

perhaps drug racket in the country. So the workers have decided and are demanding that this industry should be nationalised in the interests of the workers as well as of the country.

14.08 hrs.

RE. POSSIBLE CLOSURE OF FLOUR MILLS

SHRI VASANT SATHE (Akola) : I would only like to bring to the notice of the Government and the House the serious situation of the flour mills in the country. It is reported that these flour mills, which were using about 3.5 tons of wheat a year are now getting only 25% of their requirements and they are, therefore, about to close down. They serve a very useful purpose in giving the best, clean atta and other wheat products to the people. It is also well known that about 3% to 4% of wheat gets destroyed in the ordinary 'chakki' and they cannot give it in such a clean manner also. So, both from the point of view of hygiene of the people and saving, the flour mills should be properly utilised in the interests of the country. I would request the Government to make a note of this and see that the flour mills of the country and their capacity are fully utilised in the national interest.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : Shri Madhu Dandavate

श्री हुकुमचन्द कडवाई (मुरता) : उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं ने कौनसा अपराध किया है ?

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER : You can take some other opportunity.

श्री हुकुमचन्द कडवाई . आप ने अन्य सदस्यों को मौका दिया है । आप मुझे भी मौका दियिए ।

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER . My problem is that if I allow you, I will have to allow Mr. Banerjee, he will insist on it.

14.08 hrs.

DEMANDS FOR GRANTS, 1975-76—

MINISTRY OF DEFENCE—Contd.

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE (Rajapur) : Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir,

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the other day I was saying that there are four important aspects of Defence that need our consideration and I was dealing with the long-term Defence aspect Sir, in the 1972 aggression by China, it was established very clearly that unless we are able to plan our defence with a long-range perspective, peaceful approach towards planning is always going to undermine the objective and purpose of our defence

(Interruptions)

The 1962 aggression, in a way, was a blessing in disguise because it established, for the first time, the imperative need for a long-term planing, and as a result of that, the first Plan that was made was from 1964 to 1969 and then came to the Plan 1969 to 1974. It was again intercepted by the happenings of 1971.

Even after accepting this concept of long-term defence planning, it has been the consistent complaint of all those connected with defence planning that adequate resources have not been made available for defence planning. Planning is related with development and development is connected with research. I placed before the House last time as to what was the percentage of GNP that was made available for defence research in this country and as a result of which our progress in the field of defence research has miserably failed.

There is another aspect to which I would like to draw the attention of the House, and that is, the misuse of the army in the country. For the defence of the country, it is necessary that the link between the people and the army must be retained. The defence of the country is to be conducted on two planes : one is on the plane of the army and the second is on the plane of the people. There are a number of defence activities which are to be undertaken by people's participation and, therefore, a liaison between the army and the people is highly essential. If efforts are made by the Government to misuse the army for quelling the agitations in the country, for destroying the workers' agitations, for destroying the agitations launched by the kisans, in that case a feeling of ill-will towards the army will develop in the minds of the people and this will be extremely harmful to the long-term defence planning and perspective.

(Prof. Madhu Dandavate)

In this connection I would like to quote a very significant recommendation that has been made by the Study Team of the Administrative Reforms Commission. In one of their recommendations they have said :

"There is an urgent need to curb the increasing tendency to call for the assistance of the armed forces in aid of the civil power to quell internal disorders."

This recommendation makes it extremely clear that, if the confidence of the people in the army is to be retained, if co-operation between the people and the army is to be enlisted, then it is highly essential that the armed forces must not be misused to quell the internal disorders or internal disturbances in the country. I can understand if there are communal riots. But if the working class movements, the legitimate agitations of the people, the students' movement, the teachers' agitations and so on are to be destroyed and disrupted with the help of the armed forces, in that case a cleavage will develop between the army and the people, and that is the most dangerous situation. If a precedent is set up in the country that, whenever there are floods, we enlist the support of the army, if there are communal disturbances again we rely on the army, if famine operations are to be taken up we rely on the army, if there are agitations of the people and they are to be suppressed, we again enlist the services of the army, then among the minds of the people a feeling may come that this force is an alternative source of authority and, therefore, some ambitious elements in the army might be provoked to think on these lines : every time we are invited to take up certain operations, why not offer our services on our own to take up that responsibility ? And that would be the most dangerous situation in the country. Therefore, in the interest of democracy and in the interest of defence perspectives, it is highly essential that the army must not be misused. This point of view which I have expressed here is consistent with the recommendation that has been made by the Administrative Reforms Commission.

There is another aspect to which I would like to draw the attention of the House, and that is the Parliamentary control of the defence activities. It is

customary in all the advanced countries, in the highly democratic countries like the U.K., France, U.S.A. and also other countries, to seek Parliamentary approval for the defence expenditure. It is essential that not only are the budget estimates for defence kept before the Parliament concerned, but even the perspectives and the objectives of defence are placed before Parliament. There is a discussion and debate, and the perspectives and objectives of defence are always approved by the Parliament.

Mr. Melvin Laird, American Secretary of State for Defence, in his annual Defence Department report for the financial year 1973 has highlighted this point. A series of articles appeared on what he had stated. Not only in some of the countries to which I have made a reference, but in quite a good number of countries it was stated that what he has said regarding seeking the approval of the Parliament concerned for the general perspectives and objectives of Defence is highly essential; then only it would be possible to enlist the people's support for the defence activities and Parliament's sanction for these activities.

There is another aspect to which I have to draw your attention, and that is the nuclear option. At the present stage of our development I do not want to take a quixotic position that we must go in for a large-scale manufacture of nuclear weapons. Ultimately the resources that will have to be mobilised for the manufacture of nuclear weapons will not be made available to our country to-day and, therefore, I do not want to take that attitude that unless we are able to build up nuclear weapons in our country, the defence of the country cannot be strengthened at all.

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER : Have you read the plutonium connection report ? It says only \$ 10,000 is required if you want to manufacture a nuclear bomb.

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE : Not only that, I have also gone through the speech of Dr Bhabha delivered at a meeting of the Atomic Energy Commission in Geneva wherein he said that if you want to construct a stock-pile of 50 atomic bombs, in that case, the expenditure will be Rs. 10 crores. It will be Rs. 15 crores if a similar stock-pile of hydrogen bomb is to be constructed. Of course, it, 1975

as that price level and now it would have gone up. This expenditure which was mentioned does not include the expenditure on the missile system at all. It only mentions the manufacturing expenditure.

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER : Now they say that nuclear weapons can be manufactured privately.

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE : I do not think it is advisable to encourage manufacture of nuclear weapons in the private sector.

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER : I am talking about what is developing in the world.

SHRI PILOO MODY (Godhra) : See what happens when you read so much in the morning.

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE : In this connection all that I would like to say is that though it is not advisable at this stage to incur a large expenditure on manufacture of nuclear weapons, we must be very clear in our mind that we must keep the nuclear options open and I think the former Defence Minister during the debate on Defence demands last year did indicate that though we do not want to go into the manufacture of nuclear weapons, we have kept that option open.

There is another aspect to which I would like to draw attention. Very often it is posed as if we have to utilise nuclear technology for peaceful purposes or we have to utilise it only for the manufacture of nuclear weapons. There are five or six steps which are quite common for both the processes. In fact there are five or six processes which will be common whether you harness nuclear energy for manufacture of weapons or you want to acquire nuclear technology. After the new weapon of oil wielded by the Arab nations, it has become absolutely necessary that we must also go in for alternative sources of energy. With the developments that have taken place in our country in nuclear technology, it may be possible for our country to harness nuclear energy for certain technological developments. For extraction of oil or for extraction of gases, probably, this nuclear energy can be harnessed and if that is done, probably an alternate source of energy will be available and that will strengthen our defences.

There is one more aspect which I would like to draw attention to, at the end. Ultimately if the defence of the country is to be strengthened and if people's participation in the defence preparedness is also to be strengthened, then the people's stake in the defence of the country is important. In the Second World War when U.K. forces fought in the defence of liberty, the people of U.K. and the Armed Forces of U.K. felt that they have got a stake in the defence of democratic institutions. When the Russians participated in the Second World War, whatever may be our viewpoints about socialist system of governments, every Russian felt that he had to defend the gains of the 1916 Revolution. Similarly, if people's participation in the defence of a country is to be ensured, then we must create a stake for the people and a stake for the Armed Forces in the defence of an egalitarian system in the country. Therefore, I will end with a very significant note and a significant experience. There is a prominent Defence Officer. He was in the Chinese front. I do not want to mention his name. I happened to meet him. He was in the Chinese prisoners-of-war camp. In 1962 he was arrested by the Chinese and was kept in their camp. He was subjected to brain washing and he was asked a question : 'Why are you actually imposing these rigours on your life ? Why are you sacrificing your life ? When he said, 'I am defending the country, I am defending my motherland', he was told by the Chinese officers, 'Which motherland ? That country in which because you happen to be a Scheduled Caste officer, while you are defending the country on the northern border, your mother, your sister and your wife are not permitted to draw water from the village well and they have to trek 10 miles daily to fetch a pot of water ?'

That is the society you are defending. That Officer told them 'that was because I had patriotic intentions and my patriotism was deeply rooted. I was not affected by the Chinese propaganda'.

I want to ask the Defence Minister that if members of the Defence Forces experience such calamities in their lives when they come from Adivasi and Scheduled Caste, families and when their families are subjected to such hardships and iniquitous treatment because they happen to belong to the disadvantaged section, in that case, will not their patriotic

[Prof. Madhus Danwar]

sentiments be affected' if they are not assured of an equitable treatment ?

Therefore, we must ensure in this country that the Armed Forces that are defending the country and giving their all to defend the glory of this country should not be subjected to such social inequalities. If that is assured, then the defence of the country can be strengthened.

With these few words, I conclude

श्री बलराम सिंह (होशियारपुर) : उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, इस बात की खुशी है कि आज के डिफेंस मिनिस्टर पहले से सारी दुनिया के हालात को जानते हैं उन्होंने सारी दुनिया की अच्छी तरह से जाच भी की हुई है। आज यह डिफेंस में बंशक ज्यादा गहराई से काम करने के लिए उत्सुक है,। आज दुनिया बहुत छोटी हो गई है। कोई अगर यह कहे कि आज मुझे किसी मुल्क में जाना बहुत मुश्किल है तो वह जमाना चला गया और रोज बरोज स्पीड से जा रहा है। आज के साइटिफिक एज में हम एक दिन में हजारों मील का सफर तय कर सकते हैं और जितने मील का हथियार आज तयार हो रहे हैं वह तो तो दुनिया को और भी छोटा कर दे रहे हैं। इसलिये आज कान्फेशन से बात नहीं बनेगी आज कोबापरेशन से बात बनती है। इसलिए हिन्दुस्तान की सरकार ने और यहां के लोगों ने यह फैसला किया हुआ है कि हम दुनिया में कोबापरेशन से चलना चाहते हैं, कान्फेशन से नहीं। कान्फेशन से हम ने देखा है कि दुनिया की सबाही होती है। अभी हम से कह रहे हैं, बडे बंग से कह रहे थे कि हमें बय बवाना चाहिए। मैं सबसता हूं कि आज तो उस की बेल्ट बंटस की हो सकती है। इस से ज्यादा नहीं है। दुनिया में जितने मालिक हथियार आज बन रहे हैं वह तो दुनिया को डराने के लिए ही बनते हैं। एक दफा बने तो सारा बंकार बल हो बरफ़ा। कौन चाहता है कि हम उस के लिए तैयार करें? हम अपने मुल्क की एकोनामिक कंडिशन को बनाने के लिए

न्यूक्लियर का कवर इस्तीफा करने और सकल तर्जिमे करने और जितने हथियार बेकारपेंट के काम हैं उन में वह काम जा बके तो उसे तैयार से बचाने की जरूरत है। लेकिन हम नहीं चाहते हैं कि दुनिया में ऐसा माहौल पैदा किया जाय जिस से कि हम भी न्यूक्लियर कंफेन इस्तेमाल करे और उसके लिए न्यूक्लियर हथियार तैयार करे जो बाईस कर रहा है। चाईना ने जो हथियार तैयार कर रखे हैं और जो कवर तैयार किया हुआ है वह तिव्वत की तरफ से वह कवर हमारी और दे सकता है और कभी भी हमला कर सकता है। दूसरे देश कभी ऐसा ही बना रहे हैं। आज अगर हम भी इस तरफ लग जाय तो इसका मतीजा खतरनाक हो सकता है।

शैब्यूल कास्ट का नाम ले कर बहुत सीरियस बात उन्होंने कही। जब हम सोशलिस्ट समाज एक बना रहे हैं तो उस में सब लोगों को हमे साथ लेकर चलना है, इस में कोई दो राय नहीं है। जो पीछे है उन्हें आगे लाना है। लेकिन उसका हवाला दे कर इस बात को साबित करना की ऐसी बातें फौज में हो रही हैं, यह तो ऐसी बात है जो रोज यहा होती है। वह यह चाहते हैं कि डिस्प्लिन नहीं इडिस्प्लिन हो फौज में और इडिस्प्लिन हो पुलिस में।

जो हमारी डिस्प्लिन्ड फौज है उसको इस ढंग से तोड़ने की कोशिश की जा रही है कि उन बेचारों के लिये कोई कुछ नहीं कर रहा है।

मैं सबसता हूं कि अजब अगर हिन्दुस्तान जिन्दा है तो हमारी इन नेशनलिस्ट फोर्सों की बजह से जिन्दा है और सारे बंकार में इस बात के लिये मजहूर है। उन के अन्दर कोई कम्युनिज्म नहीं है, किरकेवारी का सबाज नहीं है बें बिकें एक बालू जानते हैं कि जपवी अग्रह पर मजबूती के साथ खड़े हो कर उनकी उस को उस की शिफायज करती है। हिन्दुस्तान को बहुत ही कम जर्से में तीन जंभी का मुकाबला करना पडा। 1962 में पाकान ने हम पर हमला किया और हमला कर के हमारी इकायों की

सोवियत संघ की अखण्डता को बचाव की। उस के बाद 1965 में पाकिस्तान ने हमला किया, फिर 1971 में पाकिस्तान ने हमला किया। मैं जो लिख जगें हुई— इन तीन 'कों' का अंतर हमारे लोगों पर झड़ना लाजमी था, लेकिन हमारी फौजों ने कभी कोई कमी नहीं जाने दी और जो बंग महीनों चलती, उस को कुछ ही दिनों में खत्म किया और पाकिस्तान को करारी शिकस्त दी।

बहु एक दोस्त ने कहा कि जब एम्बारों उठ खिचा गया है तो हिन्दुस्तान को उस से फायदा उठाना चाहिये। मैं समझ नहीं सका कि किस से फायदा उठाना है। क्या हम ने नहीं देखा कि 1965 में अमरीका ने हमारे साथ क्या किया, किस वक्त हम को हथियार दिए। 1971 में उस ने जो हमारे साथ किया—उस को हम भूल नहीं सकते। हम कैसे यू०एस०एस०आर०को भूल सकते हैं जिस के वक्त पर हमारी मदद की, हमें दोस्त और दुश्मन को पहचानना होगा। यह एम्बारों किस के लिये उठाया गया है, हिन्दुस्तान की मदद के लिये नहीं उठाया गया है, पाकिस्तान की मदद करने के लिये, उस को हथियार देने के लिये, उस को फौजी तौर पर लैस करने के लिये, उस को हमारे खिलाफ भड़काने के लिये और इस बात के लिये कि हिन्दुस्तान पर फिर से नये सिरे से हमला किया जाय, इस बात के लिये एम्बारों उठाया गया है। इसी लिये वे उन को पूरी ताकत दे रहे हैं, ऐसी हालत में वे हम को कैसे ताकत दे सकते हैं। मैं यह बात उनके खिलाफ इस लिये नहीं कह रहा हूँ कि हमें उन से कोई दुश्मनी है, लेकिन वे हमारी साथ दोस्ती भी नहीं कर रहे हैं। यह चीज सिर्फ हथियार के मामले में ही नहीं है, दूसरे मामलों में भी ये वाक्यात हमारे सामने हैं—बाहे खुराक का असला ही हो या दूसरे मतले हों, उन्होंने यह रवैया अखियार किया है जो एक तरह से हमारी मुर्दागिकत करता है।

