

श्री मन्त्रु सिन्धुवे : जैसा कि श्री कंबर लाल युप्तर ने कहा है, अगर उन का, या किसी और सदस्य का, कार्गि एड्मिशन नोटिस पहले माया है, तो उनके जवाब में यह वधान दिया जाना चाहिए था, लेकिन इसके पीछे बात यह है कि

Mr. Speaker: How many pages is it?

Dr. Karan Singh: It will take about 10 minutes.

श्री मन्त्रु सिन्धुवे : स्टेटमेंट को टेबल पर रख दिया जाये। बाद में सवाल पूछने दिये जायें।

Mr. Speaker: As I said day before yesterday, if you want any discussion, we can have it, instead of taking one or two minutes to ask questions. Let him lay it on the Table, let Members go through it and then if necessary, there can be a discussion.

Dr. Karan Singh: I lay the statement on the Table. [Placed in Library, See No. LT-781/67].

Mr. Speaker: We now adjourn for lunch.

13.02 hrs.

The Lok Sabha then adjourned for Lunch till Fourteen of the Clock.

The Lok Sabha reassembled after Lunch at Fourteen of the Clock.

[Mr. Deputy-Speaker in the Chair]

ELECTION TO COMMITTEE

The Minister of Parliamentary Affairs and Communications (Dr. Ram Subhag Singh): On behalf of Shri Anna Sahib Shinde, I beg to move:

"That in pursuance of Section 5(1) (i) of the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals Act, 1960, the member of Lok Sabha do proceed to elect, in such manner as the Speaker may direct, four members from among themselves to serve

far Board for a term of three years commencing from the date of their election, subject to the other provisions of the said Act."

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: The question is:

"That in pursuance of Section 5(1) (i) of the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals Act, 1960, the members of Lok Sabha do proceed to elect, in such manner as the Speaker may direct, four members from among themselves to serve as members of the Animal Welfare Board for a term of three years commencing from the date of their election, subject to the other provisions of the said Act."

The motion was adopted

14.02 hrs.

DEMANDS FOR GRANTS 1967-68—
contd.

MINISTRY OF DEFENCE—contd.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: We shall resume further discussion on demands for grants. Shri D. C. Sharma. He has already taken five minutes.

Shri D. C. Sharma (Gurdaspur): No, Sir. I have taken only two minutes.

Shri Seehiyam (Kumbakonam): How much time is left?

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Still five hours are left.

Shri M. M. Krishna (Peddapalli): Yesterday you were kind enough to call me. Unfortunately I had gone out to the library. Will I be able to get a chance today?

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: You will get your opportunity.

Shri D. C. Sharma: Some hon. Member yesterday said that we in India had no national defence policy, and it was suggested that a standing committee of Members of Parliament should be set up in order to formulate

sense policy of our country has existed all these days. No standing committee is required to give expression to that policy. What is that policy? In the first place we have to defend the integrity of our country. It is true that Pakistan has grabbed some part of our territory that is called Occupied Kashmir. China has snatched some thousands of square miles of our territory. At the same time Pakistan gave on a silver plate some parts of our territory to China when it arrived at a boundary settlement with that country. All these things are there but the fact remains that our defence policy stands first and foremost for the preservation of the integrity of this country. People may ask: what are you doing about Pakistan occupied Kashmir? What are you going to do to recover the territory which China has illegally come to possess? What are you doing about the territory given away to China by Pakistan. The simple answer is: the country's problems are not solved in as simple a manner as some hon. Members think. China is a mighty State, mighty in terms of army, in terms of equipment, manpower and in many ways. I ask the Chinese people: what are they doing about Taiwan? What are they doing about Macao, held by the Portuguese? So, these things are there but they do not deflect our nation of our Defence Minister from the pursuit of that policy.

The second item of our policy is that we should defend our border. I know that our borders have become very sensitive. Along with our borders, we have to defend our coastline also. What is happening in Nagaland? What are the Mizos doing? We have a very long coastline and we have many miles of our border. So far as I know every day checkpoints are being multiplied in order to guard the border. I know that our Navy which had been in its infancy so far is being put on a more stable basis.

The third part of our policy is that we should give the nation a sense of security. This sense of security has

not been impaired even though Pakistan committed aggression against us twice. Even though China fought against us, I must admit to the great glory of our country and to the great pride of our nation, that all these aggressions which were forced on us never took away from the citizens of India their sense of security. They knew that we were living in a State which is well defended and well guarded and it has always met any challenge that any aggressor may give. From where does this sense of security spring? It springs from our armed forces. Our armed forces are most judiciously selected and they are the symbol of our national integration. There is no question of this class or that class; we have abolished the so-called martial classes and we are now taking people from all the classes, from all the States of India. This judicious selection is the basis of the efficiency of our armed forces.

Again, the training that we are giving to them is something to be proud of. So many of the countries of Asia come to us in order that they should receive training in our country and more than anything else, these armed forces are very ably led. I am proud of the Generals, the Admirals and the leaders of the Air Forces because I know that they have stood much more ably the challenges than any other armed force of any other country. The test to which they have been subjected, I do not think any other country in any part of the world has been subjected to four aggressions during the last 20 years this country has seen.

More than this, I attribute the efficiency of the army to the morale of the army. Some hon. Member was saying that since somebody's relation had eloped the morale has suffered. Morale is psychological, moral and spiritual. We should know if our morale is going to be so brittle as to be broken by these small things. I think we should give up talking about moral. Morale is something more solid it is a solid like a rock. I think our jawans our non-commissioned officer,

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our leaders, have given a very good proof of that morale, and that morale is still persisting in the army. I believe that this is not a question of any other kind.

All the same, I would say that we should give our armed forces those amenities which they require. We should build more military cantonments. I have been asking the Defence Minister to build a military cantonment at Gurdaspur. The former Defence Minister Shri Krishna Menon, promised to do so, but he had to go. I hope the Defence Minister will now do so. He should build as many military cantonments as possible. At the same time, we should try to build family quarters for the armed forces. You can build them all over India. I mentioned Gurdaspur because it is my constituency. We must build as many family quarters as we can, because I know the members of the armed forces are put to great hardship when they are transferred from one place to another and when they do not find any proper housing facilities for them.

Then, I should like to submit very respectfully that we should give the personnel of our army as many facilities for education as we can. I would be happy if their children, up to a certain limit, are given free education free board and lodging. If any of them is transferred from one place to another, his sons or daughters should have the right to go to the hostel and not pay anything for board and lodging. That should be the duty of the Government to pay for their education. Of course, we have built some Central Schools; I want that there should be more Central Schools so that the army officers are not put to much trouble. But I want the Sainik Schools to be abolished, because they are the duplicate of the public schools. We have now come to the new conception of neighbourhood schools and these Sainik Schools are creating a class which is neither here nor there. Therefore, I would say that the Sainik Schools do not have

much use in this democratic country of ours. At the same time, I would say that the National Defence Academy in our country should receive students from all classes and groups. They should not train only those people who belong to the higher income group.

According to this report, Pakistan has doubled its equipment. It says:

"Pakistan has accumulated a large number of anti-aircraft guns, a large number of vehicles, large quantities of small arms, artillery pieces, ammunition including artillery and tank ammunition, anti-tank mines, spares for tanks/air-craft and a variety of warlike materials."

We have to achieve parity with Pakistan and China in the near future so far as man-power and equipment are concerned. I am very unhappy to find that our public sector undertakings have produced military hardware worth only about Rs. 52 crores. Something should be done to step up the production.

I want that we should set up a reserve force. I do not know by what name they should call it. I do not like the term Territorial Army, because it smacks of British imperialism and it is outmoded. We should call it the reserve force. The reservists should be people from the age of 21 to 25. We should give them military training and we should see that we can lay our hands on them whenever necessary.

Sir, the border areas must be strengthened. Within 10 miles of the border areas, people should be supplied with arms. All able-bodied people from the age of 20 to 25 must be given military training, so that they can take up arms whenever necessary. They should be given other amenities of life also like education, medical facilities, etc.

There is large-scale infiltration in Poonch, Rajouri and Cutchamb-Jammu areas. I would request the hon. Minister to see that this kind of infiltration

does not take place, because it means that a large number of fifth columnists are entering our country.

With these words, I congratulate the army on the good work it has done. I know our army will grow from strength to strength and our country will be proud of them and also proud of our Defence Minister who, I am sure, will lead the defence forces in the best possible and the most competent manner.

Shri Indrajit Gupta (Alipore): Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, in 1963, when we were discussing the Demands for Grants of this Ministry, that was, you will remember, very shortly after the confrontation with China, the idea was mooted, for the first time, of having a proper defence plan. The idea of a five-year defence plan, if the hon. Minister will refresh his memory was advanced by several Members on this side of the House, including me, and was welcomed by the Treasury Benches, and it was stated that a five year defence plan, which in its entirety would amount to a total expenditure of Rs. 5,000 crores, was going to be taken up and on that basis in the course of five years our whole defence orientation was going to be changed. We had stated at that time very clearly that this would entail an enormous expenditure, a crippling burden on the economy of the country but that we did not grudge it. We did not grudge it, and we took that declaration to mean that we were going to become self-reliant in our defence potential. We made it clear that the main purpose of this plan should be that we should learn to stand on our own feet and that we should strengthen the policy of non-alignment in defence matters. I remember making it clear at that time that the people of his country would not agree to pay this huge amount to the Government unless they took it to mean to be a pledge of self-reliance in defence matters. Because of this other talk which was going on at that time, and which I find goes on being

repeated now and then from various parts of the House, about the need for going in for our own atom bomb and so on or for a nuclear umbrella to be provided by somebody else, I had made it clear at that time, if you want to do that kind of thing please do not saddle us with a Rs. 5,000 crores defence plan, that is not necessary if you want to really take somebody-else's umbrella, there are cheaper ways of doing it without having to put an annual burden of Rs. 900 crores on the tax-payer's shoulders. The mere fact that a huge defence estimate of Rs. 5,000 crores was put before this House and approved was taken by me and other people on this side of the House to mean that it was a pledge, a pledge to the country and to the people of this country, that we would learn to stand on our own feet and not depend on others.

I may say, Sir, that it has taken five years since then, we are now completing that five-year period and, unfortunately, there is not a single word, not a single mention in the Ministry's Report anywhere of the fate of that plan, no assessment of that plan. The proposal was first made in 1963. Now we are budgeting for 1967-68. That five-year period has passed. During that period we have had another major confrontation with Pakistan in 1965. Where do we stand at the end of that plan period in relation to where we stood at the beginning? I think if such an assessment was provided to the House we could have had a much more fruitful debate.

It took the shock of the Pakistani attack in 1965 and the perfidious role which was played in that by the United States of America and, particularly, by the United Kingdom, to dislodge us from the old inhibition of tying our entire defence orientation and structure to the old British pattern which we inherited from the past. It is only since then we have given up that obnoxious practice, annual practice, of our armed forces, at least our navy, participating in a joint

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Commonwealth exercise. It is only since then we have given up the obnoxious practice of sending our commanders to Camberley in England every year to participate in the joint Commonwealth Conference of the Chiefs of Staff and so on. We have given up all that, but this has not given way to self-reliance at all.

The first thing I would like to point out here is that at the end of his five-year period I have a suspicion we are still trying to hang on to some kind of a sneaking hope that the United Kingdom and the United States of America, who taught us a good lesson, I think, during the Indo-Pakistani hostilities, may somehow or other again change their mind in future and resume their military assistance, supplies and so on. Last year, when this debate took place, on the same occasion the then Defence Minister had made it clear that he was hopeful that in the near future the stoppage of supplies from Western countries, which had been imposed after the Pakistani war, was going to be resumed. Of course, subsequently, as you know, the United States Government has made it very clear that lethal supplies are not going to be made and about spares we know the famous decision which is going to help only Pakistan and not us.

So, what are we proposing to do now? How do we propose to stand up on our own feet? Where is the sense of urgency in this Report? I do not see it; there is no measure outlined for it. There is only a superficial recapitulation of certain tasks which have been undertaken. I am not underrating the value of the good work done in some of the production units, ordnance factories, I agree with that, but it is hopelessly inadequate to meet the situation. I say that before you can take real, concrete, practical measures in that direction you have got to have self-reliance of the mind.

I want to know what is the significance—I wish the Defence Minister to share it with the House if there is any secret in it—what is the significance of the recent moves which have taken of establishing what I would call a clandestine link again, not now through the open machinery of the Commonwealth but through other devious measures, a clandestine link with that Institute of Strategic Studies in London. We have set up a new-fangled thing, called the Indian Institute of Defence Studies, with a retired General of the army at the head of that. In the governing body of that Indian Institute, I find from the papers laid in this House, that only one solitary Member of Parliament has been given the privilege of entering that august body the governing body of the Indian Institute, and that Member is my hon. friend, Shri Dandeker. I have no quarrel with my hon. friend, Shri Dandeker as a person, but I want to know why members from other parties, who are also interested in defence matters and keeping themselves informed, have not been given any opportunity, not even Members from the Congress Party. I hope my hon. friend of the Swatantra Party will not mind if I ask this question. It is very significant that the only party in this House which never makes any secret of its desire to have an open alignment with the Western Powers and calls for a nuclear umbrella from the West, which says that we should enter, if necessary, into military pacts with them for our own security is the Swatantra Party. Is it for this reason that only Shri Dandeker among all these 500 members of this House is privileged to have a seat in the governing body of the Indian Institute of Defence Studies? I want to know why in this secret, confidential, closed door session of the Asian Security Conference, which was held in Delhi in March or April, and we were told by the Indian Council of World Affairs that this Institute of Defence Studies participated with the collaboration of the Institute of Strategic Studies in

London and it was attended by a very large number of delegates or experts, or whatever they may be, from UK, from United States, from France and every other NATO country. Are we to be told anything about it? What was discussed there? I am told that at least two serving officers of the army participated in this Conference, apart from General Som Dutt, who is the head of the Indian Institute and just at the moment, today, I am told that, again, a gentleman who was a Director in the Defence Ministry, Shri Subramaniam by name, has been sent to London and is attached there presently to this Institute of Strategic Studies. I do not know what kind of confabulations are going on. Why all this secret about it? We would like to know whether this way again we are trying to show that we are incapable of thinking out any independent defence strategy or defence policy of our own, without depending on some of those foreign powers, western powers, to whom we have been linked by historical reasons, particularly the UK, in military matters and once again we want to take their counsel despite everything that has happened in the past, particularly since the war with Pakistan. There will never be any independence of thought until we break away from the past. The self-reliance that we want should begin from the mind. The inhibitions and previous practices which were always there in the past should go.

Therefore, I would like to point out that I have a great feeling of disappointment about this Five Year Plan, which was talked about so much in 1963. There are so many obvious leaks and gaps in this plan which is so vital to the security of this country. I have no time to go into the details of all of them. So, I would like to raise a few of them and I hope the Minister will reply to them.

I should have thought, for example, that the first basic requirement of self-reliance is that the Research and Development Branch of our Defence

Services should be encouraged much more. If we do not have our own discoveries and our own substitutes for imported supplies of defence equipment—components and all that—how long are we going to remain dependent on foreign sources which are not dependable and which let us down in moments of crises?

What do we find from these Budget Grants and Defence estimates given here? Out of Rs. 969.37 crores, which is the total Defence Budget estimate presented to us, a sum of Rs. 12.81 crores, that means, a little over 1 per cent, is being allocated for research and development in defence. I believe that other countries, at least countries with which we often like to compare ourselves, spend something like up to 15 per cent of their defence budget on this question of scientific research and development and we are spending only 1 per cent. That means that we want to prefer to remain dependent on imported supplies of equipment and not to encourage our own boys who are doing excellent work in defence research and development to have further scope for their work and for their own discoveries which would lead to import substitution on quite a big scale.

Then, the production projects which I welcome, which have been adopted in this country with technical collaboration from various countries for setting up our own independent production projects so that later on at least we will be self-reliant in these matters, are making very, very slow progress. That famous Leander frigate whose keel had been laid in Mazagaon Docks, we are told year after year that the first frigate will come out after a few years. I do not know at what rate we are progressing. I am saying this because Shri Dandekar has talked a lot about a second fleet and a second Navy. I was not present yesterday, but I say that you cannot yet produce a frigate an in-shore minesweeper. Then where are you going to get battleships, aircraft carriers and cruisers for two

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fleets unless you get them from somewhere else by paying an amount which you cannot afford, which means that you can get them only through some other method which in principle this country has decided to renounce?

The MIG project is making slow progress. We should like to know more facts. We do not know what is the condition of the development of indigenous content of the tank factory at Avadi. We know, the first tank came out and there was a lot of publicity, photographs and everything. But the imported content of that tank, Vijayanta, is very very high, specially armour plate which is the basic thing regarding a tank. We were informed of course, that in order to set up indigenous capacity for armour plate, Hindustan Steel at Rourkela was being asked to negotiate with some German firm to set up a separate special mill in Rourkela for the express purpose of having our own steel plate so that our tanks do not have to depend on imported steel plate. I do not know what progress that Rourkela steel plant mill has made. How far has it progressed? Why are we not told these things?

