

[Shri S. A. Dange]

is one end of the pole and working class is the other. The greater the concentration of wealth on that side the greater is the concentration of poverty on this side. If you reduce that, this automatically gets reduced. If you take that fundamental proposition, a lot of other difficulties will vanish. Rivalries and other things are small things. I am talking of fundamentals.

If the Government of India and the Congress Party are in a mood really to rationalise the problems of working class and strike struggles and really evolve an industrial relations policy, which is democratic, beneficial to the working class and also serves the interests of the national economy, I can say without fear of contradiction on behalf of not only the AITUC but all the other trade union organisations and leadership represented in this House, that we are prepared to consider how to evolve that system. But we are not going to bargain the right to strike against the offer of compulsory arbitration or any kind of ban.

16.09 hrs.

MOTION RE : TENSION ON
INDIAN BORDERS

Mr. CHAIRMAN : We shall now take up the motion of Shri Prakash Vir Shastri. 2 hours have been allotted.

SHRI RANGA (Srikakulam) : It should be increased by another hour.

Mr. CHAIRMAN : We shall see as the debate progresses. Now, Mr. Shastri.

श्री प्रकाशवीर शास्त्री (हापुड) : मैं प्रस्ताव करता हूँ :

“कि पाकिस्तान और चीन की गतिविधियों के कारण भारतीय सीमाओं पर बढ़ते हुए तनाव से उत्पन्न स्थिति पर विचार किया जाय।”

सभापति महोदय, प्रकृति ने भारत को एक अजेय दुर्ग की तरह बनाया था। तीन ओर समुद्र को इस की रक्षा के लिए खड़ा किया था और एक ओर हिमालय को उस का पहरेदार बना कर खड़ा किया था। हमारी सबसे पहली भूल यह हुई कि हम ने भारत की प्राकृतिक सीमा को छिन्न-भिन्न कर दिया अप्राकृतिक सीमा आज देश के लिए एक समस्या बनी हुई है। दूसरा भूल उस समय हुई कि जब तिब्बत का चीनी राक्षस अपने मुँह में दबोच रहा था उस समय हम मौन धारण किए बैठे रहे और शत्रु जाँसकड़ों मील दूर हम से था वह हमारे सिर पर आकर खड़ा हो गया। उसने 1962 में आक्रमण कर देश के सामरिक दृष्टि से महत्वपूर्ण बहुत से भागों का अपने अधिकार में कर लिया। उधर पाकिस्तान का जन्म ही भारत-विरोध के आधार पर हुआ है। वह प्रारम्भ से ही जब उस के यहाँ कोई संकट उत्पन्न होता है तो भारत विरोध का अपना नारा बुलन्द कर देता है। इसलिए उस से शोष सद्भावना की कोई आशा बेकार मालूम पड़ती है। जब जब पाकिस्तान के शासकों का अपना गद्दी हिलती दिखाई देती है तब कोई न कोई नारा वह भारत के विरोध में अपने देश में बुलन्द करते हैं। पिछले 20-21 वर्षों में लगभग तीन आक्रमण पाकिस्तान ने भारत पर किये। सब से पहला आक्रमण 1947 में काश्मीर पर हुआ, दूसरा कच्छ के रन में और तीसरा 1965 में राजस्थान और पंजाब के अन्दर हुआ। इन तीनों ही आक्रमणों में भारत की स्थिति लगभग वैसी ही रही जैसी मोहम्मद गौरी के साथ पृथ्वीराज की थी। इन तीनों ही आक्रमणों में भारतवर्ष के साथ पाकिस्तान का जो कहने और निर्णय लेने का ढंग रहा, वह उस पुराने इतिहास की स्मृति को ताजा कराता है। 1947 में जब भारतीय तापों की आबाज रावल पिण्डो तक पहुँचने लगी तो उस समय के पाकिस्तान के प्रधान मन्त्री श्री लियाकतअली खान ने भारत के प्रधान मन्त्री से बातचीत की और पहली जनवरी, 1948

को हम ने उस लड़ाई को बीच में ही बन्द कर दिया।

दूसरी इस तरह की भूल उस समय हुई जब कच्छ की दल-दल में पाकिस्तानी सैनिक फंसने लगे तो ब्रिटेन को बीच में डाल कर पाकिस्तान ने सारी समस्या को पंच फंसले के लिये सौंप दिया। तीसरी हिमालय जैसी भारी भूल उस समय हुई जब 1965 में भारतीय सेना बड़े उत्साह से भागें बढ़ रही थी, तो पहले संपुनत राष्ट्रसंघ के महामन्त्री श्री ऊ थां बीच में आकर पड़े और जो रही सही कसर थी वह ताशकन्द में जाकर हम ने पूरी कर दी।

मेरा कहना इस प्रकार का है कि पाकिस्तान प्रारम्भ से ही चोट खाने के बाद अपनी तैयारियों के अन्दर लगा रहा। 1954 में और उस के बाद उस ने सीटो और नाटों का सदस्य बनने के साथ साथ जो तैयारियां की, उन में अमेरीका के सहयोग से लगभग 40 हजार सैनिक पाकिस्तान में रखे गये। सरगोधा, मीरपुर और पेशावर के सैनिक हवाई अड्डे बने, कई आर्डिनेन्स फैक्ट्रियां खुली, 650 से अधिक पेटन-टैंक और शर्मन टैंक उस समय पाकिस्तान को मिले, दो बम-बर्षक स्वैडन, एक सुपरसोनिक स्वैडन, 9 सेबरजेट, बहुत से मिसाइल, हेली-कोप्टर और राकेट आदि पाकिस्तान को मिले। नौसेना जो उस समय पाकिस्तान के पास न के बराबर थी, उस में भी विकास हुआ, उस में भी 5 डस्ट्रायर, 2 कृजर और एक पनडुब्बी मुख्य रूप से पाकिस्तान को मिली। इस तरह से चोट खा कर पाकिस्तान ने अपनी सरगमियों को आगे बढ़ाना शुरू किया लेकिन मैं उस इतिहास को छोड़ते हुए 1965 पर आता हूँ। 1965 में चोट खाकर पाकिस्तान और भी अधिक बोखला उठा। उसने अपनी जल सेना, स्थल सेना और वायु सेना को फिर से संगठित करना और बढ़ाना शुरू किया। 1965 से पहले पाकिस्तान के पास

केवल 9 डिवीजन सेना थी, जिसको उस ने बढ़ा कर 16 डिवीजन किया। इस के अतिरिक्त वायुसेना और नौसेना में भी उसने अपेक्षित वृद्धि की। चीन से पहले भी पाकिस्तान को बहुत-कुछ सहायता मिली थी, लेकिन पिछले तीन सालों में चीन से पाकिस्तान को जो सहायता मिली, उस में लगभग 3 हजार तोपें, 160 मिलीमीटर मोर्टार और 5 सी 59 टैंक और कुछ मिग-विमान भी शामिल हैं, पाकिस्तान के विमान चालकों को चीन में इस समय ट्रेनिंग दी जा रही है। इस के अतिरिक्त गुरिल्ला युद्ध में भी चीन ने पाकिस्तान के सैनिकों को विशेष रूप से शिक्षा दी है, जिसका परिचय कांमोर, नागालैंड और मिजो पहाड़ियों में कई बार देखने को मिला है। कई आर्डिनेन्स फैक्ट्रीज भी पाकिस्तान में चीन की सहायता से खुली हैं।

1965 में पाकिस्तानी आक्रमण के बाद अमरीका ने घोषणा की थी कि पाकिस्तान की सहायता सम्बन्धी नीति में अमरीका ने कुछ परिवर्तन किया है। लेकिन सच्चाई यह है कि उस के बाद भी अमरीकी सहायता पाकिस्तान को मिलती रही। कभी ईरान के द्वारा, कभी तुर्की के द्वारा पाकिस्तान पेटन टैंक और दूसरे बड़े हथियार लेता रहा। फ्रांस जो उस समय बिलकुल तटस्थ था, उस ने 1965 के बाद पाकिस्तान को पनडुब्बी देने के अतिरिक्त कुछ बमबर्षक 'मिरज' विमान भी दिये हैं जिनका इजराइल ने अरब राष्ट्रों के साथ संबंधों में उपयोग किया था।

एक सब से बड़ी चिन्ता की बात यह है कि अब रूस ने भी पाकिस्तान को हथियार देने प्रारम्भ कर दिये हैं। अधिकृत रूप से नहीं कहा जा सकता, लेकिन हमारी सरकार को केवल इतना ही पता है कि पाकिस्तान को प्रारम्भ में हेलीकोप्टर्स मिले थे और अब कुछ दूसरे हथियार भी मिले हैं। लेकिन जो सब से ताजा और भयानक समाचार है वह यह

[श्री प्रकाशवीर शास्त्री]

है कि रूस ने पाकिस्तान को आणविक हथियारों की या आणविक शक्ति की जानकारी देना भी प्रारम्भ किया है। हो सकता है कि पाकिस्तान यह कहे कि वह इन का शक्ति कार्यों में ही प्रयोग करेगा। लेकिन सभापति महोदय, जो सब से बड़ी चिन्ता की बात है वह यह है कि पाकिस्तान के पास अणु-आणविक शक्ति का विज्ञान आ गया तो यह भी हो सकता है कि जैसे उस की नीयत पीछे समय-समय पर खराब होती रही है, इस विषय में भी उस की नीयत खराब हो सकती है। यह भारत के लिये और भी अधिक चिन्ता का विषय बन गई है। आधुनिक मिग विमान तो उस को उधर से मिले ही हैं। पाकिस्तान अणु यह कहता है और रूस भारत को यह विश्वास दिलाता है कि इन हथियारों से पाकिस्तान भारत पर आक्रमण नहीं करेगा तो ऐसा विश्वास तो पाकिस्तान ने अमरीका को भी दिया था। लेकिन उस के बाद भी आक्रमण किया। इस की कोई गारंटी नहीं है कि रूस को दिया उस का यह विश्वासन या रूस जो विश्वास हम को दिलाता है उस पर पाकिस्तान जम कर रह सकेगा।

1965 के बाद—पाकिस्तान ने जो सामरिक तैयारी की है, उस में इच्छोगिल नहर जैसी टैंक अवरोधक नहर बनाई है। इसके अतिरिक्त एक 15 फुट ऊंची और 17 मील लम्बी दीवार भी बनाई है तथा कुछ अण्डर-ग्राउण्ड छानियां भी तैयार की हैं। एक बड़ी गंभीर बात यह है कि चीन के साथ उसका एक समझौता हुआ है। जब तक भारतवर्ष के साथ पश्चिमी क्षेत्र में पाकिस्तान का संघर्ष होगा, उस समय तक चीन शायद सीधा संघर्ष में न उतरे, लेकिन पूर्वी क्षेत्र में भारत और पाकिस्तान का संघर्ष हुआ तो असम और नेफा के क्षेत्र में—चीन ने पाकिस्तान को विश्वास दिलाया है—वह दबावी कार्यवाही प्रारम्भ कर देगा।

