

[Dr. B. N. Antani.]

tion. Shall we thereby be able to achieve the object? if I were the hon. Finance Minister's adviser today I would have extended a welcome to all his measures to balance the Budget. But I would certainly have liked him to look at the wasteful expenditure that is going on on administration. As Chairman of the Administrative Reforms Commission has he not been able to find out what a wasteful expenditure there is today on administration? I concede the point that in any developing country we should have expenditure. But has he seen the waste going on in our foreign missions that we have today? He himself conceded that there was room for reducing expenditure in our foreign missions, as for instance in Great Britain. But let him extend his vision a little more and see the state of things in the recently liberated States of East Africa. Look at the way our missions have been operating there. There is sheer waste of money going on there. We have a package of snobbery assembled in these States giving no protection to the people there and a large bit of the money of our country is being spent there, thereby taxing my cigar and my footwear and the footwear of my children and family. As I have very little time I would only appeal.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: You may continue tomorrow; you have time.

DR B. N. ANTANI: I will not have your bell ringing for me. I will finish now.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: We have other business now.

SHRI LOKANATH MISRA: He will finish in a minute.

DR. B. N. ANTANI: Madam, I would therefore request the hon. Finance Minister to consider these aspects more fully. One more thing. He has levied a tax on interests brokerage, commission, etc. and I am

told he too has received representations from distant places that this should be reconsidered. I would appeal to him to do that. Again in the name of vainglorious schemes they have started what they call free trade zone at Kandla. The hon. Finance Minister did not visit that area when he visited Kutch last time. If he will see there, not a crow flies there up till now; not a kite flies there. And what expenditure have we incurred on that? What is your scheme? What is your plan? Take us into confidence and show to us some potentiality of it. Those who like parrots have been crying free trade zone, free trade zone, have never given us any pattern of the free trade zone that they are evolving there. With all these things my emphasis is mostly on the reduction of expenditure in the Administration. I would also say to him that free trade is the only source of life even in a developing country and if he will see to that he will never have reason to take resort to this painful task of taxing footwear, the common man's beverage like tea and coffee and my cigar.

Thank you, Madam.

#### SHORT DURATION DISCUSSION RE USE OF FOREIGN MONEY IN GENERAL ELECTIONS

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: I have fifteen names here. I therefore hope that Members will be reasonable when they make their comments and be brief. Mr. Rajnarain.

श्री राजनारायण (उत्तर प्रदेश) :  
माननीया, आज मैं आपके द्वारा इस सदन के सम्मानित सदस्यों को एक बात की अनुभूति कराना चाहता हूँ कि वे स्वयं गर्व करें और गर्वान्वित हों कि कम से कम इस देश में एक पार्टी है जिस का नाम है संयुक्त सोशलिस्ट पार्टी और जिस का मैं सदस्य हूँ उसके बारे में न्यूयार्क टाइम्स ने भी हिम्मत नहीं की कि यह आरोप लगा

सके कि किसी विदेश से उसको एक पैसा मिला ।

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA (West Bengal): It is left party.

श्री राजनारायण : इसके लिये मैं अपने को गर्वान्वित समझता हूँ और इस सदन के सम्मानित सदस्यों को भी कहता हूँ कि वे स्वतः गर्वान्वित हों कि उनके मुल्क में एक ऐसी संयुक्त सोशलिस्ट पार्टी है ।

न्यू यार्क टाइम्स में गत 13 जून को प्रकाशित समाचार में यह समाचार प्रकाशित हुआ है कि सेंट्रल व्यूरो आफ इंवेस्टीगेशन ने भारत सरकार को यह रपट दे दी है कि अमेरिका की सेंट्रल इंटेलिजेंस एजेंसी ने भारत की दक्षिणपंथी जैसे जनसंघ और स्वतंत्र पार्टी को गत आम चुनाव में अमरीकी फंड दिया । पी० एस० पी० को भी अमरीका का पैसा मिला । कांग्रेस पार्टी के सदस्यों को भी अमरीका का पैसा मिला ।

श्री अकबर अली खान (आन्ध्र प्रदेश) : कहां से पढ़ रहे हैं ।

श्री राजनारायण : न्यू यार्क टाइम्स में यह रपट छपी है । कम्युनिस्ट दूतावा : द्वारा भी कम्युनिस्ट पार्टी को पैसा मिला और कम्युनिस्ट दूतावासों ने जो पैसा बांटा वह अमरीकी पैसे से ज्यादा था ।

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Left parties. (Interruptions).

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: From where are you reading this? If you are reading the report, you read it in English if you want to read it.

श्री राजनारायण : "इंडियन एक्सप्रेस" की कापी मेरे पास नहीं है । मंगा कर के देख लें ।

SHRI G. MURAHARI: (Uttar Pradesh): He is not quoting from any Report. He is just drawing the attention of this House to some reports published elsewhere. You cannot insist on his quoting from the paper. (Interruptions)

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Mr. Murahari, he referred to 'New York

Times' and I thought he was reading from it. Now, he can say what the wants.

SHRI G. MURAHARI: And I do not like this sort of attitude on the part of the Congress Members to make light of the whole discussion, because most of them are also guilty of this . . .

PANDIT S. S. N. TANKHA (Uttar Pradesh): Whether you like or not, it is not material to us. If the party has been named . . .

SHRI G. MURAHARI: Congress has been named.

PANDIT S. S. N. TANKHA: . . . we must know where it has been mentioned.

SHRI G. MURAHARI: It has been mentioned in the newspapers.

श्री राजनारायण : जो कालिग अटेंशन दिया है, मैं उसी से पढ़ रहा हूँ जो हमारा है । जो हमने कालिग अटेंशन दिया, वही मैं पढ़े देता हूँ :

न्यू यार्क टाइम्स में गत 13 जून को प्रकाशित समाचार में यह समाचार प्रकाशित हुआ है कि सेंट्रल व्यूरो आफ इंटेलिजेंस ने भारत सरकार को यह रपट दे दी है कि अमरीका सेंट्रल एजेंसी ने भारत की दक्षिणपंथी जैसे जनसंघ और स्वतंत्र पार्टी को गत आम चुनाव में अमरीकी फंड दिया । पी० एस० पी० को भी अमरीका का पैसा मिला । कांग्रेस पार्टी के सदस्यों को भी अमरीका का पैसा मिला । कम्युनिस्ट दूतावासों द्वारा भी लेफ्टिस्ट पार्टीज को पैसा मिला । कम्युनिस्ट दूतावासों ने जो पैसा बांटा वह अमरीकी पैसे से ज्यादा था । यह रकम लाखों में थी । रपट में यह भी प्रकाशित हुआ है कि प्रधान मंत्री और घर मंत्री ने रपट का अध्ययन किया है और दोनों ने रपट को सही पाया है । शब्द उसमें लिखा है "अक्चूरेट" । मैंने सदन में सी० आई० ए० से सम्बन्धित जांच रपट के बारे में बार बार सवाल किया । मुझे अफसोस के सा कहना पड़ता है कि सरकार ने इस संसद के महत्व को गिरा दिया

[श्री राजनारायण]

है। संसद सदस्य यहां वह रपट न पढ़, मगर वही रपट अमरीका में, वाशिंगटन में, प्रकाशित हो, यह खेदजनक और दुर्भाग्यपूर्ण है और राष्ट्र को कर्लकित करने वाली घटना है। इसलिये मैं सरकार का ध्यान प्रमुख तथ्यों की ओर आकर्षित करता हूं। यह हमने ध्यान आकर्षण दिया था।

पंडित श्याम सुन्दर नारायण तन्खा : यह उसका पूरा ट्रांसलेशन नहीं है।

श्री राजनारायण : जब आपका टर्न आये तब आप उसे पढ़ दीजिएगा।

पंडित श्याम सुन्दर नारायण तन्खा : टर्न की बात नहीं है। जो न्यूयार्क टाइम्स ने कहा है वह आपने पूरा नहीं दिया है।

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Mr. Tankha, let him continue.

श्री राजनारायण : माननीया, मैं बहुत ही अदब के साथ सदन के सम्मानित सदस्यों को बताना चाहता हूं कि अमरीका ने हमारे देश की राजनीति को जो भ्रष्ट करने की कोशिश की है उसके बारे में इस सदन के सदस्यों को गंभीरता से जानकारी मिलनी चाहिये। यह सही है कि इस सदन में इस समय आप मुझको इतना समय नहीं देंगे कि हमने इस पर जितनी जानकारी हासिल की है, सब से सदन के सदस्यों को अवगत करा पाऊं। मगर कुछ जानकारी मैं सदन

सदस्यों को अवश्य दूंगा। उसके लिये आप क्षमा करेंगी और उसके लिये कुछ समय लगे तो दे। इस देश में अमरीकी जासूसी कोई हाल की चीज नहीं है। इसका एक इतिहास है। दुनिया के बहुत से देशों में बड़े पैमाने पर अमरीकी जासूसी दूसरी लड़ाई के दिनों में शुरू हुई। उसके पहले अमरीका बाकी दुनिया से अलग रहता था। लेकिन जब अमरीका दूसरी लड़ाई में पड़ा, तो 1941 में वहां के परराष्ट्र विभाग के अंतर्गत को ऑर्डिनेशन आफ इन्फार्मेशन के नाम से पहली गैर-सैनिक जासूसी संस्था विधिवत प्रारम्भ हुई। 1942 में इस की जगह एक स्वतंत्र किस्म की संस्था, आफिस

आफ स्टेटेजिक सर्विस, ओ० एस० एस० ने ले ली। 1945 में ओ० एस० एस० भंग कर दी गई और उसकी सेवाओं का परराष्ट्र और अन्य विभागों में जोड़ दिया गया। 1946 में विभिन्न सरकारी संस्थाओं की जासूसी का समन्वय करने के लिये सेंट्रल इंटेलिजेस ग्रुप बना। यही सेंट्रल इंटेलिजेस ग्रुप की 1947 में जगह व्यापक सेंट्रल इंटेलिजेन्स एजेंसी, सी० आई० ए० ने ले ली। सी० आई० ए० ने खास तौर पर कुछ ऐसे काम किये जिनको कुछ उदार किस्म के अमरीकी भी नापसन्द करते हैं।

माननीया, थोड़ी सी इसकी हिस्टरी हमने दे दी सदन के सम्मानित सदस्यों को। उधर कई बार हम लोगों ने चर्चा की मगर चुनाव की गर्मी थी, चुनाव के तमाम समाचार अखबारों में प्रकाशित हो रहे थे, इसलिए यह समाचार अखबारों में जगह न पा सका। 23 मार्च को लोक सभा में इस सम्बन्ध में सवाल उठा और कांग्रेस सरकार की ओर से बार बार सदन को आश्वासन दिया गया कि इसके बारे में एक विस्तृत रपट प्रकाशित होगी, मगर आप देखेंगी कि अभी कांग्रेस सरकार की पूरी जांच नहीं हो पाई, मगर अमरीका में इसकी जांच हो गई। १६ फरवरी को पहली मर्तबा अमरीकी राष्ट्रपति ने इसकी जांच का आदेश दिया और 30 मार्च को रपट आ गई और अमरीकी प्रेसीडेंट ने इसके बारे में बाकायदा कह दिया कि इस तरह से पैना बाटना बन्द होना चाहिए, पैना बाटने का कोई दूसरा तरीका अख्तियार होना चाहिए। मैं कहना चाहता हूं क्योंकि मैं भुक्त भोगी हूं।

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Mr. Rajnarain, you have already taken ten minutes and now you will be very brief. You must give time to others.

श्री राजनारायण : आप धबड़ाइए मत।

7-8 बजे तक बैठिए, हम तैयार हैं।

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: That is not the point. Everybody must have an opportunity.

