

[Shri Somnath Chatterjee]

by themselves. The proper approach should be not merely granting loans to various concerns in order to tide over immediate difficulties but to see whether they can themselves mobilise resources by working properly. This is an important thing which has to be achieved. I was going through the Annual Report of the IFC and, very surprisingly, it does not mention these important aspects, how far the loans are being utilised for generation of the industrial potential in the country, for expanding employment opportunities in this country, how far uniform and ordered progress of the industries in different parts of the country is really achieved. Merely referring to figures—the hon. Deputy Minister gave several statistics—does not really give us a correct and complete picture.

During the last 23 years—I have got the figures upto 1971 end—the Industrial Finance Corporation gave assistance to 527 projects and the total amount involved was Rs. 366 crores. If my figures are wrong, I would like to be corrected. Out of these 527 projects, 233 only were new projects and the rest were for expansion or for modernisation of the plant. The real difficulty is that we find there has been a complete neglect of various parts of the country. We do not mind Maharashtra making strides and progress. We wish well all other parts of the country but, during the year 1971-72, Maharashtra got 19 projects sanctioned for about Rs. 10 or 12 crores. As against that, the State of West Bengal had only one project sanctioned involving an amount of only Rs. 65 lakhs. I would like to know from the hon. Minister as to how many applications have been made from West Bengal during 1971-72 and what was the amount asked for and how many projects were sanctioned. I find only one project was sanctioned. I want to know how many different types of projects had applied to the IFC for sanction of loans.

As you know, there has been a justifiable feeling in the State of West Bengal that financial institutions like the IFC which have large amounts at their disposal, are not making available these resources to industries or houses or smaller entrepreneurs in West Bengal for the purpose of expansion of the industrial activity in that State. We have been referring to the record of the LIC investments in the State of West Bengal but I find that the record of IFC is much more dismal. I would like the hon. Minister to kindly look into this and give us the figure so that we may know whether there has been any loaded attitude in favour of any particular area or not. I am not making any accusation as such in the absence of materials with me but I would like the hon. Minister to look into this and kindly tell us as to what is the real position.

So far as the inter-relation between the IFC and the Industrial Development Bank is concerned, there is a considerable feeling among the economists also who understand matters better than us...

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: The hon. Member may continue tomorrow. Now, we take up the next item.

DISCUSSION RE: GROWING C.I.A. ACTIVITIES IN INDIA

14.59 hrs.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: Now, we take up the discussion on the danger of growing CIA activities in India.

Mr. Indrajit Gupta.

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA (Alipore): Right at the outset, I will crave your kind indulgence to give me a little time, if only, for the reason that my resolution on the same subject which had secured the first place in the ballot a week or two ago, could not be taken up due to what I consider to be the rather over-anxious attitude of some people, of

some Members of the Government side . . .

SHRI PILOO MODY (Godhra): The Minister of Parliamentary Affairs.

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA: . . . who do not want the subject to come before the House in the form of a resolution on which it would have been necessary to take a vote at the end. But, anyway, something was done by which that resolution could not be moved and, later on, it was discussed in the Business Advisory Committee and I am grateful to my hon. friends and Members on this side with whom my views may differ considerably but who were kind enough to come to an agreement so that this matter could be raised by me in this form today.

SHRI S. M. BANERJEE (Kanpur): Including Prof Samar Guha.

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA: Yes, I am grateful to him as well as to other friends..

SHRI PILOO MODY: Did Mr. Banerjee support you?

14.59. hrs.

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA: Sir, this matter has acquired publicity and importance, not because the CIA has suddenly started functioning in India but because all of a sudden, after so many years, no less a person than the Prime Minister of this country and also the President of the ruling Party....

SHRI PILOO MODY: Where is he?

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA: . . . came out publicly, not once, but several times in the Press as well as in remarks that they are reported to have made in their own Party meetings, in the meetings of the Consultative Committee of the Home Ministry and elsewhere, to the effect that CIA had increased its activities in India, that this was a

matter of alarm and concern and that the national interests and security must be safeguarded against the activities of foreign intelligence and subversive organisations including the CIA. This is what the Prime Minister, according to the Press, said in the meeting of the Consultative Committee attached to the Home Ministry. These utterances have provoked a big controversy and a big hullabaloo in this country and, the reactions are of various types.

There is one reaction to the effect that this is only meant for domestic consumption and that the object is to utilise the name of the CIA in order to defame and slander certain Opposition Parties. Now, I can say from my own experience that there are some people in this country, and some members, I regret to say, of the Congress Party who, in their individual capacity, have been indulging in this type of propaganda in various places in the States and so on where they tried to condemn either the genuine discontent of the people or any movement of the people, by saying that this is CIA-inspired. I have no doubt about it. I have seen it in my own State also and I regret to say that only recently, on the occasion of the Prime Minister's birthday celebrations on the 19th of November, at a really held in Calcutta, jointly by the Students Chhatra Parishad and the Youth Congress, no less a person than the State Minister for Home Affairs in our State, Mr. Subroto Mukherji, in the course of his speech, said something which should cause delight to some of our friends on this side:

"Both the CIA and KGB have become active with the aim of discrediting the Congress Party "

So, my friend, Mr. S. N. Mishra, Mr. Pilo0 Mody and so on, need not think that everybody on that side does not share their point of view. There are some black sheep there also.

[Shri Indrajit Gupta]

But, anyway, I am not holding any cudgels for such people and our Party has come out publicly condemning very sharply those Congressmen who, in their individual capacities seek to utilise this attack about CIA as a political weapon against their opponents. It is only another way of actually belittling the importance and seriousness of this question and giving an alibi to the real CIA.

Then, there has been another reaction which, I think, is voiced sometimes by my CPM friends who, of course, I am sure, on this matter at least, share the concern of our Party about CIA so much but, their reaction, is that after all who is the Prime Minister or who is the leadership of the Congress Party to come out and denounce CIA now when all these years since Independence these people, in various ways, by their economic policies and other means, have been encouraging the CIA to come and work in this country? Now, Sir, even if what they say is correct—for argument's sake, I do not subscribe to the view—now, after all these years, when such a situation has developed, where a person like the Prime Minister of such a big country, and the President of the Indian National Congress, have deemed it necessary to do something which they have never done before, and have come out publicly, with a warning against the activities of the C.I.A., I, at least, however belated that may be, am prepared to welcome it.

Rather, I would say, I would like to know from the Government that they are actually proposing to do apart from talking about it.

We find this from the *New York Times* on the 6th December, that is, only last week, in that famous editorial which we all hear about, which is being captioned 'India's Love Call':

"New Delhi was understandably bitter over U.S. support for Pak-

istan during the repression of the former Bengali State and the subsequent subcontinental conflict. But the Indians carried their pique to ridiculous lengths when top Government officials levelled absurd charges against the CIA for alleged meddling in Indian affairs."

So, according to the *New York Times*, this is nothing but pique, pique against the USA, which was carried to absurd lengths and making absurd charges against the C.I.A. There is much in common between the arguments of the *New York Times* and the arguments of some of our friends on this side.

Therefore, with your kind indulgence, I would like to take a few minutes, in my own humble way, just to try to explain to the House from whatever sources are available, as to what exactly the C.I.A. is.

This is not a question of Foreign Intelligence Agencies, in plural. There are Foreign Intelligence Agencies operating, I have not a shadow of a doubt, there may be American, there may be Soviet, there may be British, there may be anybody, they operate in this country, they operate in other countries. I hope that we also have an Intelligence Service of some kind which operates wherever it is necessary. So, this is an accepted thing in international usage. The only trouble is that if anybody who is enjoying diplomatic immunity is actually caught red-handed doing intelligence or espionage activities, generally, he is declared a *persona non grata* and asked to leave the country, and in war-time, if he is caught, of course, he is shot as a spy.

But, Sir, my contention is, — this menace of the CIA which has been suddenly projected into the limelight by what, I might take at their face value, are given as responsible statements by no less a person than the

Prime Minister, is not something which is to be seen in the context of an ordinary Intelligence Agency. Because, Sir, I know my friends on this side, who speak after me, will go on saying, yes yes C.I.A., but what about KGB and so on, and what about some other intelligence agency. I hold no brief for any intelligence agency. It is the job of the Government to keep a watch on the functioning of the intelligence agencies. My contention is entirely different. This is a specific discussion on the menace of the C.I.A., not other pro-American organisations or pro-American agencies, many of which may be functioning in this country, educational institutions, other types of institutions, etc. I am not concerned with them. I am concerned with the C.I.A. because, it is my contention that the CIA is not simply a normal intelligence agency, but it is something more.

I may tell you what my source material is. I have depended entirely on American sources. I have no time to go into all those quotations now from relevant passages from their works. There are two works by two authors called David Wise and Thomas B. Ross. One is called 'Espionage Establishment' and the other is called 'Invisible Government'. In this country we talk about a parallel Government of black money; in their country they talk about an 'invisible Government' run by the C.I.A.

There is another work by Mr. Allen Dulles — the name is well-known, — the brother of the late lamented Foster Dulles. Allen Dulles was the original founder and builder of what was formerly known as O.S.S.—the Office of Strategic Services, which later became the C.I.A.

Mr. Allen Dulles has written a very interesting book called 'Craft of Intelligence'. It should be read.

Then, Sir, in 1966 the same *New York Times* (the same paper which

is talking just now about India's pique against the U.S.A.) has published a whole series of articles about the C.I.A. I have got them here. If any hon. Member is interested he can study them at leisure. Certain disclosures have been made in the American Press by the famous columnist Mr. Jack Anderson. Then, on the 21st of January, 1972, in its magazine section, the *Daily Telegraph* of London has published a whole lot of revelations on the way the CIA functions. Mr. Miles Copeland has published a book called 'The Game of Nations'. Very interesting things are there. Mr. George Morris has published a book 'CIA and American labour'.

SHRI PILOO MODY: John Smith also.

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA: I am coming. A former officer of the OSS and the CIA, Mr. Sherman Kent, has published a book called 'Strategic Intelligence for American World Policy'. And last but not least, as my friend Mr. Piloo Mody interjected just now, Mr. John Smith, whose book was entitled, not like Mr. Piloo Mody's badge, 'I am a CIA agent',—but, 'I was a CIA agent'. So, that also is there.

Why am I going into all these things? It is because I do not want the Minister and the Government, after giving out all the warnings, to simply say, oh, we are keeping an eye on all intelligence services. I don't think he will reveal anything very much here, but anyway, I wish to say this.

The present Director of the CIA is a gentleman by name Richard Helms; he earns 30,000 dollars per year. They have a huge estate and their headquarters is established at a place called Langley in Virginia. 15,000 people are employed at the CIA headquarters. The annual budget of the CIA comes to Rs. 3,000 crores per year, which is, I think, about 75 per cent of the total Indian Budget.

[Shri Indrajit Gupta]

There is a very interesting account in some of these books of the wonderful sophisticated electronic gadgets, computers and so on used in that CIA headquarters by which they can get information within 5 or 10 seconds about any person or any happening anywhere in the world and 40 million index cards are maintained in the CIA headquarters; that is, they have dossiers on 40 million personalities, of people in different countries of the world, of different parties, different affiliations, different professions and so on.

After the Prime Minister and Mr. Shankar Dayal Sharma had come out with these warnings, we had the statement of the Secretary of States, Mr. Rogers. He had given an assurance that the CIA activities in India are not directed against the national interest of India. It is a very important sentence. It reveals that the CIA works in India but that their activities are not directed against India's national interest.

Therefore, very briefly I have to remind the House of some of their activities, some of the types of activities which the CIA has been indulging in, in other countries of the world.

The *New York Times*, the well-known American paper only recently highlighted this.

"The CIA has been not so secretly training, equipping and virtually leading a 95,000 men army in Laos for nearly a decade 50 per cent of the relief for civilian casualties goes to outfit this army.

Now, Sir, does a normal intelligence outfit, organise and run and operate an army? Have we ever heard of such a thing? But here is *Newsweek* quoting Edward Kennedy testifying that in Laos there is the army which is financed, equipped and led by the CIA. It functioned as a parallel organisation of the U.S. Government even sometimes in Laos.

On the 21st March, 1972, Mr. Jack Anderson disclosed that in Chile, in order to prevent the election of Allende as president in 1970, a left-supported candidate, the CIA in collaboration with the International Telephone and Traffic Co. had tried to organise a military coup in Chile; that same ITT which is giving us here crossbar equipment for our telephones in Delhi and other places that same international monopoly combine was hand in glove with the CIA in Chile in trying to bring off a military coup.

Then, the same American sources reveal that the removal of President Nkrumah in Ghana, of Sihanouk in Cambodia in 1954, and of Mossadeq in Iraq who tried to nationalise the foreign oil companies and Guzman in Guatemala in 1954 were engineered by the CIA. The *Daily Telegraph* of London dated the 21st January, 1972 has made the following allegations, and you might refer to that paper. First of all, they have referred to the CIA's plot behind Nkrumah's ouster. They have said that in the conflict in Nigeria, in Biafra, the CIA played an ambiguous role, on the one hand supporting Col. Ojukwu and on the other helping to organise arms supplies to the Biafran leader from Portuguese territories. They have further alleged about the CIA's hand in ousting President Obote of Uganda and his replacement by the present President Idi Amin, and you know what he is doing in Uganda. They have also commented on the fact that some colossal failures and blunders have also been committed by the CIA. One of these, as we know, was that famous attempt to invade Cuba by a mercenary army which had been trained in Guatemala which led to the fiasco of the Bay of Pigs. All the material on this is available in A. Schlesinger's *Thousand Days in the White House*. You can read it and see how the CIA misled President Kennedy and led him to believe that if the army is trained and sent to invade Cuba, the

local population would rise in support and throw out Fidel Castro. The whole thing has been exposed in that book. This is what the CIA has been doing.

In November, 1970, it attempted an abortive invasion of Guinea by CIA agents disguised as agents of the US Bauxite Companies. President Eisenhower had admitted once that it was the CIA which was involved in the famous incident of the U-2 plane which was shot down over the USSR, and which had been piloted by Gary Sobers, and which had taken off from Peshawar. This is an admission made by President Eisenhower. It is amazing. This is not an intelligence agency, but it is a huge force which sometimes operated even without the knowledge of the United States Government and sometimes, of course, in collusion with them.

Nearer home, a gentleman called Robert Jackson, more familiarly known as 'Killer Jack' appeared in Bangla Desh last year in March, 1971. He had an unsavoury history. He was the man behind what was called 'Operation Phoenix' in Saigon where he had been used by the South Viet Nam Government to plan and organise massacre of the people of South Viet Nam who were opposed to the regime there. This gentleman appeared in Bangla Desh and he is reported to have trained Razakars and Al Badar and such people in the art of killing freedom-fighters. Documents which were found with Rao Farman Ali revealed that two Americans by the names of Haight and Duesplick had been preparing lists in Dacca of intellectual who should be killed. Later on, those intellectuals were massacred on the eve of the Indian forces reaching Dacca, and then these two gentlemen escaped to Bangkok via PIA, and in March, 1972 again they were reported to be in Ceylon working for the security forces there during the youth insurgency.

The Singapore Prime Minister Lee Guan Yew accused the CIA of trying

to bribe him to let off two of its arrested agents and so on. I cannot go into all these details because there is no time, and you will soon start ringing the bell.

Because of all this, I claim that the CIA is a specialised type of agency, subversive agency, which is operating on behalf of rightist forces in every country where the regime is not to its liking, where the regime follows policies which are not to the liking of the United States, where what they consider to be a progressive or leftist or democratic socialist regime is there. There, the CIA operates in a hostile manner in a subversive manner to overthrow that regime. Therefore, it is all the more likely, rather it would be absurd to think that the CIA does not operate in our country and has played no role in our elections held in the past. It is absurd, in fact, we remember that after the 1961-62 elections, at the time when Prime Minister Nehru had asked the US Embassy here to see to it that four of its staff against whom there was evidence of meddling in the elections, should be asked to leave the country, they did and they had to. They were: the first secretary, Mr. Rosatzki, Assistant Attache, Charles G. Kegan, Third Secretary, Mr. Dean R. Claridge, and the Bombay Consul Robert L. Boise. These people were named by the Nehru Government and made to leave the country.

How it is that this organisation can actually carry on this kind of activity? The answer is to be found in the National Security Act of 1947 of the USA, the Act under which the CIA was set up. I do not want to go into all the provisions which lay down the functions of the organisations. But apart from the normal intelligence functions, there is one under No. 5, which reads thus:

"to perform such other functions and duties related to intelligence affecting national security as the National Security Council may from time to time direct."

[Shri Indrajit Gupta]

Taking cover under this provision of the National Security Act, the CIA has been indulging in global activities of this type, a few of which I have been able to mention to you.

Now, I come to India. The presence of the US troops in India during World War II in the war against Japan enabled the OSS to start functioning on Indian soil. Later on, when the OSS became the CIA, it established itself. I want Shri K. C. Pant to hear this; it established itself with the collaboration and the silent acquiescence of Indian intelligence which at that time was nothing but what we had inherited from British intelligence up to 1947.