लेकिन जिस की ओर विशेष रूप से मैं आपका ध्यान आकर्षित करना चाहता हूँ—वह यह है कि पाकिस्तान ने अपनी सेना और सैनिक सामग्री को दो हिस्सों में बांटा हुआ है। पश्चिमी क्षेत्र में वह रूस और अमरीका की सहायता से सारी तैयारियां कर रहा है और पूर्वी क्षेत्र में चीन से मिली हुई सैनिक सामग्री के आधार पर उस ने अपना मोर्चा जमाया है। राजस्थान से लगे हुए जो पाकिस्तान के क्षेत्र हैं उसमें 15 मील तक की सीमा को उसने हिंदूओं से खाली करवा दिया है। इसके अतिरिक्त गुरिल्ला ट्रेनिंग देकर अथवा तोड़फोड़ की ट्रेनिंग देकर उसने अपने आदिमियों को भारतवर्ष के अन्दर भेजा हुआ है जो यहां तरह तरह की विध्वंसक कार्यवाहियां कर रहे हैं। एक बड़ी चिन्ता-जनक बात जिसको मैं बड़ी चिन्ता के साथ इस सदन के सामने रखना चाहता हूँ—वह यह है कि चीन और पाकिस्तान ने तो मिल कर एक नया गठबन्धन किया ही है। कन्युनिस्ट और कम्युनलिस्टों का भी एक गठबन्धन हुआ है एक नई तरह को हवा प्रारम्भ हुई है जिसको नक्सलाइट भूप कहा जाता है। यह भयंकर और उपद्रवी तत्व असम, नक्सलवाड़ों से लेकर एक रेंज में जिसमें पश्चिमी बंगाल, आन्ध्र, केरल और इसी प्रकार की सीमायें लगती हैं, गतिशील है। इस रेंज में उन लोगों की सरकार विरोधी कार्यवाहियां शुरू हो गई हैं। ये कार्यवाहियां अभी छुटपुट हमले के रूप में ही केवल नहीं हैं विधान सभाओं में और कभी कभी यहां भी जहां हम आज खड़े होकर बोल रहे हैं—उन की झलक दिखलाई पड़ती है। ऐसी स्थिति में हम अपने चेहरे को शीशे में देखें कि आज हम कहां हैं? ऐसी भयंकर स्थिति का मुकाबला करने के लिये भारतवर्ष की रक्षा की क्या तैयारी हम ने की है?

सबसे पहले मैं नवम्बर, 1962 से शुरू करता हूँ। जिस समय 1962 में हम को चोट

लगी आप को स्मरण होगा सभापति महोदय, उस समय आप भी इस संसद् के सदस्य थे, सरकार ने नेफा एन्कवायरो की पूरी रिपोर्ट इस सदन में पेश नहीं की। लेकिन जो थोड़ी बहुत पेश की थी, उस में पांच पैराग्राफ केवल मिलिट्री इन्टेलिजेंस के फेल्योर के बारे में थे। सैनिक गुप्तचर विभाग की असफलता के बारे में थे। उस समय सरकार ने आश्वासन दिया था कि हम इससे सबक सीखेंगे और आगे के लिये अपने सैनिक गुप्तचर विभाग को सम्भालने की कोशिश करेंगे। लेकिन मेरी पहली शिकायत तो इस सरकार से यह है कि सैनिक और असैनिक गुप्तचर विभागों में जो पारस्परिक समन्वय होना चाहिये था, दुर्भाग्य से इतनी बड़ी चोट खाने के बाद भी आज तक दोनों विभागों में वह समन्वय नहीं है।

दूसरी सबसे बड़ी चीज यह है कि अभी तक हमारा मिलिट्री इन्टेलिजेंस विभाग उसी पैटर्न पर काम कर रहा है, जो 1947 से पहले ब्रिटिशर्ज ने तैयार किया था। उस समय की परिस्थिति भिन्न थी। उस समय की समस्याएं भिन्न थी लेकिन अब तक वह पद्धति ज्यों-की-त्यों बराबर चल रही है। 1962 की चोट खाने के बाद इन्होंने कहा कि हम इसको सम्भालेंगे। लेकिन 1965 में क्या हुआ? सरदार स्वर्ण सिंह जानते होंगे पंजाब के और काश्मीर के अन्दर किस प्रकार की घटनाएँ घटीं। जम्मू काश्मीर में घुसपैठियों की सबसे पहली जानकारी हम को भेड़ चराने वाले ने दी। उस समय तक हमारे गुप्तचर विभाग को इस का पता नहीं था। पता नहीं वह कहाँ सोता रहा। 1965 में जिस समय लाहौर क्षेत्र में हमारा संघर्ष चल रहा था, कुछ इसी प्रकार की जानकारी हम को तत्काल व्यापारियों से मिली, लेकिन सैनिक गुप्तचर विभाग उस समय भी असफल रहा। तीसरी खेमकरण सैक्टर में जब पाकिस्तान का फर्स्ट आर्डर कोर आया, उस की जानकारी भी हमें सैनिक गुप्तचर विभाग से नहीं मिली। इण्डोगिल नहर का भी सही विवरण सैनिक

गुप्तचर विभाग नहीं दे सका। बर्फी सैक्टर में ता० 6 से लेकर ता० 10 तक हमारी सेना को रुका रहना पड़ा। चार दिन प्रतीक्षा करनी पड़ी। इस का परिणाम क्या हुआ आप जानते हैं। आपने उस समय नेफा की चोट खाने के बाद कहा था कि हम मिलिट्री इन्टेलिजेंस को सम्भालने की कोशिश करेंगे लेकिन चोट पर चोट खाने के बावजूद भी जिस अधिकारी की पदावन्तति की जानी चाहिये थी, उसकी पदवृद्धि की गई। यह शिकायत हम ने उस समय के रक्षा मंत्री से की थी। अगर इस तरह से हमारा गुप्तचर विभाग हमारी असफलताओं का कारण बनेगा तो कैसे हम अपनी रक्षा व्यवस्था को सम्भाल सकेंगे।

जहाँ तक अणु शक्ति की बात है, मुझे इस बात को कहते हुए कष्ट भी होता है। सरकार बार बार इस सदन में डींग मारती है कि हम अणु बम बना सकते हैं, लेकिन बनायेंगे नहीं। सभापति महोदय, इस की हानि भी हिन्दुस्तान को उठानी पड़ी है। इसका भी लाभ पाकिस्तान ने उठाया। पाकिस्तान ने दुनिया के देशों से कहा कि देखो, भारत अणु बम बना सकता है इस प्रकार की घोषणा उस के नेता कर रहे हैं' हो सकता है कि अन्दर ही अन्दर वह बना भी रहा हो। उसके आघार पर दूसरों की मदद लेकर उस ने अपने यहाँ प्रक्षेपणास्त्रों और मिसाइल्ज की तैयारी शुरू की है। हमने उस विज्ञान की सफलता का लाभ नहीं उठाया? बार-बार डींग तो मारते रहे लेकिन हम नहीं बना सके। यह कट्टर सत्य कहने की भी आप इजाजत दीजिये कि सैनिक अधिकारियों को इस प्रकार की आज्ञा आपको कभी नहीं देनी चाहिये जिस तरह से सेना में विज्ञान विभाग के अध्यक्ष श्री भगवन्तम ने कल हैदराबाद के अन्दर एक वक्तव्य दिया है। अणु बम न बनाने के लिए जो युक्तियाँ उन्होंने दी हैं' वह काम रक्षा मंत्री सरदार स्वर्ण सिंह का है। श्री भगवन्तम को यह अधिकार नहीं दिया जा सकता। जब तक

[श्री प्रकाशवीर शास्त्री]

वह एक नियमित कर्मचारी के रूप में काम कर रहे हैं, उनकी सेवाओं की हम सराहना करेंगे पर यह अधिकार उन्हें नहीं है जो वह वहां जा कर अणु बम के विपरीत सार्वजनिक वक्तव्य दें ।

जो विजयन्त टैंक आप ने बनाया है उस के बारे में भी मैं दो प्रश्न पूछना चाहता हूँ । प्रसन्नता है कि भारत कुछ मामलों में अपने पैरों पर खड़ा होने की नैगारी कर रहा है । लेकिन कब तक हम अपनी सेनाओं को विजयन्त टैंक से पूरी तरह से लैस कर सकेंगे ? क्या इसकी रक्षा मंत्री कोई जानकारी दे सकेंगे और जब तक पूरी तरह से लैस करेंगे उस समय तक टैंक विज्ञान कहां तक जा चुका होगा ? क्या आप विजयन्त टैंक के उन प्रकार का भी समावेश कर रहे हैं ? इस को कोई जानकारी सदन को दे सकेंगे ।

एक चिन्ता की बात मेरे विचार में और भी है वह है भारत और पाकिस्तान की सीमा । स्थल सीमा हमारी और पाकिस्तान की 3908 मील लग रही है । इसमें पूर्वी पाकिस्तान भी आ जाता है और पश्चिमी पाकिस्तान भी आ जाता है । पश्चिमी पाकिस्तान के साथ 1476 मील हमारी सीमा लगनी है और पूर्वी पाकिस्तान के साथ 2492 मील हमारी सीमा लगती है । जहां तक समुद्री किनारे का सम्बन्ध है लगभग साढ़े तीन हजार मील की सीमा समुद्री किनारे की है जो हमारे से टकराती है । अब इस में एक एक कदम पर किसी सैनिक को खड़ा करना, या रक्षा की व्यवस्था करना यह हमारे लिए भी सम्भव नहीं है और दुनिया के किसी राष्ट्र के लिए भी

