

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN : I would like to make this point clear. I did say that the Internal Affairs Committee did not meet formally to take a decision. Informally we met and we discussed all varieties of problems in the country because we have to make a review of position in the whole country. But we have not taken a decision on this matter because this was not a matter for decision. As I said, this matter is between the Governor and the Chief Minister of Gujarat. Therefore, there was no occasion for us to take a decision. If this is not contradiction, what else is contradiction ?

SHRI MORARJI DESAI : In the Internal Affairs Committee you can discuss what you like. You can discuss the whole world. Nobody can prevent you from doing that. But when it has been published, it would be a contradiction if you say that it was not the view of the Internal Affairs Committee of the Cabinet. But that is not what you have done.

SHRI SURENDRANATH DWIVEDY (Kendrapara) : If you take the stand that it was not a formal decision but it was an informal discussion then it would be worse.

SHRI Y. B. CHAVAN : There is no question of any decision. When we meet we certainly discuss many things informally. What can we say about it here ?

SHRIMATI TARKESHWARI SINHA (Basti) : Sir, we want your protection. We want only a clarification and not any discussion. How does he counteract the impression that is prevailing in the entire country because of this newspaper report ? It is a deliberate leakage by one of the Cabinet Ministers that this matter was discussed by the Internal Affairs Committee. By this report very serious damage has been done and it has undermined the institution of Governor.

SHRI MANUBHAI PATEL : The Governor of Gujarat is no longer neutral. He is taking a particular line. He is taking sides and he is lining up with the Indicate. The Governor of Gujarat will be influenced by the informal decision and no assurance of the Home Minister will help that .
(Interruptions)

MR SPEAKER : I would request all of you to resume your seats.

SHRI VIKRAM CHAND MAHAJAN : (Chamba) : Sir, I have given notice of a calling attention and short Notice question about Himachal Pradesh .

MR. SPEAKER : I had my hopes on this side; now they are proving worse.

SHRI MANUBHAI PATEL : We will definitely say that the Governor of Gujarat was guided by the informal decision if he takes a certain line.

MR. SPEAKER : I thought people from Gujarat are very mild and non-aggressive. They are proving much more aggressive than Punjabis... (Interruptions) Some of them are unmanageable by the chair ; they are unmanageable by their leaders. Only God could manage them.

SHRI MANUBHAI PATEL : Let the Government behave properly.

13.44 hrs.

DEMANDS FOR GRANTS 1970-71—contd.

Ministry of Defence—Contd.

SHRI N. K. P. SALVE (Betul) : Sir, we have been professing stridently and vociferously that the question of defence is a matter of supreme national importance to all of us and, therefore, we should keep the matter above party affiliations and predilections. But as I heard the debate yesterday, especially speeches of certain opposition members, I found that one particular section of opposition came out with condemning the United States of America and the other section came out with condemning the Soviet Union.

13.45 hrs.

[MR DEPUTY-SPEAKER in the Chair]

Implied in their arguments was the plea that we must show larger dependence on one of the two super powers.

[Shri N. K. P. Salve]

Sir, I submit very respectfully that this is not merely super-imposing your political proformers on matters of defence which we are pledged not to do but the entire approach to me appears to be hopelessly naive, if not absurd, for by now the law of friendship of the super powers with other countries is fairly well established and so are the rights and obligations of their friends. If Super Power 'A' now in terms of friendship is obliged to give assistance, both financial and military, to any developing or to an under developed country 'B' that does not mean further obligation on Super Power 'A' not to give similar or bigger help to country 'C' which country 'C' may use to destory the country 'B' provided, Sir, the Super Power feels that its own interests are well served by assisting 'C'. In other words, as long as the interests of the country which is sought to be helped and the interests of the Super Power are co-extensive assistance will be given by Super Power, irrespective of its repression on the friends or Super Powers. But this right and authority of the Super Power which is at the giving end-fortunately, it is not a unilateral right. There is also a right vested in the country at the receiving end, that is, its right to take it or leave it. Therefore, a question arises when we are at the receiving end whether we are going to take it or leave it.

This very theory was propounded by the British Prime Minister in some what forthright but uncouth terms when he said, "Today in international politics we do not have any permanent friends or permanent enemies; we only have permanent interests." Therefore, if we want to find a panacea or a lasting solution to our defence problems and defence matters it will not come from any dependence whatsoever on anyone of the two super powers; neither shall it come by any dependence on both of them. We will have to solve the problems of defence needs and defence preparation by very arduous and assiduous endeavours towards self reliance by relying solely on our own talents and on our own resources. I was, therefore, surprised when some hon. Members suggested that we should depend on one of the two Super Powers when both of them are supplying arms to

Pakistan. It is showing preference to one cut throat against the other cut throat. In fact, Sir, one cut throat is bad enough and if you depend on both the cut throats the risk is going to be double. Therefore, since I am interested in the welfare of my people, in the welfare of my country and don't care two hoots about the United States or the Soviet Union if they are not going to be friendly to me, I know we have sufficient talent in my country, sufficient resources to cater to every defence needs and help defence preparations. Therefore, we have to proceed on our own towards self-reliance in military preparations. In this connection I must submit at this juncture that the second aspect of the matter which will give us lasting solution to defence problems is the possibility of making a very firm and determined bid towards making incessant efforts in bringing about a solution of the outstanding problems that we have, either with Pakistan or with China. Certainly, the solution of these problems will have to be commensurate with the national honour and a sense of self-respect of the Indian people. Disputes with Pakistan undoubtedly have been existing for a pretty long time for over two decades. They are difficult but certainly not impossible of a solution in a more humane and same atmosphere of a conference room instead of the borders converted into battle fields. I wish Pakistan realise the hard realities which are embedded in the various problems surrounding the Kashmir issue. I do not think that the Kashmir issue is impossible of solution in a conference room excepting that Pakistan needs to realise that the solution of the Kashmir issue is linked up with the question of the very survival, the very existence, of our secular democracy.

So far as China is concerned, it has attained a menaciously devastating dimension due to its formidable military might. The Chinese leadership, I must submit, is power-drunk power, inebriated, as all despots are. The problems, of Sino-Indian border dispute which happens to be in a stalemate for a period of nearly 8 years could have been solved literally in 8 minutes time only if the Chinese leaders were capable of bringing a modicum of sense of maturity, sense of justice and a sense of fairness in their attitude and not to act as an imbecile

giant. I do hope some day the Chinese people will be able to come close to the Indian people as they were before the treachery of their leaders. That is only possible after the existing leadership of the Chinese people comes to an end. Otherwise, it appears difficult.

China has developed into an astounding military power. It is the third greatest military power. The Report of the Defence Ministry has given certain figures. China has an army of 33 lakhs; a navy of 1,41,000 men, 9.9 vessels and 33 submarines and a very versatile and powerful air force of 2800 combat aircraft. And this is over and above their powerful nuclear arsenal.

This is, by any standard, military a very powerful country. China is supposed to have an impregnable veil of secrecy. From Where have they got these figures? One thing worst than our under-military preparation is to under-estimate the preparation of China. There is a small story about Chinese secrecy. Once, an eminent Chinese Surgeon was talking to American and British Surgeons. The American Surgeon said that in the United States, neuro-surgery was the most difficult one and the eminent British Surgeon said that the cardiac surgery, heart surgery, was the most difficult thing in the United Kingdom. The eminent Chinese Surgeon however, said that, in China, the most difficult operation is tonsilectomy removal of tonsil, because no one is allowed to open his or her mouth, the patient cannot open his or her mouth, and, therefore, we have to take out tonsils through a long and hazardous route! That is the impregnable secrecy of China I hope, India has organised military Intelligence; and the Defence Ministry has some one like a James Bond to find out what are the exact designs of China or else it is more than likely that a second time also we will be caught napping.

It is undoubtedly true that while making an assessment of our military strategy, defence strategy and defence preparations, we will have to duly reckon the fact, that we are surrounded by not only a mighty military power but also an extremely unprincipled and a ruthless neighbour in China. In that juxtaposition, in that context, it is impossible for me, however much I

may not like to do so, not to wholly justify the entire expenditure we are incurring to the tune of Rs. 1151.51 crores which happens to be Rs 47 crores more than what it was last year Rs 452 crores on pay and allowances; Rs, 452 crores on stores. It is 3 per cent of the Gross National Product and 22 per cent of the total Budget of the Central Government. By any standard, for a developing country, it is a large expenditure. But how can a man possessed of his rational faculties deny this expenditure to the Ministry when we know our borders are not secure and that our neighbours are anxious to get at our throat at the slightest opportunity when they find we are weak?

As I went through the Report, I realised there are certain happy features. The first that struck me is the "Roll On" Plan on which the Defence preparations have shifted. The "Roll On" Plan has three salient features. The first one is that it is a resource-based plan in which the finances are assured including the foreign exchange. The second feature which is of considerable importance is that it is based on a forecast of the defence requirements for a period of ten years. Lastly, the "Roll On" plan itself envisages that as the plan goes on every year, the year that finishes is struck off and the next year is taken into account. This plan has the merit of continuity, effectivity and elasticity and I hope that our defence preparations will become more streamlined and more efficient with all this.

There is the mention of the Army. We have our "teeth to tail" ratio rationalised and improved it is said that our teeth have more ferocious 'biting power'. Our air force has been stabilised at 45 squadrons and we are going to have improved communications system and will have more radars. One thing surprising in this report is that it has stated:

"This is related to the role of the Air Force in the event of war, in providing air defence, in supporting the ground and naval forces operationally and logistically and in providing protection to vital installations against air attacks".

This is completely changing the entire approach to war. The linch pin of the air force power lies in attack and not

[Shri N. K. P. Salve]

defence. How can the three objectives ever be well served if you do not play to destroy enemy with your air power in his own country? I would only hope that the Minister would make this point clear.

Sir, then, I was surprised to know that the Hindustan Aeronautics Ltd. does not have a Managing Director independent of the Chief of Air Staff. What a mockery of our national defence is this! How long are we going to have our chief as the Managing Director or Chairman?

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF DEFENCE (SHRI L. N. MISHRA) : He is part time Chairman.

SHRI N. K. P. SALVE : I am sorry for this terminological inexactitude. But the fact remains.....

SHRI L. N. MISHRA : There is much differences between the two.

SHRI N. K. P. SALVE : I know the difference between the Managing Director and Chairman. My whole life has been wasted dealing with company law affairs. My submission is : why is he entrusted the chairmanship? Why is he there? Will the Minister explain this to us. Is it due to dearth of men? There is one more thing. It is mentioned, very unfortunately, and I only hope that it is not correct, that somebody from the private sector is likely to be foisted to manage the HAL. I am sure the Defence Minister will not introduce an element of nepotism. There should be no uncleism and nepotism in the Defence Forces. Our men in the uniform are dedicated men. Let us not try to hurt their feelings. They are sensitive men, as patriotic brave and honest men are bound to be. Let us not inject politics into them. I am sure it will not happen and no one from Private sector will head HAL. If it happens in HAL, there will be hell for the Minister in Parliament.

The next aspect which I wish to refer to is this. It is not clear from the report as to what steps we have taken for lesser and lesser dependence for Defence raw materials from foreign sources. During the war days we found that the foreign sources from

which we were getting raw materials were choked just when we needed them most. I don't find in the report as to what progress we have made nor is the report stating anything how for our private sector and public sector industries have been geared up to support, should there be a short war.

Next I come to our unpragmatic attitude. We have adopted attitude of unrealistic pacifism in the matter of nuclear policy. To-day only the Defence Minister said, 'Come what may; we are not going to manufacture atom bomb. We are not going to manufacture hydrogen bombs.' But is it enough to say this? I would like to know from him. How are you going to defend your people in a case of nuclear attack. Are you absolutely sure that China is never going to attack India with nuclear weapons? There is one more question. Are they making hydrogen bombs, are they making nuclear weapons so that they may be kept in cotton wool in case of a conventional war? Do you think that China is going to keep their nuclear arsenal in cotton wool? As against the reply which the hon. Minister gave today about nuclear policy this is what the American President says. They are aware about the menace which China is capable of causing to the USA, the danger which exists to the people of USA and this is what he says-I don't care two hoots as to what the American President says otherwise-but I have the highest regard for the man who takes such a realistic attitude. What are we going to get from the pacifism based on abstract morals and pseudo idealism? This is what President Nixon said, Sir.

"No administration with the responsibility for the lives and security of the American people could fail to provide every possible protection against such eventualities.

Thus, on March 14, 1969, I stated that the objectivities of the Safeguard programme :

This measured deployment is designed to fulfil three objectives :

1. Protection of our land-based retaliatory forces against a direct attack by the Soviet Union,

2. Defence of the American people against the kind of nuclear attack which Communist China is likely to be able to mount within the decade.
3. Protection against the possibility of accidental attacks."

People in the U.S.A. are worried about the possibility of nuclear attack but we sitting here are absolutely unconcerned and complacent about it. In the end, I would say, it is the careless shepherds who make many a delightful meals for the wolves. Let not our Defence Minister be a careless shepherd and let not history denounce him as a Defence Minister who was careless to the people who trusted him so implicitly for their safety.

14 hrs.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : Government party has 1 hour and 5 minutes out of which Mr. Salve has taken 15 minutes; there are 50 minutes; the Minister will be taking that much time. I do not want to shut them out, I will call two from the Opposition and one from the ruling party. Mr. Ramani.

****SHRI K. RAMANI (Coimbatore):** Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, at the very outset, I would like to emphasise the point that the Defence Policy of our country is a defective one. I hope the hon. Minister of Defence will give me a patient hearing and pay his careful attention as to what should be done to modify the present defence policy.

Why do I say that our Defence Policy is defective? Is the hon. Minister of Defence tries to find out who are our friends and who are enemies, he will realise the predicament in which we are.

What do our leaders in the Government say? They say that our Defence Policy has been based on the theory that we have to defend our country from our two hostile neighbours, namely, China and Pakistan, and we have no aggressive designs on any other country. It is crystal clear from this our Defence Policy has been formulated on the quicksand of hostile neighbours and not on any other firm ground.

The advocates of this policy feel that by increasing defence expenditure every year, they will be able to effectively implement this policy.

In 1968-69 an amount of Rs. 1051 crores was spent on Defence. In 1969-70 the Defence Expenditure was 1110 crores; in 1970-71 the Government are going to spend Rs. 1150 crores. All of us are aware that 52 crores of our countrymen are on the verge of hunger and starvation; they are struggling hard in the face of acute unemployment problem. Instead of diverting money on development programme to ameliorate the conditions of living of the vast majority of our people, the Government are to spend this huge amount on defence. The only reason that they put forth for spending this enormous amount is that our neighbours are hostile and inimical. How could this policy be a correct policy, I would ask? Can we afford to enter into an arms race? If we are not on friendly terms with our neighbours and if we continue to live in conflict with them, there is no other way except to enter into an arms race.

I am not labouring on the point that we should not strengthen the defences of the country. Let the Government take all effective steps to safeguard the security of the country. If you go through the military history of various countries you will find that a proper defence policy would be that which has a firm base among the masses and which is able to inspire the confidence and faith in them. A defence policy would be a durable policy only when the problem of poverty and hunger faced by the people was solved.

All our neighbouring countries are our enemies. We have no good relations with China having a population of 70 crores of people. We are in conflict with Pakistan with a population of 10 crores. We have also some unresolved problems with Burma. We don't have good relation with Nepal. I request that the Government should give serious considerations to these issues. If all the neighbouring countries continue to be our enemies and if this situation is to persist without any hope of establishing friendly relations with any of these count-

**The original speech was delivered in Tamil.

[Shri K. Ramani]

ries, how are we going to defend the integrity and freedom of our country.

Of late radical changes are taking place in Pakistan. After toppling down the autocratic dictator, the people of Pakistan are fighting against re-emergence of dictatorship in their country. Similarly, China will be constrained to effect changes in her policy which she had been following so far. The arch enemy of China, the United States of America, in spite of basic differences, is having protracted negotiations with China in the Polish Capital. Though they have not got their Ambassador at Peking, they go to the Capitals of other countries where both of them have diplomatic representations for the purpose of conducting negotiations. China is on friendliest of terms with Pakistan and Nepal. Though relations between Soviet Russia and China are strained, though talks between them have broken down on account of basic differences in their approach to problems, though there are frequent border skirmishes between the two countries, yet the Soviet Prime Minister visits Peking; the biggest ever delegation from Soviet Russia is sent to Peking to explore the avenues for establishing friendly relations with China. Why do they do this? We want to live in amity and peace with China. Why do the United States of America and the Soviet Russia hold talks with China? Whatever may be the fundamental contradictions in their policy they cannot afford to ignore the existence of 70 crores of Chinese people; they realise that if they engage themselves actively in the arms race with a view to waging a prolonged struggle against the 70 crores of Chinese people, it would lead them to complete annihilation and such a policy would be suicidal. That is why they are trying to negotiate and settle their differences, whatever may be the nature of such differences.

Will our Government ever initiate such a fruitful policy? Some of the hon. Members who preceded me referred to this. It is claimed by the Government that they are ushering in an era of changes in their policies and activities. But they have not changed their defence policy. I want to state here that we cannot go on fighting for

ever with our neighbours, we cannot go on increasing our defence expenditure. This situation must be changed at once. We should take concrete steps to arrive at a peaceful settlement with Pakistan and China. We should not fail to appreciate the changing situation in these countries. If we don't initiate proper steps in this direction, we may have to rely more and more on the U. S. and U. K. imperialists. That is why I say the policy at present pursued by the Government is not the right policy.

In the matter of defence organisation, the Government continue to have the same set up which the erstwhile British imperialistic rulers had in our country. The relationship that exists between the officers at the top and the soldiers below is really regrettable. They are perpetuating the same old policy of treating the rank and file as slaves. Some hon. Members who spoke yesterday mentioned this point. The Officers think that they are the sole repository of wisdom and that they are only guardians of the territorial integrity of the country. Obsessed with this overbearing attitude they deny the elementary freedom to the soldiers and they do not worry about providing the minimum amenities of life to them. This was the criticism made here yesterday and today.

To substantiate this point I would give one or two examples. Let us take the privileges and perquisites enjoyed by the high officers in the army. The salary paid per annum to army officers amounts to Rs. 40,61,00,000 the total salary annually disbursed to 8½ lakhs of soldiers is about two hundred crores of rupees. If you calculate the amount per head, you will find the wide disparity between the salaries of the officers and the rank and file. In the Navy, the officers get Rs 4,08,00,000 while the Naval cadets put together get only Rs. 8,21,00,000. 50% of the total amount disbursed goes to the officers. If you take Air Force Officers they get per annum Rs. 11,10,00,000. The other ranks get Rs. 31,02,00,000. To this extent there is great difference in their emoluments. If you take the Defence Ministry, the salary paid to 235 officers comes to Rs. 30,95,000. An amount of Rs 2,81,000 is paid to 276

class IV employees; that means, 50 times more is paid to the officers.

The six Secretaries in the Ministry are getting the total salary paid to 276 Class IV employees. No other example need be cited to show the Ministry is run as how the lower grades employees are treated.

I would refer next to Defence Production. Yesterday the hon. Minister, Shri L. N. Mishra, said in his speech that there were 30 defence production units under the Ministry in the field catering to the needs of the Defence Forces. He also stated that goods worth Rs. 200 crores were being produced by these factories. I would like to ask how two lakhs of workers engaged in these factories are being treated. Are they being treated decently? The problems and the demands of these workers are manifold. He claimed that the production had undoubtedly gone up but there was no matching demand, with the consequence that retrenchment of these employees might come about in the future. If there is going to be retrenchment among the two lakhs of employees, it will aggravate the unemployment situation and a grave crisis will ensue. I would request the hon. Minister to clarify this point.

The Government have established these factories in collaboration with foreign monopoly companies. Foreign collaboration in what—in Defence? Not only in the Finance Department, not only in the Agriculture Department, not only in the Industrial Department but in Defence. Foreign monopoly capital is allowed to have its say in the vital Defence Sector. Foreign Collaboration agreements have been entered into in the case of Praga Tools, Hindustan Aeronautics, Bharat Electronics, Goa Dock, Mazagaon Dock and in so many other projects. The Companies in private sector are also awarded large contracts. All the jeeps are produced by Tatas and Mahindra and Mahindra and Tent cloths required by Defence forces is met by the private industries. The Defence uniform is also produced by the private capitalists companies. The private monopolists inside the country and the foreign monopoly capitalists have cornered the defence demands of our country. I am surprised that the Ministers have failed to take note of this

fact. What did the Minister say yesterday? He said that during the 4th Plan period they have decided to buy from the private sector goods worth Rs. two hundred crores. He also stated that orders for goods to the value of Rs. forty crores have already been placed with them. On the one hand, it is said that the Defence production units under the Government produce goods worth Rs. two hundred crores and since there is no demand for them there is the likelihood of retrenchment among the workers; on the other huge orders running to crores of rupees are reserved for private sector and foreign companies. Not only this. So far as defence is concerned the proposed outlay in the 4th Plan is Rs. 6,200 crores, out of which Rs. 2,200 crores are likely to be spent on the purchase of defence stores. From where this Government will buy these stores? From private sector firms, from foreign industrialists and such other sources. I am sure that the defence production at this rate will never achieve self-sufficiency. It is strange that the Government are not prepared to confine their defence production activities to public sector units and they are eager to let private sector and foreign firms to come in this field. I would warn the Government that this is fraught with danger.

I would say that malpractices in this sector are rampant. Let them see their own Report. In the Appropriation Accounts, from pages 41 to 78, all such malpractices have been serialised. In one year alone, a loss of Rs. 4,20,91,000 has occurred on account of shortage of stores. Corruption is corroding the very fabrics of our security and the Government merrily enter into collaboration agreements with foreign companies and private sector for meeting the defence requirements. My view is that defence production activities should be exclusively in the public sector.

When the country's freedom was threatened, we recruited Emergency Commissioned Officers to defend our motherland. It is stated in the report on the activities of this Ministry that 4253 ECOs had been released and of this 1,925 had been given alternative employment. I would like to know whether they have really got employment. 249 have reverted to their previous civil appointments and 68 have become self-emplo-

[Shri K. Ramani]

yed in agriculture and business. 1566 released ECOs remained to be rehabilitated. They volunteered to sacrifice their lives in the defence of the country, what is their position now? They are on the streets and they are without employment even though they are fully qualified. Similarly, lakhs of ordinary soldiers have been demobilised and retired. They have not been given any land either for agricultural or for residential purposes in the states. The Ex-Servicemen Welfare Association of my constituency, Coimbatore, have sent many representations in this regard but they have not received any reply. I also got several representations from such associations in Kanur at Udumalpet and other places. Though I have forwarded them to the authorities here, we have not so far heard anything from them. These people, who had pledged their everything from the defence of the country, are today homeless and heartless. They with their families are on the streets. I request that something must be done immediately for these people.

The Government are following in the footsteps of their erstwhile imperialistic masters in the matter of running the defence organisation. Every day we here that the Government are thinking of introducing new policies and programmes which will inspire the confidence and command the cooperation of the people. But we do not witness any concrete action in this regard on the part of the Government. Today South Vietnam with a population of two crores of people fighting against 3,000 aeroplanes and 6½ lakhs strong army equipped with all the technical know-how and facilities of American imperialism. But the people of South Vietnam, undeterred by all this brute force are fighting for their liberation. Not were arms but only a real people's army with people's aims alone can defend a country. When an hon. Member referred this morning to China launching successfully an earth satellite in the space, we witnessed in the House noisy scenes. I don't mean that we should slavishly follow China. No doubt we have to defend our country. But, when Appolo 13 was brought back to the earth with the astronauts alive, the scientific achievement of America was applauded by this House in a

resolution. But we don't want even to refer to the scientific achievement of China and we don't want ever to acknowledge her success in launching an earth satellite in space.

We have to establish friendly relations with China and Pakistan by resolving the existing conflict, politically and diplomatically as we cannot afford to venture ourselves in the costly arms race, with the help of imperialists. We have to build up the defence of our country with our own resources. The ordinary soldiers in the army who are the backbone of our fighting forces, should be given all amenities to enable them to live a decent life including accommodation facilities. We have to reorient our Defence policy from this new angle. Thanking you, Sir, I conclude my speech.