On the 27th April, 1948 the *Free Press Journal* of Bombay reported that the United States agencies had provided information to the Government of India, the Government of Pakistan and the Government of Burma in order to enable them to carry out repressive measures against the communist parties in their respective countries.

The Government of India's director of intelligence at that time, Mr. T. G. Sanjeevi was sent to the United States in 1949 to make certain arrangements for mutual help between the two agencies. On 3rd July, 1951, the then Home Secretary, Mr. H. V. R. Iengar had disclosed that the Government of India would set up a CBI. This was how the CBI came into existence. He said that the Government of India would set up a CBI on the model of the American FBI. Of course, later on, we found that it was not exactly on that model. But anyway, Mr. Iengar had said that Indian officers would be sent to the USA for advanced training and in exchange US intelligence agents came to India as advisers.

In 1966, the Prime Minister visited the United States. In the communique issued, she and President Johnson had agreed to exchange information on China. As you know, ex-

changing information on China means that it has to be got through certain agencies. Indian intelligence was reported by Reuters on the 25th November, 1966 to have received through the CIA a type of computer, which had been supplied by the IBM to the CIA itself. So, we found that in the early years, perhaps it was necessary, because like our independence, our intelligence was also at an infant stage. So, they took the help of these people to collaborate with them, and the result was that from that time, the CIA had started using this mutual co-operation and help in order to organise certain security leaks, what I would call security leakages from India, that is, information which is not available to the Indian public and to the Indian press and the Indian Parliament began to appear in the United States Press. The *New York Times* had a detailed report on Soviet military aid to India which contains information which had never been available in this country. In November 1950 they carried a report on special anti-communist intelligence investigation in India. Where did they get the material from? The *Los Angeles Times* in December 1966 gave details of the Indian Army's reorganisation after 1962. This information was never made available to the Indian Press or the Public or the Indian Parliament. Those people were getting it. According to Chester Bowles the former ambassador to this country, in 1967 there were more than 9,000 Americans in India, I never make the charge that every American in this country is a CIA agent. That is ridiculous and makes the whole thing puerile. Nor, that people like Balayogi or such people are the CIA agents. Does the CIA operate in this crude way, obvious way? You must be serious if you are really concerned about combatting the menace of the CIA. Of these 9,000 Americans, about 9000 were people attached to the American Embassy. In Germany a book has

been published, *whos who in the CIA* an exhaustive list. In that book you will find 124 persons who had at some time or the other served with the United States Embassy in India. At this very moment when I am speaking here, I should say that according to our party's paper—it has not been contradicted—the *New Age* of 22 October, has mentioned the names of ten persons working in the Delhi Embassy, who are known to be CIA agents according to these foreign publications. I can give their names; they were published in that paper a few weeks ago.

There are various organisations, foundations institutions and so on working in this country which have been partly or wholly financed by CIA funds. A few years ago the Asia Foundation was revealed to be one of them and it had to wind up. Many organisations which were financed through the Asia Foundation had either to deny it or to cut off that source of fund or do something. Mr. George Morris in his book "CIA and American Labour" has very interesting things to say how the CIA operates through international confederation of Free Trade Unions. There are organisations in this country affiliated internationally to the ICFTU. Mr. Morris has revealed how the ICFTU channelised CIA funds to various trade union organisations in various countries. They must look into these matters. The National students Association of the United States of America was found to be one organisation like this dependent on CIA funds. There is another organisation the World Assembly of Youth which had its branches in many countries and in India they have set up the Viswa Yuvak Kendra in Chanakyapuri. You can see that for yourself even now. Has any enquiry been held even after all these warnings were given by no less a person than the Prime Minister where they are getting money from? Many U.S. Universities and institutions have jointly programmes and collaboration n projects with Indian

Universities which are partly at least financed by the CIA. Mr. Sherman Kent, former OSS/CIA official, in his Book says that the United States Department of States, of Defence, of Commerce, of Agriculture of Interior, of Treasury and of Justice wherever they are operating abroad are also participating in intelligence activities.

Mr. John Smith in his book "I was a CIA Agent" tells us about— I do not know whether all these facts are correct and it is for somebody to contradict them if they are not correct—a whole lot of Indian officials, military and political officials, with whom he had talks and from whom he got information. The India Co-operative Union Organisation, after having received proper injunction from CIA came out publicly against co-operative farming. There were reports that the CIA agencies were in touch with hostile Nagas on our borders. Mr. Tridib Chaudhuri and I raised in this House a few years ago the revelations made before the U.S. Senate Foreign Relations Committee on the so-called Himalayan Border Countries Project, apparently sponsored, by the University of California but found out to be a CIA agency operating as part of the U.S. Defence Department. It was raised in the House and the Government promised to look into the matter and I think that project was wound up.

Coming to recent events, these questions have arisen publicly and they are being voiced repeatedly. How is it that the *New York Times* forecast in May that there would be riots in Eastern India in October, because these disturbances in Assam took place. The Assam Tribune published on 10th September that transmitters were seized in Darrang. I do not know from whom, and no information has been given. In Rajasthan it was found that two U.S. so-called research scholars were looking into irrigation projects but later on it was found that they had not been given permission by the Central Government or the State Government in Arunachal Pradesh Chief

[Shri Inderjit Gupta]

Commissioner Mr. Rajan, has publicly stated that plastic gramophones and paper records were being distributed among the tribals for carrying on anti-Indian propaganda. The whole thing has to be seen against the particular political background... (Interruptions). If you desire to bracket—I do not know if that lady is trying to do that—CIA with some other foreign intelligence agency, as I have explained in the beginning when she did not bother to be present—first of all I wish to say that if the KGB, whatever the initials stand for somebody will enlighten us—is the intelligence agency of the Soviet Union, by all means keep a close watch on its activities. Does anybody seriously suggest today that the KGB as intelligence agency of the Soviet Union, which has proved itself a hundred times in every time of crisis and stress, to be the only dependable friend that we have got, are we to take it that the KGB is operating in a way that is hostile to our interest if so try to find out and expose it. But how can you put it on the same footing as the CIA at a time when we all know the American Government's attitude towards India?

I do not have to repeat what happened last year. With their global strategy and their isolation in Vietnam they are eager to find new bases in South-East Asia, knowing very well that sooner or later they will have to quit Vietnam. Is it an accident that newspapers carried yesterday very thinly veiled and disguised news that a NATO Naval base in the name of Iran which is a benami, of whom we all know, is coming up in Mauritius in the Indian Ocean. All of us have been talking that it must be a zone of peace. Now the NATO has entered it via Iran in Mauritius. All these things are going on.

We know what is happening in Bangladesh. The Ministers and responsible statesmen of Bangladesh have issued a number of statements of how the CIA agencies are trying to stir up anti-Indian feelings and

sentiments there to create trouble between India and Bangladesh. I want Mr. Pant to be very specific. A warning specially mentioning the CIA and its increased activities was made before the country by the Prime Minister and the President of the Indian National Congress. As far as we are concerned though it has been delayed by 25 years it is welcome. Better wake up sometime, better late than never. This warning should not give way suddenly to the Indian love-call *The New York Times* has the effrontery to say that the Indians after indulging in ridiculous charges are having sober second thoughts. It goes on to say "The sober second thoughts reflected in Mr. Singhs friendly overture may have been induced by a serious crop failure in India which requires the Indians to seek grain imports that only the USA could provide." *The New York Times* is saying so openly. Are we to take it literally? Because of some such economic compulsions, in order not to annoy the Americans, if the CIA's nefarious activities are allowed to go on if people's vigilance which was sought to be raised is again to be lulled to sleep, it would be disastrous. Therefore, I should like to know categorically from the Minister what they intend to do.

Finally, what they should do is this. A proper enquiry, investigation and watch must be kept particularly first on the educational institutions which are the favourite hunting ground of CIA in all countries, through various ways—scholarships, projects, research foundations, professors, this, that and the other.

AN HON. MEMBER: Politicians also.

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA: About politicians, they are already supposed to be investigating as to who gets foreign money, etc. I do not know what has happened to that enquiry. The bureaucracy, the government officialdom in every such country which has been affected by CIA was found to be honeycombed by agents of CIA. They are not Americans,

but nationals of the country in which the CIA operates. I can give you very interesting stories about that, but I have no time. But please be vigilant about it. In key posts in the various ministries and departments, there may be officers who are hand in glove with CIA. Many things have happened which go to prove it. Some say, the Ministry of Agriculture in particular is full of such people and all sorts of things are going on. I do not know, because it is not my job to find out. It is Mr. Pant's job. Then, there is that undisclosed portion of those accumulated PL 480 funds which under the agreement are left entirely at the disposal of the U.S. Embassy for purposes which they are not required to disclose. I thought we were passing out of the era of PL 480, but I do not know if we are going to enter it again because of food shortage. It is high time that the disposal of such funds arising out of such trade agreements which are put at the disposal of the Embassy should be brought under the scrutiny of the Government. This money has been used for all sorts of purposes. In the other House, in 1967—I forget the reference—it was alleged by a member and it was never contradicted, that the then High Commissioner of U.K. in India, Mr. John Freeman, had sent a message to his government in Britain in the course of which he had stated that during the 1967 elections, large sums of money—figures were given, running into lakhs and lakhs—had been distributed by the Americans to various parties, some of whose friends are sitting on this side—the Swatantra Party, Jan Sangh and so on. It was never denied. They may deny it now, of course, but it is a bit too late in the day. One enquiry was promised long ago as to which parties are getting money from where. But nothing happened about it.

For the future, since you deem it serious enough and critical enough to come out openly against the CIA which you had never done in the last 25 years, we take your sincerity at

its face value and we say, something must have happened. There must have been something which prompted a person like the Prime Minister to say such a thing openly, which has not been done all these years. Therefore, please see to it that these funds are brought under your scrutiny and keep a watch on how they are spent. The educational institutions, various research organisations, foundations, etc., should be closely watched. Above all, the bureaucracy, the officialdom sitting in key posts in many of your ministries are highly suspect. I do not want a witch hunt; this country does not do it as a rule as it is done in America. But you must keep a close watch on them and see to it that they are not allowed to carry on the work of Sabotage from within.

SHRIMATI MUKUL BANERJEE (New Delhi): I have been misunderstood. I only wanted...

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: Don't rush in where angles fear to tread!

SHRIMATI MUKUL BANERJEE: I only wanted to ask Mr. Gupta why he has missed mentioning religious organisations like the Ananda Marg and others, which are also involved in this.

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA: I am sorry if I have misunderstood you;

SHRI VAYALAR RAVI (Chirayinkil): Sir, it is true that CIA activities have become rather a controversy in this country after the Prime Minister exposed it to the people and asked them to be vigilant about it. It need not be explained as to how the CIA is functioning all over the world. It has been exposed by the Americans themselves. Even important American journalists have said it. They have even numbered the institutions and foundations financed by the CIA all over the world. I do not want to go into those activities in detail. It is true that they have been operating from Iran to Indonesia and from Laos to Guatemala and in different countries, they have been successful in toppling governments which have

[Shri Vayalar Ravi]

come to power either through military coup or through revolution.

CIA is a product of the second world war, formed with the purpose of spying and getting their own information to further the capitalists expansion of the American economy and also to influence the governments of the under-developed and undeveloped countries, for which purpose their activities have been stepped up in an aggressive manner. They have not spared our country also. Even during Shri Jawaharlal Nehru's time, this has been discussed all over this country. Shri Jawaharlal Nehru himself was compelled to take up this issue and as Mr. Gupta pointed out, we had to send out some American spies.

Now the whole thing has taken another angle. When the Prime Minister said that the CIA is very active in this country and people must be vigilant, unfortunately a tendency has developed in some friends on the other side and they are more vigorous than the Americans to defend the CIA. These monopolists, the vested interests and the rightist reaction in this country are controlling the mouthpieces and publicity media in this country and these media have been misused to ridicule the warning given to the people of the country. One important cartoonist working in an important daily published a cartoon showing that a gentleman was crying because a horse had bitten him. And he says, CIA has bitten him! This is nothing but ridiculing the warning given by the Prime Minister and other leaders. Some people have even said that this is only meant to blackmail the opposition parties. I am sure there is no intention to malign any political parties and the warning was meant only to expose how the CIA is active in this country.

Then, it is said that because the economic conditions are degenerating, the Government want to save their face. It is true that organisations

like CIA will be active only when the chances come. The chances come only when there is some disturbance or dissatisfaction among the people. So, they become active through different agencies. These agencies can be formed in different ways. Take the Ford Foundation. It is influencing not only important public men and some of the monopoly houses and their mouthpieces, but they are also influencing our administrative people. For example, in a written answer to my question, Government said that 58 houses have been taken on rent in Delhi, furnished freely and handed over back to the owners. Many of the owners of those houses are Government personnel. Some of them belong to the defence services. Is it not alarming? Is it not bribery? Then, the International Press Institute is financing some institutions in Delhi. That is one of the organs of the CIA. They are operating in different ways. After the call of the Prime Minister to be vigilant about the CIA, unfortunately, some people have started saying that it is a ruse for escapism on the part of the ruling party. It is a real fact. Instead of going into the facts, somebody has challenged that statement and said: why can't you issue a white paper on the subject? I can only laugh at such a suggestion. Can we say which way the CIA is functioning? No government has done it so far. Even Shri Piloo Mody cannot do it. Shri Piloo Mody may say that he is a CIA agent, thinking people will take the opposite of it. But the people will only take him to be very frank.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: He is too frank to be a CIA agent.

SHRI VAYALAR RAVI: That is true. Those who demand a white paper, can they point out any single instance in any country of the issue of a white paper on the working of spies? I do not think that even the biggest countries indulging in spying like the Soviet Union or the USA have presented any white paper on

the working of CIA or KGB. If we mention their way of functioning, they will immediately change their ways. So, I would say that the demand for a white paper is a kind of defence of the CIA. In fact, it is a suggestion which is in favour of the CIA and not in favour of our national interests. Those people who are demanding a white paper or concrete instances from the government are not really helping the interests of the country but they are helping the interests of that foreign agency.

I would say that instead of trying to ridicule the government, they must come forward to ridicule the CIA. Unfortunately, some of them may not be able to do it for some other reasons. They know the reasons and the people also know the reasons.

I am afraid the influence of the CIA has penetrated into some of the media of our government. On the 7th December there was a youth programme in the television where appeared the General Secretary of the NSUI, which is known to be financed by the CIA. He was telling our youth "Look at your Indian politicians and political parties; they are influencing the students in wrong channels and the country is going to dogs. Look at America and see how our colleges are functioning. Look at our free society." Only the other day, my hon. friend, Shri Stephen, was telling me that when he was staying in a hotel in New York, he was warned not to go out after 6 O'Clock because then his life would be in danger. This is the free society which they have got. Yet, the General Secretary of the CIA-financed NSUI was asking our youth in a television interview to copy the American free society!

Of course, Shri Piloo Mody, can enjoy this because he is not the enemy of CIA and so he need not be afraid of them. This kind of infiltration in our information media is the most dangerous thing. These people have infiltrated into our mass media, mass communication, and that is why we

are saying that their influence must be checked.

In this House we have asked certain questions about the ITT and their collaboration. Our objection is not to some defect in a particular clause of the agreement; nothing of that sort. Our fear is that they may one day occupy key positions and tap our telephone and telecommunication.

SHRI PILOO MODY: He need not have any fear on that score. The Government is already doing it.

SHRI VAYALAR RAVI: There is nothing wrong in it. Government have the right to do it.

SHRI PILOO MODY: So, he is admitting it.

SHRI VAYALAR RAVI: This kind of infiltration into the mass media of our country should not be allowed. Let us not honour the CIA. I do not want to mention any names, but I have with me here a file full of press reports which, instead of criticising the activities of the CIA, try to honour them.

I will conclude by saying that let us take all the necessary steps to see that the activities of the CIA are checked. My request to the parties on the other side is to help the government in its effort to check the activities of the CIA. Let us not honour them. Let us not allow them to enter our institutions to subvert democracy and to check the progress that we are making. Let the opposition parties co-operate with the government, instead of trying to defend the CIA.

SHRI SAMAR GUHA (Contd):

Sir, I can understand those who have identified themselves with their ideological fatherland elsewhere. But I cannot understand what I have heard just now from a member of the ruling party. Personally speaking, I am feeling ashamed today that I have to take part in this debate for the reason that I remember our freedom struggle days when our sense of national dignity and patriotic righteousness had a meaning of its

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own. I remember how in those days our leaders were inspired by a sense of greatness, historic and geographical, of our great country. Whenever there is any attempt to subvert our national values, our national heritage, our democratic institutions, our sense of dignity, our sense of national prestige, I can understand and appreciate objection being taken by the members of this House belonging to this country, being the representatives of the people of this country, without making any distinction whatsoever of the foreign influence or agencies, may be anywhere from the east or west, north or south, from any part of the globe. But I cannot understand one set of people talking in terms of warning of an agency of another country which is operating in this country and another set of people retorting more or less in the same language. This is a sense of political parasiticism, a sign of immaturity.