संभव नहीं है । लेकिन इतना अवश्य है कि जहाँ हमारी सेना न हो या जहाँ हमारी पुलिस न हो उन क्षेत्र की जो जनता है उसको सामने के लिए तैयार किया जाना चाहिये । दुश्मन इन खाली स्थानों में सब से ज्यादा कमजोर स्थान को लेता है और आक्रमण की वही तैयारी करता है । मैं रक्षा मंत्री जी से यह जानना चाहता हूँ कि जिस प्रकार से खाली स्थानों पर शत्रु आक्रमण की तैयारी कर रहा है क्या हमने उसी तरह से प्रत्याक्रमण की तैयारी अपने ढंग से सोची है ? इन खाली स्थानों में जितने गांव हैं, वहाँ की जनता में क्या आपने इस प्रकार के साधन दिये हैं, या ट्रेनिंग दी है कि जिससे विपत्ति के समय में उसका सामना वह कर सके । मुझे खूबी है कि 1965 में भारत-पाकिस्तान का जो संघर्ष हुआ पंजाब में लाहोर सीमा क्षेत्र के रहने वाले और फिरोजपुर क्षेत्र के रहने वाले लोगों में अगर वह साहस न होता या पंजाब की जनता को वह ट्रेनिंग न मिली होती जैसे उपर से छतरी धारी उतरते थे वह एक दम से दबोच लिये जाते थे । अगर इस तरह की उन्हें ट्रेनिंग होती तो पंजाब में युद्ध का नक्शा कुछ दूसरा बन सकता था । मैं यह जानना चाहता हूँ कि इस प्रकार की तैयारी दूसरे क्षेत्रों में भी आपकी चल रही है या नहीं चल रही है ।

एक दूसरी बात जिनमें सरदार स्वर्ण सिंह भी भागीदार हैं वह हैं ताशकंद का समझौता । इस समझौते के बाद हमको क्या मिला ? मैं एक मोटा सा प्रश्न करना चाहता हूँ । ताशकंद समझौते में हिन्दुस्तान ने लाल-बहादुर शास्त्री जैसे अपना प्रधान मंत्री खोया । ताशकन्द समझौते में अपने ही क्षेत्र को वापस कर के सेना के असन्तोष और कोप का भाजन इस सरकार को और देश को बनना पड़ा । उस ताशकन्द समझौते को

पाकिस्तान ने रद्दी की टोकरी में फेंक दिया। लेकिन इस समझौते में तीन भागीदार थे। तीन मुख्य जिम्मेदार थे, एक रूस दूसरे पश्चिमी राष्ट्र और तीसरे संयुक्त राष्ट्र संघ। सभापति जी, मैं आप के द्वारा जानना चाहता हूँ कि अब जब पाकिस्तान ताशकन्द समझौते का उल्लंघन कर रहा है तो क्या हमने इन तीनों पक्षों में से किसी को भी प्रयोग किया? क्या हमने अपनी ओर से इन तीनों पक्षों से कहा कि आप इस में भागीदार थे। अब पाकिस्तान उसको धिजियाँ उड़ा रहा है। क्या आपने कोई आवाज उठायी? शक्ति के सामने दुनियाँ झुकती है। इजराइल को संयुक्त राष्ट्र संघ ने कहा, पश्चिमी राष्ट्रों ने कहा, रूस ने कहा लेकिन मुट्ठी भर लोगों का वह देश अपने साहस और संकल्प के कारण टस से मस नहीं हुआ।

एक बात मैं गुरीला युद्ध के संबंध में कहना चाहता हूँ। जब हम जानते हैं कि वर्षों तक एक रेगुलर आर्मी का मुकाबला वियतनाम के अन्दर गुरीला ढंग से किया गया। जब हम जानते हैं कि सेक्रेट बल्ड वार में युगोस्लाविया अग्र बचा तो गुरीला युद्ध से बचा। जब हम जानते हैं कि रूस को भी किसी समय बचने के लिये गुरीला युद्ध का सामना करना पड़ा। तो मैं पूछना चाहता हूँ कि जब चीन और पाकिस्तान दोनों मिल कर के गुरीला युद्ध में प्रवेश कर रहे हैं ऐसे समय में क्या हमने अपने देश की सीमाओं की सुरक्षा की कुछ उस ढंग से कोशिश की है?

एक बात मैं सीमावर्ती क्षेत्रों के संबंध में भी कहना चाहता हूँ। मैं यह नहीं चाहता कि जिस तरह से पाकिस्तान ने सीमा के 15, 15 मील तक हिन्दुओं को हटाया है उसके बदले में मैं यह कहूँ कि आप भी इसी तरह से मुसलमानों को हटायें। लेकिन मैं यह जरूर कहना चाहता हूँ कि जिनकी वफा-

दारी संदिग्ध है वह चाहे पाकिस्तान के साथ हैं या पीकिंग के साथ हैं, वह हिन्दू हों या मुसलमान हों, उन लोगों को सीमा से हटायें जायें और उनके स्थान पर मिलिटरी के रिटायर्ड लोगों को बसाया जायें।

आखिरी बात जो मैं विशेष रूप से सरकार स्वर्ण सिंह से कहना चाहता हूँ वह यह कि ब्रिटिश गवर्नमेंट के समय में जवानों और सैनिक अफसरों के बीच में जो खाई थी वह खाई 21 साल के बाद अभी तक ज्यों की त्यों बनी हुई है। ऐसा लगता है कि जवान जो हैं वह भारतीय सभ्यता में डले हुए हैं, और हमारे सैनिक अफसर पाश्चात्य सभ्यता में डले हुए हैं। उस समय ब्रिटिश गवर्नमेंट ने बीच में जो एक बी० सी० प्रो० रखे थे उसी का अनुकरण कर के अभी तक हमने जे० सी० प्रोजेक्ट रखा है। उस समय तो यह बात थी कि अंग्रेज हमारे जवानों की भाषा नहीं समझते थे। लेकिन आज हमारे अफसरों को इसकी क्या आवश्यकता है। मुझे दुःख है, मैंने वह कटु दृश्य भी स्वयं देखा है। बंगलौर शहर के अन्दर एक ब्रिगेडियर रहता था। हर आठ घंटे के बाद उसके मकान पर आठ सिपाहियों की इपूटों चेंज होती थी। पानों के पानी से लेकर खाना तक ट्रक में भर कर उन्हें छावनी से आता था। शहर में रहने वाले ब्रिगेडियर को इस पहर की क्या आवश्यकता थी। आज हमारे जवानों से जूते की पालिश से लेकर बच्चों तक को खिलाने का काम लिया जाता है। सेना के जवानों में इससे भारी असन्तोष बढ़ रहा है। इसको यदि आप रोक नहीं सके, अगर आपने इस असन्तोष को कुछ दूसरी दिशा देने की कोशिश नहीं की तो स्थिति और बिगड़ेगी।

इसी तरह से अमरजेंसी कमीशन के सम्बन्ध में भी है। अमरजेंसी कमीशन में कौन लोग आये? वह आये जिन्होंने चार साल का कोर्स एक साल में पूरा किया।

[श्री प्रकाशवीर शास्त्री]

जिन्होंने मोर्चे पर जाकर खून बहा कर के देश की रक्षा की। आज उन को दूध की मक्खी की तरह निकाल कर एल० डी० सी० और यू० डी० सी० बनाया जा रहा है। जो देश के लिए मरे और कटे, आपका कर्तव्य था कि आप सीमा पर जा कर उनको सुरक्षा की जिम्मेदारी दें। जो लोग देश के लिए मरे उनके साथ इस प्रकार का व्यवहार उचित नहीं है।

इजराइल ने क्या किया ? अपनी सीमाओं पर इसी तरह के जवानों को बसाया हुआ है। जब हमारी इतनी लम्बी सीमायें हैं तो क्यों नहीं आप अमरजेंसी कमिशन के जवानों की सेवाएँ लें।

अंतिम बात मैं वैज्ञानिक प्रगति के संबंध में कहना चाहता हूँ। रक्षा मंत्रालय में मेरी अपनी जानकारी के आधार पर सरकारी अफसरों में और वैज्ञानिकों में इतनी बड़ी खाई बीच में खुदी हुई है कि उसकी वजह से इलाक्ट्रॉनिक्स और राडार के अन्दर जहाँ प्रगति होनी चाहिये थी वह सारी की सारी प्रगति बीच में रुकी हुई है। मेरा सुरक्षा मंत्री जी से कहना यह है कि आप इन के लिये उच्चस्तरीय वैज्ञानिकों की समिति बनायें जो इस बात का अध्ययन करे कि इतनी चोट लगने के बाद भी अभी तक क्यों नहीं हम अपने पैरों पर खड़े हो पाये। इस प्रकार जो अरबों रुपया दूसरे देशों को सामान खरीदने में दे रहे हैं आखिर यह स्थिति हमारी कब तक बनी रहेगी। इसलिए मैं यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि अब वादे भूलने की राजनीति की रक्षा मंत्री समाप्त करें। 1947 में हमने एक वायदा किया था, जब कश्मीर का कुछ हिस्सा पाकिस्तान के पास रह गया था कि एक-एक इंच जमीन लेकर रहेंगे। 1962 में भी वायदा किया था जब

चीन हमारी धरती को दबा कर बैठ गया। जवाहरलाल नेहरूजी ने तब कहा था कि दिवाली उस दिन मनायी जायेगी जिस दिन चीन से अपनी धरती वापस ले लेंगे। 1965 में हमने कहा था कि दुनिया एक और हो जाय लेकिन जो इलाके हमने जीत लिये हैं उनको वापस लौटाने का कोई सवाल नहीं आता है।

समापति महुदय, एक सीधा सवाल रक्षा मंत्री जी से करके बैठना चाहता हूँ कि आप कम से कम आज हमको यह बताइये कि यह जो आप बारबार कहते हैं कि हमारी पूरी तैयारी है, हम सब तरह से तैयार हैं, इससे अब देश सन्तुष्ट होने वाला नहीं है। यह भाषा हमने कृष्णामेनन से भी सुनी थी। इसी भाषा को संयुक्त अरब गणराज्य के प्रधान कर्नल नासिर ने भी अरब देशों के लिये इस्तेमाल किया था। लेकिन उस भाषा का परिणाम कुछ नहीं निकला। आप तो यह बतायें कि जो धरती और राख हिन्दुस्तान की खोई है उसे कब तक आप वापस करोगे ? देश आपसे यह कहना चाहता है युद्ध नीति में असफल होने के बाद कम से कम कूटनीतिक क्षेत्र में तो असफल मत रहो। कूटनीतिक क्षेत्र में तो वह सफलता प्राप्त करो जो हमारे देश की प्रतिष्ठा बच सके। वरना तो मैं यह कह कर समाप्त करता हूँ कि हो सकता है गरीबी और अत्याचार में पिसता हुआ देश किसी तरह से आपके इन वादों को भूल जाये। लेकिन माफ करेंगे, इतिहास इसको नहीं भूल सकता और आने वाली पीढ़ी जो देश के साथ आप ने अन्वय किया है, वह भी इसको कभी नहीं भूल सकेगी।

MR. CHAIRMAN: Motion moved:

“That the situation arising out of the increasing tension on Indian borders due to Pakistani and Chinese activities be taken into consideration.”