In the previous reports in earlier years we have been told that accelerating the rate of production of HF-24 Mack I, not Mack II, fighter was being held up and slowed down because of lack of certain US equipment and technical know-how which was promised to us but was stopped midway. Because of that we could not accelerate the rate of production. What has happened about that? They were stopped. We are where we were just because the Americans have cut off their technical aid.

What about HF-24, Mack II? I am told, the friend here said yesterday that the plant in UAR, where this joint collaboration was being worked out of trying to fit a supersonic engine manufactured there with German assistance into the frame manufactured at Bangalore, has been rased to the ground in the recent hostilities. I do

not know. I would like to know about that. Just before the Israeli-Arab hostilities broke out, there were reports in the press that a test pilot had gone from India and that a very successful testing had been done of that. Rather, it was the Egyptians who were complaining that the Indians were not showing enough interest in placing enough orders so that production can begin. What is the position, we would like to know.

Then, there is Caribou aircraft purchased by this Government from Canada. Civil aviation pilots, who see these Caribou aircraft spotted all over the aerodromes, particularly in the north and north east of our country, jokingly refer to them as decorations for the aerodromes because they never get off the ground. They never get the spare parts. The Canadians supplied Caribou aircraft; they did not give enough spares. I am told that most of these Caribou aircraft are grounded for lack of spares.

What about the radar communication sets? A complete radar communication system was promised at the time of the Chinese aggression in 1962 all along the northern border. We were told that the United States was going to supply complete radar sets. A part of it came and the other part did not come. Well, the hon. Members in this House, are justifiably concerned about the state of our defences. But the first thing you require on the northern border is a modern and a complete radar communication system which will give you timely warning of the approach of hostile aircraft. What has happened about that? Our own electronics capacity in this country, as we all know, is very, very limited. I am glad to find in the Report that some serious attention is being paid to develop further the electronics production. But till that happens, how are these defences going to be met? I want to know that.

What about the Ambajhari Plant for shell ammunition? It was held up because the Americans said that certain engineering studies must be completed, by them. You know, if the Ambajhari Plant is not completed the allied plant at Chanda, which is the filling plant, to be set up with British aid cannot also advance. So, we want to know about it. Here, in this Report, we are told that some steps have been taken to get the Ambajhari Plant going. I would like to know whether it is really a fact or not. It is held up for the last two or three years.

Then, our Defence Ministry, immediately after the Pakistani attack, adopted and declared what it called a new policy of vehicles disposal—I attacked it last year too—and this vehicles disposal policy lays down that any military vehicle which has completed 35,000 miles or, I think, three or five years service, must be automatically disposed of, got rid of, without being overhauled. Well, at the time of the Pakistani confrontation, we found that military transport had broken down to such an extent, was so inadequate, that we had to depend on 6000 or 7000 or more of civilian trucks which did excellent service and truck drivers risking their own lives kept the army supply line going. I want to know whether in the present conditions of our defence expenditure, where we are very much concerned to cut our coat according to cloth, we can afford that luxury. It is all right in hilly and mountainous regions; there you must have strict standards for vehicles, to conform to—I agree—but for the rest of India, where we have plains, is it necessary to have that policy when you are importing them from Japan. These Nissan trucks and Nissan jeeps have still got an indigenous content of only 30 to 40 per cent and we are importing them here but, at the same time, the extraordinary vehicles disposal policy is being rigidly followed. Can we afford it?

Then, we are told in this House, many times, the Heavy Engineering Plant at Ranchi is suffering from idle capacity because it is not getting enough orders from the steel plants. I want to know whether possibilities have been explored of utilising the forging capacity, the casting capacity, at the Heavy Engineering Plant, Ranchi, for our artillery. There are many questions but I have no time to go into them. But these only show that there are very vital gaps in the armour of this country. There is no information given to Parliament, not even one-tenth of what is supplied to the House of Commons in Britain when they discuss Defence estimates every year.

I would like to say a few words about the possibility of reduction in defence expenditure. Defence expenditure is going to be reduced by Rs. 6 crores without specifying very much about it. I think that is only for public propaganda purpose. I do not think any serious attempt is really being made. For example, the Defence Audit Reports are still revealing plenty of wastage, plenty of loss, on the one hand and unspent allocations on the other. If the Defence Audit Reports are seriously followed up by the Ministry, I think, there is plenty of scope for saving a considerable amount of money there, running into several lakhs of rupees.

Many friends have spoken about the need for reservists. But I want to say, if by reservists is meant the present Territorial Army and the N.C.C., I would like to have this cut. These are, in no way, reservists for the military potential of this country. They are used purely as an aid to the civil power. It is a polite way of saying they are reservists; they are for the police, not for the army. They are used for strike-breaking purposes and all that. That is all they are used for. We are going to spend nearly Rs. 41 crores in 1967-68 behind this Territorial Army and the N.C.C. which, in my opinion, are nothing more than spare-pieces which we cannot afford to cut.

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present state of finances. I am told, I would like to know from the Minister, that some lakhs are going to be spent on fitting up two exhibition trains; two railway trains are being fitted up at a cost of a few lakhs of rupees, to be taken round the country to show the ignorant public of our country the wonderful work that the Defence Ministry is doing. Can we afford these things when we are trying to prune every single pie from our budget?

Then I come to the surplus obsolete stores which are lying all over the face of India in huge depots. An ex-General of the Army has described them as piles of junk or half junk. They have never got rid of them. You will find on page 16 of the Report an extraordinary assessment made of how they too since 1963 went into the question and found out how many crores worth of obsolete and useless stores are rotting in huge depots all over India. Crores of rupees of, what you might call, logistic waste is being perpetrated in this country. What happened? They decided to get rid of Rs. 11 crores worth of useless stores, but they got rid of only Rs. 4 crores worth of these since 1963; Rs. 7 crores worth of the condemned stuff is still lying. They set up a second committee which recommended disposal of Rs. 61 crores worth of stores, but they have got rid of only Rs. 1,74,00,000. This is the rate at which we progress!

There is an item which I would like to have some clarification on and that is, charges in England. We are going to pay Rs. 28½ crores in 1967-68 for something called 'charges in England'. 'Charges in England' include the cost of our military, naval and air force missions attached to the High Commissioner's office in London, their establishment, their travelling, their various comforts plus some of the stores—not all—that we purchase—we are still dependent on England for certain things. For this, Rs. 20 crores every year are put in the Defence Budget as 'charges in England'.

If all these items and many more which I could elaborate but am not doing since you are anxious to press the bell, are seriously followed up, a great amount of saving in expenditure can be brought about. But what do they do instead? They have said with great pride in this report that they are going to save Rs. 33 lakhs—you know how—by reducing the atta ration of the field service-men who are manning the forces; that ration is being reduced by 2 ounces of atta, and they are going to save Rs. 33 lakhs....

Some hon. Members: Shame, shame!

Shri Indrajit Gupta . . . by under-feeding the soldiers. Why do they not look into the other matters and come before us with a substantial reduction which would in no way affect the security of this country?

Shri M. E. Krishna: The defence requirements of this country were really understood properly only after the year 1963. During 1961-62, the country spent nearly Rs. 311 crores and during 1962-63, it spent about Rs. 376 crores, but during 1963-64 we understood the magnitude of our problems and we increased the defence expenditure to Rs. 867 crores, nearly 40 per cent of the total national revenue.

The then Defence Minister in 1963, Mr. Chavan, declared that with his efforts, and with the efforts of the Ministry, he would not allow the enemy to attack this country, and if any enemy, either Pakistan or China, were to think of attacking India, they will have to think not twice, not ten times, but a thousand times. Our present Defence Minister has also very stoutly declared that the defence forces are quite well equipped and they will be able to do the real job at the time of necessity. Our Finance Minister who is also the Deputy Prime Minister has assured this House and the country that he would not effect any cut in the amount needed for the defence forces. All these things go to prove that Government are very vigilant and Government do not want to take things

easy and they realise the grave danger that the country is facing from two bitter enemies.

It has been realised that any country which has to face a bitter enemy will have to equip its soldier completely. We cannot allow our soldier just to be an associate of a platoon or a troop but he should be completely equipped and he should function almost like a platoon himself. We have seen recently in West Asia how a small country like Israel, because it had a well-coordinated arrangement and it had a very definite aim could meet the challenge of a very big country. In fact, it could meet the challenge of not just one country only but of several countries; even though those several countries were well equipped, yet because they were disorganised, and their arrangements had not been properly coordinated, a small country like Israel with its equipment and with better coordination could meet the challenge.

After we had submitted our list in 1963 to the joint committee of the UK and the USA experts on military affairs, we thought that all the equipment needed by the defence forces of India, which had been gone into by that committee and then decided upon, would be made available to India and we would be able to build our own defence equipment with the resources at our command. But, unfortunately, till today, even half of the list promised by these two countries has not been made available to us.

The previous speaker had explained very clearly how these two countries had disappointed us at the time of our conflict with Pakistan. We know that China is very well equipped and it prides to be perhaps the fourth biggest military powers in the world, and it has got all the resources at its command. In addition to that, Pakistan is also getting US arms. And Pakistan has been permitted or encouraged by the USA to procure some more equipment, and it has got some more fighter planes like MIGs from China. So, all these countries are well united against

India. Further, we are having the hostile Nagas who are being trained in Pakistan and also in China in guerilla warfare and they carry arms and ammunition which are supplied to them freely by these two countries.

Having taken into consideration all these things, our Defence Minister and the Government of India have chalked out a five-year defence plan. This plan is of two categories. The then Defence Minister Shri Y. B. Chavan had said that one would be a short-term programme and the other would be a long-term programme. Under the short-term programme he wanted to equip the defence forces with all the necessary equipment, and he had also assured us that he would be able to get all those things in time. The long-term programme was to build our own defence equipment in our own factories, perhaps with the collaboration of some country or the other. Under the long-term programme, I think we have been able to start the MIG factories and also tank manufacture. All these things have been done according to schedule in spite of all the difficulties.

14.49 hrs.

[SHRI S. M. JOSHI in the Chair]

But I have still not been able to know whether the defence forces have been able to get the equipment which they were to get under the short-term programme.

We cannot forget that we have got permanent and very formidable enemies and very temporary friends. We cannot rely upon temporary friends at a time of emergency. Therefore even if it is going to take a long period, we will have to build our own defence equipment in the country. One of the very important things any country would think of in this connection is to have better co-ordination and collaboration with the existing private industries in the country.

If it is said that defence has to be very mobile, you cannot function in a static way, you will have to move very fast. Therefore, the co-ordination of defence

[Shri M. R. Krishna]

with the automobile industry must be perfect. The other day we were told in this House that the automobile industry was not at all producing automobiles to capacity. If the Defence Ministry were to take earlier action to find out what is the capacity of these industries which could be utilised to meet defence needs at a time of emergency, they would be in a position to utilise those machineries and the technical personnel available there for defence production. Even if they are not keen to utilise them now, the Defence Ministry should have all this information ready with them so that at the time of emergency they can switch on for any kind of production in private industry for the use of defence. This has been done even in U.K. There very important people have been put on this job. They have taken a number of years to find out the production capacity available with private industry and see in what way these concerns could be geared up to produce defence equipment at the time of emergency. Unfortunately, I think in our country we have not made such a study so far I think the Ministry will be doing a great service to the country's defence needs if they could know which are the industries available in the country which can be switched on to defence production at the right time.

Apart from producing some of the very important items in defence factories, many things have to be replaced in the defence forces. For instance, the Canberra B 158 Mark which is with the IAF now is said to be of the 1954 model. This model has been almost discarded or replaced by Britain. Even in many other countries, this Canberra is going to be replaced. Similarly the Vampires have to be replaced. Like this, the Defence Ministry have very important programmes of replacement. But we do not know yet whether the Ministry have taken any step or have procured anything to replace the old aircraft and keep the

air force very effective to meet any challenge from any corner.

The insufficiency of the training programme had also been felt at the time of the Chinese aggression. The Defence Minister had then said that a number of institutions should be started in every State and the training programme should be undertaken on a crash basis. He wanted that State Governments should take a lot of interest in it and said that pilots, engineers and various other people who have to man the aircraft should be readily available to the defence forces. In 1958, the number of aircraft requiring repair was over 200. And the people available were very few, and they were unable to repair all the aircraft. As a result, many of them had to be discarded. Nearly 30 very valuable aircraft had to be discarded. Now we do not know what the position is. If you do not have really trained technical people to man all these things, you will have to keep on discarding all these very costly equipment. Therefore, the training programme has to be done in a very effective manner.

I think I have taken hardly ten minutes. I am entitled to 15 minutes I suppose.

Mr. Chairman: You have already taken 13 minutes.

Shri M. R. Krishna: This training is very important. It had been started in 1963, but it is not being carried through till now. There is some gap somewhere, and the training programme has been hampered, we do not know for what reason. Probably that is also a kind of austerity measure which the Government is trying to employ. But the previous Defence Minister found the need for training people to man various things which reconnected with the defence forces, and therefore it should be a continuous programme, and the Government of India should not hesitate to spend any amount of money on that.

The defence Ministry is thinking of curtailing the NCC. I am not here to plead with the Defence Ministry to spend the entire amount on NCC. Even if they curtail, it is all right, but what I would like definitely to plead with the Ministry is that the Defence Ministry should not think that they can get the raw material, the people and the young men with all the physical fitness whenever they need. It has to be created. The educational institutions are not in a position to really make the students physically fit. Therefore, it should be the duty of the Defence Minister, whatever reduction they are going to make in the NCC, whatever saving they are going to have by curtailing the NCC units, this amount should be in toto spent on the educational institutions for developing things like mountaineering, flying for making them physically very fit, so that at the time of emergency they can draw in any number of people from the educational institutions. It is merely not going to help the Defence Ministry by curtailing the NCC expenditure and handing it over to the Finance Ministry for any other purpose.

Since you have rung the bell, I do not want to dwell on other points, but I would certainly like to point one or two things. In the U.K. and in various other countries, after an interval of two years the pay scales and the allowances, facilities, everything, about soldiers and officers is gone into and the recommendations are generally carried through by the Ministry. But here in this country unfortunately, even though we depend largely on the fighting soldiers and the fighting soldiers have given a very good account of their valour, ability and patriotism, still we want them to rise in revolt or ask or agitate for their welfare measures, for their allowances, for their family upkeep, and all these things. This should not be the pattern. We should try to understand their difficulties. After all, the Indian soldier, even though he has been proved to be a very able fighter, finds that his economic condition is very poor. My

hon. friend Mr. Gupta has said that the Defence Ministry is trying to reduce their ration to meet some other expenditure. This seems to be abnoxious, and we should not resort to this kind of thing.

15 hrs.

The Defence Ministry can really have a lot of saving from the engineering works for which they spend over Rs. 40 crores, and also in troop movement. Many times, the Defence Ministry, without thinking, allow the units to be moved from one place to another, from places which are safe areas to unsafe places. In that they lost a lot of money. They do not take proper care. I know the EME, AOC and various other units which have been shifted from one place to another have cost the Defence Ministry over a crore of rupees. Apart from this, very costly equipment might be destroyed in transit besides causing a lot of inconvenience to people and things like that, but the Defence Ministry many times forget these things. I can give you one more small instance. Of course the Defence Minister is very familiar with it; this concerns a very small section of civilian employees in the defence. The defence ministry's intelligence could be known only from this. Nearly twenty Members of this House raised the issue on the floor of this House and it is going to be taken up as a short notice question, probably after the defence ministry's demands are considered. This pertains to the water carriers and cooks in the defence department. Nearly ten officers of the defence department—I do not have any grouse against them—are entitled to three or four cooks and water carriers. But for 100 soldiers there are only two cooks. It is not a small thing for two cooks to feed 100 people. They have to work for 20 hours. The items of food which they have to prepare in these establishments are many; it is not like scale of rations in 1947 or 1940, with the rations they get at present they have to prepare a number of items. They have to start their work early morning at 4 o'clock and

[Shri M. R. Krishna]

they will have to leave at 10 o'clock. The Defence Ministry wanted to curtail it to two cooks and no water carrier. They want the military people who had been trained for a different purpose and on whom the country had spent a lot of money to fight for the country—not to cook their food to cook; they are asked to do the work of the cooks. If they were to calculate the money that the ministry is spending on recruitment and training of a soldier and making him a fighting soldier and if they want him to work as a cook, what is the money involved? What would be the money you would be spending on a civilian cook to do the same work? They just want to remove these people and bring in the combatants to do this kind of work. If this sort of thing is to continue, even if you spend Rs. 5,000 crores on defence you cannot give an effective army to this country.

