चीनी सेना बढ़ रही थी, वहां रुककर उन के साथ हों कर किस कम्युनिस्ट ने क्या किया ? जैसे आप भागे, वैसे वे भागे —सब भागे ।

**श्री नन्दा :** उन को भागने की क्या ज़रूरत थी ? उन को तो भागे जाने और उन से मिलने की ज़रूरत थी ।

There were several stages of the evolution of the Leftist Party's attitude. A stage came when at Tenali the rift practically crystallised. And there was that famous Mao Tse-tung's portrait not only in that place but in several other places. That was really a symbol of their loyalties and also a warning to us as to what we were actually facing and what we were up against in this country. They proceed later on to Calcutta in a few



[Shri Nanda]

months, and there, they changed the constitution and had a new constitution. And they changed the preamble to that in which they said—it was an open challenge to everybody—that they did not believe in peaceful activity. It was thereafter in December that certain other things happened.

I shall just give a brief idea of what happened then. The members of the Left faction have been feeling that they had in fact wasted an opportunity by not arriving at an understanding with the Chinese Army at the time of the Chinese invasion and capturing power in India with Chinese help. What is the relevance of this now? I shall explain this, because this is important. They want to make up for that now. Towards the end of last year, they received certain instructions through a certain important agency. In that note it was stated that the Telengana movement had failed because at that time there was no socialist country on the border of India which could help the Indian Communists in organising armed insurrection or guerilla warfare and that it had been possible for the Government to surround, isolate and crush the armed struggle? The note proceeded to say that the situation had now changed with the presence of the Chinese Republic on the border of India, and that the situation for a Telengana type of warfare was ripe. I think we have not forgotten that, because it was too gruesome for anyone to forget what happened then. This note was in effect an instruction from the Chinese Party to adopt a particular course of action. Copies of this note were made and circulated to each State party of the Left CPI surreptitiously. But there were instructions side by side and they were told that it should not be reduced to writing, nor should too many copies be made, but it should be communicate from mouth to mouth. That was the kind of secrecy. This was not a very old thing, but this is a very recent

thing. And they have been going on with that. These kinds of instructions are being now conveyed to members in order to prepare themselves for a certain situation which they have in mind.

Then, the question of the Bank of China arose. It was asked by Shri Prakash Vir Shastri or some other hon. Member how it was that the Indian currency was being picked up in certain places. It is so, I cannot give immediately an idea of the volume and size of it. This is considerable in several places, but where is it going? Then, what is this Bank of China? We might not have given full information, but it is very clear after our having studied the working of it that it was used for those purposes; it was used for the purpose of assisting and acquiring various facilities for the people who were functioning in collaboration with the Chinese. The Bank of China extended financial backing to the Communist Party of India by giving loans and other facilities to leading communists without security; they assisted Communist Party's book-shops by advancing large credits without any security and ultimately wrote off large dues; they also assisted in running espionage and subversive agencies which had directions straight from Peking and whose identities were not disclosed even to the officials of the bank but to whom payments were made by the bank.

**Shri Ranga:** The rightists also benefited themselves by that.

**Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath:** Why do you not name the foreign Missions who are abetting China? Why are you afraid of naming them? Indonesia is inimical to you. Indonesia is abetting China.

**Shri Heda (Nizamabad):** And also tell us the extent of the amount involved.

**श्री श्रीरंज (अल गढ़) :** जब मंत्री महोदय को सब मालूम है, तो वह उन लोगों के खिलाफ कार्यवाही क्यों नहीं करते ?

**Shri M. R. Masani (Rajkot):** Would the hon. Minister yield for a moment? Could he explain to us why this very interesting and significant material is being withheld from Parliament and public? Would it not be in the national interest if these facts become known in detail?

**श्री बड़े (खारगोन) :** यह इतने महत्व की बात है। मंत्री महोदय को सारी सूचना देश के सामने रखनी चाहिए, ताकि देश को धोखा न हो।

**Shri H. N. Mukerjee (Calcutta Central):** Perhaps, Shri Nanda knows that Mr. Jyoti Basu who is one of the leaders of the other Communist Party has given a public statement from which I quoted yesterday, challenging Government to prove the allegation which Shri Nanda is repeating, that through clandestine sources, whether it was the Bank of China or otherwise, moneys have come to the Left Communists or to any other persons. And I myself have said in this House over and over again that I would like very much to know if X or Y or Z have got moneys from the Bank of China. I quoted yesterday Congress financiers who have got overdrafts from the Bank of China. So, I do not know what this kind of thing is.

**Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath:** On a point of order. I want you, Sir, to decide this matter once and for all, whether on the plea of national interest, this information could be withheld. For, I find from the papers that the Indonesian Communist Party on which President Sukarno and his Government heavily lean, has said only two days ago, soon after the Kerala elections, that the days of Shri Lal Bahadur Shastri's Government are numbered, unless they

permit the Kerala Left Communists to form a Government. This is a very serious matter, and still Government are afraid of naming the Foreign Missions involved. Indonesia and some other missions who are functioning in collaboration with China are doing this kind of thing. So, I would like to know where the question of national security comes in here. On the other hand, by not disclosing this information, Government are jeopardizing national security.

**श्री बड़े :** एज ए प्लीडर में जानता हूँ कि बैंक आफ चाइना में जिस प्रकार के एकाऊंट्स थे, उनको और उस प्रकार की डीलिज को कोर्ट में कोई सबूत नहीं हो सकता है। लेकिन जनता को कनविन्स करने के लिए मंत्री महोदय को वे फिगरज और नाम सामने रखने चाहिए। जैसे मुखर्जी साहब ने कहा है ये फिगरज सामने आनी चाहिये। सामने इनको आप क्यों नहीं रखते हैं। जब उन्होंने कहा है कि चाइना बैंक की रिपोर्ट को प्रकाशित कर दिया जाए तो आप उसको प्रकाशित क्यों नहीं करते हैं? इसको प्रकाशित न करके आप पूरे के पूरे देश को धोखे में रखे हुए हैं। यह भी कहा गया है कि एम्बेसीज से पैसे लिये जाते हैं। दो एम्बेसीज के बारे में ऐसा कहा गया है। मैं जानना चाहता हूँ कि वे दो एम्बेसीज कौन सी हैं और अगर वे ऐसा करती हैं तो क्यों नहीं आप उनको बन्द कर देते हैं। इस तरह सारी जितनी इनफार्मेशन है इसको छिपा कर रखकर कांग्रेस पार्टी भारत को और इस पार्लियामेंट को धोखे में रख रही है। अध्यक्ष महोदय, आप कस्टोडियन आफ डेमोक्रेसी है। आप को चाहिये कि आप इनको गाइडेंस दें। इनको आप बाधित करें कि यह इस चीज को पार्लियामेंट के सामने रखें। एक बार

[श्री बड़े]

इन्होंने देश को धोखे में रखा है हमले की बात को छिपा कर, जब पहले हमला हुआ था। दूसरी बार ये देश को इसको छिपा कर धोखे में रखना चाहते हैं। इस तरह का धोखा देश के साथ और इस सदन के साथ नहीं होना चाहिये।

**श्री प्रकाशबीर शास्त्री (विजनौर):**

कल भी मैंने इस बात को कहा था और अब फिर कहना चाहता हूँ कि गृह मंत्री जी अपने वक्तव्य में इस बात को और स्पष्ट करेंगे, कि बैंक आफ चाइना की जांच रिपोर्ट जो वित्त मंत्रालय के पास आई हुई है उसमें कम्युनिस्ट पार्टी के जो प्रमुख प्रमुख नेता हैं जैसे ज्योति बसु हैं, डांगे हैं, उनका भी हिसाब किताब उसमें है या नहीं है? और क्या यह सत्य है कि 1957 के इलैक्शन के पहले और 1962 की इलैक्शन के पहले लाखों लाखों रुपया इस प्रकार के बैंकों पर बैंक आफ चाइना से लिया गया था जिसमें लेने वाले के कोई हस्ताक्षर भी नहीं थे और उस नाम का कोई आदमी भी हिन्दुस्तान में नहीं है? जब मुखर्जी साहब भी चाहते हैं और हम भी चाहते हैं कि रिपोर्ट को प्रकाशित कर दिया जाए तो क्यों सरकार उस जांच रिपोर्ट को दबा कर बैठी हुई है, देश हित में इस रिपोर्ट को क्यों प्रकाशित नहीं करती है।