SHRI INDER J. MALHOTRA (Jammu): I am happy that Mr. Prakash Vir Shastri has given this House an opportunity to review the situation all along our borders. I would like to confine myself mainly to the situation prevailing at present in the border in Jammu & Kashmir. I hope, the hon. Minister will agree with me because he has got more agencies to collect information, to get information about the situation prevailing at the borders in Jammu & Kashmir.

According to my information, the whole border, as in the other parts of the country, whether it is with Pakistan or with China, is a live border. Especially in Jammu-Sialkot sector and Rajouri-Poonch sector, there is not a single day when some kind of unfortunate incident does not take place; there is not a single day when no attempts are made by Pakistan either for infiltration or for sabotage or subversive activities. I would say that the border situation there is quite uneasy. Only a few days back there had been a raid in Hiranaag area of Katua district. It is really very surprising for us who live on the border and witness such incidents every other day how, in spite of the assurances given by the Defence Minister here, the Central Government here, and the State administration also, it is possible that such incidents go on taking place, that the dacoits across the border come and loot the people and carry away their belongings.

At the same time, here, I would like to pay my compliments to the jawans and officers who are specially stationed in Jammu. They are trying their best to defend and to discharge their duties which this nation has given to them. Here I would like, as a matter of instance, to mention one thing. Only recently at Jhangarh, where Brig. Usman lost his life while defending the land of this country, with the co-operation of the army officers and jawans, a dispensary for the benefit of the civilian population who are living in the border area has been opened. The State Government has provided the medicines, but all the other things like personnel, medical help, doctors and nurses

are being provided by the army people there. We welcome this kind of good relations between the army jawans, army officers and the civilian population who are living in the border.

Now let me come to the basic question. As Mr. Prakash Vir Shastri has very rightly pointed out, let us look at this problem that even if today there are incidents all along the border with Pakistan, let us see what are the intentions of Pakistan, whether there has been any change in the approach or attitude of Pakistan. As Shri Prakash Vir Shastri mentioned, when this famous Tashkent Declaration was made Shri Swaran Singh was also there. Over and over again I have cited the sentences in the Declaration in this House, and once again I would like to draw the attention of the House to the very first sentence in the very first paragraph which reads :

“The Prime Minister of India and the President of Pakistan agree that both sides will exert all efforts to create good neighbourly relations between India and Pakistan in accordance with the United Nations Charter.”

Sir, even after three years, in spite of our best efforts to see that all aspects of the Tashkent Declaration are honoured by us—not only honoured, but we have tried to implement it—what is it that the very President, who has signed it, says after three years of signing it? Recently there were certain attempts on the life of President Ayub at Peshawar. In that very meeting he says—this is a newspaper report—that India's attempt is to destroy the very existence of Pakistan. I fail to understand how we are to reconcile with this kind of situation, this kind of attitude and this kind of approach from Pakistan. For how long are we going to make ourselves believe that as we are honest in our intentions and in our actions, so will Pakistan be in her intentions and actions? Here I would like to say very plainly that the time has come when we have got to review our whole policy towards Pakistan. We have to see that if Pakistan is not prepared to honour the commitments which Pakistan made for a lasting peace in this

[Shri Inder J. Malhotra]

Indian sub-continent, what is it that we are going to do. For how long do we expect the people who live on the borders to go on facing the Pakistani bullets every day and night? For how long are they to live in this kind of situation? Here, I would like to pay my compliments to the people, not only those who live along the border in Jammu and Kashmir, but all over the country. I know, Sir, whether it was Chinese attack or Pakistani attack, apart from the army's high morale and brave deeds, the credit also goes to the people who live on the border. I am reminded of this incident, Sir. In 1965 there was a massive attack by Pakistan in Chumb-Jaurian area. Today if you go and see there, you will find that even those people have gone back to that area and they have settled there, they have built their homes and they are tilling the land. But still one question is always there in their minds whether the story of 1965 will be allowed to repeat again or not. I know, Sir, the hon'ble Defence Minister had been recently to Rajauri and Poonch area and in certain parts of Jammu sector also. He might have seen the defence preparedness in that area. Here, I would like to make one or two suggestions for his consideration.

I believe that where it is very necessary to strengthen our borders from the military point of view, it is also very necessary to see that peace and order is maintained in the State of Jammu and Kashmir. If we allow the internal situation to deteriorate, if we allow the uncertainty to prevail in the internal situation, then, it becomes rather very difficult for us to defend our borders properly.

Here, I would like to say this that, as far as these border areas are concerned, let more attention be given for their proper development. Let the communications be made more proper and let more facilities be given to those people.

Sir, I quite agree with Shastriji when he said let the ex-servicemen be asked to settle at the borders. But I have got a little difference with him as far as the approach is concerned. When we say this, let us

not doubt the loyalty and patriotism of the people living on the border. Let us not have this approach. When you ask the people who are living at the border but who did not serve in the army to vacate their homes and their lands and ask ex-servicemen to go and settle down there. I do not agree with that approach and attitude.

SHRI RANGA : He did not say that.

AN HON. MEMBER : Loyalty and patriotism are different from ability to defend the border (*Interruptions*).

MR. CHAIRMAN : No time for interruptions now.

SHRI BAL RAJ MADHOK (South Delhi) : Inderjit agrees with us, but he has to keep in mind his party.

SHRI INDER J. MALHOTRA : Last time also when I was speaking, Prof. Madhok made a similar remark. But I would like to assure him that as far as this question is concerned, it is a national issue and has got nothing to do with party considerations. I can assure him that when I am speaking about defence preparedness, when I am speaking on the border situation prevailing in Jammu and Kashmir, I do not speak only as a Congressman, but I speak first and foremost as an Indian.

If you feel the necessity for giving military training to the people living on the border, it is most welcome. You can give them such military training. But do not have this approach and attitude in mind, of asking the people living on the border who have not served in the army to vacate their homes and asking ex-servicemen to settle there.

As far as the defence policy of the country is concerned, I would humbly suggest to the hon. Minister that as regards technical and other matters, he may more or less depend on his officials' reports, but let him not rely too much on the reports he gets from his officers because then he is liable to be misled. We know what

happened in 1965. As Shastriji very rightly pointed out, it was a complete debacle and failure of military intelligence. What has he done during the last three years for improving the system of military intelligence? For his information, I would like to mention one or two things. Right now in the Pakistan-occupied area, there are a number of training camps established specially for students manned by Chinese officers. They are called the Azad Kashmir Training Brigade. They are trained to infiltrate—those students and other young people into Jammu and Kashmir for sabotage and other subversive activities. Apart from this, a whole line of pill-boxes have been built, a canal like the Ichhogil Canal has been constructed, a bund has been created all along the Jammu-Sialkot border. All these activities indicative of armed preparedness are going on across the border. People living at the border see these things with their own eyes and hear of them with their own ears. They are not afraid. But they are concerned with how far we are prepared ourselves to meet this challenge from across the border. I would like to know about this from the hon. Minister.

Here I would like to mention another thing. There is a chain of promotions anticipated in the army. May I utter a word of caution to the hon. Defence Minister in this connection? Let him be very careful lest selection made only on the basis of seniority. If a particular officer is not able to hold that high position on which the whole nation's defence depends, he should not rely only on seniority. Let them make a special effort to see that the right person is put at the right place.

In conclusion, I would say that there is complete understanding and collusion between China and Pakistan not only from the military point of view but from all other aspects against India. Let us be very vigilant and let us prepare ourselves. Let us do whatever is needed to strengthen our border and let us not fail in our duty to defend this country.

SHRI S. K. TAPURJIAH (Pali): The purpose of this debate I believe, is to focus the attention of the Government on the tensions, troubles, guilty trespasses and misunderstandings that are going on in our borders. There is a saying: once bitten twice shy. The people of India have been bitten twice by this Government in 1962 and 1965 when this Government was caught napping and we do not know yet whether now they are fully awake, whether they are prepared and whether if such a situation arises again, which God forbid, the same thing would not be repeated and they would only then realise that they have been napping. I doubt whether they have woken up because they still seem to be in a haze that they do not realise who is their friend and who is their foe. I mention only the recent example of the four Nepalese who were arrested and with whom we have dealt in a manner in which we should have dealt with Chinese or Pakistani trespassers. But in those cases we have shown our weakness. Here it was a friendly country and as the hon. Deputy Minister of External Affairs said it was a possible case of misunderstanding because the border posts were missing, and in that case we have shown such firmness as was not at all necessary. Or was this, I wonder, like the case of that mother who went to the school with her child and told the teacher, "He is a very sentimental child, when he does any mischief beat his neighbour and he will stop doing mischief." Do you try to show to Pakistan or China that you are now fully prepared, strong enough to take any action against them, and that they better behave and not trespass on our territories again. I do not know what the meaning behind it is.

Coming to these two border areas, our two known enemies are Pakistan and China. As far as Pakistan is concerned, they have their own difficulties, in hot waters, but still it requires our alertness also, because Pakistan is ruled by one man and there is no democracy, because one unreasonable man, unchecked by canons of democracy, can cause unfathomable misery. Just to divert the attention of

[Shri S. K. Tapuriah]

people in Pakistan, just to divert attention from the difficulties that President Ayub is facing he may possibly start some skirmishes with India. The Defence Minister has better means of knowing these things than we have, but I would like to put in a word of caution from our side that we better be prepared for this. Now I will mostly deal with our bigger enemy China.

The activities of China are now on the increase all over the country. There are infiltrators, there are spies, whatever you call them, and they are working through so many agencies, trade unions, political parties any field and media that they get here. Their activities are spreading even to inner cities in Kerala and Bengal. North Bengal is a border area. Kerala is far away from where they cannot quickly damage us. So, I would like to confine myself to Bengal only for some time.

We have seen what happened last year when the United Front Government was there. We have seen Naxalbari and other activities of the Chinese-aided and Chinese-inspired elements in that Government and certain political parties and we see no signs of those things ending even now. Today if you go to Calcutta you will find that on the eve of the mid-term election the walls are painted with slogans 'बैलट्टेर जदाव बैलट्ट नय बुलेट हुवे ।' that means that the answer to the ballot will not be the ballot, it will be the bullet. There are slogans urging people to boycott the elections, slogans written there that by elections you can only change Governments not the miseries of the people and they are trying to decry all these democratic process.

