

[श्री शिवचन्द्र भा.]

सेवा की भावना का बिल्कुल लोप है। यह मेरी ड्यूटी नहीं है, उस की है, रेलवे प्रशासन के हर एक स्तर पर यही मनोवृत्ति काम कर रही है। किस की, ड्यूटी है और कौन किसी काम को करेगा, किसी को यह पता नहीं होता है।

हमें सजेसन्स और प्रोपीनियन्स की किताब भेजी गई है। लेकिन सवाल यह है कि इस बात की क्या गारन्टी है कि हम लोग जो सुझाव देंगे, वे मंत्री महोदय तक पहुँच पायेंगे और उन को कार्यान्वित किया जायेगा ?

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : I shall now put the motion to vote.

SHRI KANWAR LAL GUPTA : The hon. Minister should also say something in reply.

SHRI NANDA : If you hold that any point is relevant, then I shall reply to it.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : It is up to the hon. Minister.

SHRI NANDA : I have covered all those points already.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : The hon. Minister says that he has covered all the points.

SHRI NANDA : I shall give further replies in writing. I shall write to the hon. Members.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : The question is :

"That the Bill to authorise payment and appropriation of certain further sums from and out of Consolidated Fund of India for the service of the financial year 1970-71 for the purposes of railways, be taken into consideration."

The motion was adopted.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : The question is :

"That clauses 2 and 3 and the Schedule stand part of the Bill."

The motion was adopted.

Clauses 2 and 3 and the Schedule were added to the Bill.

Clause 1, the Enacting Formula and the Title were added to the Bill.

SHRI NANDA : I beg to move :

"That the Bill be passed."

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : The question is :

"That the Bill be passed."

The motion was adopted.

17.12 hrs.

HALF-AN-HOUR DISCUSSION

Naxalite Activities in the Country

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : The House will now take up the half-an-hour discussion regarding increasing of Naxalite activities in the country, to be raised by Shri Hem Barua. This was originally fixed for the 19th August, 1970 and it was postponed to 26th August, 1970. The discussion, however, was postponed again and it is being held now. The ballot of notices seeking permission to participate in the discussion, received under rule 55 (5) which was held on the 19th August, 1970, the date originally fixed for the half-an-hour discussion holds good for today also. Therefore, the Members who secured the first four places in the ballot held on the 19th August, 1970 will only participate in the discussion, in addition to the Mover.

SHRI HEM BARUA (Mangaldai) : I must thank you for kindly allowing this half-an-hour discussion to be raised on the floor of this House. The matter was being postponed from one day to another and it went on being postponed and postponed. I must thank you for kindly allowing this to be raised today.

True it is that the Naxalite activities are mounting up and they are spreading their gangs all over the country, and there is no doubt about it. I do not want to indulge in a description of the deprivations and the

destruction caused by the Naxalites in the country. But then the fact remains that at the slightest provocation, buses and tram-cars are burnt and then there is an attack on the campuses of educational institutions also; further, the status and pictures of our national leaders like Mahatma Gandhi, Tagore and Netaji are being desecrated and Mao is extolled. Now, Mao's thoughts are also prescribed for the younger people.

If somebody thinks that by destroying these items of our national pride, these people can be removed from the minds of the Indians, it is a wrong thing to say like that or think like that.

While congratulating the West Bengal police for arresting Mr. Kanu Sanyal and discovering some bomb-making ingredients capable of manufacturing 44,000 bombs, I just want to say that the arrest of Mr. Kanu Sanyal does not nip the movement in the bud. For, the Naxalite movement is mounting up, no doubt.

It does not nip the movement in the bud.

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BASU (Diamond Harbour): One PSP man had harboured one Naxalite, S. Bhattacharya in Howrah.

SHRI HEM BARUA: He does not belong to the PSP now. He belongs to the dissident group.

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BASU: One category of PSP.

SHRI HEM BARUA: During the UF Government's rule in West Bengal, the police was immobilised by the CPM. The CPM was a constituent of the UF Government in Kerala as well as in West Bengal.

17.16 hrs.

[Shri Shri Chand Goyal in the Chair]

At that time, one CPM leader made a statement in London to the effect that 'our purpose is not to give succour to the people but to sharpen the economic distress so as to build up the revolutionary potential in them'. Another leader of the CPM in West Bengal said in Calcutta 'Give life and take life'.

SARI JYOTIRMOY BASU: Why is it that Dr. Sunil Bose, a PSP man, contested on a Congress ticket in the last election. He was found to have harboured two prominent Naxalite leaders from Andhra and Orissa.

SHRI HEM BARUA: I am not here to answer for the Congress.

SHRI KAMALNAYAN BAJAJ (Wardha): He might have infiltrated into the Congress as many communists have done.

SHRI HEM BARUA: Gandhiji taught us the lesson 'give life' and not 'take life.' Here the process was reversed.

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BASU: No wonder the Nagas and Mizos in Assam revolted.

