

SHRI C.T. DHANDAPANI : I have already walked-out and I have already joined the walk-out. Now, this is with regard to the Shri Lanka matter. I have already discussed this matter with you. Kindly listen to me.

MR. SPEAKER : No.

(Interruptions)

SHRI C.T. DHANDAPANI : In the Human Rights Conventions at Geneva, our Government has not condemned it...(Interruptions)

MR. SPEAKER : Not allowed. (Interruptions) I suppose, you had walked out, Shri Eduardo Faleiro.

SHRI K. MAYATHEVAR (Diudigul) : The Government has totally failed...(Interruptions)

MR. SPEAKER : Not allowed. (Interruptions)

SHRI K. MAYATHEVAR : In protest we are walking out...(Interruptions)

SHRI C.T. DHANDAPANI : We walk out.

(Interruptions)

14.16 hrs.

*Shri C.T. Dhandapani and some other hon. Members then left the House.*

# CALLING ATTENTION TO MATTER OF URGENT PUBLIC IMPORTANCE

*Reported allegations by Mr. Seymour Hersh in his recent book 'The Price of Power' against former Prime Minister of India, Shri Morarji Desai.*

SHRI EDUARDO FALEIRO (Mormugao) : Sir, I call the attention of the Minister of External Affairs to the following

matter of urgent public importance and I request that he may make a statement thereon :-

"The reported allegations made by Mr. Seymour Hersh in his recent book "The Price of Power", against Former Prime Minister of India, Shri Morarji Desai."

THE MINISTER OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS (SHRI P.V. NARASIMHA RAO) : Mr. Speaker Sir, In June 1983 a book was published in the United States by an American author Seymour Hersh entitled "The Price of Power : Kissinger in the Nixon White House". The book deals primarily with the years during which Dr. Henry Kissinger was the National Security Adviser to the US Government. The book which is of nearly 700 pages and 41 chapters contains one chapter (32 of 21 pages) which deals with the period, immediately preceding the birth of Bangladesh, Indo-Pakistan relations, and the attitude of President Nixon and Dr. Henry Kissinger towards India.

The chapter also contains allegations against "a former member of the Indian Cabinet" and subsequently identifies the person as Shri Morarji Desai. Shri Desai had already commented in public, calling the various allegations as a "sheer mad story". We have subsequently received information that a plaint has been filed in the US District Court in Illinois on behalf of Shri Morarji Desai by an Attorney, Shri Mahendra Mehta. A plaint has also been filed in the Bombay High Court. The matter is thus before courts of law.

14.18 hrs.

(MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER in the Chair)

SHRI EDUARDO FALEIRO : Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, when I gave notice of this Calling Attention, it was not my intention merely to assail the character or reputation of former Prime Minister, Mr. Morarji Desai. We have seen how these Benches on the other side have behaved for the last about three years. We did not give them any provocation because we thought about these people who have played their role in the Indian

political life, good or bad, it is for the posterity to judge.

We are convinced that they have no further role to play and there is no point in beating them and accusing them of their acts of omission and commission during their regime.

There is a code appearing in this book of Mr. Seymour Hersh "The Price of Power". It raises a very fundamental question.

And the question is what steps, what measures, are we taking, what measures is this Government of this country taking, to prevent this country from being a playground of the activities of international agencies? Because of the geo-political situation of this country, because of the sheer size and importance of this country in the comity of nations, it has definitely an attraction for agencies from all sides to come and obtain information from high sources. Where the book becomes important is in pointing out that this type of information, the most confidential, the most secret type of information, leaks out from the most unexpected and from high sources indeed.

As early as May 29, 1967, the then Foreign Minister Mr. M.C. Chagla had made a statement in this very House and he has said and I quote :

"I have asked the Intelligence Bureau to complete the enquiry into the CIA activities in this country "

I would like to know what the Government is doing to plug the loopholes and to see that this type of high level information, of confidential information, does not percolate to those countries which do not favour us, and whose interests are again and again and again antagonistic to our interests and security.

Who is this Seymour Hersh? Is he a journalist looking for sensational events, just to give concocted stories to make a living? Or is he a journalist who wants to make his flesh or is he a writer whose investigative activities have obtained for him international recognition?

DR. SUBRAMANIAM SWAMY (Bombay North East) : Like Magsaysay Award.

SHRI EDUARDO FALEIRO : All of us are aware how during the Vietnam conflict, the American Command in South Vietnam as well as the US Administration as a whole, were denying that they were indulging in wholesale massacre of civilians, women and children, in their attempt to flush out the Viet Cong insurgents, the Viet Cong revolutionaries. This was being said throughout Vietnam conflict. But there was no evidence until the My Lai massacre. My Lai massacre was brought to light and it was proved in courts of law that American military personnel had killed scores of innocent villagers, women and children in their attempt to flush out Viet Cong insurgents and for the first time convicted them in a court martial to life imprisonment.

DR. SUBRAMANIAM SWAMY : How is it relevant?

SHRI EDUARDO FALEIRO : Who was the person to reveal to the world, to expose to the world, the My Lai massacre? During the American conflict, the one person who exposed to the world the way the Americans were behaving by chilling and maiming and massacring civilian women and children in My Lai was Mr. Seymour Hersh. The Americans were denying that they were carpet bombing the country and they said they had nothing to do with the conflict. The Americans were saying that there were trucks of Viet Cong people coming from the neighbouring countries infiltrating into South Vietnam but they were not taking any action in those countries. They were saying this until it was proved, demonstrated and evidence was given that American D 52 planes were carpet bombing Kampuchea in the process of destroying life and property. Who is the person who revealed this to the world? The person who revealed this to the world was Seymour Hersh. What are the specific credentials of Mr. Hersh? Mr. Hersh has won a dozen journalism prizes.

For his account of the My Lai massacre, he earned the 1970 Pulitzer Prize for International Reporting, the George Folk Award,

(Shri Eduardo Faleiro)

the Sigma Delta Chi Distinguished Service Award, and the Worth Bingham Prize.....

(Interruptions) I will come to you, Dr. Swamy. You managed to get a lot of publicity out of this and you continue getting. Permit me to proceed...

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : It is for the Minister to reply.

DR. SUBRAMANIAM SWAMY : He has also said that the population of West Pakistan is six times that of East Pakistan. Why don't you quote that ? (Interruptions) This writer says that also. Why don't you quote that ?

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : It is for the Minister to reply.

DR. SUBRAMANIAM SWAMY : It is for you to regulate this.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : Please sit down. Your name is not here.

DR. SUBRAMANIAM SWAMY : He is trying to establish the credentials of the author. I want to know whether the population of West Pakistan is six times that of East Pakistan as this writer says.

SHRI EDUARDO FALEIRO : This is a very important Call-Attention where allegations are levelled against a former Prime Minister, an important national figure..... (Interruptions) We must have full opportunity to substantiate them...

DR. SUBRAMANIAM SWAMY : You must quote that also.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : You give all the material to Mr. Rajda. His name is here. He belongs to your Party. Unfortunately, your name is not here.

DR. SUBRAMANIAM SWAMY : Suddenly, the Americans have become angels for them.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : Mr. Faleiro, you please stick to the Call-Attention.

SHRI EDUARDO FALEIRO : For his reporting on the secret B-52 Bombing of Cambodia, he was awarded the Roy M. Howard Public Service Award and a second Polk Award in 1974. The next year he won the Drew Pearson Award, the John Peter Zenger Freedom of the Press Award, the Sidney Hillman Foundation Award, and a third Polk for his stories on the CIA and Chile, and CIA domestic spying. And in 1981 he received a second Sigma Delta Chi Award and his fourth Polk Award for two articles in the New York Times Magazine on the involvement of former CIA officials in arms sales to Libya.

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE (Rajapur) : Bharat Bhushan also.

SHRI EDUARDO FALEIRO : He is not a run-of-the-mill journalist looking for sensations. He has made astounding revelations regarding the role of the CIA, and not one of them has been challenged. This is Mr. Seymour Hersh.

Now what has been the record of Mr. Morarji Desai on foreign policy. Due to his convictions or otherwise or just coincidence, Mr. Morarji Desai, whenever he came-he will not come any more, I am sure-whenver in the past he came to take stands on fundamental decisions, has always happened to be on the side which was the side of American Administration thinking. It begins with my own case of Goa. In 1961, Mr. Adlai Stevenson came rushing to Delhi and implored Nehru to stop Krishna Menon from sending the Indian army to liberate Goa, Morarji dittoed the U.S. stand. In 1966, he got a collection of his articles published in a book form entitled 'In My View'. In his piece on non-alignment, he wrote : "It is incumbent on us to recognise Israel and to give equal status to South and North Vietnam. In respect of Formosa, we will have to recognise the facts of the situation."

In the 1977 election campaign for Parliament, Mr. Desai threatened to tear up the Indo-Soviet Friendship Treaty if the Janata came to power. But he...(Interruptions)

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : No running commentary please. Allow him to speak. There are four more Members and we have to go to the next item of business at 3 O' Clock.

SHRI EDUARDO FALEIRO : Dr. Swamy, you have had your say. Give me a few minutes.

Mr. Desai denounced the merger of Sikkim into the Indian Union as 'annexation'. He called it 'annexation'.

He called it an annexation—the merger of Sikkim into the Indian Union as annexation. In 1974, Dokar nuclear explosion was conducted. Shri Desai called it 'thoughtless and rash'. On the eve of the Havana Summit in 1979, Shri Morarji Desai's conduct was that he said that he would not participate in that unless Shri Anwar Sadat was invited. That was the time when the entire Arab World was up in arms against the campaign between Egypt and Israel. He had been bundled out of power before the Hawana summit. Mr. Morarji Desai, in a much greater embarrassment to India, invited Shri Moshe Dayan to Delhi and had a clandestine talk with him. (Interruptions) The man who was an intermediary in the whole affair of Mr. Moshe Dayan's visit has not been told. The man was one Mr. Gachi a wellknown racketeer. I will not say who he is and without deriving any conclusion, was a day to-day and almost day-to-day visitor to Mr. Kanti Desai's residence. Sir, last year, when the whole of India was agitated over the U.S. F16 deal with Pakistan as part of the 3.2 billion dollar military package, among the leaders of this country, only Mr. Desai stood four-square with the military regime and he unabashedly had spread the canard that while he was the Prime Minister, Mr. Kosygin had advised him to send the Indian army to break up Pakistan. (Interruptions) The Americans supported him. Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, what I am saying is a matter of record in this House and in the whole press.