I may make a passing reference to Kerala here. We only recently seized those two letters written by some Information Officer of the Chinese Embassy which have been published in all the newspapers which show that there is the direct hand of China in all the activities that are happening in certain parts of the country.

If you consider the closer and more vulnerable area of Nagaland the Minister

has told in reply to a question in the House how certain things have been seized, how diaries, how weapons supplied by China have been seized. And he has also given us the information about the Naga underground people going to China for training and coming back. It means that direct interest, direct encouragement by China is being provided to certain elements in our country and we have to be most watchful against them and especially in border areas. Not content with that and even forgetting those small things, even though they are not small if you look at the volume of Mao's Thoughts, Mao's book and Mao's literature coming into the country, they indulge into vicious pronouncements by Radio Peking. The broadcasts are provocative. Misleading broadcast which are being made are definitely going to add to the trouble that we are facing with them. They do not spare even the Prime Minister. I am sure the Defence Minister is also aware of it. Radio Peking broadcast after the Shantiniketan incident and said that our Prime Minister is hiding in Delhi, she cannot dare to come out and the situation has been made so bad that nobody knows where she is. These things, what are they for? They are for their agents and may be what we have seen in Czechoslovakia might happen here and they would say that they have been invited by the people of India.

About China, I would like to ask a pointed question. Is there any shift in our policy towards China. The Prime Minister in the last 3 to 4 months has always mentioned something which possibly points to that direction when she said that India is willing to have a dialogue with China or with any country if there is the right atmosphere and the right circumstances. The officials of the External Affairs Ministry have also hinted that India may consider peaceful negotiations with China consistent with India's national interests. There is nothing wrong in peaceful manoeuvres. What we have seen is that such statements have always failed to produce a similar reciprocal conciliatory attitude or similar gesture from China. The Peking Government has always repented with vicious attack each time such friendly

hand is extended. I would like to know whether there has been any change seeing that these have always been responded with viciousness and not with another hand of friendliness. These conciliatory gestures of the Government have harmed us more.

There had been some border incidents. Recently there was an incident in the Nepal border. The Government have shown firmness to Nepal. Similar incidents occur on the borders of Bengal, on the borders of Rajasthan, on the borders of Kashmir. Why cannot you be firm there ?

You should create confidence in the people. I am sorry to say that the confidence of the people, their enthusiasm which reached dizzy heights in 1962 and 1965 had been allowed to be dissipated. What we have done and what are we doing now to bring that enthusiasm back ? People have shown their enthusiasm and it is for you to maintain it. What have you done to boost the morale of the people ?

I believe Mr. Inderjit Malhotra has misunderstood the spirit when it was suggested that the former servicemen should be rehabilitated in border areas. It is not a question of doubting their patriotism. Patriotism and integrity is not the same as ability to take up arms. The idea is mooted with a view to help and assist the people living on the borders.

I would also urge upon the Minister to strengthen the border security force. I would ask him to give them all possible help and assistance and, if I may say so, to give them the same facilities that are being given to the army people also. Give them all this. They have been doing a good job. When I plead for them and when I ask you to give them something more, I am not trying to decry the work they have done. They have done a good job, in difficult circumstances. Let us realise it and let us give them all facilities to boost their morale, and support them as they support the police. Let the Government assist them with border intelligence also, and give them modern equip-

ment and back them with all the intelligence to find out what is happening. I would mention that Mr. Handerson-Brooks had also mentioned that our army was not backed with sufficient intelligence. There is very possibility of the border police being backed with intelligence. It is all the more good, but, if it is not, these are the points that I would request the Minister to consider.

Another point that comes to my mind in this connection is about giving assistance to the border police with radars, small aircraft and helicopters to keep a constant watch on the troublesome border areas. I would also like to be enlightened by the Minister on this point.

Lastly, since I see your finger reaching the bell, I would like to refer to the border roads. Do we have to wait for calamities to build these border roads ? They do have these plans for the border roads, but the execution of the plans is started only when a grave situation arises. Do we have to wait for droughts in Rajasthan for three successive years for the border roads to be constructed as a relief measure ? What did the Government do when they found in the last year that the Rajasthan Government was being negligent in carrying out the border road programme in that State ? What did the Government do when they found that the funds that were earmarked for this work were not spent ? When even liberal funds are earmarked, they are not spent and the execution works were not taken up. Nobody in Rajasthan bothers. But we have to see that the border roads are constructed soon. In fact, I would go so far as to say that if no progress is shown by the Rajasthan Government, let the work be taken up by the Government of India in their own hands. It should also be seen whether the progress of the work is satisfactory or not.

Supposing something happens and there was an attack there, will it be considered only as an attack on Rajasthan ? The Government of India, the people of India as a whole along with the people of Rajasthan will be affected, and so we will have to take up these measures urgently.

MR. CHAIRMAN : Due to the importance of this subject, and the great interest that the House is taking in it, I find a large number of names with me. I have not counted how many names have come. I do not know whether the discussion should be extended by one hour or not. Because, at the fag-end of the day, except those who are anxious to speak, many of the Members go away and render the House without a quorum. I will try to see that almost all Members are given an opportunity. But without much repetition, if Members confine themselves to some constructive suggestions, it will be good. The Maximum that I can allow to a Member is not more than 10 minutes. I cannot allow anything more. If they cut out some time out of it, it will be saved for others.

THE MINISTER OF PARLIAMEN-
TARY AFFAIRS AND COMMUNICA-
TIONS (DR. RAM SUBHAG SINGH) :
I would like to submit one thing. The debate
should be concluded today.

MR. CHAIRMAN : I agree, but they
are asking for an extension of one hour.

DR. RAM SUBHAG SINGH : They
can speak today.

MR. CHAIRMAN : I do not want
to carry it over to the next day.

DR. RAM SUBHAG SINGH : No
carrying over to the next day.

श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी (बलराम-
पुर) : आज जितना समय हाउस बैठना च हे
बैठे। हा इसके लिए तैयार हैं। कोरम का
कोई सवाल नहीं है।

17 hrs.

श्री रणवीर सिंह (रोहतक) : जब
हिन्दुस्तान की फौज का नाम मेरे सामने
आता तो मेरा सिर झुक जाता है अकीदत में,
प्यार में, इज्जत में, आठ किरंगी, नां गोरे,
उन्हें मारे चार हिन्द के छोरे, यह आम एक
मसल है यहाँ। सारे देग की यह मसल है
और सारे देग में यह मसल गाई जाती है।

लेकिन हमने चौकन्ना रहना है, कभी हमें
ज्यादा गुरूर में या घमंड में नहीं आना है।
जो असलियत है, जो हकीकत है, उससे हम
बचमपोशी न कर जायें, उसको हम भूल न
जाएं।

सन् 1962 में चीन के साथ लड़ाई में जो
हालत हुई, उसे हमें भूलना नहीं है। एक
वक्त था कि हिन्दुस्तानी फौज का नाम सुनकर
दुनिया के बहादुर से बहादुर सिपाही का
जिस्म कांपता था। लेकिन मुझे यह कहने
दुःख होता है कि 1962 में हमें बड़े जोर
का घक्का लगा। 1965 में पाकिस्तान के
साथ लड़ाई में हमने उस घक्के को दूर
किया। उस वाक्यात से हमने सबक लेना
है।

जहां तक हिन्दुस्तान की फौज की बहा-
दुरी का सवाल है, उसमें कोई कमर नहीं है।
लेकिन यह नेपोलियन, चंगेजखां, अहमदशाह,
अबदाली और नादिरशाह का जमाना नहीं
है, जबकि यह कहा जाता था कि इट इज
नाट वि गन बेट मैटर्ज; इट इज वि मैन बिहाइंड
बि गन, बेट मैटर्ज। अब बात उल्टी हो गई
है। यह नया जमाना है, नये जवान हैं और
नये हथियार हैं।

17.02 hrs.

[MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER in the Chair]

आज यह हालत है कि अगर कमजोर से कम-
जोर, बिल्कुल बुजदिल आदमी के पास,
जिसका चिड़िया जैसा दिल है, आटोमेटिक
राइफल हो, तो वह बहादुर से बहादुर हिन्दु-
स्तान के सैकड़ों निहत्थे जवानों को भुन सकता
है।

एक माननीय सदस्य : जवान निहत्थे
क्यों ?

श्री रणवीर सिंह : यह बात मैंने इसलिए
कही है कि हमें देखना चाहिए कि 1962 में

हमारे पास जो घी-नाट-घी थी, कहीं वही तो आज भी नहीं है। चीन के पास वह आटोमेटिक राइफल थी, जो एक मिनट में एक हजार गोलियां दागती थी। एक सिपाही के पास वह राइफल होती थी और उसके पीछे पांच और सिपाही होते थे, ताकि अगर राइफल बासा सिपाही भागना भी चाहे, तो पीछे के सिपाही गोली मार दें। इस हालत में उन सिपाहियों को आगे बढ़ना ही था और हमें यह तस्लीम करना चाहिये कि वह आगे बढ़े। जिन पहाड़ों की बुलन्दियों पर से पिछलों तारीख में कोई हमलावर नहीं आया, चीनी उनको पार करके आये। मेरे भाई ने यह ठीक ही कहा है कि जो हिमालय पहले हमारे लिये एक दीवार की तरह था, उसको चीन ने अबर किया। मैंने खुद उन जगहों को देखा है।

श्री म० सा० सौंधी : चीन को तिब्बत क्यों दिया ?

श्री रणधीर सिंह : लेकिन इसमें कोई हिम्मत हापने की बात नहीं है। हमारी लड़ाई किससे है ? एक तरफ चीन से है, जो दुनिया की सबसे बड़ी ताकत है, जिसके पास 80 करोड़ लोग हैं, जब कि हमारे पास 55 करोड़ लोग हैं।

श्री म० सा० सौंधी : फेमिली प्लानिंग बन्द करो।

श्री रणधीर सिंह : आनरेबल मेम्बर जरा संजीदगी से बात करें। वह बचपन न दिखायें। अगर उनमें इन्सानियत है, तो यह बात सुनकर उनके रोंगटे खड़े हो जाने चाहिये। यह देश के डिफेंस का सवाल है। यह किसी दफ्तर के सामने डिमांस्ट्रेशन करने की बात नहीं है। यह कोई सैट्रल एम्पलाईज को बहकाने की बात नहीं है।

SHRI M. L. SONDHI : I object to this. I was merely pointing out a logical flaw in his argument. On the one hand he says that more population is necessary and on the other, crores of rupees are being spent on family planning. (Interruptions).