SHRI HEM BARUA: The Nagas and Mizos in Assam revolted because they wanted sovereign states. To say that they revolted to effect an agrarian revolution is wrong. But these Naxalites are saying like this. Even their journal *Liberation* in English in its April, 1958 issue had said this armed revolution of Naxalites had a link-up with the revolution of the Nagas and Mizos hostiles.

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BASU: Financed by the Home Ministry discretionary fund.

SHRI HEM BARUA: I do not think Shri Jyotirmoy Basu is a member of the Naxalite movement. I do not know why he should take cudgels on their behalf.

MR. CHAIRMAN: He is unnecessarily taking credit.

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BASU: The Chair should not get involved in this controversy.

SHRI S. A. DANGE (Bombay Central-South): The Naxalites are blamed wrongly for everything that happens. Any dacoity or murder is attributed to them.

SHRI HEM BARUA : The Naxalite movement is part of a broad strategy followed in China which is to overthrow the *status quo* in India and established Naxalite rule in this country, a rule of violence. But what about the people ?

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BASU : A friend whispers to me that 'anything is better than this rule.'

SHRI HEM BARUA : May be for the DMK anything is better than this rule.

The Naxalites are getting arms and ammunition from China.

SHRI S. A. DANGE : Not one item of arms from any foreign country was found in searches of Naxalites anywhere. They are all native arms.

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BASU : From Yaduguda, Americans guns were found in the custody of certain people.

SHRI S. A. DANGE : Charu Mazumdar has said in *Liberation* that only native arms should be used.

SHRI KAMALNAYAN BAJAJ : Any arms from any foreign country should be equally condemned.

SHRI HEM BARUA : I agree.

Part of this arms and ammunition is from China. There is no doubt about it. The other part is manufactured in the country.

SHRI KAMALNAYAN BAJAJ : Illegally.

SHRI S. A. DANGE : Let him please be fair. Charu Mazumdar had said that only ordinary bows and arrows should be used, no fire-arms should be used. There was a difference of opinion amongst them on this question. Why does he not mention it ?

Why don't you mention that ?

SHRI BAL RAJ MADHOK (South Delhi) : May we know how Mr. Dange is interested in this ?

SHRI S. A. DANGE : Why not ?

SHRI HEM BARUA : The journals *Deshbrati* in Bengali, *Lok Jyoti* in Hindi and *Liberation* in English are spreading disaffection in this country and they are giving guidelines to the Naxalites in their violent movement. These journals are being published clandestinely and I charge this Government with not being able to bring the people connected with them to book.

SHRI S. A. DANGE : What about the *Organiser* spreading communal hatred ? You allow that, why not *Liberation* ? It is my fundamental right to preach my view.

SHRI HEM BARUA : It is easy to shout a slogan in the name of Mao Tse-tung in this country, but would it be possible for anyone to shout any slogan in the name of any Indian leader in the streets of Peaking ? He will be immediately shot dead or he will find his place behind the prison bars.

The Chinese Embassy in Delhi is organising all the subversion. Mr. Charu Mazumdar has been to China also. (*Interruptions.*) They see the ghost of CIA everywhere, they forget their own ghost.

The Chinese Embassy in Delhi is actively aiding subversion in this country. What the Chinese Embassy has failed to achieve, its agents, the Naxalites, are perpetrating in this country. When a demand was made on the floor of the House to sever diplomatic relations with China, it was said that we want diplomatic relations with China as a window, but then the Chinese Embassy in Delhi has become a door through which not only the Chinese beast comes in, but also *Mao's Thoughts*.

In the *Liberation* particularly it has been said that the road of Indian revolution to victory is the one pointed out by Mao Tse-tung, the one traversed by the Chinese revolution. There are two types of violence in this country no doubt, one perpetrated by the Government on millions of people by raising the price level, by inflicting economic distress on them, and the other is the naked violence of the Naxalites.

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BASU : He is suffering from Naxalite phobia.

SHRI HEM BARUA : I am not suffering from any phobia as you do. That is the

trouble. These people suffer from all sorts of phobias, and they want to inflict their phobias on other people who do not suffer from them. If we are loyal to anybody, we are loyal to the soil of this country, not to China or Soviet Russia or any other foreign country.

The Naxalites are creating an atmosphere of vandalism in this country, and this atmosphere of violence has a tendency to boomerang, and it has boomeranged on the Naxalites. The atmosphere of violence is a part of the Chinese strategy and at the same time it has given encouragement to the anti-social and anti-national elements in this country.

I shall conclude. There is an atmosphere of vandalism and goondaism in this country. During the U.F. Rule in West Bengal this atmosphere was created, violence has a tendency to boomerang as it has done on the ex-Deputy Chief Minister of West Bengal in Patna.

SHRI S. A. DANGE : What about violence in Ganga Nagar on the peasants and the Harijans of Tanjore ?

SHRI HEM BARUA : Durgapur has been their Waterloo. We know that. At the same time there is criticism of the land liberation movement or satyagraha that it is not a civilised thing. It is an attempt to divert the attention of the people from the violent methods pursued by the Naxalites in this country. There are people who call it an uncivilised process. They have not pointed out where the lack of civilisation lies. I have read an article by Mr. Tiwary of the Ruling Congress Party in a magazine called *Orbit* where he discusses it and says it is uncivilised. Where there is a lack of civilisation he has not pointed out.