I am very sorry to say that the President of the Ruling Congress, Shri Shankar Dayal Sharma started this wild cry of CIA activities in this country. If you are serious, if you have a sense of responsibility...

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: I am Serious

SHRI SAMAR GUHA: If you really have, when a member of this House is making wild allegation, you should have pulled him up. I am sorry to say that this sense of responsibility is missing even from the chair.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: That would be throttling the debate.

SHRI SAMAR GUHA: He set the ball rolling and responsible members of the ruling party and the Government echoed and re-echoed it.

Whenever an accusation is made which is not defined or which is not identified and it is made from political personalities or from political platforms, then, certainly, we have to understand that there is a political motivation behind it or something

else. I should say, an undefined accusation is nothing but either a political trickery or a diversionary tactic because the whole country today is in the midst of economic crisis.

The Congress Government made long promises of *garibi hatao*. But *garibs* are being *nataoed* today. It is just a matter of political diversion. They want to create some kind of a ghost of the proverbial wolf to divert the attention of the people from the real problems, the problems of hunger, the problems of starvation, the problems of rising prices to something else. I should say, it is a pathetic confession of incompetence of our administrative machinery. If there is really any CIA activity, it should be dealt with firmly, effectively and mercilessly. But that is being allowed to operate in our country.

I should say there is an element of immaturity in our country since Independence. Why I say "immaturity"? In those days when we were having foreign aid and plenty of food from America, we opened our doors too wide for all kinds of infiltrations, for all kinds of foundations, research institutions and cultural exchanges going on and on. And not a word of caution was uttered against it. When it was Hindi-Chini bhai-bhai, when it was Russi-Chini bhai-bhai, during these periods we were vying with one another to eulogise those countries. Still, we are vying with one another at least in regard to one country.

I would like to draw your attention to the fact that only one man in this country, in his Presidential Address of Haripura, in 1938, Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose said, "A country must know that internal politics of a country should never be equated with external policy of the country." He was opposed to fascism; he was opposed to communism; he was opposed to imperialism. But he took help from all

He went to Germany through Russia in a sealed train. He refused to side with Germany when Germany declared war against Russia. He went to Japan. He refused to identify himself with the internal politics of Japan and he also refused to declare war against China.

In a historical Tokyo University speech in 1944, at the function presided over by Mr. Tojo, he bitterly criticised fascism; he bitterly criticised communism; he bitterly criticised imperialism. He said, "My India will be the land of socialism of its own." He got friendship from all the countries but never identified with the internal ideologies of any country.

In our international relations, wherever it is required, certainly, we should take help but we should never identify ourselves with the internal politics, with the internal ideologies, of any country or allow ourselves to become satellites or to become political parasites of any country or go in for ideological permissiveness or any such thing. That is one of the reasons why whenever, today, we say a little critical word about any particular country with which we have a friendship, there is a hue and cry from all sides, particularly from one section. I can understand those who have identified themselves with their ideological fatherland. But I cannot understand those who are pseudo-supporters of that ideology.

16 hrs.

In the last Lok Sabha, I tabled a series of Questions to know from the Government the number of books imported from different countries, the number of publications published in foreign countries and all that. Astronomical figures were given of the books imported from other countries. About monthlies, weeklies and dailies that are published from different Embassies in this country, astronomical figures were given in the House. I also wanted to know

how many friendship and amity organisations were operating in this country. The figure is not astronomical but it is in hundreds. If you go to taluks, you will find their branches operating in taluks also. Further, I wanted to know how many lakhs of pages of propaganda material are supplied by different foreign Embassies to our dailies, to our weeklies and to our monthlies in this country. Here also, an astronomical figure was given to us.

Then, I also wanted to know how many journalists, how many politicians, belonging to different friendship and amity organisations were invited to different countries. Staggering figures were given. It is a matter of shame that we the politicians, the MLAs and MPs, the elected representatives of the people very frequently go to cocktail parties in different Missions. I know of many people who visit foreign Missions very regularly. It is a matter of shame....(interruptions) I know where the shoe pinches. What I have said is from the core of my heart, from my knowledge and facts. I know where the shoe pinches.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: Are all these CIA activities?

SHRI SAMAR GUHA: As I have said, C.I.A. is a symptom of operation of foreign political intrigues and intelligence which want to turn this country into a satellite of their own. They want to create parasites for their own political purposes. If you want this country to have patriotic dignity of a free country, you must make it free from the influence of all foreign intrigues, intelligence, espionage and influence. I can give you the figures; I have all the figures. I do not want to take much time....(Interruptions) It is known why the people get excited when I mention something. It is known to them. I feel ashamed that my country into a satellite of their own, devious of foreign intrigues. Intelligence, espionage and influence and the rendezvous of foreign political para-

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sites. Sometimes, clever people, when ever there is a social function and when their shoe pinches, they take it in a lighter mood either by cutting jokes or making a laughter.

AN HON. MEMBER: Give some *mal-masala*.

SHRI SAMAR GUHA: As I have said, *mal-masala* is everywhere. (Interruption). He wants some materials. Material are everywhere. There are millions of booklets, periodicals and journals printed and published by political parties' presses. I had asked a question—it is on record—about the printing presses owned by political parties in India for foreign embassies. They earn millions. Those political parties who print materials of foreign embassies and get millions are not touched. They are Brahma.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: You have already taken about 28 minutes.

SHRI SAMAR GUHA: No, Sir.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: You started at 3.41 and now it is 4.07 p.m. Please try to conclude.

SHRI SAMAR GUHA: This Government had assured us in the last Lok Sabha that they would bring a Bill to curb influence of foreign embassies and also foreign money in this House. What has happened to that? I want to deal with the whole problem basically and not accusing this country or that country. In fact, we should accuse ourselves. Why did Government allow infiltration of foreign influence? Why did they allow development of political parasitism in our country? I want to know this from the hon. Minister. What has happened to that assurance which was given here in the last Lok Sabha that a Bill will be brought? What has happened to that assurance which was given that a code of conduct would be drawn up for our journalists, for our politicians, for our MLAs and MPs and for the social and cultural organisations sponsored by different embassies and of which we are having a mushroom growth all over the country?

I want to draw your attention very specifically to the recent Assam riots. Most of the important Congress leaders accused CIA hands in it. But Mr. B. K. Nehru tried to deny that. (Interruption). It has been admitted even by the Assam leaders that there was really no mass uprising of the Assamese people against the Bengali People. Certain sections of people were picked up, certain newspapers were picked up... (Interruption). Like military operation there were truck-loads coming from 100 and 200 miles away. In those truck-loads 80 per cent of the people were either those who were pro-Pakistanis at the time of liberation of Bangladesh or those who escaped from Bangladesh out of fear of trial for espionage or national betrayal.

AN HON. MEMBER: Razakars?

SHRI SAMAR GUHA: They are called Razakars. (Interruption) I have so many documents. Will Government institute inquiries into them? I can give you some photostat copies also—so much of intriguing news in different papers. I was very shocked the other day when Prime Minister was sitting by the side of that gentleman, Mr. Mohsin, when he was making the statement that the events in Assam had been exaggerated. (Interruption) If you really want to pinpoint what happened there, there were foreign agents who were working horribly, who were playing havoc in Assam language riots. It calls for immediate CBI investigation, if not a judicial inquiry.

I will conclude by saying that there should be a code of conduct and there should also be a Bill, which should be brought immediately, restricting circulation of imported books from foreign countries, restricting circulation of cheap and trash propagandist literature—and not fundamental books on ideological polemics. Journalists and others getting packets—gifts and donations—from foreign embassies should be stopped. No political party press should be allowed to print and publish any material from any foreign

embassy. No press or journals, without the approval of the Press Council, should publish any material from any foreign embassy. No papers should be allowed to publish unchecked matter from embassies. What a shame it was, there were two or three pages on Korea in all the big papers. (Interruption) What has happened to this country, I do not know.

I conclude by saying that, if this Government wants to function as a free country, as a dignified country, with a patriotic sense, with the sense of democratic values and the sense that ours is a great country, we should not allow ourselves to be influenced by any foreign influence. The Bill that was premised to be brought in this House to curb foreign influence in the Indian politics, Indian life, has to be brought immediately, and a code of conduct, not only for MPs and MLAs but also for teachers, journalists and all others who have dealings with foreign embassies, has to be drawn up.

SHRI C. M. STEPHEN (Muvattupuzha): Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, we are discussing today a subject of vital concern to the security of this nation and to the political independence of our country. Looking at the entire picture of reactions to certain comments made by our Prime Minister and the Congress President about CIA activities, I feel like congratulating the CIA for the thoroughness with which they have been doing the work. It is very unusual that when the Prime Minister of a country has pointed her finger at certain activities of a foreign agency and has warned her countrymen that a particular foreign agency has stepped up its activities in this country, the reaction in certain sections, is not one of anxiety that these activities are proceeding but is one of an attempt to . . .

SHRI PILOO MODY: Ridicule the Prime Minister.

SHRI C. M. STEPHEN: . . . defend the CIA and to prove that the CIA is not working here and, to quote Mr.

Piloo Mody, to ridicule the statement of the Prime Minister. .

SHRI PILOO MODY: The Prime Minister herself.

SHRI C. M. STEPHEN: Let us look as to how the entire session started. Mr. Piloo Mody appeared before the House with a badge—'I am a CIA agent' . . .

SHRI PILOO MODY: I still have it.

SHRI C. M. STEPHEN: May be without any sense of shame, maybe in a mood of confession and maybe it is another tactic for a Member of Parliament, for a leader of a Party, to come to the sovereign body of this country and display a badge saying, 'I am a CIA agent' to the gaze of the entire world and to the gaze of the country, it is a tactic whereby he could put morale into those persons who want to be available to the CIA operations. Mr. Piloo Mody has done it in the Parliament of India. 'Nobody has touched me. Therefore, nobody need be bothered about it and he may carry on'. That is one way of doing it. Even as an act of ridicule if one may concede it, even as a demonstration of buffoonery if one may take it that way, even if all this is conceded, could anybody conceive of a person, a citizen of a country, coming out, even in a jocular mood, and saying out, 'Here I am. I am an agent of CIA', i.e. the Central Intelligence Agency which is a foreign agency operating here, coming out and saying 'I am an agent'?

When I heard the speech of Mr. Samar Guha—he has left the House—I was wondering who exactly was speaking here. I was looking back to see whether a votary of CIA has come into the Parliament and has started defending the CIA.

Why should people get agitated about it? Let us look at it objectively. Is it denied that there is something like the CIA? Is it denied that CIA is operating in different countries? Is it denied that CIA has got a record of certain activities which are objection-

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able, at least in Guatemala and Cuba . . .

SHRI PILOO MODY: No.

SHRI C. M. STEPHEN: Is it denied that the CIA operated and brought about the disaster of the Bay of Pigs? But nobody denies it.

SHRI PILOO MODY: Nobody denies.

SHRI C. M. STEPHEN: Now, even the CIA does not deny that in their design of operations they transgressed the limits of collection of intelligence but go on to some other limits. Even the CIA does not deny it. That is their method of operations. I have got before me a statement given before a US Senate Committee spelling out how the CIA is operating. They state that there are two types of recruits for them. One type of recruits are persons whose job it is to collect intelligence. The other type of recruits are persons who are trained up or who are well-versed in certain types of skills and who can get to the vulnerable points. These are the two types of recruits and now the CIA is a problem even for the Administration of the United States. The CIA reports directly to the President. The CIA is a part of the National Security Service. The CIA is answerable to the President through the National Security Council. The CIA is part of their entire national defence scheme and for that purpose, they operate not merely for collecting intelligence but for other purposes also. If that is conceded but to which, I am afraid, are blind the extra-vocal and extra-zealous defendants of CIA in India but which is conceded even in America, when once it is conceded, then we proceed to a stage where we have got to look at it not to see whether the CIA is operationing but to see whether the CIA is not operating. That is the way we have to look at it—whether the CIA is not operating here. That is the way we have got to look at it and the Prime Minister of India, a very responsible leader, comes out with a mild warning that the CIA has

recently stepped up its activities in India. It is not a new development in India at all. The CIA has been there. The warning is that the CIA has stepped up its activities. Why? The warning is to the people of this country who may fall a prey, unsuspectingly or otherwise, to the operations of the CIA. When that warning is made by the Prime Minister, one should expect of every citizen of this country to anxiously look for some material, to anxiously put oneself on the guard and on the defence so that he may not fall a prey to that sort of operations. That reaction there was, of the vast multitude of the people of his country and the huge majority of the people of this country. But, strangely, certain people, in certain quarters, took up a different attitude and came out saying that the CIA is not operating. This is outthoroding. Herod, I mean more loyal than the King himself. They came out with a statement that the CIA is not operating and 'Where is the evidence?' Would any Government come out with evidence that way? Would any intelligent intelligence agency operating in any country give up the evidence they have collected? When the Prime Minister says that, the people of the country know enough to understand that there must be material which has induced the Prime Minister to give that warning. Those persons who demand, 'Come out with the material' are persons who want to defend their activities and put this warning in a question mark.

Therefore, I would submit that those persons who make these pleas are the persons who must be considered as really suspect. That is all I have got to say about it. Otherwise, their reactions put them in a suspicious cadre and the Government has got to be suspicious about it. That is all I have got to say about it.

Another plea which has come out—my friend, Mr. Vayalar Ravi, has referred to it—is that the problems are mounting up and here is an effort made to divert the attention of the people from those problems. A mild

warning about it. Is it an effort to divert it and can it possibly divert it? Can the warning divert the attention of anybody from the other problems which are really there? Nobody can be so foolhardy as to expect that by giving that warning, the attention of the people of this country can be diverted away from the other vital issues of the country.

Now I do not lay any blame on anybody. A question is asked: What about other agencies operating here? It is understood, it is well-known that every country has got its own intelligence services. Every Embassy in every country has got its own intelligence services. That is one of their jobs—collecting information. Nobody quarrel with that. But they quarrel comes in only when you proceed from that sphere of collection of information to the stage of assuming the character of an operational agency. Intelligence collecting agency you can be, operational agency you cannot be. You cannot pump out money to purchase the loyalties of the people. You cannot pump out money to create cells in other countries to operate against those governments. You cannot pump out money for the purpose of subverting the structure in a particular country. When two agencies are operating, one agency with a particular background, well-known and the other agency or the other agencies, not having that sort background, people will judge these agencies with their respective backgrounds. . . . (Interruptions) I do not want to name any agency at all. There are different agencies in the country. Not only America, not only Britain, not only Russia, not only China or any country—we are looking at their operation against the background of their past and we make our own judgment about it. My friend, Mr. Piloo Mody, pin-pointed KGB and all that. I do not know what it is. If it is Soviet Russia that he means, I, for one, do not want to be apologetic at all about it. Soviet Russia has got a particular relationship with this country. I concede it

as far as I am concerned. Whenever this country was in a crisis, that country came to the aid of this country. Whenever a problem came up, that country came up to support us and whoever may or may not accept it, things have come up in such a manner in the course of the last 25 years, that the people of this country are looking at Soviet Russia as a real friend of this country. Therefore, when they are operating, when they are collecting intelligence, we do not suspect them—not that nobody is looking at them. As Mr. Indrajit Gupta said, they may be kept under surveillance. Government must look as to whether they are operating wrongly or correctly. But I would submit, Sir, Soviet Russia is not regarded as an enemy of this country. I am not saying, America is an enemy of this country, but let it not be denied, and let it not be attempted to be denied also that as between the two countries, Soviet Russia has been to our aid whenever the aid was needed and it is a friendly country. A friend is coming to my house and an enemy is coming to my house. My welcome to my friend will be different from the way I welcome the enemy. There is absolutely no doubt about it. Is there any evidence to show that subversion is being attempted by the KGB? Is there any attempt to show that such and such a thing has been happening anywhere? No evidence has been forthcoming. Defenders of the other faith may carry on their campaign. That is all that I can say.

All that has happened here is this. The Prime Minister, who also happens to be the Home Minister of this country, has given a warning, on the basis of whatever information we have got, to this country saying that certain things are taking place from certain quarters about which the people of the country should be aware of. It is no condemnation, but a warning, it is an indication to the people to beware of it. I would appeal to everybody even Mr. Piloo Mody, conceding that the buffoonery

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he displayed is nothing more than a buffoonery, nor really the agency of the Central Intelligence Agency—I would appeal to everybody, Sir, to take note of that warning and to guard ourselves of the dangers that are taking place in other countries and that we do not allow these things to operate under cover or open. That is the value of that warning. Let no attempt be made to ridicule. Let note be taken of it and if I may say so, let serious note be taken of it. It has been taken note of by parties that count even in America.

When this announcement came I happened to be in New York, attending the United Nations. I know about the reaction to this announcement. One announcement was televised and people took serious note of it. I thought that is enough of a warning to the CIA. People came to know about its operations in this country. I am appealing to persons like Mr. Samar Guha and Mr. Piloo Mody and others. Do not rush out to their aid but be firm with the leadership of this country so that CIA operations may be kept under restraint and under check. These are all what I wish to submit.

