

[Shri M. C. Chagla]

that the full report will reach us by this evening or tomorrow morning. In the meantime information about their treatment in Canton has just arrived from our Charge d' Affairs. Raghunath was taken out of plane and paraded around the airport and town in an open truck. As anticipated he was separated from Mr. Rao, accompanying Officer and Vijay. Apart from subjecting him to verbal insults Raghunath was subjected to the characteristic form of punishment inflicted on victims in the cultural revolution viz., hurling of shoes, spitting at victims and beating with sticks small enough not to bruise or lacerate. There was however some consolation in the fact that Raghunath by being taken around in a van has perhaps been saved from any kind of brutal treatment by the masses. So far Vijay was not touched in Canton. Slogans against him however were raised.

We received information about three hours ago that both Shri Raghunath and Shri Vijai have arrived in Hongkong. The party seems to have left Canton by train this morning and arrived at the border by noon time. I understand that the Hong Kong authorities have given all assistance to the party on crossing over. About an hour ago we have able to talk on telephone with our Commission in Hong Kong and personally to Shri Raghunath himself. Both of them, though in poor physical shape, are in high spirits. At present they are staying with our Commissioner in Hong Kong and the tentative plans are that they will return to India on Saturday.

We are still awaiting the full report from our Embassy in Peking which should be with us this evening or tomorrow morning. All that we have heard, however, shows that the Chinese Government not only violated ordinary rules of diplomatic usage but also broke several promises made to our Charged' Affairs. He had been assured that Raghunath would be allowed to be accompanied by an

Indian officer. The accompanying officer Shri M. S. Rao, First Secretary was never allowed to communicate with Raghunath during the journey. He was also assured that Shri Raghunath and Shri Vijai would be taken across to the border yesterday evening. The over-night stay in Canton was deliberately planned to subject our officers to humiliation. Thus the Chinese Government have proved themselves not merely indifferent to all civilized norms but have shown themselves either unwilling or incapable of honouring their own pledged words.

Shri Hem Barua (Mangaldai): May I ask for a very simple clarification?

Mr. Speaker: If we begin like that, it will take some time as other hon. Members also would like clarifications.

17.04 hrs.

DISCUSSION UNDER RULE 193

ALLOWED USE OF FOREIGN FUNDS IN THE RECENT ELECTIONS IN INDIA

Mr. Speaker: We shall now take up discussion of the matter dealt with in the calling attention notice today regarding the CIA and other foreign agencies giving funds for elections.

Shri Bakar Ali Mirza (Secundarabad): This matter came up this morning and the Home Minister made a statement. If he had said that the report says that the charges are baseless, then it would be a different thing. Charges have been made both inside and outside the House. A debate at this stage would only mean further mud slinging at one another. I would suggest that we consider this matter after Government have considered the Report and come to their conclusions.

Mr. Speaker: Will you kindly take your seat? After all, considering all aspects of the question, we thought it is an affront to the whole nation. It is not, after all, one alleging against

another, not only in India but outside also. Let us talk it out in such a restrained way that the honour of India is not sullied.

Shri S. S. Kothari (Mandsaur): Half a minute.

Mr. Speaker: Party after party I will call. I have no objection who speaks. I am in your hands. Let each party give me the name, I will allow him to speak.

Shri R. Barua.

Shri R. Barua (Jorhat): I am not one who believes in crying wolf every time, nor am I in favour of witch-hunting, but this particular case is a serious matter, affecting the very foundation of our democracy.

For some time past allegations were heard that foreign Powers, foreign Embassies, CIA, all these people are financing our political movement. For some time nobody took note of it. Now, things have been so spoken of in every field, that something has got to be done here and now.

The alleged CBI report is not denied by the Government. On the other hand, it seems that CIA activity is not denied by our Government. What is more, for the last 1½ years I have seen that some sort of sanctity is being attached to this government investigating machinery, and that is why we always hear the demand why that report is not placed on the Table of the House, why so-and-so it not thrown out of the Government. Because of our prolonged debate, giving some amount of sanctity to this government machinery, things have come to the present pass. People have come to believe that what is being stated by this news is correct. If it is really so, then the entire foundation of our democracy is gone, I should say.

For about 2½ hours today we heard in the House so much talk of corrupted by corruption, as if there is violated by corruption, as if there is

no corrupt man here. But it is more dangerous that the political parties which are said to be in the vanguard of the people's prosperity and the people's well being, are being charged with this thing. I do not know which particular party may be talking money, but one fact remains that people have come to believe that our entire democracy is going to be sabotaged by foreign Powers.

In West Asian countries we found how foreign money influenced the very fabric of governments. I am afraid it is also going to be done here. What is more, after the West Asian crisis the things that are developing in the country are causing great despair among the people. Men like Nasser who were being respected by his own people as well as by others are being termed as megalomaniacs. This psychology is developing in particular groups. If somebody says that there must be some influence of CIA money here, there is no answer.

During the Chinese aggression...

An hon. Member: It is not only CIA, other Embassies also.

Shri R. Barua: That is what I am coming to.

There is sufficient evidence also to think that during the Chinese aggression certain political parties and groups were doing things in a manner to sabotage the very foundations of India's sovereignty.

So, these are matters coming one after another, and it is good that this time it has come to the forefront, and all political parties, all people who have got the good of the country at heart should put their heads together and see that these things are stopped once for all. I am not concerned with any political party, but I am concerned with the democratic foundations and the sovereignty of this country. That is going to founder on this very spot.

[Shri M. C. Chagla]

Everyday in this House from the Opposition side we hear one Member accusing the other that he is a CIA man and the other Member makes counter accusations, "these are lies". It is nood going in for legal remedies for such allegations. Where is the legal proof for certain parties taking certain money from this particular embassy or that particular organisation? It is not going to remove the popular suspicion in this country. These are ratters talked not only outside but inside also and within this House and there is an impression created that there must be something wrong somewhere, something rotten in the State of Denmark. I hope the time has come for all the political parties to put their heads together and seek a solution instead of seeking temporary advantages for capturing power and convert India into some sort of a Balkan State. So, I submit that this is an opportunity which is being given to us to put our heads together and see that this foreign intrusion in our political life is stopped. Unless we do this, we have no right to talk of corruption and pulling down this Minister or that Minister or accuse each other. I hope that the hon. Members here will see to it that they put forward concrete suggestions so that these things are completely cleared.