The Naxalite movement has given an opportunity to the vested interests in this country to organise themselves and they are getting more and more organised in this country.

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BASU : Who provided them with explosives ?

SHRI HEM BARUA : The police was immobilised under you in West Bengal... (*Interruptions*). People are losing faith in

the capacity of this Government to ensure law and order and give security to the people.

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BASU : Who is organising the anti-social elements and providing them with explosives ?

MR. CHAIRMAN : May I know what right have you got to interrupt like this ? He is not supposed to reply to you.

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BASU : I am not asking a question.

SHRI HEM BARUA : It is a fact that the Naxalite movement is spreading itself all over the country. Some people say that once the economic distress is removed, the Naxalite movement may collapse and there may be a change of heart. The same thing was said about the dacoits in the Chambal Valley. What happened ? There was no change of heart and they continue as dacoits. I think the only method is to nip this movement in the bud... (*Interruptions*) I do not think that Naxalites are part of the CP(M). (*Interruptions*). The Naxalites have made a mistake. Their violent movement is not a movement for agrarian reform. It is a movement for sovereign State.

Wherever there is trouble these people want to fish in troubled waters.

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BASU : Fishing in troubled water is a difficult job.

SHRI HEM BARUA : Naxalites are having their links with China. Charu Mazumdar has paid a visit to China. That was confirmed by the Prime Minister on the floor of the House in the Rajya Sabha. He went to China to get inspiration... (*Interruptions*). There is nothing wrong, you know, in having links with an enemy country ! There is nothing wrong ! China is an enemy country so far as India is concerned. We know about it. (*Interruption*)

MR. CHAIRMAN : Please conclude. Do not try to reply to them.

SHRI HEM BARUA : When Mr. Nehru was alive, I remember, it was said on the floor of this House, before

[Shri Hem Barua]

China attacked India,—it was Mr. Dange, the leader of a political group in Parliament, who stood up and said that the Chinese are a socialist people and they would not attack India. That is what he said. (Interruption) Well, Mr. Dange might say that when the Chinese attacked us we ceased to be socialists. But he made a prophecy that they would not attack India because they are a socialist country. But socialism was flouted and a socialist country like China became an imperialist country, an aggressive country, and they aggressed on India. Whatever that might be, the Naxalites are preparing the ground for the Chinese to come in.

There is the Chinese embassy in Delhi which is encouraging subversion so far as the Naxalites are concerned. As I have already said, we were told on the floor of the House that we are maintaining diplomatic relations with China, a mission in China, because our mission provides a window for the Chinese breeze to blow in. But what about the Chinese mission in Delhi? They provide not only a window but a door also through which the Naxalites can come and go and also the other fellow-travellers come and go for inspiration.

श्री रामावतार शास्त्री (पटना) : सभापति महोदय, सबसे पहले मैं यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि नक्सलवादियों की जो राजनीतिक नीति है, उससे मेरा मतभेद है, लेकिन इसके बावजूद भी मैं उन्हें देश भक्त मानता हूँ—यह बात आप समझकर रखिये। दूसरी बात.....

श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी (बलरामपुर) : वे माओ को अपना राष्ट्रपति मानते हैं, फिर भी आप उन्हें देशभक्त मानते हैं।

श्री रामावतार शास्त्री : मैंने पहले ही कहा है कि मैं उनकी राजनीतिक नीति से सहमत नहीं हूँ।

श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी : राजनीति और देश भक्ति क्या अलग-अलग होती हैं।

श्री रामावतार शास्त्री : मैं उन्हें समाजवाद के लिये लड़ने वाला लड़ाका मानता हूँ, हिन्दुस्तान से पूंजीवाद, सामन्तवाद और साम्राज्यवाद को खत्म करने के लिए लड़ने वाला समझता हूँ।

अब मैं आपसे कुछ प्रश्न करना चाहता हूँ। जिस प्रश्न पर यह बहस चल रही है, उसमें कांस्पिरेसी की बात कही गई है। मैं यह जानना चाहता हूँ कि कितनी जगहों पर इस तरह की कांस्पिरेसी नक्सलवादियों के नाम पर चलाई जा रही है और उनमें कितने लोग इन्वाल्ड हैं?

अभी बताया गया है कि उनके पास हथियार बहुत हैं। मैं जानना चाहता हूँ कि उनके पास से जिन हथियारों पर आपने कब्जा किया है, वे हथियार कहां के बने हुए हैं? जैसा आपने कहा कि चीन के हैं—क्या इस तरह का सबूत आपके पास है कि वे किस देश के बने हुए हैं?