**डा० राम मनोहर लोहिया :** चीन बैंक की रिपोर्ट तो बहुत ही जरूरी है। उसके साथ साथ मैं यह भी कहना चाहता हूँ कि हिन्दुस्तान की राजनीति में विदेशी पैसे की चर्चा छेड़खानी की तरह हमेशा हो जाया करती है। लेकिन इस मामले का कहीं खामा नहीं हो पाता। इसलिए इस प्रश्न के ऊपर सरकार को भी और अध्यक्ष महोदय, इस सदन को भी जड़ तक जाने की इजाजत होनी चाहिये क्योंकि यह विदेशी पैसा हमारी राजनीति को बिगाड़े हुए है।

कांग्रेस पार्टी के बारे में भी यह शक है कि जैसे इंग्लिश इलैक्ट्रिक कम्पनी बहुत पैसा कांग्रेस पार्टी को देती है, उसी तरह से हो सकता है कि चीन बैंक में भी कांग्रेस पार्टी के बहुत से लोगों का वही खाता रहा हो, उनको भी पैसा मिला हो....

**अध्यक्ष महोदय :** अच्छी बात है।

अब आप खत्म कर दें।

**डा० राम मनोहर लोहिया :** पूरी बात तो आप मुझे कह लेने दें। यह सारा पैसा जो विदेशी है यह हिन्दुस्तान की राजनीति को बिगाड़ रहा है। उसके बारे में नन्दा साहब बहुत अच्छी तरह से कहें, छेड़खानी खाली न करें। और आप हमें मौका दें कि उस पर यहां बहस हो।

**Shri Hem Barua (Gauhati):** After the closing down of the Bank of China in this country for helping the Left Communists we are kept in the dark. After that it transpired that China was paying money to the Left Communists through two foreign missions and two diplomats of these two foreign missions have been asked to withdraw from this country. We are kept completely in the dark about these two foreign missions and two foreign diplomats who were asked to withdraw from this country. Now the Minister of Home Affairs should come out with a categorical statement about the activities of these two foreign missions whose diplomats were asked to withdraw because they were helping Left Communists; they were the channels through which money was coming to them from China.

**Shri Nanda:** We can give information consistent with our other obligations. Regarding the Bank of China the position is that sometime towards the end of 1961 the licence under the foreign exchange regulation was withdrawn. Before that the bank operated like any other bank and many persons had dealings

with that bank. So, a line has to be drawn and we were trying to examine who were the persons....

**Shri Ranga:** We have been asking for it for the past two years.

**Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath:** Can he say that Indonesia and Vietnam are not involved?

**Shri Nanda:** So with all this help and support, they started doing preparations for violent activities after the Calcutta Conference including plans for formation of party cells for imparting training in guerilla warfare on the model of another country. Technical apparatus is to be created in every district with shelters, couriers and secret dumps. All this was reminiscent of certain types of revolution. Now the question for us to consider is whether in the face of all these factors that we have before us we could have stayed our hands for a single day. We have been asked by some persons as to why is it that we did not act and stayed our hands for some time for the elections to take place.

**Shri H. N. Mukerje:** Could there not be one prosecution? Are we a volcano which would erupt all over the country? You are giving a picture of an armed revolution.

**Shri Nanda:** I will now give the constitutional aspect. We were asked: Why were they not detained much earlier and more drastic action taken? Regarding the question whether there are adequate grounds or not, I can say that the need for such action appears to be obvious to most people and the threat on our borders was quite well known. The country as a whole has understood it and appreciated it. There is this question: Why did we not do it earlier? Why did we not take drastic action meaning the banning of the party? This is the sentiment reflected in the

House during yesterday's discussion. There are some on the other hand who said that the material is not specific enough. I have given some more information.