The Prime Minister has done a signal service to this country by her timely warning. Whoever has attempted to ridicule it has done an act of unpatriotism, an act of service to some other country which is most condemnable. With these words I conclude.

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BOSU (Dibrugarh): We are sorry to see that Mr. Indrajit Gupta's Private Member Resolution which was in the form of a definite motion and which could have been voted on the floor of the House was pushed out because the ruling party did not help them to table a Motion and something else has been brought in and we had to come today under Rule 193 just to talk it over. It is a great pity. It should go on record.

Sir, this CIA is one of the greatest menaces to humanity and democracy and socialism. President Truman has done the greatest disservice by starting this CIA which is really a US Government organisation. The object of the CIA is to make room for United States' neo-colonialism and economic domination all over the world. We have seen what they did in respect of Mosadeq, Indonesia, Belgian Congo, Cuba, Vietnam and Pueblo in North Korea; and Chile at the present moment.

Jack Anderson released a set of purported documents indicating that a huge international telephone and telegraph conglomerate had manoeuvred possibly with some connivance of US officials to try to block the 1970 election of March. It refers to President Salvador of Chile. Through evidence, high level Government complicity was cited.

In our Consultative Committee there is a reply given by Mr. Chavan when he was Home Minister. I wish to refer to that. He said that they are also aware and conscious of the fact that there has been widespread concern about the receipt of money from foreign agencies and organisations by individuals and organisations whether working in the political or social or economic fields. We are much concerned because it is crushing democratic and progressive movements. We are the targets. We have suffered in their hands. They are always at us. Can the ruling party say they have suffered as we have suffered in the hands of the CIA? No, Sir. I shall prove this giving examples one after the other. Otherwise, Sir, can you imagine why this 1967-68 Intelligence Bureau Inquiry Report was not made public? Is it because it will expose all manner of persons belonging to the ruling party and in the official hierarchy and official machinery? The situation is very serious.

I now wish to refer to a well-circulated Daily. It says: 'Assam:

Hunting-ground for CIA'. It refers to Mr. Sinha, Chief Minister. It says 'Foreign Intelligence agents active in Eastern India since fifties.' The news from London about US diplomatic offensive is to the effect that CIA has been active in the eastern zone. It has also been not new, it is there from time immemorial when we came to power, and had been constantly active and they have been constantly moving and doing these things. Mr. Chavan in reply to a question had stated that they were operating from 4 centres in India, namely, Patna, Bangalore and there are two others. Wherever there is any United States Government official, there is a CIA man there. There is no doubt about that. Their penetration is very deep and wide amongst political persons, Ministers, administrators, defence, police, press and radio. Sir, even the Naxalite movement is affected. Those who are in Congress have been left. Others are there. It has affected authors, film producers, religious institutions, religious cults, social service people like peace corps etc, and a new variety of foreign missions. Sir, we know there have been some very old ones, doing some very different jobs. But this new thing is there now.

I now wish to quote from the *Times of India* supplement of October 29, 1972. It says:

The CIA has stepped up its activities in India through its various fronts. The manipulation of vast PL 480 funds primarily to further American interests and the Nixon administration's anti-Indian tilt during the Indo Pakistan war last December..."

Then it says:

"The USEFI is one of the 48 organisations around the world administering US Govt. scholarships and those of the Institute of International Education and the East-West Centre for Study in the University of Hawai."

—Hawai, —what a lovely place to go!

Then, Sir, it also says that the CIA thorough the Asia Foundation has financed the Labour Education Service camps for undertaking publication of the history of strikes. Sir, the positive American involvement in Indian agriculture is also a sore point, including senior agricultural officials, including quite a few of the Ministry of Food and Agriculture. One of the former secretaries and now a Governor of a State is also there. Their domination is total and we must delimit the influence of these top officials. I can quote several other things to prove that they have made a deeper and deeper in road into our country.

I would now like to quote from the book 'Ambassador's Journal' of John Keeneth Galbraith, former US Ambassador to India. At page 163, he says:

"One of the undisclosed pleasures of this job that I have at my disposal is that at least at my disposal there is 10,000 dollars to spend at my discretion for charitable relief purposes which is replaced once I have spent it, a kind of self refilling financial spring."

Then, he says at page 163:

"July 20—Madras:

Yesterday was only slightly less long than that of the Last Judgment. At a little after eight, I visited the Consulate which occupies a couple of dingy floors of a left-type building which are painted a repulsive green. The American officers occupy offices around the edge of a bull-pen; the Indian staff are in the pen. One office is occupied by our intelligence staff whose coming and going is observed with much interest by all. When the chief CIA man was replaced a few months back, a local Indian police officer commented amiably in public on the change to the Consul-General the same day ("I hear you are getting a new chief spy".)

[Shri Jyotirmoy Bosu]

Then, I come to page 453, where he says:

"We had an indication that something important was in the making when, about five, Barry Zorthian had tea with R. N. Karanjia, the editor of *Bhitz*. Karanjia told Zorthian that their next edition would signal a major change in policy—a strong pro-US line, great praise for Kennedy and Galbraith. The CIA, one gathers, will henceforth be the spearhead of 'American Indian friendship.'"

Then, at page 479, he says:

"The, Pete Lakeland of my political staff brought over an elderly Congress leader for a long discussion of Congress Party policy in light of the war. Like everyone else, he told they were busy reconsidering the non-alignment policy. As to everyone else, I told him that we might find alignment with India too expensive."

Then, I go on to page 546, where he says:

"February 13—New Delhi.

During the morning, I had a session with a group of men who are here at the Indians' request to advise the Indian Army on the techniques of special warfare. These are the informal, but not secret, tactics for dealing with unconventional enemies in an unconventional way. It naturally attracts adventurers and boundary of various sorts.

I gave them a firm lecture on the need for the utmost tact, restraint and diplomacy. I said they should prove to the Indian Government that its well-justified suspicions of them are somehow erroneous."

Then, this book *Johnson's Memoirs* named about people who were in the US Lobby. It says:

"Certain responsible persons in Government of India had been working to further the cause of US—the then Food and Agricul-

ture Minister C. Subramaniam, the then Food Secretary...."

—now, Governor—

"...Mr. Diaz." (The words 'now Governor' are my insertions).

In 1968, the *Washington Post* said:

"In Kerala, when the UF Government was led by E. M. S. Namboodiripad, one Minister here wanted Rs. 350 lakhs (50,000 dollars) for efforting to break up the communist-led UF Government there."

Now, I shall quote from another very valuable document, which is an Indian School of Social Sciences Publication, which says:

"There have been widespread whispers that the student demonstration in Madras last year against cartographic aggression on the Sino-Indian borders was planned in detail and financed by the USIS.....

Or can the Government of India deny that five senior USIS officers, including the Regional Director and the Information Officer, went to Visakhapatnam in December, 1970 under the thin pretext of supervising the moon rock exhibition organised there? Or that in Vizag, where one of the biggest naval bases is situated, they made fruitful contacts of which the Government of India is aware?"

Then, it says:

"Another educational front for the American Government is the US Educational Foundation in India (USEFI), which is very active in Madras. USEFI is directly under the Department of State. It is responsible for doling out Fulbright scholarships and other prizes to Indians considered useful enough to be indoctrinated.

Then, it says:

"There is hardly one major or important educational institution in this City which has no links with American money. Links range from

massive financial support in the form of books, equipment, training personnel, techniques etc. During the last year for which accounts are available, 1969-70, the University of Madras alone got charity worth Rs. 1,55,384 from PL-480 funds and Rs. 78,337 from the US Department of Health."

Further, it says:

"The links between the CIA and organisations like the Asia Foundations are no secret. This notorious front was exposed in 1966-67."

I would not go into more details about this, because it is well known. At least, I have information that CIA finances steadily, regularly and perpetually aid eight political parties in the country.

Then, I come to the question of economic subversion by the CIA. If you see the pamphlet entitled *External Assistance*, 1968-69 and 1969-70, at page 123 we find that:

"India has entered into 14 agreements with the US Government under PL-480 from 1956 to 31-3-1969. Subsequently, two agreements were signed during 1969-70, thus totalling 16 agreements to end of March, 1970."

The total amount involved is Rs. 22708.3 million, which is the rupee equivalent.

We further find there:

"The rupee equivalent of the dollar cost of the commodities imported is deposited in the US Government account in the Reserve Bank of India, New Delhi. A major portion of the rupee deposits (about 80 per cent in the aggregate) has been earmarked in the agreements for being given as loans and grants to the Government of India for financing mutually agreed projects of economic development. The balance of 20 per cent has been earmarked to be retained by the US Govern-

ment (a) for its own use in India and (b) for giving loans to Joint Indo-US enterprises commonly known as 'Cooley loans'.

And what is this Cooley loan? It has financed to the tune of Rs. 70 crores big companies like Otis Elevator Co. India (Pvt.) Ltd., Goodyear India Ltd., the Synthetics and Chemicals Ltd., Hindustan Aluminium Corporation Ltd., and so on. They are acting on behalf of the American organisation and they are financing the CIA activities here.

The CIA is also affiliated to the US Foundation set-up in India. Mr. Chagla had said this, when he was Foreign Minister of India. All the US foundation set in India in the name of cultural, educational and other activities; (2) the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions, (3) the International Youth Centre, (4) the National Students' Press Council of India, (5) The World Assembly of Youth, (6) The Asia Foundation, (7) The Press Institute of India, (8) The Institute of Mass Communication Research and such other bodies were working in India.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Now, the hon. Member should try to conclude. He has already taken about 15 minutes.

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BOSU: Shri Samar Guha who leads party of just three Members had taken 30 minutes. At that rate, I should be entitled to take about eight times that time, because I belong to a party of 25 Members here.

SHRI G. VISHWANATHAN (Wandiwash): It would mean four hours according to that calculation.

Shri Jyotirmoy Bosu: I shall be satisfied with three hours.

MR. CHAIRMAN: He was entitled to only seven minutes, but I have given him already 15 minutes.

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BOSU: You have always been very generous. But I shall take another 15 minutes.

[Shri Jyotirmoy Bosu]

As for infiltration in education, the Delhi University, for example, got 8 million dollars directly from the Ford Foundation, not through the Ministry. That was later on regularised.

SHRI PILOO MODY: So, all the children going to the Delhi University are CIA agents.

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BOSU: The Department of Chinese Studies (Hong-kong type) started with money from the U.S. Even scholarships are included for that purpose. May I ask Shri K. C. Pant one question here? Is it true that the present pro-Vice-chancellor, a Member of Parliament, once head of the Department of Chinese Studies, is regularly writing for the Pentagon paper on 'On Problem of Communism'? Once, the Delhi University affairs were controlled by a man called Gilpathic of the CIA. The Delhi University Law Faculty was greatly controlled by the CIA and worked against the authority of the Academic Council. The Head of the Department had direct contact with the CIA. In the Delhi School of Economics, there is no difference. I do not know how many professors of the Delhi School of Economics have gone to the United States. We want to know these details also.

So far as the press is concerned, let me give a concrete case. The *Ananda Bazar Patrika* paper is a monument of CIA activities in the country, and one of the directors was caught red-handed sending crepe during the Indo-Pakistan war to Hongkong and other countries; he was caught sending crepe. Yet, because pressure came from Shri K. C. Pant's Ministry, after four hours' interrogation at the police headquarters at Lal Bazar, he was let go. The Defence of India Rules clearly say that for sending crepe without getting it through the censors means five years' imprisonment.

But here is a case, how this ruling party wanted to deal with the CIA. In the case of *Ananda Bazar Patrika*,

do they want to shelter somebody and so action was dropped because of pressure from the top? They also go for religious institutions and they create things like Mahesh Yogi, Ananda Marg and Balyogeswar, they created sadhu riots. They go for economic subversion also. In Bokaro they organised sabotage and attempted to commission a blast furnace prematurely to damage it. They almost succeeded in doing that in Bhilai. What happened. I do not want to name the person, he is a professional man and was an ex-employee of the TCM, he was a CIA outfit. In Barauni a 50 MW turbine was damaged by the insertion of foreign matter and the rotor got damaged. In Patratu oil circulation was damaged by cotton waste (Interruptions) I have heard Shri Indrajit Gupta talking about Defence Secretary I know the Defence Secretary who has been shifted to another Ministry. He is not inactive there also (Interruptions) I know of a Home Secretary and while having a talk with the Minister I said that so and so was close to the Yankees, how do you expect him to control them and he replied: you are mistaken, not the person but his wife. I said: very good, I have learnt it. I ask of this love-song or love-call from America; why was Mr. Billy Graham allowed to go to sensitive areas like Nagaland? Who hosted him? The Baptist Mission. The hon. Prime Minister admitted the other day in the Consultative Committee that the Baptist Mission was connected with CIA; it is a surrender to Nixon. We remember that there was direct collaboration in 1959 with Vimoohan Samaram when Mrs. Indira Gandhi was the Congress President. A cheque from the United States Consul General in Madras, Mr. Franglin went to Mr. R. Shankar, the then Congress President, later on the Chief Minister. The Red Cross cheque was intercepted while in transit. Most unfortunately, I have here a piece of news item which has mentioned the name of Mr. Raj Bahadur and says he secured CIA funds. It is here; I only wish that Shri Raj

Bahadur contradicts it. I shall read it out:

"Jaipur: A Jan Sangh Member of the Rajasthan Assembly, Manoharlal Gupta has said that the Union Minister for Shipping and Parliamentary Affairs, Shri Raj Bahadur, had secured Rs. 40,000 from CIA to contest the 1967 general elections through.... (a gentleman).

Shri Gupta who belongs to the home district of the Union Minister, Bharatpur, Rajasthan, challenged Shri Raj Bahadur that if he could prove his assertion wrong, he would resign from the Assembly, or else the Union Minister should quit the Cabinet."

I want to lay it on the Table of the House.... (Interruptions).

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF HOME AFFAIRS (Shri K. C. Pant): May I only understand whether it is for the person who makes the charge to prove it right or for the person against whom the charge is made to prove it wrong? Whose obligation is it

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BOSU: He should contradict it.

SHRI PILOO MODY: According to the Prime Minister, a person against whom a charge has been made has to prove it never happened..... (Interruptions).

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BOSU: From Kerala Vimochan Samaram Franklin ran away but he was allowed to come back as a research fellow. I shall now come to the working arrangement with the CIA. Is it not a fact that the training of Indian intelligence for spectrum study over South China and Tibet was organised by the CIA? Is it also not a fact that border security officers were sent to South Vietnam for training under the US arrangements, that is, CIA in guerrilla tactics. Is it not a fact that many offi-

cers were sent to America for training in intelligence? We want to know figures here and now. The most serious of the thing—Mr. Pant should hear me—does he knew that US B-52 planes were allowed to use secretly Indian airports for doing photographic flights over China? I do not want to give the names of these airports because it is a secret matter. I am asking this Government: what sort of working arrangements are still continuing with the CIA or the American Government? Because, there is an electronic eye on China border, under a contract with Dynamics Corporation, which was previously handled by the CIA for surveillance in China border in her military command. We want to know how close you are in this collaboration matter. I want to say: it is no use yelling from roof tops because you want to use it politically for your own purpose. You talk about the student unrest in Punjab. The Prime Minister said that the Government have definite information about CIA activities. She said that the student unrest had been engineered by CIA but Mr. Mohsin says that there is no specific information of the involvement of foreign elements in these incidents; here are the questions and here are his replies. I only want to say: you prove that your Government is a disfavoured Government of the CIA; you publish a white paper. I repeat once again: You and your Prime Minister prove that you are a disfavoured Government by the CIA; you publish a white paper if you are worth the salt.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Shri Satpal Kapur..... (Interruptions).

THE MINISTER OF PARLIAMENTARY AFFAIRS AND SHIPPING AND TRANSPORT: (Shri Raj Bahadur): Through whom? Will you please read the name? I have got the right of personal explanation.... (Interruptions). Let him read out the name of the person through whom I have been charged of receiving money.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Order, order,

SHRI PILOO MODY: I wholly disapprove of this procedure. It is nowhere in the rules that Mr. Raj Bahadur can get up whenever he likes and start making noise in this House.

SHRI RAJ BAHADUR: A challenge has been thrown at me and I have a right of reply

SHRI PILOO MODY: I should like to finish my submission.

SHRI RAJ BAHADUR: I am not yielding; it has to be contradicted here and now. He must first read out the name of the person through whom..... (Interruptions) Is it a paper report? Let him read out the name if he has got any name?

MR. CHAIRMAN: Please sit down; there is no question of challenge here. He has already made a speech; you can go through the proceedings.

SHRI RAJ BAHADUR: There is no question of.... (Interruptions) .

MR. CHAIRMAN: I cannot ask him to repeat his speech for your benefit; you can gather information from the report and then you can contradict this.

SHRI RAJ BAHADUR: I throw a challenge to my friend if he can prove it. If he can prove it I shall resign; otherwise he should resign. I challenge. It is absolutely concocted, cock-and-bull story. If he is correct, let Mr. Bosu prove it and I shall resign; otherwise he shall resign. Let him prove it.... (Interruptions). -

SHRI PILOO MODY: On a point of order. My point of order is that the procedure had been violated.