AN HON. MEMBER : Can anybody agree with this ?

SHRI EDUARDO FALEIRO : Mr. Deputy—Speaker, on the even of the New Delhi NAM, Mr. Desai, modelled for the American Lobby, had denounced the Indian policy on Afghanistan and I Kampuchea. This is, Mr. Deputy—Speaker, Sir, the record of Shri Desai. Mr. Desai's stands are different on different international and foreign policy issues. (Interruptions) That is the point I am trying to make out. (Interruptions)

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : Don't interrupt him. The Minister will only reply to Mr. Faleiro.

SHRI EDUARDO FALEIRO : Mr. Deputy-Speaker, may I now go on ? (Interruptions)

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : Please sit down. No interruptions during the calling attention will go on record. Why do you all worry ? (Interruptions)\*\*

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER : Nothing other than Shri Eduardo Faleiro will go on record.

SHRI EDUARDO FALEIRO : May I now refer to the remarks made by Mr. Hersh ? (Interruptions)

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : You cannot stop him from quoting. If it is unparliamentary, we ourselves will take care of it. Mr. Faleiro, please go ahead.

SHRI EDUARDO FALEIRO : What Mr. Hersh said in substance is this. During the 1971 conflict between India and Pakistan a highlyplaced person and who was close to the Indian Cabinet—it must necessarily be understood as a Member of the Cabinet—per force passed on all the relevant information. (Interruptions)

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : Now you come to the point.



SHRI EDUARDO FALEIRO : I am now coming to the point. Sir, we are making serious allegations against the former Prime Minister. We must go through the allegations. (*Interruptions*) The allegation is there. (*Interruptions*)

Now, what does Mr. Hersh say? The accusation is that a man in high place who could manage to get information from the highest source in the Government because of his position passed this strategic information to the U.S. administration. I quote what Mr. Hersh says on page 450 of his book:

"For the next six months until the final defeat of Yahya Khan at the hands of India, Nixon and Kissinger constantly invoked their 'reliable sources' to justify the White House's hard line towards India. The source was never named for an obvious reason. The informant was reporting from India through the CIA. Nixon and Kissinger may have been honourable in protecting the man but the few in the American government who know his identity must also have known that his information was highly biased. The informant was undoubtedly Morarji Desai, a prominent Indian politician who was fired from the post of Deputy Prime Minister by Indira Gandhi in 1969 but continued after a bitter political dispute. Desai was a paid informer for the CIA and was considered one of the Agency's most important 'assets.' He had been in public life since the late 1940s serving as Chief Minister of the State of Bombay...

SHRI GEORGE FERNANDES (Muzaffarpur) : Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, I rise on a point of order. The hon. Member is quoting from a book. I was here by chance glancing through the book as he was quoting the lines. I find that he decided to skip four words. This is not fair. I will point out these words : "who was fired from the post of Deputy Prime Minister by Indira Gandhi in 1969—but stayed in her cabinet." This is being

(*Interruptions*)

SHRI EDUARDO FALEIRO : Sir, I am quoting in full. I request Mr. Fernandes not to get unnecessarily excited.

SHRI GEORGE FERNANDES : Sir, this amounts to misleading the House. You must protect the House.

SHRI EDUARDO FALEIRO : Please read it yourself.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : You cannot ask him to read. You may yourself read.

SHRI EDUARDO FALEIRO : In fact, I will go to this point again. I quote :

"Desai was a paid informer for the CIA and was considered one of the Agency's most important 'assets'..." He had been in public life since the late 1940s serving as Chief Minister of the State of Bombay, as Finance Minister and briefly as Deputy Prime Minister. He was a political reactionary and a bitter opponent of Prime Minister Mrs. Gandhi. His hostility showed repeatedly in his 3-volume "The Story of my life" published in India in the mid 1970s.

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE : 'Reactionary' means one who was reacting sharply. (*Interruptions*)

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : Hon. Members must remember that we are dealing with a former Prime Minister of India. Therefore I don't like terms like 'shame' and all that in the House. It is not proper.

Please go on. Please conclude now.

SHRI EDUARDO FALEIRO : "These American Intelligence Officials recall that Desai was a star performer who was paid \$ 20,000 a year by the CIA during the Johnson Administration through the 303 Committee, the cover Intelligence Group, that was replaced by the 40 Committee under Nixon and Kissinger. One official remembers that Desai continued to report after Nixon's

election, much of his information having to do with contacts between the Indian Government and the Soviet Union. According to this official, Kissinger was 'Very impressed with the asset. He couldn't believe it was really in the bag.'

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : Please be brief.

SHRI EDUARDO FALEIRO : I can't be brief; I have to give the whole thing.

SHRI KRISHNA CHANDRA HALDAR (Durgapur) : How long is he allowed to speak ?

SHRI EDUARDO FALEIRO : So, this is what Mr. Hersh has got to say. Was he saying it on his own ? Is he the first person to say this ? Or, has it been stated by other writers ?

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : Therefore, what are your questions now ?

SHRI EDUARDO FALEIRO : We will go to the question now. In his Book, "The White House Years," in page 856 of the Indian Edition, Kissinger, while discussing the India Pakistan crisis of 1971 had this to say :

'In May 1971 we learned from sources theretofore reliable that Mrs. Gandhi had ordered planes for a lightning 'Israeli-type' attack to take over East Pakistan. And we had hard evidence that India was dispersing aircraft and moving combat troops and armour to the border. Nixon took the reports seriously enough to order on May 23 that if India launched such an attack, US economic aid to India was to be cut off. I assembled the WSAG on May 26 to review our policy in the event of a war.'

Kissinger makes no mention of a Minister if that is the point taken. Kissinger

makes no mention of a Cabinet Minister in Indian Government if that is the point taken. Kissinger says merely 'a source heretofore reliable.'

SHRI A.K. ROY (Dhanbad) : I rise on a point of order. My point of order is this. Whenever we speak on the Calling Attention Notice or Motion, we are shown the rules that it should be done with a brief statement and then a question. I remember that when Mr Appu's case came here, it was also a very sensational case and then those who stood on that issue were simply silent thinking that no locture is allowed. I would like to say this to the House, that this brings glory to none. Morarji Desai has served the Congress Party more than Mrs Gandhi, I tell you. If an American writer writes something saying 'Parliament is a captive Parliament' then should Parliament dance to his tune ?

The American writer may write something. Why should we act as their agents ? (Interruptions) We may seek explanation from the Government whether they are correct or not. But this is not something which we should relish. (Interruptions)

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : Let the Minister reply to him.

(Interruptions)

SHRI A.K. ROY : Let him reply whether these are facts (Interruptions)

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : Mr. Roy, please go to your seat.

(Interruptions)

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : Do not record whatever he says.

(Interruptions)\*\*

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : You go to your seat. I have already appealed to the House to observe restraint. Mr. Roy, you please go to your seat. You have made your point.

(Interruptions)

SHRI A.K. ROY : We are giving publicity to the foreign writer. Let the Government say whether this is correct or not.

(Interruptions)

SHRI EDUARDO FALEIRO : Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, the Minister of External Affairs while replying to a connected question in the other House, took defence that we are not going to hold an enquiry because there is a precedence for not holding an enquiry when Senator Moynihan, in his publication "A Dangerous Place" made allegations against Mrs. Indira Gandhi, then the Government took this stand that 'let her go to the court.' In fact, Mr. Desai himself; when he was Prime Minister, had said that these allegations were without any basis which Moynihan withdrew.

DR. SUBRAMANIAM SWAMY : He did not withdraw. You see the records.

(Interruptions)

SHRI EDUARDO FALEIRO : You are misinformed. You are not right. (Interruptions). Mr. Moynihan was questioned by an Indian reporter in the United States. Mr. Moynihan had said "I cannot say that Mrs. Gandhi took the money herself. But Mrs. Gandhi was the President of the Congress Party at that time. So, she must have known." Then Mr. Moynihan withdrew. What did Mr. Morarji Desai do? In a statement, in an interview to the *Christian Science Monitor* of 20th April 1979, Mr. Morarji Desai, for whom so many people are shedding tears and asking to have an enquiry, he said and I quote :

"Prime Minister Morarji Desai has said it was open for her to sue Senator Moynihan if the allegation was untrue,"

SHRI RAVINDRA VARMA (Bombay North) : That is what he has done.

SHRI EDUARDO FALEIRO : I will now inform the House what Mr. Desai had said in an interview to the Free Press daily. He said that the allegations are very serious. It is for the Government of India to institute an enquiry and find out the truth.

SHRI RAVINDRA VARMA : He has filed a suit to the Court. Why do you suppress that fact ?

SHRI EDUARDO FALEIRO : Mr. Varma, I have high regards for your intelligence. Nobody in this House or in this country is ignorant that Mr. Desai has gone to the Court. The point is this that when Mr. Desai felt that false allegations were made against Mrs. Gandhi, the allegations were withdrawn by Mr. Moynihan.

DR. SUBRAMANIAM SWAMY : Not withdrawn.

SHRI EDUARDO FALEIRO : It is a\*\* Mr. Desai had said in an interview "let Mrs. Gandhi go to the court." But when great allegations are made, now he says that the Government of India should enquire into the allegations. Now, who has taken the money ?

(Interruptions\*\*\*)

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : What he said has not gone on record; this is also not going on record.

(Interruptions\*\*\*)

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : This is not going on record.

Please conclude now.

SHRI EDUARDO FALEIRO : Who has got twenty thousand dollars per years ?...

(Interruptions)\*\*

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : This also is not going on record.

\*\*Expunged as ordered by the Chair.

\*\*\*Not recorded.

SHRI EDUARDO FALEIRO : After the resolution in the Lok Sabha, after the Vaidyalingam Commission's report, after the recent disclosure of Shri Sanjeeva Reddy, ex-President of India, all fingers point at one person. In fact, there are other persons also to whom the fingers point.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : Please conclude now. It has been endorsed by the Hon. Speaker that the first Member in the Calling Attention shall take not more than 12 minutes. You have taken already more than 20 minutes. The subject matter of the Calling Attention should not take much time.