श्री राजनारायण : अच्छा दस मिनट और दीजिए ।

इंटरनेशनल यूनियन आफ स्टूडेंट्स शुरू शुरू में आई । यह कम्युनिस्टों द्वारा प्रभावित था, इनमें श्री भूपेश को फख करना चाहिए । इसके पेरैलल नेशनल स्टूडेंट्स ऑर्गनाइजेशन अमरीका का आया । 1950 में एन० ए० ए० तथा 2० अन्य ग्रुपों ने मिल कर इंटरनेशनल स्टूडेंट्स कांफ्रेंस बुलाई । इसके साथ-साथ एक कोऑर्डिनेटिंग सेक्रेटरियट बना । एन० एस० ए० के बजट का 80 फीसदी सी० आई० ए० देता था । वर्ल्ड अस्वेली आफ यूथ का कार्यालय पहले ब्रसेल्स में था । नेशनल यूनियन आफ स्टूडेंट्स का सम्मेलन 1950 में हुआ, जवाहरलाल जी और जय-प्रकाश जी दोनों इसमें शामिल हुए । सदन के सम्मानित सदस्यों को मैं बताना चाहता हूं कि हमको इसकी पूरी जानकारी नहीं थी लेकिन 1949 में जब पटना में सोशलिस्ट पार्टी की कांफ्रेंस हुई थी, तब पहली मर्तबा जयप्रकाश जी ने हम लोगों को सलाह दी थी कि स्टूडेंट्स कांग्रेस को भंग करो, नेशनल यूनियन आफ स्टूडेंट्स बनाओ मगर उस समय भी हमने इसका विरोध किया था कि स्टूडेंट्स कांग्रेस को भंग नहीं करना चाहिए लेकिन हमारी पार्टी के जनरल सेक्रेटरी ने आदेश दिया तो इलाहाबाद में हमने कांग्रेस को भंग कर दिया । मैं उसकी गति को समझता हूँ । अगर स्टूडेंट्स कांग्रेस भंग न हुई होती तो आज हमारे देश की राजनीति का दूसरा स्वरूप रहा होता । माननीया, मैं आपके द्वारा पूछना चाहता हूँ कि इसका उद्देश्य क्या है ? जरा सदन के सम्मानित सदस्य जान ले कि इसका मुख्य उद्देश्य है हमारे यहाँ के नवयुवकों को अराजनैतिक बनाना, अराष्ट्रीय बनाना, युवकों के आदर्श को भ्रष्ट करना, नाच-गाने, तमाशे में उसको लगाना, त्याग की जगह भोग सिखाना और जासूसी के नाम में लगाना ।

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: You will make your point and wind up.

श्री राजनारायण : यह एशिया फाउन्डेशन क्या है, इसका दफ्तर कहाँ है ?

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: I cannot give you more time. I will give you one or two minutes more. I cannot give you any more time.

श्री राजनारायण : अच्छा हमको दस मिनट और दे दीजिए ।

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: It is a Short Duration Discussion. When you were not here, everybody got five minutes only.

श्री राजनारायण : पांच मिनट दे दीजिए ।

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Mr. Rajnarain, please, I will give you two or three minutes only.

श्री राजनारायण : मैं चाहता हूँ कि एशिया फाउन्डेशन की भी जांच हो, गांधियन इंस्टीट्यूट आफ स्टडीज की भी जांच हो, फोर्ड फाउन्डेशन की जांच हो, जिसका दफ्तर दिल्ली में है, राकफेलर फाउन्डेशन की जांच हो, कांग्रेस फार कल्चरल फ्रीडम को पैसा यहाँ से मिलता है इसकी जांच हो । इसी के साथ साथ मास्कोज हेन्ड इन इन्डिया किस तरह से अपना स्वरूप और दखल रखता है, इसके बारे में कोई इन्क्वायरी होनी चाहिए । मैं देखता हूँ कि आज हमारे देश में विभिन्न देशों की ताकतें नई-नई साजिशों का बसेरा ले रही है ।

मुझे अन्त में एक मांग इस सरकार से करनी है । इसी मांग को मैं कहना चाहता हूँ । हम इस संबंध में मांग करते हैं कि भारत सरकार तत्काल एक राष्ट्रीय जाच आयोग बिठाए जो राष्ट्रीय जीवन के विभिन्न क्षेत्रों, जैसे, शिक्षा में, राजनीति में, श्रम, युवक आन्दोलन, पत्रकारिता और अन्य सांस्कृतिक मामलों में विदेशी पैसे, खास तौर पर अमरीकी और रूसी पैसे, के इस्तेमाल के बारे में सचमुच गहरी छानबीन करे । यह उच्चाधिकार प्राप्त जाच-आयोग संबंधित व्यक्तियों, शैक्षिक संस्थाओं और सरकारी महकमों से भली प्रकार जांच करके यह पता लगाए

[श्री राजनारायण]

कि इस पैसे के देने में विदेशी शक्तियों के उद्देश क्या थे, उनके साधन क्या हैं . . .

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: That will do.

श्री राजनारायण : इन गृहित उद्देश्यों की पूर्ति में कौन कौन से भारतीय निजी या संस्थागत रूप से शामिल हैं, इसकी परम्पराएं और प्रतिज्ञाएं क्या हैं और इनका उद्देश्य क्या है ? मैं चाहता हूं कि इस तरह से आयोग बने ।

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: That will do. Please wind up.

श्री राजनारायण : एक बात माननीया आपको भी मालूम है कि जिसके बारे में आपको साक्षी बना कर श्री टी० टी० कृष्णमाचारी ने खुद कहा—जो फाइनैन्स मिनिस्टर थे—कि अमरीका की फारेन एम्बेसी के पास जो पैसा आता है उसका कितना पैसा वह किसको देता है इसकी पूरी रपट हमारी सरकार के पास नहीं है ।

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Please take your seat.

श्री राजनारायण : उस रुपये को कहां कहां वह भ्रष्ट करता है । हम दोषारोपण करते हैं गृह-विभाग पर, दोषारोपण करते हैं इंटेलिजेंस विभाग पर कि जान-बूझकर इसकी साजिश की गई और इस देश को विदेशी साजिशों का झंडा बनाने में यह सरकार दत्तचित होकर हमारे युवकों को भ्रष्ट करती है । मैं जानना चाहता हूं कि इसका सम्बन्ध वर्ल्ड यूथ संगठन से है या नहीं । नारायण दत्त तिवारी को किसने भेजा था . . .

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Please take your seat. You have said enough.

SHRI ARJUN ARORA (Uttar Pradesh): Madam, I heard with great interest the statement made by the Home Minister this morning. The Home Minister has not denied the CIA activities in the country. That itself is a serious enough thing and a frank admission for which I congratulate the Home Minister. I hope he will

take the follow-up action which logically should be taken. I am personally not concerned for the moment with the question which political party or parties took CIA money. The fact that CIA money played a part in our general elections is itself a very grave matter. It means that our sovereignty and our freedom are being interfered with by an agency of the Government of the United States, which goes on proclaiming from the housetop that it is a friendly country. That is something very grave and I hope the Government realises the seriousness of this. The Home Minister's statement said that the New York Times report was based on conjectures. It is several days since the New York Times report was reproduced in a summary form in the press of this country. I expected the Home Minister to make a fuller statement. My sorrow is that the Home Minister's statement does not remove the suspicions resulting from the New York Times report. We must realise that the CIA is not an ordinary espionage agency. It has a worldwide network with unlimited resources. The CIA is notorious for subversion, particularly in the newly independent countries of Africa, Asia and Latin America. If we are anxious to guard our sovereignty and our freedom, we must take firm steps against all CIA activities and see that the CIA does not function this country. The CIA is no credit to America. It has brought a number of disasters to America. The most famous of these disasters is the Bay of Pigs disasters. The CIA organised an invasion of Cuba and the heroic Cuban people slaughtered the CIA agents like pigs in the Bay of Pigs. Our Home Minister should be able non-violently to repeat that performance of the Cuban people.

AN HON. MEMBER: How?

SHRI ARJUN ARORA: Remove them from India and we will be satisfied. The CIA is, of course, a danger to all that is good in America and I hope the American Government itself is realising that it has created a Frankenstein monster

which will eat away all that was once remembered as good in the United States. The most important lapse on the part of the Government is the fact that the Government ignored the warning given by Mr. T. T. Krishnamachari in the air-conditioned Shanmukhananda Hall of Bombay last year. Mr. T. T. Krishnamachari said at the meeting of the A.I.C.C. in Bombay that the unaccounted expenditure of Rs. 47 crores out of the PL 480 counterpart funds by the U.S. Embassy was something serious. The U.S. Ambassador came out with an explanation which did not convince any decent Indian. The Finance Ministry was silent over it. But it appears that the Home Ministry did not take note of the statement, a very serious statement, made by a former Finance Minister who is a respected leader of my party, the Indian National Congress.

Another important thing is who leaked the C.B.I. report to the New York Times. The Home Minister has said that it is based on conjectures. He has not said that the New York Times report is a tissue of lies. There is obviously some element of truth in the New York Times report. Who leaked the C.B.I. report to the New York Times representative in Delhi? It is something alarming. The C.B.I. is considered to be the most reliable and efficient investigating agency in the country, and its reports are sometimes leaked out to Mr. Lokanath Misra, sometimes they are leaked out to the New York Times reporter in Delhi. A very alarming fact of our life is that foreign correspondents based in Delhi have more opportunities in India than they have anywhere else.

AN HON. MEMBER: Who said that?

SHRI ARJUN ARORA: Certainly. They have more access to sources of information in Delhi than the Indian journalists, Indian pressmen, etc. Of course Mr. A. D. Mani is an exception. Elections are not the only occasion

for C.I.A. interference. There is the famous organisation, Congress for Cultural Freedom, with headquarters at Paris and a big branch at Bombay. It is admitted on all hands that the funds needed by this organisation were supplied by the C.I.A. through certain sources. There are certain papers in this country, 'Quest' for example from Calcutta. Then there is one weekly published from Faiz Bazar, Delhi. We do not see it here. Only a few copies of it are seen, but several thousand copies of it are airlifted to America every week, and that paper is distributed in America. It is a C.I.A.-financed paper.

AN HON. MEMBER: The name of the paper?

SHRI ARJUN ARORA: The name of the paper, if I remember correctly, is 'Thought'—a good name but a bad thought. Several thousand copies of that paper are flown to America and distributed in America as representative of Indian public opinion, whereas the paper represents only the C.I.A. I think mere C.B.I. enquiry into this matter will not do. The Home Minister has kindly stated that he is examining the C.B.I. report. I hope the examination will not take a longer time than is absolutely necessary. He should come to this House and place his findings on the C.B.I. report. Then we may consider the appointment of a Parliamentary Committee to go into this problem of foreign money corrupting and polluting our public life.

SHRI M. M. DHARIA (Maharashtra): Madam Deputy Chairman, it has been very wisely described by Messrs. David Wise and Thomas Ross, the famous authors, that there are two Governments in America. One is visible and the other is invisible, and this invisible Government is governing through the Central Intelligence Agency. Madam, the activities of the Central Intelligence Agency are not limited to intelligence purposes, but they are much wider. If we look at the history of some of the toppled Governments, we find that whenever

[Shri M. M. Dharia.]

the small States have gone against the U.S.A., it is through the activities of the C.I.A. that they have been toppled down. For me the Central Intelligence Agency is not only a central agency for intelligence but it is a centre of international atrocities. This centre of international atrocities has caused great danger to our democracy. If we look at our country, we find that foreign money and black money in this country have created a new danger and a new challenge to our democracy and socialism. When I say foreign money, it is not only the money coming through the Central Intelligence Agency but it is also the money coming under the name of PL 480 and also the money coming in from America; it is also the money which comes from other countries who support such parties in our country which are more interested in some international affairs than the interests of this country.

Madam, if we want to save this democracy in our country, the time has come when the Home Minister shall have to take a lead and shall have to see that all these activities being carried on through the foreign money and through the black money are immediately stopped, because we have seen in the last general elections that a big part had been played by the foreign money and also by the black money. Rupees fifty lakhs have been spent as per my information in one parliamentary constituency alone . . .