One word about cantonments. Though they are very important places for the defence forces, they are absolutely neglected; they do not have any facilities there. The cantonments do not take any responsibility about the education of the children; they do not even provide a children's park; they do not have housing facilities. It is not right on the part of the Defence Ministry to own these cantonments without doing any service to them.

Shri G. Viswanathan (Wandiwash): Mr. Chairman, at the outset I would like to pay my homage to our valiant heroes who laid down their lives in the Gaza strip for preservation of peace in the world. In view of the fact that we have powerful enemies on our borders,—the Chinese have become a nuclear power and Pakistan is re-equipping her armed forces and she is getting spare parts and lethal weapons both from the United States as well as from China,—there should be re-thinking on our defence policy. I join with the previous speaker, Mr. Indrajit Gupta in emphasising

self-reliance for our country. Unless we are self-reliant, the security of our country cannot be assured. Our armed forces in the land should be modernised. In this House time and again Members have been demanding sophisticated arms. For instance, infradred equipment is very necessary for night operations and there have been demands in the House but nothing has been mentioned in this report and Government had taken no steps in this regard. We are told that there are only fifteen sainik schools throughout the country. These sainik schools are very necessary as they are the feeder institutions to the national defence academy. The number of sainik schools must be increased. I would request the Defence Minister to open a Sainik School in North Arcot district where each and every village is represented in our army. I join with my previous speaker, Shri M. R. Krishna, that the water carriers, cooks and sweepers who have put in 15 to 20 years' service should not be suddenly retrenched. Most of them belong to the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. If we ask the Defence Minister, he replies that the soldier will have to perform all the work of a water-carrier, cook and sweeper. It will be a bad day, and a sad day too, to see the soldier brandishing a broomstick in one hand and a bucket in another hand, instead of holding a revolver or a machine-gun. This should be looked into.

Very often the defence personnel, especially from the army, come and tell us that they are insisted upon to pass tests in Hindi. Most of the people coming from the southern area have no knowledge of Hindi and they are discriminated at the time of promotion, because they do not pass the test in Hindi. I would request the Defence Minister that there should be equality for all persons and no discrimination should be shown to those soldiers who stand for the unity and integrity of this country.

Our Indian Navy can very well be called the neglected Navy of India. Mr. Dandekar spoke at length on the strengthening of the Navy. We should do something on this line, because we have a very lengthy coast-line and if possible we should acquire some submarines also.

The Air Force assumes more importance in these days. We have to face bigger enemies and better arms. We cannot go ahead unless we build up a good air force. I think that while other countries are manufacturing fighters and bombers, atleast we should try to manufacture planes which are necessary for our fighting. By the time we become self-sufficient or start full production of the MIG planes, I think it will become obsolete and outmoded. The radar system is very, very important in these modern days. Detecting the planes is more important than even using the planes. We can learn a lesson from the West-Asian war; because of the lapses and loopholes in the UAR radar system, they were taken by surprise when the Israeli planes attacked their forces. Therefore, there must be a network of radar system throughout our lengthy borders to drive away the hungry vultures.

Even if we do not make atom bombs and hydrogen bombs, we must manufacture our trucks and jeeps inside the country; although the labels are "made in India," the contents seem to be foreign in most cases. We are told in the report that the indigenous content in trucks is only 42.23 per cent and the jeep's indigenous content is only 30.10 per cent. We should make all efforts to make all these jeeps and trucks, or the components of these jeeps, in this country itself.

Regarding industrial relations, in the ordnance factories we are told that the relationship is very cordial. But it is not so. Even in the report, it has been said that there was a lock-out in Kanpur from 9th September, 1966 to 24th October, 1966. Again, there was a lock-out in the HAL, Bangalore, in November, 1966. The management and

the employees arrived at an agreement but violating the agreement, the management terminated three office-bearers of the employees' organisation and charge-sheeted 79 employees of the same association. It has provoked a hunger-strike and other things. The policy of victimisation should be stopped. The public sector undertakings, especially the defence undertakings, must set an example to the private sector.

We are talking of economy in expenditure. The House is interested and we are interested in seeing that every rupee we sanction is spent properly, but is it spent properly? No. Because the Audit Report mentions so many instances. But I will narrate one or two interesting items alone. For example, the Government of India purchased six engines of a particular type for Rs. 13.57 lakhs. Later, they had to be modified. In July, 1962, the Government entered into an agreement for manufacturing another variety of engines. Of course, it was not up to our standard. Later on, they wanted to cancel it in September, 1963. By this time, the company said "Nothing doing". We had to pay them as compensation Rs. 196.04 lakhs. Rs. 4 lakhs had to be spent for the modification of the already purchased planes. All together, in this unsuccessful venture, we had lost Rs. 239.32 lakhs.

There is another instance. We have an Air Adviser in London. We asked him to purchase 7 items of a particular store. He ordered it. His ignorance of Italian currency and the irresponsibility of the officers sitting at the Air Headquarters cost us Rs. 91,630. The Air Adviser can place an order only upto Rs. 10,000. Beyond that, he cannot. When asked about this, the Air Adviser said that due to unfamiliarity with Italian currency, he placed those orders. Actually the total cost of the order was Rs. 98,595. But the Air Adviser, for whom we pay thousands of rupees, sitting in London, thought it was only Rs. 96.60 and placed the order! The Air Headquarters found out after 3½ months that those items

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for which he had placed orders were already in the stock and so asked the Air Adviser to cancel the order. By that time, the company had manufactured some of the items and we had to pay the whole sum of Rs. 91,630. This is how colossal waste of money takes place.

I want to narrate the pitiable story of pickles. Our Army Headquarters wanted to purchase pickle and they placed orders for 95.120 tonnes. In such an agreement, there ought to be a warranty clause. There are so many officials, but all of them forgot completely about this warranty clause. It was purchased and after one year, it was found that out of the 95 tons, 28.9 tons were unfit for human consumption, costing about Rs. 56,200. Had there been a warranty clause, we could hold them responsible upto 18 months. But there was no warranty clause. This is how taxpayers' money is being wasted.

I will give another instance. This Government purchased 57 gliders to be supplied to NCC units. Their original estimate was Rs. 15,000 per glider. But actually it varied from Rs. 51,000 to Rs. 36,000. They purchased 57 gliders. Only one of them was flown for 2 hours. All the others could not be used for lack of air space or well-trained instructors. The cost of the 57 gliders was Rs. 20.72 lakhs. This is how the Defence Ministry is wasting public money.

They are publishing a magazine called *Sainik Samachar* in 9 languages. It is printed not on ordinary paper, but on super-calendar paper. They are paying Rs. 21,000 per month to a private person to print this magazine.

Sir, in the report of the Ministry it has been stated that the *Sainik Samachar* has been registering an increase in circulation. But this is not true. In 1966-67 the circulation has gone down by 5000 copies. It is because the magazine is not interesting to the soldiers and they are not purchasing

it. Even if the soldiers are willing to purchase it, their families are not willing because there is nothing of interest in that magazine. Lakhs of rupees are spent on this magazine. This can be printed in ordinary paper and thus a lot of money can be saved so that there will be no need to cut the ration of atta or rice given to the soldiers. On the one side the Defence Ministry is spending a lot of money on unnecessary items and, on the other, they want to cut the ration given to the soldiers.

I want to emphasise that retrenchment in the army should be stopped immediately. In fact, the other day also we emphasised this point in this House but we were not assured anything on that day. Thousands of them are sending letters and telegrams to us saying that suddenly they have been asked to go home. Most of them have put in 20 to 25 years service. Their welfare should be looked after. They do not get any pension. Even after 20 years they are treated as temporary servants only. In other departments after putting in two or three years they are made permanent. But these water carriers, sweepers and others in the defence department are kept as temporary employees. They are suddenly asked to go out. About 10,000 families are involved in this. I would request the hon. Defence Minister to look into this problem and see that justice is done to them. When they are in service they are not allowed to form trade unions or associations of their own. Other civilians are allowed to form associations. When we ask the Defence Minister he says that these people come under the purview of the Army Act. They come under the purview of the Army Act when they seek to form trade unions or associations but they are denied the benefit of allowance, rice quota and other things which others who come under the purview of the Army Act get. Thus these persons who get very low salaries are treated in two different ways. The Defence Minister must do something immediately for the wel-

fare of these people, I request him to take immediate action in this respect.

Shrimati Sharda Mukerjee (Ratnagiri): Mr. Chairman, Sir, I would like to make an observation at the beginning of my speech, that what is said to be secret, what is said to be not in the public interest, seems to apply only to Parliament and to the Indian public. Here, Sir, is a magazine, the Seminar of July 1966 in which some foreigner has made an assessment of our hostilities during 1965 against Pakistan. This is what he says:

"Lacking certainty about the outcome and without a strategic master plan both sides just slugged it out. This explains the relatively heavy loss in equipment and personnel without any advantages accruing to either side after the uneasy cease-fire."

Then he goes on to give quite a detailed account of what happened, how much loss there was in armour, manpower etc., on both sides. I would like to bring this to the notice of the Defence Minister and say, as it has been said time and again in this House, that in certain respects it would be far better for the Government to take the Parliament into confidence and thereby generate confidence in the people. Because, here you have articles of this nature going around which, I am afraid, do not create any confidence.

Secondly, before I go on to the main part of my speech I want to draw the attention of the Defence Minister to what happened to the evacuation of our forces in Gaza. Many explanations were given. One of them was that it was the responsibility of the United Nations. Another was that we were anxious to bring them out but that we thought we might offend the United Nations authorities or whatever it was. But the fact of the case is this that could they have been evacuated by air, we could have brought them out so long as we were prepared to pay for it. And, in the final analysis, not only did we lose 19 or 20 our boys but the cost was not

so much less than what it would have been if we had brought them out by air. On the 18th of May General Nasser asked the United Nations Forces to be evacuated. It took us a month to get them out. This shows some sort of lacuna in co-ordination. These are the two points I would like to make before I go on to the main speech.

As regards our defence policy, I think the first thing that is required is to determine, to recognise, the enemy. In the past, if we are to take any lessons from what happened, we did not prepare our people sufficiently in advance for what actually happened. Fortunately, in the 1965 conflict, we had the Kutch affair before that and there was a certain amount of tension, certain anticipation in the country and our armed forces were equally aware of what might happen and, therefore, we were able to give a reasonably good account of ourselves. But, on a previous occasion, in the 1962 Chinese aggression,—I think it is now necessary to assess where and why we have failed and where and how we succeeded,—in the 1965 conflict. Till the last minute we did not recognise or identify the enemy so that neither our people, nor our armed forces, were prepared to meet the confrontation in the form and size that they had actually to face.

Just before that, just before the hostilities in October, 1962, for some reason, the army started what was then known as the "forward Policy". I think it is permissible to talk about these things because General Kaul's book has come out. This forward policy which started with the opening of the Dhola Pass in Ladakh, where a few isolated posts were opened with no logistical arrangements at all, this forward policy as it was started, we would like to know whether it originated at the Cabinet level, whether it was an ad hoc thing which was done by the armed forces or the local Commander or was it done by General Kaul. To this day we do not know it. Why it is necessary that we should know is that there should be a proper

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coordination between decisions as they are taken at the Cabinet level and their implementation at the lowest level. That is why I am mentioning this. There should be no secret about it because, as I said, this sort of thing has come out. Even about the Chinese aggression, a pamphlet was written in America and a copy of it was sent to me. Unfortunately, I am not able to lay my hands on it at the moment. So, I would like to know from the hon. Minister whether this sort of a break in the link of co-ordination has been eliminated and co-ordination established better.

Secondly, in the context of what has happened, for instance, about 10,000 Pakistanis coming in in the Chamb area the other day, and what has been happening on our eastern border, does he anticipate anything? It would be no use saying at this point that it is not in the public interest because, as I said, the people of this country and the armed forces must know that this is the enemy, this is what we are facing and this is what we shall have to prepare for. It becomes rather difficult for us to understand when one day we hear that the generals on both sides, Indian and Pakistani Generals, are meeting each other and exchanging sweet words and the next day we hear that all sorts of alarming things are happening and that we may be in a small or large conflict with Pakistan in the same way it happened with China. One day we were Hini-Chini Bhai Bhai and the next day were daggers drawn at each other. It just does not make sense.

An hon. Member: Hindi Chini Good Bye.

Shrimati Sharda Mukerjee: I say this because no army by itself can fight a war without the co-operation and loyal support of the people and a considerable sacrifices on the part of the people.

Now, let us see, should this attack from Pakistan come, where do we expect it? Have we made adequate

provision for the people of the area; or, will it happen as it did in the NEFA? Do you remember the panic that was created in Assam? Do you remember how Assam felt at that time that she was forgotten by the rest of India? Last time he attack came in the Chamb area and the main part of the fighting was on the soil of Punjab. But are you sure that it will happen the same way now? Do you think that the Pakistani Army will face the Indian Army in Punjab; or, is it possible that the Haji Pir Pass which we gave up may again prove a route from where the Pakistani forces may come? Is it possible that the Tithwal Valley may prove another route? I do not say that you should give away military secrets, but is it not necessary to provide some kind of a preparation for the people of those places? That is the point I am making. If we do not, we may again be in the same sort of a situation as we were in the NEFA. We know today what happened at the Sela Pass. We know that. Unfortunately, the people did not support us in the measure we expected. Yet, this is supposed to be not in the public interest! Is it in the public interest then to suffer a defeat? Is it in the public interest then to send your armies without adequate supplies and preparation? These are inconvenient questions.

This debate is taking place in the wake of three important things which have happened recently. One is the hydrogen bomb explosion by China. This has created a considerable amount of alarm in the country. The second is the very disturbed conditions on our borders. The third things, equally important, is the confabulation which is going on between the two mighty powers. Now, you would say: Do you think that is to our advantage or not? That is, I think, for you to decide. If we were at each other's throats again, what would be the reaction of these two gigantic powers, the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R.? What I mean is that we must have a comprehensive defence policy and these questions must be answered, not only they must be

answered, but must be clarified to the people because, unless you build up a psychological sort of preparation, you cannot dream of going into a military confrontation of any size. It is doomed for you, before you put your foot into it, to have some kind of a failure.

It is with some alarm that we are thinking of what may happen at the end of summer. You talk of public interest but, in view of what is happening, I would say, it would be more in the public interest to face it and give Parliament a true assessment of the situation. What is it that India is facing today? India faces today, not a large war, not a total aggression, but what is called a war of attrition. If every year, every two years, at the end of every summer, we are to sit back and wonder whether on our eastern borders or on our western borders we shall have to face another assault, another aggression another confrontation, this sort of feeling will erode the confidence of the people. This is a war of attrition—it has happened before—and it is now twenty years and we have built our defence forces, our economy, with this fear that any moment we shall have to face an assault. This is not an unusual thing. There was a war going on for hundred years. We have been on this Kashmir question for twenty years. This is a war of attrition which we are facing today.

What is our overall defence policy? I find that in our defence estimates, the pattern of expenditure is the same—the volume is larger but the pattern is the same. Now, in the last war, we know it for a fact that we did not expect to go in for aerial warfare but almost on the first day, when we found that the Pakistani division was coming through the Chhamb sector, we had to give our army aerial support. It is not mentioned anywhere in the Report as to whether our air strength has been improved and whether our losses have been made up. We do not know, for instance, how much of what we hear about Pakistan's air force being re-equipped is true. The newspaper report says that Pakistan has received

planes from Iran. It was also reported that on Pakistan's Annual Day, there was even the Chinese equipment paraded in the streets. We do not know what is true and how much is true. We are groping in the dark and there is a cloak of secrecy over it. It is rather disturbing that we have not modified, re-conditioned, our method of thinking and our method of expenditure.

Now, I come to the nuclear weapons. We learnt, to our cost last time, how our lack of radar equipment, etc. was a disadvantage to our forces. We also know that our friends, the people who call themselves our friends, are not going to help us with this sort of equipment. The other day, there was a Call Attention notice on the Chinese explosion of hydrogen bomb and on that day I mentioned about the Bhabha Committee's Report on Electronics.

In that report, Dr. Bhabha has said categorically that we have the potential in the Country and all that we require is an investment of Rs. 75 crores or Rs. 15 crores per year. Out of these Rs. 900 and odd crores, we are not able to spare Rs. 15 crores. Out of this Rs. 2,000 crore Plan that we have got, we are not able to spare Rs. 15 crores per year. There is no provision for building up a potential whereby we can have the basic requirements to sustain a modern defence pattern. We have not made any provision for it. Modern warfare does not mean expansion of manpower; it means having the potential which will either deter foreign aggression or should foreign aggression come, to have the capacity to meet that aggression, paralysing the industrial or other sectors on their side. That is what we mean by modern warfare. Without radar, without even, in the context of the present day conditions, the provision of nuclear weapons, ICBM and things like that and guided missiles, you cannot have even a war which is called limited war. But the Bhabha Committee's report, like all other reports, has been put in the cold storage and out of Rs. 900 odd crores of rupees, we cannot spare Rs. 15 crores! The Bhabha Committee's report also men-

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tions that unlike the other countries—not very advanced countries, but Japan and others—we would spend only 0.15 per cent of our gross national income in electronics industry.