SHRI RATANSINH RAJDA (Bombay South) : When our turn comes, kindly allow us also this much time.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : This is for him as also for you. I am telling him to conclude.

SHRI EDUARDO FALEIRO : The Vaidyalingam Commission, the resolution of the Lok Sabha, and the recent disclosure of President's letters have disclosed the nature of the people who were close to the Prime Minister. (*Interruptions*).

I have given notice of these allegations. A former Special Assistant to Shri Morarji Desai in the Administrative Reforms Commission is the Director of a particular Centre...

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : You have been told that you must take full responsibility for what you are placing before the House now.

SHRI EDUARDO FALEIRO : I have not been told ; I have written that myself in my own hand-writing.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : You have been told and you have given in writing also.

SHRI EDUARDO FALEIRO : This Centre had got itself registered as a Trust and was enjoying exemptions from Income-

tax, he had drawn donations from State Governments and other agencies and had misused them. This man was drawing Rs. 30000, every month and was working as a tool of foreign agencies and drawing large funds from them without filing returns under FCRA. He was also diverting funds to Goa for setting up a polymer synthetic industry.

The aims and objects of this so-called Centre are inter alia to carry out study projects on various national issues like integration, industrial policy, population policy, family planning, foreign policy, nuclear policy, rural development etc.

The Centre is reportedly working in collaboration with certain foreign-based private research organisations like the Research Associates (Asia) Ltd., Hong Kong, and the Asia Press Foundation, Manila. Some of these organisations have links with foreign intelligence agencies. The Manila based Asia Press Foundation is a known outfit of the C.I.A.

The Centre also derives its income for services rendered to various industrial establishments and foreign based organisations. Though its precise financial position could not be ascertained through discreet enquiries, the Centre has not filed any returns with Ministry of Home Affairs about the funds received by it from abroad as required under FCRA, 1976.

The man concerned is Dr. V.A. Pai Panandhikar, and the Centre is Centre for Policy Research. There are enough people... (*Interruptions*)

DR. SUBRAMANIAM SWAMY : Will you care to make the statement outside the House ?

SHRI EDUARDO FALEIRO : Lastly, who has supplied all this information and put Mr. Hersh on the track of this ?

Now, Sir, the distinguished colleague of ours can help us. Mr. Vajpayee in an interview given to the PTI in Washington dated July 16, has said this and I quote from the agency report :



PROF. K.K. TEWARY (Buxar):  
Dr. Swamy is happy now.

SHRI EDUARDO FALEIRO : "The BJP President, Mr. Atal Behari Vajpayee has said that even before the publication of Seymour Hersh's book, he has been told by a person in the US with high connections in New Delhi that the book was coming making serious allegations against Mr. Morarji Desai. Mr. Vajpayee told the Indian newsmen here yesterday that this person also had close links with the US Embassy in New Delhi.

Mr. Vajpayee said he met the former US Ambassador," the notorious Senator—"Daniel Moynihan" and so on and so forth.

But the question that the Minister should ask Mr. Vajpayee and Mr. Vajpayee can enlighten and educate us in this regard. Who is this person who had the before-hand knowledge that the book is being published? Who is this person? What is the relation of this person with Mr. Vajpayee? Why does he go to Mr. Vajpayee in preference to anybody else and why? Why did not Mr. Vajpayee inform the Government of India that this book is coming? These are the questions I would like the Minister to reply and tell us as to the credentials of Mr. Hersh and also what steps are being taken to plug this type of leaks in which even a person at such a high-level as Mr. Morarji Desai is allegedly involved?

THE MINISTER OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS (SHRI P.V. NARASIMHA RAO): I don't know what to say.

SHRI SUNIL MAITRA (Calcutta North East): Sir, the Minister can speak upto 3 p.m. Then we take up the Private Members' Bill.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: I will take the sense of the House.

SHRI P.V. NARASIMHA RAO: Sir, I have to confess that in the light of what I have said in my statement, I find the question of antecedents or the credibility rather totally unconnected with this matter. The matter is now in a court of law. The only difference between the precedent case to which the

Hon. Member referred and this case lies in the fact that the previous government, when they were faced with a similar situation, started with a presumption and the then Home Minister said and I quote;

"The normal presumption would be that Mr. Moynihan would not have gone on record on an issue like this, had there not been any element of truth in it."

In this case, we have not done this. We have not raised this presumption. We have merely said the matter is in a court of law. We have no comment on the matter. Meanwhile, of course, Members are free to draw their own conclusions. That is all I could say at this moment.

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: Hon. Members, we have to take up at 3 O' Clock-only two minutes more-the Private Members' Business and we will go upto 5.30. Still some Official Bills have got to be introduced and Matters under Rule 377 have got to be completed. Therefore, what is the suggestion of the House?

AN HON. MEMBER: Sir, we introduce the Bill.

SHRI RAM VILAS PASWAN (Hajipur): No. How can this be done.

SHRI RAMAVATAR SHASTRI (Patna): You cannot pass the Private Members Bill.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: I am told the Call Attention cannot be interrupted. Supposing the Call Attention is over, then we can go on to Matters Under Rule 377. Call Attention has got to be over. At 3 O' Clock we have to take up the Private Members' Business. Shall we take up the Private Members' Business with the permission of the House at 4 O' Clock?

SEVERAL HON. MEMBERS: No.

(Interruptions)

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: We finish this item.

(Interruptions)

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : Please listen, shall we take up Legislative Business, introduction of the Bills.

SEVERAL HON. MEMBERS : No.

15.00 hrs.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : I am coming to that. (Interruptions)

DR. SUBRAMANIAM SWAMY : You have allowed them to let out this propaganda here. (Interruptions)

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : How long will the Calling Attention go on ? Private Member's business is there. I think we will take up other items. (Interruptions) If all of you speak at the same time, how can I follow ? That is the difficulty.

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE : I am on a point of order. My point of order is that according to rules, once Calling Attention starts, its progress cannot be discontinued, or intercepted. You can check up.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : I agree.

THE MINISTER OF PARLIAMENTARY AFFAIRS, SPORTS AND WORKS AND HOUSING (SHRI BUTA SINGH) : After this Calling Attention, we will take up other business and sit a little later to pass the Bills. (Interruptions)

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : I have taken the sense of the House. Now Mr. Paswan.

श्री राम विलास पासवान (हाजीपुर) :  
उपाध्यक्ष जी, सर्वप्रथम तो मेरा आपके ऊपर चार्ज है कि आपने चेयर पर बैठ कर इतने गलत ढंग से यहहोने दिया। यह चेयर का अपमान है और जिस तरह से आपने शब्दों का प्रयोग होने दिया...

(Interruptions)\*\*

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER : Don't record anything, whatever he says. Don't record. He should come to the subject.

(Interruptions)\*\*

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER : Don't record anything whatever he says. Don't record. He can come to the subject.

(Interruptions)\*\*

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER : Don't record anything, except the subject.

(Interruptions)\*\*

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER : I have not permitted anything to be recorded, anything whatever he has said. I have said : "Don't record anything," It is his personal opinion. Whatever he has said has not been recorded. It is for me to decide about this, and not others.

(Interruptions)\*\*

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER : I have not allowed anything to be recorded. After all, it concerns me. He is in a very angry mood. He is my good friend. I have not allowed the recording of anything of whatever he has said.

(Interruptions)\*\*

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER : That is all right, I have told you. Mr. Paswan, are you continuing ? Are you going to speak ? Come to the subject. Or, I will call the next person.

DR. SUBRAMANIAM SWAMY : Sir, one hon. Member called Mr. Morarji Desai as a CIA agent, and you kept quiet.

PROF. K.K. TEWARY (Buxar) : This is very unfair. What happens here is related to the question of dignity of the question, not to you as an individual Sir, with you

as an individual I am not concerned. It is a question of the dignity of the Chair. See the sense of impunity with which this Member is speaking. You should establish healthy traditions in this House.

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER : You have understood him. Leave it; leave it. It is all right.

PROF. K.K. TEWARY : Give a ruling. It is very unfortunate. You are in the Chair.

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER : I have not allowed the recording of anything of whatever he has said.

*(Interruptions)\*\**

SHRI CHANDRAJIT YADAV (Azamgarh) : I want to rise on a point of order. I think there are certain things which you, Sir, should not overlook because this house has certain rules and regulations for functioning. Unless and until we function according to those rules, I think this House will become a place for accusations and counter-accusations. I am very sorry to say that this House itself degrading itself, losing its dignity. Firstly, I think it is a very well established rule and practice...

No member is allowed to make any allegation. I can understand that this calling attention relates to a certain particular item. *(Interruptions)* Not that you bring a fresh chargesheet against a member who has no right to defend himself. (2) I think you should look into it and see that it should be deleted and it should be expunged. Secondly, I am very unhappy with what Mr. Paswan had said. You may overlook it, but it is not good if he charges you\* I think that should also be withdrawn or it should be expunged.

*(Interruptions)*

SHRI RAM VILAS PASWAN : I will tell this thing a thousand times.

*(Interruptions)*

PROF. N.G. RANGA (Guntur) : I can very well understand your anxiety in the House to conduct its business in spite of what falls from the lips of angry people. Nevertheless, there must be a limit. I do not know the provocation. *(Interruptions)*

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER : Whatever you have said I have noted. All right. You come to the subject; don't forget the subject proper.

श्री हरीश रावत (अल्मोड़ा) : यह हाउस का अपमान है। यह बहुत गम्भीर मामला है।

*(व्यवधान)*

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER : It is all right.

SHRI RAM PYARE PANIKA (Robertsganj) : It is a question of the dignity of the Chair.

*(Interruptions)*

SHRI HARISH RAWAT : It is a very serious matter; it should not be overlooked.

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER : I have already noted all your points. Mr. Paswan.

SHRI BUTA SINGH : It is a matter of great concern for the whole House, as Shri Chandrajit Yadav has pointed out. The hon. member, Shri Paswan has referred to the person and the Chair both. It is not so easy that you get it expunged and the member insists on repeating this thing. This is a matter which the House is seized of and we would like to take action on this.