AN HON. MEMBER: Which constituency?

SHRI M. M. DHARIA: It is so. I am only having five minutes.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA (West Bengal): Which constituency?

SHRI M. M. DHARIA: I have stated that when I spoke on the Hazari Report. Madam, if we look at these activities, it will not be possible for any poor man to contest any election because it is not possible, with the money which is available

under the rules or which is allowed, that the election could be fought. I do not know whether there is any single Member, there may be a few, but many of the Members are aware that the costs have gone up and it is very difficult to face such candidates who have been sponsored through these monies, the money coming from foreign countries and the money coming from big industrialists and big monopolists. Therefore, I would like to appeal to the Home Minister today that when he has been investigating into the affairs of the C.I.A., that will not be enough; he will also have to investigate into the affairs of other things as well, for instance, the PL 480. Crores have not been accounted for. Where have those crores gone? It shall have to be investigated. Money is coming from Communist countries. They are not only 'windows' but they are the floodgates from where this flood of money pours into this country, which has created a challenge to our democracy. If we want to preserve our democracy and socialism, the time has come in the history of our country to see that all these activities are stopped. But that is not enough. Merely to criticise the Government will not do. Again it is a challenge for us, for the hon. Members. Are we prepared to say that in the interests of this country, with that patriotic feeling, we shall not touch a single pie coming from a foreign country or coming from black money? If we can create that sort of national character, I have no doubt whatsoever that it will be possible for this country to face any challenge that may come. I am not worried over the devaluation of the rupee. I am worried over the devaluation of our character. If we can rise to the occasion, I have no doubt that we shall strengthen the hands of the Home Minister in finding out this money coming through the C.I.A. or through some other means and at the same time raise the standards in this country, and it is in that context that I would look at this affair.

شری اے۔ اے۔ طارق (جموں ایلتہ کشمیر): میڈم ڈپٹی چیرمین - جہاں تک سی۔ آئی۔ اے۔ کا تعلق ہے میں اپنے دوست ارجن اروڑا کی اس بات کی تائید کرتا ہوں کہ منسٹر صاحب کو اس بات کی پوری تحقیق کرنی چاہیئے اور جرات مردانہ طریقہ سے کرنی چاہیئے۔ ہم چارون صاحب کی ہمدی کو جانتے ہیں۔ جہاں تک سی۔ آئی۔ اے۔ کا تعلق ہے میں اس کے بارے میں چند ایک معلومات اس ایوان کے سامنے رکھنا چاہتا ہوں۔ بلکہ یہ بات یہ ہے کہ سی۔ آئی۔ اے۔ کے معنی کیا ہیں۔ سی۔ آئی۔ اے۔ کا مقصد کیا ہے۔ سی۔ آئی۔ اے۔ کیا ہے؟

"American people have not been in a position to assess these charges. They know virtually nothing about the Invisible Government."

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: What are you reading from?

SHRI A. M. TARIQ: I am reading from the famous book 'The Invisible Government' written by David Wise and Thomas B. Ross.

AN HON. MEMBER: Reference was made to it.

SHRI A. M. TARIQ: Further it goes on:

"Its employment rolls are classified. Its activities are top secret. Its budget is concealed in other appropriations. Congress provides money for the Invisible Government without knowing how much it is appropriated or how much of it will be spent."

میڈم، سی۔ آئی۔ اے۔ کا مقصد یہ ہے کہ جن ملکوں میں ترقی پسند حکومتیں ہوں۔ جن ملکوں میں جسم۔ روی طاقتیں ہیں جو امریکن اور سرمایہ داروں کے ساتھ متفقہ نہیں ہیں۔ ایسی حکومتوں کو گرایا جائے۔ اس سلسلہ میں کیوبا کے بارے میں میرے ست ارجن اروڑا نے ذکر کیا میں اس بارے میں خود راپور کھینچی دو پھس کرنا چاہتا ہوں۔

"Robert Kennedy, in this interview and a similar one with U.S. News and World Report, said something else of greater and historical significance. A ranking official of the Government for the first time admitted clearly and on the record, that the Bay of Pigs was a United States' operation, planned by the Joint Chiefs of Staff and the C.I.A. 'The President had to give approval to the Plan', Robert Kennedy said."

About the downfall of Mossadegh, I quote from the same book.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: You may be very quick about the references.

SHRI A. M. TARIQ: It says:

"The United States, of course, has never officially admitted the C.I.A.'s role. The closest Dulles came to doing so was in a C.B.S. television show in 1962, after his retirement from the C.I.A. He was asked whether it was true that the C.I.A. people spent literally millions of dollars hiring people to riot in the streets of Tehran and do other things to get rid of Mossadegh. Is there anything you can say about this?"

"Well", Dulles replied, "I can say that the statement that we spent



[Shri A. M. Tariq.]

many dollars doing that is utterly false."

(Interruption)

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Operation of the C.I.A. according to his information.

SHRI A. M. TARIQ: Madam, in Burma . . .

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Your time is running out.

SHRI A. M. TARIQ: In Burma, which is our neighbour, what happened? Then Chester Bowles came and told our Prime Minister—

"In New Delhi, Chester Bowles, finishing his first tour as Ambassador to India, had also been beset by the rumours. To silence the anti-American rumbling, Bowles, like Sebald, sought assurances from Washington. The response was the same: the United States was not involved in any way. Bowles conveyed this message to Prime Minister Jawaharlal . . ."

I just wanted to mention something about Mr. Chester Bowles who is the American Ambassador in India. He has been in this organisation for years and years.

AN HON. MEMBER: The C.I.A.?

SHRI A. M. TARIQ: Yes, the C.I.A.

"The moving force behind Kennedy's letter was Chester Bowles, then Under Secretary of State for Political Affairs. In the summer of 1961, Bowles set out on a round-the-world trip to explain the new arrangement. A fifteen-man team including leading representatives of the State Department, the C.I.A. and the A.I.D., accompanied Bowles to seven regional meetings with ambassadors and their staff."

مہدم ، اس کے علاوہ یو - اے - آر ،  
گوہٹ مالا اور دنیا کے دوسرے ملکوں  
میں سی - آئی - اے - نے کیا کیا ہے -  
مجھے یہ کہلے گی ضرورت نہیں ہے کہ  
جہاں تک فلڈس کا تعلق ہے کروڑہا ڈالر  
اس آرگنائزیشن کے تسہول میں ہیں -

(Time bell rings)

I am quoting from the Time Magazine:

"At Langley's elaborate seventh-floor operations centre, a bank of high-speed (100 words per minutes) printers receive top-secret traffic from the National Security Agency, diplomatic reports from embassies, overseas information from other countries."

These are the functions . . .

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: The Time of February, 1967.

SHRI A. M. TARIQ: Yes, this is the Time dated 24th February, 1967.

مہدم ، اس کے علاوہ ہندوستان میں  
بھی اس آرگنائزیشن کے بہت بڑے بڑے  
ہاتھ ہیں - میں سوچ رہا ہوں کہ اس  
بات سے اتفاق کرتا ہوں کہ ہمیں ایسا  
کردار ملنا چاہیے کہ ہم کسی  
کا پیسہ قبول نہ کریں لیکن اس ملک  
میں صرف ممبر پارلیمنٹ نہیں بستے  
ہیں - اس ملک میں بڑے شریک  
لوگ بستے ہیں - اس ملک میں  
تعداد ان دن کی ہے جو علم سے  
ناواقف رکھتے ہیں - سی - آئی - اے -  
کا آدمی کوئی ہوت نہیں ہوتا ہے - اس  
بڑے بڑے لئے آدمی ، تاجر ، وکیل ،  
ڈاکٹر ، پرنسپل وہ لوگ جو سوائقی  
پر اثر رکھتے ہیں - (Interruptions)  
ہاں ، اے - آئی - ملی جو سوائقی پر

کافی قبضہ رکھے ہوئے ہیں - جن کا سوسائٹی پر اثر ہو ، ان کو سی - آئی - اے - استعمال کرتا ہے - سی - آئی - اے - سنی محمد طارق ، ارجن اروڑا ، موہن دھاریہ ، شام کماری خان ایسے لوگوں کو شامل نہیں کرنا جن کی دور ملا کے دروازے تک ہوتی ہے - سی - آئی - اے - ان کو استعمال کرتا ہے جو زمین سے لے کر آسمان تک آتے ہیں جن کی پہنچ ساج کے ہر کونے تک ہے - میں صرف ایک واقعہ بتانا چاہتا ہوں اور ہوم منسٹر سے درخواست کرنا چاہتا ہوں اس واقعہ کی تحقیقات کریں -

دلی کا ایک بڑا مشہور اخبار ہے - اس اخبار کے ایڈیٹر ان چیف کا واشنگٹن کو تبادلہ ہونا تھا ممالکوں نے فیصلہ کیا کہ ایڈیٹر ان چیف واشنگٹن جائینگے لیکن اس دوران - جبکہ ان کا صبیح نام شاید معلوم نہیں ہے مسٹر دوستو جو امریکن اسسٹنٹ سیکریٹری آف اسٹیٹ ہیں - یہاں نے تھے ...

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: What is the name of the paper?

SHRI A. M. TARIQ: The name of the paper is the Hindustan Times . . .

... زور دیا کہ اگر آپ ایڈیٹر ان چیف

کو امریکہ بھیج دیں گے تو ...

it will be treated as an unfriendly act towards the American Government. Another man, within three days, was transferred in consultation 307 RS-7.

with the Editor-in-Chief. This is the incident. I will request you . . .

SHRI S. S. MARISWAMY (Madras): Is it fair on the part of the hon. Member to name a journalist and attack him in his absence here?

SHRI A. M. TARIQ: I have asked him to make inquiries. I am not attacking.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Mr. Tariq, please do not make any references to names.

SHRI A. M. TARIQ: I am requesting the hon. Minister if it is not a fact . . .

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: You may pass on the details to the Minister.

SHRI A. M. TARIQ: Another point.

اہک اور بات میں ان سے درخواست کرنا چاہتا ہوں یہ اتلی بچی بات نیویارک ٹائمز کے کارسپونڈنٹ نے جو دلی میں رہتے ہیں - جس کو ہم جتنی دیر چاہیں یہاں رکھ سکتے ہیں - کیسے لکھا ہے کہ اس کو منسٹری سے یہ بات معلوم ہوئی اور ہوم منسٹری کوئی معمولی منسٹری نہیں ہے -

श्री महेश्वर नाथ कौल (नाम-निर्देशित): यह कैसे कहते हो ?

شری اے - ایم - طارق : اس نے

کہا ہے -

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Did you get the news that the Home Secretary and the correspondent had dinner?

SHRI A. M. TARIQ: I will tell you. I will read the New York Times

[Shri A. M. Tariq.]

dated June 13, which says—

"An official enquiry has quoted that the C.I.A. had given some substantial sums of money to right-wing parties and candidates during the general election. A New York Times report this morning from New Delhi quoted high Government sources."

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Your time is over.

SHRI A. M. TARIQ: I will take only one minute. I will request not only the Home Minister, but personally Mr. Y. B. Chavan who is one of the noblest citizens of the country and also a political worker, to go into this matter and find out who these officials are; otherwise . . .

ہمارا آئی - بی - (I.B.) یہ بھی نہیں  
بتا سکتا ہمارا آفیشیل کون ہے - میں  
دیانتداری سے اس پوری رپورٹ کو پڑھنے  
کے لئے تیار نہیں ہوں جو سی - بی -  
آئی - نے انکوائری کی - پہلے یہ پتہ لگانا  
چاہیئے کہ . . .

Which is the source which has passed on the information to the New York Times? We shall face the truth whether the whole report is trustworthy or not.

Thank you very much.

