

**THE TAMIL NADU STATE LEGIS-  
LATURE (DELEGATION OF POWERS)  
BILL, 1976**

THE MINISTER OF HOME AFFAIRS (SHRI K. BRAHMANANDA REDDI): Sir, I move for leave to introduce a Bill to confer on the President the power of the Legislature of the State of Tamil Nadu to make laws.

*The question was put and the motion was adopted.*

SHRI K. BRAHMANANDA REDDI: I beg to introduce the Bill.

**THE FOREIGN CONTRIBUTION  
(REGULATION) BILL, 1973**

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Mr. Mohsin.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA (West Bengal): I want to make a statement. Have you asked him to move this Bill?

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Yes, I have asked him to move the Foreign Contribution (Regulation) Bill, 1973.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Yes, I follow. You need not repeat the Bill. There is one practical point. There is no sort of hard and fast case about it. Now, Sir, this is a very important Bill. As you know, it had been discussed in the Joint Select Committee and the report was made in January, in fact, on the 6th of January this year. Now, you have asked us to consider it. Just now, the House is practically empty for some reason which you know very well. Many Members are not in a position to come today because of the nominations which are being filed and that is why there is a thin attendance in the House. This is one factor.

There is another factor. Normally, from the very beginning of the Session, such Bills are not taken up. Why? It is because Members could consider

them and give amendments and so on. We did not have time to study this Bill. You can say that it has been there since 6th of January. You would be right in saying that. The fact remains that such things are taken up either at the end of the session or the middle of the session. It is a kind of Budget session . . .

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: As you said rightly, this is the Budget Session. During the rest of the Session, you will be seized with other things like the Budget, the Finance Bill, the Rail-way Budget etc.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Therefore, Sir, my point is this. We think that generally, during the Budget Session, such things are not taken up. I do not know for what reasons you have taken it up right at the beginning of the session. We are completely unprepared.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Mr. Bhupesh Gupta, you will agree with me that this is an important enough Bill to be taken up soon and not just kept in cold storage.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: If you think so, you can have it that way. Of course, you can have it passed in five minutes. There is no difficulty because Government has the majority. Still, I would ask the Government to consider this because they can create new precedents nowadays. In the past, we have never taken up Bills of this kind right at the start of the Budget Session. It creates practical difficulties for those who are sitting on this side of the House as well as for those on the other because we do not come attuned to tasks of this nature. Still, you want us to go ahead with it. Something, we should at least be thought of even if our views are not taken into account.

THE DEPUTY MINISTER IN THE  
MINISTRY OF HOME AFFAIRS (SHRI  
F. H. MOHSIN): Sir, I beg to move:

"That the Bill to regulate the acceptance and utilisation of foreign contribution or foreign hospitality by certain persons or associations, with a view, to ensuring that parliamentary institutions, political associations and academic and other voluntary organisations as well as individuals working in the important areas of national life may function in a manner consistent with the values of a sovereign democratic republic, and for matters connected therewith or incidental thereto, as reported by the Joint Committee of the Houses, be taken into consideration."

Hon. Members may kindly recall that the Government introduced in this House, on the 29th December, 1973, a Bill entitled 'The Foreign Contribution (Regulation) Bill, 1973', whose essential object was to regulate the acceptance and utilisation of foreign contribution or hospitality by associations as well as individuals in our country. Excepting the provisions of the Foreign Exchange Regulation Act, there are no restrictions at present regarding transmission of foreign money into India. Recipients of foreign money are not obliged, under the existing law, to render accounts for the utilisation of foreign money, secured by them, nor are they prohibited from receiving such money in any specific situation. Being aware of the scope for foreign agencies to influence organisations or individuals in this country through such financial aid and keeping in view the need to regulate the acceptance and utilisation of foreign contribution or hospitality for ensuring that our parliamentary institutions, political institutions, academic and other voluntary organisations as well as individuals working in important areas of national life function in a manner consistent with the values of a sovereign democratic republic, Government had brought forward this Bill. This was referred to a Joint Committee of both the Houses by a motion adopted in this House on the 19th February,

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1974, and by a concurring motion in the Lok Sabha on the 25th March, 1974. The Joint Committee, under the Chairmanship of Shri Man-ubhai Shah, presented its report along with the Bill, as amended by the Committee, to this House on the 6th January, 1976.

The Bill envisages three kinds of restrictions of a prohibitory or regulatory nature. One is, total prohibition of acceptance of foreign contribution or hospitality. The second is, acceptance with prior permission of the Central Government. The third is, a legal obligation to send intimation and render accounts to the Central Government after receipt of foreign contribution. Recipients of foreign contribution are accordingly grouped under three categories. The first category covers organisations and individuals who may be deemed as sensitive and important in our national life like candidates for elections, Government servants, Members of Legislatures, political parties and their office-bearers, correspondents, columnists, cartoonists, editors, owners, printers and publishers of registered newspapers. They are totally banned from receiving any foreign contribution. The second category includes organisations, which not being political parties themselves may be deemed as organisations of a political nature, having regard to their activities or their association with political parties. The Bill lays down that this category shall not accept any foreign contribution except with prior permission from the Central Government. The third category covers associations having a definite cultural, academic religious or social programme. They are required to give, within a prescribed time, intimation to the Central Government about the amount of foreign contribution received by them, the source from which and the manner in which such foreign contribution was received and the purposes for which and the manner in which such contribution was utilised by them.

[Shri F. H. Mohsin]

There is also a general clause which empowers the Central Government to impose such prohibitory or regulatory restrictions regarding acceptance of foreign contribution by any person or class of persons or associations not covered by the foregoing categories, if the Central Government is satisfied that the acceptance of the foreign contribution by such associations or person or class of persons is likely to be prejudicial to the sovereignty and integrity of India or the public interest or the freedom or fairness of elections to any Legislature or friendly relations with any foreign State or harmony between religious, racial, linguistic or regional groups, castes or communities.

The Bill contains appropriate penal provisions to deal with contraventions of the law.

With these words, Sir, I commended the Bill to the House.

*The question was proposed.*

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Mr. Tyagi.

**श्री ओ३म प्रकाश त्यागी**  
(उत्तर प्रदेश) : उप सभापति महोदय, अगर आप मुझे लंच के बाद समय दे दें तो बहुत अच्छा रहेगा क्योंकि लंच के लिए अब थोड़ा समय रह गया है।

**श्री उप-सभापति** : अभी लंच का समय नहीं हुआ है। 10 मिनट अभी बाकी हैं। इसलिए आप 10-15 मिनट बोल लीजिए।

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Take it up after lunch, Sir.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: K», no. What are you going to do with the remaining ten minutes?

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: In ten minutes we can have lunch. Is there a problem for you.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Yes, it is a problem. Time is a problem.

**श्री ओ३म प्रकाश त्यागी** : उप सभापति महोदय, मैं इस विधेयक की भावना का हृदय से स्वागत करता हूँ। मैं मैं और मेरी पार्टी इस बात से सहमत है इस देश के अन्दर जो विदेशी शक्तियाँ अपार धनराशि भेज रही हैं और जो हमारे देश के राजनैतिक ढाँचे को प्रभावित करना चाहती हैं और जो पैसे के जोर पर इस देश को अपने प्रभाव में लाना चाहती हैं उन पर प्रतिबन्ध लगाया जाय। मैं समझता हूँ कि यदि इस देश में इन कुप्रवृत्तियों को बन्द नहीं किया गया, विदेशी षड्यन्त्रों पर नियन्त्रण नहीं किया गया तो इस देश को बहुत बड़े खतरे का सामना करना पड़ सकता है। इसलिए मैं सरकार को इस बात के लिए धन्यवाद देना चाहता हूँ कि अखिरकार उसने इस ओर ध्यान दिया। परन्तु इस विधेयक के द्वारा सरकार अपने लक्ष्य को प्राप्त कर सकेगी, इसमें मुझे सन्देह है। मैं इस विधेयक से सम्बन्धित प्रवर समिति का भी सदस्य रहा हूँ और मैंने देखा है कि कई मामलों में सरकार ने अपनी हिचकिचाहट प्रकट की है। मुझे ऐसा लगता है कि सरकार केवल मात्र यह चाहती है कि केवल विरोधी पार्टियों को ही जो बाहर से सहायता मिलती है या बाहर के देशों में आने जाने के लिए जो मदद मिलती है, उस पर प्रतिबन्ध लगाया जाय। इस सम्बन्ध में सरकार ने एक जांच कमीशन बैठाया था कि विदेशों से हमारे देश में किन किन राजनैतिक पार्टियों को किस रूप में सहायता प्राप्त होती है, उसका पता लगाया जाय। इस प्रकार की रिपोर्ट सरकार के पास है। सरकार ने उस रिपोर्ट को प्रकाशित भी नहीं किया और न ही इस विधेयक के सम्बन्ध में बनी प्रवर समिति के सामने उपस्थित किया। यदि यह रिपोर्ट प्रवर समिति के सामने पेश की जाती तो समिति इस बात को अच्छी प्रकार से जान जाती कि किन किन

उपायों के द्वारा किनकिन राजनैतिक पार्टियों को हमारे देश में सहायता मिल रही है और समिति उस आधार पर उन छिद्रों को रोक सकती थी। लेकिन ऐसा नहीं किया गया।

इस बिल के सम्बन्ध में जो सबसे बड़ा डर मुझे है, वह यह है कि इस बिल को जिस ढंग से लाया गया है और उसमें जो प्रावधान किये गये हैं उनसे ऐसा लगता है कि हमारे देश को बंध रूप से जो विदेशी मुद्रा प्राप्त होती है वह भी अब बन्द हो जाएगी। मैं समझता हूँ कि इस समय हमारे देश में सबसे बड़ी समस्या विदेशी मुद्रा की समस्या है। हमारे देश का जो विदेशी व्यापार है उसके चलते अगर हमने विदेशी मुद्रा को अपने देश में नहीं आने दिया तो इससे देश का बहुत बड़ा अहित होगा। आप इस विधेयक के द्वारा देश का हित करने की चेष्टा कर रहे हैं। लेकिन इस विधेयक की धारा (2-डी) में लिखा गया है कि कोई भी भारतीय नागरिक किसी भी विदेशी सूत्र से किसी प्रकार का आतिथ्य, सहायता अथवा निशुल्क खान पान या चिकित्सा व्यय सरकार की अनुमति के बिना स्वीकार नहीं कर सकता है। धारा 7 के अनुसार कोई भी विद्यार्थी अगर किसी भी विदेशी सूत्र से सहायता लेगा तो उसको नियमित समय पर सरकार को सूचित करना पड़ेगा। धारा 4 के अनुसार कोई भी भारतीय नागरिक विदेशी सूत्र से अपने चुनाव में सहायता प्राप्त नहीं कर सकता। यह विदेशी सहायता के सम्बन्ध में है। वह विदेशी सूत्र क्या है? विदेशी सूत्र, आपकी दृष्टि में, वह है जो भी कोई विदेशी नागरिक हों या विदेशी संस्था हों, उससे सहायता लेता। मैं एक बात कहना चाहूँगा और वह यह यह है कि आज लाखों भारत मूलक आदमी जो विदेशों में गए हैं वे वहाँ पर बस गए हैं, वहाँ के नागरिक बन गए हैं। तो इस विधेयक की दृष्टि में वे तमाम भारतीय नागरिक विदेशी सूत्र बन गए। आज वर्तमान अवस्था इस प्रकार की है कि आज लाखों भारतीय जो विदेश में