DR. RAM SUBHAG SINGH (Buxar) : Now the elections to committees are going on and there, corrupt and unfair practices are being utilised by the Government, because three officers are placed there on behalf of the Government. We have shown them to the Returning Officer who has recognised those officers. As the election is being held under the aegis of Parliament, I request you to see that Government officers are not mis-used.

SHRI BAL RAJ MADHOK (South Delhi) : I want to support the point of order raised by the Leader of the Opposition. It is a very serious allegation. When the elections are being held, the parties are there, and so to make use of the Government officials, for the purpose is misuse of Government power. This must stop immediately.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : A point of order can arise only when it relates to the business before the House. This does not relate to the business before of the House. The business before the House relates to the Demands of the Ministry of Defence.

SHRI BAL RAJ MADHOK : We want to draw the attention of the Government through you, because these are Committees of Parliament to which elections are being held.

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER : You can do it by a separate motion.

श्री यशपाल सिंह (देहरादून) : उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, डिफेंस का मामला किसी एक पार्टी, ग्रुप या अकेली सरकार का नहीं है। यह भारत के 52 करोड़ इन्सानों का मामला है। जहाँ तक मैं सरदार स्वर्ण सिंह और मिथा साहब का ताल्लुक सम्भता हूँ, मैं बड़ी इज्जत से उन का नाम लेता हूँ और वह किसी भी देश के लिये गौरव के कारण हैं। लेकिन जिस निजाम के मातहत आप काम कर रहे हैं, जिस सेंट्रल ग्रुप में आप हैं, वह देश की रक्षा नहीं कर सका है। आज सरकार को कोई हक नहीं है कि लोगों से वह टैक्स ले जब कि हमारे लाखों मुरब्बा मील जमीन दुश्मन के नीचे है। न बजट सेशन में, न किसी और मीके पर बतलाया जाता है कि हम हिमालय को कब वापस लेंगे, मान सरोवर के पास की जमीन को कब वापस लेंगे। एक लफ्ज़ भी इस विषय में नहीं कहा जाता है। आज जरूरत इस बात की थी कि बच्चे ट्रेन्ड हो कर के निकलें, लेकिन यह हुकूमत जो यहाँ बंठी हुई है यह बजाय इस के कि आज दुनिया की आखों में पाकिस्तान और चीन को एक्सपोज़ करती, बजाय इस के कि अपना जनमत तैयार करती, आज भी यह सेक्योरिटी काउन्सिल में सड़े हो कर के बार बार ऐलान करते हैं कि हम किसी देश की एक इंच भूमि को ललचायी आँखों से नहीं देखते हैं। हमारा इरादा किसी देश पर हमला करने का नहीं है। बजाय इस के कि जनमत तैयार किया जाता उल्टे डींग हांकते हैं। जो अपनी जमीन दिये बैठे हैं क्या उन के मुंह से यह बात शोभा देती है कि हम किसी के ऊपर आक्रमण नहीं करने जा रहे हैं। क्या अंधे इन्सान के मुंह से यह बात शोभा देती है कि मैं किसी हसीना को ललचायी आँख से नहीं देखता हूँ? क्या किसी भूखे आदमी के मुंह से, जिस के बीबी बच्चे उपवास कर रहे हों, यह बात शोभा देती है कि मैं किसी की दावत, पार्टी नहीं करना चाहता, मैं अपने धन का दुरुपयोग नहीं करना चाहता, मैं अपने अन्न का दुरुपयोग नहीं करना चाहता। जरूरत इस बात की थी कि रिपब्लिकी को फ़ैस किया जाता और दुनिया की

आँखों में, जो ऐसे सर है, जिस ने हमला किया है, उस को आज दुनिया की आँखों में हिन्दुस्तान बदनाम करता और उस के खिलाफ़ जनमत तैयार करता। वह नहीं हुआ। इस ऐटमास-फीयर में कौन सी चीज़ ऐसी है जो आप यह कह सकें कि हम रक्षा कर रहे हैं? रक्षा करने वालों की पोशाक बदल जाती है, उन की खुराक बदल जाती है, सोने जागने के घंटे बदल जाते हैं, बिकिंग बदल जाती है। लेकिन हिन्दुस्तान आज उन्हीं प्रंटों में सोता है जहाँ 20 साल पहले सोता था, वही पोशाक पहनता है और खुराक खाता है जो 20 साल पहले पहनता और खाता था। इस देश के अन्दर अगर आप एड़ी से चोटी तक परिवर्तन करेंगे तो मुल्क की रक्षा हो जायेगी। लेकिन अगर आप ने यह सोचा कि दस्तर खान पर बंद कर बातचीत से, किसी निगोशियेशन से या किसी राउन्ड टेबिल कानफ़रेंस से ये मसले हल होंगे तो यह आप की भूल है, ऐसा हरगिज़ नहीं हो सकता।

आज जरूरत इस बात की है कि खून का बदला खून से लिया जाय जान का बदला जान लिया जाय। आज तक एक भी चीनी की लाश यह पैग नहीं कर सके, जब कि हमारे लोग चीनियों की कैदों में रहे। हमारे सिपाहियों की 14, 14 लाशों वापस हुई पंडित नेहरू के जन्म दिवस पर। लेकिन इन्हीं ने आज तक एक अंधे चीनी को पकड़ कर लाल किले में नहीं दिखलाया। एक अप्राहिज, कोड़ी कलंकी को पकड़ कर नहीं दिखलाया। आज सैंकड़ों चीनी दिल्ली के अन्दर खुले ग्राम सड़कों पर घूम रहे हैं, दिल्ली में दुकानें खोले बैठे हैं, सैंकड़ों चीनी हैं जो हर एक आफिस में जाते हैं। लेकिन चीन के अन्दर एक भी हिन्दुस्तानी नहीं है। वह लोग इतने मूर्ख नहीं हैं कि दुश्मन की तरफ़ से अपनी आँखें बन्द कर लें।

मैं अपने यशस्वी मिनिस्टर साहब से निवेदन करता हूँ कि उन्होंने अच्छे काम भी किये हैं जिन को सब को मानना चाहिये। माननीय वाई०बी० चव्हाण साहब इस हाउस

[श्री यशपाल सिंह]

में नहीं हैं, यह उन की ही मार थी जो पाकिस्तान आगे बढ़ने से रुक गया। अगर सरदार स्वर्ण सिंह और चव्हाण साहब जैसे आदमी न होते तो दिल्ली के लाल किले में जा कर के वहां टी पार्टी करते। मैं इस बात से इन्कार नहीं करता कि इन्होंने अपना सर्वस्व दे कर के देश को मजबूत किया। लेकिन जिस मजबूती की चीन के मुकाबले में जरूरत है वह मजबूती नहीं आ सकती। जब तक हाईड्रोजन बम तैयार नहीं होंगे, एटम बम तैयार नहीं होंगे तब तक हमारे देश की रक्षा नहीं हो सकती। आज दो ही तरीक हैं—या तो रक्षा से इन्कार कर दीजिए, या तो इन्कार कर दीजिये अपने धर्म की रक्षा से और देश की रक्षा से, और अगर वाकई आप देश की, धर्म की, दीन की और भारत की 52 करोड़ जाति की रक्षा करना चाहते हैं तो एटम बम और हाइड्रोजन बम का निर्माण करना पड़ेगा : नाञ्च्यः पन्था विधत्ते ऽयनाय। आज राष्ट्र का यही एक रास्ता है। एक हमारे जैसे लोग हैं, मैं पूछता हूँ कि जब दीवारों पर लिखते हैं कि आज गोलियां चलनी बन्द हो जायेंगी, दीवारों पर पोस्टर लगाते हैं कि बमों की गड़गड़ाहट कम हो जायगी, खत्म हो जायगी मैं आप को विश्वास दिलाता हूँ कि जिस दिन गोलियां चलनी बन्द हो जायेंगी यह हिन्दुस्तान हमेशान हो जायगा, यह हिन्दुस्तान कब्रिस्तान हो जायगा। जिन्दगी अपने देश की रक्षा करने में है। जो देश की रक्षा करेगा उस को तलवार उठानी पड़ेगी, जो देश की रक्षा करेगा उसे राइफल और गोलियां चलानी पड़ेंगी। अगर आज वार बन्द हो जायगी तो हमारे जैसे लोग कहाँ जायेंगे? “जिन्हें जल मरने की आदत है, वे परवाने कहाँ जायें।”

हम ने कसम खायी है कि चीन से, पाकिस्तान से एक-एक इंच जमीन अपनी वापस लेंगे। लेकिन आप ने आज तक यह नहीं समझा है कि पाकिस्तान क्यों मजबूत है?

पाकिस्तान की जनता को जनरल याहिया खां ने यह विश्वास दिला रखा है कि अकेला याहिया खां कश्मीर को छीन कर पाकिस्तान के हवाले कर सकता है। आज कश्मीर के मसले को हल कीजिये और कश्मीर को अपने कब्जे में कीजिये। जिस दिन कश्मीर की एक एक इंच जमीन हिन्दुस्तान के कब्जे में आ जायेगी तो जनरल याहिया खां और बड़े-बड़े भ्रफ़सरोँ की हुकूमत खुद खत्म हो जायेगी। लेकिन यह कहाँ तक न्याय संगत है कि इस देश के लिये हम अपने बेटों को भेजते हैं फ़ौज में लड़ने के लिये, चीनियों के दांत खट्टे करने के लिये, पाकिस्तानियों को पीछे हटाने के लिये, और यह उन से श्रमदान कराते हैं, उन से मिट्टी खुदवाते हैं, उन से हल चलवाते हैं। अगर हल चलाने की बात होती तो उजड़ते उजड़ते, बिगड़ते बिगड़ते हमारे पास आज भी करोड़ों एकड़ जमीन है, अगर हल चलवाने की बात होती तो हम अपने खेतों में चलवाते। हम ने अपने बच्चों को तलवार उठाने के लिये दिया लेकिन इन्होंने उन के हाथ में दे दिया फावड़ा।

हिन्दुस्तान आज दो हिस्सों में बंट चुका है। एक वह हिस्सा है जो कंलास और मानसरोवर को वापस लेना चाहता है। एक वह हिस्सा है जो हिमालय की बुलन्द चोटियों को वापस लेना चाहता है। दूसरा हिस्सा वह है जो चीन की मिलिटरी माइट से दब चुका है और कहता है कि जो हुआ सो हुआ, चीन को किसी तरह से और आगे न बढ़ने दो। उस को आगे बढ़ने से रोको। हम ने इस बात की कसम खायी है, भगवान कृष्ण को साक्षी कर के इस बात की प्रतिज्ञा ली है कि जब तक पीकिंग के खंडहरों पर भारत माता की फूतेहयाबी का झंडा नहीं लहराया जायेगा तब तक चैन नहीं लेंगे, चैन नहीं लेने देंगे, मुसलसल वार होगी। जब तक हम उन लोगों का खून नहीं पीयेंगे जिन्होंने हमारे बेटों का खून पीया है हम हरगिज़ चैन नहीं लेंगे। इस बात को न कोई राउन्ड टेबिल कानफ़रेंस हल कर सकती है, न कोई निगो-शियेशन्स हल कर सकते हैं। यह क्षत्रियों का

खून है जो इस बात का हल करेगा, हिन्दुस्तान का खून है जो गयी हुई सम्पत्तियों को वापस लेगा। यह जाति मरना चाहती है, देश की रक्षा के लिये मिटना चाहती है। उस को कौन रोकते हैं? पंचशील वाले इस को रोकते हैं, ताशकन्द वाले इस को रोकते हैं। इस को कौन रोकते हैं? शान्तिवन वाले। इन सड़कों का नामकरण दोबारा होगा। जिन सड़कों पर लिखा हुआ है पंचशील रोड, पंचशील मार्ग, इन को काट दिया जायेगा और उस की जगह पर विजय मार्ग लिखा जायेगा।

हमारे यह डिफेंस मिनिस्टर हैं। कब तक यह डिफेंस मिनिस्टर बने रहेंगे। इन को ऐग्रेशन मिनिस्टर कहा जायेगा, हमला मिनिस्टर कहा जायेगा, आक्रमण मिनिस्टर कहा जायेगा। यह डिफेंस के चक्कर में बैठे हैं, दुश्मन पहले की हमले के अन्दर इन की बाहें तोड़ देगा। जरूरत इस बात की है कि इनीशियेटिव लिया जाये, फ़स्ट ग्रेटक किया जाये। मौका न दिया जाये दुश्मन को कि वह हमारे ऊपर ग्रेटक करे। हम लोग ग्रेटक कर के पहले उस की हड्डियां तोड़ दें। इन का नामकरण बदला जायेगा, रक्षा मन्त्री नहीं बल्कि हमला मन्त्री, ऐग्रेशन मन्त्री, आक्रमण मिनिस्टर रहेगा तब देश बचेगा। अगर वार मिनिस्टर इन का नाम नहीं होगा तो मुल्क नहीं बचेगा। हम को तालीम दी है गीता माता ने: पुखिनः क्षत्रियाः पार्थ, लभन्ते युद्धमी दृशम्। जिनकी जातियां जगती हैं, जिन देशों का भाग्य चमकता है वह लोग वार करते हैं, वह लोग युद्ध में प्राते हैं।

जिस दिन पंचशील पर दस्तखत हो रहे थे मैं ने पंडित जी को रोका था। मैं ने कहा था कि पंचशील की आवश्यकता नहीं है। आज मिलिरी ट्रेनिंग की आवश्यकता है। मैं ने उसी वक्त कहा था कि आज जरूरत इस बात की है कि देश का बच्चा-बच्चा खाकी पहन कर निकले, फ़ौजी हो कर निकले, लेफ़्ट राइट कर के निकले और अपने कंधों के ऊपर राइफ़ न

लेते हुए निकले, देश की रक्षा करे। मैं ने उसी दिन कहा था :

“हूँसी तलवार की हम लोग उड़ायें न कभी, इस की अजुमत की सहादत गुरुगोविन्द ने दी, इस के साथे मैं है जन्नत, यह है फ़रमाने रसूल हकुकी नुसरत के लिये तेग़ अली की चमकी।”

मैं ने उसी दिन कहा था कि “पंचशील और अहिंसा के बयाबानों में कौम भटकी हुई प्यासी कहीं दम तोड़ न दे।” वही हुआ मर्द की मौत नामर्द के हाथ हुई और शेर की मौत गौदड़ के हाथ हुई।

आज जरूरत इस बात की है कि इन इकट्ठा हों और इकट्ठा हो कर यह पंचशील का मसला, यह रन आफ कच्छ का मसला और यह जो निगोशियेशन का मसला है, दूर करें और लहू का बदला लहू से हल होगा, जान का बदला जान से लिया जाएगा और देश के बदले देश लिया जाएगा।

SHRI NARENDRA SINGH MAHIDA (Anand) : Sri, I rise to support the demands of the Defence Ministry. I pay my tribute to those officers and jawans who have laid down their lives for the country. I am also proud of the performance of our beloved defence services. For the last seven years, they are defending our country from the world's most difficult terrain, extending to over a thousand miles a height ranging between 10,000 to 18,000 feet. At no time anywhere in the history of the world was there an army of lakhs of people standing in readiness at such heights and in such conditions. We should be proud of them and their performance and I want the House to pay a tribute to these jawans and officers who, even today, are behind the snow-covered hills, having all the discomforts that one can expect in this inhospitable region. I had the honour of visiting them two years ago and I was touched by their magnanimity. When we asked them whether they had any complaints, they said, no. That is the spirit. The army is the only best service today in the country.

[Shri Narendra Singh Mahida]

The soldiers of India are known throughout the centuries right from the time of Alexander till today. The other day I read a very interesting article by a Greek historian. He says that in BC 326, the Indian army was unrivalled even then. They were following a system which is just like our present system of company, battalion, regiment or division. They had the system of *Patti, Senamookh, Goolma, Gana, Vahini, Pratna, Chammu and Akshohini* consisting of infantry, cavalry and elephants. In the great battle of Mahabharata, when an army consisting of 18 *Akshohinis* took part, it consisted of 20,33,910 infantry, 12,20,346 cavalry, 4,06,782 elephants; in all 36,61,038. This is the record. We know the result of the great battle of Panipat. Even the victors had vanished. Even today that principle applies. During the last world war, even the allied armies which won the battles both in Germany and Japan had completely to feed Germany and Japan. This lesson is before the world and that is why we and some other countries of the world, knowing these warfares and their results, ask for peace - peace of the strong, not of the weak. For years henceforward, we are committed to increasing defence preparedness and high cost of spending. We shall have to go on manufacturing weapons and learn to use them properly and efficiently. The defence expenditure for 1970-71 is estimated at Rs. 1241.95 crores. There is an increase of Rs. 58.76 crores, over the last budget. This expenditure is about 4 per cent of the Gross National Product. I will quote the world figures. Countries spending 3.3 per cent and less are Austria, Belgium, Denmark, Finland, Italy, Luxemburg, Spain, Switzerland, Bulgaria, Hungary, Rumania, India, Indonesia, Japan, New Zealand, the Philippines, Thailand, South Africa and Canada. So, we are one of those few countries in the world which are spending the least. I am quoting this from *India in World Strategic Environment*. The defence expenditure *per capita* in India is the second lowest the lowest being in Indonesia. So, we should not say that we are spending more for our defence.

Let us see what is the task before us. We have yet to find ways and means to retrieve 41,000 sq. miles of Indian territory

illegally occupied by China. This august House has resolved that we shall regain our lost territory. That dream is yet to be fulfilled.

China is increasing its strength from year to year. According to *Military Balance 1969-70* by the Institute for Strategic Studies, London, the estimate of the strength of China is 3.3 million, an increase of 6 lakhs men over the estimate of last year. Her total naval strength has been estimated at 1,41,000 men and 969 vessels including 33 submarines. The total strength of Chinese Air Force is 1,80,000 men and 2,800 combat aircraft. Chinese para-military forces consist of 3,00,000 security and border troops and 7 million strong peoples' militia.

I am mentioning here the strength of China so that we can understand the position and prepare ourselves to face this enemy. Chinese have constructed a new jet air base near Shigatse, north of Chumb valley and they have extended the airfield at Pahari Dzong in Tibet at an altitude of 14,300 ft, near the Bhutan border. These airfields are within one hour's striking distance from "sensitive" targets in North and North eastern parts of our country. This is a threat to our security. Therefore, the demands of our Air Force should be given first priority. It is now officially confirmed that the Chinese have built a second link road of 75 miles, Mor Khun-Khunjerab Pass, connecting Pakistan occupied Kashmir (Gilgit) with Aksai Chin, our territory under Chinese occupation.

Our other neighbour, Pakistan, has received 200 tanks, 100 from NATO surplus stocks through a European country and 100 from the Soviet Union. 3 Daphne class submarines have also been acquired from France. Big powers, both USA and USSR, are re-assessing their policy towards Pakistan because of China's increasing ability to supply free arms.

Pakistan is also trying to increase its naval strength. USSR has been approached in this respect. It is proposed by Pakistan to build a naval base at the small port of Gwadar, in the Makran coast, 300 miles west of Karachi, in Persian Gulf. We cannot sit idle and watch the aggressive warfare acti-

vities and increase in equipments of our dangerous neighbours. We have to be self-reliant. I am glad to know of the progress made in defence production.

I have visited the Mazagon docks last year. We have launched one of the most modern warships, a world class frigate. Besides that, we are building destroyers, dredgers and passenger-cum-cargo ships of about 15,000 tons. We desire that the Mazagon dock should undertake ship repair work because between London and Tokyo there is no ship-repairing facilities and salvage facilities in any of the ports in between. The Defence Ministry should examine this operation of ship repair and salvage operation because that will give us an opportunity for earning of foreign exchange. There has been a report by the Committee on Public Undertakings 1968-69 I may draw the attention of the Minister to that: "The Committee are not aware of the reasons on account of which the Government had not treated the construction of minesweepers in the country for the first time as a development order."

Sir, I had the honour of visiting border roads two years back. I am glad the performance of border roads is excellent. We have sacrificed one man on every mile and the work of road construction is still going on. It will have to go on for years. There is need for civil defence which people around Delhi are not much aware of. In times of war how humble we look if we are not trained in civil defence. About NCC I want the Minister to pay more attention and encourage it more. About the re-employment of army officers I would like to say they are the best disciplined persons who should be given more opportunity. I request the Minister, and will keep on emphasising it for a memorial for unknown warriors at India Gate. I had the honour of visiting the hydrographic survey ship 'Darshak' and was impressed by the silent work conducted by Capt. Fraser in the gulf of Cambay. The encouragement given by this Ministry to mountaineering courses is also very praiseworthy. I fully support the demands of this Ministry.

SHRI SAMAR GUHA (Contai) : Sir, I will confine my speech only to the question of India's making nuclear weapons.

Just a few days ago our Defence Minister charged the Opposition Members with an exhibition of bravado in making brave statement in a light-hearted manner.

I would ask our stout-hearted Defence Minister a few simple but straight questions and request him for straight answers. Firstly, whether there is really a very serious risk in regard to India's defence from the nuclear threat of China? If so, whether any strategic or tactical nuclear attack by China can have a devastating effect on our defence within a few minutes? Thirdly, whether China with a limited objective and in a limited sector, with tactical nuclear weapons, can knock out our Himalyan defence measures within a very short time and effect a decisive victory in those areas and then backed by pro-Chinese political army inside the country-which is known all over the world as 5th column-can create military havoc as well as political havoc as we have seen in Cambodia and Vietnam?

I also want to know from the hon. Minister whether any nuclear, either strategic or tactical, attack on India by China will automatically lead to any international nuclear conflagration? I also want to know from the Defence Minister whether, in the event of any nuclear threat or nuclear attack, either strategic or tactical, by China, any super power, either singly or jointly, will come to the aid of India.

I know the answers. If the answer is "No" to these straight questions of mine it will be of the biggest dimension.

When I was talking about India developing nuclear weapon either strategic or tactical, I was not talking like a simpleton or a naive. I know its implications. The first Hiroshima bomb had a toll of 75,000 lives of innocent Japanese and 150,000 people were seriously injured. In the case of Nagasaki, the casualty was some what less due to its terrainous contour.

The first thermo-nuclear experiment, the crude device that was undertaken by U. S. A., of 15 Megatons capacity had the explosive power of more than the total explosive capacity used by all the countries

[Shri Samar Guha]

during the period of six years of the last war. One single thermo-nuclear blast of 15 Megaton capacity has the explosive power of more than the total explosive capacity used by all the powers during the entire period of the last war.

I have also an idea that in 3 minutes of full-fledged nuclear conflagration in the world, 30 crores of people will be finished. I also know that even a single thermo-nuclear blast of 15 Megaton can finish Delhi, Calcutta, London, Washington or any big city of the world, all the area within a radius of 28 miles.

It has also been calculated that 4 or 5/20-30 Megaton hydrogen bomb can completely finish France or U. K.

I ask one question, when the United Kingdom and also France have the assurance of the U. S. A., that in the event of any nuclear threat by Russia, they will have the full-fledged aid, complete aid, from the U. S. A., as regards retaliatory measure, knowing all this and also that the nuclear conflagration means annihilation, why still the United Kingdom and France have developed a nuclear deterrent? Why still the United Kingdom maintain 100 F-III type of aircraft as delivery measure of nuclear weapons? Why France have developed 40 Force de Frappe, a particular type of longrange bombers? Why have they done so? The reason is that the nuclear deterrent is the best way to safeguard the country against war, particularly, nuclear war, against any threat of any power and also to stabilise their relations and to have a balance of power with any country that may be inimical to them.

Another important question that I ask is whether there is any international guarantee that if India is attacked by China, I mean, if the aggression is of a nuclear type? There is no guarantee for India. In 1967, India had sent a mission both to Moscow and Washington just to sound them whether, in the event of any nuclear threat by China, either America or Russia will come to the aid of India. The response was nil, only a rebuff, only a suggestion was made lay these Super Powers that if

such a thing happens, then the U. S. A. will take the matter to the U. N. O. We know what happens when such matter is taken to the U. N. O. We know the case of Kashmir. We know the glaring example of Israel. Therefore, in the event of any nuclear attack by China, we have no defence except annihilation and the probability of being knocked out of our defence complex in the northern range to be followed by political complications that will be created by those pro-Chinese elements the exhibition of which we saw in the morning today.