Shri M. R. Masani (Rajkot): Sir, we are grateful to you for having suggested this morning that, in response to the call attention notices that some of us had given, a short discussion of this nature might take place.

I would like to start by saying that the allegations in so far as my party is concerned, are totally false and we repudiate the slander which has been attributed to some high official quarter by the *New York Times* correspondent in Delhi. Every rupee of the Election Fund that we collected was collected from our friends, sympathi-

sers and supporters in this country. So far as we are concerned, we are prepared and in fact insist that this matter should be investigated so that the facts may be brought to light.

I am very glad that the hon. Home Minister has dismissed the leakage made by someone in Government as unfounded and as mere conjecture or guess work. But that is not enough.

Who is responsible, under the cover of this cowardly anonymity, for having carried on this smear campaign so harmful to all political parties in the country, because every political party of one persuasion or another is referred to. Whoever has done this, whoever talked to the *New York Times*, man, has done no service to this country or even to his own Government. Is the hon. Minister prepared to investigate this crime first of all to find out who did it. (An Hon. Member: Mr. L. P. Singh) I refuse to believe that hon. Home Secretary, who is an honourable man, would have done it.

Mr. Speaker: It is very unfair that on the floor of the House names of persons should be mentioned like this.

The Minister of Home Affairs (Shri Y. B. Chavan): I object to this Sir; it is very unfair to him. It is absolutely an unfounded allegation.

Shri M. R. Masani: It is very unfortunate, I would agree.

I am asking the hon. Home Minister to be good enough to use the machinery he has to find out who was it who gave this story. There is a little hint conveyed in the *New York Times* article. I have not got the original article but I am reading from the *Indian Express* of yesterday. It says that this report had been studied by Mrs. Indira Gandhi and by Mr. Chavan and "the source indicated

that both had accepted the report as accurate' The question that arises is: Is it some one in the entourage of my hon. friend or is it somebody in the entourage of the Prime Minister? Is it a junior Minister of the Government or is it a Government official? This is not the first time that this kind of smearing has been attempted from these quarters. We have a right to ask the Home Minister as the custodian of the honour of this country to try and find out who has let him, and us, down in this manner.

This thing has to be fully probed both in the national interest and in fairness to all the parties concerned because no party has been exempt. I make two suggestions. I would like to know if the hon. Home Minister will respond to them. They are constructive suggestions. Normally intelligence reports are not expected to be published. I accept that. But now that the damage is done, now that the leak has been made by someone who had access to the document, at least to knowing what it may have purported to say,—it is obviously a wrong report—but somebody sold the story to the *New York Times* who the *New York Times* staff thought should know. That, therefore, narrows the circle of the party guilty of this misdeed.

Normally, we would not have expected intelligence reports to be published. But I do suggest that in this particular case, more harm will be done by not publishing it than by publishing it. Let the Minister come to the conclusions which he wants to have a few days to arrive at, and let him publish the report along with the Government conclusions, and let them put the matter out to public discussion. This would be correct. We believe in an Open Society. I would like to think that many hon. Members opposite also join us in believing in the open society, where everything should be open to public discussion, where the light should be shed on dark corners. If that is so,

my first suggestion would be that, in fairness to all concerned, this report should be published along with the conclusions to which the Government arrive.

Whether they do it or not, I make the second suggestion; and that is, that as soon as Government's preliminary investigation is over, an appropriate Tribunal should be set up. There should be a public investigation into the possible use of foreign money in our elections. Let there be a public enquiry. Let there be a Supreme Court Judge or any one of his status, of an independent, objective status appointed. Let this report, let the Government conclusions, and let what all of us have to say, be presented in public to this authority, and after some months, after a proper hearing, let this Tribunal give its findings. If there are any guilty people in this country, let them be pointed out. If there are innocent people, let their reputations be cleared of the dirty smear.

If this is not done, then we can imagine the effect on the morale in our young democracy. Already, more and more people, even among educated people—and I know every Member can corroborate this—more and more people are getting cynical, losing faith; losing faith in politicians, losing faith in politics and losing faith in democracy. They are becoming nihilistic and cynical; they talk very glibly of a military dictatorship as a solution to our problems. Are we going now—by giving this leak, whoever is the culprit, he has done the damage—to help to give another blow to our already tottering democracy? I am sure none of us wish it. Well, if we do not, then it is time that we had a public tribunal to investigate these charges against all the parties concerned. If this impression is allowed to remain, then I think another blow will have been struck which might expedite the end of our democracy.

[Shri M. R. Masani]

Similarly, what impression will remain abroad with this report? Already, many people think that we are sycophants going round with a begging bowl asking eternally for aid. Now, are we going to allow the world to think that every political party in India can be purchased by one government or another? Are we such a minor, backward republic in some backwoods that this can be alleged against us without our repudiating this libel?

As I have said, we on these Benches would welcome an enquiry. We demand one. We think that, so far as we are concerned, we would like people to come and prove that any single rupee came to us other than from our own country, other than our own fellow compatriots. But as important as clearing our Party's reputation, after all, there is the national interests, which is important. I suggest that cleanliness in our public life demands acceptance of the two suggestions I have made: full publicity to the report and the Government's findings, and a Tribunal to examine the whole thing, to hear everyone in the full, public light, and come to its findings, to undo the mischief that has been done by this unknown enemy of our country.