तीसरा प्रश्न—क्या यह बात सही है कि हिन्दुस्तान के नक्सलवादियों को यहां की बेकारी की वजह से आगे बढ़ने में ज्यादा मदद मिल रही है और बेकारी के कारण नौजवान और छात्र उधर प्रेरित हो रहे हैं, फ्रस्ट्रेशन की वजह से उधर जा रहे हैं? अगर यह बात सही है तो आप बेकारी को दूर करने के लिए कौन से कदम बढ़ा रहे हैं ताकि नौजवान उस रास्ते पर न जा सकें? क्या यह बात सही है कि पंजाब के अन्दर और आंध्र के अन्दर नक्सलवादियों का बहाना बनाकर कम्युनिस्ट पार्टी आफ इण्डिया के कुछ लोगों को भी पुलिस वालों ने गोली से मार दिया?

आखरी प्रश्न यह है कि नक्सलवादियों के रूप में जो जेलखाने में हजारों की संख्या में बन्द हैं—दूसरे लोगों की तरफ से भी यह सवाल उठा है कि उन्हें राजनीतिक बन्दी माना जाय, क्योंकि आपके साथ इनका झगड़ा

राजनीतिक सवाल पर है। तो इस तरह के रेप्रेजेन्टेशन किसी जेल से, हजारीबाग जेल से या बंगाल या देश के किसी भी हिस्से से उनको राजनीतिक बंदी स्वीकार करने के बारे में आपके पास आये हैं? अगर आये हैं तो उनके बारे में आपको क्या कहना है? क्या आप उन्हें राजनीतिक बंदी मानने के लिए तैयार हैं?

SHRI BAL RAJ MADHOK (South Delhi): The CPML has been on the rampage for some time past and carrying on a blood bath in the country with impunity. May I know what is the link of this communist party with the other communist parties? Is it a fact that these are only different facts of the same movement, all of whom want to subvert democracy and establish a totalitarian regime in the country, the only difference being that CPML is openly in favour of establishing a totalitarian regime on the Chinese model and making it a satellite of China and not Russia and otherwise all of them are linked up? That explains why the other communist party members support them day in and day out. Secondly, is it a fact that this CPML has become the refuge of all the criminal and pro-Pakistani elements, even though they may not have any ideological connections with them? The Pakistani agents too want to disrupt and create anarchy in our country and therefore, there is this link between Pakistani agents and other criminal elements in the CPML. Is this a fact? Thirdly, is it a fact that this party is encouraging attacks on educational institutions and national leaders as a continuation of the cultural revolution in China, because in a revolution everything which inspires the people and links them with the past should be destroyed; all that heritage which inspires the people of the country has to be destroyed if anarchy and a Vietnam type of situation is to be created in the country? Fourthly, is it a fact that the argument that this movement is growing because of unemployment or economic distress is just a cloak and this has nothing whatsoever to do with the welfare of the people or removing unemployment? These people only want to create anarchic conditions and therefore to link up this movement with economic discontent

or unemployment is only a facile explanation to detract the people and the Government from the real track so that they may not deal with this movement as effectively as they should. Lastly, may I know whether it is a fact that the Government has not been able to deal with this movement effectively because it depends on the support of the other two communist parties who are at the back of this movement and therefore this Government directly and indirectly has been encouraging the violent activities of the CPML?

श्री शिव चन्द्र भा (मधुबनी): नक्सल-पंथियों का जो आन्दोलन चल रहा है उसमें दो बातें आती हैं। एक तो उनके विचार जो कि हमारे से भिन्न हैं और उग्र हैं। दूसरे ऐक्जुअल ऐक्शंस यानी हिंसात्मक कार्यवाही। तो मैं जानना चाहता हूँ कि उनके विचार कुछ डिफरेंट हैं, भिन्न हैं, उग्र हैं इसलिए सरकार उनको दबाना चाहती है या स्पष्ट रूप से उनकी कुछ हिंसात्मक कार्यवाहियाँ हैं जिनकी वजह से उनको दबाना चाहती है? विचार—स्वातंत्र्य तो हमारे संविधान में है। इसलिए मैं जानना चाहता हूँ कि उनके विचारों की वजह से सरकार उनको दबाना चाहती है या उनकी हिंसात्मक कार्यवाहियों की वजह से या दोनों की वजह से?

दूसरी बात यह है कि आंध्र में एक नक्सलाइट लीडर पुनिस एंकाउंटर में मारा गया। मैं जानना चाहता हूँ कि हकीकत क्या है? वह मारा गया या पहले पकड़ लिया गया और तब उसका मर्डर किया गया?

तीसरी बात—कनु सांग्याल गिरफ्तार हुए। उनके वैयक्तिक रूप में स्पष्ट रूप से कौन-कौन हिंसा के काम हैं, आंदमियों को मारने या घर जलाने के जिनके कारण उनको पकड़ा? या उनके ऐसे विचार थे जिनके लिए सरकार ने उनको पकड़ा।

चौथी बात—इतिहास कहता है कि एग्जाइल में साइबेरिया में जार ने भी शादी

[श्री शिव चन्द्र भा]

करने की इजाजत दी थी जो कि उसके खिलाफ थे, तो हजारी बाग जेल में मिस टेलर को चार मजूमदार के साथ शादी करने की इजाजत क्यों नहीं दी गई ?