हैं जिन के परिवार भारतवर्ष में हैं, उनके सम्बन्धी यहाँ पर हैं, वे उनको सहायता लगातार भेज रहे हैं, मासिक सहायता उन प्रवासी भारतीयों से अपने परिवार वालों के लिए आ रही है। मैं मानता हूँ—सरकार की मूर्खता से, अयोग्यता से, अब तक गुप्त रूप से वह सहायता आती रही और इसमें बुद्धिमान पाकिस्तान रहा कि उसने इस प्रकार के नियम बनाए कि वैधानिक ढंग से पाकिस्तानी प्रवासी लोगों की सहायता प्राप्त हो गई जिससे पाकिस्तान को भारत की अपेक्षा कहीं ज्यादा विदेशी मुद्रा मिली, जो कि हमको नहीं मिली। अब कुछ हमारे यहाँ नियमों में परिवर्तन आया, लेकिन इस विधेयक में जो प्रतिबन्ध लगाया इसके मानी यह है कि कोई भी विदेशी सूत्र यानी कोई भी भारतीय नागरिक अपने किसी भी निकट सम्बन्धी से किसी भी प्रकार की सहायता प्राप्त नहीं कर सकता। आज हमारे बहुत से भारतीय लोग विदेशों में चले गए और विदेशों में जाने के पश्चात् विदेशी सूत्र से वहाँ कोई नौजवान ट्रैवल करने के लिए आतिथ्य ले तब भी स्वीकार नहीं करेंगे। अगर कहीं कोई मित्र मिल गया है, सम्बन्धी मिल गया है, भारतीय मिल गया है, तो उससे सहायता न मिले तो आपके जो विद्यार्थी हैं, जरा जरा से बच्चे हैं, नौजवान हैं, वे पड़े रहेंगे क्योंकि आपने ऐसा किया है कि...

श्री एफ० एच० मोहसिन : क्लोज 8(ई) देख लीजिए।

श्री ओ३म् प्रकाश त्यागी : हाँ, उसमें सिर्फ कैंजुएल आतिथ्य है। मैं कहता हूँ कैंजुएल क्या है? बाकायदा एक आदमी इंग्लैण्ड में गया है और अमरीका में उसके मित्र ने कहा कि हमारे यहाँ आ जाओ, ट्रैवल कराएंगे। सरकार की दृष्टि में वह कैंजुएल नहीं है, आपकी अनुमति लेनी पड़ेगी।

## [श्री ओडम प्रकाश त्यागी]

दूसरी बात, आपने कहा है कि हम अपने चुनावों में विदेशी सुत्र से सहायता नहीं ले सकते हैं। बात सही है, विदेशी सुत्र से सहायता नहीं लेनी चाहिए लेकिन विदेशी सुत्र में हमारे सम्बन्धियों को भी लाकर खड़ा कर दिया है। इसके मानी यह है कि लीगल वे में हमारे सम्बन्धियों को, जो विदेशों में रहते हैं, बहाना मिल जाएगा। बाहर के लोगों पर तो पाश्चात्य संस्कृति का प्रभाव तो वैसे ही आ जाता है और इस बिल के पास होने के बाद बैटा भी बाप को बाप मानने को तैयार नहीं होगा। वह प्रभाव उनके दिमाग पर उसके बाद असर करता है। तो आपने इस बिल द्वारा बहाना दे दिया कि वे सहायता नहीं देंगे। इसलिए आपसे मेरी प्रार्थना है कि विदेशी सुत्र में विदेशी नागरिक जहां आपने लाया है उसमें भारत-मूलक निवासियों को न रखें तो ज्यादा अच्छा है। आप कह सकते हैं कि विदेशी सुत्र या भारतीय नागरिकों के द्वारा सहायता भेज सकते हैं तो मैं कहना चाहूंगा मोहसिन साहब, यह नोट कर लीजिए: सहायता देने वाला विदेशी सुत्र, जो सी०आई०ए० की रिपोर्ट सामने आई है, उसको क्या यह विधेयक रोक सकेगा? यह विधेयक नहीं रोक सकेगा। यह तो गम्भीर अड़चन पैदा करता है केवल वैधानिक सहायता प्राप्त करने में। इसको पैदा करने की आवश्यकता नहीं थी।

दूसरी चीज यह है कि इस विधेयक से हानियां ये हो जाएंगी कि विद्यार्थियों को अड़चन आएगी, अपने सम्बन्धियों से पैसा नहीं ले सकेंगे और खास तौर से मारिशस, गयाना और घाना जहां विदेशी सरकारें हैं उनके आपस के सम्बन्धों में भी थोड़ी बहुत खटाई आएगी जिससे हमारे सम्बन्ध अच्छे बनने चाहिए। हमारी चेष्टा यही होनी चाहिए कि हमारे भारत के लोगों के साथ विदेशों में जो रहते हैं उनके साथ अच्छे मित्रता के सम्बन्ध बने।

जहां तक राजनीतिक लोगों का सम्बन्ध है, आपने धारा 4 में यह रखा है कि कोई भी राजनीतिक पार्टी का सदस्य हो, अधिकारी हो, कोई एम०एल०ए० हो, एम०पी० हो, चाहे कोई भी अधिकारी हो, वरिष्ठ विदेशी सुत्रों से सहायता नहीं ले सकता है। मैं इस बात को स्वीकार करता हूँ कि यह जो आपने व्यवस्था रखी है, वह बहुत अच्छी रखी है। लेकिन मैं फिर आप से यह निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि जो भारत मूलक निवासी हैं उनके लिए अड़चन पैदा हो जाएगी क्योंकि आपने उन पर भी प्रतिबन्ध लगा दिया है। आपने इसमें यह व्यवस्था कर दी है कि कोई भी राजनीतिक पार्टीका सदस्य, आफिस ब्रीथरर इस तरह की सहायता विदेशी सुत्रों से स्वीकार नहीं कर सकता है। मैं एक राजनीतिक पार्टी का सदस्य हूँ। अगर मैं बाहर जाता हूँ जहां पर मेरे सम्बन्धी हैं तो मैं उनका आतिथ्य स्वीकार नहीं कर सकता हूँ और न ही उनसे किसी प्रकार का धन प्राप्त कर सकता हूँ क्योंकि मैं पोलिटिकल पार्टी का सदस्य हूँ या अधिकारी हूँ। आपने इस विधेयक के द्वारा इस तरह के लोगों पर भी प्रतिबन्ध लगा दिया है।

धारा 4 के सम्बन्ध में मैं यह निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि आपने सभी राजनीतिक पार्टियों के ऊपर सभी तरह के प्रतिबन्ध लगा दिये हैं, लेकिन एक पार्टी छोड़ दी है और वह यह है कि जो ट्रेड यूनियन्स हैं, उनको इसमें शामिल नहीं किया है। यह बात सर्व-विदित है कि जितने भी ट्रेड यूनियन्स हैं, वे किसी न किसी पोलिटिकल पार्टी के विंग के रूप में काम करते हैं, तथा उनके द्वारा चालित होते हैं और पोषित होते हैं। आप मुझे क्षमा कीजियेगा कि कुछ पार्टियों ने तो उन्हें ही अपना आधार बना लिया है। मजदूर वर्ग के द्वारा रिबोल्यूशन कराने का मूल वेसिस ही ये यूनियनों बन गई हैं। आज सरकार के खिलाफ रिबोल्यूशन कराने के लिए ट्रेड यूनियनों द्वारा मजदूरों

का सहारा लिया जाता है। इसलिए मैं यह निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि आपने ट्रेड यूनियनों को इसमें क्यों नहीं रखा है? जब आपको इस बात की जानकारी अच्छी तरह से है कि हर पार्टी की अपनी एक ट्रेड यूनियन है और वह उसका एक पोलिटिकल विंग है, तो उनको इस धारा से क्यों अलग रखा गया? इसलिए मैं यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि इस धारा 4 को परिधि में ट्रेड यूनियनों को भी लाकर खड़ा कीजिये। आपने समाचार पत्रों को भी इसमें ले लिया है और मुझे खेद के साथ कहना पड़ता है कि आपने धारा 4 में समाचार-पत्रों को भी ले लिया है।

**श्री योगेन्द्र शर्मा :** चैम्बरस आफ कामर्स भी इसमें आते हैं।

**श्री श्रीम प्रकाश त्यागी :** चैम्बरस आफ कामर्स को भी इसमें लेना चाहिये। आपने समाचार-पत्रों के सम्पादक, प्रतिविधि कार्टूनिस्टों को भी इसमें शामिल कर लिया है। ये लोग विदेशी निमंत्रण स्वीकार नहीं कर सकते हैं। जो समाचारपत्र होते हैं, वे देश के मार्गदर्शक होते हैं और देश के भविष्य का निर्माण करते हैं। इस तरह के लोगों को दूसरे देशों की राजनीतिक स्थिति का अध्ययन करना आवश्यक होता है। अगर उन्हें अध्ययन करने के लिए बुलाया जाता है तो वहाँ से अध्ययन करने के बाद वे देश के सामने वहाँ की तस्वीर रखते हैं और यह बतलाते हैं कि कौनसा तरीका ज्यादा अच्छा है। आपने इस धारा के द्वारा इस तरह के अध्ययन पर भी पाबन्दी लगा दी है और मैं समझता हूँ कि यह प्रजातन्त्र की भावना के खिलाफ है।

इस बात का भी इस विधेयक में समाधान नहीं हुआ है और वह यह है कि विदेशी दूतावास यहाँ पर समाचार पत्रों को विज्ञापन देते हैं। वे अक्सर किसी अखबार का पूरा पेज विज्ञापन के लिए ले लेते हैं और यहाँ का जो रेट होता है उसका दस गुना और बीस गुना उनको

विज्ञापन के लिए देते हैं। आपने इस बिल द्वारा बाहर जाने पर और बाहर से पैसा लेने पर प्रतिबन्ध लगा दिया है, लेकिन इस तरह से घर बैठे यहाँ के लोगों को काफी पैसा मिल जाता है। आप रोज समाचारपत्रों में देखते होंगे कि फना दूतावास ने किसी समाचार-पत्र का पूरा पेज विज्ञापन के लिए ले लिया है और उसमें केवल उस देश के प्रेसीडेंट की फोटो छपी रहती है। इस तरह से दूसरे देश के लोग यहाँ पर अपना प्रचार करते हैं और लोगों को धन भी देते हैं। क्या इस तरह अवैध रूप से हमारे देश में धन नहीं आ रहा है? इस विधेयक ने इस तथ्य को नहीं लिया है और मैं आपसे निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि इस बात को भी इसमें शामिल किया जाना चाहिये।

आपने धारा 5 में यह कहा है कि कोई भी राजनीतिक प्रकार के संगठन द्वारा विदेशी सहायता के केन्द्रीय सरकार की पूर्ण अनुज्ञा के बिना स्वीकार न किया जाय। यह जो आपने परिभाषा बनाई है वह ठीक प्रकार से नहीं बनाई है। इस परिभाषा को ठीक प्रकार से बनाया जाना चाहिये और सही रूप से लागू किया जाना चाहिये।

धारा 5 में है :

"No organisation of a political nature, not being a political party, shall accept any foreign contribution except with the prior permission of the Central Government."