Sir, I do not want to deal with strategic nuclear weapons. It is known to all of us that the development of strategic and tactical nuclear weapons have changed the very concept of strategy of war. The development of nuclear tactical weapons have completely upset the balance of conventional warfare, particularly, in tactical confrontation, and having its major effect on strategic aspect also. I am not arguing the case of strategic nuclear weapons. Let us take the case of tactical nuclear weapons. I mean nuclear cannons, nuclear mortars. It is known that the fire power or the explosive power of a nuclear cannon shot or nuclear mortar compared with the capacity of a conventional mortar or a conventional cannon shot is 1,0,000 to 50,000 times higher. Therefore, one can imagine what an amount of havoc one single nuclear cannon shot or a nuclear mortar shot would do to the whole range of our army placed in Nathu La or in some other similar valley or in some other Himalayan region like NEFA or Ladakh. I know that the development of strategic nuclear weapons involves huge cost, development of technology and also delivery system and also there is the question of time factor is also there to develop strategic nuclear weapons. I want to know what stands in the way of making tactical nuclear weapon. Our Minister has made a very brave statement this morning that nothing stands in the way of India's developing an independent nuclear power in regard to nuclear weapons also. I want a categorical answer from the Minister. Leave aside the issue of developing strategic weapons. That, I have already said involves huge cost. It involves a delivery system and other technological developments. What stands in

the way of the Government allowing our Defence scientists developing nuclear weapons ?

I want to develop the rationale particularly for the tactical nuclear weapons. Firstly, nuclear deterrence, and in the case of India tactical nuclear deterrence, is the best guarantee not to make war but to prevent war by China or Pakistan against India. Secondly, the existence of stockpile of even rudimentary tactical nuclear shots will inevitably change the expectation of both China and Pakistan and the balance of such psychological change will go in favour of India. Thirdly, tactical nuclear deterrence of India will stabilise Himalayan as well as Pakistani fronts and stop blackmailing against India by China or Pakistan. Fourthly, it will stop surprise incursions by China or Pakistan against Indian frontiers and match superiority of freedom of China to concentrate her army at places of its choice.

Fifthly, tactical nuclear deterrence by India will help to reduce our continued expenditure on expansion of conventional army and weapons. Sixthly, objectives of Non Proliferation Treaty will be effective and guarantee for retaliatory measure against India's nuclear adversary will be achieved more competitively. Seventhly, it will have a sobering effect on China and Pakistan regarding the mad race for expansion of defence expenditure and as also of conventional arms. Eighthly, the present illusion of spontaneous escalation of international conflagration in the event of Chinese strategic or tactical nuclear attack on India will turn into a reality to the benefit of India. Ninthly, it will increase the uncertainty of China regarding the consequences of nuclear adventure against India as regards probable retaliatory measures by the Super Powers. Tenthly, nuclear deterrence by India will make Pakistan realise that any military adventure against India with conventional weapons will prove suicidal for her. Eleventhly, India's prestige and image as an independent power will increase enabling her to play an effective role in the international balance of power to her advantage. And, lastly, the morale of the Indian army and people will increase immensely for an

effective defence of the national frontiers of our country.

If India developed nuclear deterrence, there would have been perhaps no such conflict as we saw in 1962 or 1965 with China or with Pakistan. Why France developed nuclear deterrent, I would like to quote what Gen. A. Beaufre of France, as he stated : He said :

"Disappearance of nuclear deterrence will be a frightful catastrophe for we would then lose the benefit of the stability created by Atom in our rapidly evolving world."

I want to ask the Minister, what stands in the way of India not making tactical nuclear weapons ? There is no question of cost being unmanageable. There is no question of begging of technological development; or lack of nuclear explosives. There is no question of know-how techniques. If the Minister says it is not possible, with all sense of responsibility, I will say, either he is misleading the House, or I will say what he says is—I will not say lie-untruth in this House.

The UNO experts have estimated the cost to be Rs. 1300 crores for development of 10 nuclear bombs without delivery system, for strategic weapons, that means, Rs. 130 crores every year. With a delivery system, they say it would be Rs. 4400 crores. This is according to the UN estimate. This has no relevance to conditions in India. The basis of their calculations does not apply to India even if you want to make strategic nuclear weapons. The UN Secretary General's report has said that any country in the world can make the Hiroshima type or Nagasaki type 10 nuclear crude bombs with only 2 million dollars. They did not use the word 'crude' but they said that any country can make such Hiroshima type bombs. 10 nuclear bombs can be made in India, even on the basis of the UNO report only with Rs. 1 crore. I have gone through the cost calculations, the cost of making tactical nuclear weapons.

The cost of making tactical nuclear weapons in Indian conditions should be calculated on the following basis:—

[Shri Samar Guha]

- (1) Explosives like plutonium or uranium 235 for making each bomb or nuclear shot for tactical nuclear weapon like nuclear cannon or mortar will be of the range between 5 to 8 k. g. as criticality of fission type tactical weapons are limited by its size.
- (2) India is the 7th advanced nuclear country in the world having developed all the technological preliminaries for making tactical nuclear weapons.
- (3) India has already developed the process of fabricating uranium required by reactors.
- (4) India has developed effectively electronic technology.
- (5) India is making enough moderator like heavy water and now exporting 65% of its production.
- (6) India has developed plutonium separation plant.
- (7) India has set up plutonium plant for stock pile of plutonium.
- (8) India has enough stock of plutonium for making a few dozens of tactical nuclear weapons at the moment.

15 hrs.

Sir, it will sound fantastic to many uninformed persons in this House, but, it is a fact that if the Government decides to make tactical weapons first, detonation of atomic device can be done by our Scientists within three months and at a cost of less than Rs. 25 lakhs if this test is made in a desert or in an island; if the test made is underground, the cost may be about Rs 50 lakhs. Within six months, Indian can produce a few dozens of tactical nuclear shots and every year it can be increased by a few dozens more. We have plutonium. What is required is efforts on our part to devise mechanical means to collect it and convert it into critical size, by chemical

explosives or electrical thrust. We have electronic arrangements; we have lead just to cover the shell of such atomic Device. When you have enough plutonium, enough lead electronics and other chemical and electrical apparatus, what is required is our efforts to spontaneously collect them and to convert them into critical sizes, for detonations of nuclear explosive.

Our Defence Minister is a brave man of Punjab being, born in a brave Sikh community. He has made so many assurances for giving pay and allowances and pensions and other benefits to INA and other army personnel. I charge the Minister that he has not done anything to introduce the military tradition and heritage of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose in the Indian Army. For the last three years, I have been demanding this. He being a brave man of Punjab and being a follower of the great Guru Gobind Singh, Ranjit Singh and other heroes of Punjab, I hope he would instal portraits of Netaji Subhas Bose in important places of Indian Army for the part he had played in the I. N. A. We rarely see such a military genius among the national heroes of our country. So far he has not done anything. This is my charge against him and I shall repeat it again I hope this time he will take steps to introduce the image of Netaji in the Indian Army.

SHRI S. M. BANERJEE (Kanpur) : Sir, before you call the Member, I would like to make one observation. That is about the last portion of what Shri Guha spoke.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : No, no.

SHRI S. M. BANERJEE : I am only saying that the last portion of what he said should not go to the press. This is a secret thing. If this goes out, other countries will start manufacturing them. So, let us keep that as secret.

श्री रघुवीर सिंह शास्त्री (बागपत) : उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, मुझ से पहले माननीय सदस्य, श्री यशपाल सिंह, ने रक्षा सम्बन्धी हमारी नीति के विषय में एक बहुत ही मूल्यवान संकेत दिया है। उन्होंने कहा है कि अब हमारे देश

से यह भावना निकल जानी चाहिए कि हम हमेशा रक्षा—डिफेंस—की दृष्टि से ही सोचते रहें, हमें आफेंस की दृष्टि से भी सोचना चाहिए। मैं समझता हूँ कि अब समय आ गया है कि जो देश किसी भी तरह से हमारे देश पर बुरी नज़र रखते हैं, उन को यह अनुभव हो जाना चाहिए कि अब भारत के लोग केवल प्रतिरक्षात्मक भावना से नहीं सोचते हैं, बल्कि समय आने पर और आवश्यकता पड़ने पर वे आक्रमण भी कर सकते हैं और उस के लिए वे तैयार हैं। जिस दिन उन देशों के दिलों में यह भावना घर कर जायेगी, उस दिन हम को उन के हौसले पस्त करने और उन को दुर्बल करने में सफलता मिलेगी।

देश की रक्षा केवल देश प्रेम और देश-भक्ति की भावना से सम्बन्धित है। जिन सैनिकों को हम यह कह कर युद्धस्थल पर भेजते हैं कि उन्हें देश के लिए—भारतमाता के लिए मरना है, अगर हम उन की इस भावना को समाप्त कर दें, तो हम उन को किस आधार पर मरने और अपना खून देने के लिए प्रपील कर सकेंगे? आज हमारे कुछ मित्रों ने चीन की तरफ से उपग्रह छोड़े जाने की चर्चा की। मैं इस बारे में केवल एक ही बात कहना चाहता हूँ कि इस देश के जो सैनिक दिसम्बर, जनवरी और फरवरी के कड़कते जाड़े में बर्फ में खड़े हो कर देश की सीमाओं की रक्षा कर रहे हैं, जो देश की रक्षा के लिए अपना खून बहाने के लिए तैयार हैं, जब उन के कानों तक यह बात पहुंचेगी कि देश में ऐसे लोग तैयार हो रहे हैं, जिन के मन में किसी एक देश के लिए साफ्ट कार्नर है, क्योंकि उस का सम्बन्ध किसी विशेष विचार—धारा के साथ है, चाहे वह हमारा शत्रु देश ही है, तो सबसे ज्यादा ठेस उन्हीं को पहुंचेगी।

उन के दिलों में यह बात पैदा हो सकती है कि यदि आज किसी विशेष विचार—धारा से सम्बन्धित होने के कारण किसी देश के द्वारा मिसाइल या उपग्रह छोड़ने पर उस को बर्बाद

दने की बात कही जाती है, तो एक दिन किन्हीं विदेशी सेनाओं के स्वागत की भी बात कही जायेगी, क्योंकि वे एक विशेष विचार—धारा के नाम पर इस देश में आती हैं। हमारे देश की जनता और हमारे सैनिकों के दिलों में यह बात नहीं आनी चाहिए कि अगर फ्री एन्टर-प्राइज़ में विश्वास करने वाले किसी देश की सेनायें हमारे देश पर आक्रमण करेंगी, तो उस विचार—धारा में विश्वास करने वाले हमारे देश के कुछ लोग उन का स्वागत करेंगे अथवा अगर कम्युनिस्ट विचार—धारा में विश्वास करने वाले किसी देश की सेनायें हम पर आक्रमण करेंगी, तो हमारे देश के कम्युनिस्ट उन का स्वागत करने के लिए तैयार होंगे। मैं समझता हूँ कि देश के लिए इस से घातक भावना और कोई नहीं हो सकती है। इस भावना के पनपने पर हम अपने सैनिकों के साहस और मनोबल को बनाए रखने की प्रथा नहीं कर सकते हैं।

आज हमें देश के अन्दर और बाहर जो चुनौतियाँ मिल रही हैं, उन का सामना करने के लिए हमें तैयार रहना चाहिए। प्रतिरक्षा मंत्रालय की रिपोर्ट में कहा गया है कि पाकिस्तान अधिकृत काश्मीर में मोरखुन से हुन्जराब तक एक सड़क चीनियों द्वारा बनाई जा रही है। वह सड़क पाकिस्तान की सेनाओं के भी काम आयेगी और चीनी सेनायें भी उस सड़क से तिब्बत में अपना सामान पहुंचा सकेंगी। इस रिपोर्ट में यह भी लिखा है कि पश्चिमी तिब्बत में डेढ़ लाख के करीब चीनी फौज जमा है और चीन वहाँ पर और भी बड़ी तादाद में फौज जमा कर सकता है। अगर चीन ने पाकिस्तान अधिकृत काश्मीर के साथ सम्पर्क स्थापित कर के अपना प्रभाव वहाँ पर जमा लिया और अपने सैनिकों को वहाँ खड़ा कर दिया तो हमारे देश के लिए एक बड़ा खतरा पैदा हो जायेगा। पाकिस्तान के द्वारा भी तथा—कथित आज़ाद काश्मीर में जो फौजी तैयारी हो रही है, हमें उस की ओर ध्यान नहीं मोचनी चाहिए, बल्कि उस का मुकाबला करने के लिए ठोस उपाय सोचने चाहिए।

[श्री रघुवीर सिंह शास्त्री]

परमाणु बम के निर्माण के बारे में तरह तरह की युक्तियां दी जाती हैं। अगर हम अपने देश का इतिहास उठा कर देखें, तो पता लगेगा कि चाहे मुस्लिम आक्रान्ताओं से और चाहे अंग्रेज आक्रान्ताओं से जब जब हमारे देश की सेनायें हारी हैं, तो उस का एक मुख्य कारण यह रहा है कि आक्रमणकारी सेनाओं के मुकाबले में हमारे हथियार घटिया थे। अगर उस विडम्बना और उस दुर्भाग्य से अब भी हमारे देश को मुक्ति न मिली, तो कहीं अपने वाले इतिहासकार को यह न कहना पड़े कि ~~हिन्दुस्तान~~ के राजनीतिज्ञों ने वही भूल की, जो कि उद के पूर्वजों द्वारा हुई थी और इस देश के हथियार विदेशों की तुलना में ~~घटिया~~ थे।

अगर कोई आदमी कहता है कि मैं छुरे से लड़ सकता हूँ, लेकिन तलवार तो बड़ा हथियार है, उस से नहीं लड़ना चाहिए, तो वह एक हास्यास्पद बात समझी जायेगी। या तो वह कहे कि छुरे से भी नहीं लड़ना है, लेकिन अगर उस से छुरे का प्रयोग करना है, तो फिर तलवार से क्या छुरे है? हथियार क्या अच्छा और क्या बुरा? वह तो दूसरे को मारने के लिए है। जिसके पास बढ़िया हथियार होना, वह जल्दी दूसरे के हौसले को तोड़ सकेगा। अगर हथियार में भी यह छोट की जाने लगी कि फला को मारने वाला हथियार है और फला ज्यादा मारने वाला हथियार है, तो फिर देश का क्या होगा? इस समय देश में जो चिन्ता व्याप्त है, जो खलबली और सनसनी मची हुई है, उस को समाप्त करने के लिए और देश की जनता के मोराल और मनोबल को ऊँचा रखने के लिए लोगों को यह विश्वास दिलाना होगा कि हमारे यहां अपने पड़ोसी देशों के मुकाबले में बढ़िया हथियार तैयार किये जा रहे हैं और हमारी सेनाओं के पास अन्य सेनाओं की तुलना में उच्च कोटि के, सुपीरियर, अधिक प्रभावशाली और अधिक संहारक शस्त्रास्त्र होंगे।

सरकार द्वारा समाजवाद का नारा लगाया जाता है। लेकिन समाजवाद की भावना और भाषा फ़ौज में भी पहुंचनी चाहिए। आज हमारी फ़ौज में बड़ा भारी भेद-भाव पैदा हो रहा है। वहां पर एक श्रेणी अफ़सरों की है और दूसरी श्रेणी सैनिकों की। जिस तरह सिविलियन अफ़सर अपने चपरसिधों से बागीचे और रसोई आदि में काम कराते हैं, वह उन से अपने बच्चों को भी खिलाते हैं। यही सब काम सेना के अफ़सर सैनिकों से करवाते हैं। उनके साथ मजदूरों जैसा बर्ताव करते हैं। यह भावना समाप्त होनी चाहिए और सैनिक और अफ़सर दोनों के दिलों में यह भावना पैदा होनी चाहिए कि हम में आपस में एक भाईचारा है, हम एक देश के नागरिक हैं, हम एक मातृभूमि की संतान हैं, हम एक ही मातृभूमि के बचाव के लिए ब्रत ले कर यहां आए हैं, यह भावना, समाजवाद की भावना मिलिटरी में भी ले जानी होगी और पुरानी अंग्रेजी जमाने से चली आ रही जो साम्राज्यवादी भावना है, जो ऊँच नीच की भावना है, उसे जल्द से जल्द खत्म करना होगा।

एक बात और कहना चाहता हूँ भाषा के संबंध में। अगर आप चाहते हैं कि इस देश के नवयुवक, इस देश की जनता, इस देश के सपूत सेना में आएँ तो उस के लिए आप को यह करना होगा कि जो विदेशी भाषा का स्टैंडर्ड आप ने रखा हुआ है उस को हटा कर जो इस देश की भाषा जानते हैं, जो देश की भाषा बोलते हैं, चाहे हिन्दी हो, चाहे तमिल हो, चाहे तेलगू हो, कोई भाषा हो, किसी एक भाषा के लिए मुझे आग्रह नहीं है, परन्तु आप ने जो अंग्रेजी भाषा को प्राधान्य दिया हुआ है यह हमारे लिए बड़ा लज्जाजनक है और हमारे युवकों के लिए सेना में पहुंचने के लिए, ऊँचे पदों पर जाने के लिए बड़ा बाधक है, इस बाधा को भी समाप्त करना चाहिए और आप को देशी भाषाओं को महत्व देना चाहिए, हिन्दी को महत्व देना चाहिए क्योंकि हिन्दी वैधानिक रूप से देश की राजकीय भाषा है। आज जो आप

ने कर रखा है कि जो बढ़िया अंग्रेजी बोलेगा, बढ़िया टाई बाचेगा, जो बढ़िया कोट पहनेगा, जो बढ़िया बाल बनाएगा, जो बढ़िया स्कूल से पढ़ कर आएगा वह कमीशन्ड आफिसर बनेगा, अगर यही प्रवृत्ति रही तो हमारे देश के जनमानस के ऊपर इस की बड़ी घोर प्रतिक्रिया होगी और देश का सैनिक और किसान यह समझेंगे कि सेना के ऊँचे पदों के दरवाजे हमारे लिए बन्द किए जा रहे हैं और कुछ थोड़े से लोगों के लिए ही यह दरवाजे खुले हुए हैं। इन शब्दों के साथ मैं यह आशा करता हूँ कि समय के साथ आप इस ढाँचे में भी उचित परिवर्तन करेंगे।

SHRI INDER J. MALHOTRA (Jammu): As usual, our Defence debate has been dominated by two main points, on which last year also a lot of emphasis was laid in this House. One is the manufacture of nuclear bombs and weapons, and the other general defence preparedness of the country.

I am a little surprised that every year, whenever any statement is made regarding our Defence policy, I hardly find any change in the general approach or in the basic reasons for maintaining this kind of defence policy. What is required is that we should be so alert and so prepared, and sufficient information and material should be available with us with regard to the changing situation in those countries with whom we have got unfriendly relations, China and Pakistan who have illegally occupied our areas, that what happens in those countries must have an impact and reflection on our defence policy.

Since last year what has happened in Pakistan, especially in the Pakistan-occupied area of Jammu and Kashmir, is a matter of great concern to us. In the annual review of the Institute for Defence Studies and Analyses, I think they have made a fairly good study and they have given us very significant information. In the chapter on China it is said, I am quoting :

"Two significant developments in Sino-Pakistani relations during 1969

were (i) the reopening of the 418-mile trade route (the historic Silk Road linking Kashgar in Sinkiang with Gilgit in Pak-occupied Kashmir through the Mintaka Pass), in August, and (ii) the construction of a new 70-mile lateral road connecting Morkhun in occupied Kashmir with the 16,000 feet high Khunjerab Pass on the Kashmir-Sinkiang border. Some 12,000 Chinese PLA men were reported to have been inducted into Kashmir to construct the latter road, which links two other strategic roads—the Aksai Chin and the Gilgit-Kashgar roads."

Apart from all these, there have been reports recently that some Chinese trained Pakistani personnel have come into Pakistani occupied area. An organisation by the name of Alburk is functioning there to make another attempt at infiltration into Jammu and Kashmir State and carry out sabotage activities. When I brought this up about six months ago to the notice of the Defence Minister, he said that he was not aware of what was happening about this road. This is what has been done in that area with Chinese help. In this very area a railway link is being established between Dehra Gazi Khan and occupied Kashmir at an estimated cost of Rs 100 million and it will be completed in May 1971. On our side for the last ten years we had been stressing on the Central Government the need to connect by rail Pathankot with Jammu. After ten years that work has started. Look at Pakistan. They will start and finish their railway line by May 1971. With improved rail and road communications, certainly Pakistan gets into a position of advantage in regard to military planning and strategy. There have been certain developments of significance both in China and Pakistan which should have had their impact on our defence and made them reflect about our defence policy. We have not given serious thought to this problem. Instead we have a debate whether we should manufacture nuclear weapons or not. This country must be told the exact position of our defence preparedness and where we are lacking. If we lack planes, we should get planes from whichever source we can get. It is a fact that Pakistan is increasing its military strength. China is already ahead

[Shri Inder J. Malhotra]

of us. It is no use saying that we shall get back the area occupied by China and Pakistan. What is our practical policy? As far as Pakistani occupied area is concerned, what is their specific proposal to get that area back? If they are not in a position to clear that area, they must adopt a realistic policy and see if the dispute could be settled with Pakistan by some kind of agreement. When I say this, there is danger of collusion between Pakistan and China and the threat is growing.

In this connection, I should like to pay my high tribute to the officers and jawans of the three Services. Recently the Defence Consultative Committee group visited Ladakh and other forward areas in Jammu and Kashmir. I am proud to say that at those great heights under unfavourable weather conditions and other difficulties their morale was very high and they expect from us that whatever minimum needs they require by way of equipment and other materials must be given in time in enough quantities. There is a specific problem as far as the Jawans posted in Ladakh are concerned. I was really surprised to learn that civilians who are posted by the State Government and the Central Government get twice as much as the jawans by way of allowances for being posted at high altitudes.

Sir, previously also we had brought this to the notice of the hon. Minister, and I would again like to emphasise that we should give first priority to this kind of programme, namely, to see that not only in the matter of emoluments but whatever other facilities and amenities our jawans require for being a better-equipped fighting men, they should be given to them.

As long as there is hostility between India and Pakistan, we the people of Jammu and Kashmir will always have the border problems. As I mentioned earlier, not only in the Gilgit area, but things have come to our notice that even in Poonch and other Pakistan occupied areas great sabotage activities for infiltration are going on. What I would like to emphasise upon the hon. Minister is that as far as the State of Jammu and Kashmir's border rehabilitation problems are concerned, the Central Govern-

ment must give financial help to the State Government for the resettlement of ex-servicemen on the borders wherever it is possible. We will derive two advantages from this kind of programme. One is that there will be a proper resettlement of the ex-servicemen, and the other is that our borders, from the civilian point of view, will also become strong and the army will have the need to face less problems.

We have also been emphasising over and over again that as far as the army intelligence and other intelligence is concerned, there have been instances in the past, of failure of the intelligence agencies. Keeping in view the gravest threat which we are now facing from Pakistan and China, I would like to emphasise upon the hon. Minister that he should see that whatever is required to strengthen our intelligence agencies, whether it is the army or other agencies, it should be done, so that we should always have proper and sufficient information to finalise our defence preparedness and to be in a better position to face the threat from Pakistan and China.