†[श्री ए० एम० तारिक (जम्मू एण्ड काश्मीर) : मेडम डिप्टी चैयरमैन, जहां तक सी० आई० ए० का ताल्लुक है मैं अपने दोस्त अर्जुन अरोड़ा की इस बात की ताइद करता हूँ कि मिनिस्टर साहिब को इस बात की पूरी तहकीक करनी चाहिये और जुरतमन्दाना तरीके से करनी चाहिए। हम चव्वाहन साहब की हिम्मत को जानते हैं। जहां तक सी० आई० ए० का ताल्लुक है मैं इसके बारे में चन्द एक मालूमात इस

एवान के सामने रखना चाहता हूँ। बुनियादी बात यह है कि सी० आई० ए० के मायने क्या हैं सी० आई० ए० का मकसद क्या है सी० आई० ए० क्या है।

"American people have not been in a position to assess these charges. They know virtually nothing about the invisible Government."

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: What are you reading from?

SHRI A. M. TARIQ: I am reading from the famous book 'The Invisible Government' written by David Wise and Thomas B. Ross.

AN HON. MEMBER: Reference was made to it.

SHRI A. M. TARIQ: Further it goes on—

"Its employment rolls are classified. Its activities are top secret. Its budget is concealed in other appropriations. Congress provides money for the invisible Government without knowing how much it is appropriated or how much of it will be spent."

मेडम, सी० आई० ए० का मकसद यह है कि जिन मुल्कों में तरक्की पसन्द हकूमतें हैं जिन मुल्कों में जम्हूरी ताकतें हैं जो अमेरिका और सरमायादारों के साथ मुत्तफिक नहीं हैं ऐसी हकूमतों को गिराया जाय। इस सिलसिले में क्यूबा के बारे में मेरे दोस्त अर्जुन अरोड़ा ने जिक्र किया मैं इस बारे में खुद गवर्नर कनेडी को पेश करना चाहता हूँ।

"Robert Kennedy, in this interview and a similar one with U.S. News and World Report, said something else of greater and historical significance. A ranking official of the Government for the first time admitted clearly and on the record, that the Bay of Pigs was a United States' operation, planned by the Joint Chiefs of Staff and the C.I.A.

"The President had to give approval to the Plan," Robert Kennedy said."

About the downfall of Mossadegh, I quote from the same book.

**THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN:** You may be very quick about the references.

**SHRI A. M. TARIQ:** It says—

"The United States, of course, has never officially admitted the C.I.A.'s role. The closest Dulles came to doing so was in a C.B.S. television show in 1962, after his retirement from the C.I.A. He was asked whether it was true that the C.I.A. people spent literally millions of dollars hiring people to riot in the streets of Tehran and do other things to get rid of Mossadegh. Is there anything you can say about this?"

"Well, Dulles replied, "I can say that the statement that we spent many dollars doing that is utterly false."

(Interruption)

**THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN:** Operation of the C.I.A. according to his information.

**SHRI A. M. TARIQ:** Madam, in Burma . . .

**THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN:** Your time is running out.

**SHRI A. M. TARIQ:** In Burma, which is our neighbour, what happened? Then Chester Bowles came and told our Prime Minister—

"In New Delhi, Chester Bowles, finishing his first tour as Ambassador to India, had also been beset by the rumours. To silence the anti-American rumbling, Bowles, like Sebald, sought assurances from Washington. The response was the same: the United States was not involved in any way. Bowles conveyed this message to Prime Minister Jawaharlal . . ."

I just wanted to mention something about Mr. Chester Bowles who is the American Ambassador in India. He has been in this organisation for years and years.

**AN HON. MEMBER:** The C.I.A.?

**SHRI A. M. TARIQ:** Yes, the C.I.A.

"The moving force behind Kennedy's letter was Chester Bowles, then Under Secretary of State for Political Affairs. In the summer of 1961, Bowles set out on a round-the-world trip to explain the new arrangement. A fifteen-man team including leading representatives of the State Department, the C.I.A. and the A.I.D. accompanied Bowles to seven regional meetings with ambassadors and their staff."

मेडम, इसके इलावा यू.ए. आर. गवेट-माला और दुनिया के दूसरे मुल्कों में सी.आई.ए. ने क्या किया है मुझे यह कहने की जरूरत नहीं है कि जहां तक फंड्स का नातुक है करोड़ों डॉलर इस ऑर्गनाइजेशन के डिस्पोजल में हैं।

(Time bell rings.)

I am quoting from the Time Magazine:

"At Langley's elaborate seven<sup>th</sup>-floor operations centre, a bank of high-speed (100 words per minute) printers receive top-secret traffic from the National Security Agency, diplomatic reports from embassies, overseas information from other countries."

These are the functions . . .

**SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA:** The Time of February, 1967.

**SHRI A. M. TARIQ:** Yes, this is the Time dated 24th February, 1967.

मेडम, इसके इलावा हिन्दुस्तान में भी इस ऑर्गनाइजेशन के बहुत बड़े बड़े हाथ हैं। मैं मोहन धारिया की इस बात से इत्तेफाक करता हूँ कि हमें अपना किरदार इतना

[Shri A. M. Tariq.]

बुलन्द करना चाहिये कि हम किसी का पैसा कबूल न करें लेकिन इस मुल्क में सिर्फ मेम्बर पार्लियामेंट नहीं बसते हैं। इस मुल्क में बड़े गरीब लोग बसते हैं। इस मुल्क में तादाद उन लोगों की है जो इल्म से नावाकफियत रखते हैं। सी० आई० ए० का आदमी कोई भूत नहीं होता है इसमें बड़े पढ़े लिखे आदमी, तांजर, वकील, डाक्टर, प्रिंसिपल, वे लोग सासाइटी पर असर रखते हैं (interruptions) हां, ए० डी० मणि जो सोसाइटी पर काफी कब्जा रखे हुए हैं, जिनका सोसाइटी पर असर हो, उनको सी०आई०ए० इस्तेमाल करता है। सी० आई० ए० अली मोहम्मद तारिक, अर्जुन अरोड़ा, मोहन धारिया, शाम कुमारी खां, ऐसे लोगों को शामिल नहीं करता जिन की दौड़ मुला के दरवाजे तक होती है। सी० आई० ए० उनको इस्तेमाल करता है जो जमीन से लेकर आसमान तक उड़ते हैं। जिनकी पहुंच समाज के हर कोने तक है। मैं सिर्फ एक वाक्या बताना चाहता हूं और होम मिनिस्टर से दरखास्त करना चाहता हूं इस वाक्या की तहकीकात करें।

दिल्ली का एक बड़ा मशहूर अखबार है उस अखबार के एडिटर-इन-चीफ को वाशिंगटन को तबादला होना था। मालकों ने फंसला किया कि एडिटर-इन-चीफ वाशिंगटन जाएंगे लेकिन इस दौरान—मुझे उनका सही नाम शायद मालूम नहीं है, मिस्टर रोस्टो जो अमेरिकन अगिस्टेन्ट सैक्रेटरी आफ स्टेट हैं—यहां आये थे . . . .

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: What is the name of the paper.

SHRI A. M. TARIQ: The name of the paper is the Hindustan Times . . . .

. . . और दिया कि अगर आर एडिटर-इन-चीफ को अमेरिका भेज देगे तो . . .

it will be treated as an unfriendly act towards the American Government. Another man, within three

days, was transferred in consultation with the Editor-in-Chief. This is the incident. I will request you . . .

SHRI S. S. MARISWAMY (Madras): Is it fair on the part of the hon. Member to name a journalist and attack him in his absence here?

SHRI A. M. TARIQ: I have asked him to make inquiries. I am not attacking.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Mr. Tariq, please do not make any reference to names.

SHRI A. M. TARIQ: I am requesting the hon. Minister if it is not a fact . . . .

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: You may pass on the details to the Minister.

SHRI A. M. TARIQ: Another point.

एक और बात मैं उनसे दरखास्त करना चाहता हूं यह इतनी बड़ी बात न्यूयार्क टाइम्स के कारस्पोंडेंट ने जो दिल्ली में रहते हैं जिस को हम जितनी देर चाहें यहां रख सकते हैं। कैसे लिखा है कि उसको मिनिस्ट्री से यह बात मालूम हुई और होम मिनिस्ट्री कोई मामूली मिनिस्ट्री नहीं है।

श्री भुवेश्वर नाथ कौल (गाम-निर्दिष्टित) : यह कैसे कहते हो ?

श्री ए० एन० तारिक : इसने कहा है।

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Did you get the news that the Home Secretary and the correspondent had dinner?

SHRI A. M. TARIQ: I will tell you. I will read the New York Times dated June 13, which says—

"An official enquiry has quoted that the C.I.A. had given some substantial sums of money to right-wing parties and candidates during the general election. A New York

Times report this morning from New Delhi quoted high Government sources."

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Your time is over.

SHRI A. M. TARIQ: I will take only one minute. I will request not only the Home Minister, but personally Mr. Y. B. Chavan who is one of the noblest citizens of the country and also a political worker, to go into this matter and find out who these officials are otherwise . . .

हमारा आई० बी० यह भी नहीं बता सकता हमारा आफिशियल कौन है। मैं दयान्तदारी से इस पूरी रिपोर्ट को पढ़ने के लिए तैयार नहीं हूँ। जो सी० बी० आई० ने इन्क्वायरी की, पहले यह पता लगाना चाहिये कि Which is the source which has passed on the information to the New York Times? We shall face the truth whether the whole report is trust-worthy or not.

Thank you very much.

SHRIMATI YASHODA REDDY (Andhra Pradesh): Madam Deputy Chairman, I have been listening to the debate about the C.I.A. for the last few minutes. It certainly hurts me that we should give so much prominence to what has been said by the New York Times. Madam, this sort of mistrust and atmosphere that foreign money is being used in this country is being generated for quite a long time. But since, of late, papers from outside the country have reported we would not take cognizance of it. Here, Madam, there are only two things which I would like to place before you. If at all there has been an allegation, the Home Minister was almost categorical. He said that there has been no leakage and whatever the New York Times has quoted was more less a guess or conjecture. I hope what he has said is true; otherwise I would request the Home Minister to find out how this leakage came.

This is not the first time, Madam, whether it is in India or whether it is outside, that this sort of leakage is going on, and it is certainly not good for our country. Madam, whosoever has been responsible for this leakage, I must certainly tell the Home Minister, has neither been a friend of the nation nor has done any good service to the country, we must know.

Madam, the New York Times, as we know, has condemned not one party or a few parties, but they have condemned almost the whole democratic set-up of this country. It is certainly an insult to our nation. And, Madam, though we have been free only for the last twenty years, I should say we are really a mature nation and it is not for anybody to condemn our democratic set-up. Whosoever has leaked out the news has tried to upset our Indian Parliamentary democratic system. We have to find out who is responsible for this and condemn him.

Another thing I would like to bring to the notice of the House, Madam, is this. It is a fact—the Home Minister may or may not like to confirm it—that foreign money is flowing into India, whether it is from the West or from the East and, maybe, politically or during elections also it might have been utilised, I do not know. Certainly, I am not aware of it. I have not fought the election, and even when I fought it, I never got any money, whether it is C.I.A. or any other things. I used my own money.

SHRI ARJUN ARORA: You fought without money.

SHRIMATI YASHODA REDDY: No. But one thing we should remember. Ours is a very large country. Politically we are a nascent country. We have not yet completely built up our economy and our defences. We are still in the stage of, despite being very big, trying to build up into a world power. There are so many

[Shrimati Yashoda Reddy.]

big powers in the world, Russians and Americans. These two powers of the world are trying to Balkanise the whole world.

SHRI V. M. CHORDIA (Madhya Pradesh): Now China is third.

SHRIMATI YASHODA REDDY: Leave China alone. These two forces are trying to help other countries. They are vying with one another in calling names, the pro-Americans trying to say that we are going pro-socialist, and the pro-socialist saying that we are pro-capitalist. And fortunately or unfortunately, even we, Members of Parliament, in India have learnt this sort of mud-slinging business. We start saying that the Communists are getting money from outside and the others saying that the others are getting money from other sources. By this sort of thing, let me say, we are only falling into the trap of either this country or that country. Let us not, as Mr. Dharma said, depend on anybody; let us try to live on our own. And let us also not fall into the trap of either the East or the West, and then fling mud on each other which means ultimately on our ourselves. Let us not create so much of confusion. Let us not fall into the trap of these big powers. Let us look after ourselves. Let us safeguard the dignity and the integrity of our country.