तो मैं यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि अर्गनाइजेशन आफ पोलिटिकल नेचर का निर्णय कौन करेगा। आप कैसे तय करेंगे इस को? और इसके मायने हैं कि आप किसी भी धार्मिक, सामाजिक या सांस्कृतिक संस्था पर प्रतिबन्ध लगा सकते हैं। उदाहरण के लिये आप के यहाँ एक अकाली पार्टी है और अकाली पार्टी के सिख लोग बहुत से विदेशों में रह रहे हैं और वहाँ से अकाली पार्टी को सहायता आ रही है।

[श्री ओ३म प्रकाश त्यागी]

अरु लो पार्टी का एक पोलिटिकल विंग भी है। तो आप उस के लिये क्या करेंगे? मैं यह बात मानता हूँ कि आनन्दमार्ग, डिवाइन लाइट मिशन आदि के ऐसे अनेक रहस्य प्रकाश में आये हैं और मैं इस बात में आप से सहमत हूँ कि धर्म की आड़ में या समाज सेवा की आड़ में अगर कोई इस प्रकार के षडयन्त्र रचता है तो उस पर प्रतिबन्ध लगना चाहिए, लेकिन आप को अपने हाथ इतना हैडिल नहीं रखना चाहिए कि मनमाने ढंग से किसी भी संगठन की राजनीतिक प्रकृति का घोषित करें।

दूसरे धारा 6 में धार्मिक, सामाजिक, सांस्कृतिक महायत्ना प्राप्त करने की अनुमति दी गयी है लेकिन आप ने रखा है कि वह अपने एकाउण्ट को आडिट करावेंगे। मोहम्मिन साहब, इस में ज्यादा और कोई धोखे की बात नहीं हो सकती। मैं अपनी बात नहीं कहना चाहता, लेकिन एक तथ्य रखना चाहता हूँ। अभी अमरीका के प्रेसिडेंट फोर्ड ने स्वीकार किया है कि वह विदेशी इसाई मिशनरीज का सी०आई०ए० के एजेंट्स के रूप में भारतवर्ष में इस्तेमाल करते रहे हैं। यह तथ्य उन्होंने स्वीकार किया है। तो धार्मिक संस्थाओं के लिये मेरा कहना है कि यहाँ जितने भी विदेशी इसाई मिशनर चल रहे हैं वह सब विदेशी सूत्र हैं। उन को धार्मिक संस्थाओं की लाइन में खड़ा करना भयंकर भूल होगी। यदि आप ने उन को धार्मिक संस्था के रूप में ही माना तो आप विदेशी सहायता को इस देश में नहीं रोक सकेंगे। और उस पर आप का कोई नियन्त्रण नहीं रह पायेगा। आप की अनुमति के बिना कोई विदेशी इसाई मिशन सहायता न प्राप्त कर सके और जो सहायता आये उस पर आप का नियन्त्रण होना चाहिए यह बात इस विधेयक में लायी जानी चाहिए। नहीं तो गिना और सेवा की आड़ में जो कुछ राजनीतिक का खेल हो रहा है मिजोराम

में और नागालैण्ड में वह सब के सामने स्पष्ट है। इस लिये मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि आप का यह विधेयक लंगड़ा है।

उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं अधिक समय न लेता हुआ कहना चाहता हूँ कि इस विधेयक की धारा 14 के अनुसार सरकार ने ऐसी शक्ति अपने हाथमें ली है कि संदेह मात्र पर भी वह किसी संस्था के कार्यालय की तलाशी ले सकती हैं। किसी भी पोलिटिकल पार्टी को इज्जत गिराना हो तो कार्यालय की तलाशी करा लो, उस के रेकार्ड ले लो! वह वेइज्जत हो जायगी और उसके प्रति जनता में संदेह पैदा हो जाएगा। मैं चाहता हूँ कि आप इस विधेयक में इस प्रकार की बात रखें कि अगर आप के पास कोई तथ्य हों, कुछ आधार हों, केवल संदेह मात्र पर नहीं, परन्तु कुछ वेसिम के आधार पर अगर सरकार चाहे तो किसी पोलिटिकल पार्टी के दफतर की या उस के रेकार्ड की जांच कर सकती हैं।

अंत में आप की इजाजत में कहना चाहता हूँ कि इस विधेयक की धारा 4 में एक तथ्य बिलकुल नहीं रखा गया है और यह है कि इस देश में पोलिटिकल पार्टियों को सहायता के रूप में विदेश से साहित्य आ रहा है बहुत बड़ी मात्रा में। इस प्रकार से वह आ रहा है कि बाहर विदेशों में जो साहित्य छपा वह यहाँ आ कर कुछ पार्टीज को दे दिया गया भेंट के रूप में और वह साहित्य यहाँ विकता है। और उस साहित्य की बिक्री का पैसा उस पोलिटिकल पार्टी को जाता है।

यह पैसा बहुत बड़ी तादाद में आ रहा है। लाखों और करोड़ों रुपयों का साहित्य इस देश में आ रहा है और उस साहित्य का पैसा पोलिटिकल पार्टीज

को जा रहा है। दूसरे यह कि विदेशी शक्तियाँ इस देश में अपने यहां का माल आयात कर रही हैं और यहां उन्होंने अपने कमीशन एजेंट नियुक्त किए हुए हैं। मैं इस के आप को एक नहीं अनेक इंस्टांस दे सकता हूँ ऐसे लोगों का कि जो कमीशन एजेंट बने हुए हैं और उन का पूरा कमीशन पोलिटिकल पार्टीज को जा रहा है और उस पर कोई नियंत्रण नहीं है। इस लिए मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि मेरा सुझाव है कि इस बारे में भी आप का कुछ नियंत्रण होना चाहिए। मैंने इसाई चर्च के बारे में बतलाया। एक बात और कहना चाहता हूँ कि आप की इस प्रवर समिति के सामने गवाहियाँ भी आयी थीं और उन में इंडियन चर्च बंबई के लोग भी थे। उन का कहना था कि जितने विदेशी चर्चा का संबंध विदेशों से है और उनका वाक्यदा नियंत्रण विदेशों से होता है उन पर आप का पूरा नियंत्रण होना चाहिए। विदेशी साहित्य के कमीशन एजेंटों और विदेशी मिशनस को भी इस की परिधो में आना चाहिए और विदेशी सूत्र की परिभाषा में से भारतीय नागरिकों को अलग रखना चाहिए। जांच करने से किसी का पता चल जाय तो उसके लिए आप के पास दूसरे रास्ते हैं। कोई सहायता मगता है तो उसके लिए रिजर्व बैंक आफ इंडिया है, आप का फोरन एक्सचेंज एक्ट है जिनके द्वारा बहुत सी बातों को हम पकड़ सकते हैं। इसलिए इस विधेयक में जो जो कुछ कमियाँ है उन को आप दूर कीजिए और मैं भूपेश जी से सहमत हूँ कि आप इस विधेयक को जल्दबाजी में न लाइये, इसे थोड़े अच्छे रूप में लाइये ताकि यह देश खतरे से बच जाय और विदेशी ताकतों के पड़वन्त्र से यह देश बच सके। यही मेरी आप से विनम्र प्रार्थना है। इन शब्दों के साथ मैं आप को धन्यवाद देता हूँ कि आप ने मुझे

बोलने का अवसर दिया।

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: The House stands adjourned till 2-30 P.M

The House then adjourned for lunch at thirteen minutes past one of the clock.

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The House reassembled after lunch at thirtyone minutes past two of the clock, Mr. Deputy Chairman in the Chair.

SHRI KHURSHED ALAM KHAN (Delhi): Sir, I rise to support the Bill as amended by the Select Committee. In fact this Bill has not been introduced a day too soon. Originally it was introduced on the 24th December, 1973, and the Select Committee has taken considerable time in redrafting the Bill.

The nation is today poised for a take-off and we are determined to reshape our destiny and our economy. Nourished by the new economic programme which has received spontaneous and overwhelming support, the nation has acquired a new purpose and a new reality.

Sir, there was a time when territorial domination and spheres of influence of the imperialist powers and big powers were the order of the day. But now money seems to be the best way of interference in the domestic affairs of a country. But it is now a well-known and universally accepted fact that neo-colonialism is a clever substitute for the old type of crude colonialism. This is usually backed by generous foreign contributions in various shapes, including foreign hospitality.

Sir, 'money power is an important element of our economic and political

[Shri Khurshed Alam Khan] set-up. Just as in Hindu mythology there are different aspects of God, similarly money also has subtle ways of finding its way to places and ways and means where it will be accepted and produce the desired results. Sometimes these contributions assume the shape of foundations and chain of institutions and under the garb of cultural activities also. The foreign exchange deficit and requirements of developing countries and poor countries that particularly do not have oil resources these days have added to the dimension of this problem. Even our trade unions are not spared by the people who are interested in financing their activities in other countries. To meet this situation effectively and in order to tone up the economy, to avoid exploitation and to break the hold of monopolists, there is urgent need for socio-economic structural changes. New order and new values demand rapid changes. Unless a rigid control is exercised, our hard-earned stability will be exploited by others. Regular inflow of the contributions keep some of these institutions, political institutions, going and going in a strong way. The CIA's doings all over the world have very clearly indicated as to what could be done by foreign money and foreign interference. Take, for instance, the investments of the multinational corporations and firms. If you examine carefully their total investment and their remittances of profits during the last ten years, you would observe that their remittances will be Rs. 100 crores more than their investments during the same period and at the same time, they are over-generous in the matter of entertainment and expense accounts for reasons which are very well understood and well accepted.

Sir, during the days of subsidised economy, particularly foreign-subsidised economy, with hundreds of crores of rupees finding their way into the coffers of the rich, the burden is ultimately borne by the poor taxpayer and this thing should end immediately. Utilisation of foreign contri-

butions should be strictly regulated in order to avoid all motives and strings attached to them.