श्री बलराज मजोठ (वसिष्ठ विल्ली) : अध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं समझता हूँ कि जो यह रिपोर्ट स्यूअरकं टाइम्स में छपी, जिसके कारण यह सारा मामला आज नवन में आया है, यह एक ठग से झंझटा ही हुआ है। पिछले कई वर्षों से इस प्रकार की बात देश में चल रही है। अब से हमने विदेशी सहायता पर निर्भर करना शुरू किया, जब से हमने अपना कारेज एकसंबंध बचाने के लिए विदेशों को, रूस को, अमरीका को या चीन को, अपने रुपये में वेन्ट करना शुरू किया और जब से इन विदेशी मुद्रों के पास भारतीय मुद्रा इकट्ठी होनी शुरू हुई, तब से इस देश में यह चर्चा होनी लगी कि वह

इस रुपये का प्रयोग इस देश के सामाजिक जीवन; इस देश के राजनीतिक जीवन, धार्मिक जीवन को झूठ करने के लिये कर रहे हैं और मेरी पार्टी ने इस मामले में कई बार मांग की है—मैं धाररिबिल गृह मंत्री जी से कहूंगा कि पिछले पांच-सात वर्षों में हमारे प्रस्तावों को देखिये, हमने बार-बार मांग की है कि यह जो हुवा चल रही है, इसके बारे में जांच की जाय कि अमरीका से, रूस से और अन्य देशों से पैसा आ रहा है और वह हमारे धार्मिक जीवन में, सामाजिक जीवन में झूठाचार फैला रहा है, उसको रोक करने के लिये कुछ किया जाय। लेकिन मुझे बड़े दुख के साथ कहना पड़ता है कि इस मामले में कुछ नहीं किया गया। आज यह चीज सामने आई है—जहां तक मेरे दल का ताल्लुक है, मेरी जात का ताल्लुक है, मेरे साथियों का ताल्लुक है, मैं यहां पर चैलेंज करना चाहता हूँ कि किसी की हिम्मत हूँ तो कोर्ट में आये। आप इसके बारे में एन्क्वायरी कीजिये और जैना मसानी साहब ने कहा है—अदालत मुकर्रर कीजिये, कोई सुप्रीम कोर्ट का जज मुकर्रर कीजिये, कोई ट्रिब्यूनल मुकर्रर कीजिये, उस के सामने अपनी रिपोर्ट को रखिये, कैंक्ट्स पेज कीजिये, ताकि सही बात सामने आ सके।

जिस डग में यह चीज की गई है, जिन लोगों ने उसे किया है, उन लोगों ने शायद समझा होगा कि हम विरोधी पक्ष को इस प्रकार से स्वीयर कर सकेंगे, लेकिन उन्होंने विरोधी पक्ष को स्वीयर नहीं किया, उन्होंने सारे देश को स्वीयर किया है, हमारे देश के लोकतन्त्र को स्वीयर किया है, उसकी धास्या को देश की जनता के दिलों में गिराया है, उस की धास्या संसार के लोगों के दिलों में गिराई है। इसलिये अब जब कि यह गलत बात हो चुकी है, अब जब कि यह अनर्थ हो चुका है, जब कि यह बांध सामने आ चुकी है, तो अब इसमें झिझकना नहीं चाहिये। अब सारी बात सामने आनी चाहिये, अब सारी बात खुलनी चाहिये ताकि

एक बार सब चीजें नियर जाय, पानी साफ़ हो जाय ।

परन्तु इस से भी काम नहीं चलेगा । जो सुझाव मसानी साहब ने दिये हैं, मैं उनका पुरा पुरा समर्थन करता हूँ और आशा करता हूँ कि सरकार उनको मानेगी । लेकिन साथ ही एक दूसरी बात भी कहना चाहता हूँ कि इस देश के अन्दर लोकतन्त्र है, लोकतन्त्र केवल कानून से नहीं चलता है, लोकतन्त्र चलता है—परम्पराओं से । जब तक स्वस्थ परम्परायें नहीं होंगी, तब तक लोकतन्त्र कामयाब नहीं होगा । हमारे लोकतन्त्र में, हमारे चुनावों में रुपये का प्रयोग जिस ढंग से हो रहा है, उस से लोकतन्त्र दूषित हो रहा है और देश के अन्दर जो अस्थिरता पैदा हो रही है, जो भ्रष्टाचार पैदा हो रहा है उस से दूसरे लोग यह समझते हैं कि हम भारत के लोगों को खरीद सकते हैं, उन को हम अपने चंगुल में ला सकते हैं, उसके लिये वे प्रयत्न करते हैं—यह स्थिति बहुत गलत है । इस स्थिति को सुधारने के लिये देश के अन्दर नैतिक स्तर को ऊँचा करना होगा और साथ ही साथ यह जो प्रथा विदेशी सहायता की है इसे खत्म करना होगा । जब तक हमारी निर्भरता उनके ऊपर रहेगी, जब तक हम उनसे भीख मांगते रहेंगे, जब तक उन के पास हमारे देश में भारतीय मुद्रा का, रुपयों का बड़ा बड़ा भण्डार कायम रहेगा, तब तक वे हम को पच-प्लष्ट करने की कोशिश करते रहेंगे और इस प्रकार भ्रष्टाचार का वातावरण बना रहेगा क्योंकि कई कमजोर कर्तव्यों होंगी, जोकि उनका शिकार हो जायगी, जो कि उनके फंसे में फँस जायेंगी । इसलिये इस प्रश्न का जो किस्तुत पहलू है उस पर विचार करना होगा, चाहे हम भूँचे रहें, चाहे हमें अपने पेट पर पट्टी बाँधनी पड़े, हमें कुछ भी करना पड़े, हमें इस विदेशी सहायता से छुट्टी लेनी होगी । हम अपने देश का फौरन एकसंबंध बचाने के लिये उनको रुपये में बेमेन्ट करते हैं, वह रुपया यहीं रहता है और फिर उसका दुरुपयोग

होता है । इस को रोकना होगा । इस सारे भ्रष्टाचार की यही बुनियाद है, जिसके द्वारा हमारे जीवन पर प्रतिक्रमण होता है, इसको रोकने का प्रयत्न किया जाय । यही मेरा सुझाव है ।

Shri H. N. Mukerjee (Calcutta-North East): Mr. Speaker, Sir, as in the morning, I wish to reiterate that as far as my party is concerned, I repudiate entirely and totally the contemptible lie that we have received assistance, financial and other kinds of assistance, from any foreign country. In the morning the Home Minister said that the 'New York Times' report is based on conjectures. In his characteristic fashion, unfortunately he left the matter in mid air and therefore in a way that gives rise to suspicion. I am grateful to you that you insisted that there should be some discussion, so that the air can be cleared.