Finally, I would say that whosoever has been guilty must be brought to book, if there has been a leakage.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: That will do.

SHRIMATI YASHODA REDDY: Let us not destroy ourselves by proclaiming ourselves either as American friends or as Russian friends. That is all that I would like to say.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Mr. Mulka Govinda Reddy. I am sorry I overlooked your name.

SHRI MULKA GOVINDA REDDY (Mysore): Madam, Deputy Chairman, I do not want any foreign money to interfere in the affairs of our country whether it is from the U.S.A. or the Communist countries or any other country. It is unfortunate that some distorted version of the report of the Central Bureau of Intelligence has been published in the New York Times. The report says that some high Government officer seems to have briefed this correspondent of New York Times. It is pertinent that the Government should make a thorough enquiry into this leakage and the alleged charge that the source is a very high Government officer.

Madam, Deputy Chairman, it is not proper for any country to interfere in the internal affairs of other countries. We have adhered to this policy. I do not want foreign money to interfere in the elections of our country. It is a calumny that this report has been published in the New York Times saying that almost all political parties in India have received money from one source or the other. According to this report, it is said:

"The amount of money spent by Communist Embassies backing the left-wing was reportedly even more than the sum spent by the U.S.A."

So it is an all-pervading report meaning that all parties are in the pay of foreign Embassies or foreign sources.

It is true that C.I.A. money has been spent in other countries to subvert democracy. Therefore, it is necessary that Government should take proper action with regard to the flow of foreign money into political parties' funds. The Government should institute an enquiry into the sources of money that each party mobilises to fight the elections. I demand that a Parliamentary Committee be instituted into the sources of money that political parties get for fighting elections.

Madam, the Home Minister said this morning that a report of the Central Intelligence Bureau has been received by the Government and that he had no time to study his report. The New York Times published extracts of this report, maybe distorted, maybe based on conjecture, on June 13 and 14. This report has been published in the Indian Express and other newspapers. I would like to ask the Home Minister, after having seen this report published in Indian newspapers, and when he confessed that he had already received a report from the Central Intelligence Bureau, that he should come out openly to say that the report that has been published in the newspapers is utterly wrong, far from the truth, or he should confirm that there is some element of truth in the report that has been published in this newspaper.

Madam, I would like to categorically repudiate that the Praja-Socialist Party has not received any money from any foreign country. The Praja Socialist Party General Secretary, Mr. Prem Bhasin, has already repudiated this report, this calumny and Mr. Surendranath Dwivedy, Leader of the P.S.P. Group in the Lok Sabha, has also categorically repudiated this report. I would, therefore, ask that the Home Minister should come forward and place the report on the Table that has already been submitted to the Home Ministry by the C.B.I. It is not proper to delay matters because already some sort of maligning is going on and some sort of calumny is going on against certain parties. It is not proper for the Government to keep quiet and not place the report on the Table. According to this report of the newspapers, "The Government of India reportedly had no plans to make any report to Parliament and there would be no public protest to the U.S.A. or to the Communist Governments." And the report in the New York Times says "It is understood the report had been studied by Mrs. Gandhi and Mr. Chavan". Mr. Chavan says he has received the report but he has not studied it. Yet

this report says that both the Prime Minister and the Home Minister appear to have studied this report. So my humble suggestion and also demand to the Home Minister is that, in fairness to all political parties, he should place the report of the C.B.I. on the Table of the House and a Parliamentary Committee should be appointed to enquire into the sources of the money that political parties receive, either from foreign countries or from indigenous sources. Also the leakage of this report should be enquired into and the high Government source that has been quoted in this report should also be enquired into and proper steps should be taken to put down such things.

SHRI DAHYABHAI V. PATEL (Gujarat): Madam, it is a matter of regret to everyone that the fair name of this country should be tarnished in the foreign press by a report of this type. If, however, the report is true, it calls for some action. I have taken care, Madam, to get a copy of the statement that the hon. Home Minister made here this morning. He said that the report was being examined carefully. He did not say that he had no time to study it. But at the end, he says "The bureau's findings are only conjectures." So if a report of this type is published only on conjectures, this is also a matter that needs careful consideration.

SHRI B. K. P. SINHA (Bihar): No, only the New York Times' findings, no Bureau.

SHRI DAHYABHAI V. PATEL: But that is the thing that has tarnished our image most. As regards the report that the hon. Home Minister is considering, I would like him not to delay the matter very long. Madam, the Secretary of the Swatantra Party, Mr. Masani, denied flatly that the Swatantra Party receive any money from this source. Mr. Dandekar, Acting Secretary, has denied that our party received any money from this source. Both of them have affirmed



[Shri Dahyabhai V. Patel.]

that every pie that this party received is accountable and that the accounts can be produced regularly. So there is no question of the Swatantra Party having received any money of this type. But it is certainly a matter of regret that money of this type should come and try to influence our country's policies. Madam, how does this start? I would like the Home Minister to correct me if I am wrong. The Prime Minister ten years ago, when she was not the Prime Minister, said that foreign money was playing an important part in elections in this country. And the then Prime Minister, her father, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, said no money was coming into the country. Madam, after that perhaps money or what money can buy and so many things have come into this country visibly newspapers, printing presses and so on, on a pay-when-you-can basis. I am referring to Patriot and Link. On what basis have they come? Questions were put in Parliament. Have they not come here to influence elections? What has Government done about it? Then, what is the policy those papers follow? What is the country whose directions those papers follow? What is the history of the world wherever such organisations have gone? Have we not before us the history of the East European countries where countries have been taken over by subversion, by propaganda, by disrupting the economy and by creating chaos? Are we not very nearly in such a condition? What are these gheraos? What are these incessant types of strikes? It is not only a question of high prices. It is a vicious circle. It is a vicious circle that produces strikes, then increased prices and then again you have further demands. Then you have idleness or gherao or sit-in strikes. Where does all this trouble come from? Are they sources inside the country who do this? Surely, it is not the Indian businessmen, who I believe are patriotic, who finance such thing to destroy each other and to destroy their business? This is a matter which the

Government should carefully look into. Madam, I am one of those who have been quarrelling about it for a long time. You will remember, Madam, that I asked repeatedly questions about the monies in the Bank of China and where they went. At one time, we were assured that a statement would be laid on the Table. After two years of persistent questioning, the last that we heard of it was that it was not considered to be in the public interest to answer the question. Madam, this is where the root of the trouble is. The Congress Party is not sure of itself. The Congress Party looks once this side and once that side, once wants something here and once wants something from there. It is the Congress Party's greed for money that has made the elections so expensive, that has made businessmen so corrupt. You go on putting pressure for getting money. To pay you money, some of them—I certainly deprecate it—have collected black money to pay to the Congress funds. This is the root of it.

SHRI R. T. PARTHASARATHY (Madras): Is the Swatantra Party coming out successful without spending any money?

SHRI DAHYABHAI V. PATEL: Therefore, I support any demand for an enquiry. It is certainly time that the Government woke up. But does the Government want to wake up? Does the Government want to allow us to make progress or does the Government want to lead the country to chaos? I am not sure. The Prime Minister does not seem to be sure who are her advisers, where they are taking her and where the country is going every day. We are going economically to ruination. In the world we are kicked. Our prestige is at the lowest. In our own country, our policemen are slapped. This is the worst situation we have come to. And who is responsible for it? It is the Congress Party that is responsible for this. Thank you.

**श्री विमलकुमार मन्नालाल जो चौरङ्गिया** (मध्य प्रदेश) : उपभोक्ता मण्डल, अब से पहले जो प्रकाशन में जनसंघ का नाम लाया गया है उसका मैं पूरा जितना जोर है मुझ में कड़े शब्दों के साथ खंडन करता हूँ और यही खंडन जो जनसंघ के अध्यक्ष हैं लोक सभा के सदस्य श्री बलराज जो मधोक, उन्होंने भी किया है ।

जनसंघ एक राष्ट्रीय संस्था है, उसकी जड़ें भारत में हैं और वह भारत के नागरिकों के त्याग और तपस्या से ही प्रेरणा पाता है और उसी से अपने आप को सींचता है । यह जो रुपया हमारे यहां पर आया वह हमारी सरकार की जो नीति है उसके परिणामस्वरूप ही आया । हमने रुपयों में अपने निर्यात के माल का भुगतान लेना प्रारम्भ किया और वह रकम हमारे यहां पर फैलती गई और उस फैली हुई रकम में हमारे यहां पर सामाजिक, राजनैतिक, आर्थिक और सांस्कृतिक जीवन को भ्रष्ट करने का प्रयास किया और वह अनवरत प्रयास उनका चलता जा रहा है ।

जनसंघ आज से नहीं, 5-6 वर्षों से यह मांग करता आ रहा है कि इस प्रकार का रुपया चाहे वह अमरीका से आता हो, चाहे रूस से आता हो जिस देश से आता हो उसकी जांच की जानी चाहिए और उस पर रोक लगनी चाहिए । उपभोक्ता मण्डल, यह वन चाहे चुनाव के खर्च के लिए, चाहे धर्म-परिवर्तन के लिए, चाहे नागाओं और मिजो को भड़काने के लिए, या हमारे यहां पर अश्लील साहित्य की बरमार करने के रूप में आता हो, उसका एकमात्र लक्ष्य यह है कि देश में अव्यवस्था फैल जाय, चाहे आर्थिक रूप से हो, सामाजिक रूप से हो, चाहे राजनीतिक रूप से हो, अराजकता की स्थिति हो जाय और यहां का जीवन भ्रष्ट हो जाय । यह देश के नैतिक स्तर को गिराने की ओर ले जा रहा है ।

हमारा देश लोकतंत्र में विश्वास करता है । लोकतंत्र को कुछ परम्पराएं होती हैं । यह जो पैसा चुनाव में खर्च किया जाता है—जिनकी सीमा हमने कानून से बांधी है मगर उनके बावजूद अधिक पैसा खर्च किया जाता है—वह हमारे नैतिक स्तर को ऊंचा उठाने वाला नहीं है गिराने वाला है । अगर इस तरह से यह परम्परा चलती गई तो हमारा लोकतंत्र खतरे में पड़ जायगा । इसलिए यह अत्यन्त आवश्यक है कि हमारे देश के नैतिक स्तर को ऊंचा उठाया जाय ।

यह जो हमारे यहां के गुप्तचर विभाग की गुप्त रिपोर्ट प्रकाशित हो गई—कमजबूत ही हों—यह बहुत शर्म की बात है और हमें इससे सबक लेना चाहिए । सी० आर० ए० का हमारे यहां पर कितना प्रभाव होता जा रहा है कि गुप्तचर विभाग की गुप्त रिपोर्ट विदेशों में चली जाती है । इससे सबक लेने की जरूरत है और मैं चह्वाण साहब से विशेष रूप से आग्रह करूंगा कि इसमें किसी आदमी को स्पेयर करने की जरूरत नहीं । जिसने इस पाप के काम को किया है हमारे यहां की गुप्त रिपोर्ट को प्रकाशित करवाने में मदद की है वह सूली पर लटकाए जाने के काबिल हैं । सबसे पहले इसकी आवश्यकता है ।

अब चूंकि उस रिपोर्ट का कुछ हिस्सा प्रकाशित हो चुका है—वह सही है या गलत—उसमें भिन्न भिन्न दलों के नाम लिए गए हैं, वह संसार में भारत का गलत नक्शा पेश करती है इसलिए यह अत्यन्त आवश्यक है कि शासन इस रिपोर्ट पर शीघ्र निर्णय लेकर प्रकाशित करे और प्रकाशित करने के साथ ही एक ट्रिब्यूनल बिठाएं । मैं पार्लियामेंट के सदस्यों की कमेटी के पक्ष में नहीं हूँ क्योंकि पार्लियामेंट कमेटी के सदस्य किसी न किसी दल से सम्बन्धित हैं—और सब दलों के नाम इसमें लिए गए हैं—इसलिए मैं चाहता हूँ कि