Sir, the Indian economic scene has been changing rapidly during the last few years. The public sector has, over the years, come to occupy a prominent place in the economic development of the country. Apart from their performance on the domestic front, the public sector enterprises have entered the export field also in a very big way. These undertakings are placing an increasing emphasis on the export of products and services to other countries to earn foreign exchange. But, Sir, here also I would like to utter a

word of caution that it all warrants strict vigilance since possibilities of malpractices in various forms and shapes cannot be ruled out and evidence of unfair practices can be traced if a little effort is made. This is a very important aspect and here again I must repeat and say that foreign hospitality plays a very important role

which we can easily find out if we carefully examine the whole issue. Sir, without casting any aspersion, I would like to mention that deals like purchase of aircraft costing crores of rupees require utmost care and vigilance and we have to be very very careful in these deals. This is all the more necessary because of the facts which have come to light in such deals between the American firms and the airline companies of Japan and Italy. This is almost a scandal at the moment.

Sir, it is almost a regular feature of some societies and organisations to receive generous grants and aid from foreign agencies. No patriotic and no self-respecting Indian will appreciate this generosity on the part of the foreign agencies. Sometimes it is done in a very subtle way and it is done under the pretext of helping literary activities. This is a very subtle way of doing it and we have, therefore, to be very careful. We must stop all such inflow of foreign money and we must see that these undesirable sources of money dry up for ever and as soon as possible. Surely, such an aid

is neither for good purposes nor in the interest of the country or the people. All such societies and all such persons must be exposed. Contributions in the name of research and exchange programmes, etc., must be discouraged as they have always a motive behind them.

Another important aspect is tourism industry. As tourism is one of the biggest industries of the world, naturally we are also anxious to attract as large a number of tourists as possible. In fact, if we can attract 5 million tourists annually, we can wipe out our current trade gap to the extent of about two-thirds of the total gap. But this is also being exploited to propagate the views and trends not in the interest of developing countries but mainly for the purposes for which foreign money is coming into various fields.

Sir, another aspect which needs consideration is that a large number of indoor and various other countries' associations have been formed in this country. It must be admitted that some of these associations and friendly associations are doing a good and useful work and creating goodwill. But whether we could say the same thing about other is very doubtful. Contributions received and hospitality accepted by these associations need special scrutiny and special consideration, because it is not given only for creating goodwill but there are certain other motives also.

No doubt, spectacular progress has been made in socio-economic objectives comparatively in a short period, of late. We have, therefore, to conserve our precious resources and give the slogan: Trade is Better Than Aid—aid of whatever nature and whatever type.

For instance, here I would like to mention only one item. A huge quantity of tobacco is exported from this country, particularly to many of the socialist countries. But it is a secret and it is rather surprising to find as

to why this export is not channelised through our nationalised or through our Government agencies. Instead, preference is given to private people or private agents. And this indicates that there are certain motives behind it.

We are passing through a very important phase of life in our chequered history, and the new economic programme is the beginning of an enormous task to bring about social and economic changes in the country. We have to be careful in this regard. There are still about 540 foreign companies in this country and their operations must be watched very carefully. In order to improve their prospects, they also are indulging in a lot of hospitality and aids of various types of agencies which are not working in the national interest.

Sir, now we are determined to cut across decades of unrealistic approach. Smuggling has been smashed. It is a big achievement. But there should be no letting up in all respects. Similarly, as far as the foreign aid or foreign hospitality or foreign contributions are concerned, they are as dangerous for our economy, for our economic life, as smuggling and other such activities. Particularly, it is necessary for us to ensure that the contracts created or contracts made by the various agencies, individuals and organizations with their counterparts in the Middle-East countries, are looked into carefully to find out the motives, to find out the real purpose and to find out the real objectives.

Sir, the nation is on the move and prepared to face any challenges. The new era leads us from darkness to light, from uncertainty to stability and from lack of confidence to self-reliance. This situation has brought about the transformation in our national life. Therefore, all loopholes, wastages and interference, whether political or through the power of money, should be stopped at any

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cost and done away with as early and as effectively as possible. It is the time to adopt this correct approach and to do the needful before it is rather too late. Sir, I would also suggest that we must channelise our main trade through the nationalised agencies and I feel that the socialist countries should not hesitate about it. In fact, they should encourage such moves and they should encourage such suggestions and proposals. But it seems that there is some hesitation. There is something which is beyond our comprehension. It must be understood.

I would also like to say that clauses 2, 4, 5 and 9 of the amended Bill are very significant and essential. Here also, one thing is very necessary. Advertisements, not of a commercial nature, given by the foreign countries or the foreign firms or the foreign organisations should not be allowed in a liberal way. We should scrutinise them and examine their purpose and their motive. Sir, with these words, I support the Bill once again.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Mr. Bhupesh Gupta, do you want to speak? Mr. Kalyan Roy is not here.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: I asked him to come here and speak. I do not know why.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Mr. Kalyan Roy can speak on the third reading.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: I will speak, Sir. As far as this measure is concerned, I wish to make one thing very clear. In principle, we are all in favour of preventing any kind of intrusion of foreign money or interference in the shape of money in the political, social and cultural life of our country with a view to, as we know very well, weakening and undermining our position as an independent free nation, distorting our culture and giving naturally a wrong

direction to our public life. Now, foreign money and foreign donations in the politics of the country are extremely dangerous and I take this opportunity to bring to the notice of the House what is happening abroad. I recently read in the newspapers, American papers and others the reports .... Now Mr. Kalyan Roy has come. I stop. Please let him speak.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Yes, Mr. Bhupesh Gupta has yielded the floor. Mr. Bhupesh Gupta has yielded the floor.

SHRI KALYAN ROY (West Bengal): Sir, I am sorry that I am late. Thank you for your kind permission to allow me to speak on this, one of the most important Bills introduced in the House. Sir, I have been a Member of the Select Committee on this Bill which Mr. Mohsin piloted. And we all co-operated because, Sir, we are absolutely in agreement with the Government that foreign contributions are creating havoc particularly in the third world countries, Latin America, Africa and Asia by trying to subvert the independence, by trying to subvert the sovereignty, and by trying to pollute the entire political, social and economic conditions of these developing countries and the countries which have resisted and have been resisting the foreign pressure in various forms and shapes. Sir, the people of the world know how the US imperialists, the CIA backed by the American Government, have been indulging in all kinds of shady and sordid activities in all parts of the world including the western European countries. And we are today not lacking in facts. The facts have been revealed not only in various American journals but also in various Committees of the American Senate about the part played by the CIA. But is the CIA alone to be blamed? What is the instrument of the CIA? What is the vehicle which the CIA used in order to subvert the independence, the economy, the self-reliance attitude which is more and

more developing throughout the developing world? If you want to develop your heavy industries. If you want to get proper price for your raw material whether it is iron ore or oil, if you want to develop a non-aligned foreign policy, you find not only visible enemies but invisible enemies also. And these invisible enemies are getting all the support from the CIA, backed by the United States Government. Who does not know the role of the World Bank in Chile? They first stopped the sale of Chilean copper. Then through the multinational companies they blocked exports. What was assured by the World Bank to the Chilean Government was later on stopped, and the World Bank brought pressure on countries in Europe, Asia and Latin America to stop the committed trade with Chile. And on the other hand, we find that the CIA was actively giving money and financial support to their own coteries and allies in the Army, Navy and Air Force and to various parties which were opposed to Dr. Allende's Government. Sir, it has been revealed that the coup d'etat in Greece which led to the overthrow of monarchy and to the fascist oppression of all the democratic parties the socialists, the democrats and the communists, was a CIA affair. The entire plan was made in Washington, blessed by Mr. Nixon, who was the President, and actively carried out by the CIA and the multi-national companies. Sir, we have seen their persistent effort in Cuba through the use of mafia to poison Dr. Castro.

Not one but a series of attempts were made to liquidate Castro and his revolutionaries so that Cuba could again be used for the use of multi-national company directors who used to go to Havana in order to seek pleasure. But they did not succeed. We have lately seen, Sir, the horrible events that took place in Dacca. It is no surprise that the news of *coup d'etat* in Dacca was first broadcast in Washington and the World Bank, which was all along de-

laying the sanction of loan, just after the coup d'etat came forward with a massive loan to the new fascist Government in Dacca. We have seen what role the CIA played in Angola so long. We have seen lately the uproar in the whole of Italy to find that the CIA for the last twenty-years, whether under Dulles or his successive chiefs of the C.I.A., was persistently indulging in all sorts of shady practices in Italy just with one aim, namely, that the Communists do not come to power through democratic channels. They have paid about three billion Liras to the various parties to undermine the sovereignty of Italy and inquiries are going on, Sir, you have seen lately the furore, the outcry that has been going on in Japan and which may lead to the toppling or the overthrow of the present Government. The present Government—not all of them but quite a number of them—were getting money from Lockheed. We do not know what part the C.I.A. has played in the sale of these aircraft to the Japanese Government. So, Whatever country you take. What has been revealed to us so far, be it Italy, France, Angola, Chile or Cuba, is that everywhere the C.I.A. has cooperated with the multi-national companies to subvert the economy not the Communist economy. I can understand that. The basis of the American multi-millionaire companies is to dominate and subvert the economies of countries among which I am proud to say that India is one and which is trying persistently to resist the pressure from the U.S. imperialists, which has consistently been following the non-aligned policy which lately has led to the recognition of Angola much to the displeasure of American bosses. The whole attack is directed against the non-aligned countries, is directed against developing countries is directed against those people which are struggling to overthrow the foreign shackles as in Rhodesia or South Africa. These go together. You cannot disjoin them, you cannot disconnect them, the C.I.A. and the

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multi-national companies and the World Bank, these three go together. That is the history. I do not know what is yet in store for us because Mr. Ford, being isolated from the American people, being isolated from the world public opinion, and Dr. Kissinger are behaving not like sane men. Moynihan openly threatened the developing countries by saying that if they did not vote with the Americans, they would not get aid. That means that the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund and the multi-national companies would be used in order to subvert the economies of those countries. We would like to know from Mr. Mohsin Now many of the total revolutionaries who shouted and paraded in the streets of Calcutta and Patna and other places got money from abroad. How was it possible for them in India to publish 'Everyman' and other journals? I am compelled to say that lately the Finance Ministry has carried out a raid on a foundation with which Shri Jayaprakash Narayan was associated and they have found a lot of incriminating documents to show that this particular foundation received millions of Dollars and Marks and Francs from abroad which was not used for the development of Bihar.