*(Interruptions)*

SHRI RAM VILAS PASWAN : I am ready for it.

\*\*Not recorded.

\*Expunged as ordered by the Chair.

श्री हरीश कुमार गंगवार (पीलीभीत) : मैं भी इनके साथ हूँ। हमने इसके लिए स्वीकर को लिखकर भी दिया है। तीन महीने हो गए हैं। आप हाउस चलाने के काबिल नहीं हैं। यह मैंने लिखकर दिया है। आप हिन्दी भी बिल्कुल नहीं जानते। हिन्दी वालों की तरफ ध्यान नहीं देते।

(व्यवधान)

SHRI RAM VILAS PASWAN : The Speaker will decide it.

(Interruptions)

SHRI BUTA SINGH : You may be very lenient; you may be very generous; you may be very kind, but we cannot allow the Chair to be insulted in this fashion. Therefore; unless it is decided, we will not listen.

(Interruptions)

DR. SUBRAMANIAM SWAMY : Did you hear when your member said that Mr. Morarji Desai is a CIA agent? Where were you then?

(Interruptions)

SHRI BUTA SINGH : Under the rules, it is very clear.....

(Interruptions)

SHRI RATANSINH RAJDA : You cannot call Mr. Morarji Desai as a CIA agent.

(Interruptions)

SHRI BUTA SINGH : We are governed by the rules; and the members cannot flout the rules of the House, the Chair and the person in the Chair. Therefore, it is a very serious matter and I would like to give a serious thought to this. Simple expun-

tion or expunging things from the proceedings will not satisfy us. The member should withdraw his words.

(Interruptions)

SHRI RAM VILAS PASWAN : No, no.

DR. SUBRAMANIAM SWAMY : No. You first made Mr. Faleiro to withdraw his words. Then we will consider it. (Interruptions)

PROF. K.K. TEWARY : It has no connection with that. (Interruptions)

SHRI HARISH KUMAR GANGWAR : There is no question of withdrawing them. He had also said the same thing.

PROF. K.K. TEWARY : Mr. Deputy-Speaker : What is the ruling? What is your ruling? We want a ruling on this question.

(Interruptions)

The Parliamentary Affairs had made a request to you.

SHRI GEORGE FERNANDES : His request is out of order. (Interruptions) His request is out of order.

PROF. K.K. TEWARY : I insist on a ruling.

श्री राम विलास पासवान : अभी जो चर्चा चल रही है इसको बहुत गम्भीरता से लिया जाना चाहिये।

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER : He has noted it.

(Interruptions)

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : It is left to him.



श्री राम विलास पासवान : भूतपूर्व प्रधान मन्त्री को बदनाम करने की यह एक साजिश है ।

अभी विदेश मन्त्री जी ने दो तीन बातें कही हैं ।

(Interruptions)

मोनिहान ने जो कहा है उसका इन्होंने जिक्र किया है ।

(Interruptions)

उन्होंने बताया है कि दोनों की समान नेचर है । मैं बताना चाहता हूं कि दोनों की समान नेचर नहीं है ।

श्री मोनिहान ने कहा है :

We had twice, but only twice, interfered in Indian politics to the extent of providing money to a political party. Both the times this was done in the face of a prospective Communist victory in a State election, once in Kerala, and once in West Bengal, where Calcutta is located. Both the times the money was given to the Congress Party which had asked for it. Once it was given to Mrs. Gandhi. (Interruptions)

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE : When he read about Shri Morarji Desai nobody was disturbed.

SHRI JAGDISH TYTLER (Delhi Sadar) : Sir, a very important point.

You should find out who was the Treasurer of the Congress Party at that time. Shri Morarji Desai was the Treasurer of the Congress Party then.

(Interruptions)

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE : We could not hear it properly.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : All the people are talking simultaneously.

(Interruptions)

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : Hon. Members, if this House becomes a political forum, it is impossible to run the House because now all political issues are raised whether from this side or that side. Please listen to me. If this House is converted into a political forum I make it very clear that I cannot—that we cannot run the House.

(Interruptions)

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : We cannot run the House like this. And I would request you to come to the subject matter.

(Interruptions)

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : If politics is discussed in this House we cannot come to any conclusions. We cannot have any deliberations in this House.

(Interruptions)

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE : When Mr. Faleiro was quoting you did not object to it.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : It is impossible to discuss anything in this House, at this rate.

(Interruptions)

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : This is not a forum for political discussion. Mr. Ram Vilas Paswan please avoid politics.

(Interruptions)

SHRI RATANSINH RAJDA : You are powerless now. Why did you allow Mr. Faleiro ?... (Interruptions)

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : If you continue like this I will go to the next item.

(Interruptions)

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : I said; Do not convert this forum into a political forum... (Interruptions) Mr. Ram Gopal Reddy... Put your questions...

(Interruptions)

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : Do not record anything. Let us see.

(Interruptions)\*\*

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : This is not the way. I will not allow you.

(Interruptions)\*\*

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE : I am on a point of order... (Interruptions)

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : I can face any situation... (Interruptions) Ask him to go to his seat... (Interruptions)

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE : I am on a point of order under rule 376.

I will formulate my point of order. Just when Shri Ram Vilas Paswan was speaking, he was quoting something—I do not want to go into the merits of the case—there were some remarks in the book which went against Mrs. Indira Gandhi, people were disturbed and you said: do not politicalise the issue, this is not the forum for that.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : I never stopped him when he was referring to the Prime Minister. I never did that. But when he was mentioning that a particular party received a particular amount and all that, I said: do not politicalise these things. I said it only when he said that such and such a party...

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE: Let me finish my point of order... (Interruptions) Will you bring them to order?

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : I have allowed Prof. Dandavate.

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE : Under your residuary power you have allowed me and I accept whatever you have clarified just now. But I want to remind you that when our hon. colleague, Shri Faleiro, was actually reading certain extracts from the same book—only the page was different—at that time nobody in the House, including yourself, intervened in the matter. My only request to you is that, as far as hon. Members of this side of the House are concerned, they have the same liberty to quote from the same book and, therefore, there is no politicalisation. There is no attack on the Prime Minister. He was only quoting from that book and, therefore, it was perfectly in order.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : I want to reply to this. When some hon. Members from one said “shame”, and all that, I said that we are dealing with a subject in connection with a former Prime Minister of our country, Shri Morarji Desai, and therefore I want that members should observe restraint. It is in the proceedings. I said these words should not be used by any member; I have said that. I intervened in the case of Shri Ram Vilas Paswan not because he was speaking about the present Prime Minister... I never objected earlier. It is there.

(Interruptions)

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE : He was saying he has a very high opinion about Shrimati Indira Gandhi.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : You are confusing the issue. He mentioned he has seen in the book that a particular political party got some amount from some person. I said: do not politicalise this issue; if some party says this party has got it; then this party will say that another party has got it; therefore, do not bring in such issue. That is way I said, do not make it a political forum, parliament is a deliberating forum.

SHRI SATYASADHAN CHAKRABORTY (Calcutta South) : You have said that Parliament is not a political forum. Will you tell us what forum is it ?

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : I still hold that Parliament is not a political forum; it is a deliberative forum.

SHRI SATYASADHAN CHAKRABORTY : Is it a non-political forum ?

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : Professor, please go and refer to the Oxford Dictionary. What is Parliament ? It is a deliberative forum. Nowhere in any dictionary I have seen that Parliament is a political forum.

(Interruptions)

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : You please sit down; you do not know all these things.

SHRI BUTA SINGH : We must know what is the discussion in the House. As you rightly pointed out, in this kind of atmosphere it is very difficult to find out where the truth lies. The subject matter of the discussion, if with your permission I may read out the Calling Attention given by so many members...

AN HON. MEMBER : Is it a point of order ?

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : I have allowed him.

SHRI BUTA SINGH : The subject matter of the discussion is very very clear.

"I call the attention of the Minister of External Affairs to the reported allegations made by Mr. Seymour Hersh in his recent book 'The Price of Power' against former Prime Minister of India, Shri Morarji Desai."

For a very limited purpose-sorry. I was not here-if Shri Faleiro has read something

out of this book, it is well within the rules, the book which has been mentioned here.

DR. SUBRAMANIAM SWAMY : He read from *The Blitz*.

(Interruptions)

SHRI BUTA SINGH : I mean, the book which has been mentioned here in the Calling Attention notice itself. If he has read some portions of that book which has accepted by the hon. Speaker to be a subject for today's Calling Attention, then there is nothing wrong in that. Everything is subject to scrutiny. You may kindly go through the proceedings. If, according to the hon. Members opposite there, Shri Faleiro has read something out of the way... ((Interruptions)). At the same time, a book which has not been mentioned...

DR. SUBRAMANIAM SWAMY : It has been mentioned by Mr. Faleiro.

(Interruptions)

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : He is not mentioning about Mr. Faleiro.

SHRI BUTA SINGH : I am not mentioning about Mr. Faleiro, (Interruptions). I am not talking about Mr. Faleiro. (Interruptions). I say, about the book which is not mentioned here, under the rules you cannot allow any portion of the book to be read unless a notice has been given to the Chair and the Chair has given permission.

(Interruptions)

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : He has given notice. Mr. Paswan, you continue.

(Interruptions)

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : Sit down. I am making an appeal to that Member. Why do you get up every time ? It is not proper.

(Interruptions)

SHRI K. LAKKAPPA (Tumkur) : We are helping the Chair ; he should confine to the subject matter. That is all.

(Interruptions)

SHRI RAM VILAS PASWAN : Why do you advise me ? You have no right to advise me.

(व्यवधान)

मैंने आपको लिखकर दिया है कि मैं इस किताब से कोट करूंगा जबकि पहले के सदस्य ने आपको लिखकर भी नहीं दिया और आपने उनको अनुमति दे दी । (व्यवधान) मैंने जो बात कही वह इसलिए भी कही कि माननीय विदेश मन्त्री जी ने जो अभी अपने जवाब में कहा है...

(व्यवधान)

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : We will go through the proceedings. All right, let him read. We will go through the proceedings.

(Interruptions)

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : Hon. Members, Mr. Paswan has given to me a letter, I think now not, but of course prior to this, which says :

"To the Deputy-Speaker.