श्री अर्जुन सिंह भदौरिया (इटावा) :
उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, जिस प्रकार से शरीर के अन्दर दो अंग हैं, एक आक्रमण से रक्षा के लिये और दूसरा आवश्यकता पड़ने पर आक्रमण करने के लिए, जिस तरह से शरीर के दो वायू-नायके और दायें हैं, उसी तरह से देश के लिए भी दो अंग होते हैं—एक प्रतिरक्षा नीति और दूसरी विदेश नीति। सबसे पहले मैं विदेश नीति के सम्बन्ध में थोड़ी सी चर्चा करना पसन्द करूंगा। अभी इसी सदन में भू-उपग्रह की कुछ चर्चा हुई—डा० लोहिया ने इसी सदन में एक अविश्वास प्रस्ताव पर बोलते हुए कहा था कि नेहरू साहब की चीन के संयुक्त राष्ट्र संघ में प्रवेश की वकालत, भारत पर चीनी आक्रमण के बाद, उसी प्रकार है, जिस प्रकार कोई पुत्र अपनी मां के साथ बलात्कार करने वाले के साथ अपनी मां की शादी का प्रस्ताव उपस्थित करे। उपाध्यक्ष जी, आज उसी प्रकार इस सदन में चीन के भू-उपग्रह छोड़ने पर यथाई देने का प्रस्ताव आया, जब कि उस ने

भारत की हजारों वर्ग मील भूमि पर जबरन कब्जा किया हुआ है। यह उसी समान है जिस प्रकार कोई नालायक लड़का अपनी मां के साथ बलात्कार करने वाले की दुष्टता को बधाई दे और यदि उस बलात्कार के कारण गर्भाधान के पश्चात् कोई सन्तान हो जाय तो यह भी कहे कि उस के एक भाई ने और जन्म लिया है। विदेश नीति के सम्बन्ध में मुझे अभी इतना ही कहना है।

प्रतिरक्षा के दो अंग—विदेश नीति और प्रतिरक्षा नीति ये दोनों एक साथ जुड़ी हुई हैं। इस लिए यदि मैं प्रतिरक्षा की चर्चा करते हुए कहीं विदेश नीति की चर्चा करूँ तो उसे विषयान्तर न समझा जाय। आखिर मुल्क की शक्ति क्या है? मुल्क की शक्ति उस की आवादी नहीं है, मुल्क की शक्ति उस के बड़े हथियार नहीं हैं, सही अर्थों में मुल्क की सच्ची शक्ति उस की जनता है, उस के जवान हैं। जनता में कठोर इच्छा शक्ति और जवानों में दृढ़ अनुशासन के साथ देश की रक्षा के लिये बलिदान की संकल्प हो। और जरूरत पड़ने पर उनके अन्दर देश पर मर-मिटने की बलिदान की भावना हो। ये भावनाएँ ही किसी मुल्क को जिन्दा रखती हैं और इन के अभाव में वह मुल्क मुर्दा हो जाता है। उपाध्यक्ष जी, मैं आप की मारफत अपने प्रतिरक्षा मन्त्री जी से निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ—अगर आपको इस मुल्क को मजबूत करना है तो फिर इस देश की जनता और उस के जवानों के मनोबल को ऊँचा करना होगा। अगर जनता और जवानों का मनोबल ऊँचा हुआ तो चीन, रूस या अमरीका लाखों उपग्रह तैयार करें, वे हमारे हिन्दुस्तान का एक बाल भी बाँका नहीं कर सकते। यह हिन्दुस्तान गांधी का देश है, जब इस देश की जनता के पास एक भी हथियार नहीं था, हमने अंग्रेजों को ठोकर मार कर सात समुद्र दूर फेंका था। इस लिये न चीनियों से, न चीनियों के बड़े भाई रूस से और न इन दोनों के दोस्त वाशिंगटन से कोई खतरा है। लेकिन हमको खतरा अपने देश की दिशाभ्रम नीति से है। इस लिये

मैं चाहता हूँ कि हम अपने देश की जनता और जवानों का मनोबल ऊँचा करें।

हमारे प्रतिरक्षा मन्त्री और साथ ही साथ कुछ शासक दल के लोग पूछेंगे कि वह कौन सी चीज है जिससे जनता का मनोबल ऊँचा हो सकता है? मैं निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि हिन्दुस्तान के वे जवान जो 14-14 हजार फुट की ऊँचाई पर चुशूल में, लद्दाख में, उर्वशीयम में—उर्वशीयम हिन्दुस्तान का वह इलाक है, जिसकी डलहोजी और डायर की घोलियों ने नेफा कहना शुरू किया था और आज 23 वर्ष के बाद भी हमने उस क्षेत्र को उर्वशीयम कहना शुरू नहीं किया है। नेफा अंग्रेजी का शब्द है, यह हिन्दुस्तान का शब्द नहीं हो सकता है, सही मायनों में उसे उर्वशीयम ही कहा जाना चाहिए। अगर हम अपने देश की स्वतन्त्रता की रक्षा करना चाहते हैं तो हमको अपने देश की जनता और जवानों की मां की कटी हुई जीभ को जोड़ने की कोशिश करना होगी।

सवाल यह चल रहा था कि मनोबल कैसे ऊँचा हो? मैंने अर्ज किया जो जवान टाई मन बोझ अपने कंधों पर लाद कर पांच हजार फुट ऊपर जाता है और फिर पांच हजार फुट नीचे आता है, अगर उन के मन के अन्दर यह भावना पैदा कर दें कि सीमा की सुरक्षा के लिए लड़ते लड़ते यदि वह अपनी जिन्दगी गंवा दे, देश की आजादी की रक्षा करते हुए यदि वह अपनी जिन्दगी बलिदान कर दे, तो उसकी बीबी, उस की प्यारी मां को उस के नन्हें-मुन्ने बच्चों के लिए भीख का कटोरा हाथ में ले कर भिखारी के रूप में दर-दर नहीं घूमना पड़ेगा—मेरा सुझाव है कि इस के लिए प्रतिरक्षा मन्त्री अपने वजट के अन्दर विभागीय कम्पलसरी इन्वोर्सेंस कायम करें। विभागीय बीमा यदि हो तो फिर उन जवानों के मन में एक आस्था होगी कि उन के मरने के बाद उन के परिवार को कुछ मिलेगा, उन के परिवार को भूखा नहीं मरना पड़ेगा। त्रायद प्रतिरक्षा मन्त्री जी यह सोचते हों कि जो वे 50 ए० में एक सिर

[श्री अर्जुन सिंह भदौरिया]

खरीदते हैं, उसी वेतन में से 10 रु० महीने उसके बीमे के लिए काट लेंगे— यह नहीं चलेगा बल्कि जिस दिन से कोई भी जवान रेक्यूट हो, जिस दिन से कोई भी अफसर किसी भी सैनिक विद्यालय या एन० डी० सी० में भरती हो, जिस दिन से उस को कमीशन मिले या रेक्यूटिंग के बाद सिपाही बनाया जाय, उसी दिन से उस का कम्पलसरी बीमा विभाग की तरफ से बीमा होना चाहिए और जिस दिन वह सीमा पर लड़ते लड़ते मारा जाय, उस जवान के परिवार को कम से कम 20—25 हजार रुपया मिलना चाहिये, जिस से उस की बीबी और बच्चे भूखे न मरे, उस की बूढ़ी मां की परवरिश हो सके, उन का गुजारा हो सके। इसी सवाल को लेकर संसोधायक सन् 1948 से लड़ती चली आ रही है, हम ने अपने सम्मेलन में प्रस्ताव पास किये और इसी सवाल को लेकर 1958—59 में मुझे इस सदन से सशरीर बाहर निकाला गया था। तब हमने पूछा था कि हमारी सीमाओं पर जो दुमुंठ बज रहा है, अक्सर चीन में जो सड़कें बन रही हैं, जो हमारी सीमाओं को जोड़ती चली जा रही हैं—उस समय तत्कालीन प्रधान मन्त्री ने कहा था कि सदन के अन्दर कुछ ऐसे भी सदस्य हैं जो हमारे गड़ौसी दोस्तों से दुश्मनी करना चाहते हैं ...

श्री जनेश्वर मिश्र (फूलपुर) : वह प्रधान मन्त्री कौन थे ?

श्री अर्जुन सिंह भदौरिया 1958—59 में कौन प्रधान मन्त्री थे, जनेश्वर जी आप उन्हें जानते हैं। आप उन्हीं के क्षेत्र से जीत कर यहाँ आये है, इसलिए आप उन से परिचित होंगे, नाम लेने की जरूरत नहीं है। सर्व प्रथम तो मैं आपसे कम्पलसरी विभागीय बीमा के सम्बन्ध में निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ।

मेरा दूसरा निवेदन यह है कि उन जवानों को बेरोजगारी से मुक्त करना होगा। 18 साल की किशोरावस्था में जवान फौज में भर्ती

होता है उसको पांच साल के बाद आप सेवा मुक्त कर देते हैं। जब उस पर जवानी आती है तब आप उसे सेवा मुक्त कर देते हैं। अभी कहा गया था कि हम तो उसे रिजर्व फोर्स में रखते हैं। रिजर्व फोर्स का मतलब है पांच वर्ष। पांच वर्ष का मतलब है 60 महीने। 60 महीने में 55 महीने उसे भूखा मरना पड़ता है और पांच महीने उसे वेतन मिलता है। तो 55 महीने में 5 महीने वेतन पाने वाला जवान कभी भी अपने देश के प्रति निष्ठावान नहीं हो सकता है। इस लिए प्रतिरक्षा मन्त्री को मेरा सुझाव है कि अगर वे चाहते हैं कि देश मजबूत हो और चीनी, रूसियों और खासकर अमरीका दोस्त पाकिस्तान से हम अपने सीमाओं की रक्षा कर सकें तो वह जवान जो कि पांच सात साल के अन्दर सेवा से मुक्त हों उन सारे के सारे लोगों को आप पुलिस में लीजिये। आज पुलिस में कितना भ्रष्टाचार और निकम्मापन है लेकिन अगर देश के उन जवानों को आप पुलिस में रिट्रेस कर देंगे तो यह निकम्मी पुलिस भी समाप्त हो जायेगी और देश के जवानों का मनोबल भी बढ़ेगा और फिर दूसरे अच्छे संसदीय मुत्कों की पुलिस की तरह से हमारी पुलिस भी बाँ जायेगी।

तीसरी चीज़ यह है कि इस देश का 95 फीसदी खजाना जमीन में गड़ा हुआ है जिसको कभी खोदने या निकालने की कोशिश नहीं की जाती है। वह खजाना है समाज का पिछड़ा हुआ वर्ग। इस देश की सेना में समाज में पिछड़े हुए लोगों, हरिजन, दूध इत्यादि को कभी नहीं लिया जाता है। लिया भी जाता है तो उनकी क्या दशा होती है ? इसलिए मैं मन्त्री महोदय से कहना चाहता हूँ कि अगर आप चाहते हैं कि सेना के जवानों का सम्मान बढ़े तो उनका सम्मान सेना में ही नहीं बल्कि घर पहुँचाने पर भी उनका सम्मान गांव गली में भी बढ़ाया जाये। ... (व्यवधान) ...

मैं यह निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि मैं ने अपने यहां के एक हरिजन जवान, नायक दिल-

सुख के बारे में जनरल मानेकशाह को चिट्ठी लिखी थी :

" Right from your taking over as Chief of the Army Staff, our defence jawans have become assured of their families, welfare, as added by some of the soldiers. Taking into consideration the fact I wish to invite your attention to an instance wherein a soldier of my Constituency (Bakewar-Etawah-UP) has been badly victimised and beaten by the local civil police of Bakewar Police Station and his licensed gun was snatched from his legal possession in the alleged name of law and order..."

चूंकि वह हरिजन था इसलिए उसको पीटा गया और उसकी बन्दूक का लाइसेंस पुलिस द्वारा ले लिया गया। इसका जवाब जनरल मानेकशाह की तरफ से यह भ्राया :

* Dear Mr. Bhadauria,

I am in receipt of your letter of 23 Februy 70, for which I thank you.

I am having the necessary investigations made and will let you know the results later. I appreciate very much the concern and sympathy you have displayed over this case.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
SHPJ Manekshaw"

मैं यह निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि समाज का पिछड़ा हुआ अंग जो कि गांव से जाकर फौज में भर्ती होता है वह जब गांव में टोपी और कलफदार वुशर्ट पहनकर घूमता है तो गांव की बड़ी कौमि उसे पसन्द नहीं करती है।.... (व्यवधान)... सुभावों के भलावा मुझे अभी और भी बहुत कुछ कहना है। हवाई अड्डा सरगोधा के बारे में कहना है। एक तरफ तो गुजरात के मुख्य मंत्री को पाकिस्तान के हवाई जहाज से मारा गया जो कि इन्टरनेशनल ला के बिल्कुल खिलाफ था। हमारे स्क्वाडरन

लीडर श्री नरेन्द्र कुमार मलिक पाइलट ग्रान ड्यूटी थे, जिसने सरगोधा पेशावर के पास पाकिस्तान के सबसे बड़े राडार को तोड़ा उसका कोई सम्मान नहीं किया गया बल्कि उल्टे उस पर अतुशासनहीनता की कार्यवाही की गई। इसलिए मैं इस सरकार की प्रतिरक्षा नीति के लिए और कोई कठोर शब्द इस्तेमाल न करके, सिर्फ सादा शब्द इस्तेमाल करना चाहता हूँ कि इससे ज्यादा दुर्बल नीति और ज्यादा हो सकती है। इसलिए मेरा मुभाव है कि स्वर्गीय नरेन्द्र कुमार मलिक, स्क्वाडरन लीडर को, यदि परमवीर चक्र से भी कोई बड़ा चक्र हो तो वह दिया जाना चाहिये। (व्यवधान).... जामनगर फोटों में फोटो लेने वाले और इस देश के साथ देशद्रोहिता करने वाले को जिसने पकड़ा उसको कोई पुरस्कार नहीं दिया गया बल्कि उससे यह कहा गया कि आपने यह सब क्यों किया? इसलिए सेना के जिस अधिकारी ने जासूसी की और फोटो लिए उसको दंड मिलना चाहिए। जामनगर में इन्डियन नैबल बेस है वहां पर मालगाड़ी से फौज का बड़ा बड़ा सामान बम्बई भेजा जा रहा था। जान बूझ कर उस गाड़ी को धीरे धीरे चलाया गया। जिन लोगों ने इसकी सूचना दी उन सूचना देने वाले लोगों को कोई पुरस्कार नहीं दिया गया। जिन लोगों ने उस सामान, गोला बारूद को पाकिस्तानियों से नष्ट कराने की कोशिश की उनको कोई दण्ड देने की कोशिश नहीं की गई।.... (व्यवधान)....

इसके साथ साथ मुझे सैद्धांतिक निवेदन यह करना है कि प्रतिरक्षा और विदेश नीति एक ही सिक्के के दो पहलू हैं। अब हमें इन दोनों को ही दृष्टि में रख कर देश की प्रतिरक्षा पर विचार करना है।

देश की प्रतिरक्षा की सफलताओं या असफलताओं की दो कसौटियां हो सकती हैं।

प्रथम-प्राधुनिक
द्वितीय-प्राचीन

[श्री अर्जुन सिंह भदौरिया]

किसी भी देश की प्रतिरक्षा को आधुनिक कसौटी पर कसने से देश तभी खरा उतर सकता है। जहाँ पर आधुनिक से आधुनिक अस्त्र-शस्त्र हों, वहाँ पर दूरमारक मिसायल प्रक्षेप्यास्त्र अणु और परमाणु आयुध का भारी जखीरा हो। जहाँ की जल और नभ सेनायें भी परमाणु आयुधों से सुसज्जित हों।

द्वितीय, आधुनिक कसौटी पर वही देश खरा उतर सकता है, जहाँ सैन्य बल से अधिक प्रभावशाली शोध, जासूसी विभाग और उस गुप्तचर विभाग में शत्रु देश के भी विश्वस्त सदस्य हों। जहाँ पर शोध कार्य नहीं है, वहाँ आज का आधुनिक देश कल पिछड़ा बन जाता है।

द्वितीय, प्राचीन तैमाने को आचार्य कौटिल्य के आधार पर, आचार्य ने तीन कसौटियाँ बताई हैं।

प्रथम—उत्साह शक्ति,
द्वितीय—प्रभाव शक्ति,
तृतीय—मंत्र शक्ति।

उत्साह शक्ति राज्य की वह शक्ति है जो राजा के व्यक्तिगत गुण से उत्पन्न हो, राजा की जो शक्ति कोष और सेना से प्राप्त हो, वह प्रभाव शक्ति है।

श्री राम सेवक यादव (वाराणसी) : इनके मुद्दाओं को ले लिया जाये।

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : He may pass it on to the hon. Minister.

SHRIMATI SHARDA MUKERJEE (Ratnagiri) : Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, this morning we had a tumultuous discussion on the Chinese launching an earth satellite. I do not want to draw the attention of the House to the same question again but I do want to say this that no longer can India

afford to ignore this and ignore the fact that in the official communique issued by the Chinese Government there is a call to the Chinese people that they prepare for war. But in the midst of these developments it is surprising the Ministry has presented the same sort of report with garbled platitudes and out-dated cliches.

15.40 hrs.

[SHRI SHRI CHAND GOYAL in the Chair.]

Without being emotional or anything about it, let us try to assess the problem. Let us try to assess it in relation to our national strategy. The immediate problem that the country faces is an invisible and chronic state of war of attrition on our borders. Along with that, there is an added question of aided insurrectionists getting support from China and Pakistan. Each day, these aided insurrectionists are gaining strength. It is thought that due to the present pre-occupation of China and Pakistan, there is no immediate and imminent threat of war or of large-scale hostilities on our frontiers.

What is the long-term problem? The long-term problem is this that there is the proximity of two very powerful nations on our borders, the U. S. S. R. and China. The U. S. S. R. is already a super-power and China shows the potential of becoming one in the next decade. So, whether you like it or not, there is no escape from the fact that in the foreseeable future, Asia will be the centre of world tension as Europe was in the 30s. In these days, it was Hitler and the rise of dictators which created this situation. Today, we face the expansionist policies of China and also the fact that both the U. S. S. R. and the U. S. A. are seeking to have an appreciable control over economic and political sphere in this part of the world which has more than half the world's total population. Therefore, the decision-makers of India have before them the choice of making India the path-finder of peace and stability in Asia. And this they can do by having a determined national policy and also by realising the fact that non-alignment need not mean a total abdication of their responsibility.

Such a policy the people of India will understand and will support India must also generate conviction in its policy in the international world by suitable action. It is not enough for India to say that she is non-aligned. This must be matched by suitable actions. For instance, in 1965, did we not support Malaysia? But somehow we seem to be inclining towards a very contradictory policy. For example, I could not understand the policy of the Government in welcoming or in showing an inclination to support the P. R. G. It is not only the Government but the country does not know which way the Government want to go.

SHRI RANJEET SINGH (Khalilabad) : It is the Government which does not know which way they should go.

SHRIMATI SHARDA MUKERJEE : In the alternative either they take the direct method or they can decide to play a negative role and choose to be led by the super powers. It matters little which is the super power which leads our country by the nose the USA or the Soviet Union, because the aims and objectives of any super power are the same. Let the Government then stand by known and declared policies and principles and the country will either approve of those policies and support them and go along with them or the country may disapprove and decide to throw them out. But this opportunism, both in their internal and external policies, will carry no conviction either here or abroad. Opportunism is, I think, the greatest threat to our country. What do we see in the report of the Ministry. On the very first page regarding China it says :

"It will be our effort to keep our doors open."

SHRI RANJEET SINGH : Not to their troops I hope, Sardar Sahib.

SHRIMATI SHARDA MUKERJEE : This open door policy of the Government to welcome all explains the immobility and inaction of our forces when they are confronted by insurrectionists on our borders. I won't call them guerillas. I don't think they show any sustained effort. They are just insurrectionists. Why is it that when

you have the entire army concentrated on your borders you are not able to control a handful of these insurrectionists? Does the Government believe that India can hope to reach accommodation with China? If the Government believe so, let the Government come out and say so. It has been proved that if the Soviet Union had to choose in a conflict between China and India, the chances are that the Soviet Union could not afford to oppose China. This is the fact of the case. Soviet Union could not afford to oppose China. On the other hand, I visualise that in future, the two sister countries' Pakistan and India, will learn to live together because there will be no peace, security or progress in this part of the world unless we learn to live in peace with each other. Have not the countries of Europe learnt to do this? Have France and Germany, after fighting their bitter, acrimonious and destructive war, not learnt to live together?

AN HON MEMBER : They are more sensible.

SHRIMATI SHARDA MUKERJEE : In this not the only policy is this not the only path that the Government of India will have to adopt? If India wants internal peace and security, I am afraid, she must learn to choose which enemy she will have to confront and with which enemy she could learn to come to terms. But we do not know today and this report gives no clue whatsoever. If we do not know it, do you think the armed forces know it. What exactly is the chaster to the Armed forces? That is what one would like to know. Let us try and make an analysis of the defence expenditure. On the revenue account, the net expenditure shown is Rs. 1017.84 crores. Rs. 38.52 crores more than last year. The explanation is that the increase is mainly on pay and allowances, etc. The figures on capital account are Rs. 133.67 crores, that is, more than in 69-70 by Rs. 8.25 crores. And the explanation given is, increase mainly on purchase of ships and works. The Government's stand is this that all the replacement of these items for this huge manpower are to be met from a static capital account. Let us understand the revenue account expenditure. The figure is Rs. 459.12 crores on pay and allowances. Of this NCC accounts for Rs. 197 lakhs,

[Shrimati Sharda Mukerjee]

What does it give you ? The Government says, there is no money for a nuclear deterrent programme. The entire programme for 10 years could be financed if you only learn to spend your money more sensibly, if you allocate your resources in a more planned manner.

The Air Force account for Rs. 42 crores and Navy Rs 12.37 crores. One interesting thing is this. On the capital account for Army what is the expenditure ? It is almost nil. The Navy we are told has got Rs. 22.73 crores worth of ships; the Air Force nil except the aviation stores worth 89.30 crores. What is the deduction one draws from these things ? It is this, that we reject as untenable the Defence Ministry's assurance given in the report that our armed forces are properly equipped. In the alternative, if it is the Government's stand that suitable and adequate equipment is being given to the forces, then this equipment is being given against military aid, and this military aid, wherever it is coming from, is not ratified by Parliament and it is not proposed to be ratified by Parliament. Something must be true. Surely this large force cannot live on air.

Regarding allocation of resources I wish to say something. You have this large mass of standing army which is underpaid. Many Members have spoken about it. It is ill-equipped. You have hundreds of people who are released, the emergency commissioned officers are there going from pillar to post asking for jobs. There are negligible resources allocated for modernising the forces. Today inevitably and irretrievably we are dependent upon our foreign benefactors. There is mistrust between departments and department; mistrust between Government and Parliament; mistrust between Government and the people resulting in this situation where the industrial and scientific potential of the country is not properly utilised. Even where it is partially utilised it is not utilised properly.

There is no coordinated effort between the Government departments of Atomic Energy, C. S. I. R., and the Research and Development Departments of the Ministry. Is there any attempt I would like to know,

to have a coordination in regard to operational research, structure of the armed forces, inventory control, logistic control and mobilisation of civil resources during an emergency ?

How does the Government then tell us that they have a Defence Plan, which we are told, is a continuous process ? The war potential depends upon three basic factors—they are the economy of the country, economic capacity of the country—the administrative competence of the country—and the morale of the army. Morale is the motivation for resisting the enemy. What possible incentives has the Government given to the people to have this motivation for resisting the enemy ? Where is the motivation to resist the enemy unless the Government think that the armed forces are insulated from public morale ? Does the Government come to this House to say that the morale is high ? In which direction is it high ? Are you sure that what happened in this House this morning will not percolate to the forces ? That is my main question.

Let me give one small example and then I shall conclude. Take this example which I give you. You know how committed we are as regards defence equipment. As I said earlier, there is no relationship whatsoever between the large amounts of spending on army that we maintain and the amount that is shown to be spent for equipment.

Take the MIG project. For instance, the report says that there are 45 squadrons and probably thirty squadrons are for combat purposes. It would be reasonable to assume that about 15 squadrons would be reserved for the MIGs. In effect, it means that you would require for so many squadrons, 200 MIGs. Nobody has told me about this. I am just telling this from what you have stated in your report. And this is the conclusion which one can draw. Don't come and say it is what the officers have said. Suppose you assume that you have got a strength of thirty aircraft and you assume that you have 15 squadrons of MIGs which means they are all interceptors; it also means that per MIG, you are spending a crore of rupees. That means

you must have spent Rs. 200 to 250 crores on MIGs alone.