SHRI RAJ BAHADUR: Mr. S. K. Patil has been attributed; it is alleged that he collected from CIA and gave it to me. Let an enquiry be made from Mr. S. K. Patil.

SHRI PILOO MODY: If anything has been said which entitles Mr. Raj Bahadur to make a personal explanation, he should be allowed to do so.

SHRI RAJ BAHADUR: If Mr. Piloo Mody believes in that, I challenge him also.

SHRI PILOO MODY: Let him go either to Asia 1972 or the Gemini Circus to challenge the wrestler over there. What is this business of challenging in Parliament? I am talking about procedure and he says: I challenge you. I am raising a point of order regarding the procedure that has been followed.

MR. CHAIRMAN: With the permission of the Chair, he made that submission. I allowed him

SHRI PILOO MODY: I only want that to go on record.

SHRI M. RAM GOPAL REDDY (Nizamabad): Sir, the Prime Minister of our country has administered a warning to the people and also to all parties that we should not fall a prey to CIA activities and we thought there will be an end to it. But the CPI leader Mr. Indrajit Gupta has brought a motion here. Of course, we are free to express our own views. But Mr. Gupta said that there are some CIA agents in our officialdom. I want to protest against it. The officers have as much self-respect as we have, if not more and we should not cast aspersions on them day in and day out. We should not suspect our own officers.

SHRI PILOO MODY: You only suspect the opposition parties.

16.37 hrs.

[Shri N. K. P. SALVE in the Chair]

SHRI M. RAM GOPAL REDDY: We do not suspect Mr. Piloo Mody. He is so frank and does not hide his motives. The other day he entered the House with a label on his chest. That is ample testimony that we should not distrust him. What he has exhibited is enough for the House and for the country to understand him and his party.

Some people are making out as if the CIA activities are going to ruin this country. That is a false idea. This country has had several onslaughts for centuries. There were attacks from Nadir Shah, Aurangzeb and so many others who wanted to destroy our culture. But they failed and India is now a strong nation under the leadership of our Prime Minister.

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BOSU: On a point of order, Sir. You are very particular about relevance of speeches.

SHRI M. RAM GOPAL REDDY: From 1947 to 1952, the communists attacked the masses in the villages with all sorts of weapons. Even then they could not win the people of this country. The people are stronger than any political ideology. The people are patriotic and are not unduly afraid of either the CIA or the KGB. Some people have made it a habit to go on abusing America day in and day out.

17 hrs.

Our Prime Minister has administered a warning to the people of this country to be aware of the sinister activities of CIA and other foreign agents. That is enough for our country to be careful and to guard our interests. The opposition want to make capital out of the Prime Minister's statement, which is not correct. The warning of the Prime Minister is quite sufficient.

SHRI G. VISWANATHAN: Sir, it is good that we have got an opportunity to discuss the danger of growing CIA activities in this country. No body denies, and no body can deny that CIA is acting not only in this country but it is operating all over the world. It is a secret seeker of knowledge in the demi-world of international espionage. We know that espionage is a fact of diplomatic life in the modern world.

According to reports, the strength of the CIA is more than 16,000 out of

which 30 per cent are Ph.D., linguists, economists, cartographers, psychiatrists, agronomists, chemists, anthropologists and geographers. These experts profess to know everything starting from the problem of Nagas and the health of Kosygin to the bed-room exploits of Soekarno.

SHRI PILOO MODY: What about the bed-room exploits in India?

SHRI G. VISWANATHAN: Regarding their activities in India, the Congress President, Shri Shankar Dayal Sharma, fired the first shot. He said that the CIA is subverting the Indo-Bangladesh relations, and they are the reasons for all the recent troubles. Immediately, the Prime Minister confirmed this statement by saying:

"CIA had become active in India. It is not for us to prove that this agency is working in our country. It is for the CIA to prove that it is not active in India."

This statement came when the poor Finance Minister, Shri Chavan, was having negotiations in Washington, and he had to bear all the embarrassment.

Close on the heel of this came the statements of the Congress Chief Ministers about the CIA activities, as if to show their unstinted support to their leader. Statements were issued by Shrimati Nandini Satpathy, Shri Sarat Chandra Sinha, Shri Zail Singh who accused of CIA-Akali collusion and Shri Mir Quasim. Except Shri V. P. Naik and Shri Tripathi, all the State Chief Ministers came out with the statement about the CIA activities.

I want to know the reason for this sudden spurt. What happened all these years? Were they not aware that the CIA is operating in this country? Not only that, the Union Home Secretary also gave a statement that it is operating actively in

[Shri G. Viswanathan.]

the eastern region. This is the contribution of Congress.

Then I come to the Jan Sangh, which has made its own contribution. The Jan Sangh leader in the Bihar Council said that CIA is very active in Chottanagpur area. Another Jan Sangh MLA from Rajasthan said that the Union Minister, Shri Raj Bahadur, has received money from the CIA during the 1967 elections .
(interruptions)

SHRI RAJ BAHADUR: Let them make that statement outside the House... (Interruptions)

SHRI G. VISWANATHAN: This charge was made by an M.L.A. of Rajasthan belonging to the Jan Sangh almost a year back.

Then, I would like to quote *Pra-vada*, which says:

"In the past; the Swatantra Party was looked upon as the chief pro-Western, pro-American lobby. But lately CIA is paying special attention to the relatively better organised and more massive Jana Sangh."

This is what the Soviet paper *Pra-vada* has written.

Then, Jack Anderson's papers did implicate one or two Union Cabinet Ministers with C.I.A.

We are not worried about any agency. But if the espionage crosses the boundary-line, from intelligence evaluation to actual interference with the country's affairs, then serious action must be taken. Not that a mere statement should be given by the Prime Minister or by the Chief Minister. Serious action should be taken immediately against espionage, whether it belongs to East or West.

When Mr. Swaran Singh, the External Affairs Minister, visited very recently U.S.A. the U.S. Secretary of State, Mr. Rogers, it seems, assur-

ed Mr. Swaran Singh that C.I.A. activities were not in any way detrimental to the interests of India. Now it is for the Government to accept the statement or not to accept it.

It is not only the C.I.A. which is of U.S. origin but there are other agencies also which are working in this country and which cannot be denied. I would like to quote Mr. Yuri Krotkov who was a former agent of K. G. B., a Russian agency. He gave a statement before the U.S. Senate Sub-Committee on international security in which he confirmed that when he was assigned a job in Moscow, he tried to befriend an Indian foreign official but he found that he was too clever and he could not do espionage on him. It is how other foreign countries are interested in the third world because that is not do espionage on him. It is how the East or the West. Hence, the agents are working to control the third world into their orbit.

The activities of foreign intelligence, whether it is CIA or KGB, should be neither over-estimated nor under-estimated. It should be put in a correct perspective. It should not be made a political problem or a political issue because this really concerns the national security of the country.

In this connection, I would like to quote Mr. G. L. Mehta who was our former Ambassador to U.S.A., I quote:

"Since it has now been found that the CIA is responsible for murders in Delhi suburbs, food riots, demonstration by both leftist and rightist organisations, student unrest, drought in many States and floods in Orissa, it is only a question of time before we discover that Chou-En-Lai has been its secret agent and Mr. Brezhnev is being financed by American imperialists."

I would like to keep it before the House for whatever worth it is. It is for the House to judge.

I have heard my hon. friend, Mr. Stephen and my other esteemed colleagues. I will not be lulled by this foolish distinction of having a friendly spy and an inimical spy. A spy is a spy, whoever he may be. In the international affairs, there are neither permanent friends nor permanent foes. There are only permanent interests. For Hindi-Chini bhai-bhai, we have had to pay through our nose heavily during 1962. I want the Government to learn from its past mistakes.

I also want to know from the Government whether they are aware of anti-national forces inside this country, whether they are individuals or organisations, who have extra-territorial loyalty. I want to know from the Government whether the Government is keeping a watch over them. I further want to know whether the Government is aware of these forces whose loyalty can be questioned and who are infiltrating into other organisations, thus occupying important and key positions, and sometimes vulnerable positions.

Lastly, I want to know from the Government whether they are contemplating to bring forward a special legislation on treason and espionage, thus putting an end to all these activities, whether it is CIA or any other agency in this country which interferes in the internal affairs of this country.

श्री शशि भूषण (दक्षिण दिल्ली) : सभापति महोदय, "सी आई ए उन क्षेत्रों में विद्यमान है जहाँ उपनिवेशवाद की जड़े खोजती हो चुकी हैं और जहाँ प्रजातांत्रिक प्रणाली के प्राधार पर राजनैतिक ढाँचे को सुदृढ़ बनाने का प्रयास जारी है। प्रजासत्ता की भाँड़ से कर संस्था जैसे और हथियारों का प्रयोग करके जहाँ जहाँ संभव हो सके, सैनिक भेड़ें कायम

करना चाहती है ताकि विश्व में युद्ध के बादल मँडराते रहें और छोटे छोटे राष्ट्रों को विवश कर दिया जाए कि वे सैनिक गुटबंदी का शिकार बने रहें।"

एक सदस्य : यह कहा से पढ़ रहे है ?

श्री शशि भूषण : सभापति महोदय, मैं "सी आई ए परदे के पीछे" नाम की किताब से पढ़ रहा हूँ जो दलजीत सेन भद्रब ने दो साल पहले लिखी है यह दलजीत सेन भद्रब प्रेंसीडेंट, ग्राल इंडिया स्टूडेंट्स कांग्रेस है।

"इंडोनेशिया में भूतपूर्व राष्ट्रपति डाक्टर सुकर्ण, ईरान के भूतपूर्व प्रधान मंत्री डाक्टर मुसद्दिक, घाना के भूतपूर्व राष्ट्रपति एनकूमा और कम्बोडिया के नारोम सिहानुक के विरुद्ध बड़बुंदों के पीछे सी आई ए का हाथ था, इस बात से इनकार नहीं किया जा सकता। बन्दूको और टैंकों के बलबूते पर अधिक देर तक साम्राज्यवादी सक्तिया नहीं टिक सकती भले ही सी आई ए कोई रूप धारण कर के सामने आए। उस की मित्रता प्रतिक्रियावादियों से हो या साम्प्रदायिक तत्वों से उसकी गोद में एकाधिकार पलता हो या तस्करी करने वाला व्यापारी, ये सब आजादी के दुश्मन है।

भारत में सी आई ए एक ओर तो दक्षिण-पंथी फासिस्टों की सहायता करती है जिन्होंने गांधी जी की हत्या की, और दूसरी ओर उग्र वामपंथी फासिस्टों की सहायता करती है जो गांधी के चित्रों की एवं देश की संस्कृति की होली जलाते हैं। एक ओर तो एक बड़े बड़े औद्योगिक क्षेत्रों में साम्प्रदायिक दंगे कराए जाते हैं तों दूसरी ओर से इन्हीं औद्योगिक क्षेत्रों में तालाबन्दी और हड़ताल कराई जाती है। देश की आर्थिक व्यवस्था को क्षीण बनाने के लिए 300 करोड़ रुपये वार्षिक तस्करी सोने से भारतीय घरेलू पर आर्थिक हमला किया जाता है। इस प्रकार के 'बुनहरी हमलों' ने एशिया और अफ्रीका के कई छोटे छोटे राष्ट्रों की आजादी का गला घोट है। अब एशिया और अफ्रीका की जनता सजग

[श्री शशि भूषण]

और जागरूक हो चुकी है इसलिए वह इस हमले का मुहताब जवाब दे सकती है।”

सभापति महोदय, इस किताब को दो साल पहले छपा गया लेकिन आज हिन्दुस्तान में सीआईए के पास तकरीबन 6 लाख व्यक्तियों के एड्रसेस हैं हर एक पार्टी के जिस में यह बता सकते हैं कि इन की धार्मिक विचारधारा क्या है, ये जिस ढंग से सोचते हैं, इन की राजनैतिक विचारधारा क्या है। यह इन्फार्मेशन मुक्तलिफ ढंग से तैयार की गई है।

किसी भी सरकार को अन्य देश में अपनी नीति के बारे में प्रतिक्रिया जानने का अधिकार है लेकिन उसे यह अधिकार नहीं कि किसी भी राष्ट्र के प्रति षडयंत्रकारी और बिध्वंसक कार्यवाही करे। सीआईए राजनैतिक सस्था नहीं, षडयंत्रकारी और बिघटन सबधी कार्यवाहियों को बढ़ावा देने वाला एक व्यापारिक सस्थान है। ऐसे का प्रलोभन दे कर नागरिकों की जमीर को खरीदना और छोटे या बड़े आंतरिक मामलों को लेकर दंगे-फसाद और बिध्वंसक कार्यवाही कराना सीआईए का प्रमुख उद्देश्य है। वर्ल्ड असेम्बली आफ यूथ विल्ली में कार्य करती रही और मैं मोरारजी भाई की एक बात में तारीफ करूंगा की वह इस सस्था के पैट्रन थे। एशिया फाउंडेशन ने इस सस्था को पैसा दिया। जब अमेरिका के रैस्पर्ट अखबार में सीआईए के बारे में छपा तो उस बकता उन्हें पता लगा कि सीआईए ने पैसा दिया है तो उन्होंने वह पैसा वापस दे दिया। मैं इस मामले में मोरारजी भाई की तारीफ करता हूँ और मिश्रा जी उन से कह दूँगे कि मैं जहाँ उनकी आलोचना करता हूँ वहाँ उनकी तारीफ भी करता हूँ जब वह अच्छा काम करते हैं।

सभापति महोदय, यह वर्ल्ड असेम्बली आफ यूथ सस्था आज भी विल्ली में कार्य करती है। सरकार ने हिन्दुस्तान में 40—50 लाख की जमीन उस को दी और सहायता दी जिससे

विश्व युवक केंद्र वहाँ काम कर रहा है। वहाँ यही ऐक्टिविटी होती है। जब एशिया फाउंडेशन बँच गया तो उसमें कौन कौन लोग सम्बन्धित थे उस को आज तक सरकार ने नहीं बताया। उस को बता देते तो सीआईए की गति बड़ी धीमी हो जाती। जहाँ तक सीआईए का सम्बन्ध है सब जानते हैं कि दो मिनिस्ट्रीज सब से ज्यादा इस की शिकार है—एग्जीक्यूटिव मिनिस्ट्री और एजुकेशन मिनिस्ट्री। मैं चाहता हूँ कि इनके एडवाइजर्स से आप पनाह ले क्योंकि हम ने बहुत नुकसान उनसे उठा लिया।

सब से बड़ी बात एक यह है कि इस देश के अन्दर सीआईए के साथ साथ एक चाइनीज एजेंसी भी काम करने लगी है और उस का नाम है सोशल बेलफेयर डिपार्टमेंट। सीआईए ऊपर आपरेट करती है और वह नीचे आपरेट करते हैं। उस से देश को बहुत खतरा बढ़ गया है उनकी हालत यह है कि जो ड्रैगन एजेंसी है चाइना की वह एक तरफ तो श्रीमती भंडारनायक की खूब मदद करती है, उनका पैकिंग में खूब स्वागत करती है और दूसरी तरफ हेलिकाप्टर हमको भोजना पड़ता है। वे भुट्टा की भी खूब मदद करते हैं। तो नीचे नीचे जड़े काटना और ऊपर से सिर पर हाथ फेरना, यही चाइनीज एजेंसी का रोल रहा है। लिन पियाओ के प्रति दुनिया में कही सवेदना जाहिर नहीं की गई लेकिन मैं करना चाहता हूँ। मैं कहना चाहता हूँ चीन तथा सी० आई० ए० दो एजेंसीज के गठबन्धन के खिलाफ उसने अपना बलिदान दिया जो कि हमेशा याद रहेगा। वे नहीं चाहते थे कि यह न्यायिक गठबन्धन हो ताकि इस तरह की चीजे हों जिन से एशिया से खतरा बढ़े। यह दोनों एजेंसीज जो हैं वह खतरे का सबूत हैं। इस तरह चाइनीज का सी० आई० ए० के इशारे पर इंडोनेशिया में इशारे पर कत्लेआम किया गया लेकिन उसके बाद आज उन्हीं के साथ वे सी०