[श्री विमल गुप्ता मन्त्रालयजी चौरङ्गिया]

सुप्रीम कोर्ट के जज की हैसियत का आदमी ट्रिब्यूनल में बैठे और उस रिपोर्ट को जांच के लिए रखा जाय, सब दलों को इस बात का अवसर दिया जाय कि वे अपनी सफाई पेश कर लें और उसके बाद फाईंडिंग देकर, रिपोर्ट को लोगों के सामने रख कर उसका निर्णय प्रकाशित करें।

इसके साथ ही साथ हमारे यहां पर विदेशी पैसे का प्रभाव न बढ़े, इसकी रोक आवश्यक है। लेकिन एक ओर तो हम एक एक रूप के लिए भाव्य मांगते हैं और दूसरी ओर चाहें कि विदेशी रुपया न आए, ये दोनों चीजें चर्चेंगी नहीं। इसके लिये हमारे मोगरजी को कांग्रेस दल को जो शासन में है उसको निर्णय लेना पड़ेगा कि हमारी योजनाएं ऐसी होनी चाहिए कि हमें विदेशों का मुंह न देखना पड़े, जितनी लम्बी हमारी सौर हो उसी के हिसाब से हम काम चलाएं, उसी में निर्वाह करें। एक ओर तो आप विदेशों से भीख मांगते फिरें और दूसरी ओर उनके रुपए का प्रभाव भी न हो—यह हो नहीं सकता। इसलिए हमारे देश की रक्षा के लिए, हमारे देश की सार्वभौमिकता के लिए, हमारे राष्ट्र का नैतिक स्तर ठीक रखने के लिए, हमारे यहां देशभक्ति की जड़ें हिले नहीं इसके लिए यह अत्यन्त आवश्यक है कि सरकार पूरी नीति पर विचार करके निर्णय ले और जो मैंने निबद्ध किया है उसे पूरा करवाने की कृपा करें।

**SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA:** Madam, Deputy Chairman, a few issues are involved in this. The first issue is whether there has been a leakage of the alleged C.J.P. report with the Home Minister and the Prime Minister. We are not clear about it. Whatever the report is made of, conjectures or otherwise, the American paper, the *New York Times*, says that its contents are based on materials supplied by some official sources in India. Therefore, according to the

paper, it is a case of leakage. Now the Home Minister has been in possession of this report for some time. He should be also in a position to tell us now whether the *New York Times* report is substantially correct, thereby establishing a case of leakage. This is very very important. Now I would ask him to lay the C.I.B. report on the Table of the House. Should he have any hesitation, tentatively I would suggest to him that he should show the report to the Chairman of this House and the Chairman should compare it with the report which appeared in the *New York Times* and then kindly tell the House whether it is a case of leakage. We can settle it that way. Quite apart from the merits or demerits of what the C.I.B. has written, the position should be made absolutely clear. Four days ago he said that he had not studied it. I am sure by now he has studied it. We should like some light to be thrown on the subject. Then, if it is a case of leakage, it is a serious matter. Nobody knows in this country how things are transmitted to the U.S.A. I have heard it said in the Congress circles that some 10 days ago there was a dinner between the Home Secretary, Mr. L. P. Singh, and the correspondent of the *New York Times* and this report appeared after that dinner. I cannot vouch for it but I say that I have heard it in the circles of the ruling party.

**SHRI A. D. MANI (Madhya Pradesh):** How many were present at the dinner?

**SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA:** I do not know. You find that out. Therefore it is for the Home Minister to find out. He can find it out by a simple question put to the Home Secretary. I am not saying anything but this is being said.

Then with regard to this, first of all I would not like the C.I.B. to

investigate into the affairs of any political party in the country. What right has it got? It is an outfit of the Congress Party in power. It is an outfit of the Government and I am not one of those of the Opposition who is going to submit to an investigation or probe by an organisation which is an appendage of the Congress administration. Significantly enough, practically all the parties have been mentioned directly or indirectly in this report. The entire Opposition has been mentioned but the report gives no indication of the Congress Party at all. Am I to trust such an organisation?

SHRI RAJNARAIN (Uttar Pradesh): Congressmen are mentioned.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Congressmen do so many things. Leave them out but the Congress Party is not mentioned. It is rather significant but we will know when the report is published. If at all there is to be an investigation, the C.I.B. or any outfit which has anything to do with the Congress party in power or whichever party is in power should have nothing to do with the investigation. It is out of bounds for investigation. We do not have faith in that. We know what kind of report it produces when it is necessary to put in detention and to persecute and malign certain parties in the interests of the ruling party. Therefore I make it absolutely clear and I ask my Opposition friends also not to put faith in an outfit of the Congress Government. You can have parliamentary investigation or other investigations, I do not mind.

With regard to the C.I.A. what are you doing? Are you carrying on any investigation into the operations of the C.I.A.? First of all find out how to operate. Then we will discuss about the money. The exposure of the C.I.A. has come from the U.S.A.

itself, for example, in the form of five articles in the *New York Times* of April last year plus an editorial:

"Many people directly in C.I.A. operation have admitted in public statements about the C.I.A. funds being given to various organisations and individuals in different parties."

The only thing I would like to say in this connection is, I would ask the Home Minister personally to read those articles—and I can supply him copies of them as I have got them cyclostyled—and you will see that in this article it is said that the Singapore Prime Minister made a press statement—it is quoted in one of the articles—that the C.I.A. offered him a bribe of 3.3 million dollars in order to hide something which was not convenient to the Americans. No other than the Singapore Prime Minister revealed it to the press. In those articles it is said that the C.I.A. wanted a man in President Nasser's office. They were trying to get information from there. Similar other instances are given. Am I to understand that the C.I.A. operators here are not putting men in high places, high and important offices and establishments of the Government? Our information is that the C.I.A. has cast its net far and wide in high places. And I should also like to know whether the C.B.I. itself is free from the C.I.A.'s influence. The point is whether the Central Intelligence Bureau and other investigating authorities of the Government of India are free from C.I.A.'s influence; that should be found out. I have gone through Patterson's books in which it has been pointed out how some of these Intelligence agencies of the Government of India were working along with the C.I.A. and the American agents in India Calcutta and other places. Madam Deputy Chairman, all this calls for investigation. The Home Minister should not allow these parties to be maligned. We shall settle our quarrels here. But, Madam, internationally the parties working in

[Shri Bhupesh Gupta.]  
Parliament have been maligned—by leakage. Now we shall see to the leakage, the investigation into the leakage carried out by one or more officers of the Government of India.

Madam Deputy Chairman, I regret that my hon. friend unnecessarily brought in the 'Patriot' and the 'Link' here. How do they come? They are a public limited company. You can see their accounts. Certainly they are progressive left wing papers. But that is no reason why they should be accused on that score. They can find it out from their accounts, etc. Let me make it clear that I have nothing to do with them. I have up to now never been to that office. But simply because Shri Dahyabhai Patel does not like it, therefore, it should not be attacked in this manner. It is a company registered. The shareholders are there. Some Congressmen are there, I find. Some friendly Swatantra people may be there also as shareholders, it can be found out. But it is not proper to attack it in the absence of facts. But then Mr. Dahyabhai Patel omitted one thing; he omitted the Congress of Cultural Freedom of which Mr. Masani is the high priest, and that Congress of Cultural Freedom itself has admitted, and Mr. Masani has also admitted that the Congress of Cultural Freedom gets money from the C.I.A. And my friend, Mr. Dahyabhai Patel, the beloved friend of Mr. Masani, does not know home truths in this matter, and it is a little surprising, Madam Deputy Chairman. I hope Mr. Chavan will rise to the occasion because the reputation of most of the parties is at stake. My friend of the Samyukta Socialist Party said that his party has not been named. My party has not also been named. But that is not the point. Left wing parties, who do not know? But that is not the point. The point is that the parties functioning under the Constitution in Parliament, making together, what we call, our parliamentary institutions and the democratic system have been tarred with the blackest brush.

\*Therefore, to vindicate their honour, to vindicate their dignity, to vindicate their reputation, in the first place the leakage should be tracked down. Firstly, the person or persons responsible should be punished. And, secondly, the cards should be laid on the Table of the House. We are prepared to come under the gaze of the entire world and vindicate our individual honour as well as the honour of the entire country. At the same time I would again appeal to the Home Minister for goodness' sake; Mr. Chavan, Ministers do come and go, but the cloak and dagger policy of the C.I.A. remains. Hold a thorough inquiry into the operations of the C.I.A. Locate their seats. Locate their centres. See through how many universities or institutions they have penetrated. Look into how many offices in the South and the North Blocks, and other places including those where your intelligence service is located they have penetrated. This is for the good of the country. This is the greatest security measure today that you can take. Or else, it seems that their job, or the Government's job, is to carry out even assassinations even, if necessary,—that job is all still secret—in order to serve the pentagon and other sources. Therefore, I hope, Mr. Chavan will take the opposition into confidence and tell us the manner in which he is carrying out a thorough investigation, a probe, into C.I.A.'s operations in the country which, by all accounts, are growing day after day.

SHRI A. D. MANI: Madam Deputy Chairman, the debate on this subject shows the anxiety and consternation which Members of Parliament feel about the disclosures which have been made about certain intelligence agency, the Central Intelligence Agency. In this connection I may say that even the person who established the Central Intelligence Agency, namely, President Truman, who made it a part of the Defence Budget of the United States not subject to any audit, recently said:

"We have grown up as a nation respected for our free institutions and for our ability to maintain a free and open society. There is something about the way the C.I.A. has been functioning that is casting a shadow over our historic position and I feel that we need to correct it."

That is to say, the father of the Central Intelligence Agency, President Truman, has said that he is anxious about the way in which the Central Intelligence Agency has been functioning. Madam, it is well known that the C.I.A. has been responsible for many acts of subversion all over the world, and one of the recent stories that has been put forward,—I may mention it to the House—is that the poster warfare that is going on in China is financed by the Central Intelligence Agency. All those Red Guard posters which are appearing in Peking, they give advance views, which are not known even in Peking. They are printed in Taiwan and air-brought, so that the regime in China may thus be subverted. I do not know how far it is true, that the Central Intelligence Agency is responsible for what is happening in China.

Regarding the report which has been submitted to the Home Minister, I would like to say that the C.B.I. of India is not the C.I.A. of America. The C.I.A. of America has got some ruthless efficiency about it. The C.B.I. has not been able to put Mr. Biju Patnaik on the mat. The C.B.I. has not been able to catch even the small flies among the corrupt Chief Ministers in the country. I do not attach much credence to the report, the C.B.I. has submitted to the Home Minister, because much of it is based on hearsay. Regarding the C.I.A. I have read somewhere that the organisation is so secret that nobody knows who is a member of the organisation. If you talk to and ask the head of the C.I.A. whether A or B is a member of the

organisation, he would not confirm it. The only person who has got the right to ask for information about the C.I.A. is the President of the United States and nobody else, and the President of the United States is a very busy man; he does not know who are the members of the C.I.A. I do not think that our Central Intelligence Bureau would have really got any information except bazaar gossip about the various parties. This is not to say that foreign money has not been flowing into India to finance political activities. There is some credence in the report that the election against Mr. Krishna Menon was also influenced by foreign money, because money was flowing so freely. I do not suggest that the patriotic parties which are represented here by the P.S.P., the Jana Sangh and the Swatantra would have applied for money to any foreign agency. But it is likely that infiltration of foreign money might have taken devious forms in the shape of donations by patriotic individuals who wanted certain parties to succeed. This kind of thing goes on in every country, and no investigation, not even parliamentary investigation of the kind that has been suggested, can find out the real culprits in the matter. But, Madam, it is a matter of honour. The Central Intelligence Bureau of our country has submitted a bazaar gossip report to the Government and defamed many parties except the party to which my hon. friend. Mr. Rajnarain, belongs, which has not been traduced by any party because nobody is likely to trust it with funds. I would only like to suggest that since the honour and integrity of political parties has been challenged, the Government of India should appoint a retired Judge of the Supreme Court and ask him to conduct an inquiry so that those who have allegations to make may lay them before that Judge, and I am confident that all political parties would be acquitted of the charge of receiving foreign aid for carrying out their political activities.