एक बात धुलाई नहीं 'जा सकली'—उन के सी०आइ०ए०के जो टाइटरेक्टर बकरल है, उन्होंने एक बयान दिया है, जिस में उन्होंने कहा है—बारे संसार में हम सब एलीमिन्ट्स की मदद करेंगे जो हमारे साथ हैं, बसक उस सरजमीन में बैठ कर वे कइ की सरकार का तक्ता उलटने की कोशिश करते हों। ऐसे लोगों से हम क्या उम्मीद करें, हम कैसे समझें कि वे हमारी मुर्दागिकत नहीं कर रहे हैं। अगर हम यह समझ कर बैठ जाय कि वे हमारी मदद कर रहे हैं, तो मैं तो यह समझता हूँ कि वह झूठे मूद कर बैठ जाने के बराबर है। इस लिये बहुत आसानी से यहा पर कह देना, चलते-चलते सरसरी तौर पर कह देना कि एम्बारों उठाये जाने का फायदा उठाया जाना चाहिये—मुझे बतलाइये किस से फायदा उठाये, क्या अमरीका से फायदा उठाये? अमरीका हमारा मददगार नहीं है वह तो पाकिस्तान को हर तरह से मजबूत करना चाहता है।

मैं आप से अर्ज करना चाहता हूँ कि आज हमें अपनी जरूरियात पर नजरसानी करनी चाहिये। आज हमें लांग—डीप—रेंज—पैनी ट्रेजान—क्रेफ्टस चाहिये, उसको हासिल करने की कोशिश करनी चाहिए और ज्यादा से ज्यादा उसपर जोर देना चाहिये—क्योंकि आज दूसरे मुल्कों के पास, के और किसी का नाम मेन्शन किये कह रहा हूँ, हमारे इदगिब के मुल्कों के पास ऐसे हथियार है जो हमारे टारगेट्स पर हमला कर के वापस जा सकते हैं।

मैं नेवी के बारे में मैं कुछ कहना चाहता हूँ—कोचीन और गोवा में क्या आप उन को बसिज बनाना चाहते हैं या एअर के सुगुर्द करना चाहते हैं—बहु जो, जपड़ा चल रहा है, इस का फंसला होना चाहिए और कोई पेंडिंग इस के लिये खलियार किधा जामा चाहिये। मैं इस के बारे में और ज्यादा नहीं कहना चाहता

[जी बखारा सिंह]

हमारे यहां जो आयल-क्रासिच है, इस के बारे में गवर्नमेंट आफ इंडिया की पालिसी एक सही पालिसी रही है। जहां तक अरबों का साल्यूक है, हम ने उस की पूरी मदद की और ऐसे वक्त में जब कि उन को हमारी मदद की जरूरत थी। यहां पर लोग कहते थे कि हम उनकी मदद किस लिये कर रहे हैं, बेइजराइल के हक में बहुत कुछ कह रहे थे, लेकिन आज सही पालिसी हमारे काम आ रही है और अब स्वेच नहर के खुलने से, जो 5 जून को खुली रही है, उससे हमारा पांच हजारमील का डिस्टेंस घटेगा और इससे ट्रांसपोर्ट पर भी हमारा खर्चा होता था, उस में जो बचत होगी, उस को हम दूसरे कामों में लगा सकते हैं, मिलिट्री के कामों में लगा सकते हैं।

हमारी डिफेंस में काफी इम्पुवमेंट्स हुई हैं - मैं उसका वक्त उन का खिक नहीं करना चाहता हूं, क्योंकि वक्त बहुत कम है। लेकिन इस वक्त हमारे सामने कुछ प्राब्लेम्स हमारे दक्स-सर्विसमें की हैं। मैं खास तौर से उनका खिक करना चाहता हूं, जिन्होंने बहुत पहले सर्विस छोड़ दी थी। उनको जो पेन्शन मिल रही है, आज की बढती हुई महगाई को देखते हुए वह बहुत कम है। पचास हजार के करीब पर्सनल हर साल रिलीज होते हैं जो 35-40 साल की उम्र के लोग होते हैं, उनके लिये हमें कोई रोजगार खुशिया करना चाहिए। मैं यह जानता हूं कि इस में सरकार की कुछ प्राब्लेम है, लेकिन हमें उनको इस काबिल जरूर बनाना चाहिये, जिस से वे कामधन्धे में लग सके, कोई न कोई रोजगार चला कर अपना गुजारा कर सके।

फ्लड्स के लिये आर्मी का इस्तेमाल किया जाता है - यह बहुत अच्छी बात है। मकान बनाने या दूसरे कामों में उनका इस्तेमाल होता है - वह भी बहुत अच्छी बात है। लेकिन यहां पर यह भी कहा गया कि उन का इस्तेमाल जमता के खिलाफ किया जाता है - यह गलत बात है। इस के लिये पुलिस कोर्स है, अगर

कहीं कुछ मोन जा-एन्च आर्डर को बिबाइते हैं तो उस के लिये पुलिस कोर्स है, फौज का इस्तेमाल नहीं होता है। फौज तो नहीं भेजी जाती है जहां बिस्कुल जरूरी हो जाता है। जो लोग अनलाफुल तरीक से दूसरों को मारना चाहते हैं, राइटस करना चाहते हैं देश को तोड़ना चाहते हैं - सब के खिलाफ जब बहुत जरूरी हो जाता है, तभी इनका इस्तेमाल होता है।

यहां पर बहुत सी बातें कही गई हैं - अलग अलग प्रदेशों के बारे में कहा गया है - मैं पंजाब के बारे में कुछ नहीं कहना चाहता हूं। आपने 60 परसेंट का कोटा फिक्स किया है - आल-क्लासेसज के सिबों की जिये, आप पंजाब, हरियाणा और राजस्थान को एग्रीकल्चरिस्ट सूबा बनाये रखना चाहते हैं, तो बनाइए। मैं बार्डर स्टेट्स हैं - आप वहां हैवी इण्डस्ट्रीज नहीं देना चाहते हैं - मत दिजिये, लेकिन जो मरने के लिये आता है, उस को लेने से क्यों इन्कार करते हैं, वह आप से कुछ नहीं मागता है। 1965 की जनवरी में मैं होम मिनिस्टर था, जब मैं यहां आया तो लोगों ने यह कहा कि जग तो पंजाब और पाकिस्तान के बीच में हो रही है - क्या अजीब बात है। हमें इस किस्म की बातें कहने से गुरेज करना चाहिये जिस का लोगों पर गलत अमर पड़ता हो।

SHRI BIRENDER SINGH RAO (Mahendragarh) : I am very happy to say that the pay and allowances of the defence service officers have been enhanced by the Government. They are generally happy. But the jawan in the Indian defence services is still the most poorly paid government servant in the country. He has not got enough. I would expect the Government to pay attention to increasing further his pay, allowances and pension. He cannot go on strike ; he cannot ask for bonus and overtime allowance. He has to lead a very rigorous life away from home and family.

India is passing through a critical period. Our sea-coast is about 6,000 kilometres long and when we see the various dangers facing us, we feel that the Indian Navy is still not sufficiently strong. Its striking air arm is only carrier-based.

The allocation of Rs. 134 crores out of Rs. 2,000 crores for the defence services is a very small amount. I would request the Defence Minister to see that this vast country really has a strong navy as soon as possible. We are without long range strike planes. I would expect that something would be done at the earliest to improve MIG-21; if possible, we may bring pressure upon the Soviet Government to give us MIG-23. Without that, so far as the air arm is concerned, whether we admit it or not, we are still weak. I should like to talk about the present recruitment policy of the Government. Nobody would deny that every Indian has the right to get recruited to the Indian Army or Navy or Air Force but certain minimum standards must be maintained. Soldiers are not made overnight. I maintain that a soldier is bred. Heredity, environment, tradition, family and the area make a soldier. The recruitment policy of getting people from all over the country on the basis of male recruitable population is to my mind dangerous. In certain places the standards of physical fitness are set very high. For most of the northern so-called martial castes, the height required is 168 cm. But for certain classes you have reduced it to 162 or even to 159 cm. We want tough, hefty soldiers for our Indian Army if we really want to give a good fight to Pakistan; if there is a conflict again we want to show that India has better soldiers than Pakistan. There should be uniformity in physical standards and representation in the army should not be at the cost of efficiency.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : Napoleon Bonaparte was just over 5 feet.

SHRI BIRENDER SINGH RAO : There are always exceptions as in the case of hill tribes in India. Everybody knows that the Pakistani soldier is a first-class soldier; some of our soldiers are just as good. Soldiers die for certain traditions; they have certain characteristics in their blood and we must not change our policy so suddenly. A trader will be a trader; I cannot become a trader. A man belonging to the soldier's family cannot become a businessman. Everybody cannot become a good businessman; similarly everybody cannot become a good soldier. It requires a few generations to become a really good soldier as in the case of any trade or profession. I do not agree with those who say that Pakistan does not pose any real threat to India. We have seen in the past that

Pakistan had always taken an aggressive attitude. There have been three conflicts. There might be a conflict again. We cannot forget what General Niazi said on return to Pakistan: "We will return again to take revenge". Pakistan is smarting under the humiliation that it suffered at the hands of our Defence Forces. The Pakistan army is full of fanatic young officers. It will try to rehabilitate its prestige and that has always been Pakistan's policy. They know there is no chance for Pakistan in long drawn out war because of the depth of this vast country and its resources and its vast population. Pakistan always wants to get some advantage in a short war knowing that the world forces would not allow the war to prolong; they will again try it. We must be prepared to meet it... (Interruptions) Mr. Pilo Mody does not know... (An Hon. Member... What war is). I have been a soldier and once a soldier one is always a soldier. We cannot disregard facts and close our eyes on what we have been facing so far. Some people say: India need not worry. It is wedged in between Pakistan and China. The Arab countries are supporting Pakistan with arms and ammunition; China is there and the United States is there. India has to depend upon only one friendly country for its arms and ammunitions supply. So, India needs a larger allocation of money towards its defence. 4% or so of our GNP is not enough. We want to spend more. India must have a first class army because defence of the country should get the first priority after food.

A few words about the soldiers' welfare. The soldier still feels he is neglected. I am sorry to say that even now, after 28 years of independence, the soldiers remember the British days when they were better looked after. Now they have to run after a bag of cement or a kilo of sugar when they come home on leave. There are instructions that soldiers' families will be looked after by the civilian officers but even a military officer is not being cared for. He does not get respect if he goes to even a small official of the revenue department. They must ensure that civil authorities have proper respect for soldiers. There are about 50,000 to 60,000 ex-servicemen coming out of the army every year, most of them in the age group 30-33, young and well-trained. They are very honest compared to other people. They must get reservation of posts all over wherever they

[Shri Birender Singh Rao]

can, be accommodated. Certain States have reserved posts for them, but not all States. Our para-military forces like BSF and CRP must have at least 70 to 80 per cent of the posts reserved for ex-servicemen so that they can be rehabilitated.

It is the rehabilitation of the soldier respect and the welfare of his family that is going to increase the efficiency and morale of our fighting forces. Certain areas which have been foremost in supplying recruits, best soldiers and naval officers to the Defence Services are neglected. As an hon. member said, there should be a policy of rewarding the village communities from where certain people have shown exceptional acts of gallantry. For example, Haryana got two Mahavir Chakras out of the total of 8 Mahavir Chakras awarded to the Indian Navy in 1971. Both the winners belonged to my constituency. I am happy to say that. Haryana is a landlocked State, mostly dry, with very small rainfall. These two brave people who fought on the sea were from Rewari constituency, but their villages are still without drinking water. It is a shame for the country. Why could not this Government think of providing roads or drinking water or certain other facilities to the village communities that produce brave fighters ?

A few words about corruption creeping into the army. It is a very regrettable thing that people are talking of action being taken against Generals. Two Generals were mentioned in the House. Another General is under inquiry in the Northern Command. There were days before independence when an army officer had such a high sense of honour as a gentleman that if he could not get his mess bills paid in time, he would shoot his brain off. But now there is corruption all over. It is creeping in the army, because it is there in civil life. That is why I must say that the Army must be kept isolated from this corrupt civil life in the country. It must not be used in aid of civil authorities (Interruptions). You have another army—these para-military forces which is as big as army itself. Why should Army be used at all to meet the present agitations and for crushing the people's rights ?

One word more and I finish. Sir, there are groups of Army regiments, named after certain classes. There are

Sikh, Jat, Rajput and other regiments (Interruptions) I am happy that they are continuing, because that gives the soldier something additional, to feel proud of. I would mention the case of the Kumaon regiment.

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER : Now please close.

SHRI BIRENDER SINGH RAO : I have the honour to belong to it. They have supplied two commander-in-chief in the past, and a third one from that Regiment is soon taking over.

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER : I have given you your extra 5 minutes.

SHRI BIRENDER SINGH RAO : One minute more and I will finish. Because it is called Kumaon regiment, people do not know the existence of two classes in it, viz. the Kumanese and the Ahirs. We have heard about the brave action of one company in 1962 called the Thernopiac of India. One company of Ahirs belonging to the 13th Kumaon regiment stood against one full division of the Chinese Army to the last man. 114 men laid down their lives and killed 1500 Chinese ; but nobody knows that they belong to another class, forming part of the Kumaon regiment. So, I would suggest that the Defence Minister organises regiments for classes which were left out, for the reason that they fought against the British during 1857. If he would not create a separate Ahir Regiment, let the Kumaon Regiment be renamed Ahir-Kumaon Regiment.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : Now Mr. Aga.

SHRI SYED AHMED AGA (Bara-mulla) : The hon. Mr. Danudavate saluted the officer of the Army who did not come under the influence of the Chinese. I salute entire army because army has ignored the sermon of JP to disobey. I salute them. Sir, Mr. Kissinger, when he was here, said that the Americans will not enter into any kind of arms race in this sub-continent ; but soon after he left, USA completely forget about it and they lifted the arms embargo for Pakistan ; Pakistan is now buying arms, besides China and the U.S.A., from all over the world. Pakistan is no threat to us ; I can understand it ; I also remember that only 3 years back in the Bangladesh war, one lakh men of their army surrendered themselves to us

They were just taken prisoners. But even then I am concerned about Pakistan's activities because simultaneously the United States has established a base at Diego Garcia ; and very sophisticated type of armaments are going to be kept there. It is a threat for us, who have a long coastline of 3000 miles. It is not a small thing. Diego Garcia and the arms purchases by Pakistan should certainly make us a little more anxious ; and we should make active preparations to face this situation. Pakistan has already got 5 divisions on the the Afghan border. Pakistan is trying to de-stabilize the situation. This de-stabilization effort in this sub-continent, plus the Diego Garcia threat are to be taken into account. Our oil supplies coming from Persian Gulf can be obstructed by U.S. because of their bases at Mascra, Gowder and Makaran. The oil channel to us can be struck at any time. Therefore, the Diego Garcia base is threatening us and threatening our long coast line of 3,000 miles. So, the time has come when we should enter into consultation with our trusted friend, the Soviet Union, and take such steps which will protect our newly-won freedom. It is only 25 years since we have achieved our freedom and we have to preserve that from such powers which want to create trouble for us and that are neocolonialist.