3 P.M.

How many multi-national companies are functioning in the country? How many of them have secret links with the CIA? What was their role in the last ten years? What was the role of these companies in manipulating foreign exchange? What was the role in foreign exchange racketeering and what was the role in the political life of this country? Americans and lately Mr. Malaviya published a book—not one book but a series of books and articles—on the role of the multi-national companies and the C.I.A. and

the United Nations itself has focused its spotlight on the subversive activities of these multi-nationals. So we thought that a Bill will be framed properly which will seriously tackle the problem. But, unfortunately, Sir, I regret this Bill falls far short of our expectations. I have mentioned that in my note of dissent. I have done it with great anguish. If you kindly see clause 2, it completely excludes the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund. May I ask with all humility, why is this exception? It is exactly what I have pointed out, exactly what I pinpointed, after knowing the shady and sordid activities of the World Bank in relation to Chile which was not a Communist Government, which was not a Government which was not a Government which allowed the private capital to grow. See the role of the World Bank. See the role of the International Monetary Fund in South Vietnam. See the role of the International Monetary Fund in Indonesia. See the role of the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund in Egypt. And then, would I be unjustified if I say that the Bill today does not tackle the problem and the source of this evil? The source is America and the multi-national companies. This Bill miserably fails to tackle the problem posed by the multi-national companies. So unless this is radically revised, changed and altered, I am afraid this pollution of our politics, this subversion of our democratic regime, this sniping at our attempt to develop our Indian economy in our own way, this constant pressure to change our foreign policy, will continue. It is a fact, Sir. Nobody can deny that Anand Margis and the RSS today are getting help, they have been getting help from these multi-national companies and the C.I.A. to subvert our economy which I do not think is very revolutionary, which I do not consider as socialistic at all when I see the hunger or the massive retrenchment going on. Even this little attempt to eradicate feudalism in our countryside, to check their black acti-

vities the sordid activities of the monopolists, are the things which the C. I. A and the multi-national companies and the American Government do not want. So, Sir, exclusion of the World Bank completely emasculates the Bill. The exclusion of the International Monetary Fund emasculates the Bill. Similarly, the half-hearted way in which the Joint Committee tried to tackle the multi-national companies and their problems has left these companies out of the control of this Bill.

I hope Mr. Mohsin will agree with me. We have seen the affairs of the Lockheed Company. This has been admitted by them openly. This is the case with all the multi-national companies/, whether it is ITT or any other company. We are concerned with ITT because they -are the people who sold us an absolutely rotten cross-bar system which disrupted our communication. The matter has been raised in this House during the last six years. This agreement with the ITT has been very severely commented upon by the Public Accounts Committee. Therefore, Sir, if we do not tackle those multi-national companies and the menace they pose, how can this Bill achieve the purpose and the objectives which we are aiming at and about which we have no quarrel? We want a very strong and very strict Bill which will give drastic punishment to these who dare to take money from abroad, whatever may be the shape or form, in order to pollute the economy and the politics of this country. Therefore, Sir, I do not know what was the intention which forced the Government to be so soft to these multi-national companies. It is good that Mr. Pai has just come. It may be of interest to him. He is all the time trying to find some collaborators abroad in order to produce, I was told, tomato saucs. Perhaps, we do not have an indigenous technique to produce tomato sauce. I remember a cartoon by Mr Abu in the 'Indian Express.' This was about an Indian rocket and there was a comment by Mr. Abu which said 'We have been able

to manufacture rockets and time bombs, it is high time we should have some foreign collaboration to produce blades and tooth paste. Therefore, these are the multi-national companies which are subverting our economy. I have pointed out from the documents which have been made available to us by the American Congress, by the American Senators and by the American journalists, how these multi-national companies have been indulging in subversive activities. This has been admitted even by the American Government. Mr Ford has gone on record that from now on the CIA will not be allowed to use the multi-national companies to subvert the independent economy and policies of other countries. But again, the next day, Mr. Ford said that the CIA should be allowed to carry on its legitimate work abroad, which will mean murder or attempt to murder Dr. Castro or attempt to stage coups *d'etat* in various parts of the country. Therefore, I strongly resent this. Unless this Bill is drastically amended, it will not be able to tackle the problem. I have mentioned this in clear terms in my note of dissent. I am quoting.

"In the course of series of meetings of the Foreign Contribution (Regulation) Bill, several members quoted extensively from various books and documents regarding CIA and the activities of the multinational corporations. With tremendous financial power at their command and their firm grip over raw materials and minerals and other resources of the Third World countries, they are continuously trying to maintain their hold through massive financial support to anti-democratic elements and have become States within States. Under cover of trade and business, they attempt to infiltrate into every layer of society and resort to every possible means including financial assistance to influence the politics of the countries where they operate. They are the biggest single menace to independence and democratic

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forms of Government which are trying to delink themselves from the stranglehold of colonial economy.

The Foreign Contribution (Regulation) Bill, 1973, as it has emerged out of the Joint Committee, will not be able to tackle or control or prevent the inflow of foreign money for dubious and shady and outright anti-national activities."

"While the multi-national corporations have been mentioned, no stress has been given on their activities and they will be free to evade and sabotage the various provisions of the Bill. There should be most stringent provisions for them. And this Bill is totally inadequate to deal with them."

Mr. Mohsin should understand. We are absolutely with you regarding the aims. We have been shouting for the last 20 years that the right reactionary parties, the Maoist parties are being financed from abroad in the name of religious activity or in the name of social activities or in the name of educational activities. These agents of the CIA, the various so-called political parties which are political parties only in name, have other aims. They are getting help from various other missions abroad. So, the Bill as presented today, will not be able to tackle the problem.

My second point is this.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: You have finished only one point, is it? SHRI KALYAN ROY: We have been discussing this Bill for nearly two years in the Joint Committee. Take a strike or take an accident in a mine for instance. Three hundred and seventy-eight people were killed in the Chasnala disaster. There we are having a court of inquiry to ascertain the reasons for this accident. AH the bodies have not been found; there is confusion about this. People have lost their fathers or husbands or sons. Are they entitled to receive funds from the miners' unions of other countries or not? When we are

fighting giant multi-national companies like Lever Brothers, ITT and some drug companies, they can bring capital from abroad. There is no restriction on the flight of capital from one country to the other. It is the inherent right of a Capitalist to help his brother capitalist abroad; it is the inherent right of 'a multi-national company to bring capital from cut-side. There are hundreds of multinational companies today functioning in India. The biggest multi-national company is Guest, Keen and Williams. If there is a strike or lock-out in Guest, Keen and Williams, they can bring any amount of money from England. The Gestetner company have retrenched 62 people recently; there was a strike. They do not suffer at all financially because the entire international money is at their disposal. So, I, as a trade unionist, I, 'as a worker, am put to disadvantage. I am not allowed to accept solidarity fund for fighting the anti-national activities of the multi-national companies or for fighting the anti-labour activities of the multi-national companies. But the capitalists of this country, along with their brother multi-nationals, are allowed to accept and receive as much capital as they want in order to subvert my economy, in order to liquidate and attack the trade unions. The Bill has no answer to this. Or, rather I should say, the Government does not want to face the situation. I will accept the Bill whole-heartedly, without any reservation, without any dissent, if you stop the flight of capital from one country to the other to boost the dying, disintegrating capitalist system. How does the capitalist system survive? It survives by inter-locking, by international cartel system, by international trade pacts, by international division of market and when one company is in danger the other companies import capital from abroad. If you would have been sincere to tackle this menace of foreign contribution, you would have applied the same stringent measure to restrict the inflow of foreign capital into this country but there you are

divided or you have no policy at all, or the policy as I see, the way the Ministry of Industry and Civil Supplies is working, inviting foreign capital in this country. What is this foreign capital? It is nothing but a disguise of CIA infiltrators. What was the job of Mr. Freeman who visited the country a few months back and bluntly stated that the multi-national companies were doing a good job and they should be allowed to do their job? In other words, they should be allowed to bribe the political parties of this country, they should be allowed to bribe the Ministers of the country, they should be allowed to bribe the bureaucrats of this country which they have been doing so long, it is not a revelation as some people or some Members may think. It is a hard fact, reality. Without tackling the problem of foreign capital you are restricting the fighting democratic trade unions to accept fraternal help which they are justified to accept. Long before India became free, when the working classes and the democratic masses were fighting the British imperialism, when Mr. M. N. Joshi, one of the outstanding trade union leaders of this country, received thousands of pounds from abroad, the British Government objected and refused permission to the late Shri M. N. Joshi to accept the money on the ground that it may be utilised by the textile workers of Bombay which is dominated by the Communists. Mr. Joshi met the Governor and ultimately public pressure forced the British Government to retreat and Mr. Joshi on behalf of lakhs of textile workers of Bombay accepted thousands of pounds. Sir, when there was a strike of the railwaymen in Kharagpur in the beginning of this century, when the mighty British regime was ruling over this country, money came from abroad, from the Soviet Union in order to help the striking workers. Mr. Giri felt the same problem. Ultimately the British Government had to yield and Shri V. V. Giri was able to accept the money which came

from abroad for conducting the strike. With this attitude and this Bill, I am afraid attempts will be made, may be not by Mr. Mohsin but by many others, to refuse the trade unions to receive the fraternal help which is the right which is being accepted throughout the world. When the Italian workers strike the French workers support, when the French workers strike, the British workers support, when the Japanese workers strike, the Chinese workers support and when the Indian workers strike, they have the right to receive fraternal help from the brothers abroad, in the same way as the capitalists are allowed to receive loans and capital from abroad. This Bill is discriminatory.

Sir, unnecessary restrictions have been put on trade unionists and journalists who wish to go abroad. You know the condition of the trade unionists in the country, even the condition of the poor journalists in the country. You know the condition of hospitals in this country. People go to hospital when they are sure they are to die, very few people go to hospitals and the nursing-homes are reserved for friends of Mr. Pai who are mainly belonging to multi-nationals. If a trade unionist is suffering from T. B or cancer and if he is asked to go to a hospital abroad, naturally the Bill will come in the way. It will give a sweeping power to the bureaucrats to prevent other political parties or trade unionists to receive proper treatment, medical or otherwise.

I am afraid, Sir, the Bill may look innocent but it is not so innocent, it can be twisted.

We wanted a small Review Committee to screen the applications, but unfortunately Mr. Mohsin was not prepared to accept that. Similarly, we wanted some kind of a Parliamentary Committee to be there to go

[Shri Kalyan Roy.]

into various aspects of the implementation of the Bill because there is a danger of misuse of power. Today this party is in power, tomorrow some other party may be in power and the Government may misuse the power. Whether it is the Communist Party or other political parties, they all have expressed their fears in this regard. Similarly, the trade unions. Not only the All India Trade Union Congress, but also the Hind Mazdoor Sabha and even the INTUC have expressed an apprehension with regard to the way the Bill may be implemented and may be used once a trade unionist goes abroad and receives fraternal help to fight the evils of capitalism in the country. So there also the Bill needs a drastic modification.

And, lastly, before I end, I would again plead with the hon'ble Minister that let there be, as I said, a small committee to screen various applications which may come up as per the provisions of the Bill, because I may again remind him that absolute power corrupts absolutely. This Bill gives absolute power not to the Minister but to the ordinary IAS officer at the Collector level who, in his whims or with a *mala fide* intention will do a mischief which may be misinterpreted by the people of the country who want the Bill to be passed, but not in the present form.

Thank you.

SHRI F. H. MOHSIN: Mr Deputy Chairman, Sir, I am very thankful to the hon'ble Members who have taken part in this debate and have supported the Bill. All the three Members—may I say three and a half Members because one Member spoke only for a few minutes—have supported the measure.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: I am not certain whether he is going to remain 'half'.

SHRI F. H. MOHSIN: And out of the three Members who have spoken, two were members of the Select Committee also. Mr. Tyagi and Mr. Kalyan Roy were members of the Committee and their advice was available to the whole Committee, and their opinion was also taken during the deliberations.