Sir, I will quote one paragraph from *A Dangerous Place* written by Daniel Patrick Moynihan."

(Interruptions)

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : And therefore, I think he has already mentioned that paragraph. Now, Mr. Paswan, you go to the next subject. Don't go on reading.

(Interruptions)

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : Mr. Paswan, go to the next subject, You have given only one paragraph to be read.

(Interruptions)

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE : He is not reading even the entire paragraph. He is reading only one-fourth of that paragraph.

SHRI RAM VILAS PASWAN : I am reading only one paragraph. (Interruptions). That is what I am telling you. But you are not listening. (Interruptions). It says :

".....We had twice, but only twice, interfered in Indian politics to the extent of providing money to a political party. Both times this was done in the face of a prospective Communist victory in a State election. Once in Kerala and once in West Bengal, where Calcutta is located. Both times the money was given to the Congress Party, which had asked for it. Once it was given to Mrs. Gandhi herself, who was then a Party official."

This is the one paragraph I read.

(Interruptions)

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : Prof. Tewary, what is your point of order ?

(Interruptions)

I have allowed him. Others may sit down. Mr. Paswan, you also sit down and take some rest.

PROF. K.K. TEWARY : This Calling Attention was on a specific precise matter. But unfortunately some deviation has been permitted. Mr. Paswan starts with Moynihan. In fact the issue starts with the book written by Hersh.

By way of referring to certain things he can of course allude to that book if you have permitted.

You have permitted only a quotation from that book. But have you gone through that passage what it contains, what is the nature of the allegation specified therein ?

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : He has only just now given that to me.



PROF. K.K. TEWARY : Have you allowed that allegation to be levelled ?

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : Even if he is quoting from any book or Shri Eduardo Faleiro has quoted, when we go through the proceedings if there is anything which infringes Rule 352, we will take care of it. Whatever they quote or have quoted if it is unparliamentary, derogatory, defamatory, we will not allow it.

(Interruptions)

श्री राम विलास पासवान : उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, मैंने इसलिए इसको पढ़ा, क्योंकि जब विदेश मन्त्री जवाब दे रहे थे और दूसरे सदन में भी ऐसा ही जवाब में कहा है कि वर्तमान प्राइम मिनिस्टर के संबंध में और फोर्मेर प्राइम मिनिस्टर के संबंध मामला चला तो सेम मामला था। मैं इन्हीं को कोट कर रहा हूँ, सेम मामला नहीं था। जब वर्तमान प्राइम मिनिस्टर और उस समय भूतपूर्व प्राइम मिनिस्टर थी, उनके संबंध में जिसने चार्ज लगाया है, वह एक एम्बेसडर था और उस एम्बेसडर ने कहा है कि मैंने अपने पास से पैसा दिया है और अभी जो भूतपूर्व प्रधान मंत्री है, श्री मोरार जी देसाई, उनके संबंध में जो चार्ज लगाया है, वह एक राइटर ने लगाया है।

(व्यवधान)

SHRI JAGDISH TYTLER : Totally untrue. Totally untrue.

(Interruptions)

श्री राम विलास पासवान : उपाध्यक्ष जी, मैं कह रहा था कि यदि...

(व्यवधान)

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER : Why do you not put the question now ? Already half-an-hour is over.

(Interruptions)

श्री राम विलास पासवान : उपाध्यक्ष जी, मंत्री जी दूसरे सदन में कहा था, मैं उसको पढ़ कर सुना देता हूँ।

"I certainly would condemn the irresponsible statement of this kind if they are proved to be incorrect, because I am not in a position either to prove or to disprove it. I have not made any statement about it. The Home Minister went to say (at that time) that Mrs. Gandhi should file a suit in this country against the Indian publishers and immediately the facts will come out."

अभी जब उन्होंने यह कहा तो हमारे साथी ने उसी वक्त रिएक्ट किया। मैं यह कहना चाहता था...

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER : What is your question now ?

SHRI RATANSINH RAJDA (Bombay South) : Sir, don't expose yourself to partiality. I have drawn your attention.

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER : Please sit down. Your name is also there in the list. I am only helping you. If he takes a long time, I will not be able to call you. (Interruptions)

SHRI RATANSINH RAJDA : You have allowed Mr. Eduardo Faleiro. Kindly don't expose yourself to partiality and charges of partiality. (Interruptions) You cannot have two conducts, two standards.

DR. SUBRAMANIAM SWAMY : It is not a military court.

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER : Am I not to ask Mr. Paswan to put a question ?

SHRI RATANSINH RAJDA : Don't take a double standard.

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER : I have only asked him to put a question.

SHRI RAM PYARE PANIKA (Robertsganj) : For call-attention, only one hour is allotted. You have to prescribe the time-limit.

श्री रामविलास पासवान : उपाध्यक्ष जी, मैंने यह इसलिए कहा कि चाहे मोरारजी देसाई के विरुद्ध हो, चाहे इन्दिरा गांधी के विरुद्ध हो, आप जो फारन-जर्मलिस्ट्स है, जो अमरीका के हैं, उनकी बातों को लेकर इस सदन में पूरे-का-पूरा पैराग्राफ कोट करने को आते हैं और पूरी किताब को लेकर एक्स-प्राइममिनिस्टर पर आरोप लगाते हैं, मुझे खुशी है कांग्रेस (आई) को छोड़कर पूरे देश की जनता और पूरे समाचार-पत्र इस बात को मानते हैं कि मोरारजी देसाई देश-भक्त हैं (व्यवधान)

SHRI EDUARDO FALEIRO : It is not true.

SHRI RAM PYARE PANIKA : It is baseless.

श्री राम विलास पासवान : उनकी ईमानदारी और उनकी देशभक्ति के ऊपर कोई चार्ज नहीं लगा सकता है और इसलिए भी नहीं

(व्यवधान)

इसलिये भी नहीं, उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, कोई आदमी एक दिन में बड़ा या छोटा नहीं होता है। जो आदमी मुख्य मंत्री रहा हो, जो आदमी फाइनेन्स मिनिस्टर रहा हो, जो देश का उप-प्रधान मंत्री रहा हो, जो देश का प्रधान मन्त्री रहा हो, उस के खिलाफ उन फैक्ट्स को लेकर जो

कभी किसी आधार पर सही नहीं हैं, न पापुलेशन के आधार पर और न ईयर के आधार पर, इतनी बड़ी एलीगेशन लगाते हैं, और फैलीरियो जैसे आदमी इतने बड़े आदमी के खिलाफ एलीगेशन लगाते हैं, यह उस आदमी का ही अपमान नहीं है, पूरे मुल्क का अपमान है और अगर इस तरह से आप एलीगेशन लगाना शुरू करेंगे तो मैं आपको चेतावनी देता हूँ—यदि आप अमरीका से लड़ना चाहते हैं, अमरीका के खिलाफ हैं, यदि अमरीका के खिलाफ उठेंगे तो रोज आपके प्रधान मंत्री के खिलाफ इस तरह का स्टेटमेन्ट आयेगा और रोज यहां चर्चा करेंगे।

इसलिए मैं यह कहना चाहता हूँ इस सदन के माध्यम से अभी “रायटर” ने एलीगेशन लगाया है और क्या यह बात सही नहीं है कि शंकरन नायर जो “रा” के हैड हैं उन को वाशिंगटन भेजा गया और वहां से आने के बाद उस ने पूरी चीज को बतलाया। “वीकली” पढ़िये, उस में निकला है, उस ने कहा है कि एक कैबिनेट मंत्री था। अभी वह कांग्रेस (आई) में है और एक इम्पार्टेन्ट पोस्ट पर है। वह कौन है—और अभी भी है—यह सरकार बतलाये ? (व्यवधान)

मैं मंत्री महोदय से जानना चाहता हूँ—क्या यह बात सही नहीं है कि यह आथर जिसने लिखा है, वह पहले एल०के० झा से मिला था जो प्राइम मिनिस्टर के सैक्रेटेरियट में एकानामिक एडमिनिस्ट्रेशन के चीफ हैं और उनसे मिलने के बाद यह पब्लिश किया है ? जो मैन-मुद्दा है वह यह है कि इस देश में रोज भारत की सरकार कहती है कि विदेशियों का हाथ है।

भारत सरकार कहती है कि सी. आई. ए का हाथ है और भारत सरकार रोज यह कहती है और प्रधान मंत्री भी कहती हैं कि हमारे घर में भी

(श्री राम विलास पासवान)

सी.आई.ए. घुस गया है और हमारे घर में भी प्लान्टेशन हुआ है। तो यह गवर्नमेंट एट वर्क है प्रधान मंत्री कहती हैं कि प्लान्टेशन किया गया है हमारे घर में विदेशी ताकत द्वारा। मैं इस लिए यह कह रहा हूँ कि यह बहुत गंभीर मामला है।

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER : "Planted" or "Plantation" ?

श्री रामविलास पासवान : आप अंग्रेजी की टांग तोड़ते रहिये। उन्होंने कहा था कि हमारे घर में प्लान्टेशन किया गया है। (व्यवधान)

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER : You Consult the professor

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER : You Consult the Professor.