भाखीरी बात में यह जानना चाहता हूँ कि इन लोगों में कितने मंड्रिकुलेट, बी० ए० एम० ए० और पी० एच० डी० हैं ?

श्री नवल किशोर शर्मा (दौसा) : नक्सलाइट्स की समस्या हमारे देश के लिए एक बहुत बड़ी चुनौती है। हमारे देश में हिंसा की प्रवृत्ति बढ़ती जा रही है। उसमें नक्सलाइट्स का बहुत बड़ा हाथ है। इसलिए ऐसा लगता है कि हमारे देश की जो शासन व्यवस्था है उसको बहुत बड़ा खतरा पैदा हो गया है। तो मैं इस संबंध में सरकार से कुछ सवाल पूछना चाहूँगा।

पहला सवाल यह है कि नक्सलाइट्स का प्रभाव देश के किन-किन प्रान्तों में है ? दूसरा सवाल यह है कि कितने लोग नक्सलाइट ऐक्टिविटीज करते हुए पकड़े गये हैं और उनके बारे में सरकार द्वारा क्या कदम उठाये गए हैं ? तीसरे में यह भी जानना चाहूँगा कि जो नक्सलाइट्स से हथियार बरामद हुए हैं उनमें ऐसी भ्रष्टाचारों की खबर है कि डिफेंस स्टोर से चुराया गया माल भी पकड़ा गया है जो कि बहुत कीमती हथियार हैं। तो क्या यह बात सही है कि डिफेंस स्टोर से इस तरह के हथियार चुराये गए और नक्सलाइट्स के पास पहुंचे ? यदि यह बात सही है तो क्या सरकार इसके बारे में जांच करेगी कि यह हथियार उनके पास कैसे पहुंचे ? भाया कोई इस तरह की साजिस तो नहीं है जिसके जरिये उन नक्सलाइट्स को हथियार मिलते हैं ? चौथी बात यह है कि हमारे देश में नक्सलाइट्स के साथ-साथ में जो एंटी सोशल एलीमेंट है वह भी नक्सलाइट के झाड़ में हर तरह की हरकत

करता है तो क्या सरकार इस तरह के एंटी सोशल एलीमेंट्स पर खास तौर से निगाह रखेगी और यह देखेगी कि कहीं नक्सलाइट की आड़ में इस तरह के लोगों को बढ़ावा तो नहीं मिल रहा है ?

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF HOME AFFAIRS, AND MINISTER OF STATE, DEPARTMENTS OF ELECTRONICS AND SCIENTIFIC AND INDUSTRIAL RESEARCH (SHRI K. C. PANT) : Mr. Chairman, Sir, I share the anxiety of my hon. friend, Shri Hem Barua, as well as my hon. friend, Shri Sharma who spoke last about the activities of the Naxalites. But I am constrained to say that it was not quite fair of Shri Hem Barua to have described as inadequate the information which I had given in reply to his question in the first place. That question covered a certain area and the answer more or less covered the same area. He has now raised some other points. I shall try to deal with those points but some of them at least do not fall in the ambit of the original question. This, I thought, I should state in the beginning.

The specific points which he has now raised, apart from the speech which he has made, relate to three aspects.

One is that no comprehensive account of Naxalites, activities in the country was given ; secondly, no account of how their activities spread from West Bengal to other States and, thirdly, no account of their links with China was given. I shall attempt, briefly, to cover these points and this, of course, will take me, more or less, over the whole ground.

My hon. friend, Shri Bal Raj Madhok, asked a question about the links between the Communist parties, the C.P.M. and the Naxalites. It is not for me here to give a lecture on this, or to explain the links between the various parties. I can only give the factual position that emerged and that is that a section of the C.P.M. broke away from it. When the C.P.M. entered into legislatures and participated in the U.F. Governments, one section said that there should be militant struggle and that there should be no cooperation with the parliamentary procedures. On that account, they

took a different path. This happened in 1967 presumably because, in 1967, the political picture in the country changed after the General Elections.

Also, the first seeds of what we can describe in general terms as extremism were seen in Naxalbari in 1967 and, thereafter, in West Bengal, in Andhra Pradesh, in Kerala and also in Bihar and U.P. Some sections of the C.P.M. broke away from the parent party and formed their own coordination committees.

Thereafter, in the succeeding months, the incidents of violence came to notice not only in Naxalbari in West Bengal, but also in Srikakulam in Andhra Pradesh and Tellicherry in Kerala. The prosecutions launched in connection with Naxalbari incidents ended in convictions of some of their leaders which gave a set-back to the movement in West Bengal. The sustained police action also had perceptible effect on the activities in Andhra Pradesh and Kerala. In April, 1969, the sentences of many of those who had been convicted for offences in connection with Naxalbari incidents were remitted and they were set at large. With the release of the leaders of the extremist group in West Bengal, after the U. F. Government came into power, the extremists were able to re-organise and strengthen their cadres.