I am glad, Sir, that the measure has been accepted by all sections of the House. Mr. Tyagi has made some suggestions which he made even at the Select Committee stage also. The first point that he made was that money sent by relatives should not attract this Bill. Sir, there is already a provision in clause 8 (e) of the Bill which gives sufficient room for any relative to send money to a relative in India. He may be of Indian origin or not. That is a different matter. But a relative can send money to the extent Provided in the Bill. Clause 8 (e) says:

"8. Nothing contained in section 4 shall apply to the acceptance by any person specified in that section, of any foreign contribution, where such contribution is accepted by him, subject to the provisions of section 10,—

\* \* \*

(e) from his relative when such foreign contribution has been received with the previous permission of the Central Government."

So, all that is required to be done is that he has to take the previous permission of the Government. There is no restriction on getting money from a near relative—and a relative

has been denned in the Companies Act of 1956 and the definition is quite wide; it includes not only sons and daughters but also collateral relatives. He could receive money for a *bona fide* purpose. Again there is a proviso, which was included in the Select Committee stage:

"Provided that no such permission shall be required if the amount of foreign contribution received by him from his relative does not exceed, in value, eight thousand rupees per annum and an intimation is given by him to the Central Government as to the amount received, the source from which and the manner in which it was received and the purpose for which and the manner in which it was utilised by him."

Up to Rs. 8,000, he may not even take prior permission. All that is required is that he has to intimate later on to the Central Government how much money is received for what purpose and how he utilised it—So, the fear that there may be difficulty in receiving money from relatives is not well founded.

He was mentioning that trade unions should also be covered by this Bill. Of course, Mr. Kalyan Roy had a different view. A trade union may be exempted though we have not used the words 'trade union'. There are trade unions which are affiliated to political parties and there are trade unions which are not affiliated to political parties. If there are organisations which are of a political nature or which are affiliated to political parties, clause 5 of this Bill may be attracted. So, they may have to take permission. It is not that we ban them from receiving any foreign assistance. All that is required is that the money received for a particular purpose, for a *bona fide* purpose, for a legal purpose, should be utilised for that purpose only; it should not be diverted to other purposes. Hon. Members are very cor-

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rect in saying that so many organisations or institutions receiving foreign assistance or contribution for some purpose, for either religious or economic or any other purpose divert such funds for other purposes, which has created havoc in political life. Of course, Mr. Kalyan Roy and Mr. Khan were very right when they said that foreign money which was given for a good purpose was sometimes being diverted for other purposes, even for creating agitations. Sometimes, money was used even in election campaigns and for subversive activities. So, hon. Members' concern in this respect was very genuine. In fact, in 1967 the US press itself gave out so much information about the CIA activities. Even now we have been hearing quite often about the CIA activities in so many spheres—through universities, through newspapers, through political parties and in some other forms in the political party organisations. "We want to keep them away from such foreign influence so that our democratic institutions, our parliamentary institutions are kept away from foreign influence; otherwise, they would be discredited by the receipt of foreign contributions in this way. A trade union, if at all it receives money, should utilise it for the economic betterment of the members of that trade union. As long as it utilises these funds for the economic betterment of the trade union workers, there would not be any objection to giving permission. Normally, trade unions which are not affiliated to any political party may come under clause 6. It is only sufficient for them to give an intimation and maintain their accounts. That is all. The accounts should be available open to the public, to the Government, so that if at all any suspicion arises, they can check the accounts. Therefore, there is no difficulty in regard to genuine organisations which might receive foreign assistance for a genuine cause. Mr. Kalyan Roy will agree with me that there are organisations in name only— they may re-

[Shri F. H. Mohsin]

ceive funds but they may use them for some other purpose, for subversion, for creating discord and for creating internal disturbances. There is need for checking such things also and every effort is made through this Bill to see that such money is not diverted to other purposes.

Sir, clause 10 is a very omnibus clause. If foreign funds are received by any organisations or persons and if they are not utilised for a genuine purpose but used for subversive purposes, we can control such a thing through clause 10.

It is an omnibus clause. It says:

"The Central Government may—

(a) prohibit any association, not specified in section 4, or any person from accepting any foreign contribution-

(b) require any association, specified in section 6, to obtain prior permission of the Central Government before accepting any foreign contribution-".

Sir, all these provisions can take care of any situation that may arise.

Mr. Tyagi also mentioned that there may be hardships for students in receiving scholarships. Not at all. Clause 7 is quite clear. It gives wide scope for receiving of scholarships but regulates the receipt of scholarships also. It says:

"Every citizen of India receiving any scholarship, stipend or any payment of a like nature from any foreign source shall give, within such time and in such manner as may be prescribed, an intimation to the Central Government as to the amount of the scholarship, stipend or other payment received by him and the foreign source from which, and the Purpose for which, such scholarship, stipend or

other payment has been, or is being, received by him."

What is required is that an intimation has to be given. It does not stop any student from receiving scholarships. So that fear of Mr. Tyagi is also not well founded.

Sir, he also mentioned about the foreign literature that is coming into India and gifted to some political parties or that sort of thing. We cannot altogether prohibit useful literature on science and technology coming into India, but if there is any information as to the misuse of such kind of literature supplied from foreign countries, certainly we can take action. There are sufficient provisions in this Act to prohibit such receipt of such foreign literature.

Mr. Kalyan Roy, though he took a sufficiently long time, dealt with only one important point, that is, multi-national corporations. Perhaps he had in view the original Bill which did not contain any clause about multi-national corporations. But at a later stage, during the Select Committee stage, it was included. I may point out to him that clause 2 as now reported by the Joint Committee contains a provision already. On page 4 of the Bill, you can see, Mr. Kalyan Roy, that clause 2 (1) (e) (v) says:

"foreign source includes a multinational corporation within the meaning of this Act."

So, if any money is received . . . .

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: There are two papers here. You should read them. Here is *Time*—"The Big Payoff Lockheed". And *Newsweek*: "The Lockheed Scandal." Now this is how money is spent. If I were to send your Bill to the American Senate or the Congress, they would return it. Perhaps they will charge us something for troubling them because these things are not covered by it at all. Yet, this is how it is financed.

SHRI F. H. MOHSIN: I can only say that under these provisions any assistance from a foreign country, if it is diverted for any purpose other than a *bona fide* purpose, could be stopped. We have enough powers under this Act.

Sir, the fear of Mr. Kalyan Roy was not well-founded. It has been mentioned already in the Joint Committee that multi-national corporations within the meaning of this Act are also covered; they are also considered as 'foreign surce'. Any money received from these multi-national corporation<sup>3</sup> would also be covered.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: The Minister says that Mr. Kalyan Roy's fear is not well-founded. Is it ill founded?

SHRI F. H. MOHSIN: But there is already a provision to stop money coming from the multi-national corporations. Then, Sir, he was right in saying-----

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Otherwise I would have asked the Deputy Chairman for sending the Minister to the United States to read the Senate intelligence committee's report which has revealed how American money operates in foreign countries—SHRI F. H. MOHSIN: That is why this Bill has been brought. I can only assure the House that the Bill will take care of any such sources of foreign assistance coming into India. And for all these agitation<sub>s</sub> it is used. We are quite aware of that. We are aware that some sensitive areas receiving funds from foreign countries. Not that we are unaware of it. Foreign intelligence agencies like the CIA have given many things out. It does not mean that we are not aware of it. We are also aware who are receiving, which organisations are receiving and diverting these funds. But

for security reasons we cannot divulge all these things. To a great extent the Bill will take care of such remittances from abroad to such organisations which would divert the money or moneys received from foreign countries for other purposes such as creating disturbances, subverting democratic and Parliamentary institutions, etc. The vital organs of democracy . . .

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Ma, I make a request to you?

SHRI F. H. MOHSIN: Why not?

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: My request is this. Will you kindly ask your Mission in Washington to make available for us a copy of the report of the Intelligence Committee of the Congress? This is a 28-page report published in "Village Voice"—an American Journal. It will be very useful to have it here. I would request you to ask your Mission in the United States to get hold of a copy of that journal and send it here. You can multiply it or put it in the Library. This gives very good information as to how American money operates in foreign lands.

SHRI F. H. MOHSIN: Think you for the information and suggestion. The Bill, as it is, will take care of all such foreign assistance coming to India for all purposes. The suggestions made by Shri Roy and other Members in the Select Committee have by and large been accepted. I do not think there is any reason to fear that foreign money will create such disturbances in this country.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: You have started the new year with great optimism.

SHRI F. H. MOHSIN: We have to. Government is vigilant and will take care of agencies like CIA and will see

[Shri F. H. Mohsin] that our country is well guarded. Sufficient vigilance is maintained.

Sir, I again move that the Bill may tie taken up for consideration.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: The question is:

"That the Bill to regulate the acceptance and utilisation of foreign contribution or foreign hospitality by certain persons or association, with a view to ensuring that parliamentary institutions, political associations and academic and other voluntary organisations as well as individuals working in the important areas of national life may function in a manner consistent with the values of a sovereign democratic republic, and for matters connected therewith or incidental thereto, as reported by the Joint Committee of the Houses, be taken into consideration."

*The motion was adopted.*

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: We shall now take up clause-by-clause consideration of the Bill.

Clauses 2 to 32 were added to the Bill.

Clause 1—Short title, extent, application and commencement.

SHRI F. H. MOHSIN: Sir, I move:

1. "that at page 1, line 6, for the figure '1975' the figure '1976' be substituted."

*The question was put and motion was adopted,*

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: The question is:

"that clause 1, as amended, stand part of the Bill."

*The motion was adopted.*

Clause 1, as amended, was added to the Bill  
*Enacting Formula*

SHRI F. H. MOHSIN: Sir, I move:

2. "That at page 1, line 1, for the word 'Twenty-sixth' the word "Twenty-seventh" be substituted."

*The question was put and motion was adopted,*

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: The question is:

"That the Enacting Formula, as amended, stand part of the Bill." *The motion was adopted. The Enacting Formula, as amended, was added to the Bill.*

*The Title was added to the Bill.*

SHRI F. H. MOHSIN: Sir, I move:

"That the Bill, as amended, be passed"

*The question was proposed.*

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: As far as the principle is concerned, nobody can be opposed to it because nobody would like the intrusion of foreign money to subvert our democratic institutions to interfere in the internal affairs of our country, much less subsidise the counter-revolutionary movements or campaigns for destruction, as we have recently witnessed. On that we are absolutely clear. Therefore, we are absolutely at one with the Government or with anybody in the country who wants to put a stop to this kind of an-intrusion of foreign money in order to bring about destabilisation of our national life.