After recent revelations we know of the CIA, perhaps the most loathed and detested organisation in the world today—I say it because it is internationally notorious for subversive activities in different countries; it has openly taken credit for organising coup d'état; it makes and un-makes Governments; it topples administrations from Indonesia to Nigeria and Ghana and all that—and behind apparently innocent organisations like the Congress for Cultural Freedom, which publishes beautifully embellished journals like *Criterion*, an organisation with which perhaps very innocently men like my hon. friend, Shri Masani, have been very closely associated. But they have been there and they have fed organisations with money so that anti-Communist crusades could be conducted.

There have been open reports in this country regarding CIA money being used in the elections. I have heard in my own constituency in Calcutta this allegation being made that CIA money was being used

[Shri H N Mukerjee]

against me I do not know, I cannot vouch for the truth of it, but something has to be done in regard to investigation. An investigation should be conducted, there is no doubt about it.

It is very good that all parties in this House and in the country—the Swatantra, Jan Sangh SSP, the Congress Party as well as the Left Wing Parties which comprises all of us—have repudiated the slander entirely and we all reiterate what has been said at least in one of the suggestions which Shri Masani put forward that there must be a proper investigation. In the United States they too have what they call Congressional Inquiry. We may have a parliamentary or a quasi parliamentary inquiry or we may have a very high level judicial inquiry. But it has to be an appropriate inquiry so that things come out into the open and the evidence could be sifted. There must not be a whole and corner I B information based investigation when the conclusions of the Home Ministry cannot be possibly accepted on that basis. We ask for a proper, full and appropriate investigation.

Particularly in regard to the accusations against us Communists, the report says that Communist embassies in India helped certain Left Wing parties. As far as we are concerned, I have said that any suggestion of monies coming to our party from socialist countries or from any other country abroad is an utter lie. Fifty-year old slanders regarding Moscow gold have been nailed to the wall long time ago, they have been thrown into the dust-bin of history. Zimovier letter and so many other abominations are there. This kind of slander has always been thrown against us, but those enormities have never been able to change the course of history or political evolution.

As far as our participation in elections are concerned, we go and ask our people to help not only with

their votes but with their time, their labour and their money. We collect money from the people howsoever small it may be. Our election expenses are absolutely minimal and we win never by the use of money or by any kind of pressure that power can bring but because our people know us and trust us as their servants and we set up candidates only where we have bases of popular support. I do not wish to talk of the kind of way I fight my elections. Perhaps you would not believe if I tell you the amount of money which is spent in my election. But look at Shri J M Biswas, for instance, who defeated Shri Atulya Ghosh. We could not even in our dreams imagine ever being able to handle anything like an infinitesimal proportion of the money power which was arrayed against us, but an obscure railway man won the election because he had the love of his people. We try to live with the people like fish and water and we work with them. It is on that basis we win. If we succeed in the elections it is because we have an ideology that binds us, an ideology worth more than all the money in the world, and we live with the people and work for them to the best of our ability.

Communist embassies have been mentioned. I suppose in these days of international misbehaviour anything can be said or done about the embassies which are situated in this country. They can defend themselves against insinuations in the report, but it is a pity that such insinuations can be hurled. Why? Because newspapers particularly foreign newspapers, powerful foreign newspapers, hand in glove with Shri Chavan's secret police, can do that dirty job. At least the world knows that while the United States has its CIA, the Socialist countries have no comparable organisation of that sort. There is a movement for friendship, cultural ties with different countries but nothing of this kind.

Mr. Speaker: He should conclude now.

Shri H. N. Mukerjee: I would ask you, Sir, to permit me to repeat again my earlier assertion that no foreign money, tainted because it is clandestine, no foreign money from any quarter, socialist or non-socialist comes as far as my party is concerned, for fighting the elections or for any other purpose.

श्री मधु लिमये (मंगेर) अध्यक्ष महोदय, न मैं मूलजिम हूँ न मेरा दल। इसलिए मुझे कोई सफाई नहीं देनी है। हमारे दल का नाम नहीं है इसलिए मैंने कहा मुझे कोई सफाई न देने देनी है। लेकिन यह जो ममला हमारे सामने आया है मैं इन लोगों से मलफिक राय हूँ, कि इनका फंडला कुछ न कुछ होना चाहिए और इसलिए जा पार्लियामेंटो कमेटी के द्वारा उस की जांच करने की बात है या किसी मुप्रीम कांटे के जज के द्वारा उस की मैं तार्ड करता हूँ। अध्यक्ष महोदय यह मामला आज ना नहीं है। यह दस साल पुराना मामला है और उस में मुझे सरकार ही एक कपट नीति या छल नीति दिखाई देती है। जिन तरह बिना चूफ के साथ धूर खेल खेलता है, कभी उस को पकड़नी है, कभी उस का छोड़नी है, उसी तरह यह सरकार हिन्दुस्तान के कुछ विरोधी दला के साथ यह छल वाली नीति चरतनी है। कभी न का वादनी है, कभी छोड़नी है।

(व्यवधान) जग भाति में सुनिए। टीक बात कह रहा हूँ। मैं भी चाहता हूँ कि इसका फैसला हो। अध्यक्ष महोदय, दस साल पहले इस वक्त जा भारत की प्रधान मंत्री ने उन्होंने एक भाषण दिया था। उसमें मैंने ज़ुमला ही मैं पढ़ाया।

"The PSP, Mrs. Gandhi said, also did not like the present foreign policy of the Government of India, as it involved a certain amount of displeasure among capitalist countries like America. It was a disgrace for the party that it receives monetary help

from foreign countries and indulges in the reactionary activities inside the country."