आई० ए० के जरिये मिलता कर रहे हैं। पता नहीं किस दिशा में ये जा रहे हैं। मैं चाहूंगा कि भुट्टो साहब को भी समझाये कि उनके चक्कर में वे न पड़े। यह हमारा भारतीय उपमहाद्वीप इन दोनों एजेंसीज के गठबन्धन में खतरे में पड़ा है। यहाँ एक कोसेक आर्गनाइजेशन है जिसके जरिये से विद्यार्थियों में काम किया जाता है, विद्यार्थी आन्दोलन चलाये जाते हैं। दक्षिणपंथी सस्थाएँ जोकि प्रजातन्त्र में विश्वास नहीं करती उन के जरिये से उनको छुने और भाले चलाना सिखाया जाता है वे सस्थाएँ आजकल कोशिश कर रही हैं कि विश्वविद्यालय बन्द किए जाये उनके बड़े बड़े समारोह और दूसरी चीजें होती हैं। जहाँ तक प्रांमिक सस्थाओं को पैसा देने की बात है, दक्षिण पंथी पार्टी वाले, माधू महत्मा इस देश के विचारों को दिमागी तौर पर खराब कर रहे हैं, पुरानी जो परम्पराएँ सद्भावना है उनके आधार पर लोगों को एकमूलायट कर रहे हैं, आधिक तौर पर लोगों को एकमूलायट कर रहे हैं। इस देश में पब्लिक सेक्टर किसी तरह में न चले उसके लिए संवत्साज कर रहे हैं, मैनोजर्न को खरीदने की कोशिश करते हैं बकपुं यूनिवर्स को खरीदने की कोशिश करते हैं। यह सब विध्वनात्मक कार्यवाहियाँ बड़ी तेजी से इस देश में इन दो आर्गनाइजेशन ने की है। इसके साथ साथ बर्मा में जो बगला बोर्डर पर जो मुसलमान रहते हैं उनसे मिलकर सी० आई० ए० और चाहनीज एजेंसीज बगला देश में तूफान मचा रही हैं। वह आराम की जिन्दगी बमर करना चाहते हैं और अपने पैरों पर खड़ा होना चाहते हैं लेकिन यह एजेंसीज उनको ऐसा नहीं करने दे रही हैं। हमारे देश के आस पास जितने भी राष्ट्र हैं वह सभी इन एजेंसीज के शिकार हो रहे हैं।

सी० आई० ए० ने पहले पहल जब हमारे देश में पदार्पण किया तो जो हमारे

देश की इन्टेलिजेंस सस्था है उसने साथ मिलकर काम किया है और हमें यह पता नहीं था कि हमारे देश में घुस करके हमें नुकसान पहुँचायेंगे। हमने उनसे किसी कोई भी फायदा नहीं रखा लेकिन आज हमें वह बरतनी होगी। आज हमारे देश में सामाजिक सस्थानों में, विश्वविद्यालयों में, कृषि एडवाइजर्स में जो वह पहुँच गए हैं वहाँ से उनको निकालना बहुत जरूरी है। मैं समझता हूँ सरकार इसके लिए बहुत सख्त कार्यवाही करेगी हमारी प्रधान मंत्री ने लोगों का ध्यान इस ओर आकर्षित किया है। हमारे कांग्रेस प्रेसीडेंट डा० शंकर दयल शर्मा ने इस देश में लोगों का ध्यान आकर्षित किया है मैं समझता हूँ कि जब हमारे देश के नेता, हमारी जनता और हमारे देश की इन्टेलिजेंस भी सभी मिल कर सतर्क हों तो मैं विश्वास के साथ कह सकता हूँ कि हमारे लिए कोई भी खतरे की बात नहीं है। जब हमने पहचान लिया कि हमारे देश में दुश्मन कहा है, खोर कहा है तो फिर कोई डर नहीं है, हम उनको आमानी से समाप्त कर सकेगे। मैं खाम तौर पर सरकार को सतर्क करना चाहता हूँ कि बिनापकर जो विदेशी एडवाइजर्स इकट्ठा किए हैं जो विदेशी एजेंसीज हैं, जैसे फोर्ड फाउंडेशन और दूसरी भी उन से कहें कि वह हिन्दुत्वान को छोड़ कर पैकिंग जाये या किसी भी देश में जाये और हमारे देश पर घृणा कर। इन शब्दों के साथ में भाषण समाप्त करता हूँ।

SHRI SHYAMNANDAN MISHRA (Begusarai): rose.

SHRI JAGANNATHRAO JOSHI (Shajapur): Why are you by passing me, I don't understand.

MR CHAIRMAN I will never by pass you. He is also leader of party; his name is there; your name is also there. Why do you say you are being bypassed? You are not bypassed. Mr. Joshi, I will give you time...

SHRI JAGANNATHRAO JOSHI:
Already it is 5.20. When will you give me time?

MR. CHAIRMAN: I will give you time immediately. I find here that 4 minutes are marked for Mr. Mishra and 6 minutes are marked for you.

SHRI JAGANNATHRAO JOSHI:
You will give only 6 minutes?

MR. CHAIRMAN: Mr. Mishra, you will have to be very brief in your observations.

SHRI SHYAMNANDAN MISHRA:
I shall try to be as brief as possible, Sir.

Mr. Chairman, Sir, it seems to me that you could not think of a more unseasonal bird than my hon. friend Shri Indrajit Gupta. While the Government seems to be playing on the flute of love, he is beating the drums of hate. This is the sweet season of love for the Government and nothing can be more bedevilling the atmosphere than the hate call which Mr. Gupta has given just now.

But, Mr. Chairman, one could excuse Mr. Gupta; bachelor, as he is, he does not know to respond to love calls. And, many a tune, I have felt completely sick sitting on this bench as I find myself overwhelmed by two bachelors on my right. But, at the same time, I must say that I do not know whether Mr. Indrajit Gupta is so innocent a bachelor as I am trying to make him out to be.

I really do not know what badge Mr. Piloo Mody is going to wear now. Earlier in the peak days of hatred against the CIA activities and so on, he was wearing the badge of 'I am a CIA agent'. Now probably he will wear the badge, 'I am in love with you'. I really don't know whether this badge is again going to be objected to by the Chair. Because earlier the Chair

made him pull down that badge.

SHRI PILOO MODY: I am now going to be a Congress agent. They are the only enemies of this country.

SHRI SHYAMNANDAN MISHRA:
Naturally the question now arises is this why has all this noise about CIA died down so suddenly and so abruptly. Why are those very lips which spoke so stridently about the menacing activities of the CIA and now jipping rhymes of love? This is a mystery, this is something intriguing. Naturally one would like to ask as to what has happened to bring about this transformation if the activities were really menacing? But, who is now going to speak about the activities being menacing, because only this morning, did you not find, Mr. Chairman, in the newspapers that those who shout about the CIA seem to be themselves the agents of the CIA. That is what has been found to be the case in regard to the publication in the Kuwait paper which reported about some attempts having been made on the life of the Indian Prime Minister. Now he has been found out to be the CIA agent himself. I really don't know whether those who have spoken so much about the CIA activities are not exposing themselves to this danger.

I was wondering how this change had happened. Indeed, they were menacing activities, because there could be no greater testimony to it than that of the Prime Minister of India. If the Prime Minister says that the CIA activities are menacing to the country, then S. N. Mishra would take it as gospel truth. But again, would we not be entitled to ask: 'Madam Prime Minister, if the activities are so menacing as you say they are what exactly have you done or do you propose to do about them?' That is in fact a question which I am entitled to ask and to which I am entitled to get an answer. But we are not getting an answer to that question. That is the real difficulty.

One can, of course, dismiss for a time or for a while Shri Shankar Dayal Sharma in this context. But one cannot afford to dismiss what the Prime Minister of India says. I was trying to explore the reasons for the change. What could be the reasons for this? One reason for this, as has been pointed out is that first Shri Yeshwantrao Chavan, the Finance Minister of India went to the United States and he tried to fraternise with his American counterparts. Later, the Foreign Minister of India also, when he was in New York, met Mr. Rogers. I have got a different story about what happened between Mr. Rogers and Shri Swaran Singh. I am told that Mr. Rogers spoke in a very rough and I must say. . .

SHRI C. M. STEPHEN: Who told the hon. Member?

SHRI SHYAMNANDAN MISHRA: If that is so, then no Indian can put up with that kind of utterance of Mr. Rogers. He is reported to have said—at least that is my information, it is from the ruling party itself—like this, and Shri Swaran Singh went to Ahmedabad session to report that the Americans were very much angry about the utterances against the CIA. That was another thing.

Later, it was followed by the visits of emissaries from India to the United States and emissaries from the United States to India. Then came the 'love call' from the Foreign Minister which has been reciprocated by Mr. Rogers. He has said that they are now very sympathetically examining this 'love call' made by India. But the point that I want to emphasise is this—as has been tried to be portrayed in the foreign papers—it is not a 'love call' but it is a 'distress call' which is coming against a particular economic background in this country. That is how the foreign newspapers have been interpreting it.

The question that I, as an Indian and as a Member of Parliament, want to ask is this. If these activities are really so dangerous, and indeed they must be dangerous, then is the Parliament of India going to shut itself out completely from these developments? Is the Prime Minister of India going to say that since she and her Foreign Minister have now settled it with Mr. Rogers, the matter is over? If that be so, I must say that we have got a very poor conception of the Parliament of India. These offences, as they have been pointed out, are no less than offences against the State; they are in every way, offences against the State. If the Prime Minister of India is in possession of evidence of offences against the State and offences against the State mean offences against the security of the 'States,' offences which have been in the direction of bringing about internal subversion, then the Parliament of India must be in possession of all these things, and the Parliament of India must go into this matter a little more deeply. We cannot consider the security of India or the matter of subversion, internal subversion, as the close preserve of the Government of India. Therefore, my submission is that the Parliament of India must demand a probe into this matter. There must be a parliamentary probe. Let nobody take a high and mighty attitude that this must be left to the Government of India. As Indians and as Members of Parliament, we have got every right to know. We must remember what happens in the US Congressional or Senate committees; they go much deeper into these matters. We can also act in the same way and we have also got a due sense of responsibility. This kind of commission did function in Australia and in Canada and other places. So, Government must concede the demand that there should be a parliamentary probe into this. I am confining myself only to the CIA activities. Since the question has been raised only

[Shri Shyamnandan Mishra] against the CIA activities, let us not cast the net much wider, though let us keep a vigilant eye on all other activities too. When attention is sought to be concentrated on CIA and when some evidence has been collected only with regard to CIA activities we should like to be in possession of facts.

MR. CHAIRMAN: I want to ascertain from the House whether it is in I request the Members to co-operate beyond 6 O'clock

SOME HON MEMBERS. Yes

MR CHAIRMAN I would request Shri Mody and Shri Joshi to finish their speeches say, by 5.50 so that Mr Pant may begin his speech, he wants about half an hour to reply I request the Members to co-operate in this.

श्री जगन्नाथराव जोशी (शाजापुर) सभापति महोदय, अमरीकी गुप्तचर विभाग की बढ़ती हुई गतिविधियों के विषय में जो चर्चा चालू है उसका मैं स्वागत करता हूँ क्योंकि कम से कम उसके जरिये जिस की वजह से देश की सुरक्षा खतरे में आ सकती है उसकी ओर सरकार का ध्यान जाये। अभी जब श्री राज बहादुर जी के खिलाफ किसी में आरोप लगाया तो वह गरम हो गये। उन का गरम होना मैं समझ सकता हूँ। किन्तु श्री इन्द्रजीत गुप्त ने यहाँ कोट किया कि 1967 में राज्य सभा में एक बात बतलाई गई कि उस समय यहाँ जो इन्वेस्ट का हार्ड कमिशनर था उस ने टेलीग्राम या केबल भेजा, जिस में उस ने मेशन किया कि इतना पैसा स्वतन्त्र पार्टी को मिला, इतना पैसा जनसंघ को मिला, इतना पैसा कांग्रेस को मिला। उममें उन्होंने दिया था कि कितना पैसा जनसंघ को मिला था, लेकिन किस को मिला यह नहीं दिया था। बाकी सब का नाम दिया गया था। क्या यह आप की जिम्मेदारी नहीं है कि आज हम 1972 में हैं...

श्री आर० एस० पांडे (राजनदगाव) . आप को पैसा दिलवाने की ?

श्री जगन्नाथराव जोशी . मैं ऐसी बेशर्मी की अपेक्षा नहीं करता था। मैं देश की सुरक्षा की बात कर रहा हूँ, पांडे जी।

श्री सतपाल कपूर (पटियाला) : मालूम है कि आप को गुस्सा क्यों है।

श्री राज बहादुर : जिस पक्ष का हवाला दिया गया है, उस में आरोप मेरे ऊपर नहीं है। आरोप किसी और के ऊपर है। मुझे माध्यम बनाया गया है। आरोप श्री पाटिल पर है आप उन से पूछिये।

श्री जगन्नाथराव जोशी मैं कभी भी गुस्सा नहीं हुआ। लेकिन मंत्री बार बार हम तरह से क्यों बोलते हैं ? (शवधान)

SHRI PILOO MODY After what the hon Speaker said this morning, after the ruling given by the Speaker today in which you yourself took an active part, may I ask you how you permitted this?

MR CHAIRMAN Please do not interrupt You are cutting into your own time

श्री जगन्नाथराव जोशी इसी लिये मैं उस वक्त चुप बैठ था। राज बहादुर जी की तरह उठ कर बोला नहीं।

SHRI PILOO MODY I am not going to accept that as an answer. I brought a point to your notice that when a name was mentioned just now, after the ruling given by the Speaker today in which you yourself took a very active part, how have you permitted this to happen?

SHRI RAJ BAHADUR The paper cutting which has been produced says so, I am only repeating that; I do not say that I am a party to it.

श्री जगन्नाथराव जोशी . हमने 1967 से लेकर माघ की कि विदेशी धन पर रोक लगाई जाये। विदेशी पैसा कहां से आता है, किस ज़ोत से आता है, किन्हें

मिलता है, इसकी जांच की जाये। जांच चाबू है, यह बतला दिया गया। अभी कुछ दिन पहले जब हम ने पूछा कि जांच का नतीजा क्या हुआ तो वित्त मंत्री कहते हैं :

"It cannot be disclosed in public interest." What does it mean?

1967 से लेकर आज तक हम पर आरोप लगायें। मांग हम से कर आयें, और 1972 में हम को बतलायें कि :

"It cannot be disclosed in public interest." What is public interest? To defame the Opposition parties?

हम ने सी०आई०ए० के लिए ध्यान आकर्षित किया था। राजस्थान के दो प्रोफेसरों की गति-विधियों के बारे में मैं ने ध्यान आकर्षित किया था मंत्रियों का। आखिर अगर इस देश में कोई गुप्तचर एजेंसी चलती है तो हमारा फर्ज हो जाता है कि उस के लिए हम कोई काउंटर इंटेलिजेंस रखें। जब मैं ने कहा कि काउंटर इंटेलिजेंस होनी चाहिए तब श्री पन्त ने मुझे दुस्त किया कि काउंटर इंटेलिजेंस नहीं, सुपर इंटेलिजेंस। I accepted modification. I want super intelligence.

जब जून्वेव और बुलानिन इंग्लैंड गये थे उस समय उनका फ्रागमैन छिपे छिपे घूमता था यह देखने के लिए कि उन की सारी रचना कैसी है। रूस को यह बात मालूम थी। चोर का रास्ता चोर ही जानता है। रूस ने भी अपना फ्रागमैन छोड़ा, जिस ने उनको भगा दिया। तीन साल तक इंग्लैंड को पता नहीं था। तेरी भी चुप और मेरी भी चुप। गैरी कूपर यू 2 को ले कर उड़ा। रूस ने मार कर नीचे गिरा दिया सब पस चला कि एस्वायनेज ऐक्टिविटीज होती है। बताया गया है कि प्रधान मंत्री के खिलाफ तीन बार एटेंप्ट हुआ है। मैं समझता हूँ कि प्रमुख व्यक्तियों की हत्या करना या करवाना गुप्तचर विभाग का काम होता है। लेकिन उनको पकड़ना और उनके खिलाफ सबूत यह सरकार

का काम है। ट्राटस्की की हत्या मैक्सिको में हुई और उनके पुत्र की पेरिस में हुई।

श्री शशि भूषण : और गांधी जी की ?