I shall quote what he says:

"The entire character of military operations has been changed through electronics which has come to play a vital role in practically every area of defence equipment with everincreasing sophistication."

I would like to know from the Minister whether there is some hidden provision somewhere for the manufacture of these electronics. It is possible that we have missed it; it is not here and it is not in any of the two other reports, but it is possible that it is somewhere

Shri Manoharan (Madras North): In public interest it cannot be disclosed.

Shrimati Sharda Mukerjee: These are not things which can be hidden.

I would just make one or two observations before I close. One is about the hydrogen bomb explosion which has taken place and which caused a furore here. I do not think that any one believes that just the possession of the atom bomb will act as a deterrent to foreign aggression. First of all, if you are certain about who your enemies are—in this case, Pakistan and China—let me ask you this: are you going to use the atom bomb over Pakistan? These two sister countries have to live for ever close to each other. Is it possible? Then are you in a position to use it against China? The most important question is: do you have the will to use it? What I mean by 'the will to use it' is that you must also be prepared to suffer the consequences of the use of this bomb, of retaliation in a like measure. Therefore, I do not think that in the context of our economic structure and other things, it is so necessary to have the atom bomb. What is necessary is the potential which will give us the

option to manufacture the bomb at a time when we think it is necessary. This potential can be used for industry in general; it can also be used for ordinary defence. This is exactly what Dr. Bhabha had said.

I would now like to say a few words about defence equipment because that is very important. I do not think that I need repeat what my other friends have said about the Hindustan Aircraft Ltd. and the manufacture of HF-24 to which the PAC has made a reference because there has been a loss of about Rs. 237 lakhs. This applies to most of the defence production. For instance, in the Avadi factory, as my hon. friend Shri Indrajit Gupta had pointed out, after much a do about nothing, we produced one tank.

Another thing that is happening is that we locate factories somewhere, we spend money on them but after a few years for no reason at all we move the factories from those places. I know, for instance, that there is a factory at Ahmednagar for the manufacture of vehicles. It has been there for about twelve years. When you shift a factory like that, it is not merely a question of shifting the factory only with all the equipment, but there is a human problem also. There are thousands of people who are dependent on the few hundreds of people employed in the factory. Overnight, somebody sitting in Delhi takes a decision that this factory must be moved to some other place. This factory has been in existence there for twelve years and people have been employed in it. Industries have grown around that factory. Smaller industries have grown as ancillaries or feeder industries. But for some remote unknown reason, somebody in Delhi decides that it must be shifted. I would like to know from the hon. Minister if it is true that this Ahmednagar factory is going to be shifted and if so why after twelve years the Defence Ministry has suddenly made up its mind to shift it.

A similar thing has happened in the case of the MIG factory. That is also located at four or five different places; at one place, there is a unit for making the electronic components; at another place there is a unit for making the fuselage and at a third place there is another unit for making the engines and so on. If something defective is found and there is the slightest defect in any part, then it has to be carted thousands of miles to be repaired.

Shri Piloo Mody (Godhra): Regional considerations.

Shrimati Sharda Mukerjee: I suppose again after some years the Ministry may decide to change the location. This is what is going on.

I feel that the Defence Ministry has rather grown out of proportion and it is time that this defence production is moved out of the Defence Ministry.

Shri Piloo Mody: Into the private sector.

Shrimati Sharda Mukerjee: It should be moved out of the Defence Ministry. I cannot understand how this enormous empire can possibly be coordinated, controlled and managed.

In conclusion, I may say that I have brought out all these points with only one intention, namely, that we should have a proper and comprehensive defence policy, because at the present moment we are not sure whether we have such a policy. I at least have not been able to understand what the policy is. Shri Indrajit Gupta had also brought out this fact. Perhaps, there may be some defence policy or plan of which we may not be aware; and we are not also aware of the existence of a comprehensive defence policy because today we find our Army generals fighting against another country, but tomorrow the Generals of the two countries are meeting and shaking their hands and saying 'Let us forget what has happened'. So, we would like to know from the hon. Minister whether the Defence Ministry has worked out any kind of comprehensive defence policy and if so, what it is,

and whether it has at least decided who our enemies for the next few months are.

Shri Piloo Mody: The Opposition!

Shrimati Sharda Mukerjee: Shri Piloo Mody cannot be an enemy of anybody.

We cannot really go on taking these ad hoc decisions any more. We cannot suddenly expand the man-power, as we have done, and give emergency commissions to a large number of people and overnight decide to demob them, and thereby create all this distress and unemployment etc. I just do not understand this kind of thing. I have gone through the working of these emergency commissions and I know that even after the 1939-45 war, the emergency commission fellows went on for about 20 years; every five years they were still put on a new emergency commission. So, we would expect Government to have some idea about this at least. And lastly, I would submit that a defence policy has in the main to be worked out. The defence policy has to be worked out in relation to various alternatives which are available at any given moment economic, military, diplomatic and political. These alternatives must be so combined that they will ensure the security of the country.

Lastly, I would say that I do think that the Defence Ministry has grown out of proportion. The second thing is that in view of the growing importance of modern science and technology, it is not the practice in any country to have defence production, ship-building yards and all sorts of things within the Defence Ministry. It was a thing which probably happened 100 or 50 years ago, but it does not happen now. Therefore, the Defence Ministry should be reorganised if we are to get any kind of efficiency out of it.

Shri Unnamath (Pudukkottai): I submit that as far as this defence budget is concerned, it has a crippling effect on the economy of our country

[Shri Umanath]

as well as on the family budgets of millions of our people. The true interests of the people of the country demand that there must be a drastic cut in the defence budget and for that purpose, consequential political measures must be taken. The only section of our people who will not relish the idea of a cut in defence expenditure will be the big business interests in the country. (Interruptions), perhaps represented by Shri Piloo Mody in size as well, because our economy is stagnant. Continuation of the defence orders ensures huge profits and loot to the big business interests who will perhaps use them as a way out of the present industrial crisis.

Shri Manoharam: Who are they?

Shri Umanath: For example, Tatas get huge orders for trucks, Mahindras have huge orders for jeeps, Mafatlals have huge orders for tents, Calicos have huge orders for mosquito nets and textile manufactures, and Birlas also for other things. Like this there are so many big business interests involved.

Shri Piloo Mody: Cancel them.

Shri Umanath: After all these orders, you will find the astounding profits earned in relation to capital. In 1964-65, the average profit for 51 major groups is 11 per cent whereas Mahindra got 15 per cent, Calicos secured 17 per cent. This being so, as the crisis deepens, they will lean more and more on defence orders as a way out and this will lead to slow militarisation of our economy, and this Government, pledged as it is, to protect the big business loot, encourages this tendency by releasing more and more defence orders to these groups. I can only warn this House that this tendency to militarise our economy will bring ruin to millions of our countrymen.

A substantial part of our defence budget is frittered away to meet the profit needs of this group. For exam-

ple, I am given to understand that Tatas get a profit of Rs. 2,000-4,000 per truck (Interruption). I speak subject to correction; let the hon. Minister clear it up. I would like to know why Government should allow such a cut into our defence budget when our ordinary infantry soldier gets only Rs. 55 as basic salary. I want to know why we should give to Tatas such a huge profit of Rs. 2,000-4,000 per truck which I consider most unjustified. My submission is that the profits on these orders should be limited to the bank rate. That will save a substantial portion from the defence budget, and if Government does not accept it, I would say that the slogan *jai jawan* is just to cover up the real slogan *jai Tatas, jai Birlas*.

I bring to the notice of this House an important source of danger to our defence, namely the connections of our top military officers with certain foreign elements. There is a practice of reporting and taking advice from foreigners on our military matters behind the back of our Government and army chiefs.

Shrimati Lakshmi Kantamma: On a point of order. It was something sacred when we introduced *Jai Jawan, Jai Kisan*. Is it proper for the hon. Member to compare Tata or somebody to *Jai Jawan* and *Jai Kisan*?

Shri Umanath: I am quoting this from the Untold Story of Mr. Kaul. Mr. Kaul was appointed Commander of 4 (Red Eagle) Infantry Division. Immediately on appointment, do you know what he did? I am quoting him:

"One of the first things I did on assuming command of this Division was to write to Maj. Gen. T. W. Reesce (a British erstwhile commander. He was now leading a retired life in Britain):"

And then he goes on to say:

"I said in my letter I hoped he would keep guiding me as he had done some years ago. I got back a warm reply to say that he was deeply touched to receive my letter and that nothing would give him greater pleasure than to keep in touch with this division and with my doings. I kept giving him divisional news periodically."

This is the position. Then, I do not know how many officers there are even now who have got contacts with British, American or any other foreign element.

The next point is that foreign big business interests have got direct access to our top military officials, and these foreign business officials lavishly entertain some, I do not say, all of our military officials—I depend on their own admission. I give you from the book *Arms, Aims & Aspects* by Gen. J. N. Choudhuri. This relates to 1951, Mr. Chaudhuri says:

"At the end of the month I did a routine trip to Delhi during which I roped into a cocktail party at Sinclair's hospitable house. He was head of Burmah-Shell at the time."

This is what he himself admits. I thought it was a chance meeting, but then I found it was not a chance meeting. I find from Mr. Kaul's book also another admission on these contacts with foreign big business. This is in 1961, the other was in 1951. Mr. Kaul says:

"In London, I was entertained by the Burmah Shell boss Sinclair."

So, my point is that foreign oil interests have made it a regular point to regularly be in touch with the top military officers of our country and spend lavishly on them. The Government knows that the foreign oil interests have been responsible for toppling governments in various indepen-

dent countries. But they allow some of the top military officers to flirt with foreign big business people, but what about our jawans? He is not allowed to approach even an M.P. or an MLA, that is considered to be a crime. I bring this to the notice of this House. This is a very bad thing.

15.54 hrs.

[MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER in the Chair]

Then I come to another point, the practice of allowing our top officials to be military correspondents of foreign newspapers. Mr. Chaudhuri was a correspondent of a British newspaper for ten years as Maj. General, and while he was Chief of Army Staff also, he contributed. Government's stand on this question is, when this question was put, that they permitted it. The Minister says: "Our investigation shows"—he is not sure—"that it was permitted", just to educate and inform our public how things were getting on, that is all. He should not criticise Government policy etc. The answer shows as if it is an arrangement of our doing. That is not true. The truth is that this also was arranged by the Burmah Shell head, Mr. Sinclair. I shall give his quotation. General Chaudhuri did the deal behind the back of the Government about becoming correspondent. I am quoting from his book:

"Normally cocktail parties are an unprofitable excursion but this one was different. Sinclair introduced me to Evan Charlton of the *Statesman* and after a bit Charlton asked me if I could suggest the name of someone who would write a fairly regular column for them on military affairs... We talked it over and finally I offered to do them myself"

After taking it over, he does not consult the Government. He goes on:

[Shri Umanath]

"My anonymity was very well kept. Even on the Statesman, apart from the Editor and one other, no one knew who was writing these articles."

Government themselves did not know who was writing these articles. General Chaudhuri decided on his own and his anonymity was kept from the Government also. He went further. These columns were used by him even to influence Government policies on military matters without having recourse to official papers. These are the things which are admitted in the book. He says:

"The subject had been going through my mind for some time and I had even thought of putting it forward as an official paper. However, official papers tend to get chewed up in the bureaucratic machine, so publication as a newspaper article seemed more profitable."

That was his comment. The most damning thing is that in 1965 as Chief of Staff he wrote two articles. Why? He says:

"As part of the official work, however, I grow more and more convinced that peacetime protection of our borders needed rationalisation."

If he felt like that, he should submit a note to the Defence Minister. Instead, he describes the defects of the then existing system in this article. He says:

"Those defects became very evident when Pakistan in 1965 aggressed in Kutch. Discussions on a change were in progress but to speed up the process of change in Delhi, I thought a suitable piece explaining the problem might help. So, in April I wrote this article posing the case as fairly as I could. I have no knowledge as to whether my strategy was effective but things did start to move faster and by

early July the main decisions had been taken. After ministerial agreement had been reached on broad policy, the follow-up was for the officials, including myself, to work out the details. To give this process a helping hand, I wrote the next article which incidentally is the last to appear in this book."

What else do you want? His anonymity had been used for the purpose of influencing government policies.

I now come to the question of service conditions of the jawans. Our jawans are paid Rs. 55 per month plus a meagre dearness allowance. The argument is that they are given free food. But free food is given even to prisoners. That is not the point. The point to consider is whether it is sufficient for his family to be maintained? Let us compare it with the civilians. A civil constable gets Rs. 79-95 basic plus full dearness allowance. A peon gets Rs. 80-95 plus full D.A. Let the government reduce the profits of big business and wastage in defence budget and stop corruption and pay these jawans who are really facing death in order to defend our country. There is the question of disparity between the service conditions of officers and other ranks. I give these figures from the government report itself. The JCOs and other ranks are paid two-thirds of civil rate of D.A. equivalent to their grade. Why not full? The officers are paid full dearness allowance that is equivalent to their grade. Why?

Shri Ranga (Srikulam): The officers have to look after their maintenance themselves.

Shri Umanath: Again, the officers are paid a separation allowance of Rs. 50 per month. That is because they are separated from their families. But the jawans are not paid separation allowance. The family problems are common, both to the jawans and the officers. Then, about the ration allowance, the officers on

duty get Rs. 12 per day, and the JCOs and other ranks get only Rs. 1.75 per day. Again, on transfers, the officers are paid the incidental allowances, but other ranks get nothing. Regarding housing, 100 per cent quota is allowed to the officers, whereas the other ranks—I am taking these facts from the answers given by the Defence Minister—are given only 14 per cent. This smacks of the old colonialist attitude towards the army structure and the fighting jawans of our country. This attitude must go.

16 hrs.

Then I come to the last point on this topic. With regard to the promotion from Havildar to Jamedar, I wanted to have the correct information. It is said that unless the person passes first-class in Hindi, he cannot get promotion from Havildar to Jamedar. If this is the correct position, that is very, very wrong. It will tamper with the integrity of the armed forces and of the country.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: The hon. Member's time is up.

Shri Umanath: I have got 15 minutes.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: This is a caution bell. He can go on.

Shri Umanath: Then there is the question of the attitude towards the defence employees. This attitude is one of victimisation. One Santokh Singh was victimised in 1960 and he was reinstated in 1962 and posted to Gwalior. He formed two unions of defence workers. He was therefore suspended and a false case was foisted upon him and brought against him, the charge being that he drew money and submitted a false medical certificate. The judgment was given by the court. This clearly means that they, that is, the military officers, were busy in planning to involve the accused in the case. The judgment said that "It is a fact that the military people cannot like the unions and I think the explanation of the accused is correct that for troubling

him they transferred him to Gwalior where the other military people seeing the accused not leaving his old habits got him entangled." This has been held by the magistrate himself. The man was acquitted. Even after acquittal, he has not been reinstated. This is the kind of respect shown to the judiciary, when the question of victimisation arises. That is where the matter stands.

Coming next to emergency commission officers,—it has been mentioned by the Government—I want to bring to the notice of the Defence Minister the danger involved in their programme. It is a phased programme of retrenchment. 6,000 people are there. In the first year, they say 1,400 people will be retrenched. The next year, another section will go out. Already, the first 1,400 would have gone out, and then 4,600 will remain in service, and then another section will be retrenched. The next year, they will be back home. They will have no peace of mind, that is, those who remain because they will also be sent out next year. The whole army will be led by such people, there will be a feeling of insecurity in the minds of the remaining people. They know that tomorrow they will have to go out. They do not know, what will happen afterwards. So, how can discipline be maintained in the army in such circumstances? Is it not a dangerous position? That is why my submission to the hon. Defence Minister will be, this retrenchment must be stopped immediately, and as and when the Government find alternative employment to that extent, let that number be released. Then the army also will be safe and the personnel also will have guarantee of service.

Then I turn to the question of the policy of self-reliance in defence production. Many things have been said. I would like to bring to the attention of this House the Avro plane project. Crores of rupees have been invested, to meet the defence needs, as was said by them. Now, the installed capacity in this plant is 150. But up to 1966, only six have been pro-

[Shri Umashankar]

duced, as against the installed capacity of 150. The production target up to 1964 is 51. But the fulfilment was only to the extent of four. On imported components, still, it is only 90 per cent. It is just an assembly plant. What is the cost with regard to the assembling of these things? I took the accounts from the PAC report. For the second plane, to assemble imported components worth Rs. 17 lakhs, the assembly charges were to the extent of Rs. 30 lakhs. Ultimately, the project is now working to cater to the needs of the IAC. It was first started to cater to the needs of defence, but then the metamorphosis started and it is now working to cater to the needs of the IAC. Even in today's papers, it was reported that the demands of the IAC have not been fulfilled, and they are therefore going in for Fokker Friendships. The reason for this is, the Defence department is yet to decide its suitability. The Avro plane project started before its utility was determined. You must punish those who were responsible for forcing the project to be taken up in this way.