यह वह भारत टाइम्स में 24 जनवरी 1957 का आया था। दूसरे दिन इसका खंडन हुआ

एक माननीय सदस्य : सुचेता कृपालानी ने किया था।

श्री मधु लिमये : मैं आ रहा हूँ सभी चीजों की तरफ। तो और जोश में आ कर इन्होंने कहा :

"Mrs. Gandhi said: 'my statement is being severely criticised in newspapers and I am being abused. But I am not afraid of these abuses. I repeat once again that both these parties (Communist and Praja Socialist) received aid from foreign countries'."

यानी कम्युनिस्ट पार्टी और प्रजा सोशलिस्ट पार्टी। लेकिन इसके बाद इनके पिताजी और उम वक्त के प्रधान मंत्री बीच में आये और उन्होंने इलाहाबाद में कहा 7 फरवरी को

"These parties might be getting or not getting such aid," said Mr. Nehru, but he did not like Indira Gandhi saying such things. Mrs. Gandhi had told him today that she has not said so."

बाद में उसी दिन अध्यक्ष महोदय, इन्दिरा गांधी का बयान आता है और दो दिन जिस बात को वह दोहराती है, उसके बारे में, नेहरू साहब के कहने पर, कहती है कि मैंने कभी ऐसा कहा ही नहीं। अध्यक्ष महोदय, यह दस साल पहले का उदाहरण मैंने इसलिए दिया कि यही बात इस वक्त भी चल रही है। मेरा ख्याल है कि विरोधियों को बमजोर बनाने में निरुत्तम की जा नैतिक शक्ति है उस को नरुत्तम करने के लिए सरकार कुछ देर इन आरोपों को चलाती है। लेकिन बाद में दूसरे दिन में सोचनी है जब कभी जाव का और उसका कोई न कोई फंडला करने की बात आती

[श्री मधु विमले]

है तो भाग जानी है। फिर बित्नी बूढ़ को छोड़ देती है और कुछ समय के लिए मामला टक जाता है और फिर चालू हो जाता है। नजीबा यह ही जाता है कि किमी भी बिरोधी टल मे यह हिम्मत नहीं रह जाती है इन का इन्कर मुकामिला करने की। आज मैं मौनू मसानी साहब का जो मुसाव है, हमारे मधोक साहब है, हीरेन मुखर्जी साहब हैं इन को मैं ताईद करता हूँ और मैं चाहता हूँ कि इस मामले की ठीक तरह जांच हो। मैं उन लोगों में से नहीं हूँ जो कहेंगे कि इन के गुप्त पुलिस विभाग के द्वारा जो रपट आती है उन को प्रकट किया जाय। लेकिन यह भ्रमाशयण बात है और इसलिए बेरी मत है कि जब न्यूयार्क टाइम्स जैसे अखबार को, सही या गलत इस रपट के बारे में पता चल जाता है और न्यूयार्क टाइम्स कोई मामूली अखबार नहीं है, वो मूल रपट हमारे सामने आनी चाहिए। अध्यक्ष महोदय, यह सी० आई० ए० का मामला जो दुनिया में चला, आप को पता होगा कि यह न्यूयार्क टाइम्स ऐसा अखबार है कि जिस ने हिम्मत के साथ अपने देश की सरकार के गुप्त जामूसी विभाग के जो कारनामे हैं उन के बारे में लगातार लेख लिखे थे। अगर हिन्दुस्तान में ऐसा कोई हिम्मत वाला अखबार होता तो मैं कहता कि हिन्दुस्तान का लोकतंत्र भी आज मजबूत हो गया है। लेकिन आज यह बात नहीं है। तो न्यूयार्क टाइम्स में जो खबरें छानी हैं, एक मामूली अखबार की खबर, ऐसा कह कर के उस को टाला नहीं जा सकता। अध्यक्ष महोदय, हमारे सविधान के दायरे के अन्दर यह लोक सभा जनता की सार्वभौम इच्छा की प्रतीक है और इस इच्छा को कार्यान्वित करने के लिए लोगों को बालिग मताधिकार का अधिकार दिया गया है। निम्न और साफ बातावरण में चुनाव हो इसलिए रोक लगाई गई कि एक व्यक्ति यानी उम्मीदवार कितना पैसा खर्च कर सकता है। एक इसी तरह हम को बाणी की स्वतंत्रता और दूसरी शहरी राजादिया

नी गई इसीलिए कि लोक मत का जो प्रवाह है वह कल्पित या दूषित न हो जाय और उस का सही माने में यहाँ प्रतिबिम्ब हो। यह न्यूयार्क टाइम्स में जो खबरें प्रपी हैं अगर वह सही हैं, तो मेरा ख्याल है कि इन लाख सभा में फिर बहुत ही कम लोग बँट पायेंगे। इसलिए यह मामला बहुत गम्भीर है। वैसे ही इन शहरी राजादिया के बावजूद कानून रोक है खर्च पर हम के बावजूद, आप जानते हैं कम्पनी कानून में राजनैतिक दलों का पैसा देने की सुविधा है। उस की रपट आई है यहाँ पर। 1962 के पहले 1 करोड़ 4 लाख रुपया यानी सबसे ज्यादा कांग्रेस पार्टी को मिला और उस के बाद स्वतंत्र पार्टी को बहुत ही कम यानी 16 लाख के करीब मिला। दूसरे दलों को तो न के बराबर मिला। यही स्थिति नये अकड़ों में भी है। फिर राजा महाराजामो का मामला आ जाता है अध्यक्ष महोदय। मैं उन का कोई व्यक्तिगत दुष्मन नहीं हूँ। लेकिन लोकतंत्र के लिए मैं जानता हूँ कि यह खतरनाक है कि राजाजामो के जो विशेषाधिकार हैं, और उन के पास जो साधन हैं उन का इस्तेमाल वह कैसे हैं और आम उम्मीदवारों में और उन में शुरू से ही यह विषमता, यह गैर बराबरी रहती है जिस से लोकमत का जो निर्णय है वह ठीक तरह व्यक्त नहीं हो पाता है। अध्यक्ष महोदय, आज राजा महाराजामो के बारे में कहा जाता है कि हमारे जो स्वतंत्र पार्टी के मित्र हैं उन्होंने मे सब धरे हुए हैं। लेकिन यह बात सही नहीं है। जिस तरह सब से अधिक पूजोपतिया का समर्थन कांग्रेस पार्टी को है उसी तरह राजा महाराजा और सामन्त लोगों के बारे में भी मैं कहूँगा अधिक समर्थन इन लोगों का है। मैं हमारे देश में जो प्राथिक रचना है, यह विभागाधिकार हैं, सामाजिक कारामियाँ हैं, सराबोर हैं, उस की वजह से साफ और निष्पक्ष चुनाव हो नहीं पाते। अतः अगर उस में विदेशी पैसा बिया बायगा तो फिर हिन्दुस्तान में लोकतंत्र का मरणांश हो जायगा। इसलिए इस अवस