श्री जगन्नाथराव जोशी : जिसने की उसको तो फांसी हो गई।

लेकिन दीन दयाल उपाध्याय की चलनी गाड़ी में हत्या कर दी गई। किसी ने भी की हो या करवाई हो लेकिन यह निर्लज्ज सरकार उसका आज तक पता नहीं चला पाई है। इसको रूल करने का कोई राइट नहीं है। यह कोई चुपटना है ? किसी राजनीतिक नेता की हत्या होने के बाद कातिल का पता लगाना आपका काम है। प्रधान मंत्री के खिलाफ कुछ ऐसे षडयंत्र होते हैं, इसका पता लगाना आपका काम है। किन्तु हमें यह लगता है कि सी०आई०ए० को बोगी रेंज का के विरोधी दलों को कोमने का काम यह सरकार कर रही है, उनके खिलाफ कुछ बातवचरण तैयार हो सके इसकी कोशिश में यह सरकार है। इससे घृणास्पद और कोई भी चीज नहीं हो सकती है।

मैं राज बहादुर जी को बतलाना चाहता हूँ कि मैं 1930 से राजनीति में हूँ। 1942 में मैंने बड़े दुख के साथ देखा कि देशगौरव सुभाष चन्द्र बोस को देशद्रोही कहने वाले आज यहाँ बैठे हुए हैं। सबाल सी०आई०ए० का अभी क्या आया ? राज बहादुर जी यह इसलिए आया कि यह तो कांग्रेस के छन्दर एक टस्सल चल रही है ब्रिटिश सी०आई०ए० एण्ड सी०सी०ए० या कम्युनिस्ट कांग्रेस एलाएंस जो है और सी०आई०ए० जो है, उनके बीच में। यही से टकराव शुरू हुआ है। सी०आई०ए० के खिलाफ हम कड़ी से कड़ी कार्रवाई करें तो इसका मतलब यह नहीं होता है कि हमारे अमरीका के साथ अच्छे सम्बन्ध न हों या उनको हम बिगाड़ें या के जी बी के खिलाफ हम कुछ

[श्री जगन्नाथराव जंशी]

कार्रवाई करें तो इसका मतलब यह नहीं होता है कि रूस की दोस्ती को हम छोड़ दें या उसके साथ सम्बन्ध बिगाड़ लें। दुनिया में हमेशा कोई दोस्त या दुश्मन नहीं हुआ करते। देश का हित ही इसकी कसौटी होती है, यही सर्वोपरि होता है और होना चाहिए। किन्तु इस सब को छोड़ कर हम जो कार्य कर रहे हैं यह सिर्फ राजनीतिक चालबाजी है और उसी से प्रेरित हो कर कर रहे हैं। यह ठीक नहीं है। स्वस्थ राजनीतिक परम्पराओं की हम को स्थापना करनी चाहिए। हमारे और आपके मतभेद हो सकते हैं। हमें आप पुराण मतवादी या पुराणपन्थी कह सकते हैं। हम गाय की रक्षा की बात करते हैं तो आपने गाय भी ली और उसके साथ बछड़ा भी ले लिया। हमने कुछ नहीं कहा। आगे चल कर आप गोबर भी ले सकते हैं। हमें कोई आपत्ति नहीं है। सिद्धान्तों का सवाल है। हम प्रतिक्रियावादी आपकी दृष्टि में हो सकते हैं। लेकिन यह सवाल आज नहीं है। सभी जानते हैं कि दुनिया भर की एजेंसीस काम करती हैं, बहुत खतरनाक काम करती हैं। इसको हम भूलें नहीं। कुछ मित्रों ने कहा कि रूस की एजेंसी ऐसे वैसे काम नहीं करती है। सूडान में, इजिप्ट में सादात को उलटने की जो बात हुई वह किसी से छिपी नहीं है, लंका में जो हुआ वह भी सब जानते हैं। ये जो एजेंसियां हैं ये साम, दाम, दण्ड, भेद सब कुछ अपनाती हैं। विष कन्यायें भी होती थीं। भुलाने, बहकाने के जितने भी रास्ते बताए गए हैं उन सब को मैं दोहराना नहीं चाहता हूं।

बिल्ली ग्राहम की बात सदन में कही गई और डाक्यूमेंटरी में भी दिखाए गए हैं। जिनका नाम कोई जानता नहीं उनको सुनने के लिए एक लाख इकट्ठा होते हैं, यह क्या बात है? आपने नागा राज्य बनाया उसका नाम आपने नागाप्रदेश न रखकर

नागालैण्ड रखा। यह क्या? कहां कहां क्या गतिविधियां चलती हैं मिशनरज के द्वारा, प्रोफेसर्स के द्वारा और किस किस रूप में यह होता है, इसको देखना और इसका पता लगाना तथा रोक लगाना सरकार का काम है। पार्लिमेंटरी कमेटी नहीं तो विरोधी दलों को सरकार को विश्वास में लेना चाहिए, यह उसको नहीं को समझना चाहिए कि विरोधी दल देश को खतरे में ले जाने वाले हैं। उलटा यदि अमरीका पाकिस्तान को हथियार देता है तो हम कहते हैं कि खराब बात है। रूस पाकिस्तान को मिंग देने की आफर करता है तो हम उसका विरोध करते हैं, उसकी निन्दा करते हैं। कच्छ के मामले में आप जमीन देते हैं तो हम उसकी निन्दा करते हैं, आप पाकिस्तान के साथ समझौता करते हैं और उसको अपनी टैरिटरी सरेंडर करने के लिए राजी हो जाते हैं तो हम उसका विरोध करते हैं। आप जो इस तरह के काम करते हैं मैं जानना चाहता हूं कि यह नैशनलिज्म है या हम जो इसका विरोध करते हैं वह नैशनलिज्म है। हमें आप नैशनलिज्म सिखाते हैं। 1945 और 1946 में मैंने कांग्रेस को वोट दिया था यह समझ कर कि यह देश की अखंडता बनाए रखेगी। लेकिन हम को धोखा हुआ। बार बार धोखा खाते आए हैं। ये हमारे मित्र जो अभी कांग्रेस से आये हैं। विरोधी दलों को निशाना बना कर उनको बदनाम करने की घृणास्पद नीति नहीं अपनाई जानी चाहिये। देश की सुरक्षा सर्वोपरि होनी चाहिये। इसी को कसौटी बनाया जाना चाहिये। जो जो होल्ज हैं उनको प्लग आफ करें। कोई भी दल हो जो इस तरह की कार्रवाइयां कर रहा हो तो उसका आपको पता लगाना चाहिये और उसके बारे में हम को भी पता चलना चाहिये। जब बीमारी कोई होती है तो डाक्टर से उसको छिपाया नहीं जाता है, उसके सामने उसको रखना पड़ता है। कोई भी करता हो, करप्शन इज करप्शन। फिर कष्टानिधि करे या बंसी लाल करे।

एक की छिपाना और दूसरे की एक्सपोज करना, वह राजनीति आपकी नहीं चलेगी और न ही चलेगी चाहिये। कोई भी, हमारा तुम्हारी सखा है, कल्पान इज कुर-पान। जो देशद्रोही है उसको आप कदी से नहीं सखा दें। लेकिन अटपटांग बातें करना बन्द होना चाहिये।

श्री प्रिय रजन दास मुन्शी ने श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी को सी आई ए एजेंट बताया था। हम ने कहा कि इस पर चर्चा होनी चाहिये। उस चर्चा को ग्लोक किया गया। हमारे ऊपर आरोप है लेकिन उसको आप सिद्ध भी नहीं करते। पूछने पर कहते हैं कि तुम सिद्ध कर दो। यह भी कोई तुक वाली बात है। 1967 से हम कहते आ रहे हैं। आज 1972 है। लेकिन सरकार कुछ नहीं करती है। बदनाम करने की ही कोशिश करती है। विरोधी दलों के प्रति यह अत्यन्त घृणास्पद, निन्दास्पद नीति अब देश में नहीं चलेगी। यह धर्म भूमि है। यहाँ सीता को जलाने की कोशिश की गई लेकिन उस से वह पवित्र निकली, हनुमान की जलाने की कोशिश की गई लेकिन लंका जल गई। आपको समझ लेना चाहिए कि आप इस तरह से हमारा कुछ नहीं बिगाड़ सकते।

भाँधी जी की हत्या का बार बार उल्लेख किया जाता है। उस समय हम चुप रहे। लोभो ने हमारे विर फोड़े। हमने कहा इनको जाने दो, इनके विद्योग बिगड़ गए हैं। लेकिन आज भी हम जिन्ना हैं, सब के सामने छाती खोल कर खड़े हैं, बिस्ली में खड़े हैं, सारे भारत में खड़े हैं। हम बीबा देवी नहीं चाहते हैं। जनता हमारी भी सुनरी है। हिन्दुस्तान की जनता संसदवार जनता है, बड़ी ही सम्प्रदाय जनता है। आपकी उन्हीं बीट दिया, आप पावर में आए, हमने स्वागत किया। हमने कहा कि जनता ने कहा कि आपको और पाँच साल काम करने दो। हम जनता के साथ फिर आये।

लेकिन हम को देश की स्वाधीनता, देश की सुरक्षा तथा देश हित को सर्वोपरि मान कर गन्तव्य बिभाव किसी का भी हो, उस पर पूरी तरह रोक लगानी चाहिये। के०जी० बी० इस में आता है, सी०आ०ई०ए०, भी आता है। पार्टी के नाते प्रधान मंत्री ने जो कुछ भी कहा है उसको वह श्री शंकर दयाल शर्मा से कहलवा सकती थी। ऐसा वह करती तो चल सकता था। अगर उन से नहीं कहलवाना चाहती थी तो उन के जो इधर उधर दोस्त बैठे हुए हैं, उन से उनको कहलवाना चाहिये था। विरोधी दलों का भी कुछ काम होता है। स्वयं प्रधान मंत्री को इनवाल्ब नहीं होना चाहिये था। कोई भी सदा के मित्र और सदा के दुश्मन नहीं हुआ करते हैं। इंडोनेशिया में डा० मुकर्ण जब थे तब हमारे उससे अच्छे सम्बन्ध नहीं थे, सुहाताँ आ गए, अच्छे सम्बन्ध हो गए। उनको कहना नहीं चाहिये था कहलवाना चाहिये था। अब तो पच्चीस साल के बाद हमारी डिप्लोमेसी मेन्चोर डिप्लोमेसी होनी चाहिये थी। हम जो भी बात कहे सोच समझ कर कहे। यह बहुत सीरियस मैटर है। सी०आई० ए० कोई मस्मूली चीज नहीं है। हम को बहुत सतर्क रहना चाहिये इसके बारे में। अगर हमारे पास जो आरोप हम लगाते हैं उसको सबस्टेंशिएट करने के लिए कुछ नहीं है, तो भी बिगम बेरी रिडिकलस बीफोर दी ग्राइव्स आस, बी-वर्ल्ड। अब अमरीका पाकिस्तान को ठीक देता है और हमें गैर तो ऐसा कर के जो वह यह चाहता है कि टैंक लेकर ये लड़े और गैर आ कर हम मरें, इस बीहरी त्रिती भी हमको समझ लेना चाहिये। बीजों की जरूरत नहीं। जो भी काम हम करें देश की सुरक्षा को सर्वोपरि रख कर करें। और उसी के अनुसार कार्रवाई करें।

SHRI PILLOO MODY (Godhra):
Mr. Chairman, it has fallen to my sad lot to try and restore some sanity to the Parliament of India, and you have given me a few minutes in

[Shri Piloo Mody]

which to do it. Because, after I sit down, the Minister will get up and restore all the hysteria that has gone on for the last two or three hours.

SHRI AMRIT NAHATA (Barmer): There is a mad man in my village who thinks that the whole world except himself is mad.

SHRI PILOO MODY: Nobody knows how he ever got to Parliament.

Listening to the various speeches and some interjections, I could not make up my mind as to what posture I should take. Should I take the posture of my friend, Shri Indrajit Gupta, who was here doing dutifully his duty, making propaganda against a country and its agencies, for which that country has now been spending millions and billions of roubles today? Should I take the posture of my friend, Shri Jagannathrao Joshi, who rightly but unnecessarily got so angry, exhibited his spleen, and said things that need to be said, but they needed to be said in a kindergarten class and not in the Parliament of India? These are the things that my friends over here should have learnt when they were little kids in schools. They did not have to wait to grow to this adolescence—I do not know whether it is post-adolescence—to have my friend, Shri Jagannathrao Joshi, lecture to them on the values of nationhood. Should I bring in moral indignation as my friend, Shri Samar Guha, very rightly did? Is there an iota of hypocrisy or insincerity in what he said? Should I take the very reasoned attitude of my friend, Shri G. Viswanathan, who tried to prove the fallacy of the charges and the ridiculous lengths to which we have gone in order to display our immaturity after 25 years of Independence?

As to what has been said about the C.I.A. by the people sitting on my right and the people sitting on my left, they seem to know more about it than the American people do. Of

course, all the information that they claim they have is ferreted out from American sources, naturally, because it is the only open society to which they have access. They could not possibly get material either from the Kremlin or from Russia or from *Izvestia* or from the Russian Embassy here because they too are footlings in a hierarchy which is the structure of international communism. So, whatever little information they get can only be collected by them from U.S. sources.

Listening to the speeches, I found there was a certain persistence as if it was one mind but many tongues that were putting forward a case against the CIA. I am very glad because I have learnt a tremendous lot about the CIA today which I should have learnt if I was sufficiently interested also in high school and at an earlier age. But I am very glad I had it told to me today in its most horrid form to say what an exaggerated monster the CIA is which is here to subvert this country.

But if you take your intelligence a little further and listen to what the words were, you will find that you now know what the CIA did in Cambodia, you will now know what the CIA did in Vietnam; you will now know what the CIA did in Brazil, in Venezuela, in Ghana, in Mozambique and in Europe, or somewhere or the other. But you do not know what they did in India. We all know what they did all over the world but we do not know what they did in India.

What a tragedy for all of us that all the information about what they did in India is concentrated into three heads, the head of the Minister who is going to reply but will not reveal, the head of the organisation which calls itself the Indian National Congress—I do not know why that central word "National" is any more applicable—and, ultimately, the pretty head of the Prime Minister who has also entered this race. But apart from that, nobody knows. We have

fried on occasions to find out from Government what the CIA is doing in this country—I can quote chapter and verse but I do not have the time. It was on June 15, 1967,, that Mr. Masani made a very eloquent plea about finding out about its activities and said that it was even more necessary that it be published.

There is no Jack Anderson in this country, there are no people to write books on RAW and CBI in India. We have nobody who can openly discuss matters of State. To that extent, we are a poorer society. At least in the United States, people can discuss all these things, and if Mr. Stephen could not leave his hotel in New York after 6.00 in the evening, it was for the protection of the population of New York! In an open society like that, you can debate these issues and it is precisely from the struggle between the executive, between the legislature, between the judiciary, and the free press that an open society is made. But here we want to put everything under one umbrella or petticoat, whatever you may like to call it. This is really the tragedy of Indian democracy.

But that apart, it is we who have asked for this information. We wanted an intelligent debate on the facts as they are known, not on the monsters that are raised, not on the euphorian shadows that are created, but on facts as they are known. I would like to know what happened, because we demanded an inquiry which was promised to us. We did not demand the inquiry so that Mr Chavan and the Government of India could become wiser; we demanded the inquiry so that we could become wiser. Whatever rumour one hears and from whatever the inquiry has revealed or leaked out. I can only say that, when they started their inquiry they found—and this is what I have heard, correct me, if I am wrong—that they only came across evidence of Russian money and they found ultimately that 160 campaigns, spread over seven

political parties, excluding the Swatantra Party, were financed by the Soviets. More recently information came to me—and this, I would like to say in secrecy to you alone, Sir,—that there are 175 Members of Parliament who are supposed to be on their pay-rolls. (Interruption) I say, check it out, I want to find out. Also do you not tell us if it is so? Why do you not tell us if there is anybody on the other pay-rolls?

SHRI B. V. NAIK (Kanara): Because it is not true.

SHRI PILOO MODY: Mr Naik has denied it on behalf of his Government. The man does not know what he has undertaken to deny! He can certainly be forgiven for his over-enthusiasm but not for his trashiness — (Interruption).

Several things were said about me and about that little badge that I was wearing. Why did I wear that badge? I think, I adequately explained it in the past. Now whether Mr. Stephen was in the past ..

SHRI G. VISWANATHAN: He was at the UNO...

SHRI PILOO MODY: . . . restrained from molesting the population of New York or not, said that this was buffoonery, he said all manner of things about it. I would just remind him—since he does come from Kerala, after all, he is only newly available here in Delhi, whatever else his past may have been—that it is only too easy to abuse. If I were to ask him why was he carrying this brief? And on whose behalf he was carrying this brief? If I were to ask him, is this some sort of dalali that he was doing? Or if I was to become more pungent and say**

SHRI SHASHI BHUSHAN: This is very bad, Sir. Mr. Mody is a decent Member of Parliament. He should not use such expressions.

SHRI PILOO MODY: **Now, having said that..

SHRI VAYALAR RAVI: That is not a joke. That he offered to me also.

SHRI PILOO MODY. Having said it, I will ask you to expunge it

MR CHAIRMAN He should withdraw it.

SHRI PILOO MODY: I will not only withdraw it, but I will ask you to expunge it

SHRI C. M. STEPHEN. I did not understand the meaning of the word used How did it come in? I can perfectly understand a person like Mr Mody, with his past association and all that, getting up and using that word But to apply it to me, is absolutely objectionable and to say 'I have used it. But you can expunge it' is something strange I demand, Sir, that he must be made to withdraw that word Expunging is your job If it is not parliamentary and dignified, he must be made to withdraw it

SHRI PILOO MODY That is precisely the point I am making When he is using words, as also all other people, like 'buffoonery', these are supposed to be acceptable terms

SHRI C. M. STEPHEN. I repeat that it is absolutely 'buffoonery' I am not withdrawing it

MR CHAIRMAN Implicitly your argument is that all such words do not behave the Parliament So, I would request you to kindly withdraw it

SHRI PILOO MODY I have done it even before you asked me. What are you telling me? I am just trying to make a point

MR CHAIRMAN I also direct that the words spoken in the vernacular as also in English stand expunged.

SHRI SHYAMNANDAN MISHRA Sir, is it your ruling that the term 'buffoonery' can easily be used against any person?

MR CHAIRMAN: 'Buffoonery' is not the word that he used at this juncture.

SHRI K. S. CHAVDA (Parna): While he was speaking, Mr. Stephen used that word 'buffoonery'

SHRI C. M. STEPHEN. I used that word, but nobody objected to it

MR CHAIRMAN That was when someone-else was in the Chair I am not concerned with it.