In the last few years what have you got from Soviet Union? You got aircraft from the Soviet Union. Mind you, I am not attacking the Government for getting the equipments from the Soviet Union. I am only attacking your basic policy. In the Report, we find that we have MIGs as Interceptors. We have M. I 4 helicopters, We have A. N. 12 aircraft. Also we have S. U. 22 and not S. U. 7 as your operational aircraft. What would be their cost? My assessment of the cost is that it would not be less than Rs. 450 or 500 crores. Is it not a fact that your major overhaul of aircraft is being done in Russia? Is it also not a fact that not even a tyre can be fitted on to a MIG in India? Is it not a fact that you are buying them in rupees? For the long-term loan you are creating a rupee fund. Do you think that this would help you in the present political conditions in this country? I do not mind your making a statement on the floor of the House. The least you owe to the Parliament is to let it know as to how much you have paid for that and whether you have adjusted the accounts, If you do not do that, I am sure that the price that you will pay will be very heavy.

I would remind the House that in the 1962 aggression, when you were using the Ilyushin. It was immobilised because the tyres could not be fitted here. Take the policy of the Government of India—where is its declared non-alienated policy? That is what one wants to know.

16. hrs

In conclusion, I would say that the budget estimate as presented to Parliament falls far below the actual expenditure. Therefore, it is totally misleading. It does not account for payment of equipment; it does not account for para-military forces and so on.

Secondly, the rupee fund which must exist is nothing short of military aid. What do rupees mean, if they are not backed by gold reserves? If not, will Government please explain how the armed forces are being equipped today, where does the money

come from and what terms and conditions have to be fulfilled?

Thirdly, it is an absolute, basic fact that we have not progressed at all. Although we are spending one third of the Union Government's income from the revenue account, our progress has been very very negligible.

Lastly, this open-door, free for all policy, Government is following, poses the gravest risk to our national security.

श्री गुलाम मुहम्मद बरशी (धीनगर):
जनाबवाला, डिफेंस डिमांड्स पर हाउस में मुझ से पहले जिन मुम्रजिज्ज मेम्बरान ने अपने ब्यालात का इजहार किया, मैंने उनको बगोर समझा। जहां तक हमारी डिफेंस प्रिपियंडमेंस का ताल्लुक है, उसके मुताल्लिक कल मिनिस्टर आफ् स्टेट मिस्टर एल० एन० मिश्र से डिटेल में हमने सब कुछ सुना और मुझे इंतहाई खुशी है कि जैसा कि हाउस में हमसे कहा गया कि 1948 के आगे हम नहीं बढ़ें हैं, मैं समझता हूँ कि हम 1948 से बहुत आगे बढ़ें हैं, बल्कि 1962 से भी बहुत आगे बढ़ें हैं।

डिफेंस प्रिपेबंडमेंस का जहां तक ताल्लुक है, मैं कंफिडेंट नहीं हूँ और न ही मैं ज़रूरी समझता हूँ कि उनकी डिटेल्स में जाउं क्योंकि वह डिटेल्स जितनी ज्यादा सीक्रेट हैं, उतना ज्यादा अच्छा है। लेकिन आजकल के हालात में आप जानते हैं, जनाब कि हमारी आर्म्ड फोर्स को आज तक जिस इम्तहान में आपने उनको डाला, जिन आज़माइश में उनको डाला उस आज़माइश में वह पूरे उतरे और उस इम्तहान में वह पूरे उतरे चाहे वह 1947-48 का मारिका था चाहे 1965 का मारिका था। और मुझे उम्मीद है कि जहां तक—मैं उनको जानता हूँ, मैंने उनके साथ काम किया है—उनके मोरैल का ताल्लुक है, वह आज उतना ही ऊंचा है जितनी ऊंचाई से आज वह मुल्क की सरहदों की हिफाज़त कर रहे हैं जैसा कि अभी कहा गया है चुसूल में, बल्कि उससे भी आगे। इसमें कोई शक नहीं है कि हमें उनके मोरैल,

[श्री गुलाम मुहम्मद बरूही]

उनकी लायल्टी, उनके काम-काज और उनकी काबलियत पर नाज़ करना चाहिए और जब भी इस देश में खुदा न खास्ता कहीं से कोई खतरा पैदा हो जाए तो वह इस काबिल हैं कि हम उन पर भरोसा कर सकें और हमने करके भी देखा और उन्होंने जो कुछ उनका फर्ज था वह भ्रदा किया। लेकिन आज सवाल है, जनाब, मुल्क के सामने कि क्या हमारी डिफेंस फोर्स के पास सभी वह साजो-सामान है जो आजकल की वारफेयर में दूसरे मुमालिक के पास है। सवाल सामने यह है और आज सुबह भी यह हुआ कि मुस्तलिफ मैमरान ने अपनी तकारीर में यह बात उठाई। मुझे एक दोस्त के साथ यह इतिफाक नहीं कि हम अपने डिफेंस मिनिस्टर को आज से मिनिस्टर आफ् अप्रेशन कहें क्योंकि अप्रेशन हमारा कंस्टीट्यूशन नहीं कहता, हमारी सभ्यता नहीं कहती और न हमारी रवादारो कहती है और न हमारा दिल कहता है। डिफेंस हमारा काम है, हमारा फर्ज है, हमारा दीन और ईमान है। हमने बराबर आज तक बाजेहकर दिया कि हम हवस मुल्कगिरी नहीं चाहते, हम किसी के मुल्क पर घावा नहीं बोलना चाहते और हम किसी भी टैरिटरी को छीनना नहीं चाहते। यह हमने बराबर बता दिया और आज हम इस पर कायम हैं। मेरे ख्याल में यह बहुत बड़ी बात है, इसको आप कोई नाम दें—पंचशील दीजिए या कोई और नाम दीजिए—लेकिन मैं समझता हूँ कि यह सही बात है और सही पालिसी है। लेकिन इसके साथ-साथ हम वर्ल्ड पीस के मानने वाले हैं और हमने पार्लियामेंट में उसको रेटिफाई किया है कि यह हमारी पालिसी है। वर्ल्ड पीस को मानने वाला रशिया भी है, वर्ल्ड पीस को मानने वाला अमरीका भी है—चाहे जबानी वह कहें, लेकिन मानता तो है। लेकिन रशिया का जहां तक ताल्लुक है आजकल वह सिर्फ सुपर पावर ही नहीं बल्कि जहां तक न्यूक्लियर पावर होने का ताल्लुक है, वह मेरे ख्याल में बहुत आपे है दुनिया के और ममालिक से। रशिया

जिमकी आइडियल्स इस किस्म की हैं, उसके सामने यह बात नहीं आती है वर्ल्ड पीस का स्लोगन रेज़ करते हुए कि न्यूक्लियर पावर जो है वह ज़रूरी है। मैं समझता हूँ कि हमें हिन्दुस्तान को अपने उमूल पर कायम रहते हुए वर्ल्ड पीस का स्लोगन देते हुए अपने डिफेंस का पूरा इतिजाम करना चाहिए और मैं समझता हूँ कि दो चार दिन से पहले तो इतदा से यह ज़रूरी था लेकिन दो चार दिन से और ज़रूरी हो गया है जब से कि चाईना ने इस सिलसिले में आगे होने का दुनिया के सामने मुजाहिरा किया। आज तक चीन से हमारी आम्ड फोर्स 1962 में लड़ी और मुझे यकीन है कि वक्त आने पर वह लड़ेंगे। लेकिन न्यूक्लियर फोर्स के लिए साजो-सामान का मुकाबला वह किस चीज से करेंगे? वह अपने मिग से करेंगे? वह अपने बेटलशिप से करेंगे, वह अपने बजूका से करेंगे, वह अपने मशीनगन से करेंगे, वह अपने माटॉर से करेंगे? नहीं करेंगे। इसलिए मैं समझता हूँ कि पार्लियामेंट का मिजाज़ और मुल्क का मिजाज़ आज है। पार्लियामेंट का जो मिजाज़ है वह हमें लाजमन मुल्क का मिजाज़ मानना चाहिए और मुल्क का मिजाज़ आज यह है कि हम न्यूक्लियर पावर शुरू करें और हमारा कहना है कि जब भी हम करेंगे पीसफुल परपेजेज़ के लिए करेंगे। हां यही एक सामने मकसद रखकर पीसफुल परपेजेज़ के साथ हम न्यूक्लियर पावर बनना चाहते हैं। रूस अगर बन सकता है, अमरीका अगर बन सकता है, फ्रांस अगर बन सकता है, बर्तानिया अगर बन सकता है, ये स्लोगन सामने रखते हुए तो मैं नहीं समझता कि....(व्यवधान)... जनाब 5 मिनट दीजिए, अभी चार मिनट हुए हैं....। मेरी घड़ी में अभी नहीं हुए। यह काश्मीर की घड़ी है जरा आहिस्ता चलती है। मैं यह नहीं कहता कि चेयरमैन साहब की घड़ी तेज चलती है।...

मैं समझता हूँ कि हमारे लिए यह लाजिम हो गया है। जैसा कि कहा गया, डिफेंस मिनिस्टर जवाब दें, मैं डिफेंस मिनिस्टर

की तरफ यह सवाल करूंगा ही क्योंकि यह तो गर्वनमेंट है और गर्वनमेंट के बाद पार्लियामेंट। पार्लियामेंट ने आज तक इस चीज को करार दिया है कि हम नहीं बनाएंगे और जो भी हमारे पास है वह महज पीसफुल परपजेज के लिए होगा। लेकिन आज जब हमारी सरहदों पर खतरा हो गया है, जैसा हमारे साथी श्री इन्द्रजीत मल्होत्रा ने आप से कहा, गिलगित में क्या हो रहा है? लद्दाख में क्या हो रहा है और आज यह असकरतू और आपके गिलगित के दर्याज देवलाई के प्लेन्स पर क्या हो रहा है? मैं समझता हूँ कि खतरा जो है वह कुछ बढ़ना जा रहा है, और इस खतरे के नाते अपनी डिफेन्स फोर्स पर भरोसा करते हुए उन्हें लेस किया जाये, उन तमाम चीजों के साथ जिनको आज हमको जरूरत है। यह बात नहीं कि हम चीन पर हमला करेंगे लेकिन जैसा श्री समर ग्रह ने कहा हम 2 करोड़ ६० खर्च करें तो एक वम बनेगा, मुझे उस पर महारत नहीं है 2 करोड़ या 200 करोड़, लेकिन जो कुछ मेरा नजरिया था उसके होते हुए वह न शारदा मुर्जो ने जो फेक्ट्स एण्ड फिगर्स रखे हैं उनसे दिमाग कुछ परेगान सा हुआ। अपनी डिफेन्स फोर्स को बढ़ाने के लिए उनके इन्विपमेंट को अप-ग्रेड-डेट लाने के लिये मैं पार्लियामेंट के मेम्बरों से दख्खिस्त करूंगा कि अगर हमारा 1 हजार करोड़ का मुतालबा है तो उसको डेढ़ हजार करोड़ धर दिया जाये और कामों में खर्च को कम करके, लेकिन अगर आज मुल्क को किसी चीज की जरूरत है और जिस सबसे बड़ी चीज को हमको अनप्राजगली देना चाहिये वह है हमारी डिफेन्स फोर्स का इन्विपमेंट।

साथ-साथ मैं यह भी कहना चाहता हूँ कि हम मुल्कगीर नहीं है हमने किसी मुल्क पर हमला नहीं किया, लेकिन अगर हमारे मुल्क पर हमला हुआ तो हम 50 करोड़ इन्सान एक होकर पूरी कुव्वत के साथ उठेंगे और आगे उठेंगे और मुल्क की इन्टिग्रिटी को बचायेंगे, उस पर कोई आंच नहीं आने देंगे।

मेरी गुंजारिश है कि हमको शाई नहीं फील करना चाहिये क्योंकि सरदार साहब अकेले जवाब नहीं दे सकते, गर्वनमेंट नहीं दे सकती। यह पार्लियामेंट और पार्लियामेंट का मिजाज ही इसका जवाब दे सकता है और हमको इस सिलसिले में आगे बढ़ाना चाहिये।

[شری غلام محمد بخشی (سرپرگر) جناب عالی، ڈیفنس ڈیپارٹمنٹ پر ہاؤس میں مجھ سے پہلے جن معزز ممبران نے اپنے خیالات کا اظہار کیا، میں نے انکو بغور سمجھا۔ جہاں تک ہماری ڈیفنس پر پریڈریٹس کا تعلق ہے، اسکے متعلق کل مسٹر آف سٹیٹ مسٹر ایل۔ این مشر سے ڈیٹیل میں ہم نے سب کچھ سنا اور مجھے انتہا ہی خوشی ہے کہ جیسا کہ ہاؤس میں ہم سے کہا گیا کہ 1948 سے آگے ہم نے ہر برٹھے ہیں، میں سمجھتا ہوں کہ ہر 1948 سے بہت آگے برٹھے ہیں، بلکہ 1962 سے بھی بہت آگے برٹھے ہیں۔

ڈیفنس پر پریڈریٹس کا جہاں تک تعلق ہے، میں کمپیٹینٹ نہیں ہوں اور نہ ہی میں ضروری سمجھتا ہوں کہ اسکی ڈیٹیل میں جانوں کیونکہ وہ ڈیٹیل جسکی زیادہ سیکریٹ رہیں، اتنا زیادہ اچھا ہے۔ لیکن آجکل کے حالات میں آپ جانتے ہیں، جناب کہ ہماری آرمنڈ فورسز کو آج تک جس امتحان میں اپنے انکوڈڈ، جس آزمائش میں انکوڈڈ اس آزمائش میں وہ پورے اترے اور اس امتحان میں وہ پورے اترے چاہے وہ 1947-48 کا مارکا تھا چاہے 1965 کا مارکا تھا۔ اور مجھے امید ہے کہ جہاں تک میں انکو جانتا ہوں، میں نے انکے ساتھ کام کیا ہے۔

[شری غلام محمد بخٹی]
انکی مارشل کا تعلق ہے، وہ آج اتنا ہی
اولیٰ ہے جتنی اولیٰ سی آج وہ
ملک کی سرحدوں کی حفاظت کر رہے
ہیں۔ جیسا کہ ابھی کہا گیا ہے چسول
میں، بلکہ اس سے بھی آگے۔ اسمیں
کوئی شک نہیں ہے کہ ہمیں انکی مارشل،
انکی لائٹنی، انکی کام کاج اور انکی
قابلیت پر ناز کرنا چاہئے اور جب بھی
اس دیش میں خدا نخواستہ کھن سی
کوئی خطرہ پیدا ہو جائے تو وہ اس
قابل ہیں کہ ہر ان پر بھروسہ کر سکیں
اور ہرنے کر کے بھی دیکھا اور الہون
لے جو کچھ انکا فرض تھا وہ ادا کیا۔
لیکن آج سوال ہے، جناب ملک کے سامنے
کہ کیا ہماری ڈیفنس فورسز کے پاس
سبھی وہ ساز و سامان ہے جو آجکل کی
وزیر میں دوسرے ممالک کے پاس ہے۔
سوال سامنے نہ ہے اور آج صبح بھی نہ
ہوا کہ مختلف ممبران نے اپنی تقریر
میں نہ باقاعدگی۔ مجھے ایک، دوسرے
کے ساتھ، یہ اتفاق نہیں کہ ہر ایسے
ڈیفنس منسٹر کو آج سے منسٹر آف
ایگریشن کہیں کیونکہ ایگریشن ہمارا
کانسٹیٹیوشن نہیں کہتا، ہماری سمیٹا
نہیں کہتی اور نہ ہماری رواداری کہتی
ہے اور نہ ہمارا دل کہتا ہے۔ ڈیفنس
ہمارا کام ہے، ہمارا فرض ہے، ہمارا
دین اور ایمان ہے۔ ہر لے برابر آج تک
واضح کر دیا کہ ہر حوس ملک گہری نہیں
چاہتے، ہر کسی کے ملک پر دھاوا نہیں
بولنا چاہتے اور ہر کسی کی ٹیریٹری
کو چھیننا نہیں چاہتے۔ یہ ہر لے برابر بتا
دیا اور ہر اس پر قائم ہیں۔ ہیرت خیال
میں یہ بہت ہی بات ہے۔ اسکو آپ

کوئی نام دین۔ پنچ شیل دیجئے ہاکوئی
اور نام دیجئے۔ لیکن میں سمجھتا ہوں
کہ یہ صحیح بات ہے اور صحیح پالیسی
ہے۔ لیکن اسکے ساتھ ساتھ ہر ورلڈ
پیس کے مائے والے ہیں اور ہرنے
پارلیمنٹ میں اسکو ریٹی فائی کیا ہے
کہ یہ ہماری پالیسی ہے۔ ورلڈ پیس کو
مائے والا، شیا بھی ہے، ورلڈ پیس کہ
مائے والا امریک بھی ہے۔ چاہے زبانی
وہ کہیں، لیکن ماننا تو ہے۔ لیکن رشیا کا
جھانک۔ تعلق ہے آجکل وہ صرف سپر
باور ہی نہیں بلکہ جھانک لیوکلیر باور
ہوئے کا تعلق ہے، وہ مہری خیال میں
بہت آگے ہے دنیا کے اور ممالک سے۔
رشیا جسکی آئیڈیلز اس قسم کی ہیں،
اسکے سامنے یہ بات نہیں آئی ہے،
ورلڈ پیس کا سلوگن ریز کر کے ہوئے کہ
لیوکلیر باور جو ہے وہ ضروری ہے، میں
سمجھتا ہوں کہ ہمیں ہندوستان کو اپنے
اصول پر قائم رہتے ہوئے ورلڈ پیس
کا سلوگن دیتے ہوئے اپنے ڈیفنس کا
پورا انتظام کرنا چاہئے اور میں سمجھتا ہوں
کہ دوچار دن سے پہلے تو ابتدا سے یہ ضروری
تھا لیکن دوچار دن سے اور ضروری
ہو گیا ہے جب سے کہ چائنا نے اس
سلسلے میں آگے ہوئے کا دنیا کے سامنے
مظاہرہ کیا۔ آج تک چین سے ہماری آرمڈ
فورسز 1962 میں لڑائیں اور مجھے یقین
ہے کہ وقت آنے پر وہ لڑائیں گے۔ لیکن
لیوکلیر فورسز کے لئے ساز و سامان کا
مقابلہ وہ کس چیز سے کریں گے؟ وہ اپنے
مگ سے کریں گے؟ وہ اپنے ہیٹل
شپ سے کریں گے، وہ اپنے واکا سے
کریں گے وہ اپنے مشین گن
سے کریں گے، وہ اپنے مارٹل سے کریں گے؟

نہیں کریں گے۔ اسلئے میں سمجھتا ہوں کہ پارلیمنٹ کا مزاج اور ملک کا مزاج آج ہے۔ پارلیمنٹ کا جو مزاج ہے وہ ہمیں لازماً ملک کا مزاج ماننا چاہئے اور ملک کا مزاج آج یہ ہے کہ ہم نیوکلیئر باور شروع کریں اور ہمارا کہنا ہے کہ جب بھی ہم کریں گے بیس فل پریز کے لئے کریں گے۔ تان بھی ایک سامنے مہضد رکھ۔ کر بیس فل پریز کے ساتھ ہم نیوکلیئر باور بننا چاہتے ہیں۔ روس اگر بن سکتا ہے، امریکہ اگر بن سکتا ہے، فرانس اگر بن سکتا ہے، برطانیہ اگر بن سکتا ہے، یہ سلوگن سامنے رکھتے ہوئے تو میں نہیں سمجھتا کہ ... (وودھان)..... جناب ہانچ منٹ دیجئے، ابھی چار منٹ ہوئے ہیں..... مہری گھڑی میں ابھی نہیں ہوئے۔ یہ کشمیر کے گھڑی ہے ذرا آہستہ چلتی ہے۔ میں نہ نہیں کہتا کہ چیرمیں صاحب کی گھڑی تیز چلتی ہے۔

میں سمجھتا ہوں کہ ہمارے لئے یہ لازم ہو گیا ہے۔ جیسا کہ گھا گیا، ڈیفنس منسٹر جواب دیں۔ میں ڈیفنس منسٹر کی طرف یہ سوال کرونگا ہی کیونکہ یہ تو گورنمنٹ ہے اور گورنمنٹ کے بعد پارلیمنٹ۔ پارلیمنٹ نے آج تک اس چیز کو قرار دیا ہے کہ ہم نہیں بنائیں گے اور جو بھی ہمارے پاس ہے وہ مہضد بیس فل پریز کے لئے ہوگا۔ لیکن آج جب ہماری سرحدوں پر خطرہ ہو گیا ہے، جیسا ہماری ساٹھی شری اندر جیت ملہوڑے نے آپ سے کہا، گلگت میں کیا ہو رہا ہے؟ لداخ میں کیا ہو رہا ہے اور آج یہ اسکرٹو اور آئیکے گلگت کے

درمیان دیوکھائی کے پلینز پر کیا ہو رہا ہے؟

میں سمجھتا ہوں کہ خطرہ جو ہے وہ کچھ پرہتا جا رہا ہے، اور اس خطرے کے ناطے اپنی ڈیفنس فورسز پر بھروسہ کرتے ہوئے انہیں لیس کیا جائے، ان تمام چیزوں کے ساتھ جنکی آج ہم کو ضرورت ہے۔ یہ باغ نہیں کہ ہم چین پر حملہ کریں گے، لیکن جیسا شری سرگودے نے کہا ہم دو کروڑ روپیے خرچ کریں تو ایک برس بنے گا، پچھلے اسپر مہارست نہیں ہے، دو کروڑ یا دو سو کروڑ، لیکن جو کچھ میرا نظریہ تھا اسکے ہوتے ہوئے بہن شاردہ مکرچی نے جو فیکٹس اینڈ فگرس رکھے ہیں ان سے ذماغ کچھ پزیشان سا ہوا۔ اپنی ڈیفنس فورسز کو پرٹھالے کے لئے ان کے اکوہمنٹ کو اپٹوڈیٹ ملانے کے لئے میں پارلیمنٹ کے ممبروں سے درخواست کرونگا کہ اگر ہمارا ایک ہزار کروڑ کا مطالبہ ہے تو اسکو ڈیرہ ہزار کروڑ کر دیا جائے، اور کاموں میں خرچ کو کم کر کے، لیکن آج اگر ملک کو کسی چیز کی ضرورت ہے اور جس سب سے برطی چیز کو ہم کو ان کر جنگلی دنیا چاہی، وہ ہے ہماری ڈیفنس فورسز کا اکوہمنٹ۔

ساتھ ساتھ میں یہ بھی کہنا چاہتا ہوں کہ ہم ملکہ گہر نہیں ہیں۔ ہر لے کسی ملکہ پر حملہ نہیں کیا، لیکن اگر ہماری ملکہ پر حملہ ہوا تو ہم ۵۰ کروڑ انسان ایک ہو کر پوری قوت کی ساتھ اٹھی ہیں اور آگے اٹھیں گے اور ملک کی اظیکرٹی کو بچائیں گے، اس پر کوئی آنچ۔ انہیں آئے دین گے۔

[شری غلام محمد بخشی]

ہیری گذارش ہے کہ ہر کو شائی
 ٹھہن فیمل کرنا چاہئے کیونکہ سروردار
 صاحب اکیلے جواب نہیں دی سکتے،
 گورنمنٹ ٹھہن سے سکتی۔ یہ پارلیمنٹ
 اور پارلیمنٹ کا مزاج ہی اسکا جواب
 دی سکتا ہے اور ہم کو اس سلسلے میں
 آگے بڑھنا چاہئے۔]

SHRI VIKRAM CHAND MAHAJAN
 (Chamba) : The Prime Minister deserves our congratulations that she has chosen such a competent man as the Defence Minister who has proved his competence by selecting competent Generals after his taking over. Not only has he selected very competent Generals but he has also at the same time improved the pattern of the Armed Forces. We have latest weapons in the Army; we have added new wings in the Navy like the submarine and we have also acquired more effective aircraft.

At the same time I may point out that we are facing the twin danger from Pakistan and China. The present strength of the Army may not suffice and I think it will not be effective enough to face the combined danger from China and Pakistan at the same time. We have to devise methods which will enable us not only to provide effective defence but also to see whether we are able to liberate certain parts of our country which now form part of Chinese empire. We have the problem of finance but at the same time we have to create more effective strength. We can think of two or three methods which will not put a great strain on our financial resources. One of them is compulsory military training for every citizen of India, especially in colleges and schools. Not only should we give them compulsory military training but we should also send everyone of them for at least two years to the frontiers so that they know the difficulties of defending the Country. In other words, before they are given full citizenship rights such as voting rights, or before they are given matriculation certificates, they should be sent to the frontiers for at least two years. The two years of

military service which they will render on the frontiers of India will be a training for them for future. Once this is done they would be imbued with more sense of patriotism than they have at present. We have seen an example of the patriotism of some of them in the morning during the Calling Attention notice.