The recent developments have a great significance for the nation. We were asked: Why is it that you have given so many pages to the past? The past has a significance. It is only in the light of the past and the earlier history to which many pages have been devoted, that we can fully grasp the sinister developments that are taking place. It is that past that invests the few pages at the end with urgency and grave meanings. There have been stages in the evolution of the internal threat which the pro-Chinese Communists pose for the country. Their anti-national attitude and ideas have persisted over some years. Their links with China developed and the second stage came to view sometime before Tenali. It was the crystallisation of intentions. That was the second stage. This was completed in Calcutta towards the end of the last year when the left faction acquired a separate existence. Then came the stage of active preparation for underground activities for the purposes of subversion of the nation's defence efforts. If we are asked: what did they do? Have they destroyed any bridges? Have they set fire to any installations?—I will say: we did not allow them to go to that extent. They would prefer to wait. Should we also have waited and let them go ahead with the execution of their plans? Should we not realise that it will become very difficult later on to cope with them knowing their methods and techniques, if they are not dealt with quickly? It was our duty not to let a day more pass when we had satisfied ourselves that any delay would spell danger to the security of the nation. And in this discharge of duty, nothing should deter us. Many persons pointed out that so many people have still voted for them. It is a poisonous influence. We have to do social, political and every possible work of

[Shri Nanda]

amelioration to eradicate that wherever it is there. A question was raised about the Constitution and why is it that we have not taken even one person to the court. To call our action unconstitutional is rhetoric. It is no logic. We have the Supreme Court here to guard the Constitution. It is safe in their hands. Government do not decide about these constitutional matters. The Constitution itself provides for certain eventualities in the light of these things and the Defence of India Act derives its sanction from the Constitution. Action under that is fully legal and constitutional action. This is when we are in a proclaimed emergency. If it is a question of an individual you can deal with him in a court of law. Here it is a big party, a big force and if you take these people to courts of law, lawyers will go on arguing and they will go on doing their job. No, that is not the way we should proceed in the matter.

Let us draw a distinction between normal and abnormal times. I fully agree that in normal times all these procedures, legal procedures, courts of law and all that should be there. But this is the essence of the matter—this is an abnormal situation. Members of all parties know how much it costs us to step up our defence preparedness. There will be the budget. We know all that. On the one side, we do this. But on the other, to allow all that to be neutralised makes no sense.

The question of civil liberties was raised. I ask: is there not also something like self-defence? When one is faced with an attack, even in common law, there is something like self-defence. We have before us the defence of the liberty and freedom of the nation. Democracy has to assert itself in self-defence.

श्री जग देव सिंह सिद्धान्ती (झज्जर) :  
पार्टी पर प्रतिबन्ध क्यों नहीं लगा दिया जाता ?

Shri Maurya: What is the reply?

Shri Nanda: We took the minimum action. This was according to the conditions then. Whatever was necessary at that juncture was done. As conditions change, what further action will be necessary, will depend upon conditions as they develop. It may be that they may change for the better. That will be very welcome.

I am sorry I have taken a long time. In the end, I would only say this. All of us should view this matter not from a sectional angle, not from the point of view of a few persons here or there. There is a broader national angle which has to be kept in mind. The threat which we are facing is something real. We are so much frittering away, dissipating our energies in other things when the nation's efforts should be mobilised to the full for its self-preservation. I hope the House will support every action that is taken in this direction.

Shri P. K. Deo (Kalahandi): Mr. Speaker, this debate has been very helpful in the sense that it has been made clear that the consensus of this House and of the country is that the Communist Party has to be dealt with firmly. So far as the assurance of the Home Minister is concerned, I beg to submit that he has evaded the main issue of banning the Communist Party, I do not know with what motive. We wanted a categorical answer from the Home Minister about the intention of banning the Communist Party. In that regard, I beg to submit his reply is very unconvincing and disappointing.

In the course of the debate, except a lone voice here or there, everyone has supported the proposition that we will have to deal firmly with the Communists. It is very difficult to convince professors and teachers, because they have a one-track mind and they think in a groove.

Mr. Speaker: What about Acharyas?

**Shri P. K. Deo:** When Prof. Hiren Mukerjee was trying to put up a case out of nothing by his oratory and by his rhetoric, I was reminded of two lines of Goldsmith in the 'Village School Master':

"In arguing too the parson  
owned his skill  
For even though vanquished he  
could argue still".

So he tried his best. He made a reference to the Swatantra Party. I would tell him that those who live in glass houses should not throw stones at others. I would remind him of one thing. Had he been in a communist country, would he ever have had the privilege to speak about or criticise the Government with the words he has used?