Now look at Indo-China. What did they do there ? Look at the Middle East. They want to create only local conflicts. They do not want a big war, a global war. As my friend, Shri Darbara Singh said just now, they do not want to get finished in the process. Out of the 30,000 nuclear weapons which the United States has, about 15,000 are in Asia. They are certainly not going to use them. So, they will only encourage local conflicts, and we are within the danger zone also because of our long coast line.

I would also like to emphasize in this context that since South Africa is becoming nuclear, it is a threat to the Indian Ocean area and a threat to the Indian Ocean is a threat to us because of the oil supply through the Indian Ocean. Therefore, I would say that we should take such steps as would enable us to have a system of security in Asia, because it is Asia which is the target of the United States. I, therefore, suggest that the Government should give thought to collective security. With these words, I support the demands.

SHRI PILOO MODY (Godhra) :
Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, I am intervening in this debate only for the purpose of sharing my concern with the members and the country at large about the manner in which we have been going about our shopping all around the world for our armaments. We just heard two worthy speakers of the Congress Party giving us an inclination how to decide who are our friends, who are our enemies, what we should do with our friends and what we should do with our enemies, incidentally also suggesting that we should slowly ease our way into the orbit of our friends'. Therefore, I thought it was imperative that we should evaluate, some of us at least, what our friends have been doing to the shopping that goes on round the world.

We have been, there is no secret about it, roaning round the world, especially since the last war with Pakistan, shopping round the world. Sir, you will recall, it was with Sweden that we had arranged to buy some *krestya* submarines. When it was at the closing stage, almost finished, our 'friends' persuaded us that they could supply some equipment' better equipment, from their own sources.

In France we had gone shopping for Mirages. A top air force delegation had gone to purchase 20 Mirages from France. The deal was almost closed and we were going to fly-in our order, to take delivery. Somebody around here—I do not know where they come from—stopped us, the deal was cancelled and we were promised that we would be given MIG-23s, instead of Mirages. We called off the deal with France and waited, and in fact we are still waiting ; and this was some two or three years ago. After months of waiting, we were finally told that the supply would not be made of MIG-23 but an improved version of MIG-21 because it would be better all the way round and, in any case, we would be able to manufacture it later on in our own country. The Russians are very clever. They know exactly that will touch us. As soon as they say that they are giving us something which we will be able to manufacture in the country before long, we will immediately fall a prey to it, or we will use it as an excuse for doing the wrong thing, instead of doing the right thing.

By this time, the Air Force brass was thoroughly fed up and went back to France. for the Mirages, and "Sorry" said

[Shri Piloo Mody]

France. They said that production is booked for the next four years. In the first instance, the Mirage was available off the shelf because these Mirages had been produced for Israel, but because of the arms embargo that France had placed on Israel, they were going to be sold. But then we were not prepared to buy. When we went back to them again, we were told that we have to wait for four years, because they have already sold these Mirages.

The delegation when moved on to England to negotiate for the Jaguar aircraft, which was being offered on very favourable terms. Again, the Russian got wind of the deal, again they promised the MIG-23, again we fell for their line and once again the MIG-23 never materialised.

Then the Russians pleaded genuine difficulties because of the Arab Israeli war and asked us to be patient. We felt that they would not be in a position to supply arms to us until this is over. So, we had to wait till the war was over. When after the war we demanded from the Russians the same weapons that they had supplied to the Arabs and Syrians, specially the SAM 6 missiles, the MIG-23, some naval craft and maritime reconnaissance aircraft, which incidentally the Russians had been promising us, instead of the Nimrod aircraft being negotiated with the British, the Russians said that they would fulfil our demands after the Middle East situation stabilised.

Even after the Middle East situation had stabilised no supplies went forth coming in 1974. Learning of the heavy Pakistan rearmament programme, which incidentally is one of the election weapon of the Congress Party—the way they have been taking of the lifting of the arms embargo, which has been lifted for both India and Pakistan but which they keep referring to as “arm aid to Pakistan”—this shows how their mind is functioning. This is the main weapon in the Congress armoury for the forth coming elections. Because Pakistan is arming itself, we again went to France for similar stores, including the Groetale missile which is better than SAM 6, I am told. The then Defence Minister, Shri Jagjeevan Ram, went to the Soviet Union in July 1974 with his shopping list and his visit was followed by that of the

defence Secretary, Shri Govind Narain. We were in fact still shopping all over the world when the top-brass delegation of Marshal Grechko with all the Generals and all the medals in the world descended on India. It is the most heavy-weighted, the most highly medalised, delegation that has ever left Soviet soil, let alone arrived on Indian soil. The Grechko team armed with their own world-wide intelligence reports threw South Block into a panic telling us how much India was in danger, telling us about all that was going on around us and how we had to be careful. They were, in fact, so much concerned about our interests that they agreed to supply us all the hardware we wanted.

The Russians are touchy about their equipment. There were only a few minor conditions attached because the Russian were very touchy about their equipment after what the Egyptians did in the Arab-Israel war. So, they suggested that we must have Russian exports. They are touchy about their equipment, particularly if it should not prove a match for other Western equipment because it will be very bad for their sales. If their equipment did not stand up to the keen competition from the rest of the world, it would be bad for the Russians. The Russian economy's main prop in export trade is the sale of arms. To “protect the reputation” of their precious arms which our “unsophisticated” jawans may not be able to handle properly, they insisted that we accept Russian instructors on the Egyptian level. Egypt with an army of one-third of our size had 22,000 Russian experts and instructors I suppose. In India, that figure would go beyond 60,000. I remember the experts Americans had sent to Vietnam some 20 years ago. They were only 22,000 advisers or experts—you call it what you may. We know with what disastrous consequences.

It is in order to train our people and to handle the equipment that we are now threatened with something like 60,000 or more experts from the Soviet Union. I do not know. They also agreed to supply immediately, as a palliative, six Corvettes, one submarine and some maritime reconnaissance aircraft which might on its way.

I do not mind what the Government is doing and, particularly, in matters of defence. I think, these decisions should

be left to the Government because they know more about it than most Members there will be able to know. But I want them to inform the public, not hide behind some vague notions of security. What is happening in India is very well known to everybody else in the world except Indians. It is more known to everybody else outside the House than it is known to Members of Parliament. I do not know why this cloak should be put over security, should be put over defence, in the name of national interest. It creates a completely wrong opinion. If I say something which is true, I am sure, there is nobody else in the world who does not know about it. If I say something which is not true, then you should be thankful to me for having misled the world.

THE MINISTER OF DEFENCE (SHRI SWARAN SINGH) : If this is your criterion, I must say that today, you have admirably succeeded in misleading the world.

SHRI PILLO MODY : You have done your job and I have done mine. His job is to mislead the House and my job is to inform the country.

SHRI SWARAN SINGH : Mislead the world.

SHRI PILLO MODY : How can we, with 60,000 Russian instructors on our soil, maintain our posture of non-alignment ?

SHRI SWARAN SINGH : Sir, I would not like to enter into arguments at this stage. But I would like to say that this information the hon. Member is giving is totally incorrect. There was no suggestion of experts, much less of a figure that he is mentioning. I do not know from where he has got this information. This creates an absolutely wrong impression in the country and abroad.

SHRI SHYAMNANDAN MISHRA (Begusarai) : You mean, there was no suggestion about Russian military advisers.

15.00 Hrs.

SHRI SWARAN SINGH : There is absolutely no suggestion of military advisers.

SHRI PILLO MOOY : I am glad the Minister has taken two opportunities to deny it and when the time comes for him to reply to the debate, he can deny it again.

Further, they offered to supply a large part of this equipment free of cost provided we join an Asian Security Pact (Let me be fair to the Hon'ble Sardarji).

I may say that the South Block has not yet made up its mind whether it should or should not accept the large number of Russian instructors, and nobody has made up his mind about the Asian Security Pact proposition. Therefore, I would like him to differentiate, when he replies, between what was said and that he doesn't want us to know, what is the current thinking of the Government and what will finally be agreed to. These are three different things.

It was Mr. Grechko who first mooted the idea of the Indo-Soviet Friendship Treaty in 1969 and the Treaty was finally signed in August 1971. Incidentally, our Hon'ble Minister, who was Foreign Minister at that time, did not even know that we were going to sign this Treaty—I made that clear on the last occasion,—and, possibly, what was discussed with Grechko either.

Meanwhile the Soviets have demanded a Russian naval base in India, either in Vizag or Andaman/Nicobar. This is also something which they cannot probably decide on because they are much too afraid of public opinion or something like that. However, is it true, Mr. Minister, that India is likely to use its good office to try and secure for the Russians the now abandoned Maldives base which the British are giving up ? You might throw some light on that also.

A Member of my Party exposed the U.N. map of the Indian Ocean which gave various configurations of the various super powers and smaller powers in the Indian Ocean. I hope the Hon'ble Minister has studied that may also. That perhaps explains Mrs. Indira Gandhi's constant but imaginary threat of aggression from the sea. This is perhaps the second weapon of the Congress Party—saying that there may be an attack from the sea and making it an excuse for giving the Soviet a base, I think this is rather a little

{Shri Piloo Modi}

too delicate for me to be able to say positively. Or she is probably trying to find some justification for succumbing to the Soviet demand which she is in no position to reject outright. In return for all this "friendship" and help and to sweeten the package, half a dozen Corvettes and a submarine are already on their way to India—for which we are thankful to them.

Now, I would only like the Hon'ble Minister, in his reply, to assure the House of several things :—

- (a) Will there or will there not be any instructors along with the arms that are supplied by the Soviet Union ? That is the first point I want to know.
- (b) Will we or will we not accede to their demand for an Asian Security Pact ? That is my second question.

Thirdly, will we or will we not grant the a base in India, Vizag or Andaman or Nicobar ? And, fourthly, or rather 3(b), are they or are they not using their good offices regarding the base in the Maldives. If the hon. Minister restricts himself to giving me answers to these four questions, I will be satisfied.

Finally, I would like to say only by way of a warning, that we have the whole market all around the world from which we can now purchase arms because we are purchasing them with money, therefore, you have access to all the sophisticated arms in the world. But when you do purchase the sophisticated arm, I think, you will have trouble if you have foreign exports stationed here to handle them.

श्री अश्वल सिंह (आगरा) : उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, जिस तरिके से महात्मा गांधी ने हमारे देश को आजाद करवाया था, उस वक्त हम यह ख्याल करते थे कि हमको अपने भारतवर्ष की रक्षा करने का कोई खास इंतजाम नहीं करना पड़ेगा, क्योंकि हमने जो आजादी हासिल की है वह अहिंसा पार्टी-सत्त्व के आधार पर की है। लेकिन जब और शत्रु हुआ, उस वक्त देश में इधर-उधर काफी खूनखराबी हुई। उसके बाद ही पाकिस्तान ने हमला कर दिया। तो हमारा जो यह

ख्याल था, वह बिल्कुल एकल साबित हुआ। देश का बंटपारण हुआ और पाकिस्तान अस्तित्व में आया। यह दो देशों बिंदोरो के आघात पर हुआ और यह बिल्कुल ठीक नहीं हुआ।

जब से हमारा देश अज्पाव हुआ है तब से 5,6 लड़ाई हो चुकी हैं और हमारे मूलक की जो तरक्की है, प्लान है, उसमें काफी बाधा पड़ती रही है।

पहले चाइना हमारा दोस्त बनता था। 1956 में चाऊ-एन-लाई का हमने आगरा में स्वागत किया था, हिन्दी-चीनी भाई-भाई का नारा लगाया था। उसी चाइना ने सन 1962 में हमारे देश पर आक्रमण ये किया। उसी दौरान तिब्बेट पर हम जो देशों के बिच मे बफर स्टेट था, चीन ने अधिकार कर लिया और हमने उसका विरोध नहीं किया। यह हमारी एक भूल हुई।

अब अमरीका और चाइना, दोनों पाकिस्तान को उकसा रहे हैं कि हिन्दुस्तान के खिलाफ जिहाद करो। एी मूरत में जरूरी है का हमको अपनी डिफेंस का पूरा ख्याल करना चाहिये। हम अपनी डिफेंस पर 2200 करोड रुपये से ज्यादा खर्च कर रहे है। यह मसला बहुत अहम है, हमो इस तरफ काफी ध्यान देना चाहिये ताकि हमे अपने देश की हिफाजत कर सकें।

हमारा जो कंटोनमेंट एक्ट है, वह 1924 का बना हुआ है। जब से मैं पार्लियामेंट मे आया हूं, मैं शुरु से कोशील कर रहा हू कि इस एक्ट का सुधार हो और ठिक एक्ट बने। लेकिन हमेशा यहि कहा गया कि हम इसको कर रहे हैं और करेंगे। सन 1952 मे भी और अभी सन् 1970 मे भी इसके बारे मे बिचार हुआ। इसको देखने और इसमें सुधार करने के लिए राज्य-सभा मे एक समिति मुकर्रर की गई। लेकिन अभी तक पुराना एक्ट ही कुछ अमेंडमेंट्स के साथ चल रहा है, नया नहीं बना है। मैं मिनिस्टर साहब

से चाहुंया कि यह एक्ट जल्द से जल्द सामने आना चाहिये क्योंकि आज करिव 27, 28 वर्ष हो गये हैं लेकिन यह एक्ट नया नहीं बन पाया है।

साथ ही साथ जो लैड पालिसी है, उससे सोम काफी परेशान हैं। जो डिफिन्स गवर्न-मेन्ट ने बाते नहीं की, वह हमने देखते हैं कि इसारी डिफन्स डिप्लोमैट्री वह काम कर रही है। उसने ऐसा तरिका निकाला है कि तमाम बगले इसिल किये जाए और वहां बसे हुए लोगों को निकाला जाए। लेकिन हमें खुशी है कि हमारा छावनी निवासियों का एक डेपु-टेन्स प्रधानमंत्री से पार साल मिला था और उनके सामने सारी बातें रखी। उन्होंने कहा कि हम ईम पर महानुभूतिपूर्वक विचार करेंगे और कोशिश करेंगे। इसके परिणामस्वरूप मार्च, 75 तक के लिये यह मामला स्थगित कर दिया गया। इस संबंध में हमने काफरेस भी की थी। पिछले महिने उसमें लैड पालिसी का मवाल रखा था और कहा था कि बगलों के रिजम्पशन से लोगों को बड़ी परेशानी हो रही है। उम काफरेस में डिफंम मिनिस्टर श्री स्वर्ण सिंह और अन्य मंत्री भी आये थे। हमने कहा था कि कंट्रोमेज एक्ट में काका मुजर हानि चाहिए उममें इलकटेड मेम्बर कम हैं और आफिशियल मेम्बर ज्यादा है। यह आवश्यक कि उसमें चुने हुए मेम्बरों की मंजोरिटी होनी चाहिये। म्युनिसिपालिटीय और कार्पोरेशन के आफिक कटोलमेंट एक्ट बनना चाहिए। मैं आशा करता हू कि हमारे मिनिस्टर साहब इस सेशन में नहीं तो, आईन्दा सेशन में इसी लोक-सभा की टर्म में इस एक्ट को जरूर पास करा लेंगे।

हम देखते हैं कि डिफेंस के विभिन्न विभागों में काफ्री रुपया अवाकम्बक रूप से खर्च हो रहा है। उदाहरण के लिए मैं सी० प्रो० डी० आगरा के बारे में कह सकता हूँ कि पहले वहाँ बहुत करप्सक होता था। आज से चन्द बरस पहले वहाँ लगभग 12, 16 लाख

रुपया कर्मचारियों के दफ्तार बर खर्च होता था। नये कमांडेंट ने आकर इस सप्सक में कोसीय की और वह खर्च बट कर खर्च-भय एक लाख रुपये तक रह गया है और कर्मचारि सुचारु रूप से सेवा कर रहे हैं।