Secondly, my suggestion is that we should settle, as Mr. Inder J. Malhotra said, the military personnel who retire, on the frontiers of India; they should be provided not only land but also they should be subsidised. They should then act like frontier fortresses at the time of need. Then we will not have a debacle as we had in 1962.

Thirdly, there is a general consensus in the House and in the country that cost should not be taken into consideration so far as the development of nuclear weapon is concerned. We should have this weapon at any cost. There has been an argument raised by some that we do not have to use the atom bomb and therefore why should we develop it. The answer is simple, and this reminds me of a famous story; the wife was taunting her husband, and saying, "why you waste money so often and you do not give me enough." The husband said that "I have even reduced my cigarette consumption, and give me a single example to show where I have wasted the money." She said, "the other day you purchased the fire extinguisher. You have not used it." That is the answer; if we have the atom bomb it does not mean that we must use it. For the safety of a nation, to create confidence in the nation, to create adequate strength, you have to have an atom bomb.

16.17 hrs.

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

Then there are certain problems which are facing the armed forces personnel. One of the problems that they are facing is a direct result of what we term as linguistic fanaticism. What we find is that the armed forces personnel are, for instance, being transferred from Bengal to Madras or from Madras to Gujarat and Maharashtra and so on. They have to take their children along with them. The education in Bengal is in Bengali and the education in Madras is in

Tamil and so on and so forth. It is very difficult for any child to pick up the language of different States. Now, they are made to suffer because a few interested politicians want to dominate by rousing the baser sentiments of the people. Why should the armed forces personnel be made to pay the price for the linguistic fanaticism of these politicians? I would rather suggest that the people who advocate the policy of linguism should send their children for two years to one State, for another two years to another State and for another two years to a third State and then they would learn. (Interruption) Somebody has to pay for the sins of their parents. If that is done, then they will know the price which the nation is paying for the follies of the fanatics. The answer is that if you are not able to provide if the armed forces are not provided with enough funds to teach their children, ultimately you will be creating a sense of frustration in them which will in the long run cause trouble to this country.

Therefore, I suggest, firstly, that either you have the Central Schools in every State in every cantonment, or you give them enough so that they can send their children to the boarding house. The allowance that you give them is I think Rs. 50 to Rs. 60 a month. That is not enough to send the children to the boarding-house. A Major who is earning Rs. 1,000 per mensem surely cannot send his children to the boarding-house and pay Rs. 350 on it and then starve. Not only this. Practically, he has to run three kitchens. Normally, when he is in a non-family station, - I think I am not exaggerating if I say that two-thirds of the army personnel are on the front—there is one kitchen on the front. Secondly, they have to keep their wives and family elsewhere. That is the second kitchen. Thirdly, they have to send their children to boarding schools. Are you paying enough to the officers and the armed forces personnel which will enable them to have three kitchens? No. I know many people who are literally living from hand to mouth. I have come across some ladies who have said, "We will force our husbands to teach all of you a lesson". That means something else.

Then, there is a very important matter in which the army can help the country. New cantonments are built irrespective of

the type of land. The persons who go to acquire land do not see whether the lands are irrigated or not. Although wastelands are available within a range of three or four miles, they look to their convenience and select areas which are best irrigated. I suggest that a special committee of the armed forces personnel should first find out whether the land is irrigated or not. Only after finding that out, the cantonments should be built.

Lastly, I would like to support a point made by some other member also *i.e.* when an armed forces personnel dies in military service, his children and widow should be paid adequately till they have enough to live on, their own. Some sort of pension, which should not be less than Rs. 100 or 150 should be paid.

In conclusion, I would like to say that the only way you can face any danger is to have compulsory military training at all stages. If nations like Great Britain and France can have it, there is no reason why a country like ours, which faces a greater danger than them, cannot have it.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : Mr Ranjeet Singh.

SHRI PILOO MODY (Gadhra) : The defence expert of the House will now speak.

SHRI RANJEET SINGH (Khalilabad) : Sir, since the last defence budget, there has been a very significant change in the command set-up of the three Services in that we have got three new Chiefs for all of them. I congratulate the Defence Minister for once on having selected the very best and most popular and most efficient officers for these appointments. All of them are already going at jet speed and I hope some of the self-styled defence experts in the Defence Ministry, who cannot distinguish a gun from a trombone will not stand in their way.

SHRI G. VISWANATHAN (Wandiwash) : Do you mean the Minister ?

SHRI PILOO MODY : He knows the trombone !

SHRI RANJEET SINGH : Within the budget provided, its defence effectiveness can be increased by 25 per cent by merely removing some easily removable bottlenecks. It is my contention that the defence effectiveness can be improved 100 per cent within the same budget merely by changing the attitudes of Government and of the bureaucracy, which is corrupt, bourgeois in mentality and anti-people. Basic modern concepts of national security are lacking. Our leaders want to base national defence on the aphorisms of apostles of non-violence. How can these two be reconciled ? Sir, today in the alphabets when you teach A, B, C, D, 'N' means nuclear power; it does not mean non-violence any more. It should have been proper for this Government first to find out the threats the country faces. Once we have decided that there is a threat from a country like China, we cannot say that there is only this degree of threat, that the Chinese will stop at the Foot Hills and not come beyond that. Therefore, we should prepare only this much. How can we assess the degree of the threat ? How can we weigh a blow before it falls on us ? then How can we plan for security only to a minimum extent ? We must plan for maximum security. It is the concept of maximum security that is lacking in this Government. They have not even got minimum security, because there is no security today without deterrent and there is no deterrent today without nuclear deterrent. I hope this will sink into their heads once for all. The provision of the forces and development of the resources require understanding and coordination between all ministries, especially the Ministry of Defence, the Ministry of External Affairs and the Ministry of Finance. This coordination is lacking and at times certain decisions of one of these Ministries becomes a hazard to our defence, it becomes a security risk. I will not recount all others, but I will refer to one because it is fresh in our minds, and that is the attitude of the in External Affairs Ministry to what is happening in Vietnam and Cambodia. Our External Affairs Ministry is playing the role of an unwanted, ineffective meddler in Vietnam and Cambodia and is thereby helping our enemy China, by taking off her load of responsibility in that area. Has the Defence Minister ever pointed out to the External Affairs Minister the security risk involved for this country, that when the load is taken

off the shoulder of China China will be in a better position to put a little more of pressure on us ? Has she not already started a war within our borders by insurgent activities ? This is not just mere infiltration; this is not just a little bit of insurgency here and there. The Naxalite movement is the extension of the depth of China's defence within our territory and the government must realise this.

I see that there is a change of attitude in this House so far as the nuclear policy of the government is concerned at least with the friends of the government. Yesterday we found the CPI condemning the government's policy, that China has gone not only nuclear but it has gone into outer space and has thus become a threat to us all around. It is a good thing that even the CPI has woken up to the interests of this country's defence. I hope this patriotic fervour of theirs will last permanently and for ever. I cannot say the same thing for their other friends, whom the CPI friends address as the running does of Maoshunting hordes. I hope some patriotism will be injected and inculcated in them also.

Let us see the attitude of this government, the External Affairs Ministry vis-a-vis Israel, the one country that can give us technological knowledge to fill up the technological gap that exists in our defence. But we have alienated that poor country and we are licking the boots of the Arabs all the time.

In the matter of defence preparedness there is an alarming situation. We say all the time that we have increased this, we have done this and we are manufacturing this and that. But do we see what the other side is doing ? Pakistan has increased its force twice as much as they were previously. They have increased their armoured strength; they have increased their air strength. When we do our preparations we should all the time be conscious of the fact that apart from containing China on our borders, we must maintain the ratio that existed between Pak forces and Indian forces in 1965. Has the government thought of this ?

Can this Ministry deny that five years after we received the equipment we are

still not manufacturing the ammunition for the Russian guns and the Russian tanks ? The other day the Minister told me that 'we are thinking of it'. How long are we going to think of it ? I would like the Minister to say whether there is a suicidal clause in our purchase agreement with the Soviet Union that we shall not manufacture the ammunition in our country. If there is no such clause existing, I would like to know why we are not manufacturing the ammunition for these guns.

There are no means of advance warning for low flying fast aircraft approaching the targets in India. We know that our radar cannot act below a certain height. Then, there are certain huge radar gaps in our country. As if this is not enough, our External Affairs Minister has permitted overflight of Pakistan military aircraft through our territory and all our radar gaps are known to Pakistan. Therefore, if they venture on a surprise attack we will not know from where they come and they will come from an area where we have no protection and where we have no means of warning. Has this government any thought at all any sane thought, about creating an observer corps which would give information about these aeroplanes and which can cover the gaps of radar that exist because ours is not a radar locked frontier. I would like to know government's efforts in this direction.

Again, missile effectiveness is being reduced due to the government's inability to provide proper radio receiving sets from the main or locating radar to the outlying missile squadrons, ordinary radio sets which we can purchase in the market for about Rs. 200, While we are short of radio receiving sets in the defence forces, our Defence Ministry has gone to the manufacture of tape recorders. We have condemned an earlier Defence Minister for manufacturing coffee percolators in our gun factories and again the same thing has started happening. They pay and install scores of missiles costing Rs. 6 to 7 lakhs each and then they do not spend Rs. 10 to 15 thousand to give them high-power transmitters and a score of small receiving sets. This is the mentality of our Government. Pakistan's armoured strength is increasing at a much faster rate. They have got now the same number of regiments we have got. When we tell the

Defence Minister they have got more tanks than we have he says how can it be ? However much you may explain to him he still says the tanks with us are more in number. I do not say we should work with any sense of fear of Pakistan but we want to strengthen the hands of the Defence Ministry and Government to prepare better and keep that ratio as it was previously especially in 1947.

Our Vijayanta schedule is still 20% behind the mark and this was stated by our Minister of State the other day. He did not quote the exact figures but only fifteen days back he gave a statement and said, "We are catching up with the target. We have gone far ahead of last year. There is 20% increase in production." Last year it was stated on the Floor of the House that we were 40% behind and now if there is an increase of 20% that means we are still behind by 20% where as Pakistan has already started manufacturing guided antitank missiles. Our own project lags behind. Possibly because the astrologers have not yet given the auspicious date for it inauguration. We are still short of RCL's simple and effective antitank weapon the infantry wants most. Our Air Force has only 30% of its Hunters and Gnat fleets. I exaggerate the figure; it is actually less. We have the phenomenon of more pilots than planes and some of our planes are called flying coffins by our pilots. Their communication system generally pack up at crucial time and flying in them is a daily hazard. I may mention of the recent Caribou accident near Hashimara. As soon as it took off from Gauhati the R. T. packed up and it had to return to base. When it was set right it took off again but in the vicinity of Hashimara when it was only within five minutes or reaching the airport probably he was doing his landing circuit his communications again failed and that is why the air support signal unit could not give him proper directions and tell him that he was on a wrong course and correct him.

Equipment is purchased from abroad purely on political considerations and not on the considerations of effectiveness. Therefore, I always say: don't believe them; don't believe me either; appoint a Commission and let them go through all these things. Who bothers about our flying coffins ! I

[Shri Ranjeet Singh]

wish the Defence Minister had a son in the Army. I wish the Prime Minister had sent one of her very smart sons to the Air Force to be a Mig pilot. Then she would bother. Then everybody would bother. They are not Committed there and, as such they are not bothered. These attitudes are known in the Armed Forces and, therefore, they are losing their faith in the Government. Keeping in view the requirements of our long borders we are still short of basic troops, infantry. Due to this shortage Chusul to day is undefended. We have not got troops there, There are no troops in the Spangkur Lake because there are just no troops to spare for it. The Corps has been asking for an additional Brigade for a long time. From where is that Brigade to come ? We do not have any brigade. Here, Member after Member has been saying that we have too large an army. The type of army that we have got is enough only as a border security force for the country and not as an army to defend Chinese aggression.

The ever-increasing corruption is stunting our defence preparedness. There have been reports of corruption even in the selection boards. When people can get selected by paying money, you can imagine what type of services we shall have. I congratulate the Chief of the Army Staff in having overhauled all the selection boards in a week's time. I wish the Government had shown previous awakening on this matter.

Postings are said to be done on pecuniary considerations or on the basis of nepotism. In the Department of Defence Production headed by a very good and a very decent Minister, the state of corruption is particularly alarming. Before an item is cleared for supply or purchase, the commissions are meticulously worked out. If the commission falls short or if the payment is not made in time, the item is rejected. The items which could be made here are not being made here. They are deliberately purchased from abroad because foreigners pay commissions in foreign exchange which can be surreptitiously lodged in a Swiss Bank for nobody to know and, when the exodus of those persons from India starts after whom the people will be running with

a hatchet, then they can spend a sweet time there like Ayub.

I would like to cite here a concrete example. There was a particular proximity fuze a fuze which bursts at a particular height activated by the earth's magnetism and which we were buying in thousands from abroad. Our Atomic Energy Commission decided to make it here. They made the fuze. But the Defence Production Department or, I should say, the Defence Ministry refused to accept it. Why ? Because they wanted to keep on purchasing from abroad. The Directorate of Artillery accepted it. But these people would not buy it here. They wanted to buy from abroad because they were getting commissions in foreign exchange.

Another thing which is in a primitive state is military intelligence. The much promised overhaul never came. As in 1962, we were ignorant about the information of the enemy in 1965. So much so that on the 31st August, 1965, barely a few hours, five hours, before the Pakistani attack, the military intelligence informed the Corps Commander at Udhampur, "Why are you getting so panicky ? Your Divisional Corps Commander at Akhnoor is getting unnecessarily panicky. He has asked for more troops and tanks. There is no Pakistani concentration there is no threat" Therefore, the Divisional Commander at Akhnoor neither got troops nor tanks and he could not save the area, so many villages were uprooted there and Pakistan got an initial advantage. It is all because the Divisional Corps Commander at Akhnoor got a rocket from the Corps Commander saying, "Why are you getting Panicky ?". For the information of the House, a rocket, in military language, is what our Defence Minister got from the Prime Minister when he disclosed on the floor of the House that there had been a shift in the Soviet policy towards India.

There is so much wrong in the security set-up, including that of the defence forces. Therefore, I press for a Parliamentary committee to go in to the entire defence set-up. I would ask the hon. Members to press for such a committee. Don't accept the Defence Minister's assurances. We have had assurances in the past also and

our Defence Minister has stood up in his bravado and declared that we could take on Pakistan and China together. Sardar Sahib, this is not the Bharat Kesri dangal. You have to fight an enemy with nuclear teeth,

THE MINISTER OF DEFENCE AND STEEL AND HEAVY ENGINEERING (SHRI SWARAN SINGH) : Mr. Ranjeet Singh, that has been organised by your party.

SHRI RANJEET SINGH : Let me explain such mis-information that the Defence Minister has given on the floor of the House. Here is the Report for 1969-70, their latest weapon. In this Report, they have repeatedly said that our infantry is equipped with the most modern weapons that they have got, with Ishapore rifles, self-loading, semi-automatic rifles of 7.62 mmcal. Then, in the very first photograph when they show troops patrolling the forward areas in the jungle, where they should be having the best possible weapons. They show an infantry patrol equipped with 303 rifles. They do not show an Air Force unit which has still got the 303 the latest rifles not the artillery which has bolt action rifles. But they show the Infantry their showpiece, the people who should have the automatic weapons. What are the three soldiers in the photograph having? The oldest pattern of 303 rifles. This is truth about his information. How can you believe this Ministry? I am sure the Service Chiefs will not mind a Commission to probe into their affairs. It is the Defence Ministry that would mind a commission to go in to their affairs because it would take the lid off some of their private affairs. If you trust this Government, I would like you to recall some of the previous untruths the Government have spoken over here and the Members of the Government either the past or the present and the Ministers who are there, and the Ministers who were there, have gone to the Supreme Court, and they recounted facts about the some incident. One set has not told the truth and this shows the calibre of our Ministers. How can you believe their assurances? They remind me of the famous lines about Matilda :

“Matilda told such dreadful lies
It made one gasp and stretch one's eyes,

Her aunt who from her earliest youth
Had kept a strict regard for truth
Attempted to believe Matilda
The effort very nearly killed her.”

Sir it very nearly killed us in 1962. It very nearly killed us in 1965.

To round up, I would recal that the greatest single factor responsible for the soldierly conduct, bearing and responsibility for victory on the battle field is morale. That morale is badly affected by several factors. There is dangerous anti Government talk at each level, every day in messes, in officers' clubs and in jawans' langars. The faith of the Services is shaken. Seeds of discontent are sprouting fast. The soldier feels that the politician is selling away the nation's prestige and is indifferent to the welfare and security of the uniformed man. The demigods he worshipped and hoped would lead his country to prosperity have proved themselves to be mere men of straw far more vulnerable than the ordinary citizen to avarice, self interest and lust for power. The civil supremacy to which he voluntarily succumbed is being projected before him through disclosures in this House and the daily drama of defections as the supremacy of paper tigers over patriotic lions. How long will he succumb to this type or supremacy? They feel that the leaders in this country have let down the image of the politician that should be there in the soldier's eyes. Now the soldier sees the phenomenon of his officers, the Emergency Commissioned Officers, having to go on a fast for seeking sympathy of the Government. And they also wonder at the indifference of the Defence Minister and the Prime Minister towards their fasting officers. The Prime Minister passes by their place of Satyagraha daily but never cares to consider their problem or stop to offer a soothing smile. The soldier reads in newspapers or jobs of 'tabla' masters being offered to their released officers on a salary of Rs. 80 per mensem. 50,000 of them are being released every year. Due to the insecurity of the future you face in this country a Naxalite revolution. You face in this country a student revolution. You face in this country a youth revolution. You face in this country a revolution of workers and peasants. Let us get together and at last prevent a military revolution,

[Shri Ranjeet Singh]

Lastly, I would like to say a few words for your consideration. Another big factor of morale is the weaponry system. If the soldier has good weapons, the soldier has a good morale. If the soldier thinks that the enemy has got a better weapon, then he has not got good morale. Where does the fault lie? It lies with the Government in keeping him under-armed. What is the best weapon he wants? In this modern world, there is one weapon only worth the name. The nuclear weapon. Therefore, I would plead with this Government, I would plead with this Parliament: let us go nuclear not only for the sake of prestige but for the sake of the nation's security and morale. I appeal to all concerned: let us settle the released ECOS in good jobs. One of them has threatened self-immolation. If that takes place, the effect on the Defence Forces will be disastrous. I am glad to say that certain Mts have decided to go there tomorrow morning between 9 and 10 and console them and have a token *dharna* with them. I hope everybody will go from all parties and it will become a single-party affair. I also hope that the dissatisfaction and chagrin of the defence forces of being kept under-strength and underarmed will soon be eliminated. Do we the politicians want to use the soldier as cannon fodder or, as an instrument of policy? If you want them to be an instrument of policy, let us arm them effectively. Sir, they want nuclear weapons for the sake of their morale. Let us give them nuclear weapons. Again and again we have found Members standing up and saying that there is too much of expenditure on defence; 25% of our budget goes on defence and all that. It is not that too much is spent of defence. But this Government is so incompetent as to be able to find more money for other matters; they should find more money, 10 times as much on the civil side as on the defence side. Our enemies, our neighbours are spending far more. We are not over armed. It is only 0.7% of our youth who are under arms. It is the lowest ratio in the world. And therefore I would say, give to the Defence its nuclear due. Give to our boys the bomb and I appeal to the Government to give more attention to the soldier, to the family of the soldier, to the security and

wellbeing of his dependents, to give him confidence and protection. In this nuclear age there are only two political entities in the world; the nuclear entities and the non nuclear entities. There are only two types of powers in the world, the super powers and the Pariah powers. What does this Government want us to become, Sir?

It is a logical and historical step in the development of weaponry from the sling shot to the antimissile missile. I say to the Government: "for our brave boys either get the Bomb, or get out." Therefore, I again appeal, it is a psychological morale raising weapon that the soldier wants. The bombs are today a matter of political survival.

I again submit, sir, the Bomb is a political imperative. As it is a morale raising weapon, it is a psychological necessity and it is a pressing military requirement.

SHRI GAJRAJ SINGH RAO (Mahendragarh): At the outset I would like to say that the Defence Forces are the strongest pillars in the structure of maintaining our freedom and nationhood. The nation should be proud of our defence forces who are in their outlook and working and in spirit, national, patriotic, heroic and loyal. They are non-provincial, non-communal and non religious. There is never any controversy of language, religion, caste or creed with them. I think we also, Members of Parliament, representatives of the nation can follow that spirit which is found in our defence forces. They are out and out national are loyal to the nation and no controversy ever arose in spite of many people's talking about that. I say this in spite of the fact that our armed forces are ill fed.

Sir, you might remember that a few days back, in the House, it was brought to light that rotten food supply was made by the Corporation. It was investigated and it was proved that this was given over to the army in Kohima, Nathu La and Ladakh. In these regions, our troops moved with ill-equipped clothing.

As regards salary. I want to say a word about our jawans. While a primary teacher

gets a salary of Rs. 250/-, our soldier gets only Rs. 60/-.

वे दाम के गुलाम नहीं हैं, नाम के हितैषी हैं।

Our forces firstly think that they have a reputation for the army. And they bring name to their unit. It is in this spirit that our soldiers are working in the front. From the national point of view I say that there should be no difference in regard to the payment of salaries between the teachers and the soldiers. They should be paid more. And I would appeal to every section of the House that so far as armed forces are concerned, we should have one voice and that is we should strengthen the morale of our jawans who are fighting for the nation in national spirit. If we show that spirit, I am sure that this would strengthen their morale ten times. That is my submission.

I would say one word about our Defence Department. In the Defence Department, circumstances are not such as they were a few years ago. That should be taken note of. Unless the Foreign Affairs, Defence and Home are combined together and unless they cooperate, no defence is possible of the country. See, for instance, what is going in Pakistan. Considering the fact that Pakistan is inimical to us as also the fact that America and China collaborate to arm Pakistan against us, I say this should not be ignored. We have to keep these things in view. I am sorry to say that some of our jawans are lost because of Jaychands and because of the Fifth columnists. See the condition of our brave people who fight in the front. It is very simple for me to say by explaining what is happening in our country. Suppose there is aggression from the other side. Our jawans should blow up the supply lines etc. of the enemy. In the last war, every little information was passed on to the enemy but now this is done openly.

चीनी हमारा चाचा है, रूसी हमारा वादा है।

These people openly come out with these slogans. There are fifth columnists working in Punjab as also in Kashmir. So, we have

to guard against that. I say that 90% of our defence depends upon the proper handling of this Jay Chand. If they do not know this, then Jay Chand would not be helpful to us. They would not dare to attack our jawans if they know this. They know how our jawans conduct the battle.

Now I come to foreign affairs.

There is too much fetish about non-alignment. Our policy of non-alignment never meant that we should have no friends or sympathisers anywhere. We have no animus or designs against any other country. But that does not mean that we should not create an atmosphere where we have friends and sympathisers for what we stand for. This was never meant by Pandit Nehru. So it is misconstrued. America, Russia and China are giving aid to Pakistan, a small country. Giving arms for what? To honour India? Still they are doing it. In case of aggression against us, can we depend on any country in the world for sympathy and support. What can the Defence Minister with all our resources do by himself? It is a national cause. So we should all combine and with one voice let the defence forces know that the nation is behind them. That would be something.

Then guerillas have been trained by some countries to be used against us. Take the case of North Vietnam. Our soldiers have been fighting against guerillas trained by them. Yet we have been talking of establishing ambassadorial relations with them. Would that help? No.

I do not criticise for criticism's sake. But the External Affairs Ministry should closely collaborate and co-operate with the Defence Ministry and try and create an atmosphere where we are not left friendless whereas Pakistan can have all the friendship in the world.

Then we are being fetish about the development of atomic energy. We have no intention to destroy any country. But in our defence apparatus, we should also include atomic energy. It is a false notion to fight shy of nuclear development in a changing world. If we quote Mahatma Gandhi in support of our policy of discarding the use of atomic energy, it will be a wrong

[Shri Gajraj Singh Rao]

thing altogether. We want to develop atomic energy for peace, but in our defence requirements, we should not ignore atomic energy also.