A new stage was reached with the formation of the C. P. M. (L) on April 22, 1969. Some other groups belonging to the C. P. M. (L) also emerged in States like Andhra Pradesh, West Bengal, Kerala, etc. The States of Orissa, U. P. and Bihar also were affected in varying degrees by the extremist activities. The attempts on the part of the extremists to extend their activities to Assam have also come in for discussion in this House during the last session. I think, this takes care of the point raised by my hon. friend, Shri Naval Kishore Sharma, who wanted to know in which States these extremist activities have come to notice.

SHRI HEM BARUA : Punjab also.

SHRI K. C. PANT : In Punjab also.

SHRI R. D. BHANDARE (Bombay Central) : There are the extremist sections in each State.

SHRI K. C. PANT : I will not say, each State. But I have given all that information.

SHRI HEM BARUA : They speak of a liberated zone or a free zone to serve as spring-board for their movement.

SHRI K. C. PANT : The second point on which he sought information was about links of the Naxalites with China. We have discussed this question here in the past also and I have given during this session itself all the information in our possession. We neither exaggerate nor do we try to play down these links. By and large, the links have been ideological. The inspiration drawn by this movement from the postulates of Maoist ideologies and preachings are all very well-known.

SHRI HEM BARUA : Their Slogan is—"Chairman Mao is our Chairman."

SHRI K. C. PANT : That is one of their slogans.

श्री रामावतार शास्त्री : जब वह कहते हैं कि माम्रो चेअरमैन हैं तब उनका मतलब सी०पी०एम०एल० के चेअरमैन से है, न कि इस देश के चेअरमैन से ।

श्री कृष्ण चन्द्र पन्त : उनकी पार्टी और सरकार में कितना अन्तर है, यह आप जानते हैं ।

SHRI BAL RAJ MADHOK : How do you call it ideological ? It is extra-territorial. By this, you give it respectability.

SHRI K. C. PANT : I think what I say is well-understood by you.

Then, Sir, the Chinese mass-media and radio services and Chinese publications have also come to notice for publicising to the point of exaggeration the activities of the Naxalites and other allied extremist groups. Such propaganda and such circulation has also come to our notice. But, there is no evidence of any substantial financial assistance received by these groups directly from China. Of course, certain information has

[Shri K. C. Pant]

already been furnished in this House regarding some money paid from Chinese Embassy to some individuals in Kerala on some occasions. Even passage of some arms due to underground Nagas is well-known. But there is no information regarding any regular flow of arms from China to these groups. The recent recovery of arms and ammunition from the Naxalites and other extremists have not shed any new light on this aspect.

But, Sir, I can assure the House that every time when arms are recovered, we go into this matter, we try to identify the source, and we try to see what are the markings, etc. so that we may know the source of these arms.

SHRI HEM BARUA : The markings are erased.

SHRI K. C. PANT : Sometimes one comes across markings which are erased. In some cases, even if markings are erased, it is possible to tell the source, through some tell-tale characteristics.

Then, Sir, a question was raised by my hon. friend Shri Jha as to whether we objected to the thinking of the Naxalites or to their activities, whether the action that was taken against them was because they pursued a certain line of thought or because they pursued a certain line of activities. Sir, I think, the House will bear me out if I say that in this country we not only believe in freedom of thought, but this Parliament has demonstrated its anxiety to uphold this belief and to see that this country is completely democratic in its approach to the question of freedom of thought, freedom of association, freedom of ideas, freedom of printing and publication, and all the necessary freedoms that go to make a democracy viable. And it is also true, Sir, that this House represents many shades of thought different shades of thought many of which are in sharp conflict; and yet, we find a way to work together in this House, find a way out of our difficulties, sometimes disagree; sometimes agree; but through the democratic method we try to solve the problems of our country.

But, the Naxalites are taking to the way of violence. They are not accepting the Con-

stitution. They are not accepting the Parliamentary method of functioning in this country. They are trying to undermine the very basis of these democratic institutions which our founding fathers of the Constitution established in this country and which we are trying to sustain. I think Shri Jha need not at all have asked that question. I think if he had been following the activities of Naxalites and other extremist groups whose pursuit of approaching the problems of the country and trying to solve these problems are through the method of violence, not through Parliamentary method,—that is itself a sufficient answer to the question which he has raised. It is not difference of opinion against which we take action. There is difference of opinion; we accept it; it is healthy in certain ways. But the basic approach of violence on the one side and of the Parliamentary method on the other—these are incompatible between themselves. And that is where the question arises.

Now, what are the activities of the extremists? And what are their principal activities? Already, reference has been made to their propagandist activities such as shouting of slogans, display of posters and Mao's thoughts, hoisting of Chinese flags, dissemination of Chinese literature and so on....

SHRI RAMAVATAR SHASTRI : The Red Flag is not the Chinese Flag.

SHRI K. C. PANT : The hon. Member seems to know a lot about it.

SHRI BAL RAJ MADHOK : They accept the links, but the hon. Minister does not accept.