मेरा सुझाव है कि जिस तरह पी० एंड टी० विभाग में कर्मचारियों की निकिल्ता के लिए डिस्पेसरिया खली हुई हैं, उसी तरह सी० प्रो० डी० आदि मिलिटरी विभागों में भी डिस्पेसरिया खली जायें, ताकि सोम जठ बिल बना कर जो लाखों रुपये बसूल कर लेते हैं, उस को रोका जा सके। इसी तरह विल्ड्रन्स एजुकेशन और हाऊस रेंट के बारे में भी बहुत गलत काम होते हैं और सोम काफी रुपया ले लेते हैं। इस से हमार काफ्री रुपया बँस्ट होता है।

मैं चाहूंगा कि हमारे जितने भी पंद्रह बीस सी० प्रो० डी० आदि कारखाने हैं, मिनिस्टर साहब उन का अवलोकन किया का ताकि वे देख सके कि क्या हमारे ये कारखाने सुचारु रूप से काम कर रहे हैं या नहीं। उन पर करोड़ों रुपये खर्च होते हैं। इस लिए यह आवश्यक है कि उस रुपये का अच्छा इस्तेमाल हो। यह देखा गया कि कि अगर सी० प्रो० डी० या अन्य कारखाने का कमांडेंट अच्छा होता है, तो वहाँ ठीक काम होता है, और अगर कमांडेंट डीलर होता है, तो वहाँ काम भी ठीक ढंग से नहीं होता है।

अन्त में मैं फिर कहना चाहता हूँ कि कॅन्टूनमेंट एक्ट को इसी लोक सभा की टर्म में संशोधित करना चाहिए, तकि लोगों की परेशानी और चिन्ता कम हो।

इन सत्रों के साथ मैं इन डिमांड्स का समर्थन करता हूँ।

की भारत सिंह चौहान (धर) : उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, आज डिफेंस मंत्रालय की भांगों पर बोलते हुए सुझे पुरानी बात याद आती है। आजादी के बाद हम किस तरह से अपने देश को डिफेंड कर सकेंगे, डा० भगवानदास ने इस की एक कल्पना की थी। परन्तु उन के सुझाव और उन के स्वप्न पूरे नहीं हो पाये।

हम केवल अपनी स्थल सेना, नौसेना और वायु सेना पर एक बड़ी राशि खर्च कर ही अपने विशाल देश की रक्षा के सम्बन्ध में संतुष्ट नहीं हो सकते हैं। इस में कोई शक नहीं है कि हमारे बजट में एक बहुत बड़ी राशि हमारी सशस्त्र सेनाओं पर खर्च करने के लिए रखी गई है। लेकिन इस सम्बन्ध में सुव्यवस्था की बहुत कमी महसूस होती है। जब हम अपनी सेनाओं को विदेशों की सैनिक तैयारियों के संदर्भ में देखते हैं, तो मालूम होता है कि हम आधुनिकीकरण में बहुत पीछे हैं। आधुनिकीकरण के सम्बन्ध में हम अब भी विदेशों पर निर्भर करते हैं। जैसा कि कुछ पूर्व-वक्ताओं ने कहा है, हम बहुत दिनों से आशा कर रहे हैं कि मिग वायुयानों सबघ में हम आत्म-निर्भर हो जायेंगे। लेकिन आज भी उन के कई कल-पुर्जे हमें विदेशों से ही मंगाने पड़ते हैं। हमारी सुरक्षा व्यवस्था में यह बहुत बड़ी कमी है। जिन तरह दूसरे देश विज्ञान के जरिये अपनी सशस्त्र सेनाओं का आधुनिकीकरण कर रहे हैं, और हर तरह से अपनी रक्षा के लिए सक्षम हैं, उस को देख कर हम महसूस करते हैं कि हमारी नीति और कार्य-पद्धति में कहीं न कहीं कोई बड़ी कमी है।

हमें इस बात का भी पूरा ध्यान रखना चाहिए कि अपनी देश की रक्षा के हेतु हम तीन हथियार मील लम्बे अपने समुद्र-तट की उचित सुरक्षा रक्षा करें। अगर हम पिछले 27 सालों के अपने कार्यों का स्टाक टैकिंग क तो हम इस निष्कर्ष पर पहुंचते हैं कि हम अपने देश की रक्षा पूरी तरह नहीं कर पायें, और अभी तक जो भी युद्ध हुए हैं, उन में हम ने कुछ न कुछ खोया ही है। हमारी यह जो

कल्पना थी कि आजादी के बाद हम एक बहुत समृद्धशाली देश बन जायेंगे, और रक्षा के मामले में भी हम बहुत बलवान हो जायेंगे, वहा कल्पना भी साकार नहीं हो पाई है।

जब कोई वार होती है, तो उस समय तो हम यह विचार करते हैं कि देश के लिए की रक्षा के लिए हमें अमुक अमुक कदम उठाने चाहिए, परन्तु बाद में इस तरह कोई ध्यान नहीं दया जाता है। मुझे याद है कि जब चाइना ने हमारे देश पर आक्रमण किया था, तो नेहरू ने यह कल्पना की थी कि किस तरह से जनत के सहयोग से देश की सुरक्षा-व्यवस्था में मजबूत बनाया जाये। उन्होंने यह आहवा किया था कि हर एक प्रान्त में नौजवानों का प्रारम्भिक मिलीटरी प्रशिक्षण दिया जाये ताकि हर एक प्रान्त में कम से कम पांच लाख नवयुवक हमेशा देश की रक्षा के लिए तैयार हों, और हर एक गांव में दलपति और उप दलपति नियुक्त किये जायें। लेकिन चाइना का युद्ध समाप्त होने के बाद सरकार और डिफेंस मंत्रालय ने इस योजनाओं कार्यान्वित करने की ओर कोई ध्यान नहीं दिया। उस समय वे टून्ड युवक एक रैली में भाग लेने के लिए दिल्ली आये थे, उन का एक प्रदर्शन हुआ था और उन को पदक दिये गये थे।

मैं मंत्री महोदय का ध्यान इस बात की तरफ दिलाना चाहता हूँ कि सुरक्षा को दृष्टि में रखते हुए जो भी योजनाये बनाई जायें, उन को पूरी तरह कार्यान्वित किया जाना चाहिए। ऐसा नहीं होना चाहिए कि संकट के समय कोई कल्पना की जायें, कोई योजना बनाई जाय, और बाद में उस को भुला दिया जाय। चाइना के युद्ध के समय हम ने जो योजना बनाई थी, उस को पूरा नहीं किया गया। इस का परिणाम यह होता है कि जब देश पर फिर संकट आता है, तब भी हम वहीं रहते हैं और हमें फिर क्षति उठानी पड़ती है।

मैं मंत्री महोदय को बतलाना चाहता हूँ कि अभी भी हमें बहुत बड़ा खतरा है, समु

से भी खतरा है और स्वयं से भी खतरा है। इस को भूला नहीं जा सकता। क्या मंत्री महोदय कह सकते हैं कि आर्मी पर इतने करोड़ों रुपये खर्च करने के बाद भी हमें ने कुछ खोया नहीं है? जो हम ने खोया है उस को प्राप्त करने में हम असमर्थ हैं। तो कहीं न कहीं तो हमारी घुटि है कहीं न कहीं हमारी कमी है। उस को हमें पूरा करना होगा और वह हमें करना चाहिए।

आज भी पाकिस्तान का खयाल शत्रुतापूर्ण है इस में कोई दो राय नहीं हो सकती। इसलिए हमें अपने परमाणु बम के बारे में हमेशा तैयारी रखनी चाहिए और हम परमाणु बम बना कर बतला दें कि कोई हमें आँख उठा कर न देखे। इसके अलावा राडार के बारे में जो टेकनिकल बातें हैं उस के लिए भी हम अभी बिलकुल दूसरों पर निर्भर हैं। ट्रेनिंग के लिए दूसरे देशों में जाते हैं। वहाँ से सीख कर आते हैं तब राडार की स्थापना यहाँ पर हो पाती है। यह बड़े दुख की बात है। राडार एक इतनी बड़ी चीज है आज के युग में कि राडार हमारा अच्छा नहीं होगा तो हम कभी भी अपने देश की रक्षा नहीं कर सकते। मंत्री महोदय बतलाएं कि क्या राडार से हम आत्म-निर्भर हो गए हैं? अभी तक बिलकुल हम दूसरों पर इस बारे में निर्भर हैं। इस कमी को आप पूरा करें।

इसी तरह से सेनाओं के बारे में जो अन्दरूनी इंतजाम है पदोन्नति के बारे में उस में भी एक बड़ा असंतोष फैला हुआ है। इस तरफ भी हमें ध्यान देने की आवश्यकता है। पिछले वक्त में भी ध्यान दिलाया गया था कि कोई ऐसी कमेटी होनी चाहिए जिस के जरिए उन की जो शिकायतें हों उन की निष्पक्षता से जांच कर के उन की मांगों को पूरा किया जा सके। लेकिन उस वक्त भी यह बात ठुकरा गई थी और कहा गया था कि इस तरह की कोटी की कोई आवश्यकता नहीं है। किन्तु असंतोष बढ़ता जाता है। यह

ध्यान देने की बात है कि उन को न्याय मिले और उन की जितनी शिकायतें हैं उन का ठीक तरह से निराकरण हो। जहाँ तक उन के वेतन और सुविधाओं का प्रश्न है इसी तरह की कोई कमेटी अगर ठीक से स्थापित हो तो उसके जरिए उन की इस तरह की मांगों पर भी विचार हो सकता है और उन की शिकायतें दूर की जा सकती है।

मुझे सौभाग्य मिला था अरुणाचल और मेघालय जाने का। इस तरफ देश में ऐसा एक ट्राइबल सिपाही या सैनिक है कि अगर उस का ठीक तरह से उपयोग फौज में भर्ती कर के करें तो अच्छी एक बहुत बड़ी रक्षा पंक्ति बन सकती है। ऐसे नेचुरल सिपाही हैं वह, उन के ऊपर ज्यादा खर्च करने की या ट्रेनिंग देने की आवश्यकता नहीं है। केवल आप के दिलों में यह भावना होनी चाहिए कि अगर उन को उपयोग सेना में किया जाय तो बड़े से बड़े आप के रक्षक वह बन सकते हैं। यह बात ध्यान में रखने की आवश्यकता है और उन पर पूरी तरह से ध्यान देने की जरूरत है। वह अरुणाचल और मेघालय हमारे बीर्डर पर हैं। ऐसे ही लद्दाख से मुझे जाने का सौभाग्य तो नहीं मिला लेकिन लद्दाख के बारे में भी और राज्यों के बारे में भी मैं कह सकता हूँ कि वहाँ के रहने वाले भी बड़े अच्छे सिपाही और सैनिक बन सकते हैं। उन का उपयोग आप सेना में कर सकते हैं और उन के द्वारा हमारे बीर्डर की रक्षा अच्छी तरह से हो सकती है। हम को उस के लिए कोई चिन्ता करने की जरूरत नहीं होगी। केवल हमें थोड़ा सा उन के ऊपर ध्यान देने की आवश्यकता है।

आज भी अपनी सेना में ट्रेडीशनल नाम रखे हुए हैं। [उसको आप एबद्धम से हटा भी नहीं सकते हैं और न एकदम हटाने की आवश्यकता है। एक ट्रेडीशनल हजाराँ वर्षों से बना हुआ है। देश की रक्षा के लिए हमें उस का पुरा उपयोग करने की आवश्यकता है।

[श्री भारत सिंह जीहवा]

घंडमान का जिक्र आया। घंडमान की मैं पिछले साल गया था। दर असल में घंडमान की सुरक्षा पंक्ति को अथवा सुदुह बनाएँ तो हमारा उधर का जो तट है और वह जो तीन साढ़े तीन सौ टापू हैं बड़ी अच्छी तरह से सेना की दृष्टि से उन की तरक्की की जा सकती है। वहाँ के जो निकोबारी लोग हैं वह इतने अच्छे सैनिक हैं और इतने दृष्ट पुष्ट हैं कि उन के द्वारा आप का पूरा समुद्री तट और हिन्दुस्तान का पूर्वी भ्रंचल बड़ा सुरक्षित रह सकता है। उन का उपयोग हमें अच्छी तरह से करना चाहिए। इन बातों पर मंत्री महोदय ध्यान दें, जो भारत के कुदरती आदिवासी सैनिक हैं उन का ठीक से उपयोग करें तो उस से हमारी एक बड़ी रक्षा पंक्ति तैयार हो सकती है। जहाँ हमारा इतना बड़ा बजट खर्च होता है वहाँ उस में एक ऐसी योजना बनाई जाय जिस से कि उन का पूरा उपयोग हो। उस से रक्षा के साथ साथ उन के जीवन स्तर में भी एक मोड़ आ सकता है यदि रक्षा मंत्री इस ओर ध्यान दें।

SHRI SANGLIANA (Mizoram) :
 Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, as a vast country with extensive coastlines and land borders to guard and defend, our defence needs and expenditure cannot but be considerable, even though these are reduced to the barest minimum by the fact that as a nation we follow a policy of non-alignment and are interested only in keeping intact that which is ours and we have no aggressive design on any country. That we want to live in peace with all our neighbours and are desirous of keeping and maintaining peace with them consistent with our self-respect and sense of justice has been I feel, patent in all that we do.

Our jawans of all the three branches acquitted themselves well in the Bangladesh war with Pakistan, and they have shown that the faith and trust reposed in them by the nation was not misplaced. It is not only in facing external aggressions that the armed forces have their use. In fact, reference has already been made to the number of occasions in which

they have come in useful to serve the needs of the nation in other things as well.

We know that much of our international boundaries lies within tribal areas especially in the north-eastern region. Therefore, the troops on whom devolves the task of defending or guarding the borders have naturally very frequent contact with the tribal communities. Unfortunately, the relation that exists between the members of the armed forces who are stationed in such places and the people of the areas has not always been as good as it could be desired to be. The reason for this, in my opinion, lies in the fact that ignorance exists on both sides about each other's mode of life and attitude.

The Armed Forces somehow fail to give the impression to the tribal people that they are there for their protection and their very presence is therefore sometimes presented because they fail to establish an atmosphere of cordiality. But we cannot blame the Armed Forces for this. The fault lies on both sides and the position will change and improve if at least all the officers, if not all the jawans in the unit can be given some special training or at least some briefing to make them see the need and importance of winning the confidence of the tribals in whose midst and areas they serve. It should be also remembered that much of the disaffection among the eastern tribal communities today is born out of their experience during their contacts with non-tribals who, unfortunately again, continue to regard the tribals with whom they come in contact as hardly Indians, and more unfortunately still they take no pains to conceal that they do so. The result is that this cuts the tribal's sensitiveness to the quick and he either withdraws himself into his shell or is driven to display an attitude of I could not care less. Thus the two are estranged. If this estrangement spreads it cannot but weaken the defence awareness in the country which I am sure money or better equipment or weapon alone cannot completely build up.

Unfortunately some Nagas and Misos are still continuing their hostile activities today. But here again I should like to stress with all the force I am capable of that it should be remembered that by far the major sections of the Nagas

and Mizos are only too willing to help in bringing such activities to an early and effective end and that therefore an attitude of suspicion shown towards the Naga and Mizo masses as whole can only harm the cause of emotional integration which is so necessary today. What we want is a feeling of belonging, an atmosphere in which one could fully and unreservedly identify oneself as an Indian, not in any way different and discriminated against as an outsider or as an alien. This is the supreme need among the tribals who are anxious to show their loyalty just as much as anyone else. Here the Defence Ministry can, I feel, lead the way by stepping up the recruitment of our young people, young loyal Mizos and Nagas and also young people from other border tribes into the various branches of the Defence Services. The more jawans there are in the Defence Forces from the tribal communities, the more quickly I feel will national integration be promoted. I should also suggest that promotions may also be liberalised in the case of officers from tribal and other backward groups to give encouragement to our young people to join our armed forces in increasing numbers. So far I think we have not had any officers from the tribal communities above the rank of Brigadiers. A feeling has gone amongst them that it is a case of "thus far shall thou go and no further" as far as promotions to tribal officers are concerned. Therefore, I hope this will be remedied without much further delay.