श्री राम विलास पासवान : प्लान्टिंग किया गया है, प्रधान मंत्री यह कहती हैं। हमारे ऊपर चार्ज लगता है कि कभी प्रधान मंत्री विदेशों से पैसा लेती हैं और कभी भूतपूर्व प्रधान मंत्री पैसा लेते हैं, कभी कैबिनेट का मिनिस्टर पैसा लेता है और कभी कहीं से पैसा लिया और कभी कहीं से, तो ये जो सारे चार्ज लगते हैं, इनके लिए आप क्या कर रहे हैं यहां बैठ कर ? स्वराज पाल का मामला रोज आ रहा है। इसलिए मैंने कहा है कि इसको गंभीरता से लेना चाहिए और मैं विदेश मंत्री जी से कहना चाहता हूँ कि इस तरह की डिलमिल नीति से काम नहीं चलेगा। आप साफ साफ बतलाइए, चाहे भूतपूर्व प्रधान मंत्री का मामला हो या वर्तमान प्रधान मंत्री का मामला हो, अगर रुपया नहीं लिया, है तो सीधे-सीधे डिनायल कीजिए और दोनों का डिनायल कीजिए और अगर डिनायल नहीं करते हैं तो मैं यह मांग करता हूँ कि आप इसके लिए एक इन्वरी कमीशन बैठाइए

जो 1977 से पहले की सरकार की जांच करें, 1977 के बाद की सरकार की जांच करें और वर्तमान सरकार की जांच करें कि किस का किस के साथ सांठ-गांठ हुआ है। यह सीधा सा सवाल है। व्यवधान

उपाध्यक्ष जी, मैं सरकार से कहना चाहूंगा कि अभी दो महीने पहले आस्ट्रेलिया में एक मिनिस्टर के ऊपर चार्ज लगा और चार्ज यह लगा कि उसका नाम जोड़ा गया रूमी दूतावास से। उस मिनिस्टर ने तुरन्त इस्तीफा दे दिया। कभी-कभी चाय पीने के लिए वहां के प्रधान मंत्री वाव हाक जाया करते थे। तो सरकार की तरफ से एक रायल कमीशन नियुक्त हुआ और चार बार प्रधान मंत्री उसके सामने गये और देश की जनता को बतलाने के लिये वह हुआ था कि विदेशों के साथ उनकी सांठ-गांठ है या नहीं। उन्होंने बताया कि मेरा इससे सम्बन्ध कुछ नहीं था। क्या वह परम्परा आप निभाना चाहेंगे। आप पर रोज एलीमिनेशन लग रहा है। अभी हमारे साथी ने एक पैराग्राफ पढ़ कर सुनाया लेकिन दूसरा जो पैराग्राफ है, वह नहीं पढ़ा, जिस में एक कैबिनेट रैंक के मिनिस्टर के बारे में लिखा गया है और अभी भी वह मौजूद है। उस पैराग्राफ को जानबूझ कर छोड़ दिया। मैं दोबारा उसको पढ़कर सुना देता हूँ। उसने कहा है :

Deputy Prime Minister by Indira Gandhi in 1969—but Stayed in her Cabinet ..."

और रा के जो श्री शंकरण गये थे, शंकरण को हर्षन बताया और शंकरण ने एक रिपोर्ट सरकार को दी है कि वह आदमी अभी भी आपके पास है और इसलिए आप की पार्टी में आया है। उसके खिलाफ आप क्या कार्यवाही करेंगे

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER : Please put your question.

श्री राम विलास पासवान : मैं सरकार से सीधा सा सवाल पूछना चाहता हूँ कि सरकार दोनों मामलों को एक तराजू पर न रखे और यह मत कहे कि जनता पार्टी के समय में इन्दिरा गांधी के सम्बन्ध में जो कहा गया था, उसके बारे में उन्होंने कह दिया ; मैं उसी को दोहरा रहा हूँ ये शब्द कहने से काम नहीं चलेगा । मैं मंत्री महोदय से एक सीधा सा प्रश्न पूछना चाहता हूँ : कि हमारे देश की जो बदनामी हो रही है और यह मालूम हो रहा है कि हमारे देश में गुप्तचर विभाग खत्म हो गया है और विदेशी गुप्तचरों का जाल फैला हुआ है, यह जो आम लोगों के मन में शंका है और प्रधान मंत्री जी भी कहती हैं कि हमारे घर में भी वह घुस गया है, तो इन सारी चीजों के लिए आप कमीशन बैठाने के लिए तैयार हैं या नहीं ?

कोई कमीशन बैठे जो सब चीजों की जांच करे और व्हाइट पेपर निकाल कर सदन में रखे ।

दूसरा मेरा कहना यह है कि क्या यह सही है कि लेखक एल. के. झा चैयरमैन इकनामिक एडमिनिस्ट्रेशन, प्राइम मिनिस्टर सेक्रेट्रिएट से मिला था और उसके बाद जाकर पब्लिश किया था ।

इसके अलावा यह कहना चाहूंगा कि रोज इस तरह की अफवाहें चलती हैं, इनका जवाब आप कैटेगरीकली दीजिए और साफ-साफ बतलाइए कि आपके पास अभी कौन-कौन से आदमी हैं जो विदेशी एजेंट हैं, मंत्रिमण्डल में या बड़ी पोस्ट पर हैं, उनका साफ-साफ नाम लेकर बतलाइए

श्री पी. वी. नरसिंह राव : मैं भी हिन्दी में जवाब दूँ, अंग्रेजी ने बहुत तंग किया है आपको और हमको ।

जहां तक इन्क्वायरी का सवाल है, इस किताब के बारे में जो कुछ छपा है उसके बारे में सवाल है, मैं साफ-साफ कह देना चाहता हूँ कि अब इन्क्वायरी का कोई मौका नहीं रहा । अब मामला अदालत में है इसलिए मैं यह कहने पर मजबूर हूँ कि इन्क्वायरी वगैरह नहीं हो सकती ।

दूसरी बात जो इन्होंने कही कि लेखक हमारे राजदूत से कहां मिले थे, तत्कालीन राजदूत से कहीं भेंट हुई थी तो इसका हमारे पास कहीं भी कोई रिकार्ड नहीं है ।

DR. SUBRAMANIAM SWAMY : He has quoted Mr. L. K. Jha.

SHRI P. V. NARASIMHA RAO : He has quoted Mr. L. K. Jha but he has never said that he had it from Mr. L. K. Jha. He quoted from what Mr. L. K. Jha wrote.

DR. SUBRAMANIAM SWAMY : NO, no. He now recalls.

SHRI RAM VILAS PASWAN : Mr. Jha recalls.

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER : Minister will reply why do you reply ?

व्यवधान

श्री राम विलास पासवान : मंत्रिमंडल में कौन-कौन से सी. आई. ए. के एजेंट हैं, इसका जवाब अवश्य आना चाहिए । (व्यवधान)

श्री पी. वी. नरसिंहराव : राजदूत को किस-किस से मिलना पड़ता है यह एक ऐसी बात है जो सबको मालूम है । इसलिए यह कहना कि किसी के मिलने की वजह से उसको



(श्री पी.वी. नरसिंहराव)

कोई इनफरमेशन मिल गई और वह उसने किताब में लिख डाली, यह गलत बात है। इन दोनों का कोई संबंध नहीं है, यह मैं साफ-साफ कहना चाहता हूँ।

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER : Mr. Ram Gopal Reddy will speak now.

(Interruptions)\*

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER : Don't record whatever he said.

DR. SUBRAMANIAM SWAMY : His question should be answered.

SHRI P. V. NARASIMHA RAO : His question is irrelevant. This does not come out of the Call Attention. I refuse even to take a note of that.

(Interruptions)

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER : There is a limit for every thing. How can we conduct the Parliament ?

(Interruptions)

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER : Mr. Ram Gopal Reddy will speak now.

श्री एम० रामगोपाल रेड्डी (निजामाबाद):  
उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, हमारे मंत्री महोदय ने बहुत अच्छा और वाइज स्टेटमेंट दिया है। मोरारजी देसाई ने जो बात कही है उन्होंने उसको ज्यों का त्यों रखा है और इस बात को पार्लियामेंट के रिकार्ड में लाए हैं। इससे जनता पार्टी और अपोजीशन के सदस्यों को खुश होना चाहिए, वे उल्टा उनको वदनाम कर रहे हैं। यह देखकर मुझे एक किस्सा याद आता है जो हम बचपन में सुना करते थे। एक आदमी ने बंदर पाला था। एक दिन वह आदमी सो गया और उसकी नाक पर मक्खी बैठी। पत्थर निकालकर मारा।

नतीजा यह हुआ कि मक्खी तो उड़ गई लेकिन उसकी नाक टूट गई। यही हालत थी श्री मोरारजी देसाई की कर रहे हैं।

Mr. Morarji Desai is a respected person, and the External Affairs Minister has categorically stated...

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : Mr. Reddy, I hope it is not your nose.

SHRI M. RAM GOPAL REDDY : My nose is intact.

SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE (Jadavpur) : Even flies will not touch him.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : They will touch him because he is a sugar magnate. (Interruptions)

SHRI M. RAM GOPAL REDDY : When Mr. Morarji Desai was with Janata and was Prime Minister, he became blind just like Dhritarashtra ; he allowed his Cabinet Ministers to do all sorts of atrocities on everybody. As you know, Dhritarashtra allowed his wicked son, Duryodhana,...

AN. HON. MEMBER : He has switched over to English now.

श्री राम गोपाल रेड्डी : स्टोरी अच्छी तरह से समझानी थी इस वास्ते हिन्दी में बोला। वह स्टोरी भी हिन्दी की है। अभी अंग्रेजी की है जो मैं सुना रहा हूँ।

When Mr. Morarji Desai was Prime Minister, he was surrounded by all sorts of people and they perpetrated all sorts of atrocities on everybody just like Duryodhana who perpetrated atrocities on the Pandavas, who burnt the house of the Pandavas to kill them, who poisoned Bhima, who ill-treated Draupadi. So much had been done by him and yet, Dhritarashtra was sitting on the chair silently. So also Mr. Morarji Desai was sitting quiet when all these people committed atrocities on others...

DR. SUBRAMANIAM SWAMY :  
This is the latest Shakespearean comic relief.

SHRI M. RAM GOPAL REDDY :  
There are cases now in the court of New York...

DR. SUBRAMANIAM SWAMY :  
Chicago.

SHRI M. RAM GOPAL REDDY : ...in Chicago, wherever they are. After the disposal of the cases, after dismissal or acquittal, I want to know, whether the Minister is going to institute an inquiry and also censure that man who has written all sorts of things against our former Prime Minister, whatever his political affiliations may be. That is very bad. I want to know whether the Minister condemns it.

SHRI P.V. NARASIMH RAO : The matter is before the court. How can I say what I am going to do after the court has given its verdict ? It is a hypothetical question.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : Mr. Rajda.

SHRI RATANSINH RAJDA : Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir...

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : Thank you.

SHRI RATANSINH RAJDA : You still continue to be the Deputy-Speaker.

Sir, the House has been discussing a very important question. (*Interruptions*) I think, you will have the courage to hear what I have to say...

AN HON. MEMBER : Have the courage to say that.