श्री रणधीर सिंह : वह चीन जिसके पास 170 डिविजन हैं, जिसके पास एटम बम नहीं, हाइड्रोजन बम है, जिसके पास बीस हजार हवाई जहाज हैं, बड़ी भारी बहरी और बर्री ताकत है, हमारा दुश्मन है और हमने उससे चौकन्ना रहना है। आज वह चीन पाकि का साथ दे रहा है।

लेकिन हमें याद रखना चाहिए कि आज दुनिया में कोई देश आबादी की बिना पर बड़ा या छोटा नहीं समझा जाता है, कमजोर या ताकतवर नहीं समझा जाता है। जापान की मिसाल हमारे सामने है, जिसने एक दफा नहीं, दस दफा चीन को नाकों चने बबवाये। नाथं कोरिया की मिसाल हमारे सामने है, जिसने अमरीका को समुन्दर में फेंक दिया। हम जानते हैं कि हाल ही में इसरायल ने सारे पान-इस्लामिक ब्लाक का दिमाग चार दिनों में ठिकाने लगा दिया। इसलिए यह समझ कर हमें बावलों की दुनिया में नहीं रहना चाहिए कि हमारे पास 55 करोड़ लोग हैं। यह सही है कि आबादी भी मुल्क के डिफेंस में असर रखती है, लेकिन दुश्मन के मन्सुबों को, उसकी प्लानिंग को, हमने देखना है।

श्री शास्त्री ने यह ठीक कहा है कि हमारी लड़ाई सिर्फ पाकिस्तान से नहीं है, बल्कि हमारी लड़ाई चीन, पाकिस्तान और उसके हवारियों से है, जो अनगिनत हैं। पान-इस्लामिक ब्लाक जिसमें ईरान, टर्की और ईराक वगैरह बीस देश हैं, नैटो और कई दूसरी ताकत उसके साथ हैं।

[श्री रणधीर सिंह]

जहां तक हमारे जवान का सवाल है, वह तगड़ा है। हमारा एक एक जवान, चाहे वह मराठा हो, सिख हो या कोई भाई हो, बीस बीस चीनियों का मुकाबला कर सकता है। लेकिन जिन हालत में वह रहा है और काम करता है, उनकी तरफ भी हमें तबतजह देनी होगी। मेरे दोस्त, श्री बलराज मधोक और मैं एक कमेटी के साथ नाथूला, चोला और काश्मीर बगैरह गये थे। आखिर जवान कोड़ों-मकोड़ों की तरह, खन्दकों में, बगैर दुनिया से मिले, बगैर सिविलाइजेशन से-ताल्लुक रखे, तीन तीन चार चार साल तक कैसे रह सकता है? हजारों नहीं लाखों की तादाद में हमारे जवान तीन चार साल तक बगैर अपने घर और अपने बच्चों की शकल देखे, दुनिया से अलग-थलग पहाड़ों की चोटियों पर रहते हैं, जहां इंसान या हैवान नहीं है जहां घास का एक पत्ता भी पैदा नहीं हो सकता है। मैं चाहूंगा कि हमारे दादा और दीदी आचार्य कृपलानी और श्रीमती सुचेता कृपलानी, और मेरी बहन श्रीमती मूकजी, भी जाकर नेफ में य हानान देखें।

उपाध्यक्ष महोदय : माननीय सदस्य अब खत्म करें।

श्री रणधीर सिंह : मैं पाच मिनट में खत्म करता हूँ।

जवान को साल में दो महीने की छुट्टी मिलती है उस बेचारे को नेफ, गंगटोक, नाथूला और चोला से पंजाब में चण्डीगढ़ या अमृतसर को नजदीक आने में पन्द्रह दिन और वापिस जाने में फिर पन्द्रह दिन लगते हैं। मैं समझता हूँ कि यह एक महीने की छुट्टी बिल्कुल नाकाफी है। हमारा जवान दुश्मन के सामने माओ-स्के-नुंग की तोप के सामने छाती ताने खड़ा है।

और क्या तनख़ाह है साहब? मेरे भाई बलराज मधोक बताएंगे और दूसरे भाई बताएंगे। वह जवान जो उन खंदकों में पड़े हैं एक एक हजार रुपये रोज का काम करते हैं जिनको आप 60 रुपये तनख़ाह देते हैं। यहां तो एक दफ्तरी को 250 रुपये मिलते हैं। जोगी साहब और यह दूसरे बड़े इंकलाबी यहां बैठे हुए हैं। फौज की बात यह कर्षा नहीं बोलते... [श्वबधान]... क्या बात करते हो अपने तबक की? एक एक फौज का सिपाही सेन्ट्रल एम्प्लाइं चाहे फोर्य क्लास का हो, थर्ड क्लास का हो, सेकंड क्लास का हो या किसी क्लास का हो, उससे हजार गुना काम हर रोज करता है। देश के लिये कुर्बानी करता है। उसकी कोई मुनने वाला नहीं है और यह लाल झंडी लेकर रोज हमें यहां तंग करते हैं, इन्कलाब की बात करते हैं। कहां गये श्री धरन जो रोज सवाल उठाया करते हैं?

मैंने यह बात क्यों कही? यह मेरे दोस्त हैं मुझे बड़ा प्यार है इनमें। जो इनके दिल में है वह मेरे में भी है। लेकिन मैं यह इसलिये कहना चाहता हूँ कि वह लाखों आदमी जो डिमिप्लिन्ड हैं, जहां ट्रेड यूनियनियन नहीं है उनकी बात कोई न कहे और रणधीर सिंह उनकी बात कहे तो यह कम्युनिस्ट, सोशलिस्ट और पी० एस० पी० वाले उसका भजाक उड़ाएँ। किसान का बेटा जिसका सारा कुनबा फौज में है, उसकी बात मैं कहूंगा, कांग्रेस पार्टी कहेगी और सरदार स्वर्ण सिंह न सिर्फ कहेगे बल्कि उन्हें उसे करना है। उस जवान के घर में जो तकलीफ है, उसकी बीबी को, बच्चों को, तालीम में, कपड़े में, राशन में, मुकदमेबाजी में, उसके गार्डियन आप हैं, उसको प्रोटैक्शन दें। उसको ज्यादा से ज्यादा आप इन्सेन्टिव दें। यह मैंने जवान की बात इसलिए कही कि दूसरे किसी भाई ने यह बात छेड़ी नहीं।

दूसरा बात मैं नागालैंड का कहूंगा। तीन दिन हुए हम नागालैंड से आये हैं। वहां जनाब फोज से काम नहीं चलेगा। डिप्टी सेक्टर महोदय, नोट करें डिफेंस मिनिस्टर आपके मार्फत, अरुले फोज से वहां काम नहीं चलेगा। हमने देखा है कि सारे नागा बदले हुए हैं। वह लड़ाई नहीं चाहते। वह हिन्दुस्तान को फीज से टकराकर मरना नहीं चाहते। उनको पता है कि मामला साफ़ हो गया। अब चीज यह है कि उम इलाके में मिलिटरी आपरेशंस करने को जरूरत नहीं। वहां अब पीस का बड़ा जबरदस्त मुवमेंट है। लोग पाम चाहते हैं। अगर डेलीगेशन आए तो आप इनसे बात करें। नागालैंड का जिक्र मैंने इसलिये किया कि नागालैंड को ममन्या ने आज सारे देश की ताकत को खीखना कर रखा है और हिन्दुस्तान की फौज का एक बहुत बड़ा हिस्सा वहाँ लगा है नागालैंड में, मणिपुर और त्रिपुरा में और दूसरी जगहों में। इस वास्ते मैं कहना चाहता हूँ आप वहाँ डेवलपमेंट का काम करें और वहाँ की पापुलेशन को लेकर वहाँ की जो अग्रामी सरकार है उसको लेकर और जो फौज वहाँ है उसको लेकर दोनों का कोऑर्डिनेशन करके काम करें। त्रिपुरा और मणिपुर की बात मैं इसलिये कहना चाहता हूँ कि उन इलाकों में फ्रंटियर को गवर्नमेंट है। अगर उनमें वहाँ पीत होंगे तो हमारा बोर्डर बिलकुल सेफ होगा। उनमें एक बात की फोर्लिंग है कि वहाँ की गवर्नमेंट का चीफ मिनिस्टर जो है उसे हिन्दुस्तान की गवर्नमेंट के डिप्टी सेक्टर को सलाम करना पड़ता है। यहाँ के अन्डर सेक्टर को सलाम करना पड़ता है वह महसूस करते हैं इस बात को। मैं चाहूंगा जब वह कोई बात करें तो सीधे मिनिस्ट्री से बात करें। यह इसलिये मैंने कन्वे को कि यह उनका सेंट्रमेंट है। अगर आटोनामी देना चाहते हैं तो दूसरे स्टेट्स को जो आटोनामी है, जो पंजाब को है, यू०पी० को है, बिहार को है, वही उनको भी दें या वही नहीं तो उसकी तीन चौथाई,

तीन चौथाई नहीं तो आधी तो दें। यह इसलिये कि उस सेक्टर में ज्यादा झगड़ा है, ज्यादा वहाँ खतरा है। वहाँ अगर अमन बहाल हो जायगा तो हिन्दुस्तान सुरक्षित है।

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : Shri Ranjit Singh; only 10 minutes.

SHRI RANJIT SINGH (Khalilabad) : I believe, from my party, you have got names of two Members.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : 8 minutes are allotted to your party, according to the time allotted to this discussion. The maximum that I can give is 10 minutes.

SHRI ATAL BIHARI VAJPAYEE : Let us try to sit a little longer. It is an important discussion. How can 10 minutes suffice ?

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : Even then there is time-limit. We are not postponing it. You want the Minister's reply. How much time will the Minister take ?

THE MINISTER OF DEFENCE (SHRI SWARAN SINGH) : It all depends on the points made by the hon. Members. I will take about 20 to 25 minutes.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : The Minister wants 25 minutes.

श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी : आपके आने से पहले यह तय हो गया था कि फोरम का सवाल कोई नहीं उठाएगा और हम लोग जितनी देर बैठ सकते हैं, बैठें। 15 मिनट से कम में वह कैसे बोलेंगे ?

SHRIMATI SHARDA MUKERJEE (Ratnagiri) : Can we not continue it tomorrow ?

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : That is not possible. Tomorrow, there will be something else. It must conclude today. Shri Ranjit Singh.

SHRI RANJIT SINGH : At the very outset, to speak on an important subject like this, I would like to say that it is a solemn occasion and, therefore, I will begin by quoting a solemn resolution of this House.