We do need a good network of roads in the border areas. I think if these are to be constructed quickly, they can be best entrusted to the Border Roads Task Force.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : We have exhausted the time allotted, but I have been requested to stretch it a little more I can accommodate only four more members, but they should not take more than 5 minutes each. Mr. Gowder.

*SHRI J. MATHA GOWDER (Nilgiris) : Hon. Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, I would particularly refer to the question of paying compensation for the land acquired from the common people for defence purposes.

In Wellington, which is a part of my constituency, we have the Defence Services Staff College and also the Madra,

*The original speech was delivered in Tamil.

Regimental Centre. For establishing these two Defence set-ups in Wellington, the British Government acquired 2000 acres of agricultural land from tribal people of this area on 100-years lease. The lease charges fixed for a year were a paltry sum of Rs. 165 for this area. These tribal people, whose livelihood was taken away by the acquisition of their agricultural land, were getting Rs. 165 per year. More than 7 years ago, the lease period expired and after the expiry of this lease period they were denied even this Rs. 165 per year.

These unfortunate innocent tribal people are running from pillar to post to get adequate compensation from the Government for their land. They have been representing their case to the Government. As their representative in this House, I have also raised this issue on many occasions. But all these efforts have not yielded so far any results.

In sheer frustration, these people approached the Court also. At that time, the then Collector of Nilgiris, Shri H. M. Singh, appealed to them to withdraw their case on the assurance that he would help them in getting Rs. 10 lakhs as compensation for their land. These guileless tribal people withdrew their case from the Court. After that, the Collector was transferred and nothing has been done in the matter of giving them some compensation.

Sir, these tribal people are poor people and they cannot afford to come to Delhi for pleading their cause with the high ups in the Government. In the hill areas there are not many alternatives of avenues of employment for these people. It will be foolhardy for me to suggest their land must be returned to them because on this land there are two very important Defence installations. The only appeal that I can make to the hon. Defence Minister is that these tribal people should be given compensation immediately for their land which had been acquired a century ago.

Sir, you know that the Central Government have paid huge amounts of compensation to many people—a compensation of Rs. 60 lakhs for acquiring Birla House in Delhi, compensation to the former Princes and Maharajas while abolishing their privy purses, compensation

[Shri J. Matha Gowder]

to the former coal-mine owners at the time of nationalisation and to many others. I honestly feel that the Government have not done justice to these tribal people in Wellington whose land had been taken away for defence purposes.

I appeal to the hon. Defence Minister that he should give a categorical assurance in his reply to the Debate that these people in Wellington would be given adequate compensation forthwith.

SARDAR SWARAN SINGH SOKHI (Jamshedpur) : Sir, there is no example in the world in comparison to our Indian armed forces, which were also appreciated by the British regime during the last two world wars; and the Indian armed forces have shown their mettle during the Chinese aggression in 1962 and during the aggression by Pakistan during 1965 and 1971 when Bangladesh was liberated. The morale of our army, navy and air force is high and we should not hesitate to grant the demands of the Defence Ministry even if it is a little bit on the higher side. Members who ask for making reductions in the demands are not doing justice to the Armed Forces who fight and sacrifice their lives for the sake of the country. Sir, we must have our own, strong indigenous base of Defence Production; and we should not depend on any foreign country. I am glad our Government is adhering to the policy of self-reliance. The indigenous manufacture of sophisticated equipment has been progressing very well; and to-day, we are not behind any country in the world in this respect. Sir, the age of retirement or release of the armed forces, especially for those working in the Army and the Navy should be increased from 30 to 40 years because the nature of work in these services is quite different from that in the Air Force. Moreover, all the high officials retire at the age of 58 or 60. And there are many other ways and means to keep the armed forces young. Sir, I am glad that there is no relaxation in the defence-preparedness; but it must be borne in mind that Pakistan has replenished her losses and has made significant additions to her pre-1971 level of strength; and it is trying to bring up the Kashmir issue, to justify another conflict, in spite of the Simla Agreement which is very clear in every respect. Mr. Bhutto should be warned not to repeat the 1971-type of aggression; and that otherwise, no land would be

returned to them on the next occasion; and their POWs may have to be buried in the Indian soil. No doubt, lifting of embargo by the U.S.A. has encouraged Mr. Bhutto, but war is war and Mr. Bhutto must understand this very clearly. The anti-Indian propaganda by Pakistan and China, and posting of huge armed forces at Indian borders by these countries betray their evil designs and intentions against us. Now, Sir, the most important point I want to raise here is about the corruption in the Armed Forces, such as a Squadron Leader of the Indian Air Force supplying secret information to the Russian Embassy official for a bottle of brandy. Strong action should be taken against such officers; and the Government of USSR should also be told that the officers of their embassy in India should not indulge in such corrupt practices. Now, Sir, I congratulate the Defence Minister for the establishment of the rocket and missile manufacturing plant at Bhandara near Nagpur, with Yugoslavian collaboration. Sir, coming to the problems of the armed forces, I am in total agreement with the former Air Chief Marshal, Mr. P. C. Lal who, while delivering this year's National Security lecture here has said that the post of the Chief of Staff was unsuited under Indian conditions for reasons that have been given by him. The Defence Minister should consider Mr. Lal's proposal from the points of view of national interest and of administration. Sir, the recruitment of Sikhs in the Armed Forces, which has come down from 15% to 2%, should be increased, keeping in view the sacrifices of the Sikhs for the sake of the country in the past. My last point is with regard to the research and development organization. We should have more training institutes of science in the north as well as eastern parts of our country, because the Indian Institute of Science at Bangalore is not sufficient for training programmes in engineering course relating to rocketry and missiles. With these suggestions, I support the Demands for Grants of the Ministry of Defence 1975-76.

श्री सुलतानुद्दौला (शकी) : उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, माननीय स्वर्ण सिंह ने बडपुर में एक बड़ा बच्चा भावक दिया जिस में उन्होंने दो बरों पर जोर दिया। उन्होंने कहा कि यदि कोई सुकुकी वर कलहाय ही तो सिवाय लड़ाई के हकारे पास और क्या

खतरा है। अगरत के विरुद्ध इम्तान पर अगर एक अक्षय लगाया गया तो उस की मुहत्तक उत्तर दिया जायगा। मेरी समझ में नहीं आता कि अगरत की सेनाओं द्वारा लडने के बाद अगर फिर भी भट्टो साहब कुछ बोलते हैं तो इस का मतलब यह होता है कि हमारी कुछ न कुछ कमजोरी है। अगर हम लोग इतने मजबूत हो जाते हैं कि विदेशी ताकतों हमारा मुकाबला करने के पहले ही लड़ाई के मैदान में न आयें तो इस बारे में हम को गम्भीरता से सोचना चाहिए। एक दफा माननीय जगजीवन राम ने कहा था :

"We are constantly reviewing the needs of the defence forces. All that is required to be done is being done with the resources available."

यह भी ठीक बात नहीं है। जब भारत की इज्जत को बचाना ही है तो अपनी पूरी ताकत काम में लाइये। हमारे में ज्यादा ताकत है लेकिन इतना होने के बाद भी अगर भट्टो साहब की कुछ कहने की हिम्मत पडती है, या अमरीका पाकिस्तान को हथियार देता है, या अरब मुल्को के लोग पाकिस्तान को मदद देते हैं, ऐसा क्यों हो रहा है इस पर हमें ध्यान से सोचना चाहिए। हमें सोचना चाहिए कि कहां हमारी कमजोरी है। मैंने एक आर्टिकल देखा है :

"Lack of appreciation of maritime strategy by Parliamentarians and high Government circles and appreciation of the fact that we are indeed a maritime nation is the greatest inhibiting factor in the development of the Navy into a viable force capable of meeting the growing threats of the forces surrounding us. In most of the maritime countries, the Navy usually gets about one-third of the defence budget. In India the Navy's share of the national budget of 1974-75 was hardly 6.3 per cent."

तो एक तरफ तो आप अगरत के खतर इस प्रकार मजबूती का भाषण देते हैं और दूसरी तरफ खुद आर्टिकल्स में लिखते हैं कि हमारी फौजी में कमी है। एक आर्टिकल श्री वी० शंकर, रिटायर्ड आई० सी० एस० ने लिखा था जो इस प्रकार है :

"Our armoured strength should be raised to attain superiority over Pakistan. The hitting power of our armour should be increased by upgrading our existing armoured equipment. Similarly, our infantry mobility should be enhanced by investing a large amount in it."

He then goes on to say :

"The indisputable imperative of our defence against Pakistan's surprise moves is to close the obvious gaps in our defence. To stop or postpone these measures on the off-chance that the threat might not materialise would be tantamount to playing with the country's security".

Again he has given his prognostication that the thud of the army is complacency and the perpetration of the brigandage on security which takes a heavy toll of the country's honour and prestige.

बारबार भट्टो साहब या पाकिस्तानी सैनिकों कि बोलने की हिम्मत कैसे होती है जब कि हमारी फौज ज्यादा है, हम खर्चा ज्यादा करना चाहते हैं ? स्पष्ट है कि कहीं न कहां कमजोरी है जिस को हमें दूर करना चाहिए। एम० सी० सी० में 6 लाख लड़के ट्रेनिंग पा रहे हैं, और मुझे इच्छ है कि एक राष्ट्रीय कैंडेट कोर मूल्यांकन समिति की सिफारिश 24 जनवरी 1974 को हुई लेकिन उस की सिफारिशों की अभी तक इम्प्लीमेंट नहीं किया गया। ऐसा क्यों ?

[श्री मूल चन्द्र बागा]

आप ने एक बात कही थी कि खड़ी हुई फ्रीज के पीछे देश की हिम्मत, एकता, ताकत और हौसला, आत्म-विश्वास, उत्पादन वृद्धि तथा लक्ष्य प्राप्ति की इच्छा एक भारी शक्ति है। अगर देश में इन बातों की कमी है तो उन को हमें दूर करना चाहिए। और देश को सज्जुत करना चाहिए। हम को बारबार यह नहीं कहना चाहिये कि अपनी ताकत के अनुसार खर्च नहीं कर पा रहे हैं। हर कीमत पर हमें अपने देश की रक्षा करनी है।

श्री कृष्ण बाकुला (लड़ाख) : उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं रक्षा मंत्रालय की मांगो का समर्थन करते हुए कुछ बातें कहना चाहता हूँ। लड़ाख चीन और पाकिस्तान के बॉर्डर से मिलता है वहाँ की रक्षा का प्रबन्ध कुछ हद तक अच्छा है जिस के लिये मैं शुकिया अदा करना चाहता हूँ। लेकिन आज हमारे विशाल भारत देश में सब से ज्यादा रक्षा की आवश्यकता है। अमरीका द्वारा पाकिस्तान को हथियार देने से हमें अपनी रक्षा को और अधिक मजबूत करना चाहिये, और मजबूत करने में दो, तीन बातें आवश्यक हैं, जो मैं समय की कमी की वजह से संक्षेप में कहना चाहता हूँ। सब से पहले तो यह होना चाहिये कि लड़ाख और नेफा जैसे ऊँचे स्थानों पर जो हमारी सेनायें हाई आल्टीट्यूड पर रहती हैं उनके आल्टीट्यूड अलाउन्स को बढ़ाना चाहिये। मैंने सुना है कि बड़े बड़े अफसरों को तो यह अलाउन्स ज्यादा मिलता है, और छोटे सैनिकों को कम मिलता है। काम तो ज्यादा छोटे लोग करते हैं, फिर उन को आल्टीट्यूड अलाउन्स कम क्यों दिया जाता है? 20, 25 हजार फ़ीट की ऊँचाई पर बड़े बड़े अफसर नहीं रहते, बल्कि छोटे छोटे सैनिक ही रहते हैं। जो छोटे सिपाई वहाँ लड़ते हैं उन को आल्टीट्यूड अलाउन्स वही मिलना चाहिए जो बड़ों को मिलता है और उन

में कोई फर्क नहीं होना चाहिए। मैंने इस के बारे में कई बार लिखा भी था लेकिन उस का कोई जवाब नहीं मिला। आज उस का साफ़ जवाब मिलना चाहिए।

दूसरी बात मुझे यह कहनी है कि लड़ाख में इस वक्त भी बहुत ज्यादा सर्दी पड़ती है और वहाँ पर लोग अन्दर बैठते हैं। इसलिए जो सैनिक वहाँ पर तैनात हैं, उन की सर्दी से रक्षा होनी चाहिए और उस के लिए गर्म कपड़ों का प्रबन्ध आप को करना चाहिए। इस के लिए मेरा सुझाव यह है कि जो ठंडे देश हैं जैसे कि रूस और साइबेरिया, वहाँ पर जो सैनिकों को सर्दी से बचने के लिए गर्म कपड़े दिये जाते हैं, उस की जानकारी प्राप्त करने के लिए आप को एक एक्सपर्ट वहाँ पर भेजना चाहिए और जिस तरह के गर्म कपड़े वहाँ पर सैनिकों को दिये जाते हैं, वैसे ही यहाँ पर भी दिये जाने चाहिए। इस तरह में एक तो इन का आल्टीट्यूड अलाउन्स बढ़ाया जाना चाहिए और दूसरा यह कि दूसरे बड़े अफसरों के बराबर इन को यह अलाउन्स देना चाहिए।

तीसरी बात मैं लड़ाख स्काउट्स के बारे में कहना चाहता हूँ। इस में 1947-48, 1962, 1965 और 1971 की लड़ाई में बहुत अच्छा काम किया है और जम्मू और काश्मीर का नाम ऊँचा किया है, लेकिन इस फोर्स के जो लोग लड़ाई में मारे गये हैं उन के बच्चों को स्कालरशिप देनी चाहिए और उन की फ़ैमिलीज का जमीन देनी चाहिए। लड़ाख में जमीन की कमी नहीं है और केवल आप को जमीन देने का प्रबन्ध करना है। अगर आप ऐसा नहीं करते हैं तो उन को बड़ी मायूसी होगी। इस के अलावा मैं यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि इस के कुछ बटेलियन हैं। इस को आप को पूरा एक ब्रिगेड बना देना चाहिए जिस में लड़ाख के नौजवान

हों और दूसरे पहाड़ी इलाके के लोग भी उस में शामिल हो सकते हैं।

एक बात और मुझे यह कहनी है कि हालांकि हमारे रक्षा मंत्री जी, प्रधान मंत्री जी और एक्सटरनल एफेयर्स मिनिस्टर यह कहते हैं कि हम अपने इलाके को जोकि पाकिस्तान के कब्जे में है या चीन के कब्जे में है, उस को खाली कराएंगे, लेकिन यह मेरी समझ में नहीं आता है कि वह इस को लड़ाई कर के खाली कराएंगे या किस तरह से खाली करवाएंगे। आप चीन के साथ दोस्ती करना चाहते हैं लेकिन चीन हमारी तरफ मुंह कर के देखना भी नहीं चाहता है। नेफा में कई हज़ार सैनिक उन के जमे हुए हैं, उन को किस तरह से आप हटाएंगे और जो हिस्सा उन के पास है और पाकिस्तान के कब्जे में है, उस को आप अपने कब्जे में लेंगे। इस बात को भी आप को साफ़ करन चाहिए कि किस तरह से अपनी जमीन आप वापस लेंगे।

आखरी बात मैं यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि तिब्बत के बारे में आप को अपनी पालीसी को चेन्ज करना चाहिए। पहले आप ने तिब्बत को चीन के हवाले कर दिया और मैं पहले भी कहता रहा हूँ और आज भी कह रहा हूँ कि चीन हमारे साथ दुश्मनी कर रहा है। इस बात को देखते हुए आप को तिब्बत के बारे में सोचना चाहिए और अपनी पालीसी को चेंज करना चाहिए। सिक्किम की जनता ने अपनी मर्जी से सिक्किम को हिन्दुस्तान में शामिल किया है लेकिन उस के बारे में चीन कितना प्रोपेगेंडा कर रहा है। मैं एक बार फिर आप से निवेदन करता हूँ कि इन सब बातों को देखते हुए आप को तिब्बत के बारे में अपनी पालीसी को चेन्ज करना चाहिए।

इन शब्दों के साथ मैं रक्षा मंत्रालय की मांगों का समर्थन करता हूँ।

THE MINISTER OF DEFENCE (SHRI SWARAN SINGH) : Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, I am conscious of the fact that this debate had to be spread over three days and the time that had been allotted for this debate had also to be increased understandably because a large number of hon. Members wanted to participate in the discussion on this important subject. In the process, there has been a little distance created between bunches of presentations by the hon. Members. But the observations can be easily grouped under various heads and I will try to touch upon some of the important points that the hon. Members have referred to.