SHRI RATANSINH RAJDA : I have shown my courage openly. You have still to prove your credentials. (*Interruptions*)

As far as this Call-Attention is concerned, it calls the attention of the hon. Minister to certain allegations or accusations made in a book written by Mr. Seymour Hersh. I

would have been greatly pleased if the entire debate and discussion had gone on at a particular level, on a higher plane. But unfortunately decorum was not maintained and several charges were levelled without any basis. And surprisingly they were allowed. I am very much pained at that. My hon. friend, Mr. Faleiro, spoke something here. One thing we have to agree. There are political parties in this country, and there are leaders of political parties. Attempts to run down a leader of another party without any basis is despicable and should not be encouraged at all.

( There are political leaders of other parties in this country. I am going to request and plead with my friends on this side not to indulge in the game of character assosination and mud. Slinging with veterin motives as it will non-remain are way traffic and howmany in you and your leader. Sir, I have been in politics for thirty years ever since Quit India movement. I never have seen anything live this without any basis. The political leaders belonging to our party must not be run down like this. That attitude will completely deteriorate and degrade the entire public life in this country. I hope wiser counsel should prevail with them. (*Interruptions*) Unfortunately Liliputians are parading as politicians. (*Interruptions*) I am talking of certain fundamental principles which are universal facts. Please do not interrupt me. When Mr. Lakkappa is interrupting me I must tell him plainly that he is not on firmer grounds. He should not interrupt me. I can tolerate any other Member but not Mr. Lakkappa.

Now, Sir, Shri Morarjibhai Desai is tallest among the tall figures in this country's politics. You may not agree with him, nor does he expect seekers and grabbers of power at any cost to agree with him. There are certain people who are Morarji-haters. Whoever takes a strong stand on certain principles is bound to be attacked by some of the people. If an one like Shri Morarji Desai in public life or, for that matter, Shrimati Indira Gandhi for whom I have regard takes some strong stand, some people are bound to attack him or her. But, nothing goes against them because some people level

(Shri Ratansinh Rajda)

criticism without any ground. Here, we are discussing a calling attention. Mr. Hersh has made certain accusations against Morarjibhai that he was a C.I.A. agent. That is the focal point which we should discuss and discuss it dispassionately to find out where the truth lies. Can any Indian say by putting his hands on his chest that Morarjibhai could stoop to that level? As soon as this thing came out and it was published in the press, the entire country—there may be certain exceptions like Mr. Faleiro—rose in fury. I have seen Mr. Faleiro kneeling before Mr. Desai when he was in power. It may be Mr. Stephen or Mr. Faleiro. They were importuning before Morarjibhai I would not have said this if my friends had not spoken about Mr. Desai like this. *(Interruptions)* Now they are perturbed because things are not palatable to friends like Mr. Faleiro. They rushed in where angles fear to tread.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : You need jump to that. Come to the point.

SHRI RATANSINH RAJDA : I would not have said like that. I have always maintained the dignity and decorum of the House. *(Interruptions)* I do not want your certificate. I never thrive on your certificate in public life. Morarjibhai does not care for the certificate of persons like you.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : Mr. Yadav, if he does not yield, why do you interrupt him?

SHRI RATANSINH RAJDA : Now, Sir, when these charges are levelled against a tall man of this country, it becomes our national problem and a subject of our national honour. This is the question of our self respect and that is to be vindicated. If Mr. Desai or any Indian, for that matter, has done something against the interests of the country or if anyone has tried to sell our country, hang him. He may be anybody. If Smt. Indira Gandhi tries to sell our country, she must also be hanged. Is there any iota of truth in these accusations against Morarjibhai? That is the focal point. I say that there is no iota of truth.

SHRI K. LAKKAPPA : How can you say this?

SHRI RATANSINH RAJDA : Mr. Lakkappa, you are not the judge. I say there is not an iota of truth in these charges. Therefore, the moment the charges were levelled and made known to the public what was the immediate and prompt reaction of the press and people of this country? Fulminating fury came out from the masses, from the press and the people alike. I feel this Government must take note of that reaction of the people. I would have wished very much if Government had risen up to the occasion. Here is a national leader. You may not agree with him. But, when these charges are made, we must refute them, as patriotic Indians.

16.00 hrs.

Government did not do that and because of that the hon. External Affairs Minister, you have made yourself liable to the charge by the masses of this country that when it was required to vindicate the honour of a great Indian a tall national leader, you have failed in your duty miserably and that is my charge against this Government. You did not rise to the occasion and you are taking shelter behind Mr. Moynihan's charge. Stating that when Moynihan wrote against Shrimati Indira Gandhi, Morarjibhai and Janata Govt. did not defend her. The reason is clear. When Mr. Moynihan levelled charges against Mrs. Indira Gandhi in his book the same were not denied by Mrs. Indira Gandhi.

Sir, these two things cannot be equated. I am trying to plead as somebody has talked of Dharithrashtra and Mahabhart, here is a panchayat and I am pleading to their conscience if at all their conscience is alive—that these two things are quite distinct. Mr. Moynihan made the charge. Those charges were written down in his book where he said Mrs. Indira Gandhi accepted money for Kerala election for Congress party. *(Interruptions)*

Now, Sir, at that time Mrs. Gandhi did not deny the charge. *(Interruptions)*

The Minister will answer, please sit down. He is a sober person. When Mr. Hersh levelled this charge immediately Mr. Morarji Desai branded it as a sheer mad story. *(Interruptions)* I am not yielding. Now, Sir, Mr. Morarji Desai immediately contradicted and refuted those charges. Thereafter he has gone to court of law. *(Interruptions)* How, Sir, this entire things makes a very bad affair and as my hon. colleague, Shri Paswan, said it is not good for the entire country. I am viewing it from national viewpoint that any outsider a foreign power-should charge leaders of one party or the other as CIA agents. That militates against our self-respect and national grain and we must oppose it unitedly. Unfortunately, that is not being done and that is why I am requesting the hon. Minister to rise upto the occasion declare unequivocally that Government does not believe in those charges which have been levelled against Shri Morarji Desai.

Now, I would like to pose certain questions to the hon. Minister. There is much material with me and I can speak for one hour on this subject. One thing is certain Shri Morarji Desai is a man of principles who stands and falls by certain norms in public life. Nobody believes in the baseless allegations made against him and whoever is levelling the charge against our National leader like Morarjibhai must be an insane person and those who speak against him must be suffering from insanity or intermitant bouts of insanity or some on that side have shown here. *(Interruptions)* The hon. External Affairs Minister, in the Rajya Sabha and here also made stereotyped statements. He is a sober person and a responsible man. I would like to pose certain questions. I hope the hon. Minister has gone through yesterday's 'Hindu' and the news item on the front page captioned 'Hersh's charges against Desai found baseless'. It says that the Government of India, the present Government, made enquiry and they have also come to the conclusion that there is no basis for these charges against Shri Morarji Desai. Now, what I would like to ask the Government is this. Mr. Hersh has referred to a particular period during which certain information was leaved to C.I.A. by a Cabinet Minister. He has stated that Mr. Morarji Desai, a Cabinet Minister, was passing on

information. Is the hon. External Affairs Minister aware that at relevant period, which Mr. Hersh refers to, Mr. Morarji Desai was not a Member of the Cabinet ? That is one thing.

The second thing is this : May I know whether our Cabinet secrets are being leaked out even at present ? May I know whether Government has taken any precaution to see that no CIA or any other foreign agency works to the detriment of the interests of this country ? Have you taken precaution that from henceforth no Cabinet secret will be leaked out, no national secrets will be given out ? Will you make a foolproof system in the Cabinet so that either CIA or KGB or any other agency will not be able to pounce upon, will or have access, to our national secrets ? That is my question. May I know whether you accept that State secrets were leaked to CIA or not ? That is my very pertinent question on this subject. The charge is that one Cabinet Minister furnished information. *(Interruptions)* Mr. Lakkappa, I have pleaded with you. Kindly listen to me.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : Now you must come to the last question.

SHRI RATANSINH RAJDA : My question (b) is this : It has been widely stated that a Cabinet Minister during the relevant period-not Morarji Desai ; that is an established fact-but a Cabinet Minister...*(Interruptions)* Now, along with them if you also laugh, then, I will have to say something more.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : We have to confine ourselves to the subject matter of the Calling Attention. Beyond the subject matter you should not ask any question.

SHRI RATANSINH RAJDA : In my armoury I have got full equipments and weapons.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : Not beyond this subject. You cannot go beyond this Calling Attention Motion. Nothing beyond that. Cabinet Minister and all that you cannot ask. You cannot get a reply also. I am not permitting that question.



SHRI RATANSINH RAJDA : Which question you are not permitting ?

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : About Cabinet Minister or somebody, you said.

SHRI RATANSINH RAJDA : I am talking of the relevant period which Mr. Hersh refers to.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : You can refer only to Morarjibhai Desai ; you can put a question only with regard to Morarjibhai Desai. That is the subject of the Calling Attention Motion. Calling Attention Motion is only on that.

SHRI RATANSINH RAJDA : You did not interrupt Mr. Faleiro and others. He quoted from that book.

DR. SUBRAMANIAM SWAMY : The book says, Mr. Morarji Desai was Member of the Cabinet and Mr. Faleiro and others swear by that book.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : Please put only relevant question.

SHRI RATANSINH RAJDA : I am putting only a relevant question, so that the entire country will know what is the truth. The truth is this. At the relevant period in which Mr. Hersh refers to, Morarjibhai Desai was not in the Cabinet. That is one thing. Another thing is this. References were made by my colleague Mr. Ram Vilas Paswan...

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER : And reply was also given.

SHRI RATANSINH RAJDA : I would like to put this question to the External Affairs Minister. Is the External Affairs Minister aware that a particular Cabinet Minister furnished information to the C.I.A. who was one of the Ministers in 1971 ?

And the said Minister has got history which is known to the Government of India also. This person had an excellent equation with one of the employees of the United

States Embassy in Delhi. Whether our counter-intelligence was aware of this and that U.S. personnel was shadowed by them. I am putting this question with a sense of responsibility. This is a pertinent question and I seek his reply and if the answer comes, the entire House will know who is in the dock—Mr. Desai or a person sitting on the other side.