Then there should be a co-ordination Board of the three services, Army, Navy and Air Force to ensure efficient and smooth functioning for the common objective.

Then we should change our mental attitude towards our brave jawans. We treat them as mercenaries, worse than mercenaries. I can quote instances. Sardar Sahib knows about it. I am thankful to him for his sympathetic approach to this question. My hon. friend from the other side, Dr. Raja, was sent to my place to find out what are the needs of the jawans and the difficulties they experienced. The report was placed on the Table with your permission saying that these are the amenities which should be provided to them. Shri Chavan, the then Defence Minister had agreed that these facilities must be given to them. But they never took any action on it. Then there are other instances. Mr. Chavan as Defence Minister admitted that the land grants for bravery which were given were allotted to bogus persons.

17 hrs.

The Minister has been taking keen interest and I have been bringing to his notice matters relating to the Emergency Commissioned Officers and their amenities. He should bear this in mind that the good done to them would make them ten times stronger. In the matter of electricity, taccavi loans, housing loans etc., they are asked to produce guarantees. This should not be insisted upon, I hope that the Defence Minister would bear this in mind and would promise that he would do the needful.

THE MINISTER OF DEFENCE AND STEEL AND HEAVY ENGINEERING (SHRI SWARAN SINGH) : First of all, I would like to express my gratefulness for the general support of the Budget Demands. I think that except for the solitary voice of the spokesmen of the CPI

(M), every other Member who participated in the debate has supported the Demands, and some of my esteemed friends have even said that we are not spending enough.

It is a matter which is of very great importance for us to settle the priorities and to allocate enough resources to meet our defence requirements. The House is no doubt aware of the present demands on the resources of the country for development work, for essential work which is necessary for raising the living standards of millions of our people. Still, out of the scarce resources, the country is spending considerable amounts of money for the defence requirements.

In this context it is necessary for us, for this hon. House and the country, to be informed from time to time about the nature of the threat that we face. There have not been any long speeches on this issue for the obvious reason that the country now is fully aware of the dual threat that we face from Pakistan and China. As a matter of fact, I am a little happy that we are now not too much obsessed with Pakistan and that we are conscious all the time in the House when hon. Members speak and also outside, of the danger that we face from China. And it is in this background that we have to see whether the provision that we make, the arrangements that we organise and the defence apparatus that we build are enough to meet this dual threat or not. This is the basic question.

As the Defence Minister, I would like naturally to have even more money, but this is also one of the responsibilities of any member of the Government, namely to participate in settling the priorities, and I can say that within this over-all limit, my colleagues in the Government and the Finance Ministers from time to time have been very cooperative and the pressing needs of defence have always been met, although I am conscious of the fact that this has meant considerable strain on our scarce resources.

Briefly I should now like to mention about our present state of relationship with Pakistan and China. With Pakistan unfortunately our relations continue to be

uneasy. We are not to blame for this. We are convinced that the rulers of Pakistan, for reasons into which I need not go in great detail, appear to have come to the conclusion that it suits their interests to keep up an atmosphere of tension and confrontation.

AN HON. MEMBER : Personal interests of the leaders of Pakistan ?

SHRI SWARAN SINGH : It is a fascinating subject and I can take some time to explain that.

As I was saying there is no doubt in my mind that the leaders of Pakistan for a variety of reasons, partly to keep up their own position and partly to keep up a certain tempo appear to have come to the conclusion that it suits them to keep up an atmosphere of tension against India. Therefore, if originally it was the question of Kashmir which was predominant in West Pakistan, they have found a sop to East Pakistan now; they have started highlighting Farraka; in any talk, they generally talk of both Karhmir and Farraka. This is a studied attitude and I want hon. friends who suggest that we should try for a settlement should be aware of the thinking in Pakistani circles. It requires two to come to any settlement. However much we may desire, unilaterally, we cannot succeed unless there is reciprocity.

In relation to China, the situation has been described by several hon. Members. They continue to be in strength across our borders. The Chinese do not miss any opportunity to take advantage to any lawless or insurgent elements in our country. They are too anxious by propaganda, by military training and by the supply of arms to strengthen them with a view to harass the Government of India. Collusion between China and Pakistan is a matter which has come before this hon. House more than once. The Chinese are exploiting the Pakistanis for their own political ends and are giving them military hardware of every type such as airforce planes, artillery, etc. and help them to establish manufacturing capacity for military hardware and are always trying to help and support them so that their anti-India stance may continue. This is a situation that we have to face.

We have to assess carefully the military implications of this studied attitude on the part of two of our neighbours and it is in that background that we have to make an assessment of our defence requirements.

Having said that, we have to see whether the arrangements that we are making in the Army, Air Force, and the Navy, in research and development, and in various other supporting organisations provide us an insurance against the dual threat that we face.

The picture will not be complete unless you always keep in mind a clear idea of geography of the areas concerned. On the northern side, we have got mountainous terrain and at places some of the mountain-peaks, some of the passes, are really very high. Then, with Pakistan, we have got two borders: East Pakistan and West Pakistan. On West Pakistan, we have got the cease fire line in the State of Jammu and Kashmir, which is a very artificial line and one has to go to it to be convinced as to how difficult is the task of maintaining the cease fire line; it is very artificial, into the historical reasons of which I need not go. It was the stabilisation of a position that prevailed at a particular moment, and it has created several problems. Then we have got the plains, the desert. And on the eastern side we have got again a border which is heavily populated on either side, except a part where there are tribals on our side, and there is the territory on the side of East Pakistan.

I am mentioning all this to show that our problems are very different, considerably different from the defence problems that are faced by many countries, even countries who are known to be very much advanced in military science and in defence matters. We have to keep this before us we criticise the number of forces, the number of people in the army, and this orientation, this configuration, this geographical situation has to be kept in mind.

It is necessary to keep this in mind to find an answer to the question that was raised by one of the hon. Members as to whether we should not decrease the strength of our army. In fact, several hon.

[Shri Swaran Singh]

friends on the opposite side have themselves given an answer to this; they said that if anything, keep it on the low side rather than on the high side judging from sheer numbers. What is the other implication of it? The other implication of this is, virtually it is necessary for us to have almost two armies; One to face Pakistan, both in the west and in the east; and the other also to face China; and then also have some reserves which can serve as a striking force. This is the type of problem that we face in defence and then to discharge our responsibility in this difficult and complication situation that we have, and it is in this light that we have to view our defence effort.

In this respect, we have done considerable work in improving the effectiveness of our army. It is true that we have taken a conscious decision that the numbers should be frozen so far as just numbers are concerned, but within those numbers it is possible to increase what can be described as the teeth-to-tail ratio and also the bite in the teeth could be improved. This is the direction in which we have been working and we have achieved considerable success.

SHRI RANJEET SINGH : Put some teeth in your tail also.

SHRI SWARAN SINGH : Barking is not biting.

SHRI RANJEET SINGH : I think you have said something very intelligent today.

SHRI SWARAN SINGH : It is necessary for us to remember that this is a subject on which very sustained effort in an organised manner, in a persistent manner, has to be pursued, and I am glad to report to the hon. House that in various fields, in giving a better type of equipment to our army,— that is, the infantry, artillery and the armoured corps,— by improving their training, by having better type of exercises, better type of strategic appreciation, the army is definitely in a better position to serve the country and to come up to our expecta-

tion, I will not go into details, but in all these spheres that I have mentioned, namely, equipment for infantry, for artillery, for armoured corps and also for training, very definite steps have been taken and appreciation for this has been expressed by several hon. members, for which I am grateful.

Coming to the Air Force, the strength of the Air Force naturally depends on our own capacity to manufacture aircraft, secondly to maintain them and thirdly to be self-sufficient in the matter of spares, ammunition and other matters. The House is aware that we are manufacturing several types of aircraft now. They have been mentioned in the report and I will not burden the House with all those details. But we cannot wait for our own manufactured planes to be in service. Therefore, for the intermediate period, we were anxious to acquire from whatever source available the right type of aircraft which would meet our requirements. I have no hesitation in saying that in this respect we have received help from friendly countries. The maximum help in this respect we have received from the Soviet Union—the fighter bomber and also the fighter plane we have got, which is no longer a secret.

AN HON. MEMBER : What about missiles ?

SHRI SWARAN SINGH : I will come to that. It is also part of our defence arrangement, but I was talking of the planes now. We have displayed them—MIGs and also SV7—we call it Type 22. These are the planes. We have the manufacturing programme also for MIGs. We have got three factories which have been charged with this responsibility, at Nasik for the air-frame, at Hyderabad for electronics and at Koraput for the engine. We are now in a position where we are not just assembling; we have gone to the manufacturing stage from the raw materials. This is a very significant development, a matter on which we can express satisfaction. As my colleague pointed out, our own HF-24 is in squadron service. The brave boys who are handling it—I have had occasion to talk to them informally—are very happy with this new plane which is

entirely our own manufacture. We have also equipped our Air Force reasonably well for fighter-bomber role.

On the defensive side, we have got both the warning system the radar equipment and also missiles to take on the invading aircraft. An hon. member opposite asked whether we have got any observer corps. We have an observer corps and they have already started functioning in this respect.

Some hon. members—particularly Mr. Viswanathan, whom I do not see now—spoke about the navy. All his speech almost was devoted to the navy. We have made a careful assessment of our naval requirements. It must have been noticed by the House that on an issue like another aircraft carrier, there was difference of opinion. It was said by my very esteemed colleague and friend opposite, Dr Raju, who has got a great deal of experience in these matters, that it is as well we have taken a decision not to acquire another aircraft carrier. There was another viewpoint expressed from the other side, I will be quite frank. Aircraft carrier, in the context of our country, has got a limited role. If we have plenty of resources, probably, may be for a variety of reasons we would like to have two aircraft carriers, one on the western side and one on the Bay of Bengal. But when we are thinking of conserving our resources and trying to make the maximum use of whatever may be the limited resources, then some assessment has to be made as to whether a larger number of faster boats, which may have greater mobility and greater striking power, as suggested by Dr Raju, will be a better investment. It may cost Rs. 60 crores, 70 crores or even up to Rs. 100 crores if it is a good aircraft carrier. After careful consideration we came to the conclusion that it will be more in the interest of our defence if we were to utilize whatever resources are available to have a larger number of faster smaller boats with greater mobility and with greater fire power because our problems are essentially defensive, so far as coasts are concerned, with this type of a boat with a good striking power, supported by the coastal defence which could always be provided by aircraft bases at the coast. This is less costly and,

therefore, this was a better investment and we took a decision accordingly.

Having said this much, I do not want now to say general things in a general manner. But some specific questions have been posed and I will deal with some of them. First of all, I would like to dispel very strongly, with all the emphasis at my command, the suggestion that was made by the lady member opposite, Shrimati Sharda Mukerjee, which is a very serious charge. I say that it is a very serious matter. To say that we are not showing all the expenditure in our budget will be exposing ourselves to a charge which some of our enemies are making. Some of the Pakistani press people and commentators have been saying that India is hiding some of the expenditure from the budget. I cannot because I am subjected to control by the Auditor-General, by the Accountant-General and by this Parliament and by the vigilance of the hon. Members. So, it will be absolutely wrong to make that charge. We will be playing into the hands of our uncharitable critics if we were to leave any impression that there is such a thing as hidden expenditure in our defence effort, and one should be very sure about one's fact, one should be very sure about the figures before such a suggestion is made.

I thought that Shrimati Sharda Mukerjee was very careful in these matters but I think after going to the opposite side she is not that careful. Because, I cannot excuse her for giving the figure of Rs. 197 crores for NCC. I got a shock when I heard this. Then I checked the figures and I found it is only Rs. 197 lakhs. It is given at page 10 of the budget document.

Again, she said she felt greatly worried that nothing is shown as expenditure for equipment of the army and the air force. That also was something which came to me as a great surprise, because I attach importance to what she says. I could not believe that we have not shown any expenditure to purchase equipment for the army or the air force. I am sorry to say that she did not do her home work properly on this occasion. The equipment for the air force is given in very great detail and the amount runs to Rs. 80 crores or 90 crores.

SHRIMATI SHARDA MUKERJEE : I said on capital account there was no expenditure. Let the Government say aircraft is shown on revenue account.

SHRI SWARAN SINGH : Again I would like to clarify one point very clearly. She said in her statement that we are obviously getting some aid from somewhere which we are not showing in our budget. This is a serious charge and I say categorically that there is not a single piece of equipment that I get as an aid. I pay for every piece of equipment that I get.

SHRIMATI SHARDA MUKERJEE : I said if it is rupee payment and the rupees and not backed by any gold reserves then it is a military aid.

SHRI SWARAN SINGH : The object in specifically mentioning this is not to score a debating point but these are very important basic questions of policy. Do we pay for our equipment or do we get as aid? I say we pay for every piece of equipment. It is a basic point whether we are hiding anything in our budget. I say categorically that every penny is accounted for.

A question had been raised about the reorganisation of the Defence Ministry and some hon. Members—Shri Frank Anthony spent quite some time on it. It is necessary to take note of this.

What is the essential point that he has raised? Shri Frank Anthony made a plea of setting up a parliamentary committee to examine the present structure of the Defence Ministry. This is not a new idea as far as Shri Frank Anthony is concerned. We have heard it from him year after year. Shri Frank Anthony stated that we have done wrong in adopting the U. K. pattern in 1947 and ended by saying that we have done wrong in not copying U. K. and having a Chief of Defence Staff or a permanent Chairman, Chiefs of Staff Committee. For Shri Frank Anthony, whatever we do is wrong.

When the British had the Army Council, Shri Frank Anthony wanted us to copy that in India. He would be surprised to know that the re-organisation in the Defence Ministry in U. K. which was made

6 or 7 years ago was patterned on the Indian system though I would admit that in doing so they have gone further with the integration of services with the Ministry. Shri Frank Anthony was against having a Chairman, Chiefs of Staff coming in by turn from each Service. In England, there is no permanent Chairman, Chiefs of Staff, as such. The Chairman is appointed for a tenure and is, by turn, from each of the three Services.

Then, Shri Anthony made an unfortunate reference to pot-bellied Chiefs of Staff. I have cast my mind over a period of 15 to 20 years and cannot discover that any one of our Chiefs of Staff deserved Shri Anthony's description. The Chiefs of Staff have done well by us over the last 20 years and the House owes it to them that their service is recognised and no disrespect is shown to them.

I shall now take up the substantive point. Shri Frank Anthony has assumed that the appointment of a Chairman of the Chiefs of Staff Committee is a simple affair. It is not so and will not serve the purpose unless some important structural changes are carried out. In all the countries where this arrangement is adopted, the Chiefs of Staff have ceased to be the heads of their Services. The Chairman presides over the Chiefs of Staff Committee and arrives at decisions covering all three Services. This arrangement is useful where the Services are fully developed and balanced. Where they compete for funds, this is a good forum for the resolution of differences. It has also relation to the kind of defence problems which the other countries have. We have no overseas commitments. We have not any pacts where the Chiefs have to be represented.

I am strong in my conviction that, even where such changes are considered essential, they should be evolutionary and made over a period. We have also evolved many new arrangements which suit our conditions.

A new mechanism which we evolved soon after 1962 has given us better dividends than any other formal arrangements we could have. This was a procedure initiated by my predecessor in office, Shri Y. B. Chavan. This is familiarly referred to as the

Defence Minister's Morning Meetings. Twice a week, I meet the three Chiefs of Staff and the three Secretaries in the Defence Ministry, and we discuss across the table all important issues which require immediate solution as well as lay down long-term objectives. This has established a rapport between the Defence Minister who is politically responsible and the Chiefs of Staff as no other formal arrangement can ever achieve.

Then, Shri Randhir Singh referred to the absence of direct access between the Defence Minister and the Chiefs of staff. This is completely wrong. In no other country, do the Chiefs of Staff have direct access to the Defence Minister in the same real sense as here.

There was a reference, I think, to the need for independent and reliable advice on military matters to the Government. This practice whereby the three Chiefs of Staff meet me regularly and together make sure that the advice given to me is reliable and independent.

श्री कंबरलाल गुप्त (दिल्ली सदर) : कोई बड़ी बात भी कहिए, इन्हीं ऋग्ड़ों में सारा वक्त लगा देंगे ?

चौधरी रणधीर सिंह (रोहतक) : दुकान-दारी की बात करें ?

SHRI SWARAN SINGH : I won't talk about the 'Dal' affair. Again, I am sorry I have to mention this because I noticed that for the first time they made a reference to the Chief of Staff which is not in good taste to say the least. Then they said there may be conforming Chiefs of Staff—an amazing statement for anybody to make.

SHRI PILOO MODY : You have forgotten your history.

SHRI SWARAN SINGH : It would be extremely difficult for any Defence Minister to appoint three conforming Chiefs of Staff. All of them meet together in the morning meeting and we discuss matters thereadbare. I would inform this House that these casual remarks affecting their integrity are detrimental to our interests and should be avoided.

It was again very erroneously mentioned as if there is any conflict between the civil servant and the representatives of the Armed Forces. I think we have examined it very carefully. There is not such thing. I don't know why again my friend, Choudhury Randhir Singh should have thought that he goes and salutes the Joint Secretary. I don't know who informed him.

SHRI RANDHIR SINGH : I know better than you.

SHRI SWARAN SINGH : Perhaps he could not recognize the badges and might have mistaken a colonel for a General.

SHRI RANDHIR SINGH : I know more than you do.

SHRI SWARAN SINGH : This is something which is just not done. We give the highest respect and in fact, I am...

SHRI RANDHIR SINGH : I know our Generals next to you.

SHRI SWARAN SINGH : They are next to me. There is no doubt. I took some time because some vital matters of reconstruction and reorganization are there and some doubt upon the mechanism was raised and so, it is necessary that we should not create such an impression.

SHRI RANGA (Srikakulam) : We cannot recognize their badges because we do not know what they are. It is true.

SHRI BAL RAJ MADHOK (South-Delhi) : Take Prof. Ranga to a military camp for some time.

SHRI SWARAN SINGH : It will be a great pleasure. He is most welcome.

AN HON. MEMBER : Why not Mr. Madhok ?

SHRI BAL RAJ MADHOK : I had been to military camps very often.

SHRI SWARAN SINGH : Sir, mention has been made about the defence plan. There has been general appreciation of the new procedure, we have settled. My friend, Mr. P. K. Deo made a very good speech. He

[Shri Swaran Singh]

made a mention that there should be a plan in perspective. This is precisely what we have done. There is the ten year plan and as soon as we finish one year, another year is added. Therefore, all the time we have got ten years' perspective requirements before us - a 'Roll on' plan. There is another incentive for them to effect economy because whatever is saved by economy, that they are entitled to plough back to meet some other requirements of the Defence Services. So, it has an inbuilt incentive for economy and for improving the effectiveness of the expenditure.

I would like to tell the House very briefly about the objectives of defence planning. One is that the manpower for the Army will be maintained within the existing sanctioned strength, of approximately 8.28 lakhs but increased efficiency will be secured by improving further the 'teeth to tail' ratio and by completing the re-equipment of the Army with modern weapons, etc., which, to a very substantial extent, has already been achieved. Secondly, the Naval force would be substantially strengthened so that it is capable of discharging its task simultaneously on both the sea-boards; base facilities would be augmented on both the sea-boards to afford flexibility in the development and maintenance of the Naval fleet. Thirdly, the 45 Squadron Air Force would be maintained. The process of modernisation of the Air Force would be continued by phasing out the older aircraft. Increased radar cover would be provided for air defence. Fourthly, production facilities under the Department of Defence Production for weapons, equipment and ammunition would be further augmented and modernised. New manufacturing facilities, where necessary, would be established for specialised electronic equipment arising out of the radar plan, aircraft accessories and other sophisticated equipment. The above objectives can be fulfilled and executed efficiently only if they are derived from a perspective of 10 to 15 years. I have already mentioned about the roll on plan. The roll-on plan is drawn up and revised with the fullest association of the three Chiefs of Staff and have their full agreement. In this process the Defence Services have a clear indication of what they

can expect over a period of 5 years. The Chiefs of Staff have been most appreciative of the new arrangement. It has enabled them to draw up relative priorities much more clearly than before. The new arrangement has given the Services an incentive for saving savings which they can use for improving their other forms, and economy.

SHRI RANGA : We would like it to be shown separately, what it is every year that they have saved, and how they have utilised the saving.

SHRI SWARAN SINGH : A point was made by Shri Raju and several other hon. Members that the funds that are voted should be utilised in the best possible manner. I fully agree with that. We have taken some concrete steps in that direction; and I would like to very briefly mention some of them. Many of the decisions which involve considerable outlay in expenditure are now made after the most detailed consideration. And I can give you some of the examples. They are :-

- (1) A study group on maritime reconnaissance aircraft.
- (2) A study group on Ground-to-air missiles.
- (3) A study group on patrol-craft for the navy.
- (4) A study group to develop an economical inventory system of spares for the army. This study group is assisted by a firm of industrial and materials management consultants.

SHRI PILOO MODY : Do you computerise your inventories ?

SHRI SWARAN SINGH : They are introducing computers also.

- (5) A Study by the Administrative Staff College, Hyderabad, with a view to reorganise the overhaul effort in IAF for certain range of items.
- (6) A study by the Institute Management, Ahmedabad with a view to adoption of modern management methods for inventory control and

provisioning of spares by HAL to meet Air Force requirements for maintenance and overhaul of aircraft manufactured by HAL for IAF.

Cost effectiveness studies have also been initiated in suitable cases so that selection from amongst the alternatives available is carried out on the most effective and economical basis. I would like to give one or two examples, The are :-

- (1) Utilisation of Layland Comet 7 ton vehicles in lieu of 3 ton TMB/Shaktiman vehicles.
- (2) Utilisation of lorry mounted 10 ton crane, as compared to mobile 10 ton cranes by the IAF.

A value engineering study has been initiated. I am mentioning all these things to show that it not just that anybody sits on paper, the control is something which is more concretised and it takes the form of taking all possible action to study the problems with the help of such outside assistance as might be available, from experts, from management institutes and from several other organisations. And I would welcome if any further improvement could be made or any specific suggestion could be made by hon. Members.

I have to make one small correction. It was mentioned by Shri Viswanathan there and he stated the figures about the teeth to tail ratio. He said that the teeth to tail ratio is 59 to 41. This is not correct. He said that the optimum ratio should be 62 to 38. This is precisely the ratio that we have achieved. So I would like to correct him on that. He had come with a well-prepared speech and since he has raised this matter, I thought I should make the necessary correction.

A mention has been made by, I think, Shri Varma on this side that the pay scales of army personnel should also go before the Pay Commission.

The House would recall that my colleague, Shri P. C. Sethi, has already made a statement to that effect. And I would invite the attention of the hon. Member to the

statement laid on the table of the House on the 23rd. It will be seen from that statement that the Third Pay Commission, unlike the two earlier ones, will enquire into and make recommendations on the structure of emoluments including the benefits in cash and kind and death-cum-retirement benefits to personnel belonging to the armed forces, having regard to their terms and conditions of service.

SHRI UMANATH (Pudukkottai) : Who will represent them before the Pay Commission ?

SHRI SWARAN SINGH : We shall represent them. There will be a team which will take up their case and this team will consist of representatives of the services.

श्री कंवरलाल गुप्त : जो लोग फार्वर्ड एरियाज में रहते हैं, दूर दूर रहते हैं, उन के लिये आप क्या करेंगे ? उन को क्या पेंसिलिटि देंगे ।

श्री स्वर्ण सिंह : आप ने तो मैं स्पेश भी नहीं दी, लेकिन सप्लिमेंटरी शुरू कर दी ।

श्री कंवरलाल गुप्त : सप्लिमेंटरी तो कर सकता हूँ । लाखों सिपाही ऊँचे ऊँचे पहाड़ों पर रहते हैं, उन का क्या होगा ? उनको आप क्या पेंसिलिटि देंगे ?