Before I do that, I would like to leave a thought for the consideration of the House, and this is my earnest desire that the question of defence, matters of our security and defence, should be handled in such a manner that we achieve a national consensus about the broad approach to defence. It should be our endeavour not to look upon our problems of defence in any partisan spirit and it will be in the interest of the security of our country if we could keep the question of defence projected before the country in a sort of united manner. It necessarily follows from this that the armed forces which have a tradition of objectivity, of devotion to duty, of high patriotism and their spirit of sacrifice, would be still further strengthened in their admitted resolve to defend our country if they have the backing of Parliament as a whole and if they are not dragged into our own controversies of political nature. I am making this appeal with an earnest hope that we should lend support to our armed forces and I have no doubt that, apart from other things about their welfare, about the way in which we look after them, about the manner in which we supply their essential requirements, etc., the unity that we project in this House will be a very potent factor which will strengthen our armed forces still further.

If I may say so, the threat that we face to our security has been referred to by several hon. Members. I can make bold to say that, by and large, there is a consensus about the nature of threat and if I may add, about the quantum of this threat. Although there were some voices that were raised in which it was sought either to be little the threat

[Shri Swaran Singh]

or to project it in a form which perhaps was not very fair. It is not my intention to answer such arguments in any great detail. It does not serve any purpose. But, broadly speaking, there is a national consensus in our country about the implications of our geopolitical position and about the threats that we face to our security.

A large number of hon. Members who touched upon this subject have naturally mentioned Pakistan. Some have also referred to China. These, I believe, so far as our land borders are concerned, are our main matters of concern. I would very briefly touch upon the situation as it prevails on both these borders. It is not my intention to go into the external affairs' aspect of this problem. That has been partly discussed in this House when the Demands on the External Affairs Ministry were under consideration. My hon. colleague, Mr. Y. B. Chavan the Minister of External Affairs, has given his assessment of the situation. I will try to confine myself to the attitude of these two countries in particular relation to the threat that we fear from these sources.

16.00 hrs.

[SHRI DINESH CHANDRA GOSWAMI
in the Chair]

Now, take Pakistan. After the Simla Agreement in June 1972, we were hoping that Pakistan would respond favourably to the various initiatives that we had taken from time to time to resolve matters in accordance with the Simla Agreement and apart from that, took up individual matters for being resolved in accordance with the Simla Agreement. A very important aspect of the Simla Agreement, from the point of view of security and defence, was the agreement that both sides would, after the conclusion of the Simla Agreement, resolve all their difference whether old or any other problems arising out of the last conflict—whatever may be the problems—by peaceful means and by bilateral discussions. I would like to say that this agreement, honestly adhered to and assiduously implemented, would be the best guarantee of security for Pakistan.

Look at the position. Pakistan has itself been saying that India is large. Of course we are a large country. They have also said that India has got a big industrial potential. Of course we have, by successful implementation of our developmental plans, built up a good industrial base in our country. We have developed our science and technology to support that base; we have built a good infrastructure.

As for our Armed Forces, whenever the moment of trial came, they have risen to the occasion and they have brought laurels to our country. I take this opportunity of paying a tribute to the valour, patriotism and sense of supreme sacrifice displayed by our Armed Forces. No country can be but proud of Armed Forces of this character.

But, having conceded all that, what greater re-assurance could be given to Pakistan except signing a solemn agreement at the highest level that India would not use force in resolving any matter or dispute between the two countries? I may say that this would be the best guarantee. But, instead of taking advantage of this assurance solemnly given by India, Pakistan, it appears, has been wobbling either in the matter of actual implementation or on precise points mentioned in the Simla agreement. I would like to add that there has been a constant effort on the part of Pakistan to belittle the importance of this basic agreement arrived at between the two countries to resolve all matters peacefully. I was particularly pained to read a statement of Prime Minister Bhutto that he has not signed a "no-war pact" with India. I was most perturbed at the statement— not at the words of it but at the spirit behind it. Why should the Pakistani leaders talk of war? It is difficult for any objective observer to understand their motivations and their attitude on this subject. I would like to reiterate that Pakistan has not got anything to fear so far as India's strength is concerned. India will always use its strength in the interest of peace, in the interest of maintenance of security in the region, in establishing and area of peace and understanding, so that the countries in this region might be able to devote their resources to the progress and well-being of the people of this region. We are not interested in any warlike

activities. At the same time, I think, the whole world should know, particularly Pakistan should know, that if Pakistan imagines that they can browbeat India, if they, on the instigation of some outside forces or in a mood of arrogance derived from its acquisition of arms from various sources, take into their head to resort to aggression against India, then I need hardly say—and I would like to say this with all the emphasis at my command—that India will meet the situation in a befitting manner. This is the position that Pakistan should always keep in its mind.

Has the attitude of Pakistan been in line with the principles of the Simla Agreement? I am sorry to say that notwithstanding the actual settlement of some precise matters—these matters are known to the House, whether it is a matter of trade or travel facilities or opening of communications; and we hope that the other matters of a precise nature would also be mutually settled between the two countries—there are several negative aspects in the attitude of Pakistan. We could not at all understand, when we tried to settle the political problem in relation to Jammu and Kashmir with Sheikh Mohammed Abdullah, what business Pakistan had to criticise our efforts to bring about that settlement. This is a matter which, Pakistan knows, is entirely our internal concern as to who is to be the Chief Minister in Jammu and Kashmir. What is the relationship between Jammu and Kashmir and India is a matter entirely for India to decide because Kashmir is a constituent State of India and no outside power, much less Pakistan has got anything to do with it. This is a hard reality.

The world has seen that Pakistan has criticised us in a matter in which it had no *locus standi*, about the leadership of the government in Jammu and Kashmir. The manner in which Pakistan has been dealing with the occupied part of Kashmir has also to be seen in this context. We have made it absolutely clear, at all levels, including at the time of discussions in Simla, that the Pakistan occupied part of Kashmir is also a part of Jammu and Kashmir and as such a part of India, but still we can see the manner in which Pakistan has, of late, been dealing with it—first trying to make POK as a part of Pakistan and then

the latest news, which the House and the hon. members must have received already, regarding the allegation made by the former so-called President of the Pakistan occupied part of Kashmir that he has been ousted by Prime Minister Bhutto and his Party. This is the manner in which Pakistan is dealing with a part of Jammu and Kashmir which has always been regarded by India as a part of the State of Jammu and Kashmir and, therefore, a part of India. This shows a definite negative attitude on the part of Pakistan and its leadership.

Then again the type of statements that were made by Pakistan when certain steps were taken in Sikkim. That was definitely a matter in which Pakistan has absolutely no *locus standi*, forgetting all the time how Pakistan appropriated completely and eliminated the existence of Hunza, the position of which, from the historical point of view, was entirely different, as compared to the relationship between Sikkim and India.

Then again the manner in which Pakistan reacted at the time of our peaceful nuclear explosion, the manner in which they tried to agitate this matter in various international forums and the persistent manner in which they still continue to agitate this matter shows that their attitude in this respect also is one of creating tensions rather than to act upto the spirit of the Simla Agreement.

Then again, the acquisition of arms from various sources, China, France, etc., and the all-out efforts to mobilise funds from the oil-rich gulf areas in order to enable Pakistan to purchase more arms and last of all, the desperate efforts that they made to get the US embargo on the supply of arms lifted and the unfortunate response of the United States Government in response to the entreaties of Pakistan ultimately resulting in the lifting of that embargo, are the negative factors in the situation.

Keeping all these factors before us and taking an overall view, the responsibility lies heavy on us to make sure that our defences are kept in a proper trim to meet the situation that we may have to face from that quarter.

[Shri Swaran Singh]

Pakistan has plenty of her own internal problems and we have scrupulously avoided commenting on those problems. It is for their Central or Federal Government to settle those problems, whether of the North-West Frontier Province or of Baluchistan. But we do continue to feel that the way these matters are handled and the way in which the progressive forces are suppressed, outlawing a democratic party and imprisoning the leader of that Party—all these show a tendency towards authoritarianism and therefore, this is also a factor which we cannot ignore from our security point of view.

About the situation on the northern front, I would not like to say much. My colleague, the Minister of External Affairs had touched upon Sino-Indian relations. I would like to say that from the security point of view, the country has always to keep note of the actual situation that prevails. Now, I would like to mention two or three points in this connection. (1) The continued presence of the Chinese troops on our northern borders whose number at no point of time has come below about 100,000. (2) The continued support China has given to the unlawful elements in our eastern region, whether they are the Mizos or the Nagas and the way the Chinese have been supporting them not only politically but also receiving them, giving them training and also supplying arms to them. I would also like to add, besides this, their continued supply of arms to Pakistan in fairly large quantities. The hon. Member I think, from the CPM Party gave some figures about the value of the arms supplied by China. I would like to inform the House that the Chinese policy in the matter of supply of arms has consistently been that they supply arms without charging anything. Generally, their policy is to supply arms without charging any price.

So, for any commentator or pressmen to indicate that the value was so much would be just a sort of figure and any figure can be trotted about. That does not indicate the real quantum of the funds that might be contained in the various army items that might be supplied by China. Having taken all the factors into consideration, we should keep this

factor in our view when we talk of the assessment of our total defence requirements.

I would like to sum up by saying that, in the context of the continued presence of the large number of troops in Tibet and the increasing collaboration between Pakistan and China, we have to keep a vigil on our northern borders along with our responsibility on the Western borders and there is no escape from the adequate defence expenditure necessary on both these counts.

I would like to add only one more element before I pass on to some other point. Besides the situation on the land borders, we have also got a long sea border and, I am grateful to the several hon. Members who drew my pointed attention to our naval requirements. I will come to that point a little later. At the present stage, all that I am mentioning is that besides this problem on the land borders, we have also a problem on our coasts and we have got vital interests to protect our innocent shipping, our trade, supply of oil and, above all, the results flowing from our search for oil, particularly, in off-shore drilling. These are all matters which we have naturally to keep in mind and we have to organise our security arrangements and our defence arrangements taking all these facts into consideration.

Coming now to the actual budget estimates that have been presented, there have been a fairly large number of my friends, hon. Members of this House from our side as also from the Opposition Benches, who have made observations that our defence requirements are such that there should be a larger allocation for defence. I am grateful to those hon. Members and I have also to note that there were one or two voices raised in which an attempt was made to show that we are overestimating the risk that we face and, therefore, we are spending more. I would like to say that this latter approach is certainly not based on facts and I would like to add that this is based on an erroneous assessment of the situation that we face.

I would now like to give the House the broad spread of our total expenditure. Broadly speaking, there are three broad headings under which I would like to divide our budget estimates. Now, roughly

63% spent on pay, pensions, rations, clothing and maintenance of civil works, not only buildings etc. but other civil works also which are of strategic importance. Then, 27% is spent on ordnance stores and in this are included two main items, consumable stores like, for instance, clothing, uniforms etc. and the second component is, major items of various equipments, particularly, those that we manufacture in our own country—various types of arms, equipments and ammunition—and 10% I should say is spent on major works like acquisition of land, expenditure on plant and machinery—because the expenditure that goes to the establishment of ordnance factories is also reflected in the Budget—and acquisition of ships because that is also an expenditure included under this head. These are the broad percentages of expenditure. I have mentioned these percentages to bring out the fallacious argument which has been put across here, an argument upon which Pakistan has been harping that India has stepped up its defence expenditure to an unreasonably high level. That is the type of criticism that we face in the international community mainly due to the propaganda carried on by Pakistan, and it is, therefore, necessary to understand the situation correctly.

Now, the increase, for instance, in the first component, one of the big items of increase, was due to the increase in the pay of jawans and officers as a result of the Pay Commission's recommendations and on account of the general economic situation in the country. There is very little elasticity in that item, and therefore, that becomes an unavoidable item of expenditure. This is not only in regard to pay. On account of the general price increase in the country, there is bound to be increase in the expenditure on other items like, clothing, maintenance, consumable stores etc. If these elements are included, then, all that I can say is that the country, notwithstanding the great economic hardships that we experience, and these are real hardships, has managed to make allocations for defence to meet our minimum essential requirements. That is all I can say and I think that when the country faces other problems we should be satisfied if our minimum essential requirements are met with.

In this connection, I would like to touch upon two more points on the financial side before I pass on to other items. Some hon. Members have talked about the

gross national products and the percentage of this that we spend on defence. I would like to mention very broadly—I do not want to go into the details—as to how do we fare when we compare ourselves with other countries. India ranks tenth in the world as regards GNP after these highly advanced countries like USA, USSR, West Germany, Japan, France, UK, Italy, Canada and China. In the aggregate defence expenditure, however, India ranks twelfth. In 1974-75, India ranked twelfth because, besides these countries that I have mentioned countries like even Iran and Egypt spent more than what we spent on defence. The rank of India in terms of the defence burden, that is, the percentage of defence expenditure in terms of GNP is even lower. It is tending to move up more due to the increase in the GNP of other countries and a reduction in the defence expenditure in the Western world as a result of the detente between the super powers than any appreciable increase in India's defence expenditure in proportion to our GNP. I would not give you figures about other countries. The position in our immediate security environment of the defence expenditure of China, Pakistan, Iran and West Asian countries is increasing from year to year. Seen in the global perspective, India's defence expenditure is thus on a modest scale, particularly in the context of our security environment and the fact that we had to face national crises more often than most other nations.

SHRI PILOO MODY : Question.

Shri S. M. BANERJEE (Kanpur) : These are classified documents.

Shri SWARAN SINGH : They are not classified.

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE : As far as percentage of GNP is concerned out of 60 for which figures are available and we rank, I think, 26th.

SHRI SWARAN SINGH : So far as Pakistan is concerned, according to the published figures, it is spending over 51 per cent of her total revenue budget and 9 per cent of her GNP on defence. China has not made public any figures of her defence expenditure. This is the general situation with regard to the Chinese figures. But the British estimates place her defence expenditure between 10 and 12 billion dollars, which is four times what we spend.

SHRI N. K. P. SALVE (Betul) : What percentage of GNP?

SHRI SAWARN SINGH : Of China? This is very difficult for me to say.

I would like to say that our own percentage of GNP, as has already been mentioned here, is very low as compared to Pakistan. It is between 3 and 4 per cent of the Gross National Product; actually it is 3.7% of GNP as compared to Pakistan, both in terms of the percentage of the total revenue 'budget as also as a percentage of total GNP, it is very much lower.