On the 14th November, 1962, in the heat of battle but fully seized of our senses, the Prime Minister of this country moved the resolution which was passed unanimously at the behest of the Speaker himself. I quote the operative part of it :

"With hope and faith, this House affirms the firm resolve of the Indian people to drive out the aggressor from the sacred soil of India, however long and hard the struggle may be."

The hon. Speaker himself gave a directive to the Members :

"The resolution is unanimously adopted, and everybody realises now and is conscious of the responsibilities that he has undertaken, and I hope he would discharge it."

Now, after six years of adopting the resolution, have we forgotten the spirit behind it? Have we forgotten the spirit behind the mover of the resolution? The people, off and on, specially the ruling party, take shelter behind what he said then for all their misdeeds they are doing now. Are we standing by the solemn promise that he made to the House and the solemn promise that the House made to the country? That is the first question before this House today when we discuss the defence on our borders.

The borders that were violated still stand violated. But the spirit that pervaded then seems to have faded away in our country. The resolution to drive out the enemy out of our borders has been completely forgotten. Therefore, the necessity still arises that we gear all our activities, all our thinking, to defence because the guiding spirit of that resolution and the guiding spirit of that great man who moved the resolution in this House must lead us to victory over all our enemies.

The defence is the primary consideration of any nation. Some people say we must have economic stability before we have defence; some people say we must have industrial progress before we have defence. I know that our Defence Minister is now realising that defence itself means economic stability, industrial progress and scientific advancement. It is not unrelated to all these things.

When we plan for defence, we plan for progress all-round. Therefore, I plead here when we consider the defence of our borders that we must give primary importance to defence, we must give everything to defence, and once we do that, we shall be on the road to the fulfilment of that Resolution, that solemn oath that we took here.

The aim of our defence forces is to get the enemy out of the border; and once the border is violated, to drive them out of it. It is achieved first by political means through diplomacy and when political means fail, it is achieved through counter-attacks. But unless we are prepared to counter-attack the enemy with success, unless that deterrence is there, the deterrence of immediate counter-attack, we shall always be open to hostile attention.

There is a difference between deterrence and the capacity to counter-attack. America had the capacity to counter-attack Japan, but the capacity was not for an immediate counter-attack and, therefore, there was no deterrence, and Japan succeeded in exploiting a surprising war. Therefore, I would like to plead this with the Government. Their diplomacy has failed. Our borders are open to the enemy. It is not possible for a country of this size to safeguard its borders to such an extent that the enemy is not prevented from penetrating where he chooses. So, it is high time that we did some rethinking on all our defence system, on all our defence set-up.

I have just now said that military action is the proof of the failure of diplomacy. That proof has been given to us three times in the past when Kashmir was attacked,

then again in 1962 and then again in 1965. The dangers have not passed. The more the danger to the countries, that threaten us, within their own borders, the greater is the danger to our borders. The danger that Mr. Ayub Khan faces personally, that his regime faces there, is well known. The danger that Mr. Mao faces in Cihna, after the failure of his Cultural Revolution, is also well known; I have seen the bodies in hundreds; one day I counted 120 bodies floating down the sea in the Kowloon Harbour; for three days I went every morning and saw the bodies with red shirts, the remnants of the Red Guard of China, floating down the sea; that Revolution has failed; therefore, to retrieve his position, he may do something. In this respect we must plan to meet all these onslaughts and strengthen our borders.

The lessons that we learnt in 1962 were applied with profit and, therefore, in 1965, with a better leadership, a leadership that was headed by late Shri Lal Bahadur Shastri, we won a war which we might have lost if we had not prepared ourselves in 1962 or after 1962. What was our position in 1962? We went round the whole world asking for help. But then, after that, we resolved that never would we be placed in a state of helplessness again. The tragedy is that we are today again placed in a state of helplessness due to our failure of diplomacy. All this comes from lack of defence orientation, lack of defence knowledge, on the part of those people who handle all these affairs.

India is the only advanced country where there is no compulsory military service. We always say that the civilian is in charge of defence. May it ever be so. But in other countries who is that civilian? He is a person who has put through a little bit of military service. I do not say that we should send our parliamentarians for military service. Our Parliamentarians are good enough, educated enough to educate themselves in this matter. But what is the situation today? Here when we are discussing defence, there are probably more members sitting in the Central Hall than those sitting in the House. This is the state of affairs in our country, Sir. And, I might say, the responsibility

lies on our Defence Minister and other Ministers. They must educate our people. They must create the necessary defence orientation. I have seen some ministers standing in cinema halls when the national anthem is being played with their hands in their pockets. (*Interruption*). They do not know how to stand to attention.

17.25 hrs.

[SHRI R. D. BHANDARE *in the Chair*]

AN HON. MEMBER : Who is that Minister?

SHRI ATAL BIHARI VAJPAYEE : Don't name him.

SHRI RANJIT SINGH : You go with some Ministers to pictures, you will find. Now I say, Sir, this time we have failed in our contingency planning. I will give you one example of contingency planning. After the 1914-18 war, the Americans planned to meet the threat of invasion from Japan on the American mainland but at the same time they planned to meet an invasion from Britain also, only because Britain was there, and Britain had a large navy and because of the force of that navy, they could reach the American shore. But our contingency planning is just not there. There is no planning at the strategy level. We have failed to secure the defence of our borders through diplomatic means, means such as this. Today, Pakistan is trying to incite the people on our borders. Pakistan is trying to create a force over there, sympathetic to them. We have failed to help similar elements in Pakistan or on the borders of Pakistan. We have never even given support to the Pakhtoons. We have failed to help the East Bengalees. They will all become a greater headache for Pakistan and a better security for our borders. The meddling in which Pakistan is indulging all along our border will stop once we give them a similar headache.

Sir, I now come to the build up, the comparative build up between Pakistan and India. That is the saddest part in the whole history of our armed build up. We

[Shri Ranjit Singh]

accepted to adopt to the weaponry system of Soviet Russia and this is the situation in which we have landed ourselves. Please permit me, Sir, to disclose all that on the floor of this House. Because, it is not only something very important, but it is something very disastrous. They got 130 M.M. guns from Soviet Russia. For a long time we did not get the dial sights without which it cannot be fired on to the target. And this continued for two years. When we bought those guns it was suggested by Russia that we should not manufacture the ammunition in this country. Any suggestion from Russia, any suggestion from America, is an order to our Government. And therefore, we are still not manufacturing the ammunition in our country.

Similarly, Russia gave us Tanks, T-54 and T-55 tanks. They are very good tanks. But the stigma was there that we should not manufacture the ammunition, that they would supply the ammunition, on "as required" basis. And today, what is the position, Sir? Today our armoured corps does not manufacture that ammunition for either the T-54 or T-55. And when war starts, our ammunition expenditure is going to be so much that we shall be bogged down after seven days of fighting. This is the state of affairs of our armoured corps. (*Interruption*). I can see the Minister of Defence Production shaking his head. If he is shaking it in the South Indian fashion, I know, he agrees with me. If he is shaking it in the North Indian fashion, I know, he does not know his job. But I challenge him to make a statement on that, namely, are we manufacturing the ammunition or not.

SHRI SHEO NARAIN : How can he disclose secret things here?

SHRI RANJIT SINGH : This is not a secret from Russia or from America. It is not a secret from Pakistan either. It is only a secret from us.

Now, at long last, it seems, there is re-thinking in the armed forces headquarters and in the Defence Ministry that we are

to give up those guns that we received from Russia and that we are not going to manufacture the ammunition at all. It is a lopsided planning. It is a defective plan due to lack of defence knowledge. It is only due to political pressure in our defence matters. Today we are tied down to a weaponry system which is not going to defend us in times of war. Another thing that I must refer to is our defence potential. You will be surprised to know that we are planning for fighting a war against Pakistan for a period of one month. Our capacity to fight a war against China, in an all-out war, is seven days. Just seven days. Are we going to defend our borders in this way?

And when we speak of our borders, what do we mean? Do we just mean the line that touches China and the line on the ground that touches Pakistan? Are we forgetting all our outlying posts, all our islands? In this connection, I will make a request to the Defence Minister. All along our islands, both in the Andaman and Car Nicobar group. In the east and the Laccadive and Minicoy group in the west, we have got a chain of invisible coral reefs just beyond our territorial waters. These coral reefs can always be used for positioning troops, even positioning weapons and observation towers, just by raising them two or three feet. Therefore, I would request Government to declare all that territory as our territorial waters. It is within the scope of modern planning. There are fjords in Norway 32 miles away and Norway has declared them as falling within her territorial waters. There is the Bay of Biscay. The entire Bay has been declared as territorial waters. Therefore, it will be in the proper set-up if we declare all those waters as our territorial waters and plan for their defence also.

MR. CHAIRMAN : His time is up.

SHRI M. L. SONDHI : He is making important and valuable points.

MR. CHAIRMAN : Everyone does.

SHRI BALRAJ MADHOK : (South Delhi) : Not everybody; you will agree.

SHRI RANJIT SINGH : We have always talked of increase in the army and increase of expenditure on the army. It is only because we have not been utilising our defence forces properly. It is because since we attained freedom, we have not changed that conception, that outlook. We have not changed our thinking at all. We are still on the British pattern.

Therefore, what is needed is a Commission now on Defence, a Commission that will go into all aspects of organisation, defence production, public participation and defence orientation and gearing our education, industry and everything towards defence of our borders so that in time of war, they can all be fully utilised.

Lastly, we have also some responsibility as members of Parliament. Time and again, we have boasted—I do not say it was a vain boast many of us, specially people belonging to the ruling party, have boasted of having won freedom for this country. Of course, you will all agree that it was not only one political party or one method that won us our freedom. I believe that just as much as any Congress leader, Bhagat Singh and Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose also contributed, the INA also contributed, and those sections of the Indian armed forces which showed defiance to the British in 1946-47 also contributed.

The proper thing now is to preserve that freedom, having won it. Let us now boast, let this Parliament and its members boast that they have taken part in the protection of this freedom. I hope there will be more people in this Parliament who can boast that they have fought on the battlefield to protect this country and its freedom.

I make my last point.....

MR. CHAIRMAN : Shrimati Sharda Mukerjee. He should resume his seat now. Otherwise, I cannot do justice to the subject or to other members.

SHRI RANJIT SINGH : It is just a quotation.

“The doves do sing their songs of love
While hawks to strike do wait

And sans a beak and claw and speed
The doves have but one fate
So while they cant their chant for peace
In notes the enemy spurns
Let the wise amongst us keep
To horse and foot and guns.
They'll talk of peace eternal,
And may that peace succeed.

But what of a foe that lurks to spring?
And what of thenation's need?

The letters blaze on history's page.
And ever the writing runs,
God and honour and native land,
And horse and foot and guns.”