पर ये, बड़ा बन्नी है नहीं, लेकिन प्राप के नाकत गृह मन्त्री को और गृह मन्त्री के नाकत उन को यह कहता चाहता है कि इस सरकार की जो कपट नीति है, कुटिलता की नीति है या जो बिल्ली का चूहे के साथ क्रूर खेल चलता रहता है उस को वह छोड़ दें। अगर सरकार के पास रपट है तो उस का जांच हो। यदि इस तरह का कोई सबूत नहीं है तो हमेशा के लिए इस कीचड़ उठालने का जो काम चलता है उस पर रोक लगायी जाय। अगर सबमूच यह कीचड़ है, दलदल है तो वह भी सामने घासे। इतना ही। इस प्रबन्ध पर मैं निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ।

Shrimati Sharda Mukerjee (Ratnagiri): Mr. Speaker, Sir, although for some time there has been this atmosphere of mistrust in the country regarding the utilisation of foreign money, it is strange that a report which appeared in the *New York Times* should agitate us so much. We were not agitated by what we saw around us but we are agitated by what an American reporter says is happening in India. This is the tragedy of it. I think, it is necessary that the Government should look into this not because the *New York Times* reports on it but because in the interest of the country, it is important that we should do all we can to safeguard the national integrity and independence of the country. Some years ago there was a feeling of freedom and general trust but now it has come to such a pass that even our own officers, particularly, the military officers, no longer mix with the same freedom with officers of foreign embassies. This is a sign of mistrust. I remember, several years ago when I was in Indonesia, how the same forces, the same countries, the same officers tried to woo one lot or the other. We have seen what has happened in Indonesia. We are seeing what is happening in Vietnam. This is a large country and many forces are at work. But whatever forces they are, let us settle it between themselves. Let us, at least on this particular point, get together and settle our own differences. Whatever the

findings may be of this Inquiry Committee which either the Government or all of us, the opposition parties and the Government together, might institute, let not the findings be such that we besmirch our own people and our own country. We know that all these things are probably going on because elections cost a lot, because this is a poor country and because this country is a focal point where two mighty powers are facing each other, namely, Russia and America. If it were to happen that these two powers should try to split India into small countries, it would not be something new. The same thing happened in China when America helped China, helped Chiang-Kei-Shek and also helped Japan to conquer Manchuria. Russia also conquered Outer Mongolia to get it away from China. The same balkanisation went on in Asia and in Far East and it would not be surprising if it went on here. Therefore, let this debate not be turned into one of mud-slinging each other. We do not have to explain to the world that we have not received anything from America or from Russia or from any other country. No political leader has to explain that this thing has to be settled between ourselves. This is all that I would urge on my hon. friends on the opposition benches and I do hope that the opposition parties and the Government will get together on this.

I would like to remind the House that even our former Finance Minister did say that he had some suspicion about the utilisation of some part of PL 480 funds which was not accounted for by the American Embassy. Although it was said by the Finance Minister that this thing happened during his tenure, two days later we had a contradiction by a government officer to say that this was not correct. This was left in the air. All I am trying to say is that if we want to live in an atmosphere of freedom, we must learn to settle our own differences and not air them and certainly we should not get agitated over what the *New York Times* says.

Shri Umanath (Pudukkottai): After hearing my hon. friends on the Congress side and my colleagues on this side, I am very glad that such a discussion as this is taking place. I am very glad about it, because this question of slandering a party of taking foreign money was so easily bandied about by singling us out for the past many years. We have been telling them that we have got our own political views with which they may or may not agree, but they should not challenge our *bona fides*, and they should not bandy these charges lightly. But they did not believe. Now, the shoe has started pinching each of them. So, now some saner counsels have started prevailing upon them, and I am very glad about it.

With regard to the leakage of this report, my submission is that this leakage is deliberate. Again, some of my friends may agree or may not agree. Somebody, someone in the Home Ministry has leaked it out with a political purpose, because today many of the Opposition parties are in various Governments in the States in combinations. Somebody in the Home Ministry wants to see that on such issues the Opposition parties should start mudslinging at each other on the floor of the House, and it will have its repercussions of bitterness in the respective non-Congress Governments in the States and that will prepare the ground for their break-up. With this political motive, someone in the Home Ministry has leaked it out. As I said, some may agree or may not agree with me when I say this. That the leakage has been deliberate. So, I request Government that this must be seriously gone into, as far as the Home Ministry's side is concerned. Also, as far as the *New York Times* reporter is concerned, the matter must be gone into. If what he has published is true, then I would say that it is a service to the country that he has published it. If

it is not true, then I say that Government must take him to task for creating a situation in our country where there is mudslinging amongst ourselves and also creating disruption.

Then, there is the question of the appointment of a parliamentary committee. During the half-an-hour discussion on the CIA activities, we had demanded that a high-powered commission should be appointed. Shri M. C. Chagla had stated in reply that this proposal of the Opposition would be placed before the Cabinet and after the Cabinet took a decision, it would be reported to the House, if necessary. But instead of that being done, I find that some CIB investigation is going on. That is what we have been told.