SHRI K. C. PANT : Provided the hon. Member stays away from them, it is all right. To see a flag is all right.

Then, there are attacks on national symbols, attacks on statues and portraits of our national leaders, portraits of Gandhiji, of the heroes of Bengal and of Netaji, Gandhiji, Pandit Nehru, Vivekananda, Ashutosh Mukerjee, Tagore etc....

SHRI KAMALNAYAN BAJAJ : And burning their literature.

SHRI K. C. PANT : By attacking the portraits of these gentlemen, do they really think, as Shri Hem Barua said, that these attacks are going to weaken the influence of these leaders on the minds of the people of this country ? It is somewhat childish to think so. Nevertheless they do it, and it is something which I think all sections of the House will condemn. No one today in this country has forgotten the contribution of all these leaders to not merely the liberation of this country and the winning of its freedom, but to restoring the self-respect of this country in the eyes of the citizens of the world and in our own eyes, in the eyes of the citizens of this country. At a time when there was darkness of foreign rule all over the country, in those moments of darkness, it was these leaders who showed light ; it was these leaders who symbolised the courage of this country, who symbolised the culture of this country and it was these leaders who induced the masses and led them in the struggle against foreign rule. The entire cultural renaissance of this country owes such a lot to Tagore, and to Vivekananda, and of course, Gandhiji's place will be a place of honour in the history of this world for all time to come, not only in the history of this country but of the world. Today, many countries in the world are setting up statues and are naming streets after him, and squares after him and even his method of civil disobedience has been adopted in far flung places where injustice has reared its head. In the Negro movement in the USA, for instance, Martin Luther King has publicly acknowledged his debt to Gandhiji.

There are so many other movements of a similar nature.

SHRI S. A. DANGE : That was why both were shot.

SHRI K. C. PANT : It is one of the risks that such men always run.

This is the stature of the men whose portraits and whose statues they seek to disfigure today.

Then, there are attacks on individuals including public servants and members of

political parties, involving offences such as murder, grievous hurt etc. and my hon. friends from Bengal will bear me out that even the CPM

SHRI HEM BARUA : Triple murder at Burdwan.

18 hrs.

SHRI K. C. PANT : Even the CPM has not escaped these attacks. In fact, Shri P. Ramamurti told us the other day that they were under attacks from the Naxalites, and he complained about it. It is a fact that many CPM workers have also come under attack ; so are CPI workers and Congress workers. This is not a narrow party matter. It is a question of a complete difference in approach ; it is a question of belief in the sword as against the peaceful method. The sword is wielded against everybody. It is not a matter over which even our friends opposite can really be complacent, because if this is to be the new style of politics in this country, what will it end in ? It cannot end in the kind of system which the founding-fathers dreamt of and which we are seeking to establish in this country.

Then collection of funds for party work involving commission of dacoities, robberies etc. Reference was also made to the fact that anti-social elements had also joined the Naxalite bands in this. In fact, in certain areas, they have been invited to join. Therefore, the commission of dacoities, robberies etc. is by these groups with the assistance of anti-social elements.

Then collection and manufacture of arms and explosives involving offences under the Arms Act, the Explosives Act and the Penal Code. There has been an increase in the activities of these extremists since the third week of April, specially in West Bengal. The majority of incidents has been in the form of attacks on national symbols, hoisting of red flags, attacks on educational institutions etc. There have also of late been attacks on government personnel, especially the police. The most significant development has been the systematic infiltration of extremist ideology among some sections of students and youth.

SHRI HEM BARUA : Has he come across the report that a young boy of Class VIII who failed in this examination, instead of studying hard for the next examination, became a young Naxalite in Calcutta and went on throwing bombs on the school to which he belonged.

SHRI RAMAVATAR SHASTRI : How many such cases ?

SHRI HEM BARUA : At least one.

SHRI K. C. PANT : Shri Sharma wanted to know what action we were taking. Shri Madhok charged us with being soft on the Naxalites, whatever the reasons. I do not really need to spell out in detail what action we have taken because this has been stated here many times. Briefly I would like to say that we are taking all possible action. We are not only instructing the police in various areas ; we are in correspondence with them telling them what we can do to help them wherever it is necessary. 'Instruct' is the wrong word to use ; the States are very sensitive about these things ; so I withdraw the word.

The Central Government have been maintaining close touch with State Governments and Union Territories and have been continuously impressing upon them the need for the utmost vigilance and also the vigorous use of the provisions of law, preventive and penal, to curb these activities. Assistance by way of armed police reinforcements, wireless and other equipment and also pooling of intelligence has been provided to State Governments. The State Governments of Andhra Pradesh, West Bengal, Assam, Orissa and U. P. have launched a number of prosecutions including conspiracy cases. Action is also being taken against printers and publishers of subversive literature. Systematic drives for recovery of illicitly-held fire arms and explosives are also bearing results.

It is significant that there have of late been instances of people's resistance to the lawlessness of Naxalites and other extremist groups.