SHRI PILOO MODY Nobody objected when he used that word Why only he, even the Deputy Speaker, he also used it I am just trying to draw a parallel about what constitutes parliamentary dignity and decorum and how words like that should not be bandied about by people to whom the most charitable thing I may say is that their knowledge of English is not as strong as it should be

SHRI C. M. STEPHEN You belong to that class

SHRI PILOO MODY Coming back to the subject what I want to stress is that secret agencies are operating all over the world and they have been operating in India too And it has been established beyond doubt that the Government of India have, in fact on many occasions taken the help of these agencies when it suited them and when it has not suited them, they have used the names of these agencies to smear people in the Opposition They have called me, my Party, my colleagues and my friends by sundry names, CIA names, KGB names and such others that have been bandied about in this House as if it is nobody's business When these things are allowed under the tutelage and the patronage of the Chair, then, you allow it, and outside, the President of the Congress Party makes wild charges of this nature and the Prime Minister of this country goes and blesses those charges! That blessing is referred to over here, with great sanctimonious humbug, as warning to the nation Why do you have to warn us, warn yourself Because if secret agents want information about India, whom can they get it from? What information do I have to sell? It is

Mr. Pant who has got all the information; it is Mr. Raj Bahadur who has got all the information. It is the Prime Minister and her respected and confiding colleagues who have all the information. It is the officers of the Government who have all the information. These are the people that these agencies must seduce. What is the point of talking about it?

It is perhaps for that reason that it is considered by the Government that such information should not be divulged "in the national interest"—the congress party having made national interest synonymous to congress interest. Thank you.

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF HOME AFFAIRS (SHRI K C PANT) I have listened to the speeches that were delivered in the course of this Debate with great attention. Shri Piloo Mody who just spoke has introduced an element of humour into his remarks. All the Speakers, who spoke—whatever may be their variation in accents, whatever may be their variation in emphasis whatever may be the allegations and counter-allegations—all of them had a common thread running through their speeches. And that common thread was the concern—if I may say so, the overwhelming concern—for the security and integrity of our country, this was the common thread, and I think this common thread is in the ultimate analysis something that binds us together in our anxiety to see that our national life and our national values are preserved and protected and are not allowed to be subverted, and ultimately it is the concern of Parliament in this larger aspect of our national life which is the surest guarantee for all of us and for the people of this country.

During the Debate certain things were said which were somewhat wild, if I may say so. Shri Jyotirmoy Bosu said that BSF had been sent for training to Vietnam. This is fantastic non-sense. I am surprised that a responsible Member of this House says a

thing like that without caring to verify it.

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BOSU I got it verified.

SHRI K C PANT Mere assertion and repetition makes a thing worse and no better. He puts some words into the Prime Minister's mouth regarding the Baptist Church. There are persons in this country who belong to the Baptist Church. And I don't think that in a secular country anybody need say anything against any religion or any church.

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BOSU On a point of order. In the meeting of the Consultative Committee attached to the Home Ministry, when we discussed the CIA activities, the Prime Minister said that there were complaints of the Baptist Mission being involved with the CIA. You can let the matter be sent to the Privileges Committee, and I shall prove it there.

MR CHAIRMAN There is no point of order.

SHRI K C PANT As you have said Sir, there is no point of order. But just to bring it to the notice of the House that this Member is in the habit of making utterly irresponsible statements, I would like to quote from what the Prime Minister said at the consultative committee meeting I have before me here the minutes, because I had anticipated this. This was what she said.

"She could not say whether Baptist and other Missions were circulating particular points of view which were characterised as of CIA."

SHRI VASANT SATHE (Akola) So, she had said just the opposite.

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BOSU Since my name has been dragged in, may I submit.

MR CHAIRMAN The hon Minister is not yielding. So the hon. Member may kindly sit down.

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BOSU: Since my name has been dragged, I have got a right to be heard. . . .

MR. CHAIRMAN: He has had his say already. Now, let the hon. Minister have his say.

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BOSU: I am within my rights to point out that the Prime Minister talked about a professor in Simla and the Baptist Mission....

MR. CHAIRMAN: Now, let him not disturb the proceedings. He is going outside the rules now.

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BOSU: What are the rules that you want to quote now? Since my name has been dragged, I have a right to be heard. . .

MR. CHAIRMAN: The hon. Minister is only replying to the point made by him.

SHRI VASANT SATHE: The hon. Member has been proved false by the record. How does he say that his name has been dragged in? The hon. Minister has just read out from the minutes. (Interruptions).

MR. CHAIRMAN: Order, order. May I request the hon. Members not to have altercations with each other?

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BOSU: Since my name has been dragged in... **

SHRI PRABODH CHANDRA (Gurdaspur): **

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BOSU: **

MR. CHAIRMAN: Two blacks are not going to make white. So, let Shri Prabodh Chandra sit down. What he has said will not go on record, and what Shri Jyotirmoy Bosu has said will also not be recorded.

SHRI K. C. PANT: Then, we saw Shri Piloo Mody get up and say merily that 175 Members of Parliament were in the pay-roll of some foreign

firm. Is this the way to treat a serious debate of this kind in this House? Is it proper to cast this kind of aspersion on fellow-Members of this House? After all, unless we have a measure of respect for each other and a measure of respect for each other's integrity, how can this country function and how can the Parliament function? And I am amazed at how he has gone on merily to make this statement....

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BOSU: Why did they allow Bill Graham to go to border areas?

SHRI K. C. PANT: The hon. Member is utterly incorrigible.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Let not Shri Jyotirmoy Bosu disturb the proceedings in this manner. The hon. Minister has heard his point already, and he is now replying to it.

SHRI S M BANERJEE: Shri Piloo Mody has mentioned about 175 Members. That should be proved or else it should be withdrawn. I did not want to interrupt at the time he was speaking. Let him mention the names of those Members....

MR. CHAIRMAN: Let the hon. Member sit down, He is interrupting.

SHRI S. M. BANERJEE: I am not interrupting. Since the hon. Member has mentioned about 175 Members, I want to raise a point of order. In fact, I wanted to raise a point of order even while he was speaking. How can he make such a statement? Let him mention the names of all those Members.

MR. CHAIRMAN: The hon. Minister is replying to that point. So, let the hon. Member kindly bear with him.

SHRI PILOO MODY: May I explain something?...

**Not recorded.

MR. CHAIRMAN: I hope the hon. Minister has heard his speech and understood what he has said. He need not interrupt any further.

SHRI PILOO MODY: I would like to amplify it a little.

SHRI K. C. PANT: As the House is aware, this subject had come before the House in the form of a starred question on the 15th November. We had assured the House that Government were aware of the reports and statements that foreign intelligence agencies were active in different parts of the country and that they were maintaining a continuous watch over such activities. We had also made it known that such activities were not conducive to the promotion of mutual good relations. At the same time, we had urged. . .

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BOSU: What about the 1969 speech of Shri Yeshwantrao Chavan?

SHRI K. C. PANT: . . . that the disclosure of information which Government had in their possession on the details of what was done to counter the activities of foreign intelligence organisations including the CIA would not serve any public interest

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BOSU: Why was the CBI report not published? We want the report of 1967-68 of the enquiry conducted by intelligence branch. Why is it withheld?

MR. CHAIRMAN: Let him go the way he wants. Must he deal with it only in the manner you want?

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BOSU: I appeal to you to get a reply. Why is the intelligence branch report not being published? Whom are they shielding?

SHRI K. C. PANT: It has been said by my hon. friend Shri Indrajit Gupta and other Members also. I think it is well-known that the existence of intelligence agencies is a fact of life in the international world. We would

be in a world of self-delusion if we do not think that intelligence work was done in various countries. Every country has its own intelligence network. In the nature of things one could not perhaps object, even if one might object one could not prevent the collection of some intelligence. But the point is not only of intelligence. The most objectionable point, if I may say so, is when an attempt is made to interfere in the internal affairs of a country irrespective of international or diplomatic practices. We cannot connive at subversion masquerading as intelligence. No country can tolerate interference by any agency in the internal affairs of the country. We have all our values, our way of life and our Constitution, and at no cost shall we permit any foreign organisation to erode them.

We are an open society; we are proud of it. We know that India cannot isolate itself from the rest of the world. We have friendly relations and cultural exchanges with a large number of countries of varying ideological moorings. While promoting genuine cultural interflow we should be on guard that no one takes undue advantage of the openness of our society and interfere under some guise in our internal affairs.

Speaking only of the recent past, the House will recall that when the country stood united in the face of the challenges arising out of the freedom struggle of Bangla Desh no one, particularly no foreign influence, could weaken the country's resolve. After the liberation of Bangla Desh and in the months that followed, we had reasons to believe that the foreign agencies had become more active. The Prime Minister struck a note of warning. Shri Piloo Mody may find it amusing but the country took it seriously and that is what counts. . . . (Interruptions). In various forums such as meetings of political parties, newspapers and journals published from different parts of the country, the subject came up for discussion and

SHRI K. C. PANT: (the need for vigilance was fully endo need. I have referred to this because such a reaction is salutary and bears testimony to the fact that we are watchful.

SHRI G. VISWANATHAN: Normally you do not read.

SHRI K. C. PANT: I know. I have to give certain facts that I have, which facilitates matters; I will not read if you do not want me to read.

SHRI SHYAMNANDAN MISHRA: In such matters you must read. But Mr. Chairman, our difficulty is that the proceedings of the House do not get fully reported in newspapers. You have to do some thing about this. Only the Government speech gets space. Pressmen are our honoured guests in the gallery. But they do not do justice to the country or the country's representatives. Ministers come with voluminous speeches and those completely overwhelm all the others. The most unintelligent thing said by the Minister gets publicity.

MR. CHAIRMAN: The Chairman is hardly the officer to whom a complaint like this should be lodged. The forum of platform for complaining is completely different. In fact, the complaint of the Government is that they do not get proper reporting

SHRI SHYAMNANDAN MISHRA: The proceedings of the House should be fully reported. You are the custodian of our rights and you should do something about it. Otherwise, only one side appears.

SHRI S. M. BANERJEE: On a point of order. Sir, May I know whether under the rule, any member or members of this House can make an appeal to the press or to influence the press to publish their names and their speeches?

SHRI SHYAMNANDAN MISHRA: The man who has made this allegation never suffers on account of lack of publicity. It is in the country's interest that I am making this point.

SHRI SAMAR GUHA: That day I spoke for 45 minutes. But in the press, after giving the minister's reply, it was reported in the end, "The motion was raised by Shri Samar Guha!"

MR. CHAIRMAN: Today you had only, 2 minutes but you spoke for 23 minutes. I only hope the press will treat you charitably.

SHRI K. C. PANT: I saw Mr. Jyotirmoy Bosu also demonstrating. I would like to pass on to Mr. Mishra a tip I get from Mr. Bosu. He was briefing the press on what happened in the consultative committee meeting. Such briefings will ensure that everything comes into the press!

SHRI SHYAMNANDAN MISHRA: On a point of order, Sir. The minister cannot import anything that has been happening in their Central Hall or any place outside. It is the Government which is doctoring the newspapers. They are trying to corrupt the press. Even so, the integrity of the Indian press is not in doubt, by and large.

MR. CHAIRMAN: You have said that the integrity of the Indian press is not in doubt, by and large. That should suffice. I hope the protest you have made will be taken note of by the press.

SHRI VAYALAR RAVI: He is making an allegation that the Government is doctoring and corrupting the press. It is baseless. The Government is not doing it.

SHRI PRABODH CHANDRA: On a point of order, Sir.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Under what rule? If you have a serious point of order under some rule, you are entitled to raise it.

SHRI PRABODH CHANDRA: I am not Mr. Puro Mody. I am not humorous. I am serious. My point of order is, can an hon. member of this House make such a wild imputation against

all the members? He has said, we are trying to corrupt the press. (*Interruptions*).

SHRI SHYAMNANDAN MISHRA: It is a charge against the Government.

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BOSU: My complaint is that the journalists and reporters are pressurized by the government.... (*interruptions*).

SHRI RAJ BAHADUR: It is an insinuation and an insult to the press.... (*interruptions*).

SHRI SAMAR GUHA: Sir, on a point of order. You have observed that the press will take note of something. The chair can only say that the government will take note of it. So, the observations of the chair are not in conformity with the rules.... (*interruptions*).

MR. CHAIRMAN: There is no point of order.

SHRI K. C. PANT: We are drifting far away from the main subject of discussion.

I am sorry that Shri Indrajit Gupta sees shadows where there are none. As I was saying, many friends have referred to foreign money, the role of foreign money and expressed concern about it. As they know, the Intelligence Bureau conducted an inquiry as all sections of the House had demanded that they should do so. On this basis, a probe was made by the Intelligence Bureau into the allegations that foreign money was being used in the country to influence our political, social and economic institutions. We had made known to the House the severe limitations under which an intelligence organisation has to function. It cannot make open enquiries or record evidence. It has to rely on the secret sources of information which cannot be made public. With these limitations, it was not possible to make such reports public. At the same time, the general issues

thrown up as a result of the enquiry were fully shared with the House. It was pointed out that while any precise quantitative assessment of the financial assistance received was not possible, the indications were that it was selective and was not so small as to be ignored. It was also mentioned that it had been possible for foreign intelligence agencies to finance the activities of certain institutions and organisations working in their academic and research fields. Such institutions and organisations themselves might not have known the ultimate source from which assistance was being extended to them. or even that the scholarships or travel grants or other forms of monetary assistance they had received to carry on their academic or research work had been obtained from any foreign intelligence agency.

The House is aware that we had the Asia Foundation wind up its activities in the country. The House is also aware that Government set up a Council of Social Sciences Research with a suitable grant to review the progress of social science research and to sponsor research programmes in this field. The setting up of the Council, while considered necessary and desirable in itself, would also have the effect of reducing the dependence of Indian research institutions and scholars on foreign financial assistance for their worthwhile projects in this field.

SHRI JYOTIRMOY BOSU: The Minister says that an enquiry was conducted by the intelligence branch. Where is the report?

SHRI K. C. PANT: We had also touched on the problem of indirect financial assistance by foreign agencies to individuals and organisations of various descriptions in India. This takes many forms such as large commissions on sales of literature imported from abroad, subventions paid out of trade earnings by bilateral understanding between commercial enter-

[SHRI K. C. PANT.]

prises and recipient organisations, high advertisement charges, etc. Apart from creating special cells in the Intelligence Bureau or in the Directorate of Enforcement for undertaking a closer scrutiny of remittances, conversion etc., efforts are also being made to impose rigorously the existing provisions of law to curb malpractices.

The House is also aware that the Finance Minister has already introduced the Foreign Exchange Regulation (Amendment) Bill, 1972 which is presently under the consideration of the Joint Select Committee.

Some reference was made to the questionable activities of some foreign scholars in India. As I have stated earlier, we are in open society. We fully welcome genuine scholars and academicians. A country as rich in its variety and diversity as India is, will naturally fascinate academic scholars. At the same time, we should be careful that nothing adverse to the interests of the garb of academic pursuits. It is with this aim in view that we are formulating guide-lines for research by foreign scholars in India. While we will be happy to assist genuine foreign scholars to undertake researches on topics which create better understanding about India among their countrymen, it would also be necessary to exclude from the purview of such studies, problems relating to sensitive themes and areas, defence and security matters, etc.

The question of a Bill on foreign money has come up before the House several times and we have told the House that we are undertaking the drafting of a legislation to impose suitable restrictions on the receipt of foreign contributions by individuals and institutions in the country with a view to ensuring that our parliamentary institutions, political organisations, academic and other voluntary organisations working in important areas of national life are able to func-

tion in a manner consistent with the public. This would naturally be a somewhat complicated legislation. We also have to exercise care to ensure that while a legislation fulfils its dominant objective, no undue harassment is caused to those pursuing their legitimate *bona fide* avocations. We hope to be able to introduce this legislation shortly.

I am glad that we have had a full discussion on the subject. There no doubt that public debates such these tend to strengthen the sense of determination and resolve of the people and the country. It is unfortunate that some persons in Parliament and elsewhere have chosen to make a travesty of this matter. A sense of humour is a good thing but then the security or integrity of the country is no laughing matter.

We are all aware of the difficult battle we are waging on the economic front. At heavy odds, we are resolved to remove poverty and attain self-reliance. We are only too conscious of the fact that the problems of the country cannot be wished away overnight. Patience and understanding are as essential as hard work and determination. It is in this context that one should take care that grievances however genuine are not utilised and exploited by some to defeat and destroy the larger constructive efforts of the nation.

Sir, I am sure, the basic purpose of the debate to ensure that no foreign agency is allowed to interfere in our internal matters or is allowed to subvert the values of the country will be achieved. This consider as a central theme of most of the speakers who have highlighted it at this juncture and that is a very useful thing which will have a very salutary effect on the whole country.

18.30 hrs.

[The Lok Sabha then adjourned till Eleven of the Clock on Wednesday, December 13, 1972 (Agrahayana 22, 1894 (Saka)].