I want to know what has happened to Shri M. C. Chagla's statement, whether the matter has been placed before the Cabinet Committee. We find a strange contrast here. On the question of Naxalbari there was no hesitation on the part of the Home Minister to accept the setting up of a parliamentary committee or a parliamentary delegation. But when it comes to the question of the CIA activities in our country, why should there be such hesitation for a long time? This is there because in Naxalbari, a Government of our own countrymen was involved, and, therefore, they had no hesitation in attacking them, but when it comes to CIA, it relates to the Government of the USA on whom we depend for food and other things and that is why they are afraid of doing anything in regard to the CIA.

Therefore, I submit that this question of the appointment of a high-powered commission should be considered very seriously by Government. I say that the so-called CIB report is just an eye-wash. Either Government have not realised the ramifications of the CIA into the political,

social and economic life of the country, irrespective of the parties, or after having realised it, they do not want to go into it very deeply because of the seriousness of the thing.

As far as the CIA is concerned, it has got access to sources very close to Government. In the *Ramparts*, a US magazine, they say that the CIA has got a department called the DDP (Deputy Director of Projects). I shall quote from it presently, some idea of the sweep of the DDP's activities can be gained from the several projects in which they are engaged. One such project is training the household security force of the King of Nepal. Somehow, they have gone there. Please understand the implication of this that the CIA has got access to the household security force which protects the King of Nepal. How do we know that they have not come here? We do not know how far they have come here. Similarly, we have so many development projects, where also their operatives may be planted. The same report in the *Ramparts* refers to this aspect also. A youngster who was recruited to the CIA and who had ultimately resigned after seeing its secrets has written:

"The extent of the Agency's operations is awesome and a bit frightening. The DDP operatives were planted in virtually every US Government Branch that had foreign aspects, e.g. the US Information Service and the US Agency for International Development."

It is the latter organisation that we have termed as USAID. That is his confession which has been published in that magazine. Our country and our Government have entered into contracts with so many American agencies in regard to development activities. What guarantee is there that the agents of the CIA have not been planted and planted deliberately in these projects?

I say that this CIB report is an eye-wash on such a serious matter.

I would like to say that the position in the governmental services is also dangerous as far as CIA penetration is concerned. It is now admitted in the foreign press that the ICFTU has got funds from the CIA. There is one organisation, the PTTI, an organisation of posts and telegraphs which is affiliated to the ICFTU. Our federation, the National Federation of Posts and Telegraphs union is affiliated to the PTTI which is affiliated to the ICFTU which is getting money from the CIA. Is this not a simple avenue for CIA penetration into our communication services?

I request this House that irrespective of political parties we should realise the dangerous position as a result of the ramifications that have started. That is why I insist on a high power commission. I do not know why he is hesitating. When it is a case of Naxalbari, he readily agrees to a parliamentary committee. In this case also, I demand that there should be appointed a high power commission or a parliamentary committee to go into the whole matter.

Shri Surendranath Dwivedy (Kendrapara): This is too serious a matter to be ignored. Whether any political party's name is mentioned in this report or not, there is nothing that one can derive comfort. But I find if one reads this report, that it is a slander against our nation. All political parties have been tarred with the same brush.

This news item is very cleverly worded. They have not left out anybody. If the CIA is connected with some, then they bring in the left-wing groups who are also connected with some source or the other. I would not like to repeat what has already been said in this House. To me it appears to be a cool, calculated, deliberate move by some want to subvert our democratic growth. I see a deep design behind it. Therefore, it is necessary that all of us should apply

[Shri Surendranath Dwivedy]

our mind to this so that for all time this slanderous propaganda is nipped in the bud.

I would have been happy, when this matter came up in the morning, if a forthright announcement had come from the Home Minister that this report has no bearing whatsoever on the preliminary report of the CIB he has in his possession. But he said it is a mere conjecture. I would like him to tell the House about this. He may not disclose it if he does not want to, but I think there should be no secrecy about this. After all, if the CIB report has any thing against all political parties, let us know what it is and what is the proof, what is the source and who are involved. The whole country would know. They will judge us from the report. I do not think it is necessary for him to treat it as a secret report. If he wants time to come to the House with Government's conclusions, let him now say when the discussion is taking place and make it clear whether this report has any bearing whatsoever on the report in his possession, because already allegations have been made that a high government source—the source has been mentioned—in the Home Ministry or in the Prime Minister's Secretariat is involved in the disclosure. Therefore, it is necessary for him to make forthright announcement that this report has no bearing whatsoever on the CIB report he has with him.

Secondly, the matter is not one whether any political party or anybody else who contested the elections got any funds from any source during the elections; it is not only that. What we want to know is whether foreign money is playing any role whatsoever in influencing our political activities in this country. Therefore, the inquiry should not be confined to this very little thing. So far as my Party is concerned, I do not want any certificate from anybody. I am prepared to stand all this nonsense because we know with what hardship, with what

difficulty, we are functioning in this country, because we are patriotic party which does not want in any way to be connected with any international organisation whatever. We do not get any funds from any source.

I would like, therefore, since this matter has been raised several times in some other connection, not only a high power commission to go into these things, but that commission should also go into the sources of funds of the political parties. I am prepared to stand such an enquiry. Let them go into the funds of all the political parties, which are their sources, where do they get them.

I think the Government owes a duty to the country at this stage to make such an enquiry. If they do not do it, I am afraid they will be accused of connivance with the slanders to malign political parties, and especially opposition parties. Let them understand this aspect of the thing very clearly that all of us are concerned in this. We are not interested in maligning this party or that, we want a proper growth of democracy, there must be some healthy conventions. The parties may have their ideological affiliations, but we do not want any foreign influence, any foreign interference, in our internal affairs whatsoever.

If he wants to be empowered, if he wants the authority of this House, if there is any information with him and he wants us to empower him to amend the Constitution, to give him authority so that he can take action in a summary manner. I say Parliament will unanimously give him authority to take any action he thinks fit, if he comes across any such source which wants to influence either directly or indirectly and interference in our political affairs.

Therefore, when this matter has come to the House, let us evolve some method by which for all time to come this slanderous attack is removed.