A point had been raised by several hon. members about our expenditure on research and development. I need hardly reassure the House that we attach the highest importance to research and development and I am glad to report to the House that we have succeeded in collecting in the Research & Development organisation thousands and thousands of very brilliant scientists, engineers and other technologists, and we are really proud of them. As regards the direct expenditure under Research & Development, I would like to give only one figure. As compared to an expenditure of .17 crores in 1970-71 in the budget estimates, now the provision is of Rs. 49 crores, roughly three times what we spent five years ago. This is the manner in which we are trying to spend more on Research and Development.

I would also like to add that besides this provision of direct provision under the R & D heading, we are also spending fairly large sums of money on research and development in the various disciplines, say, in some of our production units, HAL, the Air Force, Navy, and that research, if I may add, is even more purposeful because that research is related to either improvement in production methods or improvement in performance, and that expenditure is outside this provision of Rs. 49 crores.

I have given these facts in order to demonstrate the high importance that we give to research and development and we are proud of the work that they have done in several fields, electronics, aeronautics, etc. they have done admirable work; this has helped us to increase not only the quantum of our production but also the quality of work that is done by them.

I would like also to mention this fact that we try to involve the head of Research and Development, the Scientific Adviser to the Defence Minister, in all our important discussions. It is not only that he comes and participates in assessments and discussion in matters relating to research and development, but we keep him fully involved in our other discussions so that he becomes a part and parcel of the organisation and thus can absorb the points that are mentioned by others and then himself initiate action in his own organisation to find answers to the various problems that are raised.

The manner in which we do this work will be of interest to the House. Our scientific adviser joins all the meetings that are held under the chairmanship of the Minister. These meetings are attended by the three Service Chiefs and my colleagues in the Ministry, the Minister of State and the Deputy Minister and the full fledged Secretaries. He is present in all those meetings so that he knows the broad contours of our strategy and general approach and he always brings about his own work and evaluation and assessment of the problems, even though they may not be directly within the corners of his research and development activity. It is our effort to involve our scientists through this permanent association of the scientific adviser with the problems that are faced by the armed forces so that they might be motivated to find answers to the various problems and difficulties that might be raised by the actual users of various types of equipment, lethal and non-lethal.

More than one hon. Member mentioned about the requirements of our Navy. We are conscious of this. We are also aware of the fact that the items of equipment for the Navy are more costly per item. The total number of items required may not be large but each item, whether it is a destroyer or any other naval ship costs high and it takes sometime for its manufacture, even if you have money and the resources. I should like to say that perhaps each budget of a year does not fully reflect the actual quantum of work that we may be doing for the Navy. To concretise it a little more, suppose we have a plan to manufacture a ship of the destroyers type, Leander type. The ship will normally take five or six years to be completed. But in each year only a small

amount will be indicated, the amount that goes to it in that year. Suppose, we place an order for the purchase of some naval equipment. There is always a timelag between our placing the order and its arrival. With the help of friendly countries we can always stagger these payments in such manner that the entire amount is not reflected in one year's budget. This is a peculiar aspect of the naval equipment. I cannot give you further details. But I should like to say that each particular year's expenditure taken in isolation will not give the correct picture of the real expenditure over a period on the side of the Navy.

It is true that Vikrant our aircraft carrier is getting old. It served us extremely well at the time of the Bangla Desh crisis and from the manner in which Vikrant was operating from the Bay of Bengal, it was able to play a decisive role in crippling Pakistans' facilities in Chittagong and in Cox Bazar; it is now a matter of history. In a sense it also paid, if I may say so, the value that we had invested on it. Still we intend to continue it because it has still got some useful life left and it is our intention to increase its air arm, to improve its air arm and get some proper replacements or give some other type of supporting air arm. We have already taken some action in this respect. In the matter of helicopters we have succeeded. In the matter of aircraft we have not yet. We are on the look out to locate a suitable aircraft. In the meantime whatever are the aircraft left, we make sure that they are kept in good trim and they are properly refurbished so that they are of use to us in keeping Vikrant quite effective.

Several hon. members spoke about lack of facilities in the maritime reconnaissance and anti-submarine role. We have already clinched some arrangements to acquire capability in this respect. Hon. members need not entertain any concern over the press controversy that has unfortunately been taking place as to whether the Navy or the Air Force should have it. This is not a difficult or complicated matter. I am aware of the approach by both the Navy and the Air Force and that is to get the maximum result out of it. There is no controversy as such. I am not bothered if there is a controversy to make out as to which out of them can put forward a scheme under which it is made best use of. Having weighed everything, it will be possible to arrive at a decision and no concern need be felt on this score. It is

a strategic and technical matter, which can be resolved in a very smooth manner. I am sure whatever will be done will be in the best interests of our armed forces.

Coming to the Air Force, it is true that we have certain requirements in the matter of transport planes. When we did not succeed, we gave the order to HAL to manufacture some more Avro 748 and this freighter type will meet some immediate and pressing requirements when it is actually commissioned. At the same time we are looking out for a suitable aircraft. The House should not carry the impression that we have not got adequate transport planes. AN-12 is one of our important transport planes. It is true our Packets and Dakotas are on their last legs and there is a little requirement in this respect and we are trying to meet that.

I would like to touch upon one small matter which was referred to as the air defence system. This is not a very complicated matter. It was Shri Brij Raj Singh Kooah who referred to the need for an integrated air defence system. As the hon. member is no doubt aware, our air defence system at present includes interceptors, fighters, missiles and anti-aircraft guns which are deployed according to the developing situation. A comprehensive Air Defence Ground Environment System aimed at strengthening air defence of the country, specially in northern and western theatres is under implementation on a phased basis. This system will augment and integrate a modern radar and communications set-up which will not only strengthen our radar system but also provide a more effective air defence cover by integrating these radars with air defence control centres, air bases and missile bases. These were some of the concrete points mentioned. I notice that my friend Shri Piloo Mody has quietly slipped away and I will wait till he returns, or till he cares to. I will reply, but I want to reply in his presence even if he is not, I will not close.

SHRI PILOO MODY : I was waiting here, for you to say this behind my back.

SHRI SWARAN SINGH : I also sometimes occupy the back bench. Nature has given Mr. Piloo Mody some bulk and he cannot hide himself even though he might sit at the extremity or at the other end. I have great respect for the leader—I think he is now the leader of a party—but I am pained to say that the statements which

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he has made to-day do not appear to be based on any facts. I am sorry to say that even our critics in the Press, in the world Press—and we have plenty of them—even they have not mentioned these things in the manner in which Mr. Piloo Mody reeled them off to-day; and I have not been able to fathom out, to figure out as to what is his source and why he thought it fit to mention these things in that rather categorical manner, knowing I hope full well that what he was saying, was not based on facts at all, I am sorry to say. He, towards the end of his speech delivered in his usual rhetorical style, posed some questions and said that he wants explicit answers to these. Before I touch upon others, I will first try to give precise answers to the points he made. One of those points was "Have the USSR asked for the establishment of a base in India?" I do not know what exactly he meant. Perhaps he meant a naval base. I would like to say that the Soviet Union has never asked us for any base, naval or any other and our policy in this respect (*Interruptions*)...

SHRI PILOO MODY : Don't give them the missile one they are asking for.

SHRI SWARAN SINGH : I will come to that. I know you will not permit me to escape lightly. I would like to draw Mr. Mody's attention to the very categorical statement made here by me that India's policy in this respect is quite categorical and clear and that we will never give a base to any country whatsoever. This is categorical; and I will be glad if Mr. Piloo Mody, with the influence that he has with the Press and others, should explain this position categorically, so that any doubt entertained in this respect may be dispelled.

SHRI PILOO MODY : But nobody believes your Government.

SHRI SWARAN SINGH : I think everybody believes, except Mr. Piloo Mody. Now, Sir, another point was mentioned, which was very interesting. He said that an offer was made by the Soviet side that they will supply a large number of equipments free, provided we join what he described as a collective security system. I would like to say that my reply to both these questions is a categorical 'No'. For one thing, we have never asked for any equipment from Soviet Union to be supplied to us free of cost. Never. Whatever we have

acquired from the Soviet Union, we have paid for it. It is true that on account of our friendly relations, they respond favourably and try to supply us the equipment which, unfortunately, other countries in spite of our efforts, are unwilling to supply. We are grateful to them; but at the same time, I would like to clarify that in our relations with the Soviet Union, there is no such thing as defence aid; and the Western Press and people like Mr. Piloo Mody wrongly continue to plug this line and talk of Soviet interference.

SHRI PILOO MODY : You have made a patently false statement. I will never accuse the Soviet Union of ever having given you aid. What I have been saying all these years is we have been buying all these equipments at twice the price.

SHRI SWARAN SINGH : I am glad you said that. I know you will try to spread this idea.

SHRI PILOO MODY : You must be categorical "no aid".

SHRI SWARAN SINGH : Therefore, there is no question of either our asking for anything to be supplied free, or their offering to supply us anything free, on a particular contingency, namely, our joining the Asian Security arrangement.

About the Asian Security arrangement I hope Shri Piloo Mody took the trouble of attending the meeting to the two Houses of Parliament, which was addressed by the General Secretary Mr. Breznev. He did float the idea. At the same time, he said that they do not have a scheme as such. He said: we are not trying to sell any particular offer, but I do float the idea, and I think it is for the countries in the region to debate it and to see if any arrangement can be thought of, which ensures the security of this region. The point that I want to urge is, for anyone to suggest that the Soviet Union has formulated any Asian Security Plan is absolutely incorrect. They have not made any such statement; they have not given anything to us or to any other country. It is true they have generally propagated the idea, and we ourselves have said we are very much interested, of there could be security in Asia. We have made our own contribution in entering into the Simla Agreement, in trying to be friend our neighbours, in trying to ensure that the Indian Ocean remains and area of peace, to ensure that the danger

from Diego Garcia base is eliminated. We have ourselves made our contribution towards ensuring conditions of security in this region. To say that anybody has got any ready-made...

SHRI PILOO MODY : I did not say that.

SHRI SWARAN SINGH : You have said "they have asked you to join their Asian Security Plan".

SHRI PILOO MODY : I have asked you to say whether you are going to join that. Are you going to join that? If not, say "No".

SHRI SWARAN SINGH : "No" to what? I say there is no plan. Why are you going to ask me to say "No" or "Yes" to something which does not exist at all?

SHRI PILOO MODY : That is how you deny things.

SHRI B. V. NAIK (Kanara) : In reply to the persistent queries made by the hon. Member, Shri Piloo Mody, that you make a categorical denial regarding the Asian Collective Security, I say that you have not categorically denied it.

SHRI SWARAN SINGH : I would like a debate to start on this, not here but in the lobbies and elsewhere.

SHRI PILOO MODY : So you see, I am not alone; there is somebody else in your own party.

SHRI SWARAN SINGH : We have some thinkers like you in our party. It was a fantastic suggestion to make by the hon. Member "we are using our good offices"—I am using his expression—to enable the Soviet Union to get a base in Maldives. I do not think there can be any more fantastic and unfounded suggestion than the one implicit in this question. To imagine that India undertakes this type of activity or indulges in this type of activity in the international sphere is, to say the least, unkind on the part of Shri Piloo Mody.

SHRI PILOO MODY : I am happy to receive this assurance.

SHRI SWARAN SINGH : I have a feeling, Mr. Piloo Mody, that you never had any misgivings but you just floated

the idea in your own words to mislead the world.

SHRI PILOO MODY : To tease you personally.

SHRI SWARAN SINGH : If it is to tease me personally, it is all right. Because, it is a pleasure to be teased by a friend like you. But I should enter a caveat that teasing should not be resorted to when such vital sensitive issues are involved, when international relationships are involved, when there is likelihood of misunderstanding creeping into the international sphere and international arena. We have got other matters to joke about us, to tease each other. But I would appeal to the hon. Member not to resort to this in these serious matters.

To suggest that India can act as a sort of "user of good offices".

SHRI PILOO MODY : Broker, *dalai*.

SHRI SWARAN SINGH : What you are saying is not correct. I would like to say that even to suggest such a thing that India can undertake an activity of this type in the international sphere is doing the gravest injustice to the consistent policy that we have pursued in our relations.

SHRI S. M. BANERJEE : So, I suggest that his speech should be expunged.

SHRI SWARAN SINGH : Instead of expunging it, I believe I have sufficiently and adequately dealt with it.

He made another very equally fantastic suggestion, saying that the Soviet Union has suggested that India should take a large number of instructors, and he even gives the figure of 60,000 such instructors to be given to India, or "to be unleashed on India". I hope this is also another part of the joke.

SHRI PILOO MODY : First answer the question; then make your comment. Say "yes" or "no". The figure, incidentally, is not material.

SHRI SWARAN SINGH : What is the amplitude of the figure, if I may ask? Can it come down to one?

SHRI PILOO MODY : You can have one. There are already several thousands in the country.

SHRI SWARAN SINGH : That is absolutely incorrect. That is why I am asking you. The hon. Member himself is feeling how inconvenient and absurd it is to stick to the figure he mentioned. Now he says he is not sticking to the figure.

SHRI PILOO MODY : Mr. Chairman I want to know whether the hon. Minister is aware of the fact that there were 22,000 Russians in Egypt.

SHRI SWARAN SINGH : We are talking of India.

SHRI PILOO MODY : If instructions are to be sent at the same rate, ours being a larger army, at least three times, I merely multiplying the figure three times. I said that it can be as many as that. It is for you to say that "we will accept 10, 100 or 1,000", as many as you want to accept. But I want to know the figure.

SHRI SWARAN SINGH : I am glad the hon. Member has given his method of arriving at the figure. His analysis is very interesting. Egypt, according to his information, culled from western papers, has at least 22,000. We are many times the size of Egypt, at least we are three times more its size and, therefore, we should have 60,000. If this is put forward as an argument, I would like to say that this is another part of teasing and not based on facts.

So far as India's relationship with the Soviet Union is concerned, I would like to say that they have never tried to force any expert on us. They have never tried to suggest that we should take so many experts in this field or that field. But there is no doubt that we have programmes of cooperation in establishing steel plants, in the case of oil drilling, where we have several Soviet experts. In the establishment of the MIG factories in Koraput, Hyderabad and Nasik, for instance, we had several experts.

SHRI PILOO MODY : How many ?

SHRI SWARAN SINGH : Honestly, I do not know the number. But the way in which he has suggested it was, if I may say so, not worthy, and I would like the House to take note of it. What he said was that they said that they are willing to supply some equipments which he mentioned, provided we take 50,000 experts. This is not correct.

SHRI PILOO MODY : That is not what I said.

SHRI SWARAN SINGH : I think you said that, All right, we will check the records. If it is in correct, we can look into it.

SHRI PILOO MODY : The figure of 60,000 was built up in the manner I told you. What is what I said in my speech also, I want to know whether they have linked the supply of equipment with experts.

SHRI SWARAN SINGH : They have never linked the supply of any equipment with experts. But there is no doubt that sometimes when we get some equipment or we have a project, we do ask them to depute experts. We should never be ashamed of that. . .

SHRI PILOO MODY : When you do, let us know.

SHRI SWARAN SINGH : I am telling you now.

SHRI PILOO MODY : How many and when ?

SHRI SWARAN SINGH : There are two parts of his query. One is that they had suggested that they will not supply equipment or that they will put it as a condition that India should accept so many experts, as a condition for supply of arms and equipment. I say, this is absolutely incorrect. We ourselves have enough of expertise. But still there may be some item of an intricate character about which our people may not be fully aware of. We have ourselves sent a large number of persons abroad, to the Soviet Union and to other friendly countries, even to Britain, France, Belgium, from where we get some equipment and, sometimes, we ask their experts to come here and to explain to us the intricacies of the equipment, whether it is of a capital character or it is a matter of arms.