Then, I would like to bring to the notice of the House the project for the manufacture of Air Force equipment, at the HAL, Bangalore. The 1956 estimate was Rs. 1,10,00,000. The revised estimate for 1961 was Rs. 4,50,00,000. Then again, the revised estimate for 1965 was Rs. 5,56,00,000. They have spent Rs. 2,39,00,000; and now the whole project is given up! This will be the fate of self-reliance in the hands of a Government of Big Business which wants to build projects relying on western imperialism and Indian bureaucrats.

There is huge wastage. Since 1945 Rs. 2 crores worth of surplus machines are lying idle. According to audit, 70 per cent of it will remain idle even after 1965. The charge for care and custody of these idle machines is Rs. 21 lakhs.

PAC has repeatedly warned that non-linking of invoices with packing account would lead to pilferage and misappropriation. Yet, in the Air Force alone, from 1956 to 1963, Rs. 5½ crores worth of invoices are yet to be linked up.

Finally I come to defence strategy. The Second Bell Mission has laid down a defence strategy for us. Always Government are fond of saying that it is an advice. The advice was:

"Determined restraint and reduction of non-productive public expenditure, including defence expenditure.

Exploration of opportunities for mutually advantageous economic cooperation with Pakistan."

It is an American report. They are arming Pakistan on the one hand and they are asking us to reduce defence expenditure. I will authenticate this and place it on the Table of the House.*

श्री मधु लिखड़े (मुंबई) : मेरा व्यवस्था का प्रश्न है। सरकारों दस्तावेजों को यहाँ रखने का हमें अधिकार है। अगर सरकार नहीं रखती है तो मेम्बर रखेंगे। उसमें से उन्होंने कोट किया है। पूरी रिपोर्ट धानी चाहिये। हमारे अधिकारों का अधिकरण हो रहा है। दो तीन रिपोर्टें आईं। सरकार का कोई फैसला नहीं हो रहा है जब फ्रेंच-ग्रीक ने एक रिपोर्ट रखी थी।

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: So far as placing it on the Table is concerned, I have not given my consent.

श्री मधु लिखड़े : आपको देना चाहिये। यहाँ एक रक्बा है, उस का फैसला नहीं थावा है। उन्हें भी मौका देना चाहिये रखने का।

Shri Umashankar: The other day the Speaker has ruled that a document may be sent to the Table and he will look into it and give his decision.

*Placed in Library, see No. LT-526/ 67.

Shri K. Narayana Rao (Bobbili): If a member quotes from a report, only that part can be placed on the Table and not the whole report. When only a small para is quoted, the bulk of the entire report cannot be placed on the Table.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Let him quote. Regarding placing on the Table, it does not mean it automatically becomes a public document. It will be examined by the office and if it is a really authentic document, I will give my ruling. By merely handing it over to the office, it does not become a public document.

Shri Umanath: I am sending it to the Table. [Placed in Library. See No. LT-835/67].

Whatever ruling the Speaker has given, that will apply to this document also. Here is the US Government, which is giving more and more spares to Pakistan and simultaneously advising us to reduce defence expenditure. What is their aim? They want to make us more and more dependent. The strategy as defined there by America is peace with Pakistan and fight with China as the enemy. This is the strategy dictated to us by the Bell Mission. This is American strategy in South-East Asia. What is happening? Mr. Chagla declared in Malaysia that China is the main threat to peace in Asia. Simultaneously he is also offering negotiations for a settlement with Pakistan. This means we are traversing the path laid down for us by the Americans. This will ruin our country's economy, sovereignty and independence. We must discard this strategy and adopt a strategy for peace with all neighbours including China, drastic reduction in our defence budget and relief to the people.

श्री गजराज सिन्हा राव (महेन्द्रगढ़): मैं काफ़िरों के हाथ कह सकता हूँ कि डिफेंस मिनिस्टर का और हमारी फौजों का जो संघर्ष है वह ऐसे लोगों के हाथ में है

जो घण्टी तरह से फौज के काम को जानते हैं, जो हथियार वहां पर इस्तेमाल होते हैं उन से पूरे तौर से बाकिफ हैं और लड़ने वाले जो फौजी तबके हैं, उन में से वे घाते हैं। सवाल इतना सा ही बाकी रह जाता है कि जो कमियाँ हैं उन कमियों को हम नेशनल बेसिस पर, बगैर पार्टी का लिहाज किये हुए, बगैर किसी तबके का लिहाज किये हुए मौजूदा हालात में पूरा कर सकते हैं या नहीं कर सकते हैं। हमें ध्यान रखना होगा कि हमारे इर्द गिर्द दो तन्फ डिक्टेटर हैं और उन से धमन को खतरा है और उनका मुकाबला करने के लिए हम को अपनी ताकत को बढ़ाना है, अपनी डिफेंस को मजबूत करना करना है। पिछला तर्जुमा हमें बतलाता है कि ये जो डिक्टेटर हैं, ये मामूली डिक्टेटर नहीं हैं। किस वक्त, किस शकल में और किन लोगों के साथ मिल कर ये हमारे मुल्क पर हमला कर दें या मुदाखलत कर दें किसी किस्म की इसका कुछ पता नहीं है। एक चीज मानी हुई है। आज़कल के जमाने में हिफाजत का बाज दफा मतलब एग्जेशन भी होता है। एग्जेशन इज दी बेस्ट डिफेंस। बाज दफा हमको पेश कदमी भी करनी पड़ती है। अगर हम इस इंतजार में बैठे रहें कि मुल्क की हम हिफाजत तब करेंगे जब हम पर हमला होगा और दुश्मन हमारा इलाका दबा लेगा, हम बात तब करेंगे जब हमारे इलाके के धन्दर दुश्मन घुम आएगा तो यह ठीक पालिषी नहीं है।

कल यहाँ एक बहुत महम बात पर बहस हो रही थी। यह एमरजेंसी जो डिक्लेयर की गई है उसके बारे में थी। कल यह कहा गया था कि एमरजेंसी उस वक्त डिक्लेयर होनी चाहिये जब दुश्मन की फौजें धन्दर बढ़ जायें और तमाम इलाका दबा लें, पेश-कदमी कर लें। मैं कहूँगा कि

Preparedness is the best defence, and I would say from practical experience that sometimes aggression is the best step in the line of defence that

[श्री गजराज सिंह]

is to be taken. It is not offensive, it is the strategy of defence.

जहाँ तक हमारे जवानों का ताल्लुक है चाहे वे किसीभी तबके के हों और किसी भी हिस्से में काम कर रहे हों, उनका मारेल बहुत ऊँचा है। लेकिन आजकल की लड़ाई यही नहीं है, आजकल की डिफेंस यही नहीं है। इसका इन्हें हमारे डिफेंस फौज पर हो। तमाम मुल्क को मजबूत तौर पर एकमात्र मुकाबला करना होता है, तमाम मुल्क को अपनी ताकत लगानी होती है, एक एक मिनिस्टर को योगदान करना होता है, नीचे से लेकर ऊपर तक तमाम को काम करना होता है। यही भागें धाना चाहिये और तभी हम देश को डिफेंड कर सकेंगे हैं। इन-टोटैलिटी में एक बात कहना चाहता हूँ। इन तबकों को जिन को नाजुक तबके कहा जा सकता है लड़ाई के निहाय से, क्या उन तबकों में जयचन्दों की कमी है या नहीं है? हिन्दुस्तान अगर कभी फतह हुआ है, कभी दूसरों से हारा है तो इन जयचन्दों की वजह से ही हारा है, इनकी नाराजगुजारियों की वजह से ही हारा है, उनमें ताकत कम थी या ताकत की कमी है, इस वजह से नहीं हारा है। पिछली लड़ाई की बात में जानता हूँ एक एक सिपिड की खबर दुश्मनों तक पहुँचती थी कुछ तबकों के लोग आज भी अपने काम में मसरूफ हैं और अपने काम में माहिर हैं। आप उनकी तरफ ध्यान दें। वे हमें डिफेंड कर रहे हैं, मारेय को गिराने की कोशिश भी वे कर सकते हैं। लेकिन ऐसी चीज की इजाजत नहीं दी जानी चाहिये। मुल्क के तमाम हिस्सों को, तमाम तबकों को, चाहे वे किसी भी जगह के हों, सब को एक होना चाहिये। जो नैजलिस्ट है, जिन्होंने नेशन के लिए काम करना है वे तो अपना काम करेंगे बाकी जिन्होंने जयचन्दों का पार्ट प्ले करना है, उन पर मैं डिफेंस मिनिस्टर साहब से कहूँगा कि वह जरा कड़ी निगाह रखने की कोशिश करें। इस

मामले में होम डिपार्टमेंट और डिफेंस डिपार्टमेंट का पूरा मेलजोल होना चाहिये, उन में पूरा पूरा कोऑर्डिनेशन होना चाहिये।

जहाँ तक सिन्डिकेटेड फौज का सम्बन्ध है वह होम के भाल्लुक है। देखा गया है कि एक छोटा सा कागज़ बहा से चलता है तो वह धूम कर दिल्ली में आता है और फिर ज. का. रा. पित्र पहुँचता है। यह जो बात है इसको सिन्डिकेटेड वाले भी फील करते हैं। मैं अजय कर्कगा फि. अन्ड इलाके जिन को बलनरेशल इलाके कहा जाता है वहाँ सिन्डिकेटेड फौजों जो है यह डिफेंस के मातहत होनी चाहिये ताकि डिफेंस वाले उन से फायदा उठा सकें। यह आजमाई हुई चीज है जो मैं कह रहा हूँ।

मिनिस्टरी इंटेलिजेंस को आज जितनी जरूरत है उतनी पहले कमी नहीं थी। हमें मुल्तानिक तरीकों से फौज को आगे भेजना पड़ता है। बाज दफा हजारों मील दूर भेजना पड़ता है। जो काश्मीर बॉर्डर पर थी उसकी हमें नेफा में भेजना पड़ा है। लेकिन जो सिन्डिकेटेड फौजें हैं वे नाम परमानेंट फिल्लम की होती हैं। ये सब इलाकों से अच्छी तरह से बाकिफ होनी है। उनका तालमेल ज्यादा से ज्यादा होना चाहिये। उसमें मिनिस्टरी के आदमी जिन्होंने उन इलाकों में काम किया हुआ हो या जो रिटायर हो चुके हों या रिटायर होने वाले हों, उनको रखा जाना चाहिये। सिन्डिकेटेड फौजें बहुत प्रहमियत रखती हैं। इस पर मैं इससे ज्यादा प्रश्न करना नहीं चाहता हूँ।

आपने डिफेंस में छः करोड़ का कट कर दिया है। आज के दिन कोई भी हुज्जुम बतल हिन्दुस्तानी इसकी पसन्द नहीं कर सकता है। आज इस पर ज्यादा खर्च करने की आवश्यकता थी और आपने कट कर दिया है। मैं समझता हूँ कि यह ठीक नहीं है। बहुत से हमारे भाइयों ने कहा है कि यहाँ कमी होनी चाहिये, वहाँ कमी

होनी चाहिये, यह भी कम होना चाहिये, वह भी कम होना चाहिये। लेकिन मैं कहूँगा कि ये मरे भाई जो बड़े बड़े सरमायेदार हैं उनको या कर कहें कि प्रायः तुम्हारी हिकायत के लिए फौजी बहुत भी जगहों पर कास कर रहे हैं और प्रायः उनकी खातिर अपने खजाने का मुँह जरा खोल दें। बतन परस्ती के नाम पर उनको कहा जाना चाहिये कि वे ऐसा कर दें। यहाँ वहाँ कमी करने की बात हमें नहीं कहनी चाहिये। देश भक्ति के नाम पर जो हमारे नरक हैं उनको भी अपने लड़के फौज में भेजने के लिए तैयार होना चाहिये, जो नरमायेदार हैं उनको जो उनकी प्रीलाद दे, उसमें से भी कुछ को फौज में भेजना चाहिये। इसमें कोई हर्ज की बात नहीं है।

बाज वानें बहुत छोटी होती हैं लेकिन वे उन लोगों के लिए बहुत बड़ी होती हैं जो सरहदों पर बैठे होते हैं या जो फौज में काम कर रहे होते हैं। उनको दस दिन की छुट्टी मिलती है। प्रायः ने देखा होगा कि रेल में उनको जगह नहीं मिलती है। भ्रष्टेज तो गैर वे भी मिलिटरी वालों को गाड़ियों में जगह देने की व्यवस्था करते थे। लेकिन प्रायः हालत यह है कि दिल्ली जैसे स्टेशन पर खड़े खड़े उनकी छुट्टियाँ खरम हो जाती हैं और वे घर नहीं जा सकते हैं। इन फौजी भ्रादरियों के जो कुनबे हैं उनको भामूली से भामूली सहूलियतें भी नहीं मिलती हैं, बाहे राशन की सहूलियतें हों या और कोई सहूलियतें हों। सोल्जर्स बोर्ड हो या कोई और हो वे इनके कुनबों की उतनी देखभाल नहीं करते हैं जितनी उनको बरनी चाहिये। अगर इन चीजों को देखा जाए और इन फौजी भ्रादरियों को पता हो कि उनके कुनबों की प्रच्छी तरह से देखभाल हो रही है, उनको पता हो कि उनके देश वाले उनकी कद्र करते हैं और उनके हक की देखभाल करने के लिए कोई बैठा हुआ है तो उनका मारेल बहुत ऊँचा हो जाता है। इन चीजों को उन पर बहुत प्रच्छा और

बुरा असर पड़ता है,। ये है तो छोटी छोटी बातें लेकिन हैं बहुत ही जरूरी बातें। यह कहा जा सकता है कि इतनी बड़ी लोक मभा में यह क्या बात कह दी गई है। लेकिन इस तरह की चीजों का इन फौजी भ्रादरियों पर बहुत असर पड़ता है। अगर उनकी फेमिलीज के साथ हमदर्दी दिखाई जाए उनकी मदद की जाए तो बड़ा फर्क पड़ता है।

एमरजेंसी वरिष्ठान के लिए लोग टूबल बननी की भावना से धागे धाए थे और मले बहुत से लोगों का पता है जिन को जो यहाँ पर ननकशात मिली उससे चार गुना और पांच गुना पहले मिला करती थी। उसको छोड़ कर वे धाए। अगर उनको किसबंद करना है तो उनको सिविल में मुनासिब जगह मिलनी चाहिये। यह प्रायः प्रबलीन फर्क होना चाहिये। लेकिन प्रायः इस तरह ध्यान नहीं दिया जा रहा है। बड़े बड़े सरमायेदार धाते हैं कम्पनियों वाले धाते हैं और कहते हैं इस काम और उस काम में हमें प्रायोरिटी दो। लेकिन अगर उनको यह कहा जाता है कि यह मुनासिब भ्रादरी है, फौज से धाया हुआ है इसको किसी प्रच्छी जगह पर रखो, एमरजेंसी में इनके काम बिया है, इसको रख लो तो वे इधर उधर की बातें मिलाने लग जाते हैं। इसका कारण यह होता है कि फौजी सच्चा और सीधा सादा जवान होता है। वह हेरा फेरी नहीं जानता है, चार सौ बीसी नहीं करता है। ये लोग लोग समझते हैं कि वे जो हेरा फेरियाँ करते हैं, या चार सौ बीसियाँ करते हैं उन की तरफ इनकी निगाह न चली जाए, इस बास्ते उनको वे अपने पास नहीं फटकने देना चाहते हैं। यह सीधी सी बात है। इस लिए यह निहायत जरूरी है कि इन प्रकसदों और जवानों के लिए नौकरियों का मुनासिब इन्तजाम किया जाये।

हमारे जो जवान और प्रकसर ऐसे जगहों पर तैनात हैं, जो फेमिली स्टेशन

[श्री गजराज सिंह राव]

वहीं हैं, उन के कुनबों की रिहायश के लिए मुनासिब इन्तजाम किया जाना चाहिये। हमारी गवर्नमेंट ज़रूरत पड़ने पर प्राईबेट मकानों का रेक्विजिशन कर लेती है लेकिन हमारे जो जवान और अफसर आज नैका और दूसरे फंड्स पर तैनात हैं, उन के कुनबे बगैर मुनासिब एकापोजेशन के पड़े हुए हैं। मैं अर्थ करना चाहता हूँ कि दिल्ली के नखवीक ही न जाने दिल्ली कांठियां और आउट-हाउसिङ बगैर बन रहे हैं जो ग्राम की पार्टियों के काम आते हैं। मैं चाहता हूँ कि मारा हाउस गवर्नमेंट और डिफेंस मिनिस्टर साहब को ताकत दे कि वे इन मामले पर हमदर्दी के साथ और कर के हमारे जवानों और अफसरों के कुनबों की रिहायश के लिए मकानों का रेक्विजिशन कर सकें।

जहां तक हमारे मिजिलियन भाइयों का तालुक है मेरी राय में वे सेकंड लाइन प्राक डिफेंस नहीं, बल्कि सुपर लाइन प्राक डिफेंस हैं। अगर तमाम लोगों की तरफ से, चाहे वे किसी भी पार्टी के हों, यह प्रश्नकां प्राश्न उठे कि देश हमारा है और हम देश के लिए हैं, तो हमारी फौजों में चीयुनी ताकत आ जायेगी और चीन और पाकिस्तान हमारा कुछ भी नहीं बिगाड़ सकेंगे। हमें मुल्क में किसी किस्म का पैनिक क्रिएट नहीं करना चाहिए। हमें अपनी फौज को बढ़ावा देना चाहिए और यह बताना चाहिए कि हमारी ताकत उस के साथ है।

मैं दिल्ली की इमरजेन्सी के लिए डिफेंस मिनिस्टर साहब को महेन्द्रगढ़ और हरियाणा के और तीन चार जिलों की तरफ से प्राथमियों और पुराने फौजियों की टोटल सर्विसिङ आकर करना हूँ। गवर्नमेंट को इस मामले में सलाहकारों के हाथों में नहीं खेचना चाहिए। इन ने पहले भी अपनी फौजियों की सर्विसिङ की है और आईश भी देने हरियाणा

के लोग हमेशा की तरह देश की हिकायत के लिए तैयार हैं।

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Before I call Shri Bhaduria, I want to say one thing. Shri Madhu Limaye has written to me. I wanted to call him yesterday but he was not in his seat.