In my speech, I made a reference to certain communists who had joined the Congress Party in Orissa and who were in the pay roll of the Kalinga empire of Biju and Biren. If you want, I can name some of them. One is, my information is correct.

**Mr. Speaker:** Order, order.

**Shri P. K. Deo:** Shri Baisnab Charan Patnaik who was an MLA with me in the Orissa Assembly for five years on a communist ticket; he now adorns the Congress Benches here. Then there is Shri Baidyanath Rath, former Member of Rajya Sabha....

**Mr. Speaker:** Order, order.

**Shri P. K. Deo:**... and now Circulation Manager of the Kalinga Paper. We have made a persistent demand to ban the Communist Party. We placed a very reasonable proposal before Government, that they should be tried in a court of law. We do not want that they should be kept behind bars merely by executive fiat or by the use of emergency powers. They should be given a chance to be tried in a court of law. As I have already said, if the

arm of the law is not long enough, let us amend the law. We will give our support to Government in any such action.

**Mr. Speaker:** The question is....

डा० राम मनोहर लोहिया : अध्यक्ष महोदय, मेरी एक बात सुन लीजिए ।

अध्यक्ष महोदय : अब कुछ नहीं, मैंने आपको बहुत मौका दिया ।

डा० राम मनोहर लोहिया : तो इतना सुन लीजिए कि नन्दा जी उतने ही देशद्रोही हैं....

**Shri Ranga:** Is there a vote on this?

**Mr. Speaker:** Yes.

The question is:

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

*The motion was adopted.*

**Shrimati Renu Chakravarty:** I think this is the first occasion when such a motion has been put to vote. What does it indicate?

**Mr. Speaker:** This is a substantive motion.

**Shrimati Renu Chakravarty:** If you look into the records, you will find that such motions are not put to vote.

**Mr. Speaker:** That is so when the motion is that a particular matter 'be taken into consideration'. That is not a substantive motion. There no vote is taken. But when the House

[Mr. Speaker] is asked to 'take note' of a particular matter, it is a substantive motion and is put to vote.

**Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath:** It did not perhaps happen when she was in the Chair.

13.47½ hrs.

**DEMANDS\* FOR SUPPLEMENTARY GRANTS (RAILWAYS), 1964-65**

**Mr. Speaker:** The House will now proceed with discussion and voting on the Supplementary Demands for Grants in respect of the Budget (Railways) for 1964-65.

13.48 hrs.

[Mr. DEPUTY-SPEAKER in the Chair]

**DEMAND NO. 1.—RAILWAY BOARD**

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** Motion moved:

"That a Supplementary sum not exceeding Rs. 2,00,000 be granted to the President to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1965, in respect of 'Railway Board'."

**DEMAND NO. 4.—WORKING EXPENSES—ADMINISTRATION**

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** Motion moved:

"That a Supplementary sum not exceeding Rs. 2,03,70,000 be granted to the President to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1965, in respect 'Working Expenses—Administration'."

**DEMAND NO. 5.—WORKING EXPENSES—REPAIRS AND MAINTENANCE**

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** Motion moved:

"That a Supplementary sum not exceeding Rs. 7,63,90,000 be granted to the President to defray the charges which will come in course

of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1965, in respect of 'Working Expenses—Repairs and Maintenance'."

**DEMAND NO. 6.—WORKING EXPENSES—OPERATING STAFF**

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** Motion moved:

"That a Supplementary sum not exceeding Rs. 6,96,19,000 be granted to the President to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1965, in respect of 'Working Expenses—Operating Staff'."

**DEMAND NO. 7.—WORKING EXPENSES—OPERATION (FUEL)**

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** Motion moved:

"That a Supplementary sum not exceeding Rs. 31,81,000 be granted to the President to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1965, in respect of 'Working Expenses—Operation (Fuel)'."

**DEMAND NO. 8.—WORKING EXPENSES—OPERATION OTHER THAN STAFF AND FUEL**

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** Motion moved:

"That a Supplementary sum not exceeding Rs. 42,78,000 be granted to the President to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day March, 1965, in respect of 'Working Expenses—Operation other than Staff and Fuel'."

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

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** Motion moved:

"That a Supplementary sum not exceeding Rs. 1,32,57,000 be granted to the President to defray the charges which will come in course

\*Moved with the recommendation of the President.