श्री गोड मुराहरि (उत्तर प्रदेश)

पैडम डिप्टी चेयरमैन मैं पहले तो यह आरोप करना चाहूंगा कि जो सी० बी० आई० हमारे यहाँ की है उसमें कुछ ऐसे लोग हैं जो सी० आई० ए० के साथ संबंधित हैं। मैं इसलिये यह आरोप लगाना चाहता हूँ क्योंकि जो इन्टेलिजेन्स सिस्टम हिन्दुस्तान का रहा है वह अंग्रेजों के जमाने में ब्रिटिश इन्टेलिजेन्स था और दूसरे वर्ल्ड वार के समय ऐसा अरेन्जमेन्ट किया गया था जिसके अंतर्गत अंग्रेज और अमरीका ने मिल कर इन्टेलिजेन्स करने के लिये हिन्दुस्तान में सस्था बनाई थी और उसके बाद हिन्दुस्तान में कलान्ता के टालीगज में एक दफ्तर खुला था जहाँ अमेरिका, इंग्लैंड और हिन्दुस्तान की इन्टेलिजेन्स का एकीकरण हुआ, वही इन्टेलिजेन्स शाखा आज सी० आई० ए० में परिणत है, इसमें एक परम्परा चल रही है। अंग्रेजों के जमाने से उसके प्रन्तर्गत सी० आई० ए० और सी० बी० आई० का ताल्लुक खल्लमखुल्ला रहा है। मैं यह जानना चाहता हूँ कि क्या यह सही नहीं है कि पिछले साल सी० बी० आई० के छ आफिसर सी० आई० ए० भेजे गये थे जहाँ स्टडी करने के लिये एक योजना बनाई गई थी। तो मैं यह आरोप लगाता हूँ कि जो हमारे देश में सी० बी० आई० है उसमें कुछ ऐसे लोग हैं जो सी० आई० ए० के साथ ताल्लुक रखते होंगे और इसलिये यह साफ होना है कि लोकेंज भी उसी एजेंसी के जरिये हुई है।

SHRI M N KAUL It is a very interesting theory

श्री गोड मुराहरि थ्योरी नहीं है फैक्ट है। इसको कांट्रोवर्ट करना चाहेंगे तो करेंगे। जहाँ तक फारेन मनी का सवाल है यह नहीं है कि हिन्दुस्तान में फारेन मनी आना रहा है और आ रहा है और न सिर्फ जनरल इलेक्शन के समय आना है बल्कि कई सस्थाओं को बराबर दिया जाता है चाहे वह सी० आई० ए० के जरिये हा या कम्युनिस्ट देशों के जरिये

हो। लेकिन मैं यह जानना चाहूंगा कि जो यह रिपोर्ट सी० आई० ए० ने दिया है अगर इसमें एक भी तथ्य है और अगर तथ्य नहीं है तो इस सरकार के लिये उचित होगा कि इसके बारे में कोई एक जांच बैठाने। मैं पार्लियामेन्ट्री जांच के पक्ष में नहीं हूँ क्योंकि पार्लियामेन्ट्री मेम्बर्स द्वारा जांच होगी तो उसमें कई पार्टियों के रिप्रेजेन्टेटिव्स होंगे एक दूसरे की लीपापोती में लगेंगे, कोई नतीजा नहीं निकलने वाला है। इसलिये मैं चाहता हूँ एक जुडीशल इन्क्वायरी हो, सारी रिपोर्ट्स उनको दे दी जाय सारी सरकार की फैसिलिटी उनको दे दी जाय और फिर वह हमारे सामने पेश करें कि क्या तथ्य है, क्या झूठ है।

श्री महेश्वर नाथ कौल जज को तो कभी एविडेन्स ही नहीं मिलेगा।

श्री गोड मुराहरि सरकार के पास जो सबूत है वह दे दे, सी० आई० ए० के पास जो है वह दे दे और फिर जज बैठकर फैसला कर ले। दूसरी पार्टी के लोगों को भी बुलाना चाहे तो बुलाकर तहकीकात कर ले। दूसरे यह भी पता चलेगा कि सी० आई० ए० का सी० बी० आई० के साथ कितना ताल्लुक है और ऐसे कितने व्यक्ति हैं जो उनसे ताल्लुक रखते हैं पुरानी दोस्ती होने की वजह से और किसी लिंक की वजह से हो और फिर सी० बी० आई० को साफ करने की कोशिश की जाय होम मिनिस्ट्री के जरिये। भूषेण गुप्त जी के बयान से मैं पूरा सहमत हूँ कि सी० बी० आई० सरकार की एजेंसी है और उसकी जो भी जांच होगी दूसरी पार्टियों को बदनाम करने की जांच होगी। इसलिये मैं उसके पक्ष में नहीं हूँ।

तो सी० बी० आई० का जहाँ तक मामला है वह न सिर्फ इलेक्शन के बारे में बल्कि सारी एजेंसीज के बारे में हो, चाहे वह युवक सस्था हो, चाहे वह कलचरल फ्रीडम की सस्था हो, चाहे वह किताबों की सस्था हो, चाहे और कोई

ढंग की सस्था हो जो भी हो। जहा जहा पैसा उनका आता है सारी चीज की जाच होनी चाहिये और साथ साथ मैडम मैं गृह मंत्री साहब से यह अर्ज करूंगा कि सी० आई० ए० की सिर्फ पैसे के मामले में जाच न हो बल्कि सी० आई० ए० जो करतूत आज हिन्दुस्तान में कर रहा हो जगह जगह पर, चाहे वह कोई सस्था के जरिये हो, या हमारे नार्थ ईस्ट फ्रन्टियर में हो जहा मिजोरम है, नागाज है उनको भडकाने में जो लगे हैं, उन सभी चीजों की तहकीकात हो जानी चाहिये क्योंकि मुझे डर है कि कुछ फारेन सस्थाएं ऐसी हैं जो हिन्दुस्तान का विघटन करने की और हिन्दुस्तान की एकसूत्रता को नष्ट करने की माजिश्क कर रही हैं और इसलिये मैं चाहूंगा गृह मंत्री साहब इसके बारे में भी सज्जत हो जायें और उनके बारे में भी इन्क्वायरी कराए।

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN Miss Mary Naidu you wanted just a minute to ask some questions

MISS M L MARY NAIDU (Andhra Pradesh) Thank you, Madam, for calling me It is really shocking to our honour as a country to hear that money is being thrust on us to make us pro-American, pro-Russian or pro-Chinese etc Are we not intelligent enough to see that this is only a device to make us fight against each other? And don't we see that they are succeeding in it and we are fighting with each other? With folded hands, I beg of this House and say, do not fall into this pit. Let us be united and let us project our united image to these countries I want the Government of India to be intelligent and to be vigilant about every country Whether it is America, Russia or China, they want to do what they think is in the interest of their own country It is for us to be alert and not to fall into these pits First, Madam, let me ask a couple of questions I ask them in the interest of the country as a whole Is it a fact that the USA Library in New Delhi has become a

centre for collecting information for the United States of America? Is it true that the Soviet Union also has one agency on the pattern of the CIA, called KGB? May I know whether the Government of India knows about this book called "Moscow's hand in India?"

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA Have you read it?

MISS M L MARY NAIDU It was first published in Sweden and then reprinted in Bombay Has the Government of India checked up the facts revealed in that book? Perhaps it is a very good book I have not read it and I do not know What I want is that our Government should be alert Let our Intelligence Department be really alert and see that we do not sell ourselves to any other nation Thank you

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN Mr Mariswamy, you have just two minutes, for the Home Minister will start replying at 6 o'clock

SHRI S S MARISWAMY (Madras) Madam Deputy Chairman, this reminds me of the story of a fellow who in order to spite his enemy cut off his own nose Now, someone high up in the Government seems to have leaked out this news to a correspondent believing that this would tarnish the good name of other parties But this is a fact which the CBI has to find out So first of all they should find out who is the person who leaked it out before we take so much trouble to study the Report This seems to be a deliberate, calculated attempt to smear the opposition parties This has been done earlier also You may remember, Madam that during the debate on the Appropriation Bill I read out in this House itself a report of some important Congress dignitary accusing opposition parties of taking money from outside And then I demanded in this House that a public enquiry must be instituted But nothing happened to my demand and



[Shri S. S. Mariswamy.]

now our dirty linen has gone far away to America, wherefrom we have this report. If there is even an iota of truth in the report that some party had taken money, it must be brought out and the general public should know. I want the hon. Home Minister to do that. I have implicit faith in him. He is a brave man and his bravery we saw during the Indo-Pakistan war. So I believe he will not indulge in any back-biting or in any kicking below the belt attitude. So let him place the CBI Report before the House and if it is dirty linen we shall take it up here and wash it. After all it is not some war strategy concerning the war in NEFA or Ladakh. It is a matter concerning ourselves and so it is better that we examine it. Let us examine it. And then if we find any truth in it then we will appoint a committee to go into the whole thing by a public enquiry. And if it is found that foreign money was taken by any party, even if the leader of that party is hanged no one will raise even his little finger against that.

Mr. Bhupesh Gupta, spoke about Mr. Masani. I do not know how he got that idea, I want to tell him that it was Mr. Masani himself who first brought it out to the open public that the said organisation was having some connection with the CIA. He had the courage to do it. Mr. Masani is hundred per cent a patriot and he would not touch foreign money even with a barge pole. That I want to tell my hon. friend. Let us not indulge in these mutual recriminations. Let us face facts and see what the position is. Let the CBI first enquire and find out how the correspondent got the information. Let the CBI check up the movements of the correspondent, his past activities. They can find out which Minister he had seen or which officers he had contacted and thus find out wherefrom he got the news. It is not a difficult job, Madam, and I am sure we will find that out. Let it be brought into the open. That is my request.

THE MINISTER OF HOME AFFAIRS (SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN): Madam Deputy Chairman, I heard this debate for nearly an hour and a half . . .

AN HON. MEMBER: Please come before the mike.

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN: I am nearer the mike; I think the mike is now ready to catch me.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: The mike is getting into stride.

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN: I said I was listening to this debate for the last hour and a half very carefully and the most important impression that I got was that this House is very much concerned by the news that appeared in 'New York Times' which is throwing a sort of basic doubt about the integrity of political parties of India. It is not criticism of 'A' party or 'B' party; it is practically a criticism of the entire democratic system. Somebody who is cynical and wants to create a doubt about the functioning of democracy in this country may possibly like to believe in this sort of information. Therefore it is good that we have discussed this question and you gave this opportunity to me to say something about this question. But I am not in a position to say completely . . .

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Why?

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN: . . . about this Report.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: But you have to say something.

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN: I am saying something. Whatever I can say I am saying. One thing is, I have not completely studied the Report yet and it is rather difficult for me to study the Report and form my opinion about it because it is a very serious document and a very big document. Therefore it will have to be studied in its different aspects very carefully and it may be necessary even to

have some further enquiries made before forming any definite opinions or coming to any broad conclusions. This is the first impression I am getting.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: But is it a leakage or not?

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN: I am coming to that point. That is why though I say that this report is conjecture, certainly the fact is it can be treated also as a sort of leakage because the fact that the Report was submitted to the Government is also information though the information that it conveyed is conjecture because it says that both the Home Minister and the Prime Minister have studied it and accurately agreed with that. It is completely wrong. As I said till three or four days I have not been able to read even a single line and the Prime Minister has not even seen the Report and my saying that it is conjecture is based on this. It is therefore necessary to find out who is the contact of the New York Times correspondent. This will have certainly to be found out and—I told the Lok Sabha also—I am making efforts to find this out. At the same time I must request Mr. Bhupesh Gupta to be rather very careful when he mentions names because after he mentioned that I immediately had enquiries made from by Mr. L. P. Singh. He said that there was some sort of a dinner when Mr. L. P. Singh and the New York Times correspondent met. It is completely untrue. Not a word has passed between the New York Time correspondent and let me...