श्री मधु लिमये : कल का सवाल नहीं है। वह तो कम्युनिस्ट पार्टी (राइट) के बाव ही बोल सकते हैं।

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: That is all right. The other day Shri Dange complained. You will get your allotted time but necessarily the same order will not be maintained.

श्री मधु लिमये : मुझे पता है कि इस बारे में कुछ नियम होना चाहिए। स्वतंत्र पार्टी को हर अनुदान पर प्रथम बोलने का मौका मिलता है।

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: But you have represented the matter.

श्री मधु लिमये : लेकिन ऐसा कोई नियम नहीं है कि सदा उम को ही प्रथम बोलने का अवसर मिले। उस को कोई ऐसा अधिकार नहीं है। यह तो प्रापस में समझौते से होना चाहिये। अभी तक मेरे पत्रों पर फौजला नहीं हुआ है।

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Please listen to me. I have seen your communication, addressed by several Members of the Opposition. You are co-existing there but you are very jealous about priorities.

श्री मधु लिमये : मैं दूसरों के अधिकारों का प्रतिरक्षण नहीं कर रहा हूँ।

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: I entirely agree. It is not obligatory on the Chair necessarily to call a Member from one group always first. I will accommodate all. Secondly, you have said that your partyman was not called yesterday. I wanted to call him.

श्री मधु लिमये : कल का सवास नहीं है।
हम तो कम के अनुसार चाहते हैं।

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Yesterday I had laid down a certain order and I had followed it. Then, you were saying about Members placing some document on the Table while making a speech. There is a rule about that. What you have said is not correct. For your benefit I am reading out the rule.

श्री मधु लिमये : वह नियम तो मैं जानता हूँ मैंने इसलिये कहा कि श्री जार्ज फरेन्डीज ने जो दस्तावेज रखा है, उसको दो दिन हो गये लेकिन अभी तक उसका निर्णय नहीं हुआ है।

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Because he has kept it here, it does not become public.

श्री मधु लिमये : मैं कहाँ कह रहा हूँ कि वह पब्लिक है? मैं नियम जानता हूँ। जब कोई दस्तावेज प्रमाणित करके रखा जाता है, तो उसके बारे में निर्णय होना चाहिये कि उसको मंजूर किया जा रहा है या नहीं।

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: It is not strictly kept on the Table; it is handed over to the Table.

Shri Charanjit Rai (Dausa): He has made a remark that we are called first. I think, there is a convention that the largest group is called first.

श्री मधु लिमये : कोई ऐसी परम्परा नहीं है।

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Normally we do adhere to it but if it is claimed as a right, I think, in the interest of the debate, the Chair has a discretion and nobody should consider because he is called first or second that his group loses its strength or that certain prestige is lost in the public eye.

श्री मधु लिमये : केवल हमारे बारे में ही ऐसा होता है। इसलिये मैंने कहा है।

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: The other day, Mr. Dange complained when I called Mr. Gopalan. I think, this is unfair.

294 (A) LED-8.

When you try to co-exist there, you should also accommodate each other here.

श्री मधु लिमये : आप नियमों के अनुसार चलिये न।

श्री अर्जुन सिंह भदीरिया (इटावा) : उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, प्रतिरक्षा नीति और परराष्ट्र नीति अन्त्यान्तर्भूत होती हैं, यानी ये दोनों एक ही सिक्के के दो पहलू हैं हम को सर्वप्रथम प्रतिरक्षा नीति पर इसी दृष्टि के विचार करना होगा। कुछ माननीय सदस्यों ने प्रतिरक्षा बजट को बढ़ाने और कुछ सदस्यों ने उसको घटाने की बात कही है। मैं आप से निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि सब से पहले हमें अपनी प्रतिरक्षा नीति की कमजोरियों और उसकी भूल दुर्बलताओं पर गौर करना होगा, तभी हम किसी सही रास्ते पर पहुँचने में कामयाब हो सकेंगे।

जब तक रोग का ठीक से निदान और बीमारी की ठीक से पहचान नहीं होगी, तब तक दवा नहीं दी जा सकती है। जैसे पेशेबाज के किसी मरीज को हम चाहे कितना ही पीप्टिक भोजन और ताकत की दवायें दें, लेकिन जब तक उसका रोग अच्छा नहीं, होगा तब तक कोई शीर्षाध और पीप्टिक भोजन कामयाब नहीं हो सकता है, मान लीजिये कि हम इस धरत के प्रतिरक्षा बजट को बढ़ा कर बीस धरत कर देते हैं, लेकिन अगर हम यह पाते हैं कि सेना के आधिकारी और सैनिक संगठन उस बजट को भी ऊर्ध्व नहीं कर सकते, जो सेना के लिये एलाट किया जाता है, तो उस बजट में और ज्यादा वृद्धि करने से क्या लाभ है?

16.27 hrs.

[SHRI G. S. DILLON in the Chair]

मैं इस सम्बन्ध में आप के सामने दो तीन उदाहरण उपस्थित करना चाहता हूँ। पब्लिक एकाउंट्स कमेटी की रिपोर्ट, 1966-67 में बताया गया है कि आर्थिक

[श्री धर्मपाल सिंह बखीरवा]

कॉम्पट्रीज के काम को चलाने के लिये 29.33 लाख रुपये एसाट किया गया, लेकिन उसमें से एक पैसा भी खर्च नहीं हो सका और वह लगभग तीस करोड़ रुपये बरतों तक इसी तरह पड़ा रहा। ध्यान और कीर्तव्ये कि इस तरह से जो धनराशि निश्चित की जाती है, अगर वह खर्च नहीं होती है, तो उसके क्या बचीबचे होते हैं? अगर हम ने इस राशि को किसी दूसरे मय में खर्च कर दिया होता, तो वह बेकार न पड़ी होती और इसके द्वारा कुछ दूसरा ही काम हो गया होता।

1963 में 4.65 लाख रुपये के कुछ वर्जिन क्यूरीदे गये और वे दो तीन लाख तक इसलिये बेकार पड़े रहे कि उसके लिये आवश्यक सिस्त्र 41 पैसे का एक पुर्जा नहीं बुंदा जा सका। मैं निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि जो क्रीज केवल 41 पैसे के एक पुर्जे की तलाश नहीं कर सकती है, उससे एटम बम और नये प्रकार के हथियार बनाने की आशा और अपेक्षा किस तरह की जा सकती है।

सरकार की तरफ से 1200 रोड रोल्स के लिये तीन करोड़ रुपये धना कर दिये गये, लेकिन अभी तक क्रीज को वे रोड रोल्स प्राप्त नहीं हुए हैं।

इसलिये प्रश्न इस बात का नहीं है कि कुछ रकम और बढ़ाई जाये, बल्कि प्रश्न यह है कि जो रकम निश्चित की जाती है, वह खर्च क्यों नहीं की जाती है। मैं आपकी मार्गदश प्रतिरक्षा मंत्री सहीबय से इस बारे में जानकारी चाहता हूँ।

हमारी समुद्री सीमा 3500 मील लम्बी है। उस सीमा की रक्षा के लिये जिज्ञासा का इन्डेंट 1952-53 में किया गया, वह सामान 1957 में प्राप्त हुआ और जो इन्डेंट सन् 50 में किया गया वह सामान हम को 1965 में प्राप्त होता है। अगर इस तरह से बिस चीज की शकल सन् 50 में है वह

55 में प्राप्त होगी और बिसके लिये 58 में शकल है वह 65 में सामान मिलेगा जो इसका खर्च यह है कि हम में कहीं न कहीं बहुत बड़ी कमजोरी और दुर्बलता है। जब तक इस प्रकार की कमजोरी और दुर्बलता को निकाला नहीं जायेगा तब तक हम अपने मुल्क की सेना को मजबूत और सुदृढ़ नहीं कर सकते। मैंने जो शुरू में निवेदन किया कि प्रतिरक्षा और परराष्ट्र नीति यह एक ही सिक्के के दो पहलू हैं। हमें गौर करना होगा कि जिस मुल्क के धन्दर विदेश नीति विदेशी प्रभाव से मुक्त होती है उसी देश की सेना भी सफल होती है। वही मुल्क मजबूत भी होता है और उस देश की जनता का भी मनोबल ऊंचा होता है। आज अगर हम अपनी आजादी प्राप्त होने के बाव से धन तक के इतिहास पर गौर करें तो हम पाते हैं कि हमारे देश की विदेश नीति कभी धोखेजी प्रभाव से, कभी धमकीकी, कभी भीनी और कभी कसी प्रभाव से हमेशा प्रभावित रही है। और यही कारण है कि हम अपने देश में कभी भी सेना वा और भी दूसरे मामलों में देश का मजबूत और कामयाब नहीं कर सके। सब से पहला काम हमारे सामने जो होना है वह यह है कि हम सब से पहले इस देश की विदेश नीति की विदेशी प्रभाव से धनर मुक्त कर सकें तो हमारा देश भी अपने चलकर मजबूत होना और हम कम सेना और कम खर्च में भी अपने देश को धाने से चलने में कामयाब और सफल होंगे।

आज सब से बड़ा समाज देश के धन्दर मनोबल को बढ़ाने का है। अगर हम अपने देश की जनता और सेना का मनोबल न बढ़ा सके तो हम अपने चलकर के अपने मुल्क की सुरक्षा और मुल्क की स्वायत्तता की रक्षावात करने में कामयाब नहीं हो सकेंगे।

अभी बहुत से प्राथमिक सम्बन्धों में एमर्जेंसी कमीशनर आधिकारों के सम्बन्ध में

को कि लगभग 6 हजार हैं उनके प्रसाहिदा होने की बात कही। मेरी समझ में नहीं आ रहा है, एक तरफ तो जो ऊंची शिक्षा प्राप्त कमीग्रन्ड आफिसर्स हैं उनको निकाला जा रहा है और महज इसलिये निकाला जा रहा है कि उनमें से ज्यादातर लोग मध्यमवर्गीय परिवारों के हैं, क्योंकि उनमें से बहुत से लोग अच्छी अंग्रेजी नहीं बोल सकते हैं, छुरी कांटे से वह खाना नहीं खा सकते . . .

The Minister of Defence (Shri Swaran Singh): I would like to contradict him. This is not factually correct.

श्री अर्जुन सिंह भदौरिया : माननीय प्रतिरक्षा मंत्री ने यह कहा कि उनको इसलिये पृथक नहीं किया जा रहा है तो मैं जानना चाहता हूँ कि वह कौन से कारण हैं कि जिनकी बजह से हिन्दुस्तान की सेना के छः हजार जवानों को, उन जवानों को जिनमें से अधिकतर लोग पिछली लड़ाई में लड़े हैं, जिन्होंने कि बहादुरी से वीर गति पाई, जिनके परिवारों ने सब से बड़ा शहीदाना काम किया अब उनको पृथक कर के कौन सा बड़ा काम यह प्रतिरक्षा मंत्री करना चाहते हैं ? पहले तो उन को पृथक किया जायेगा और फिर अगर वह संगठित होंगे, अगर वह मजबूती से अपना कोई संगठन बनायेंगे तो कहा जायेगा कि संयुक्त सोशलिस्ट पार्टी उनको उकसाने का काम कर रही है, विद्रोह की धाग भड़काने का काम कर रही है। मैं आप के माध्यम से निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि छः हजार आदमी जिनको आप पृथक करने जा रहे हैं उनका प्रभाव हिन्दुस्तान की सेना में एक लाख आदमियों के अधिक पर है। अगर आप उन्हें पृथक करें तो इसके क्या नतीजे होंगे इस पर आप गौर करें और बहुत ही ठप्पे दिल से गौर करें।

जब मैंने एमर्जेन्सी केवल कमीग्रन्ड आफिसर्स की बात कही कि उनके साथ इस तरह व्यवहार हो रहा है तो उन्हीं के साथ

नहीं, गाजा के अन्दर जो आजकल जनरल रिखी, यू० एन० घो० की सुरक्षा सेना के जनरल आफिसर कमांडिंग हैं उनके साथ क्या बर्ताव किया जा रहा है ? कूकि वह ईमानदार अफसर हैं, सच्चे आदमी हैं, क्योंकि उन्होंने हिन्दुस्तान को या डा० राम मनोहर लोहिया को यह सूचना दी कि हिन्दुस्तान के सिपाही सिर्फ 3 बयवा पाते हैं जब कि इटली और स्वीडन के सिपाहियों को वहां 60 बयवा रोज मिलता है और उन्होंने पत्र लिख कर यह सूचना दी इसलिये उनके साथ इस तरह का व्यवहार किया जा रहा है यह कहाँ तक उचित है ? जब आप इस तरह का अपने अफसरों के साथ दुर्व्यवहार करेंगे तो सेना में एक तरह का असन्तोष और विद्रोह अपने आप उभरेगा और उसका असर सेना पर ही नहीं होता बल्कि देश की पूरी की पूरी आजादी और स्वतंत्रता की सुरक्षा पर होगा।

यहीं तक नहीं, प्रतिरक्षा मंत्री महोदय ने कुछ विरोध प्रकट किया, तो मैं अध्यक्ष महोदय, आप के माध्यम से यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि पिछले दिनों सारे देश के पैमाने पर कांग्रेस पार्टी की इतनी हार हुई तो हमारे प्रधान मंत्री महोदय ने कुछ फौजी अफसरों को बुला कर के यह पूछा कि अगर देश के अन्दर से पार्लियामेंट और हम तरह की प्रतिनिधि संस्थाएं समाप्त की जायें तो उसमें आप का क्या रूख होगा ? जब इस तरह . . .

Shri Swaran Singh: These are absolutely wrong statements. I do not know wherefrom the hon. Member is making this statement that any army officers were sent for by the Prime Minister, and the Prime Minister had a discussion with them. We have always held this view that even Gen. Rikhye's name should not have been mentioned because it is not customary that the names either of Generals or of commissioned officers or others are ever mentioned on the floor of this House. It is amazing that he is making these statements without any warrant whatsoever. What is his basis

[Shri Swaran Singh]

for making this statement that the Prime Minister sent for the Generals and had a talk on the lines that the hon. Member has mentioned? It is absolutely incorrect.