I would also make an appeal to him. Let us think over this matter. ICFTU has been mentioned. There are foreign tours, there are friendship societies, there are Embassies in the country which pay money out of proportion to the so-called services rendered to them. Foreign trips are arranged. There are friendship societies. Some of them are office-bearers for eternal time; they have no ostensible means of livelihood, but they live a very comfortable life. All these things are going on in this country. We want to know wherefrom this money is coming.

As I said in the beginning there is no partisan attitude towards this. This is a slander against the nation, and the nation must stand as one to declare that those who made the slanderous attacks are enemies of India and enemies of democracy.

Shri Y. B. Chavan: I am glad you gave this opportunity to discuss this matter in some detail. Naturally at the stage of calling attention notice, possibly a few questions could have been asked. (Interrupts).

I was saying I am very grateful to the Speaker for giving us this opportunity to discuss this matter in this form, but I am handicapped by one important fact, that though I am in possession of this report for the last few days, I am so busy with this work that I thought I should wait for a day or two to have leisure so that I can study it very carefully. I have not been able to read a page of the report yet. When this calling attention notice came, I consulted those who have read it, and they told me that it is completely a conjecture, it is not related to the report as such. The report even says that myself and the Prime Minister have come to some sort of judgment, therefore there is no doubt that it is a conjecture. It is rightly said that it is necessary to find out what is the source of the person who gave this report. Only this

morning I have told the necessary officers to make an effort to find out who is responsible for this leakage, if it is a leakage.

18 hrs.

Shri Nambiar (Tirichrappalli): The CIB must be able to find out this, if it has some salt left with it.

Shri Jyotirmoy Basu (Diamond Harbour): The reporter of the New York Times is responsible for this.

Shri Y. B. Chavan: I said that I would ask them to make an effort to find out what is the source of that leakage, if it is a leakage. I think it cannot be a leakage; if it were a leakage it would have been accurate. But certainly I agree that somebody who is not, really speaking, interested in friendly way towards our nation has possibly done this trick because it is not merely condemnation of A party or B party, it is a condemnation of all democratic parties and as such it is a slander on the nation. It is a cynical attitude that all political parties are taking help from foreign countries and therefore democracy is not good. Possibly those people who are not looking to India in friendly way are interested in spreading things like this. That was my first feeling. Therefore, I think we should be very careful when we talk about these problems.

Before I proceed further, I must say that somebody from the back benches mentioned that the Home Secretary must have done that. I shall not only repudiate it but I must lodge a strong protest.

He is a very senior officer. If his bona fides are challenged this way, I do not think it is good. The functioning of democracy depends not

[Shri Y. B. Chavan]

only on political parties; it also depends upon the integrity of civil services of the Government. The higher civil services are functioning with a sense of integrity and duty and therefore it is my duty to protect them when they are not here to protect themselves. It is my duty to take all the responsibility on these matters and I should say that this was an absolutely unfounded allegation that was made here.

About this matter, as we all know this type of lie is bandied about in the public and in the Press and in the House that there was some foreign money in circulation at the time of the last general elections. Some people mentioned that not only in the elections but in the general economic, social and political activities, foreign money was playing a role. Therefore, Mr. Chagla said that all this matter would be enquired into by the I.B. and he mentioned the name of the agency also and later on he wrote to me about it. It was at his request that we decided that the I.B. should look into this matter. The IB has gone into this matter and it is still going into the matter; it is a very huge thing. The method of investigation and enquiry by the IB is a particular method. They get certain information from some sources. It is rather difficult to get the necessary evidence to substantiate if somebody wants to substantiate this matter. Therefore, if I say that I would like to publish the report, it will be a brave statement. It will be very unfair to many people. Therefore, this will have to be carefully gone into. It would have to be verified further; enquiries are to be made and be stopped. That must be the purpose of such enquiries. They say: start an enquiry; they may want a judicial enquiry or a parliamentary enquiry. It looks all right when we talk about it.

श्री यशवन्तराव चव्हाण : किसी बात को दबा नहीं रहे हैं ।

Shri Limaye feels that somebody is always trying to do something to somebody; it is not so. Nobody is trying to doubt anybody. Let me assure this hon. House that this report is with us. Let it be very properly considered and examined. The IB also gets reports from sources which may be unreliable sources. Suppose an unreliable and unverified statement is allowed to be published, it may be unfair to the person against whom it may be published. Therefore, it will have to be very carefully considered and examined. I must say that this study will take time, it should take some time. I do not want to rush anybody or I do not to hush up anything. But this much I can assure you, because I am speaking here with a sense of responsibility: at one stage or the other, when this enquiry and study is complete, after that full enquiry, I will certainly discuss this matter with the leaders of all political parties if they want and I will be willing to share the broad conclusions with the hon. House. But at this stage, let us consider what further steps are necessary. It is difficult for me to anticipate what steps should be taken. It is difficult for me to enter upon all the things. But I have understood the sense of the discussion here. I share the feelings of the leaders of all the political parties who spoke here. But at the same time, in order to prove that one party is good, to throw suggestions or suspicions against other parties would be very unfair. I also belong to a political party. I can at the same time say that that political party is an equally honourable political party as every other political party is an honourable party. There is absolutely no question. My hon. friend Shri Mukerjee said that in order to get the unknown candidate elected—he just threw some suggestion against some candi-

श्री बबू लिमये : मामले को दबा रहे हैं ।

date. That is the main difficulty. To prove that one is good, one has to say that everybody else is bad! That is not the attitude which responsible person should adopt.

We should take a very serious view of the matter. As this House is a dignified House, as this is a dignified country, so too let us consider this question in the same spirit.

Shri Surendranath Dwivedy: Would the hon. Minister call the Delhi cor-

respondent of the *New York Times*, question him and find out the source?

Mr. Speaker: Order, order. --
The House stands adjourned till 11 A.M. tomorrow.

18.07 hrs.

The Lok Sabha then adjourned till Eleven of the Clock on Friday, June 16, 1967; Jyaishta 26, 1889 (Saka).