[The Vice Chairman (Shri Lokanath Mishra) in the Chair]

In view of the present situation especially, through which we have recently passed it is necessary to have such a fool-proof measure and I entirely agree. But the question is whether the Bill as it is conceived, whether the provisions of the Bill as they are now, would meet the requirements of the situation and this is our view and this is our worry. Our worry is not that we do not need a law of this kind. Cer-

tainly, we need a law of this kind. Certainly, we want stringent measures. Certainly, we would not like dollars coming in their millions and billions in order to destroy the future of this country in blood and tears. We would never like such things to happen. Surely, we would not like the foreign funds to come here and to boost a fascist campaign in order that the country's democratic institutions may be done away with and a counter-revolutionary rightist regime is installed in the seats of power. Of course, we would not like all those things and that goes without saying. But my complaint against the Government is that the measures which it has brought now falls too short of the requirements on the one hand and is liable to be misused by the bureaucracy and others on the other even against the legitimate movements in the country. Sir, this is our position and let there be no mistake about it because this great nation of ours cannot brook the idea of its being interfered with by foreign agencies in the country against the wishes of the people, against the interests of democracy and against the interests of the unity, Sovereignty, freedom, independence and the future of the country. We are on all fours with the Government if the Government wants to tackle this problem. But look at the provisions of the Bill. Sir, this is a measure which we are considering and passing today against a particular international situation of which we have a national projection within our own country. What is the international situation today? Wherever you go, whether it is Angola or whether it is Europe or whether it is any other part of the world, you will find that the Americans are spending millions and millions of dollars under various covers in order to have regimes which are as the Prime Minister, Shrimati Indira Gandhi, put it pliant regimes or in order to subvert and destroy the democratic and progressive regimes. But this is what is going on Today, the scandal is so much out that the Americans are disturbed about it. It

is said that the American Presidential elections would be affected by the disclosures about the CIA activities and the American financing of such subversive and counter-revolutionary forces in other countries and also in our country with a view to bringing about destabilisation in this nation or with a view to bringing about changes which would serve the interests of American imperialism. Sir, the Japanese Government is shaking today because the multinational corporations have been used to finance some politicians of the right wing in order to bring about changes in the Japanese political life. Not that it is good but the Americans are not satisfied even with that. They want everything their way and they want everything to go with them the whole hog. Therefore, one does not know whether the present Government would last. There is crisis there. In the Japanese Parliament, Sir, there have been outbursts and noisy scenes somewhat in a worse manner than what we have experienced here. It is because their very legitimate anger has been expressed by the socialists and the communists and other democrats against the American intrusion-with their big money bag in order to influence the Japanese politics. In Turkey, a situation has arisen in which you find that some multinational corporations—the Lockheed have got their agency there—are financing the wrong type of politicians, according to them, who are absolutely the stooges and agents of America. Now, Sir, I have two magazines with me. If I had known that this Bill would cover many such aspects, I would have brought with me more material. In most of the countries this is going on. In Saudi Arabia, it is going on, in Japan, it is going on, in Iran, it is going on and, in Italy, the disclosures are there and the right wing politicians have been given by the Lockheed people about six million dollars or so and much more has been given earlier on the condition that the money should be utilised in order to prevent a progressive government

[Shri Bhupesh Gupta]

with communist participation coming into existence in Italy although the Communist Party has polled 33 per cent of the Italian votes in the last elections. Now, it is clear that the problems of Italy cannot be solved without the participation of Communists in the Government. The Americans are saying today that by using their multi-national corporations, the Italian Communist Party is not in a position, or for that matter, any party is not in a position to form a Government. There is a minority Government in existence in Italy which has got sufferance of the Socialist Party. This is how it is functioning today. That Government has got 262 votes in a House of over 600 Members. Such is the position today.

In which world is my friend, Mr. Mohsin, living? Here is a report of the American Intelligence Committee of the American Congress, which has been published in the 28-page supplement of an American magazine—a revealing report which is supposed to be given by the American Congress. You would have noted it, but still I bring it to your notice. This is about Bernhard, the Netherlands Prince. He has been called to Queen's consort. He is the Queen's husband. I do not know what you would call him. In the Old Victorian days we used to call them like that. Well, that gentleman gets an annual subsidy, he is provided with a government salary of \$ 300,000. This is what it says:

"Abroad, the most startling accusations involved. The Netherlands' Prince Bernhard, the urban, hard-working husband of Queen Juliana. According to statements obtained by sub-committee, Bernhard was the intended beneficiary of \$ 1.1 million

in the '60s and early '70s from Lockheed, presumably for services rendered in connection with the Dutch purchase of 138 starfighter jets from the Colibonnia based company ----"

It is even suggested that Queen Juliana may have to resign as a result of these disclosures, because her bed-mate is one who takes money from the United States of America, himself being a very rich man. What is the guarantee, where is the provision in this Bill that such things will be prevented? Do you think they will make an announcement in newspapers that such payments are being made? It has come too late after 10 or 15 years. Many things are coming out. This is one of the things which has been established after proper investigation by a Committee of the American Congress. Such things are happening.. (*Time Bell rings*).

Why are you ringing the bell? I am finishing.

Sir, I give one instance. Some day I read in a newspaper report that Philips had bribed or given some money to Indian officials. I have written letters to the authorities concerned. What has happened to them? Has there been any investigation? A newspaper report appeared in the 'Indian Express' that some concern has given some money to an Indian. Who is that Indian? I should like to know. These things are not known immediately. They come to notice after some scandal bursts. Only then we come to know such things.

Now, Sir this is nothing new. It is well known that the Marshal Plan came into existence immediately after the Second World War. The Americans made it a condition that if the Italian Communists and the French Communists were included in the Government, France and Italy would not get Marshal Aid. As a result of this blackmail and pressure, the Italian Communist Party and the French Communist Party—both had their Deputy Prime Ministers in the respective Governments—had to be expelled from the Government. Again, in 1948, the elections took place in Italy. The Americans made it known that if the

communists were returned to power and if the Italians voted for the communists, the Marshal Plan economic aid would not be available to them. Is it not known to you? This is not only a question of pressure. Either you withhold money or you bribe with money in order to pressurise and blackmail. What is happening in our country today? A lesson must be learnt. The other day, the Americans declared that the committed aid of 75 million dollars would not be given to India. Well, it is a very small amount anyway. But an announcement was made about it because Indira Gandhi had made speeches which the Americans did not like. Therefore, the solemn commitment—we have our views on that—will not be fulfilled and the money will be withheld by them, because we do not speak what the Americans want us to speak.

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Sir, the multi-national corporations are being used. What is the guarantee that the multi-national corporations, from their accumulations here, will not give moneys to political parties and reactionary forces? Will they announce it in the press? Will they come to you to make a declaration that they have got money from the I.T.T. or Union Carbide or Philips or some other concerns or from some countries? Will they declare if they give money to remove the Prime Minister from power or to fight for that matter, Rajnarain's election petition? Are they going to declare it? They can import whatever funds they like. They can spend them as they like. Do you know that many of them are making overhead charges telling the Government that they have spent so much money on rents and other things? Everybody knows that a part of the funds is being utilised for subversive purposes. Some of the moneys received from American sources have been disclosed. Who does not know that some of the institutions like the Foundations and so on are receiving moneys and such funds are being utilised for operat-

ing subversive campaigns? How are you going to stop them? Yes to some extent, if they declare openly you can regulate them. But otherwise you will not be able to stop them. What is the guarantee that moneys will not be passed under the cover of collaboration agreements? I give you the information that at the time of Congress split, Morarji Desai who was the Deputy Prime Minister then, had received money. It was about that time, the Government should know it and the Government knows it I know. The Boeing concern had an agent in Bombay. That agent was financing Morarji Desai. We know it. Is it not known to you? That is one of the reasons why you said that Boeing should not be got because a part of the commission given to the Boeing agent by the Boeing concern could be funnelled into the coffers of the rightist forces. I had mentioned it then and I mentioned it today again. The son of Morarji Desai was connected with that Boeing Agent. Was it not known in the leading circles of the Government that the funds that will be received as a commission from the Boeing concern will find their way—a part of them at least—into the coffers of some right elements in the ruling party or in other parties? Such is the position.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI LOKANATH MISRA): Please wind up.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Let me speak. There is no other item.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI LOKANATH MISRA): There is a Resolution.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: I am finishing. Sir, I have given this example and I can give many more examples. I do not wish to give them now. All over the world, Americans are using the multi-national corporations from passing funds to the reactionary forces. We cannot think of one counter-revolutionary movement in the world today which has not been financed clandestinely by the American CIA, and other American agencies. This is something which I am not say-

[Shri Bhupesh Gupta] ing. This is something which the Americans themselves are saying publicly. It is on the television and in the American press. There the American President has now asked the CIA not to kill people abroad, not to indulge in political assassination. Political assassination was their programme. Today it is admitted by the American President, Mr. Ford, in a new directive to the CIA. They have been asked not to carry out political assassination in foreign countries, admitting thereby that political assassination had been committed. Money is the secondary thing. Those who asked to assassinate will give money to the assassin for assassination. Everybody knows how much money has been spent in Bangladesh. Go there and find out. Was there anything known to Mujibur Rahman? At least, to the public nothing was known. So this is another problem.

Now, Sir, this is *my* other point and I will finish. Sir, here is, for example, an artist sitting. Suppose he is invited by some artist in some other country or an artists' organisation. Well, he is going there for subversion of Indian democracy or for projection of Indian cultural life, I should like to know. Why should he be on par with a man who is an Anand Margi and others? They will be equal. We are all equal in the eyes of this law. He, me and others are all equal, and on the same footing; the Anand Mar-Sis, Ananda Murti, the RSS leaders and others are equal. They will have to make the same application which we will have to make or we will have to make the same application which they will have to make. We shall all stand in the same line. Why? I should like to know. Why? Is it the way to pass this measure? Today, you must make a choice whom you are fighting.

Sir, surely, there will be movements and organisations which are having international connections. You

need them. It is an accepted way of international life today. There are organisations which are maintained by public and State donation. May I ask, Mr. Mohsin, how you would have felt about this? Last year, in December, you had an international conference against fascism where delegates from 50 countries came, and they are looked after by us the Indian, people the Congress Party, the communist Party and various organisations. They took our hospitality. Are they to go to their Government to take permission saying, "We are going to India; give us permission so that we can take the hospitality of the Indian ruling party and other parties who had been supporting us and whom we propose to support in their great struggle"? Would they have come that way? No. They would not have come. You are the beneficiaries also. The international conference was held. They came, they supported your action against the right-wing forces, and they stood by you. They met the Prime Minister and the Prime Minister was good enough to receive them. The Congress President hoisted a dinner in their honour. It was a voice of progress, democracy and peace against imperialism, neo-colonialism, fascism and counter-revolutionary forces. If you put such a conference into such a kind of harassment of rules and regulations, what will happen, I should like to know. Is it not a fact, Mr. Vice-Chairman, that in 1973, we all of us, more than one hundred, went as members of a delegation to the World Peace Congress in Moscow where the Indian delegation was the biggest delegation and won applause from all sections of the Congress representing more than 110 countries and hundreds of thousands of international and national organisations? Are we to go and fight and say: "No, we are going to the Peace Congress to champion your cause, your accepted policies, accepted policies of the State and therefore give us your permission so that we can be the guests of the Soviet Peace Committee"? Is it not an insult to us? Is it not an insult to the Soviet Peace

i Committee? Can you not trust a friendly organisation? Therefore you must draw a distinction between those who are friendly and those who are hostile to our country; those who stand by you in hours of crisis and those who let you down. (*Time Bell rings*). I will just now finish.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI LOKANATH MISRA): You have already taken 25 minutes on the third reading. Supposing three other Members get up and ask for clarifications.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Sir, you know many Members are not here. I am speaking for all of them. Had they been present, they would have spoken. Therefore, how, can I let down my colleagues?