THE MINISTER OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS (SHRI P. V. NARASIMHA RAO) : The more I listen to the speeches of the hon. Members, the more I feel convinced that my statement was exactly what was needed, nothing more nothing less. Mr. Rajda has referred to a report appearing in the 'Hindu' daily. I have seen that. If he had not referred to it, may be it would have been better. But since he had referred to it, I have to say that is not true. In fact, I have answered a question on those lines already. (*Interruptions*) Now, about the precaution for the future, since he has emphasised the future that casts reflection according to him, on the past, I am not even agreeing to the past. Let us see what happens in the Court. It may turn out that both in the past, the present and future, everything has not been true. So, let us wait. Let us not immediately jump to the future. I can assure the House that the Government is vigilant in all these matters.

Then about the other Minister, whoever he had been or not had been, I would not like to say anything because again that does not really refer to the Calling Attention. One Minister is enough. Let us see what happens in the Court. Let us not allow our imagination to soar higher and higher

SHRI G.M. BANATWALLA (Ponnani) : Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, I welcome the statement of the Hon. Minister that the Government is vigilant in the matter and, of course, it should be vigilant in the matter because it is rather serious. It is a serious thing that an American author has chosen to make allegations of the type which are embodied in his book. Of course, Shri Morarji Desai has been referred to in this House as a great leader and as a tall personality. I have not risen perhaps like many others to crave for a clearance certificate from the Government in favour of one who



has been described in this House by some, as a national leader and a tall personality. So, I have not risen to crave for any such clearance. It is indeed a difficult task for the Government to go on replying to all sorts of allegations that may be raised against one person or the other. Otherwise, perhaps this Government, I am sure, will have nothing else to do but to go on replying everyday when they come forward with this kind of questions.

However, the hon. Minister has referred to a precedent of 1979. He said that in the 1979 case, the then Government, the then Home Minister said that he had no comments to make, and that the presumption was that if the writer had not believe that what he was writing had any element of truth, then he would not have written.

SHRI P. V. NARASIMHA RAO : I have not said that.

SHRI G. M. BANATWALLA : The then Minister said so. This is the precedent you are following in the sense that the present Government says that they have no comments to make. I want to ask a specific question, whether the Government really believes that the allegations made are true or not. I said that this is not the function of the Government to go on replying to all sorts of allegations, enquiring into these and all that, but there is a difference in this particular case. I am not, as I said, craving for a clearance for any personality. He can look after himself, but there are certain other points that arise from it.

The first and the foremost is the question of national security. The Government owes it, certainly not to Shri Morarji Desai, but to the nation, to assure the nation as to whether it was true or not, that there was an informant in the Cabinet. The nation must know it. If this question is not answered by the Government, then I would say that it is an attitude of unpardonable indifference to the whole issue. We are told that the matter is before the court. Which court? Court in the United States of America.

AN. HON. MEMBER : Court in Bombay.

SHRI G.M. BANATWALLA : That was another matter. The function of the Bombay court is over. That is a different thing, a minor matter.

Who will, go through the truth or otherwise of the whole issue? It is the court of the United States of America? Today, we the Members of Parliament, in India are being left at the mercy of the court of the United States? No, Sir. That would not be a proper thing. As a citizen of India and as a Member of this august House concerned about the national security, I would like to know from the Government as to whether the allegations are true or not. It is a matter that affects our national security. Were there any informants in the Cabinet? Was Morarji Desai one? And if Morarji Desai was an informant—I do not know—then let the laws of this country not be at the mercy of the decision of the Court of the United States of America. We must proceed against howsoever tall a personality may be; we must proceed against howsoever great and national leader one may be if there are violations of the laws of this land. I am not concerned with personalities. I am only saying—do not place this whole thing, mortgage the whole thing with the United States of America. Let us perform our own functions. And, therefore, I would like to know from the hon. Minister as to whether in order to evaluate the veracity of the allegations, the truth of the allegations, the Government did institute any enquiry of any type or not. The Government have said that they have no comments to make. I don't want the comments of the Government. I want the facts. I want to know whether the Government applied its mind or the Government held any inquiry whatsoever whether the matter of such a serious nature involving the security of our country is or is not true? What was the finding of that inquiry? And if no such inquiry has been instituted, then please don't mortgage ourselves with the court of the United States of America and think of its findings. But in our own national interest, let there be the highest possible inquiry into the matter and let the laws of our land take their due course.

(Shri G. M. Banatwalla)

Sir, these days we are being told that the CIA is very active. Under the present regime over there, its activities, we are told and we have apprehensions, it had increased. Here also it has been pointed out with respect to an Hon. Member, Shri Atal Behari Vajpayee, who reportedly has said that there is someone in America with high connections in New Delhi and so on and so forth. In view of all these things, the element of national security cannot be over-ruled and cannot be ignored.

What are the allegations, Sir? Let us go at the substance of the allegations rather than talk about the tallness of any personality. In the substance of the allegations, there is a reference to the Bangladesh situation. We are told that information was going to the United States of America to the effect that 'the Cabinet has taken or is about to take a decision that a war front will also be opened at the Western Sector, with West Pakistan.' Sir, these are the matters which have now come out in the book and have got wide circulation and publicity. You must either confirm or deny it because these are statements that may now affect the Indo-Pak relations also. Moreover, it has been further implied in the Book that some pressures came and the policy was changed. Then in that case the nation has to be taken into confidence as to where the truth lies. Of course, I appreciate the position of the Government when they say that they have no comment. But in view of the seriousness of that thing and the nature of the allegation made then, not with the view to giving a clearance to any personality, but with the view to looking at the national issues that are involved, let there be a categorical answer to these questions.

SHRI P.V. NARASIMHA RAO : Sir, I appreciate the appreciation of the Hon. Member in regard to what the government has said, because we said we have no comment for the simple reason that we have no means of making a comment publicly at this stage.

I am not going to the precedent merely for the sake of technicality. Please look at the matter this way. We are faced with a situation where a former Prime Minister has been charged with certain things which do

not depend on our belief or disbelief. They have been contained in a book which has been published. Now, what do I do? The first reaction of any Minister would be to find out whether such situations have been faced before. This is what we do not only in this case, but in any case. Whenever a situation arises, the first question which any government would ask itself is : have we come across a case like this before? Is there a precedent, in other words? Precedent is not something identical. Precedent is something which indicates us a course of action. At least a suggestion in regard to a course of action under similar circumstances. This is what precedent means. This I need not explain. We found that just about 3-1/2 years ago, a similar situation was faced by the previous Government. We went into the question. The previous Government was free, much more free than we are, to say whether they believed in the allegation or not, whether they have instituted an enquiry or not. They have no previous precedent. They were free to institute an enquiry, because nobody had gone to the court at that time. In this case, my hands and feet are tied, because I cannot...

SHRI G.M. BANATWALLA : That was the question with respect to money. This is about national security.

SHRI P.V. NARASIMHA RAO : This is what I am saying. Let us not go into what the substance was. The question is, what is the course of action that a Government is to take under similar circumstances. This is the limited question.

DR. SUBRAMANIAM SWAMY : How are we bound by the American courts?

SHRI P.V. NARASIMHA RAO : I am not bound ; but Mr. Morarji Desai himself, the then Government itself, very clearly said that Mrs Gandhi should go to a court. Mrs. Gandhi did not go to a court ; she did not intend to go to the court ; and still nothing happened by way of an enquiry or a denial or an affirmation on the part of that Government. This is the precedent I am referring to. I agree this is a serious matter. I agree that this also impinges on national security,

national honour and national prestige. All that I agree, but the point is...

DR. SUBRAMANIAM SWAMY : Our Government did...The then Foreign Minister went to Washington and spoke to Mr. Moynihan. Did you do it ?

SHRI P.V. NARASIMHA RAO : He got the book released. That is what you are referring to, Dr. Swamy. I did not do it. I plead guilty for that.

I am very clear in my mind that the matter is serious ; but at the moment it is not possible for me to say anything more than place the facts before the House. In fact, the moment the book came into India, was published, the news of the publication was known in India, immediately Morarji Bhai's reaction was sought by the Press. There was actually no time between the appearance of the book and his reaction. And it was clear that the advice that he tendered to someone else three years ago, he himself was going to act on this times. Therefore, there was no occasion for me or for this Government to institute an enquiry. That would have taken two years. I do not know how long.

Therefore, look at the logistics of the problem : was there any time for this Government to do anything, by way of an enquiry, or of coming out or not coming out with a reaction ? It was not just practicable.

Therefore, now the matter lies before the court. Let us see what the court brings out. We may not be bound by another country's court, in the sense that we are bound by our Supreme Court or High Court. But there is going to be an enquiry, a long enquiry, enquiry into everything, every word that Mr. Hersh has written, he is going to defend himself, surely. So, at least what we may generally take as truth will come out. We may or may not agree with it 100%. But let us see. That will depend on what comes out.

16.29 hrs.

### SALARY, ALLOWANCES AND PENSION OF MEMBERS OF PARLIAMENT (AMENDMENT) BILL\*

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER : Now we go to the next item-Legislative Business ; bills to be introduced. Mr. Buta Singh.

THE MINISTER OF PARLIAMEN-  
TARY AFFAIRS, SPORTS AND WORKS  
AND HOUSING (SHRI BUTA SINGH) :  
I beg to move for leave to introduce a Bill  
further to amend the Salary, Allowances and  
Pension of Members of Parliament Act, 1954.

SHRI A.K. ROY (Dhanbad) : Sir, I  
rise to oppose this Bill because this Bill is  
untimely, atrocious, arbitrary and will create  
a very bad precedent to demoralise the  
Members.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : You should  
speak on the constitutional propriety of the  
Bill and not on the subject matter of the  
Bill.

SHRI A.K. ROY : One of the objects  
given here is this.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : The consti-  
tutional propriety and other things you can  
only deal with at the introduction stage.

(Interruptions)

SHRI A.K. ROY : who is responsible  
for the high cost of living ? The Government,  
the Parliament, we all are responsible for it,  
either this side or that side. The government  
is responsible for the high cost of living.

SHRI ERA ANBARASU (Chengal-  
pattu) : He should say what is the impro-  
priety, what is wrong with it and what is the  
wrong procedure and not go into its objects  
and reasons.