SHRI SWARAN SINGH : Shri P. K. Deo referred to the Mahajani Committee. This matter has been agitating the minds of the hon. Members and I would like to clarify the position. The report of the Committee was received in August, 1969. Their important recommendations are three-upgradation of the syllabus both for Humanities and Sciences to a degree standard, minimum educational qualification for entry into the Academy to be raised to a higher secondary or equivalent with the age-limit of 16 to 18 or matriculation of equivalent to be followed by a preparatory course of one year with age limit of 15 to 17 years, award of degree B. A. (Pass)/B.Sc. (Pass) for the Humanities and Science streams.

The first two recommendations have been accepted by Government and this revised

[Shri Swaran Singh]

syllabus will be introduced from July, 1971. And new educational qualifications will apply for the cadets from the July, 1971 course. The Committee has suggested that the N. D. A. should function as an autonomous institution affiliated to the Jawaharlal Nehru University. This is under consideration in consultation with the university authorities. I would like to add that the actual award of the degrees will arise only three years after the cadets enter the N D.A. under the new arrangements in 1971.

SHRI BALRAJ MADHOK : Why don't you affiliate that with the Poona University ?

SHRI SWARAN SINGH : This was the recommendation. We can take a decision either way. Major General Jai Singh referred to the fact that the Territorial Army is short of its authorised strength. Government are aware of this and in pursuance of the views expressed by the Members at a meeting of the Central Advisory Committee of the Territorial Army, a Committee has been set up under the chairmanship of the Maharaja of Patiala. Two Members of Parliament are also Members. This is to go into various aspects of the Territorial Army so as to make it a more effective force. The recommendations of the Committee are expected to be available by the end of this year.

A mention had been made that we are not manufacturing the small tanks. It is true that we have got small tanks which are of foreign manufacture. We started with the manufacture of Vijayanta, a medium tank. You will be glad to know that the performance of this tank is very satisfactory. Our forces which are using these tanks are fully satisfied with the performance. So, it will be wrong for the hon. Members to give some figures and to ridicule the actual manufacturing capacity of the Avadi factory. A large number of tanks are actually rolled out from this factory.

SHRI BALRAJ MADHOK : But it was not working upto the capacity.

SHRI SWARAN SINGH : This can still be improved.

SHRI BALRAJ MADHOK : It has worked only up to 62%. It should work to the full capacity.

SHRI SWARAN SINGH : It is true so far as small tanks are concerned. But I would like to give you this information. We have already commenced the design and development of a small tank. The design concept is such that, based on the same chassis, engine and transmission and achieving considerable standardisation, we would have the Armoured Personnel Carriers. In consultation with the Army, we have drawn up a composite ten-year plan for the armour. Here the House must accept my assurance that the arrangements made in regard to providing the Army with the armoured vehicles are satisfactory.

SHRI RANGA : How long would it take ?

SHRIMATI SHARDA MUKERJEE : We only want that they should come before the Chinese.

SHRI SWARAN SINGH : My hon. friend, Shri Samar Guha besides as usual a powerful speech on unclear weapons, also made a mention of the INA personnel. I would like to give the latest information. In August 1967, I announced in the House the decision of Government to restore the balance of the forfeited pay and allowance of Indian Army personnel who had joined INA and who were dismissed or discharged from service on account of their association with the INA. In pursuance of this decision, Government orders were issued in Oct., 1967. The total number of personnel involved was estimated to be about 15,500. Upto 31-3-70 claims for refund of forfeited pay and allowances have been received from 14,869. It has not been possible to trace the remaining persons 631 in number as their addresses are not known. While restoring the forfeited pay and allowances in 1967, only the basic pay and such allowances as automatically go with the basic pay were taken into account. Allowances such as expatriation allowance, Japanese campaign pay and *bhatta* which were admissible in specific conditions had not been included. However, after a review, Government have now decided that these allowances will also be taken into account while

calculating the dues. The total amount expected to be paid as a result of the latest decision is about Rs. 1.14 crores.

Ch. Randhir Singh made a mention that there has been no increase in the pension of Subedar Majors and other ranks for the last 20 years. I am afraid his information is not correct. The rates of pension to JCOs vary with the length of the total qualifying service of the category to which they belong. So far Subedar Major is concerned, the maximum rate of pension has increased from Rs. 145 per month in 1952 to Rs. 244 per month now.

SHRI RANDHIR SINGH : They are not satisfied.

SHRI SWARAN SINGH : Between 1st June, 1953 and 1st December, 1969, increased pensions have been granted on three different occasions to JCOs and also other ranks.

SHRI RANDHIR SINGH : Too small for the work they put in.

SHRI SWARAN SINGH : Some hon. members said that rations to the Army that are supplied are sub-standard. This is a very dangerous statement to make. Inspection at the receiving end is very strict. I can say that not only at the procurement but at the inspection stage, very rigorous inspection is done. The Food Corporation of India is now supplying the main cereals, wheat and rice. So this fear is not correct.

Some hon. members had said that delegations of members should be encouraged to go to forward areas. I welcome the suggestion. Some hon. members have visited forward areas although sometimes they show undue exuberance and create problems. But on the whole, it is welcomed by the armed forces, by the jawans.

SHRI BALRAJ MADHOK : Send them in winter, not in summer. Let them not go there as a matter of holiday.

SHRI SWARAN SINGH : Yes. I intend to send some of them to Rajasthan border which I have recently visited, because one has to go to the Jaisalmer area to see what it really means.

SHRI N. K. P. SALVE : Let him also go with them.

SHRI SWARAN SINGH : I have already visited them. They should be put on camels, and let us see what happens to them after ten or 15 miles.

SHRI KANWAR LAL GUPTA : Did you travel on a camel or in an airconditioned car ?

SHRI SWARAN SINGH : Guptaji cannot think of a camel. We have been riding camels from childhood.

I have said already that the essential programme in our Air Force is to modernise it. Some stray remarks have fallen from the wise lips of several hon. Members, and it is my duty to clarify the position so that no misapprehension or wrong impression is left in their minds. Our objective is the efficient maintenance of a modern and properly balanced 45 Squadron Force, consisting of fighters, fighter bombers, bombers, strategic and maritime reconnaissance aircraft and transport aircraft. Older types of aircraft which have been in service with the Indian Air Force are being progressively phased out, and the squadrons, are being re-equipped with better and modern aircraft. The Toofani was phased out of service in February, 1968. From April, 1969 the Vampire was withdrawn from operational squadrons, and is now being used only in the training role. The Toofani and Vampire squadrons have been re-equipped with Mig 21 and the SU-7 aircraft.

The first HF-24 squadron was formed on 1st April, 1967. The Mystere aircraft is also expected to be phased out shortly. The numbers of types of aircraft has thus been reduced. This is not an accident, but the result of a deliberate policy.

In three or four years the fighter bomber force will consist of Hunter, Gnat, Mig-21 (modern and improved version), HF-24 and SU-7 aircraft. The striking power of Air Force has been significantly augmented. The strength of the Air Force may remain only at 45 squadrons, but the improvements made in the maintenance and serviceability of the aircraft have already paid dividends. I can say with confidence that the punch

[Shri Swaran Singh]

of the 45 squadrons is greater today than it was two years ago.

Mention was made by an hon. Member opposite about overhaul arrangement. I would like to say that all the overhaul and repair arrangement have now been made in India, and even in regard to planes for which we have not made arrangements, we have initiated action to actually put on the ground arrangements which will be in operation before long.

SHRIMATI SHARDA MUKERJEE : Is this in the future or in the past ?

SHRI SWARAN SINGH : In the past also we made with respect to some, and for the newer ones we are organising.

SHRI PILOO MODY : What about the spare parts ?

SHRI SWARAN SINGH : We have to have a sufficient stockpile, and also we have started manufacturing several spare parts.

Major Ranjeet Singh can perhaps accuse me that I have not taken much notice of his speech I have no intention to, but it is because it lacks substance. He mentioned a number of things in a high-flown manner, but there is not much that I can really answer. There are one or two mis-statements that he made which I want to correct.

I do not know what his source of information is when he says that we have entered into an agreements that we will not manufacture ammunition for the Soviet...

SHRI RANJEET SINGH : Do not put words into my mouth. I asked if it is a fact, if not why are you not manufacturing it.

18 hrs.

SHRI SWARAN SINGH : Unless you want to correct your statement, I am happy at the new statement that you have made. When the actual typescript of what you had said goes to you, then you can check up as to whether what I am saying is correct or

not. I cannot imagine that he should imagine that there can be an agreement that we will not manufacture any ammunition. I want to say categorically that there is no such inhibition for manufacturing any equipment or any ammunition or anything that we we have acquired from abroad whatever may be the source of origin, and it is wrong to have any such feeling. (Interruption) We have already started manufacturing some pieces of ammunition, some categories of ammunition, and it is our intention to manufacture all the ammunition in our country. I repeat that we have already started manufacturing some varieties and it is our programme to manufacture the rest also, and in this we will be happy to get the support and help from whatever sources.

AN HON. MEMBER : In how many years ? (Interruption)

SEVERAL HON. MEMBERS rose--

SHRI SWARAN SINGH : Several hon. Members have made reference to our atomic programme and the Chinese programme about space. That is a matter which was engaging the attention of the House for quite about an hour and a half this morning. I have no thing more to add to it and it is not my intention to restate the policy. I know the hon. Deputy Speaker has an eye on the clock. At 6 O'clock, there is some other item; and I have tried to cover many points. If there are others that I have left unreplyed, (Interruption) if there are any matters which has been left, and if hon. Members feel that I should give them the replies, if they make a reference to me, I shall be glad to send them whatever further information they want.

SHRI KANWAR LAL GUPTA : About the border roads.

SHRI SWARAN SINGH : I do not know what bothers the hon. Member, because there has been uniform appreciation of the border roads work in the desert area in Rajasthan and also in the mountains in Jammu and Kashmir and in NEFA also...

श्री कंबरलाल गुप्त : कितना बनाया है ? क्या आगे प्रोग्राम है यह हम जानना चाहते हैं ।

SHRI SWARAN SINGH : The programme is there. It is in the budget paper themselves; there is allocation for it, and that programme continues.

SEVERAL HON. MEMBERS rose—

SHRI SAMAR GUHA : Sir, on a point of submission.

SHRI BALRAJ MADHOK : You should extend the time. This is not the way. (*Interruption*)

SHRI SAMAR GUHA : He should continue tomorrow; otherwise, this is an insult to this House. (*Interruption*)

MR. DEPUTY--SPEAKER : Order, order. Hon do you expect me to hear when four, five, half a dozen Members speak at the same time ? (*Interruption*) I would request the hon. lady Member to say whether she can follow when six Members speak at the same time ?

श्री ना० प्र० यादव (सीतामढ़ी) : उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, आपने बोलने के लिए समय नहीं दिया, कम से कम प्रश्न तो मंत्री महोदय से पूछने दीजिये। मैं कल से प्रतीक्षा कर रहा हूँ।

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : Hear me first. (*Interruption*) Please sit down. The Minister has concluded his speech,— (*Interruption*) Order, order. You do not allow me to finish even a sentence.

SHRI N. K. P. SALVE : Under pressure, under your orders, he sat down.

MR. DEPUTY--SPEAKER : And he has concluded by saying that if he has left out any point, obviously, (*Interruption*) Order, order.

SHRI RANDHIR SINGH : The ECOs and some ex-servicemen are fasting opposite the Prime Minister's house. What about them ?

MR. DEPUTY--SPEAKER : He has requested the Members to kindly pass on all those points to him and that he will reply. You will get the answer.

SHRI BALRAJ MADHOK : We are spending more than Rs. 1200 crores on defence. Therefore, discussion on defence demands must take its proper time. It has been going on for two days and the minister has replied. Now some other item is to be taken up. But defence is more important than that item. That item can come after the 30th. This is more important. The minister should continue his speech.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : In the first place, it is not open to the Chair to revise the programme of the business of the House.

SHRI P. K. DEO (Kalahandi) : The House is supreme. It can revise it.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : Mr. Madhok asked me to revise the programme. If he is asking the House that is a different question. It is not true that the minister has sat down because some other item is coming.

SHRI BALRAJ MADHOK : He said so.

MR. DEPUTY--SPEAKER : He has finished his speech. Let me ascertain from him. Have you finished your speech ?

SHRI SWARAN SINGH : A certain time had been fixed and within that, I have tried to cover the more important points. Maybe one or two points have been left out. About ECOs, this matter did come up here in the form of a call attention. I appealed at that time that they should give up their fast and said that we are doing our best for them. We will do everything possible to rehabilitate them. I have already given all the figures and I do not want to repeat them. It came up before the House only a few days ago. I am sorry they are still continuing this chain fast.

SHRI RANJEET SINGH : Will you make some categorical statement about the ex-servicemen ?

SHRI SWARAN SINGH : About ex-servicemen, I made a fairly longish statement a few days ago. It is not customary that we repeat the same things over

[Shri Swaran Singh]

and over again. About ex-servicemen, I want to say again this is a matter which is of the highest importance and we should do everything when they go back to make them useful members of society. The civil administration should help them in every way. Opportunities for employment in the public sector, in Government, in the police, etc. should be provided to them. But the main thing rests upon the cooperation of the States. That is what we tried to achieve in the last meeting held at Jaipur which was attended by the representatives of State Government also. I am happy that the response from the States has been good. I hope they will take some follow up action.

SHRI SURENDRANATH DWIVEDY (Kendrapara): The minister said that if there are any points left, members can write to him. But those are minor points. The whole House was expecting a reply about the nuclear weapons because of the changed circumstances. I realise that time is short and it is not possible for him to make that important announcement. Since another item has been fixed for 6 o'clock, I suggest that the minister may take some time, say, 20 minutes, in the beginning tomorrow and complete his speech.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : The Minister has said that this morning for one and a half hours has been discussing this particular question and that he has nothing more to add.

SHRI SAMAR GUHA : I would like to submit that in the morning we had discussed an almost irrelevant issue. The satellite has no relevance to the nuclear policy or missiles. I was astounded that in the morning we spent one and a half hours on a issue which had no bearing, no relevance to the nuclear weapon and nuclear deterrents. It is a completely different thing. Russia and America have not developed any technology to use satellite for military purpose yet. I want to submit that the whole country is agitated on the issue of nuclear deterrents by our country. In this House also 90 per cent of the speakers have in one form or another, raised this issue. What is the policy of the government ? I

am very sorry to remark that the Defence Minister made the statement that he has referred to more important aspects. I do not know if in the country today there is any other issue which is more important, more vital, more crucial, more necessary than the nuclear weapons. Therefore, this should merit his reply.

SHRI N. K. P. SALVE : Only a point of submission. The hon. Defence Minister was properly briefed and he replied to the points raised by members in the debate yesterday. For various questions raised today, he was not possibly briefed. So, he said he has run out of time. But the procedure of our writing to him and his sending us a reply is something extraordinary. Then the whole debate will have no meaning. In that case, we could have written our entire speeches and sent them on to him and he could have sent his replies. Then the debate will cease to have any meaning. On very vital points made by us in the House, we would like to have replies on the floor of the House.

SHRI SWARAN SINGH : I have the highest respect for my very learned friend, Shri Salve. But I would like to refresh his memory that I devoted a considerable time in answering the points made by Shrimati Sharda Mukerjee, and she made her speech today and not yesterday. Though my mind is not as sharp as his, I have covered all the important points that they have raised.

SHRIMATI SHARDA MUKERJEE : Will you agree to have a parliamentary committee to go in to the structure and equipments ?

SHRI SWARAN SINGH : My reply is a very simple and emphatic "No".

SHRI RANJEET SINGH : Member after member have made certain serious allegations about the army and its structure. There are people outside, two Generals and ex-chiefs who are making similar points. There has been a demand for a commission or a parliamentary Probe. Why is the Minister shirking this demand for a commission ?

DR. D. S. RAJU (Rajahmundry): In my speech I made a reference to laser beams

which are supposed to be very good to defuse the incoming missiles. Could the hon. Minister throw some light on this ?

श्री गुणानन्द ठाकुर (सहरसा) : उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, आज एक बड़ी जोष दुर्घटना भूटान में हुई है। समाचार भारती के पत्रकार श्री पंकज शर्मा जो कि राष्ट्रपतिजी के साथ में गए थे उनकी मृत्यु हो गई है और आल इंडिया रेडियो के जो संवाददाता गए थे वे बुरी तरह से जख्मी हैं और डाइवर भी बुरी तरह से घायल है। तो मैं आपसे निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ... (व्यवधान)... उनके परिवार की सूचना जानी चाहिये.....

MR. DEPUTY--SPEAKER : This is something different.

श्री रबिराय : मेरा एक व्यवस्था का प्रश्न भी है। आज जो एजेन्डा पेपर है उस में दिया गया है कि 6 बजे से माननीय मधु लिमये के विल पर वहस होगी। इस समय सवा छे वज चुके हैं। इसलिए माननीय सुरेन्द्रनाथ द्विवेदी का जो प्रस्ताव है कि डिफेंस मंत्रालय की जो महत्वपूर्ण वहस है उस को आज उठा लिया जाये। 15 मिनट बीत चुके हैं, समय बरबाद हो रहा है, यह बहुत महत्वपूर्ण मंत्रालय है, कई महत्वपूर्ण सवाल उठाये गये हैं, इसलिये इसको कल लिया जाये और कल हम फिर वहस करें।

SHRI PILOO MODY : Sir, I am against continuing this debate tomorrow because even if the Defence Minister spends another hour on the debate I do not think he will give us any more information than he has already given us. This is evident. I think it should be concluded and if he has anything more to say it can be done in another two minutes.

श्री प्रेमचन्द वर्मा (हमीरपुर) : श्री पंकज शर्मा जर्नलिस्ट, जो मरे हैं, यह बहुत महत्वपूर्ण घटना है। वह सरकारी ड्यूटी पर राष्ट्रपति के साथ गए हुये थे। और उसके साथ ही ए० आई० आर० के कन्सॉर्टेंट जख्मी हुए हैं।

मैं चाहता हूँ कि विदेश मन्त्री जी इस पर ध्यान दें और बताये कि उनकी क्या हालत है।

SHRI CHENGALRAYA NAIDU (Chittoor) : I wanted to know from the hon. Minister: on Nepal border Pakistanis and Chinese are crossing to our side, Pakistanis are creating trouble and the Chinese are coming and taking photos and getting information. What steps are you taking on the Nepalese border ?

श्री ना० प्र० यादव : मैं मंत्री महोदय से जानना चाहता हूँ कि प्रधान मन्त्री के निवास स्थान पर 15 दिनों से जो एमर्जेंसी कमीशनड अफसर लोग अनशन कर रहे हैं उनके लिये आप क्या व्यवस्था कर रहे हैं ?

साथ ही यह भी जानना चाहता हूँ कि उत्तरी बिहार, जिसकी सीमा नेपाल से लगती है, मुझे मालूम हुआ है कि चाइनीज बाडर तक आते हैं, उनकी रोकथाम के लिये आप की तरफ से क्या इन्तजाम किया जा रहा है ?

श्री शिव नारायण (बस्ती) : मैं सरकार से जानना चाहता हूँ कि आप हिमालयन रेंज की, जो हमारा संतरी रहा है, हमारी संस्कृति का रक्षक रहा है, उसके संरक्षण के लिये क्या कर रहे हैं।

और दूसरा सवाल यह है कि प्रधान मन्त्री के दरवाजे पर जो फौज के अमरजेंसी केमिशनड अफसर अनशन कर रहे हैं, जिन्होंने 1965 की लड़ाई लड़ी, उनके लिये आप क्या कर रहे हैं ?

SHRI SWARAN SINGH : My hon. friend, Shri Salve asked me as to why the Chief of the Air Staff is continuing to be the Chairman of the H. A. L. This is a very temporary arrangement. He is only a part-time Chairman. This arrangement is not intended to be made permanent. We are on the look-out of the suitable Chairman and we will take a decision before long about having the permanent Chairman.

In reply to a query raised by my hon. friend, Dr. Raju, it is our intention to have

[Shri Swaran Singh]

a better system for communication and, if there is anything else, I will discuss it with Dr. Raju. I will try to understand him and I will find out from him what is exactly in his mind. I attach due importance to his suggestion.

About the Nepal border, the hon. Member mentioned that Chinese and Pakistanis are crossing into our territory. I have got no such complaint that any Chinese have strayed into our territory through Nepal border. That information is not correct... (Interruptions)

DR. RAM SUBHAG SINGH (Buxar) : There are hundreds of Chinese coming into our country.. (Interruptions)

SHRI SWARAN SINGH : Crossing from the Nepal border into our country. That was the point he raised.

श्री कंबर लाल गुप्त : आप चेक कीजिए, आए हैं, नेपाल से आए हैं।

AN HON. MEMBER : What about Pakistanis ?

SHRI SWARAN SINGH : Not from this border. Between East Pakistan and our territory, there has been this illegal movement into Assam, into tribal region and, to some extent even in Bengal. But the security arrangements have been very much tightened up. This movement, if any, now just does not exist.

About the ECOs, I have already answered that it is our desire to do everything possible for them.

On the Nepal side, we know that Chinese come right upto the border. There are Chinese technicians, Chinese workers, Chinese engineers, who are building several projects, including road building projects, in Nepal. I cannot say that none of them comes to the border. We should not become so obsessed by this either. We should always see it in proper perspective.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : Now, there are a number of cut motions. Shall I put them to vote together ?

SOME HON. MEMBERS : One by one.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : First I put cut motion Nos. 25 to 29 and 40 in the name of Shri Kundu to vote.

Cut motions Nos. 25 to 29 & 40 were put and negatived

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : Now I would put cut motions 66 to 84 moved by Shri P. K. Deos to the vote of the House.

Cut motions Nos. 66 to 84 were put and negatived.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : Now I would put cut motion No. 101 of Shri Shiva Chandra Jha to the vote of the House.

Cut motion No. 101 was put and negatived.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : Now I would put cut motion No. 102 of Shri P. K. Deo to the vote of the House.

Cut motion No. 102 was put and negatived.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : Now I would put cut motions 103 to 111 moved by Shri Ramavatar Shastri to the vote of the House.

Cut motions Nos. 103 to 111 were put and negatived.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : Now I would put cut motions Nos. 112 to 122 of Shri O. P. Tyagi to the vote of the House.

Cut motions Nos. 112 to 122 were put and negatived.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : I would then put cut motions No. 123 to 138 moved by Shri Ramavatar Shastri to the vote of the House.

Cut motions 123 to 138 were put and negatived.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : I would now put cut motions Nos. 139 to 156

moved by Shri Beni Shanker Sharma to the vote of the House-

Cut motions Nos. 139 to 156 were put and negatived.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : Now the question is :

"That the respective sums not exceeding the amounts shown in the fourth column of the order paper, be granted to the President to complete the sums necessary to defray the charges that will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1971, in respect of the heads of demands entered in the second column thereof against Demands Nos. 1 to 5 and 105 relating to the Ministry of Defence."

The motion was adopted.

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

Demand No. 1 Ministry of Defence

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 1,54,73,000 be granted to the President to complete the sum necessary to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1971, in respect of 'Ministry of Defence'."

Demand No. 2/ Defence Services, Effective/Army

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 6,55,74,17,000 be granted to the President to complete the sum necessary to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1971, in respect of 'Defence Services/Effective-Army'."

Demand No 3/ Defence Services, Effective-Navy

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 48,57,50,000 be granted to the President to complete the sum necessary to defray the charges which will come in course

of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1971, in respect of 'Defence Services/Effective-Navy'."

Demand No. 4/ Defence Services, Effective/Air Force

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 1,76,25,00,000 be granted to the President to complete the sum necessary to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1971, in respect of 'Defence Services/Effective-Air Force'."

Demand No. 5 Defence Services/ Non-Effective.

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 38,31,67,000 be granted to the President to complete the sum necessary to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1971, in respect of 'Defence Services/Non-Effective'."

Demand No. 105-Defence Capital Outlay.

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 1,15,83,33,000 be granted to the President to complete the sum necessary to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1971, in respect of 'Defence Capital Outlay'."

18.28 hrs

CONSTITUTION (AMENDMENT)
BILL-Contd.

(Omission of article 315) by
Shri Madhu Limaye.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : Mr. Hanumanthaiya,

SHRI HANUMANTHAIYA (Bangalore): The Bill that has been brought before this House by Mr. Madhu Limaye is a welcome measure. He has the distinction of converting the Treasury Benches to his views. This is one of the rare occasions when