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Was there any dinner?

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN: No; there was no dinner and no talk. Therefore I would request Mr. Bhupesh Gupta to be very careful about his contacts.

907 R.S.—8.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: I wanted to know from you because the Congress circles were speaking.

SHRI M. N. KAUL: These are also conjectures.

SHRI B. K. P. SINHA: I would like to say one thing. I know Mr. L. P. Singh for the last thirty years and he is one of the most honourable officers that this country has.

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN: Sometimes somebody becomes a pet aversion to some people.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Shri Gulzarilal Nanda does not think that way. He laid it before us.

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN: I must request hon. Members to realise that the person who is occupying the very high office of the Secretaryship of Home Affairs of this country is a very important person. He is carrying a very heavy responsibility, a very delicate responsibility and if anybody from Parliament treats him so lightly, really speaking we are doing damage to the country itself. I can assure you that we have every faith in the officer. He is the most honourable person. He is doing his duty most scrupulously and most conscientiously. That I can say.

श्री राजनारायण . माननीया, जब श्री नंदा जी गृह मंत्री थे तो उन्होंने आरोप लगाया था कि श्री एल० पी० सिंह ने उन्हें फाइल नहीं दिखाई और छिपाई गई ।

(Interruptions)

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Order, order.

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN: I am giving my assessment of the officer be-

[Shri Y. B. Chavan.]

cause he is responsible to me and I, am responsible to this hon. House. At the same time as I said I must make enquiries about this and I am making efforts. But to get the contacts of pressmen is rather a very difficult business. They have got their privileges but I am making efforts, I can tell you that.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: From whom?

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN: If I tell you that, my efforts will be made more difficult. I am not going to tell you that.

Secondly, I must come back. The whole thing that is responsible for this is the very easy attitude of making allegations. The whole thing starts with that. Somebody said that he wants to make allegations. Mr. Murahari started with that statement that he wants to accuse somebody, and therefore he made certain allegations. Is this the way we are going to function here?

SHRI G. MURAHARI: It is a responsible statement.

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN: I do not think it is a responsible statement. It is the most irresponsible statement one can make here.

SHRI G. MURAHARI: You tell us. Give us facts.

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN: What facts did you state? You merely made certain allegations on certain hear-say things.

श्री राजनारायण : मेरा एक प्वाइन्ट आफ ऑर्डर है ।

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Mr. Rajnarain, let him first finish his statement.

श्री राजनारायण : आप उठ न जाइयेगा ।

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: What is your point of order?

श्री राजनारायण : मेरा प्वाइन्ट आफ ऑर्डर यह है कि माननीय मंत्री जी को क्या यह हक शामिल है कि बिना अपने डिपार्टमेंट को जाने अनापसनाप बके ? (interruption)  
श्री एच० बी० श्र्यांगरने 21 जुलाई 1951 को पुलिस सम्मेलन के मामले बतलाया था कि भारत सरकार ने अमेरिकी फ़ेडरल इन्वैस्टिगेशन ब्यूरो के नक्शे पर सेंट्रल ब्यूरो आफ इंटेलिजेंस कायम करेगी । भारत सरकार के गुप्तचर विभाग के आफिसर अमेरिका गये और इस तरह से अमेरिका वालों से उनका पूरा संबंध है ।

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: That is all right. You continue.

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN: We must understand what is what. I do not know to which he is making reference. We have got two organisations in this country. I find some Members are very mistakenly making reference to C.B.I. C.B.I. and I.B. are two different organisations C.B.I. is the Central Bureau of Investigation which is a Central Police Organisation which undertakes official investigations under the Criminal Procedure Code. The other is the I.B.

(Interruptions)

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Why don't hon. Members listen to him?

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN: The Intelligence Bureau is an organisation which is quite different and this enquiry was undertaken by the Intelligence Bureau. It has its own methods of work. Well, naturally when an organisation of this type which is not only responsible for looking after internal intelligence . . .

SHRI G. MURAHARI: Which organisation is it the Intelligence Bureau or the C.B.I., which is part of the C.I.A. of America?

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN: This, I should say, is the most irresponsible statement.

(Interruptions)

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Order, order.

SHRI Y. B. CHAVA: The Government has no organisation which is part of C.I.A. This is the most irresponsible statement to be made.

श्री राजनारायण : सुनें क्या ? घर मंत्री जो कुछ नहीं बतला रहे हैं कि उन्होंने रिपोर्ट पढ़ी या नहीं। वह कहते हैं कि हमने थारोली नहीं पढ़ी।

(Interruptions)

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN: I do not know what has happened to this House, what has happened to some hon. Members of this House. I must strongly protest against this.

SHRI RAJNARAIN : "थारोली नहीं पढ़ी" What does it mean?

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Please take your seat. You must listen to the Home Minister.

SHRI RAJNARAIN: The Home Minister is giving an evasive answer.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Please take your seat

श्री राजनारायण . मैं आप से अर्ज करता हूँ कि इस देश के घर मंत्री को इस तरह से देश को बरबाद नहीं करने दिया जायेगा। घर मंत्री महोदय स्वतः अपनी बात को नहीं समझते हैं कि उनका क्या कर्तव्य है।

SHRI CHANDRA SHEKHAR (Uttar Pradesh): But no Member is authorised to make passing remarks . . .

श्री राजनारायण : यह कोई तरीका है। तीन महीने से लोक सभा और राज्य सभा में यह प्रश्न उठाया जा रहा है और अभी तक घर मंत्री कहते हैं कि पढ़ा नहीं। तीन महीने का समय घर मंत्री को देने के बाद घर मंत्री कहते हैं कि हमने पढ़ा नहीं। व्हाट डज इट मीन।

SHRI CHANDRA SHEKHAR: Madam Deputy Chairman, I am on a point of order . . .

SHRI RAJNARAIN: I am also on a point of order. Why did not the Home Minister read it? This is the question.

(Interruptions)

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Order, order.

SHRI CHANDRA SHEKHAR: I am on a point of order.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Mr. Tariq, please take your seat.

श्री राजनारायण : लीकेज हुआ तो कैसे रपट गई। क्या होम मिनिस्टर ने खुद दी। होम मिनिस्टर ने मारी देश की पार्टियों को बदनाम करा दिया है और अब भी वे होम मिनिस्टर बन कर बैठे हुये हैं।

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: I hope you know parliamentary practice.

SHRI RAJNARAIN: I know parliamentary practice more than anybody else here. I know parliamentary practice. Is this parliamentary practice?

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Please take your seat. It is a matter of opinion. Let him give his answer. No interruptions.

SHRI RAJNARAIN: Three months I have passed.

SHRI CHANDRA SHEKHAR: Mr. Murahari made a very pertinent point when he said that certain officers went for training to certain countries. I do not know whether they went for training or not. But

[Shri Chandra Shekhar]

going for training to any other country does not mean that they become agents of that country. Many of our military officers are going to the UK. (Interruption) I am on my legs. I request the Members . . .

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: You must be very brief. You cannot go on.

SHRI CHANDRA SHEKHAR: Once the Home Minister has categorically stated that no officer or no agency of the Government is a part of the CIA is it open to any Member to assert again and again that they are the agents of the CIA?

(Interruptions)

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN. Order, order. Now, without interruptions please let the Home Minister speak.

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN: I really do not know what has happened to the hon. Members. Are we out to destroy the country, the Government and everything and say that IB is part of the CIA and this is part of that, etc? I think nothing would be left that way in this country. Certainly, as Mr. Chandra Shekhar has rightly anticipated it, when you have to build up a new type of organisation—the IB is an organisation which looks to the internal intelligence as well as external intelligence—new techniques have to be built up. Methods have to be learnt. That is always done by a comparative study of the systems of other countries. Naturally sometimes we have to send people for training to different countries. That is a different matter. Therefore, does it mean that our system becomes a part of somebody else's system? That is beside the point. (Interruptions) I am not conceding.

श्री राजनारायण माननीया, मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि ऐसा कोई विभाग नहीं है जहाँ सी० आई० ए० के आदमी न हों। अगर आप

कहे तो मैं नाम भी गिनाना शुरू कर दूँ। मैं आपसे कहना चाहता हूँ कि राज्य सभा के सचिवालय में भी सी० आई० ए० के आदमी हैं।

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN. Please sit down.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: I hope you know it.

SHRI RAJNARAIN: I can mention names.

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN: Madam, it is very disturbing that when one is trying to make a point, he is disturbed. I am speaking on a very limited issue of this debate, about the report which has been submitted to us. As I have mentioned, the point is about leakage. If it is leakage of information . . .

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: You should know by now whether it is leakage or not.

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN: I will go into that.

(Interruptions)

SHRI AWADHESWAR PRASAD SINHA (Bihar): Three or four people disturb him.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: I am not disturbing him at all. I wanted to know whether Mr. Chavan has had a look at the report of the CBI or IB. Now, having read it, he got the impression that what has appeared in the New York Times is a case of leakage, however inaccurate or distorted it may be. This is all that I want to know.

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN: As I said, I am certainly making efforts to find out. When I say that it is a different matter. Let us go back to how this enquiry had to be started. There was a discussion in both Houses and open charges were made that foreign money had played a very important role in the last general elections and normally it plays certainly a big role in our cultural and economic life as well. So, it was my colleague, the External Affairs Minister, who assured that some such enquiry would be undertaken by the IB. The IB was asked to go into this in the last few months and they have submitted a first report. As I said . . .

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Did they meet any political party?

श्री राजनारायण . बहुत से लोगो से मिले हैं, इलाहाबाद में जा कर के मिले हैं ।

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN: I cannot say that. It would be very unfair to mention 'A', 'B', 'C' like that, because the character and nature of the enquiries have been such that they get information from somewhere and sometimes they get information from the source. If I am to base my conclusions on those reports, I cannot base these reports on evidence that can be produced and that can be relied upon. Merely because it is information coming from the source, it cannot be relied upon that way. After studying it, we will have to come to some broad conclusions about this matter. Certainly I am one with the hon. Member, Mr. Bhupesh Gupta, that we will have to find out the methods and *modus operandi* of this foreign money that is functioning here. This is certainly a very dangerous trend. It is certainly a danger to our independence, to our democracy and other things. We will have to find out the methods and take some decisions to stop it, to prevent it and to eradicate it. There is no doubt about it. That is the most important thing. Ultimately we will

have to study it and the broad conclusion I will share with this hon. House, not the report, but the conclusions certainly. Then certainly I will discuss it with hon. Members opposite also . . .

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: How?

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN: After my conclusions. (*Interruptions*).

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: He is studying it—he says.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: He says he will give the conclusions, not the evidence. When all the parties are involved, how do I know that the Congress Party will not grind its own axe?

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN: You say that when I do that. Do not merely anticipate it.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: I do not say that you will do it, but this is the impression I get.

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN: I cannot and I am not committing myself to submit the report that type of report before this hon. House. That itself we will have to think about when we proceed. This is all that I have to say.

(*Hon. Members stood up*)

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: That will be enough. (*Interruptions*). (*To Shri Bhupesh Gupta*) You alone and no more.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: I leave it in your hands and the House. Now, how long will the matter continue? All the parties stand maligned. Now, the Home Minister should clear the position. I have suggested let him come and show the report to you, so that the matter is settled.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: That suggestion has been made in the morning already.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: The House stands adjourned till 11 A.M. tomorrow.

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN: When I say these are all conjectures, I am really speaking clearing the political parties.

The House then adjourned at twenty minutes past six of the clock till eleven of the clock on Tuesday, the 20th June, 1967.