SHRIMATI SHARDA MUKERJEE (Ratnagiri) : I think members from all sides of the House have found one thing in common, that Parliament requires to know more that Members of Parliament need to have the opportunity of finding out the truth about defence equipment and other matters relating to Defence forces. This is a thing which Members of Parliament have been pressing for through the years and I believe that it is much more essential today than it was was say six or seven years ago to realise and recognise the true state of affairs. Therefore, I would request the Defence Minister to take the House into confidence because it is necessary that the Armed Forces also have the confidence of the people and that the country is behind them. Whatever we say in this House naturally gets known outside, and if we say that we have not got enough equipment, if we say as my hon. friend Shri Randhir Singh said that we are not satisfied with the pay and remuneration that our jawans are getting, it is only in the fitness of things that Members of Parliament be given an opportunity to satisfy themselves and to make such recommendations as they think necessary.

The motion under discussion relates to the border situation. The border situation, if I may say so, is not purely a military matter. Therefore, it cannot have purely a military solution. it is also a political matter.

There is, first of all, the question of enemy action, secondly the situation prevailing among the people on the borders. We have as you know, a very long border.

[Shrimati Sharda Mukerjee]

What is the answer to this? Is it guerilla warfare? Is it that we should have large military forces there? What will create a confidence among the people along the borders? That is the matter that we have to consider.

This matter of guerilla warfare has come up many times. I know a number of people in the Armed Forces who are also thinking along these lines, but one must always remember what would be the repercussions later on when guerrilla war does not become necessary any more. In the West after the 1939-45 war the greatest difficulty was the adjustment of people who were released from the regular forces. Think of what we would have to do to rehabilitate people who have been in irregular forces, who have been brought up and trained to do irregular things. We know to our cost in this country that in the last 20 years we have not been able to make people understand the need of discipline, of obedience to laws, and this is the risk you take with guerilla warfare. Do not forget that. After the guerilla warfare if you are prepared to have an authoritarian Government, if you are prepared to have a Mao Tse-Tung by all means have guerilla warfare, but if you want to preserve democracy, be careful when you suggest guerilla warfare. You do not know how it will hit back. That is the danger. I have been in the forward areas, for years I have lived in the Frontier Province in Peshawar, Kohat etc., I have lived in the midst of people who constantly disobeyed laws. There was the mighty British Empire and even the British empire was not able to put down the irregular activities of the people there.

I would say that this is what it implies when you suggest guerilla warfare, it is much more necessary to see that the people there are with you. How do we manage things there? One of the things I would say is that we have three Commands there. We have the Military, we have the Border Security Force, then we have the Police. The Military comes under the Army Headquarters. The Border Security Force comes under the Home Ministry. The Intelligence comes under the Home Ministry. The Police come under the State authorities. There is no unified command. The result

of all this is that (1) you require a larger army, (2) the Border Security Force do not have military discipline. They do not observe the Military rules and one hand does not know what the other is doing. In essence, it is a matter of having trust in each other. I do not know why this kind of a situation, why this kind of a system has developed. After all, the Tochi Scouts come directly under the Military Command. I want to know what is it that prevents the Government having Border Security Force under the Military Command. It would first of all reduce the number of military people you have there. There you have a large proportion, about 57%, of the Army locked up on the frontier, You cannot have a rotation of the units because the two forces are acting differently. You cannot have discipline. The Border Security Force often indulges in many things of which the Military does not approve. So I think the Defence Minister should take this into consideration and see why the Border Security Force which is a para-military force cannot be also under the Military Command. The other is: it is said that the Border Security Force is a civil force. It is only a para-military force, it is not a military force. Normally in a country you do not have the military in peace time on the frontiers. The Military is called because the civil administration has broken down. In Assam and frontier areas the Military was brought in because the Civil administration has broken down. Therefore you admit that the military has to take over. If neither the military nor the civil administration or even the State authorities are in command, then there is likely to be confusion, if I may say so. This is a matter which I think the Defence Minister should seriously consider because you cannot really have any sort of success unless you have trust in the people, trust in your forces and you are prepared to give the authority to the people there. I know that there is a general feeling that you do not want a sort of concentration of power, concentration of authority whether it is in the local people or whether it is with the Military. Again it is the same thing about mistrust. If there is no trust there, then, as you know, there will be a kind of peculiar situation and I fear that all the king's horses and all the King's men cannot put people together again.....

AN. HON. MEMBER : Humty Dumpty.

SHRIMATI SHARDA MUKERJEE : Unless you have an atmosphere of trust. I would, therefore, request the Defence Minister to go into this.

As my friend there said, for years the House has been talking about military intelligence. For years we have said why do you not have Military Intelligence? No, the intelligence is in the Home Ministry still. There is no solution to it. Again the same thing that everything should be in the same Department, everything should be under the Army Headquarters or the Defence Headquarters. There has been recently a book published by Mr. Khera who has had long experience of Army Headquarters and Defence Ministry....

He had said categorically that if you ever entertain any fears about a military *coup* taking place, please do not entertain them because, the top military officers come from various social groups. It is only in countries where the top military officers come from one concentrated group as in the Kerenzki Revolution that this sort of think takes place.

Having said, do not entertain this kind of things, the real crux of the matter, whether it is the security of our forces or whether it is the question of giving authority to the military people, basically, comes to this, that we must learn to give authority and learn to place trust and this kind of diversification of command just does not do. In the old days it was all right. The local insurgents used to take sticks and things like that. But today the insurgents are being armed with equipment, guns, etc., and they are being trained and financed by our foreign friends across the border. Therefore, you cannot have the police and such people with 'dandas' dealing with them. You have to have trained people and have to deal with them one way or the other. You cannot say you have the military and you will also have the civil authority and not be sure what sort of policy you want to carry on.

MR. CHAIRMAN : The hon. Member's time is up.

SHRIMATI SHARDA MUKERJEE : My second point is this. There are many hon. Members who have spoken about the various fears that they are entertaining. I would submit very humbly that what actually India is facing today is a war of attrition, and in some ways we faced this same kind of thing when we were on the frontier; a lot of men got killed, and a lot of our jawans got killed, but nobody of course wrote about us, because the British were ruling then. We never lived secure lives. So, India's borders have always been in this danger. Not that it is a thing that one must accept, but it is a war of attrition. I do not think that either Pakistan or we are in a position to have a total war. When they are not in a position to have a total war, I do not think that we should be very worried about it. But if it were to be a total war or a global war, then obviously India cannot go into it alone. She will have to go into it with the help of some other people. (*Interruption*)

Then, let us now think about China. There are certain articles which were written by Gen. Thimayya some years ago. Gen. Thimayya had said clearly that if it is a total war with China, then in the foreseeable future India will not be able to cope with it—he wrote it five years ago unless we change our entire thinking and unless we are prepared to make total sacrifices as China is prepared to make. (*Interruption*) Let me tell you this : We are spending today over Rs. 1,000 crores on defence. And you know what is happening in our country, and what is happening to our economy. This price we are prepared to pay; a greater price, and we are prepared to see that our people have to suffer hardship that the Chinese have had to suffer. It is a choice we will have to make. It is a very hard choice, and I do not think one could make it unless one could give serious thought to it.

Therefore, it is not right to create a panic. We are as equipped as India can hope to be. I do agree that defence equipment could perhaps be reorganised. I do not want to enter into that. But I do not think it is right to raise a panic and say that Pakistan is getting equipment and we are not getting any. (*Interruption*). I would say that only official sources are in a position to tell us. We are not in a position to know

[Shrimati Sharda Mukerjee]

that. What happens is certain people come and talk to us, saying, "Oh, this has happened and that has happened; we have got this and we have not got that." That is why I said at the beginning of my speech that the Defence Minister should take the House into confidence.

He should take Parliament into confidence and we should have proper information. Being over-confident or being under-confident and creating a panic does not help our people.

SHRI DHIRESWAR KALITA (Gauhati): Sir, the border problem is a very sensitive problem and it has been rightly raised by Mr. Shastri. Ours is a vast border. We have the border with West Pakistan, then the Himalayan border, then the border with East Pakistan, then the border with Nepal and recently we are also concerned with Ceylon. We have created a large number of border problems. Our borders run to thousands and thousands of miles. China is not our friend. Pakistan is not our friend. Now we are trying to antagonise Ceylon also. On Kachchativu, there was a half-hour discussion yesterday. We are trying to antagonise Ceylon also.

Some days ago, in UP 4 Nepalese were arrested, as a result of which there were demonstrations in Nepal. The photo of Shrimati Indira Gandhi has been burnt.

SHRI ATAL BIHARI VAJPAYEE: It has been denied.

SHRI DHIRESWAR KALITA: I do not know whether it has been denied. East to west, south to north we have border problems. How are we to solve them? With military strength, posting our army men in every inch of mile of our borders? Is there such a strength with us? I want to question those who say that. We have no money and no resources for that. We have not got the capacity to produce that strength. Thereby I do not mean to say that we should have cowardice. From the tactical and strategic points of view, we must see that the border problem is solved. We have to see the history of war also. Stalin made a pact with Hitler. Remember that history. That was a tacti-

cal move, necessitated by the circumstances. The circumstances today in our country necessitate our resolving the border problems from a tactical point of view.

In 1962, what was the lot of India? I have seen it. In 1965, when India and Pakistan threatened Bengal and Assam, what happened? If the three or four countries bordering us, march on us together, what will happen? You have to see it from the tactical point of view.

Even logistically and tactically every country has to think of its own defence. That is why I am saying that the border problem must be always viewed in terms of global war strategy.

About our policy towards China, the Prime Minister has been saying that the time should come to have talks. Yes, that is the correct policy. I congratulate the government and the Prime Minister for making an offer of a no-war pact with Pakistan. They may refuse it. Still, it is in our interest to renew our offer. Similarly, we want the Government of India to offer a no-war pact with China also. We want it. It is in our interest. (Interruptions). What is in our interest? We have no permanent enemies. We have only permanent interests. Our permanent interest is in peace, sovereignty, security and economic development of this country. We have no permanent enemies. We have to work out our policy on this basis. That should be understood. Those who are today speaking against China, Pakistan, Nepal and other countries should pause and think whether their suggestions are in the permanent interest of India. We must not think in terms of permanent enemies, creating eternal enemies. That should not be the policy of any government.

On behalf of the Communist Party I say that we must renew our offer of no-war pact with those countries. We should see that our permanent interests of peace, sovereignty and security are served. At the same time, I would also say that we must remain vigilant on our borders and we must defend our borders like the apple of our eye.