This is one of the most important aspects of the matter, because it is not police action alone which is enough but the people must also resist kind of violence, vandalism and depredation, and to the

extent that our friends in the House of all political parties can help in encouraging such popular resistance, to that extent the proper climate can be created and it will be possible not to use the police so frequently, because, after all, this is a problem which affects us all. As I said earlier, in these inter party clashes various parties have been involved, and hardly any party has been spared, and I believe that many of the parties are thinking in terms of encouraging popular resistance to these activities.

There was a question as to how many arrests have been made and in which States. According to information received from the State Governments, a large number of extremists have been arrested. The figures are : Andhra Pradesh 1641 ; Assam 388 ; Bihar 625 ; Kerala 163 ; Tamil Nadu 44 ; Maharashtra 15 ; Mysore 5 ; Orissa 237 ; Punjab 123 ; Rajasthan 3 ; West Bengal 2,291. Information from the Governments of UP and Jammu and Kashmir is awaited. The State Governments of Gujrat, Haryana, Madhya Pradesh and Nagaland have furnished nil information. This gives a broad picture of the activities of these elements in the various States.

SHRI S. R. DAMANI (Sholapur) : Are all of them in prison or have some been released ?

SHRI K. C. PANT : I know what is prompting my hon. friend to ask this question. We have been asked here on various occasions about the enlargement of many of these persons on bail by the West Bengal Courts. In West Bengal there is separation between the executive and the judiciary, and there is really nothing that we can do if the Courts decide to enlarge anybody on bail. The only point is that the prosecuting authorities can be instructed to place their case before these Courts in the best possible manner and in good time. This we have done and I must say that in recent weeks in Calcutta at least the percentage of those who are released on bail has come down appreciably. I have been watching these figures and I find that even in the districts the percentage of release on bail has come down.

SHRI HEM BARUA : What about the incidents of violence ? Have they come down ?

SHRI K. C. PANT : Speaking from memory, they have come down somewhat according to the latest figures that I have seen some days back, but I do not think one can by a week to week assessment in these matters. One will have to wait for the trend. The latest figures, I do recollect, show a downward trend, but I would not presume too much on that.

I think it was Shri Ramavatar Shastri who referred to unemployment causing frustration among the youth and asked whether this was not the reason for such activities. We all know that there is unemployment in this country, and which of us does not know that if a young man does not get employment after education, it does lead to frustration. All of us are aware of these problems not only in the abstract, but in our own homes among our own relatives, but these are problems which the country has partly inherited at the time of freedom. We have poverty in this country, we have a large population and a growing population. In 1947 when we became free, the conditions which we faced were perhaps unique in their formidableness, if I may say so, and now we are trying to tackle these problems. We have adopted the democratic path in approaching these problems. It is impossible, whatever the system, to tackle these problems overnight and find solutions to them. Even if violence is used, you cannot solve these problems overnight. The point to consider is that these problems will remain with us for sometime. We can collectively and with joint will and determination try to solve these problems to the best of our ability...*(Interruptions)* But if there is confusion of ideas on the basic point whether violence is to be allowed to be justified in solving the problems of the country because of socio-economic factors, I think it is wrong and the confusion of ideas should be cleared. We must try to solve the problem but not through violence. I do recognise that the socio-economic factors must be taken into account and these problems must be kept out of the way. Otherwise we do not go to the root of the problem. I am not denying the existence of these problems; I am only saying that it does not justify the violent activities of these groups. *(Interruptions)*

SHRI RAMAVATAR SHASTRI : Why do you not declare them political prisoners ?

SHRI K. C. PANT : I have been asked to cut short my speech. I shall conclude by saying that we in this country, like any other nation, have to work out our destiny; every country does according to its own genius, traditions and history. We cannot be a pale imitation of any other country. Our methods must grow out of our experience and in the light of the democratic path that we have chosen and in order to preserve our national identity, we must view these activities as dangerous to certain basic things which we hold dear. It is in this context that I welcome the opportunity of discussing this matter which Mr. Hem Barua has provided.

18 13 hrs

DISCUSSION RE: ESTABLISHMENT OF COTTON CORPORATION OF INDIA

MR. CHAIRMAN : The House will take up the discussion on the statement laid on the Table by the Minister of Foreign Trade on the 31st July, 1970 regarding establishment of Cotton Corporation of India.

The time allotted is two hours...*(Interruptions)* I think we shall not be able to finish it today.

SHRI SHRI CHAND GOYAL (Chandigarh) : I have to point out with a sense of great pain that a discussion of such importance on a vital subject affecting the future of three million people is being fixed up at this late hour when practically the time of the House is over. It is for the first time that a discussion like this is fixed even after the half an hour discussion. These half an hour discussions are no more half an hour discussions; it is a misnomer to call them so; they take more than an hour. In fact the Minister himself has taken today more than half an hour.

The recent decision of the Government to take over trade in domestic cotton and the setting up of a cotton corporation of India for canalising of imports of cotton arises out of political considerations rather than economic considerations. In order to cover up its failure in various economic fields, the Government have chosen the path of slogan-mongering just like the slogan that