SHRI ABU ABRAHAM (Nominated): Excuse my interruption but I would like to know how would you make this distinction between friendly countries and other countries.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: I am not mentioning any country. A provision could be made in such a way which would take care of this thing. We can think of making a suitable provision. When you go to France I do not want you to stand in the same queue with the eidtor of *Motherland*. I would not like you to do that. »

You will feel embarrassed. You will feel humiliated. I will give you an example. Once there was a proposal for a peace delegation. Eighty-five or so applications were chosen by India but Mr. Morarji Desai, the Finance Minister and the Deputy Prime Minister, said no, he would not allow. Then we had to met the Prime Minister. It was a delegation in the national interest. Ultimately, the Prime Minister in-tervend and the delegation could go. - Such kind of interference can take place by a ministerail officer. We do not know who will be handling such a matter. Take, for instance, the time of Bangladesh liberation. At that time we went in a delegation in order to explain our stand and secure internatio-

nal support not only for us but also for our brethren in Bangladesh. If we have to £0 now under this measure, we have to get the sanction of the Government. First of all, we have to-apply and find out who our hosts will be. We have to find it out and then place their case before the Government and get the sanction. Is it the way to run the affairs? Sir, that is all wrong and misconceived. By all standard measures prevent where you think that you should strike. I can see many cases of this type.

Sir, the other day I was in Moscow. I was a member of the Delegation of the Communist Party of India to the 25th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union where delegations from more than 100 countries came, including 12-non-socialist countries. They were not all Communists but there where delegations from many non-socialist countries.

I think there were 12 or 13 non-socialist countries or, maybe, there were 18. From more than one hundred countries the delegations came. You have read in the newspapers what has been said by Mr. Brezhnev in his report to the Congress about our country. You have noted it and the whole country has noted it. If I were to go now, Mr. Abu, I will have to go and file a petition and say that I will be the guest of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, that Mr. Brezhnev is a good man and, therefore, kindly allow me to be Mr. Brezhnev's guest. A Deputy Secretary will see and find out by referring to Who's Who who Mr. Brezhnev is and as you know what the Secretaries do, he may confuse. I know of a Parliamentary delegation in which there was a Member of this House. I do not want to name the Member, a very eminent Member, who was occupying the Chair you are occupying. When he was proposing a toast, he said: "Now I propose a toast to Marshall Lenin." Then everybody was taken aback. Lenin was not a Marshal. When he was asked why did he say 'Marshal Lenin', he said—he is no more alive

[Shri Bhupesh Gupta] and, therefore, I would not mention his name—he said: "Stalin was a Marshal; Lenin must also be Marshal." Such are the people. You can understand, a person from the South occupying your Chair did not know that Lenin was not a Marshal and in a foreign land he toasted to Lenin as Marshal Lenin. Everybody was taken aback. You can imagine what will happen here when the Deputy Secretaries and others—some Deputy Secretaries are very knowledgeable—handle such matters. So, before we go to Moscow, we have to go to these officials and satisfy them that we are a *bona fide* delegation going to a friendly country; our host is the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union of which Leonid Brezhnev is the Central Secretary and then ask: "Will you kindly give us the permission to go there *id* be his guest?" And then are we to go and tell Brezhnev: "Comrade J Brezhnev, we have come here having got the permission of the Government of India and you are qualified to be our host". This is an absurd thing. I think this is an absurd thing that you are doing. Therefore, you must try to correct it; you must discriminate in such matters as long as you are in power. When others come to power they will have their own way, I know. But we are not concerned with them. You are on the right side as far as international things are concerned. You are on sound lines. Why should you pass such measures, I should like to know. Now. Sir, ...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI LOKANATH MISRA): I think you have driven home your point very forcefully.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Workers have a right. If the workers go and strike, it is the duty of the international working class to help them in their struggle, in famine conditions and other times. To Mahatma Gandhi

the assistance came during the British days. Even the British did not stop it or question it. They received the assistance. When Bal Gangadhar Tilak was arrested, Bombay workers went on strike and they were prosecuted and resistance came from the international working class movement; the trial was going on in which Nehru took interest and I think he was the President of the Defence Committee where financial assistance to fight the British in the law courts came from the British working class apart from the fact that the British representatives of the working class were in the dock along with comrade Dange and others. Such is the tradition. Why are you not taking them into account? Today we are a part of the world-wide struggle against imperialism. You cannot win a struggle alone neither can others do. Mutual help, mutual co-operation, mutual assistance and mutual understanding is needed in various forms, as you know very well, in order to fight subversion of the CIA. and the American imperialism and other enemies, external as well as internal. Well, internal enemies we will deal with internally. What is wrong there? If the CIA, supposing wants to bring into power the right wing forces and suppose the American working class or some other sections send money to those who are resisting these right wing forces in support of their struggle, why should that be questioned? I should like to know. Why should that be subject to scrutiny?

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI LOKANATH MISRA): I hope you will wind up now.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Sir, you do not know how to wind up.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI LOKANATH MISRA): At least you should know. Please wind up.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: In the last few days you have not been speaking. Evidently you have forgotten the style of winding up.

Therefore, I say the purpose of this measure that you have in mind, will not be served. On the contrary, those who want to do the under hand business, they will carry on under-invoicing and over-invoicing; secret funds will come and go and you will not be knowing about it. Multinational corporations will be distributing their profits; they will employ people. They will do it otherwise also. They will make the money available; they will corrupt the officials. If they are there to corrupt even the husband of a queen of Netherlands, you can very well understand that they will do so to very many people here including some in the administration of the country.

You have not covered all these things. Our objection is to the absence of certain provisions. Of course, some of the provisions are good. I am not opposing them. Some are good and we should support them. But these are very inadequate. It will not serve the main purpose. On the contrary, it will lead to harassment in genuine cases. I wish the Government had given us some more time. Even if it had come from the Joint Committee, we could have been given some more time to think of amendments and move them. There is no harm in accepting some amendments on the floor of the House. But this time, Government have not done this. We are very sorry for it. We are living in the days of the American bossism. Billions, not millions, of dollars are being spent all over the world, particularly in the Third World countries. These Americans will not be taken care of by the kind of measure that you have brought in. This is a bureaucratically-conceived measure. It will lead to needless harassment of people and also misuse of power in many cases. It will not touch the real guilty people. The heart of the problem will remain unsolved, the problem of foreign money and foreign Interference for

the subversion of our independence and democracy.

SHRI F. H. MOHSIN: Mr Bhupesh Gupta has made a point about foreign hospitality that is extended to certain sections of the people. Sir, restrictions are placed only on Members of Legislatures, office-bearers of political parties, Government servants or employees of corporations. What is required of them is, while visiting any country or territory outside India, if at all they have to accept any foreign hospitality, they have to take the prior permission of the Central Government. A point has been made that we have not made out any distinction between friendly countries and others. It is very difficult to make a mention in the provisions of the Bill itself. That is why it has been stipulated that permission has to be granted by the Government. In every case, the Government will take into consideration, who is visiting which country. Therefore, Government alone would know about it. That is why the provision has been made that Members of Legislatures or office-bearers of political parties or Government servants or employees of corporations should take the prior permission of the Central Government before accepting foreign hospitality. We cannot make any special mention of one political party and leave out other political parties. Therefore, we have banned foreign money coming into the hands of this sensitive category of persons like candidates for elections, as mentioned in clause 4, correspondents, columnists, cartoonists, editors, owners, printers and publishers of registered newspapers, Government servants, political parties and their office-bearers. There is a total ban on receipt of any foreign assistance or foreign money by this category of persons. Likewise, we have put some restrictions on receipt or acceptance of foreign hospitality by certain categories of persons. I

[Shri F. H. Mohsin]

do not think any more improvements could be made in this direction. Sir, there is another provision. Supposing a legislator or an office-bearer of a political party goes to a foreign country and falls ill suddenly there. There is a provision that even without prior intimation, he can avail of any foreign hospitality and then intimate to the Government that he had received foreign hospitality at that time. These things have been taken into consideration at the Joint Committee stage and many improvements have been made. Of course, Mr. Bhupesh Gupta has given us some useful information in regard to the CIA activities in various countries and various spheres. It may be difficult to know how foreign money is working in various fields. But efforts are being made. We have got our intelligence agencies and we have also got our own sources of information. Every effort is being made to see that foreign money is not utilised for undesirable activities. Certainly, I am in agreement with him when he says that in some of these cases, foreign money was mis-utilised. It was used for subversion and disruption and creating disorder in our own country. We have got that information. The concern expressed by many Members now and even before has been taken care of. Section 10 of the Bill can take care of any situation. In respect of any person receiving foreign money, if we have got secret information that the money is likely to be utilised for some other purpose, we will prohibit it. So, Government have got sufficient powers to take care of all these things. I can only appeal to the Members that there may not be any hesitancy about the intentions of the Government.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Then I suggest that he should appoint an advisory body because, when the administration comes he will not be in the picture. I am not blaming you. You may not be there by the time it

comes into effect. Why not, then, appoint a committee of Members of Parliament who will oversee this kind of thing, whether it is being administered effectively or ineffectively or whether there is use of misuse. Some kind of check should be there. You are introducing a new type of thing.

SHRI F. H. MOHSLX<sup>1</sup>: This is not acceptable. All these points were discussed in the Joint Committee meetings and we have not made any changes in whatever has been accepted and put in the Joint Committee Report. The proposal for appointing a Parliamentary Committee is not acceptable to us,

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI LOKANATH MISRA): The question is:

"That the Bill, as amended be passed."

*The motion was adopted.*

**STATUTORY RESOLUTION  
APPROVING THE  
CONTINUANCE IN FORCE OF  
THE PROCLAMATION ISSUED BY  
THE PRESIDENT ON THE 22ND  
MARCH, 1975, UNDER ARTICLE  
356 OF THE CONSTITUTION IN  
RELATION TO THE STATE OF  
NAGALAND FOR A FURTHER  
PERIOD OF SIX MONTHS WITH  
EFFECT FROM THE 26TH  
MARCH, (1976).**

THE DEPUTY MINISTER IN THE  
MINISTRY OF HOME AFFAIRS  
(SHRI F. H. MOHSIN): Sir, I beg to  
move the following Resolution:—

"This House approves the continuance in force of the Proclamation issued by the President on the 22nd March, 1975, under article 356 of the Constitution, in relation to the State of Nagaland, for a further period of six months with effect from the 26th March, 1976."