समापति महोदय : किसी ने बता दिया होगा ।

श्री अर्जुन सिंह भदौरिया : अध्यक्ष महोदय, जिस तरह का उपदेश यहां पर प्रतिरक्षा मंत्री महोदय मुझे दे रहे हैं मैं चाहता हूँ, जो बात मैं यहां पर कह रहा हूँ वह बहुत ही मजबूती से और पूरी जानकारी के साथ मैंने यह बात यहां पर उपस्थित की है। अगर मैंने जनरल रिचो की बात कही तो मैंने सही कही। जो बात मैंने यहां पर कमोन्स आफिसर्स की कही वह भी सही कही। और जो बात मैं कह रहा हूँ अगर इस बात को बिनाई करना है तो इस बात की घोषणा आप नहीं, इस बात की घोषणा को आप के प्रधान मंत्री को यहां पर आ कर करना चाहिये कि उन्होंने आफिसर्स को बुला कर ऊँचे अधिकारियों को बुला करके इस तरह का परामर्श लिया है या नहीं लिया है? और प्रतिरक्षा मंत्री महोदय को यहां पर यह कहने से पहले अपने प्रधान मंत्री से परामर्श करना चाहिये था। अगर इसके बाद घोषणा होती तो उस पर मैं भी कुछ विचार करने के लिये भी तैयार होता। . . (अव्यवधान)

श्री शिव नारायण (बस्ती) : इन को डी० आर० आर० में बन्द किया जाय ।

श्री अर्जुन सिंह भदौरिया : एक हमारे माननीय सदस्य कह रहे हैं कि इनको डोटेशन में लिया जाय। डोटेशन में लेने के लिये आप ने कौन सी कमी रखी है? कितनी बार आप ने हम लोगों को लिया है और आप ने हम को ही कब मुक्ति दी है? सही बात तो है कि डोटेशन में तो आप को लेना चाहिये था, पूरी की पूरी सरकार को डोटेशन में बन्द करना चाहिये था। लेकिन वेग का दुर्भाव

यह है कि जो जेल में बन्द होने चाहिये वे वह यहां पर सरकार चला रहे हैं और जो देश की आजादी और उसकी सुरक्षा के लिये लड़ रहे हैं उनके लिये डोटेशन की बात कर रहे हैं।

समापति महोदय : एक बात सुनिये, आप ने उन्हें कहा था एमर्जेंसी कमोन्स आफिसर्स के लिये कि भाषा के मामले पर और उन्हें अंग्रेजी नहीं बोलनी चाती इसलिये उन्हें वापस भेजा जा रहा है, उन्होंने कहा कि एमर्जेंसी कमोन्स से उनको वापस भेजने के और कारण थे, यह कारण नहीं था और इसमें तो एक रिबट कर दिया और दूसरी बात एक कही . . .

श्री मधु लिंगये : हां, तो वह कहां एतराज कर रहे हैं? वह तो अपनी बात रख रहे हैं।

श्री अर्जुन सिंह भदौरिया : मैं आप एक दूसरी बात और निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ। वह यह कि भाषा जो सब से बड़ा अभाव, सब से बड़ी कमी हमारी सेना और हमारे सैनिक संगठन में है वह यह है कि हम दूसरों की नकल करते हैं। कभी हम उस से और कभी अमेरिका से हथियार मंगते हैं। लेकिन अपने खुद निर्माण के लिये भी हम ने कभी सोचा है? प्राथमिक चीजें जो हमारे मुल्क के अन्दर होनी चाहियें उधार हमारा ध्यान ही नहीं है। इसलिये मैं आप के माध्यम से प्रतिरक्षा मंत्री महोदय से यह निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि उधार ले कर के हम अपने देश को मजबूत नहीं कर सकते हैं। इसलिये हम को अपनी तरफ से खुद कुछ सिद्धांत स्थापित करने होंगे। और उन स्थापित सिद्धान्तों को अमल में लाना होगा। अपनी आँखें बन्द कर के अपने देश के अन्दर सेना के सम्बन्धित उत्पादन बढ़ा सकेंगे।

धीन, चीजें नहीं सड़ती हैं, बल्कि बढ़ता है चीजों का मनोबल। एक व्यक्ति ने एक चीनी संत कन्फ्यूसस से पूछा कि किसी मुल्क की मजबूती के लिये किन किन चीजों की जरूरत है? तो उसने कहा कि तीन मुख्य चीजें चाहिये। पहले जनता का ऊंचा मनोबल, दूसरे, भ्रष्ट के मामले में मुल्क का स्वावलम्बी होना, प्रचुर मात्रा में भ्रष्ट का उत्पादन और तीसरी चीज संगठित और मजबूत सेना। उस व्यक्ति ने दोबारा पूछा—अगर ये तीनों बातें न हों तो? तो फिर दो बातें जरूरी हैं—मुल्क का ऊंचा मनोबल और भ्रष्ट का उत्पादन। अगर ये भी न हों तो? तब अन्तिम चीज जो सब से जरूरी है—वह है जनता का ऊंचा मनोबल। पिछले 20 वर्षों के अन्दर कमिग पार्टी ने, शासक दल ने कौन सा ऐसा काम किया है जिससे हमारे मुल्क का मनोबल ऊंचा हुआ हो? बिना ऊंचा मनोबल किये हुए हम अपने देश की सुरक्षा और आजादी की रक्षा नहीं कर सकते हैं। इन 20 वर्षों के अन्दर प्रतिरक्षा का इतिहास प्रतिरक्षा की नीतियों की असफलताओं का इतिहास रहा है, इस दृष्टिकोण का इतिहास असफलता का इतिहास रहा है—यही मुझे अन्त में आप से निवेदन करना है।

The Minister of State in the Ministry of Defence (Shri B. E. Bhagat): Mr. Chairman, yesterday and today, the House has been discussing the Defence Grants. It is refreshing to find that on all sides there is a very keen desire that our defence mobilisation should not only be at the top but the spirit of self-reliance that has been introduced after the Chinese aggression in 1962, and which has been developed in such a distinguished way under the leadership of the former Defence Minister and which is being continued today by the present Defence Minister must be kept up.

Some hon. Members have tried to find fault with some of the efforts in defence production. I am very glad that they note they struck was a con-

structive one. Consistent with our policy at home of building up an independent national economy based on the rights and privileges of every citizen and in pursuance of our objective of dealing independently and thinking independently on the difficult problems of the world today, it is absolutely necessary that we follow a programme of production the keynote of which should be our dependence on our own selves. Any suggestions in that respect will be welcome. It will be my effort in the short time at my disposal to convey to the House that the spirit in which the defence production programme was undertaken is being continued and developed, and wherever deficiencies occur for reasons beyond our control, we try not only to improvise but to fill them up with our own national indigenous efforts.

Reliance on our own defence production has assumed a wider role. Not only are old ordnance factories being renovated and modernised but new ones have been set up and are being geared to production. The public sector undertakings in the defence field which cover such vital spheres as aeronautics, electronics and various others are being rapidly developed and put in top position. Also the spirit of self-reliance, doing things ourselves wherever bottlenecks occur due to shortage of raw materials which we are unable to improvise or manufacture and are also not able to import because of the serious limitations imposed on imports of such materials because of political and other reasons, is kept to the fore; for our immediate needs, we are trying to fill the gap through free foreign exchange resources, but in the long-term our entire science and development research establishment is trying to fill the gap by improvising new techniques of production indigenously.

It has been said by an hon. Member that we are spending too little on our research and development establishment. It is true that we pro-

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pose to spend something like 12.8 crores this year on our research and development programmes and this, as compared to the figures which he quoted, something like 15 per cent of the entire defence budget spent on it in other countries, does seem a modest figure, but comparisons in this respect are not always very accurate, because here what is necessary is the task that has been assigned to the defence research establishment. There some of the organisations may be doing fundamental research, for which they may be spending a large amount of money. Here what we have tried to achieve is that our defence and research establishment has been given a specific task, and they are fulfilling that task in the measure that they are required to do. For example, they have three special tasks assigned to them, and that is to look after all new equipment, improvement of existing equipment and development of a new equipment altogether, and combining all this into military hardware, and then the entire thing goes into bulk production, from the trial stage to the user's trial and various other trial stages, and this stage is very difficult. This is a specialised task given to them, and for this the defence research and development establishment have got to be in very close touch with the users at every level of the operations or of the requirements of the army, the Air Force and the navy, they have to be in close touch. Therefore, the scientific support to the army or to our defence forces is not only in this limited field, although it is a very vital field, but it is in a wider field of physiology, psychology, nutrition, operational research and so on, even in matters which are very vital, rather a critical element in the performance of an army, the morale. But it is a very intangible element, a number of elements go into the building of the morale of an army, the entire national consciousness goes into it, and even studies of these things, how the morale of the army can be sus-

tained, how they can use equipment better, how their skills and other things can be developed, all these things are being looked after by the scientific development and research organisation.

Therefore, it is true if we think in terms of money given, it may be a small field of operations, but if you take the projects that they have undertaken, something over a thousand projects, they are doing at the moment in various fields, and very critical items of our equipment, whether in arms or ammunitions or aeronautics or radar or electronics, all this they are doing with an element of urgency and trying to solve some of the very difficult problems. Therefore, if you see it from the point of view of the amount of money that is spent, that is no measure of the work that they are doing, although we realise that their work has to be stepped up because more and more we depend on ourselves, the scientists, the technicians who are working with the army and our military forces must play a greater and greater role. Therefore, the limiting factor is not the money. No project has been given up for want of money, but the limiting factor is the personnel. We need a large number of trained scientists who can be trained in these expertise and disciplines. More and more we get them, we train them here, there is a very strict training programme, we train them outside, and once this cadre is built up, they will be able to take more and more work.

16.50 hrs.

[Mr. SPEAKER in the Chair]

Therefore, I think in any field of military requirements, from missiles to electronics and all the intermediate ranges, it is our effort that in the coming years we will be able to depend on ourselves and do our own improvisation, development and bulk production.

I come to some of the specific projects referred to by some hon. Members. It has been said that some of our vital projects are not making satisfactory progress. I think the impression about most of them is not very correct. I can appreciate the anxiety that we must make speedier progress in each one of them, whether it is HF 24 or Leander frigates or electronics. I was surprised when an hon. Member said he saw no mention of electronics in this report. I could not believe it. We attach so much importance to electronics. Defence requirements in electronics is almost fifty per cent of the development programme in the next ten years. Out of total requirement of Rs. 1,600 crores, the Bhabha Committee report puts the electronic requirements at Rs. 760 crores for defence alone, then there are the Atomic Energy Commission and our communications department and science establishments. All of them would require almost 80 per cent of our electronic equipment. The entertainment and other programmes are very small. It is not only here; it is so all over the world. We are vitally interested in electronics because of its importance to aeronautics and radar equipment and they help to make the arms more efficiently, to enlarge their fire power, capacity and utility in operations. Therefore, we cannot ignore electronics. So, I looked into the report and I find there is considerable information. Not only has Bharat Electronics increased its production but it has gone into various other fields including radar. We have a second factory in the MIG-complex which meets the electronic components requirements of the fast planes MACH II and interceptor planes. From its own resources the Bharat Electronics is going to set up a third factory and it will provide all our requirements for the radars. We have been able to develop certain radars as in this field foreign help and technical know-how is not easily available because apart from economic considerations, political considerations have been mixed up. In spite of that, in this vital sector of our military

hardware and equipment, we have been able to develop ourselves. It is one of the few factories that even after devaluation, have not raised the price. Government announced that efforts should be made not to raise prices. The Bharat Electronics had not only raised the prices; they have reduced the prices. That shows the measure of efficiency and economy that is achieved in its working. That is also borne out by the fact that from out of its own resources, it is going to set up a third factory. That takes care of the electronics group.

Coming to Vijayanta tank, it was said that the production at the heavy vehicles factory was not proceeding satisfactorily. That is not true.

Shri Nath Pai (Rajapur): Be more specific. The Member who spoke told you that its gun was not up to expectation.

Shri B. R. Bhagat: I referred to Shri Indrajit Gupta's remarks.

Shri Indrajit Gupta: I specifically referred to indigenous output of armour plates.

Shri Nath Pai: Major Ranjit Singh talked about the gun fire.

Shri B. R. Bhagat: I would not like to discuss the details of firing capacity. Let me talk about the general programme in respect of the tank. It is true there has been delay in the receipt of certain components which are still being imported. These delays have in fact actually acted as a spur because we have been able to improvise indigenous manufactures of some of them. This resulted in some delays, but the fact is that we are able to manufacture or make preparations for the manufacture of items which we may need in future. In fact, the proportion of indigenous components is progressing faster than was laid down in the project report.

As regards armour plate, to which the hon. Member over there referred to, this is to be produced by the Rourkela steel plant in collaboration

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with a foreign firm. I know the position; it took protracted negotiations, and the contract has been signed, recently, and we hope that the production schedule that is laid down will be adhered to.

Shri Indrajit Gupta: When is the armour-plate mill supposed to go into operation?

Shri B. R. Bhagat: It is expected that the production of the armour plate will commence within the country next year. Then, he has also referred to the inshore minesweepers being constructed for the first time, and said that there has been considerable delay in this project. In this particular matter, the hull is made of a special type of wood, which has to be laminated and developed through a special process, and it took considerable effort to find the right type of wood, and master the lamination technique. Even now, the best wood available comes only in limited quantity. (It has not reached the particular standard. Special efforts are being made to develop this). It is absolutely necessary for perfection of this technique, to have the right type of wood for minesweepers, even nails and other things have got to be either of wood or of non-ferrous metals. All these difficulties have been got over and the first minesweeper hull has been completed. This is being fitted out now, and it is expected to be completed in about six months time.

Although the first minesweeper has taken longer time, it always happens, because this is the first time that we are producing this, when we come to the manufacture of the second minesweeper, the time taken will be almost half of the first one, and when we go on progressively to the other minesweepers, the time taken will be more or less commensurate with the time taken in other places.

Then it was also said that the MIG-21 programme was also slightly de-

layed. As the House is aware, we have undertaken this programme in various stages, particularly in four stages. The first stage is of major assemblies, and then we go on to sub-assemblies; then to the details and then to the raw materials. All these stages come in, because, in major assemblies stage, we get the major components and assemble them, and the production programme is phased. When we go to the sub-assemblies, it slows down and we have to put in greater volume of work. When we go to the details, there is a tendency to slow down, because we undertake so much programme, and particularly, when we go to the raw material stage, a large part of it has to be done by ourselves. Therefore, it appears that in the beginning, the production programme may be faster but it gets settled down at a slower pace, if you take sophistication and the modifications that we have asked for and achieved—if you take all these into consideration. We have already gone to the second stage. The other stage will go according to the schedule. There may appear to be some delay in the second stage, but I think the programme as a whole will go on at a satisfactory and co-ordinated rate and MIG 21 will make its contribution in the squadron formation of our Air Force. Some hon. member said, by the time we develop it and make it in adequate numbers, this plane will be out of date. I think it is a completely wrong impression, because the MIGs are going to be there for several years and they will play their part.

14 hrs.

The hon. member said that a factory is being shifted from Ahmednagar. I have received a large number of letters from hon. members and I know their feelings. I might correct that wrong impression. It is not a factory that is being shifted. What is being shifted is a research and development establishment which is concerned mainly with the development

of certain items of equipment for which the production facilities developed at Avadi are necessary.

Shri S. M. Banerjee (Kanpur): That is only meant for tanks.

Shri B. R. Bhagat: The facilities that are necessary for developmental work exist at Avadi and similar facilities do not exist in Ahmednagar. Further an assurance has been given that there will be no reduction in establishment. All personnel who will move to Avadi will be employed there. Every effort will be made to find alternative employment in the Maharashtra region for persons who have no All-India service liability and do not wish to move to Avadi.

Shri Nath Pal: This Government should have one policy. With regard to the atomic station in Bombay, when the question of transfer came, the Prime Minister wrote to us that as far as possible production and research should not be located at the same place and therefore the transfer from Bombay to Hyderabad was gone. But now regarding the question of Ahmednagar, you are taking a position diametrically opposite to it. Where do we stand? What is the policy?

Shri B. R. Bhagat: I am not aware of that.

Shri Nath Pal: I am prepared to lay the letter on the Table.

Shri B. R. Bhagat: Production and development of what? There may be certain items where the research is over and it goes to the phase of bulk production. Unless I get all the facts, I cannot say.

Shri Nath Pal: That is the easiest, safest escape.

Shri B. R. Bhagat: This matter was gone into by an expert body. They came to the conclusion that it is inter-related with the production facilities there. In this matter, their opinion prevailed. The redeeming point is that nobody will be retrenched.

Shrimati Sharda Mukherjee: It is not merely a question of employment or rehabilitating those people. I said, when there is a large factory, several ancillary and feeder industries also exist. This factory has been there for 12 years. Why does the Government want to move it suddenly?

Shri B. R. Bhagat: I started by saying that no factory is being shifted. Only research establishment for which production facilities have been developed at Avadi is being shifted. No ancillary industry is connected with it. I hope I have made myself clear.

Shri Nath Pal: At least to yourself, though not to us!

Shri B. R. Bhagat: It does not give me any pleasure to shift the centre when the human question is involved there. But in this matter there is this definite expert opinion and sometimes we are helpless.

Coming to the frigate project, it was said that this project has also been delayed and one does not know when the first frigate will come out. Actually, no delay in the construction of the frigate has taken place; it is going according to the schedule laid down in the agreement. It must be realised that this is a very sophisticated project and it takes considerable time in construction. Since this is the first of its kind being done here it is likely to take more time than if you compare it with other parts of the world where they have considerable experience. The work is going on as determined in the programme. Even in the United Kingdom these frigates take something like 40 to 50 months for construction. This particular frigate is one of the most up-to-date ones and, as I said, since this is for the first time that we are doing it the time taken cannot be described as 'inordinate delay'. The construction started in May, 1966. The beginning of the work was done according to schedule. It is expected to be launched in October, 1968. That is the schedule drawn up.