Now, it is really very difficult for me to contradict each and every sentence that he used in his speech. I have answered the main four points that he made. All that I would like to say is that his graphic description of Mirage deal having been struck and having been scuttled by the Soviet Union is absolutely baseless. We were exploring the possibility of acquiring Mirage. But we could not make much

progress. Either we could not settle about price or about utility, etc. So, it is absolutely wrong to suggest that we had struck a deal which was scuttled. This I think, is very unfair to a friendly country as if they are out to scuttle it when you are at the point of striking a deal.

They have never asked us not to get our equipment from any other particular source. In fact, we do not accept any suggestion from any country, friendly or otherwise, if they tell us that we should not get our equipment, our requirement of equipment, from a particular source from which we may think it is best from the point of view of...

SHRI PILOO MODY : Question.

SHRI SWARAN SINGH : He is only teasing.

My reply is the same with regard to the Swedish submarine deal about which he mentioned. It is wrong to suggest that they scuttled it. How many things should I contradict? I am sorry to say that having listened to him rather carefully and having taken extensive notes, I can boldly say that all his insinuations that he made that whenever we try to get equipment from some other source, the Soviet Union scuttled it, and all the "information" that he gave are without foundation. There is no question of the Soviet Union scuttling it. Even today, we are getting arms, and equipment, from sources other than the Soviet Union. We are getting our requirements from Britain, from France, from Belgium and from several other countries. I would like to say categorically that we will not accept any suggestion from any country to limit the source from which we get our equipment. It is for us to decide. But I have no hesitation, if the requirement is there, to get it from any source, from any country, which is prepared to supply.

17.00 hrs.

I would like to remind my friend and the House, which is aware of the fact, that when we were in need, we tried the sources which are in the mind of the Member. We tried the Americans and we tried the British. Then we went to the Soviet Union and they responded.

(Interruptions)

I don't want to believe that the equipment we got or any particular part is

either bad or good. Depending on the willingness of the other countries to supply it, we are prepared to purchase it. But, in view of the attitude of certain countries, you cannot expect me to go and supplicate and draw a negative. This is something which is not consistent, with the self-respect of a big country like India. We will either manufacture them or get them through dependable sources which are willing to supply them.

We have also to keep another aspect in mind. In the matter of equipment, it is not only the main initial supply but also the maintenance supply which is necessary. I have seen countries—without naming them—which, as soon as the trouble started in 1965, were not prepared to supply maintenance requirements even for the equipment they had supplied. We don't want such sources because the arms are to be used at a critical moment and if, at the critical moment they take up a high and mighty attitude and say they will not supply, what can we do?

So, I would like Shri Piloo Mody and other Members also to appreciate the seriousness of the problem about which we talk. It is always bad, from our country's point of view, without any other sources in sight of a dependable character which will be prepared to supply our requirements at the appropriate prices, to weaken our links with the countries which are supplying or which are prepared to supply them. To say the least, it is not in the national interest and we should resist the temptation to adopt this attitude.

SHRI PILOO MODY : I am grateful to the Minister for having re-established India as a sovereign power.

SHRI SWARAN SINGH : Good.

Now, Sir, there are one or two matter of a general character which had been raised and I would say only a few words—because I know the limitation of time is there. More than one Hon'ble Member raised a topical subject about which I will venture to make some comments. This is about the role of our Armed Forces—and certain statements have unfortunately been made in the country in order to confuse the situation, to say the least. I am conscious of the fact that Mr. Jayaprakash Narayan has tried to immediately

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his earlier press reports or statements and has tried to present, as he thinks, a more plausible projection of his attitude. I have given very careful thought to what has appeared in the newspapers and have tried to study deeply the implications thereof. It is time that we fully understand the implications of what he says.

This is a serious matter and we should view it with the seriousness that it demands. I have got a record of what has appeared now as his latter statement. It has appeared in many newspapers in the form of questions and answers. I would like to thank Mr. H. M. Patel who, in spite of his general sympathy for the J. P. movement, was good enough to say that Mr. Jayaprakash Narayan on this subject was treading on dangerous grounds. If I may say, the essence is this. It is true that all functionaries, whether they are armed forces or police or other Government functionaries, all of us in Parliament, whether we are on the Treasury Benches or on the Opposition, we have all to accept the Constitution. We are the creatures of the Constitution and, therefore, we have to accept the Constitution. It is true that Parliament makes laws and everybody should accept those laws. It is accepted. But the dangerous element in those statements is that, on each occasion, when any particular or precise act is to be done either by a member of the armed forces or by a member of the police, which is also a sensitive security force, then the element that is introduced is this—he should decide as to whether what he is being asked to do is Constitutional or legal. This, stated in this form, is, if I may say, a highly dangerous element. It has very far-reaching implications and the country should be fully conscious of the direction in which the minds of the people are being taken. There will be a disaster if such disciplined forces, before they obey the orders, are to decide for themselves as to whether the orders are Constitutional or legal.

17.07 hrs.

[Mr. SPEAKER in the Chair]

Imagine that a constable or a soldier or an airman or a naval man is asked to do a particular thing by a commander and then he takes up the Constitution book to

decide whether what he is being asked to do is Constitutional or legal. This cuts at the very root of our system and the discipline through which we are trying to strengthen our country. If this is to be decided by each individual, I think there will be nothing but chaos. We should prevent that chaos. We should be conscious of this implication. I do not want to make any wild statement. To a certain extent, I welcome the clarifications because, to a certain extent, that is a step in the right direction. I would only appeal to him that he should again have a look at what he has stated, and he should try to remove what I regard as highly unsatisfactory elements in that statement. Let the whole country unite and make it clear that we respect and support our armed forces. They have a great task to perform. Their valour and their patriotism is well established at the time of crisis, and I am fully convinced that no amount of this type of speech or statement will divert them or make them deviate, even to the slightest degree, from the path that they have chosen for themselves. They are not a group of mercenary type of people. They are highly devoted people and I am sure that they will always rise to the occasion. All that I am appealing is that, even unwittingly, no one in the country should do anything which might shake them, which might confuse them, which might make them think that they have to look to some source other than the accepted and well-regulated command, and a kind of command which, I think, is the biggest guarantee to ensure that they perform their duties in an effective and proper manner. I do not want to go into the details. I would just appeal to all my friends not to make this a point of argument but to create an atmosphere in which the armed forces and the security forces are further entrenched in their determination to adhere to the discipline which they have undertaken and about which they have taken an oath. And let them not look over their shoulders to other sources which, I believe, will never be in the interests of the country. In that context, to talk of the possibility of a call to rebel being made to them, if I may say, is fraught with dangerous consequences and it is time that the country wakes up to the danger which is involved in an attitude of that character.

Before I finish, I would touch upon a matter which has been mentioned by one hon. Member. This was about the cases

of corruption. One was a PAC case. I would like to say that according to the well-established practice, when PAC has made recommendations, the Government attaches the highest respect to the recommendations of the PAC. They have made a recommendation that this matter should be inquired into. We accept that recommendation and we will inquire into it and the time for a discussion in the House will be when we report the action taken on their recommendations. It is a well-known principle that we have accepted; even if a person may be, according to their judgment, guilty of lapses - it is not for me to defend him—the least that is required in the situation is that he should be given an opportunity to put forward his viewpoint. That is what is implicit even in the report made by them that an inquiry should be made . . .

SHRI S. M. BANERJEE : That was not the point. It was surprising that the same officer has been given PVSM.

SHRI SWARAN SINGH : I think it is a valid point. I owe an explanation with regard to this. In a nut-shell the reply is that the PAC report was actually laid on the Table of the House roughly two months after the decision had been taken on the basis of the record of his service, to grant him that type of medal and it had also been approved by the President long before the report came and it had been actually notified in the Gazette also. You will readily agree that when a decision has already been taken by the Government before the report was received by us, you cannot say that we acted against any recommendation of the report . . .

SHRI S. M. BANERJEE : It was given in the ceremony that took place recently.

SHRI SWARAN SINGH : I would like to say. Let us not enter into this controversy. If, as a result of the inquiry . . .

SHRI S. M. BANERJEE : I am not against him personally. I would request you that in such a case where the PAC has given a scathing criticism against a senior officer—Lt. Gen. Sandhu, DOS, to uphold the morale of the defence forces, for which I have the greatest regard, you should at least not have rewarded him for corruption.

SHRI SWARAN SINGH : If I may say so, the PAC report itself is that these are their findings, a preliminary sort

of findings by them and they have asked the Government to look into it. They have suggested an inquiry, and as a result of the inquiry, and depending upon the inquiry, further appropriate action can be taken. I would like to assure that our attitude is not to shield anybody. We will come down with a very heavy hand if anything is established. At the same time, it may also be demoralising for the Armed Forces and, in fact, for any public servant if the normal right is not given to them to defend themselves. This is all I am saying. I am not saying anything on facts because I do not know the facts which will be known only after we know the other side.

Another matter mentioned was about Maj. Dhawan's case. If I may say, about that I am going to make a statement tomorrow. All that I want to say is that he made a statement and he also made several representations some of which are statutory and some non-statutory. While I was replying to a unstarred question, probably, my hon. friend, Shri Jyotirmoy Bose, had another representation in mind. I was replying to one representation whereas perhaps he was referring to another one. I will try to state all the facts tomorrow, not about the general attitude that we adopt, but I would like to say briefly that, as a result of the statements made by him, action was initiated against several officers and appropriate action was taken and it is not that no action was taken against anybody. About Mr. Dhawan's individual case, the House, you know, does not discuss individual cases.

But, he was court-martialed and a certain punishment was awarded to him. He has got the right of appeal and he has already preferred an appeal and that appeal will be considered according to law and procedure. We have no prejudice against anybody. If I may say so, he was court-martialed in which allegation was that he refused to give evidence when he was called upon to do so. But, I do not want to judge any facts when he has preferred an appeal. To a certain extent, this matter is somewhat *sub judice* and that appeal will be disposed of according to merits.

Then there is a new case by young and energetic, Member from Tamil Nadu, Shri Mohan Raj. He gave another case about the purchase of armed personnel

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carrier. I think the information that he got was not complete. It is true that a team went and they examined all the aspects and ultimately we did not purchase those armed personnel carriers. So, that is the end of the matter.

Another matter was a C.B.I. matter about which the enquiry is still being held. As a general proposition, I would like to say that the hon. Members have examined with such minuteness those cases and these are two or three cases that have come to light. Our attitude is not to push anything under the carpet. We would try to do everything possible to remove corruption and uproot corruption. I would say that generally the standard of honesty and integrity in the armed forces organisation is very high. But, still, even the smallest matters or deviations from the path of rectitude are matter of great pain to the Government, and, to me, personally. Therefore, I would like to give this assurance that we would do everything possible in the preventive spheres to make sure that these legacies, unfortunate legacies and lapses do not take place. He will not be soft to anybody if anything is established. We would not like to embark upon a policy of witch-hunting. I think I have covered almost all the points except, perhaps, the matter of resettlement of ex-servicemen which was raised by several hon. Members. This is a very important matter, Mr. Speaker, and we are in touch with the States and with the other organisations and we ourselves have to depend on the cooperation of the other States on whom the main burden lies. But, we are trying at the organisational level and on the ground level to do the best.

MR. SPEAKER : I shall put the cut motion Nos. 1 to 8 moved by Shri Bhogendra Jha to vote.

The cut motions were put and negatived

MR. SPEAKER : Now, I shall put all the cut motions moved by Shri Banerjee to vote.

SHRI S. M. BANERJEE : But, I would like to press my cut motion No. 19, I would not press my other cut motions.

MR. SPEAKER : I shall now put cut Motion No. 19 to the vote.

Cut motion No. 19 was put and negatived.

MR. SPEAKER : Now, the question is :

"That the respective sums not exceeding the amounts on Revenue Account and Capital Account shown in the fourth column of the Order Paper be granted to the President to complete the sums necessary to defray the charges that will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1976, in respect of the heads of demands entered in the second column thereof against Demands Nos. 18 to 23 relating to the 'Ministry of Defence'."

The motion was adopted.

[The motions for Demands for Grants, which were adopted by the Lok Sabha, are reproduced below—Ed.]

DEMAND No. 18—MINISTRY OF DEFENCE

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 1,34,12,000 on Revenue Account and not exceeding Rs. 13,31,79,000 on Capital Account be granted to the President to complete the sum necessary to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1976 in respect of 'Ministry of Defence'."

DEMAND No. 19—DEFENCE SERVICES—ARMY

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 1,250,57,35,000 on Revenue Account be granted to the President to complete the sum necessary to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1976, in respect of 'Defence services—Army'."

DEMAND No. 20—DEFENCE SERVICES—NAVY

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 1,12,16,45,000 on Revenue Account be granted to the President to complete the sum necessary to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1976, in respect of 'Defence Services—Navy'."

DEMAND No. 21—DEFENCE SERVICES—AIR FORCE

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 370,30,62,000 on Revenue Account be granted to the President to complete the sum necessary

to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1976, in respect of 'Defence Services—Air Force'."

DEMAND NO. 22—DEFENCE SERVICES—PENSIONS

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 94,16,67,000 on Revenue Account be granted to the President to complete the sum necessary to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1976, in respect of 'Defence Services—Pensions'."

DEMAND NO. 23—CAPITAL OUTLAY ON DEFENCE SERVICES

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 197,88,52,000 on Capital Account be granted to the President to complete the sum necessary to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1976, in respect of 'Capital Outlay on Defence Services'."

17.21 hrs.

PERSONAL EXPLANATION BY MEMBER

SHRI MORARJI DESAI (Surat) :
Mr. Speaker, Sir, I appreciate the opportunity given to me to make this statement in the House. Ordinarily, I would not have done so as I had not formally informed the House of my decision to undertake an indefinite fast. I am constrained to do so, however, because the Prime Minister in her statement on the 15th of this month had thought it fit to make certain observations which give a somewhat misleading view of what made it necessary for me to undertake a fast of this nature. The Prime Minister is fully entitled to give expression to her view that 'fasts of this nature are unjustified and constitute an irrational form of political pressure'. But, she is not entitled to support her view by stating that 'Shri Morarj Desai was himself forthright in expressing similar view in the past' when that is in fact not the case.

The Prime Minister was perhaps referring to what I had said in my autobiography. Let me quote the relevant portion :

"It is my belief that the fast unto death should not be undertaken in order to get something from somebody or to pressurise somebody to take some definite action. But, my fast was neither directed against any individual nor was undertaken in order to make somebody do something particularly. The aim of my fast was only to wean away the citizens from violent action."

These remarks of mine were made with reference to riots which had broken out during the Maha Gujarat movement in Ahmedabad. Similarly, on this occasion too, the object of the fast was to wean away the Government of India from the path of continuous and sustained pursuit of policies and actions which were against the spirit and even against the letter of the Constitution and denied the people the rights assured to them in the Constitution.

No one undertakes a fast lightly more so when it is an indefinite one. At my age, it was bound to be a more solemn decision. I would, therefore, like to assure the House that I would not have undertaken the fast unless I was fully convinced of the rightness of my stand. The consideration that weighed with me finally was that an individual's life did not matter when certain vital issues were at stake. I referred specifically in the letters which I addressed to the Prime Minister to these issues—(1) the people must have their representative Government without avoidable delay. There was a clear failure to hold elections in Gujarat before it became necessary to extend the President's Rule even though on Government's own showing nothing stood in the way of holding them. Secondly, the elections cannot be arranged and fixed according to the political convenience of the ruling party, in utter disregard of the constitutional obligations. Thirdly, the relief to the drought affected people could be effectively organised only by their chosen representatives. Fourthly, there was no justifiable reason to continue the state of Emergency which had been ushered in on the break-out of war with Pakistan in December 1971. In this connection, the misuse of MISA was uppermost in my mind.

There was thus no conflict between what I had said earlier and my reasons for going on a fast for indefinite period this time. It was undertaken both then and on this