An hon. Member: When will it sink?

Shri B. R. Bhagat: It will take some more time to go in for fittings and other things and finally it will be commissioned by 1971. But the second and third one will take much less time.

Shri Indrajit Gupta: It means five years to produce one.

Shri B. R. Bhagat: That is for the first one. From 1971 onwards, for the second and third, the schedule will be more even.

Shri Randhir Singh (Rohtak): Is it necessary for you to disclose these secrets?

Shri B. R. Bhagat: No classified secret is being disclosed.

One last point, Sir, and I have done. We are, particularly after September 1965, making great efforts in import substitution and broad-basing our defence production and drawing on the local industrial base for the defence production programme. For that a special department was created, detailed working was gone into capacity in the civil sector was assessed and this programme has made good headway. Already the civilian sector is taking upon itself a programme of production to the tune of Rs. 12.5 crores. Another programme of a similar amount is also going to them. I hope that in future, more and more, overall industrial base of the country will be exploited for the defence production programme because it gives a resilience . . .

Shri S. M. Banerjee: What about the clothing factory at Kanpur and Shahjahanpur? There is no work in the clothing factory.

Shri B. R. Bhagat: That point has not been raised, so I am not replying to that.

I quite appreciate the points made by some hon. Members that we are lagging behind in many fields. We have to make up in technology, in the development of this particular branch of production which is very complex and very sophisticated and, particu-

larly, in the matter of critical items of modern weapons in various fields we have to go a long way. But I can assure the hon. Members that the spirit of self reliance has gone down to the ranks. Everybody is feeling that if we have to survive in the modern world, in this dangerous world, particularly with this dangerous situation in our borders, we have to depend on ourselves and the defence production programme is undertaken in that spirit. We have made considerable headway in liberating ourselves from the stranglehold of external resources, foreign exchange bottle-necks. We have gone into our needs item by item for our more difficult programmes and we are trying to assess our own requirements and meeting those needs ourselves. But this is a long-drawn process which cannot be achieved in a day. But I can assure you that from year to year we are making progress in this direction and a day will come soon when we can claim that we have achieved as much self-sufficiency and as much self-reliance as any nation in the modern world with so much of economic independence can achieve.

17.12 hrs.

[MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER *in the Chair*]

In the end, I can assure the hon. Members that whatever they have said, whatever criticism they have offered in this respect will be taken note of and every effort will be made to see that our performance is better next year and still better the year after.

Shri Frank Anthony (Nominated—Anglo-Indians): Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, I must say with regret that I find this Defence Report continues an attitude of purposeless and even dangerous secrecy. I had a little to do with defence from the time of the National Defence Council during the second world war and I feel this is a hand-over from the pre-independence days when the British Government would not trust, did not trust, the Members of the House. Today also, I regret to

say, no meaningful information is supplied in this Report. What little information I get, I get from American journals, I get from the British Institute of Strategic Studies. And the result is this that, I say this with regret, the Members of this House are virtually, completely ignorant of defence programmes, defence policies, with the result—what happened we were taken completely unawares in 1962. I shall attempt to show how we were taken unawares in 1965 also. If there is ineptitude in any governmental organisation, if there is negligence, if there is waste, this House, which is supposed ultimately to be responsible to the nation for its defence, can make no meaningful contribution unless we are given full information. I say this that I have been extremely critical of Shri Krishna Menon when he was the Defence Minister and I castigated him. I said that it is not only an affront to this House, worse than that, it is dangerous to the nation. I shall attempt to deal with only a few of the several points that I would like to have dealt with.

I shall first deal with the Air Force. Here we are at least given this information that we are directing our efforts to build up a balanced air force of 45 squadrons. But we have not been told how many squadrons we have today; we have not been told how many fresh squadrons we propose to add. As I said, because we are given no meaningful information, my own view is this that we have fallen behind in our air schedule. My hon. friend, Shri Bhagat rather backed at it, but my own view is this that we have not kept to our expectations in the way of delivery of MIGs my own view is that we have fallen behind in our assembling of MIGs, and my own view is that this is largely due to the fact that we have farmed out the Kerosene Engine Factory to the Orissa Government. Almost expensively, the Orissa Government fell down on its commit-

ment, and therefore we are behind the schedule.

We are given no indication—at least, I have not been able to find it out—about the number of fighter squadrons, fighter bomber squadrons, bomber squadron and transport squadron. Sir, I feel that we have to go, as I said, to the Institute of Strategic Studies. Some hon. Member referred, but he did not refer to it completely, to the ill-starred HF-24 I have never been able to get any kind of complete information on this. What has happened to this? The period of gestation for an elephant is unusually long, but the period of gestation for this HF-24 is much longer—7 to 8 years. And still we have not achieved this engine with a Mach-II performance. I want a categorical answer on this. I do not want to point to the U.A.R. because they are down and out at the moment, but what made us enter into a collaboration arrangement with the UAR of all people with regard to the engine? Apparently the Defence report shows that we are still struggling at the stage of a Mach I engine. What is the policy behind this ill-starred HF-24. I do not know because you do not give us information. Do you intend to have it as a fighter bomber? Is it intended to replace the Hunter? As far as I am aware, the Hunter did first-class service in ground support and anti-tank activity in the last campaign. What is the purpose? In any case, so far as the British are concerned, they are already replacing or have replaced the Hunter with the Jaguar which has got a Mach-II performance. My own view is that one of our weaknesses is the shortage of fighter bombers. I do not think, we have any programme for developing bombers. We have got the Canberra which was good enough, but by any kind of reasonably modern standards the Canberra is obsolete. I should imagine it is at least 12 or 13 years old.

Then, surely we are entitled to some little information about Pakistan.

[Shri Frank Anthony]

You do not give us information about our own affairs; probably we can get it from the British and American journals. But what is our position vis-a-vis Pakistan? My own feeling is that Pakistan today is in a stronger position in the air than she was in 1965. My fear is that while we should have certainly built up considerable air superiority over Pakistan which was extremely vital, Pakistan is steadily building up an edge over us in the air. We are not told; we are left to press reports, even reports from our own press. Pakistan has received considerable aid so far as air defence is concerned. China is supposed to have given her a number of planes. I saw a report that she has got 100 MIGs, 90 F-86s from West Germany, 50 planes from Iran and so forth. I would like to know what is the position. What is your estimate of the kind of supplies that Pakistan has received by way of planes? I think, it is accepted that—it is nobody's fault—one of our weaknesses was the lack of radar cover in the Indo-Pakistan conflict. There Pakistan had an edge over us relatively. I do not know what the position is today. But why do you keep it from us? As I said, the Americans and the British know all about it. Let us know so that we can ask some meaningful questions.

So far as the Pakistan Army is concerned, I remember reading a report that Pakistan had decided in 1965 to add at least five divisions to her army. There again, what do we propose to do? Unfortunately, we have two potential aggressors—China and Pakistan. In order to meet Pakistan even man for man we have to have at least twice her number of troops because at least half of our armed forces are pinned down watching our frontiers against China. I read a report not so long ago that two Pakistani divisions had been armed by China. Is that true? Also, that China had set up two arms factories in East Pakistan. I do not know whether it

is correct. During the Indo-Pakistan conflict, Pakistan had very considerable forces deployed in East Pakistan but according to a press report and according to reports in American journals she has at least four divisions now deployed in East Pakistan.

I also believe that at least 200 or 250 tanks have been made available to the Pakistan Army by the Chinese. We want some information.

Shri Nath Pai: But you suppose that they have it.

Shri Frank Anthony: They should at least read some American journals, they know. Then, there is this very crucial factor. As I said, I can only deal with a few points. It is axiomatic that an army is only as good as those who lead it. We have seen three debacles of the Arab armies. I do not want to point a finger at them, but obviously they have not been able to build up a worth-while officer cadre since the Arabs were beaten in 1956. Because they have not been able to build up a worth-while officer cadre, in battle the Arabs have shown themselves to be a little more than a rabble. We have been fortunate in a sense that we have been able to fill this vacuum which was created in our officer cadres in 1947. What did the NEFA debacle show? It was the crucial impact on the morale of our officers' cadre. I am not pointing a finger at anybody. We were overtaken by events; we were completely unprepared. But we noticed that because—it was unfortunate—probably the worst General in the Indian Army was sent to NEFA, the morale went down among the officers' cadre. He went there as Corps Commander. This time, during the Indo-Pakistan conflict, our Generals were, by and large, good—I may point out one but let it go—and our younger officers were exceedingly good and, from the point of view of leadership, and the morale, fight-

ing elan, were extremely good. Our jawans, as I have said before, are among the finest fighting men in the world and, properly led, they have no equal. There is tremendous pride in the regiment and they are blindly loyal to their officers. As I said, we have to see that they are properly led. I am rather unhappy because, I feel, we are not getting the best of India's youth in the officer cadre. We must not sweep this under the Defence carpet. I remember seeing a statement made by the former Chief of Army Staff that for officers' cadre, they had to reject between 75 to 80 per cent of applicants because they were not suitable. That is a grave situation. It is something which the Minister should share with the House. What India cannot afford is an officer cadre of quill-drivers, of bespectacled degree or double-degree holders, of Agra brigadiers of khachhar corps generals who have not heard a shot fired in anger. We cannot afford it.

I want to say this to the Defence Minister. How do we get our best youth which we are not getting now? The best of our youth is going into civil life. What do these advanced countries do in this matter? They give special amenities, special opportunities for re-employment to the officers. We do not do anything of the sort. Our people go out—there are age limitations—as Captains, Majors or Colonels or even as Brigadiers. They go out comparatively young when their commitments to their families are at peak. You don't even absorb them in civilian services where they will be a tremendous asset, lending much needed discipline to the civilian forces. I know a number of our very fine people from the officers' cadre are leaving the country because it is the only way they can guarantee the education of their sons and daughters. They cannot find employment; they are rotting on the scrapheap of unemployment. Although the Report says that the response is good, I am also not satisfied about the res-

ponse from the other ranks. I asked some Generals about this and they said that the conditions offered in many civilian services, to the border police or security police and so forth are much more attractive than the conditions that are offered to our jawans with the result that some of our finest fighting material is now being attracted to the civilian forces, to the Railways and so forth. This is also a matter that I would ask, the Defence Minister to look into.

I now come to the crucial issue whether we should develop nuclear weapons. The whole Report is based on the premise that our security can be achieved by building up a conventional army by building up conventional arms. What happened in 1962? We were overtaken by events; the country was humiliated. Why? It is because we were told we would not abjure obsolete ideas. I know that when the then Chief of the Army Staff said, "Give us semi-automatic weapons", he was told, "Fight with lathis as long as you have spirit." We were overtaken by events and we were humiliated. So also we are being overtaken by events in the nuclear field. I remember reading a statement by Mr. Chou En-lai. It was in the days of Hindi-Chini bhai-bhai euphoria when he said—it is not only an irony but a tragic irony—that India was 10 years ahead of China in the matter of nuclear technology. I would venture to say that India is now 10 years behind China with regard to nuclear capacity. I remember there was an estimate by an American paper—all the estimates with regard to China have been belied—that China would not be able to deliver an I.C.B.M. before 1975. The latest American assessment is that they will be able to deliver it very soon. Last October, they fired an intermediate-range missile. So far as India is concerned, an intermediate-range missile is quite sufficient. We are absolutely helpless in the face of even

[Shri Frank Anthony]

an intermediate-range missile. According to Dr. Bhabha—I had talked to him and he had said—we could fire the first nuclear device within twelve months of making the decision, but we have not yet made the decision; Dr. Bhabha died sometime ago.

Then there is the statement of Alastair Buchan. He said—he is the Director of the British Institute of Strategic Studies and I do not see why we should not accept what he said—that India would be able to produce 50 to 20 kilotonne bombs at the comparatively negligible cost of Rs. 24 crores because much of the capital cost is behind us. But what has happened? Today we are under pressure. I know, and we will be under increasing pressure from the USSR and from the USA. Each has its own motives to try and restrain us in this matter. In the meantime, what is happening? What is the good of applying all these philosophical and dangerous unctious to our defence soul? Non-proliferation. Today we are completely paralysed by all these negative slogans. I am against all these 'nons', these negative slogans, non-violence, non-alignment, non-proliferation, because all these paralyse us. What is going to happen. (Interruptions). It is not a laughing matter. Today we are virtually stark-naked in the nuclear field. We are completely at the mercy of China. Within five years we are likely to be at the mercy of Pakistan? China has already offered to develop Pakistan's nuclear capacity. With the rout that the Egyptians have suffered, they are going to respond with alacrity to the Chinese offer to develop their nuclear capacity. Do you think that Israel is going to stand still? They will outstrip the Egyptians, they will probably outstrip India. I do not know, we seem to think that we are getting some credit. Who gives us any credit for a so-called restraint? We have very little respect left internationally.

What is the good of applying this delusion to ourselves? Who has equated us to Pakistan? Not only the USSR and the USA, but in spite of all our recent attempts to develop foster-brother relationship with the UAR, they have also equated us with Pakistan; Pakistan is to represent them in the U.K. and we are to represent them in the U.S.A.!

Finally, I will deal with the question of intelligence or lack of it, obsolete and unorganized. I am not blaming the military intelligence service. But we were caught unawares completely in 1962. Who knew anything about the movement of the Chinese, their training and their equipment? The then Prime Minister thought that he would get some troops from Poona. They did not have enough .303 rifles. I know that the .303 rifles had to be suddenly got at the last minute—the poor chaps went up in feet shoes. With no mountain training, they had to drive the Chinese out. Complete lack of any elementary intelligence! In Kutch what happened? Did we know anything about the building of the roads in Kutch? Did we know anything about the relatively tremendous deployment of Pakistani forces? We did not. In 1965 also, as some gentleman said, it was only when we got to the Ichhogil Canal that we knew that it was an elaborate tank trap to which we had financially contributed. We did not know that Pakistan had built up a virtual maginot line and pill boxes and all kinds of defences which cost us much in precious lives. I am not blaming your military intelligence service because presumably, collecting intelligence, both internally and externally, is the preserve of the Intelligence Bureau. They are good police officers, good people at investigation, 'danda maro' and get false confessions! (Interruptions). What do they know about intelligence? It is only when battle is enjoined that what little intelligence they may or may not have—I think, that is correct—is given to

the Directorate of Military Intelligence; they have then to collate it and interpret it, much too late. The time is long overdue. Let us have a unbiased intelligence service. Let us have not too much political interference with it because I submit with respect that it is a pre-condition not only to our security, it is a pre-condition to effective diplomacy.

17.30 hrs.

STRIKES AND LABOUR AGITATIONS*

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Now, we shall take up the half-an-hour discussion.

Before Shri A. K. Gopalan initiates the debate, I would like to mention that several hon. Members have intimated to me that they want to put questions. So, I would suggest that Shri A. K. Gopalan may confine himself to ten minutes.

Shri A. K. Gopalan (Kasergod): I would take about 15 minutes, because this is a very important matter.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: That would mean that we may have to sit a little longer.

Shri A. K. Gopalan: That is the rule. I would take about 15 minutes.

I want to raise a discussion now on points arising out of the answers given to S. Q. No. 46 regarding strikes and labour agitations.

The industrial scene in the whole country today is in a state of turmoil. The economic crisis is getting deeper and deeper every day, and it is reflected in closure of factories, retrenchment, lay off and also increasing strikes and other actions on the part of the working class. Also, a new ferocious offensive of wage-freeze and retrenchment has also been launched against the workers, and as a result of all these, labour agitations are taking a virulent form.

Before I deal with that matter, I would like to point out what the state of industry today is, and what the economic situation in the country today is and what the result of that has been in regard to the number of strikes by workers during the last six months in our country. Today, it is said that over 1.25 lakhs coal-mine workers in 460 collieries in the Jharia coal mines had gone on a 24-hour strike this morning to back up their demand for implementation of the coal wage board's recommendations and statutory rationing in the colliery areas. It is also said that they have also decided and given notice to go on an indefinite strike from the 17th July if their demands were not met by then. The workers cannot keep quiet when they find that a portion of their bread is snatched away. The workers cannot keep quiet because they have waited for years; they have gone to the court; they have waited for conciliation; they have gone to the High Court and they have waited; they have waited for the wage board's recommendations. Even after all this, when there is non-implementation of the awards and other awards of tribunals, surely, the workers cannot keep quiet.

The Congress Government is sleeping on a volcano. They do not understand the gheraos which are talked of every day inside this Parliament and outside. That is only a symptom. They do not understand it. Instead of finding fault with it they should try to understand it. The other day, there was a discussion in the AFCC and a resolution was passed, and except two humble souls all the others had supported it.

Shri Indrajit Gupta (Allpore): Shri Mishra had given all wrong information.

Shri A. K. Gopalan: The Minister of Labour had also said something there, which I shall presently refer

*Half-an-hour Discussion.