

submitted his report on the problems, solutions, utility, potentiality and expansion of Cochin Shipyard.

I urge upon the Government to take urgent action to streamline the labour-management issues, to put competent managers, inculcate discipline and dedication in the staff, expand the repair dry-dock facilities and diversify the Cochin Shipyard to meet the shipping, maritime and offshore drilling requirements.

12.19 hrs.

DEMANDS FOR GRANTS (GENERAL), 1984-85—*Contd.*

Ministry of External Affairs—*Contd.*

MR. SPEAKER : Now the House will resume further discussion and voting on the Demand for Grant under the control of the Ministry of External Affairs.

Shri Banatwalla has taken 19 minutes and he may kindly sum up his observations.

SHRI G. M. BANATWALLA (Ponnani) : Mr. Speaker, Sir, it is tragic that the war between Iraq and Iran still continues, despite all efforts to bring about a cessation of hostilities. The distressing fact is that the war has further intensified. There are even allegations by Iran that Iraq is using chemical weapons. Iraq has denied these allegations but Iran has urged upon the UN to send a special delegation to study deployment of chemical weapons. I must emphasise that the world cannot be a passive spectator to the sufferings of a prolonged war and all efforts must continue to bring about an immediate cessation of hostilities.

12.20. hrs.

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

Then, Sir, on November 1983, there was the Declaration by Turkish Cypriots of the formation of Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus. The island was in a

state of political uncertainty for more than twenty years. During this period, there was persecution of the Turkish Cypriots. They were denied due share in administration and forced into political seclusion. They faced economic embargo. How long could such an unjust situation continue? I submit that it should be appreciated that the Turkish declaration of November 15 is in accordance with the 1977 Denktash-Makarios and 1979 Denktash-Kyprianou agreements. Further, President Rauf Denktash has emphasised that the State shall continue to adhere to the UN Principles and the policy of Non-alignment and that the doors shall not be closed to inter-communal talks under the auspices of the UN Secretary General.

Sir, the need is to adopt a positive approach to the declaration and work upon the Denktash proposals for political settlement rather than merely deplored the declaration.

To sum up, it is creditable that India is making a significant contribution in efforts towards conflict-containment and international cooperation. There have been certain welcome developments in this context. The abrogation of the Lebanese-Israel agreement of May 17 is a good step towards Lebanese national reconstruction. Lebanese people have refused to surrender to Zionist imperialist designs. It is necessary that super powers—the USA and the USSR—do not interfere in the Lebanese internal affairs. Let us hope the present national dialogue among the Lebanese leaders will bear fruit for final settlement of the problem. One must also welcome the recent Islamic Conference Organisation summit decision to invite Egypt to rejoin the organisation and it is heartening to note that Egypt has accepted the invitation. We wish unity in their ranks for their laudable objectives. It is most unfortunate that Israel persists in its nefarious designs and attempts have also been made to blow up the Al Aqsa mosque, the third holiest shrine to Muslims. Israel has been emboldened by the USA. There is now a proposal before the American Congress to shift

the American Embassy from Tel Aviv to Jerusalem. This is against the UN and NAM Resolutions. We must lodge strong protests and mobilise world opinion against the American move. The USA has even thought of deployment of the US Cruise nuclear missiles in Comiso Southern Italy. The Italian people will have the support of the entire civilized world. We welcome Libya's Col. Gadaffi's expression of solidarity with the Italian people.

Finally, with respect to Pakistan, as I have submitted, the final solution lies in confidence-building so as to avert the unfortunate arms race and so that both may devote themselves to progress and development. With these words I conclude and thank you very much.

SHRI B. R. BHAGAT (Sitamarhi) : Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, never before the world faced such a grim situation as it is doing now. Both on the peace front as well as on the front of development, there are more negative forces that are working. In this dark and dismal scenario, it is heartening to see that the Foreign Minister assisted by his able team in his Ministry is pursuing relentlessly to bring sanity to the world and try to make different parties talk and negotiate so as to solve the basic crucial problem, that is the problem of peace and development.

I would say, much progress has not been made but the balance sheet is not one-sided. There are some silver linings, and that is, I would submit, the result of the persistent efforts pursued by the non-aligned movement during the one year of the chairpersonship of Shrimati Indira Gandhi. As a result, I would like to tell those Cassandras, who were talking that this movement is not going to make an impact, that the position today after one year of the chairpersonship of Shrimati Indira Gandhi is that the non-aligned movement is alive and kicking. It is more credible today, more potent and a more vibrant force than it was a year ago. The issues that were highlighted in the Summit Meeting, it is

true, still elude solution, but the voice of the non-aligned movement is heard with respect and attention. Some of the basic issues are that the Iran-Iraq war is going its unfortunate course; it was referred to by Shri Banatwalla rightly. In respect of the West Asian and the Palestinian issues, great efforts have been made by the non-aligned movement in trying to bring the parties together nearer to a solution, and in this respect, the four Foreign Ministers' team appointed by the chairperson of the non-aligned movement, led by our Foreign Minister, did very hard work and it succeeded at least in the case of the West Asian, the most difficult situation, becoming complicated and explosive everyday; now there is a realisation among all the parties that they should try to find a solution, but the significant success of this four Foreign Ministers' group led by our Foreign Minister is that the PLO as a united force, as an entity, has been saved. But for the efforts of the chairperson of the non-aligned movement and the hard work done by this group of four Foreign Ministers, the PLO would not have been a united force, as it is, and they would not have peacefully withdrawn from Tripoli in Lebanon. Now, the whole matter is in the United Nations and I believe that in the present composition of the Security Council, where at least as many as ten members belong to the non-aligned movement, this will receive very serious consideration in the Security Council, and a solution to this most vexed problem, which is the key to the situation in West Asia, is the solution to the Palestinian problem. Their right to a homeland should be recognized. Without this, there can be no solution to that problem. It was the feeling of the non-aligned movement. It has been our stand that there cannot be any solution to the West Asia problem, the most difficult and explosive problem today, without the solution of the Palestinian problem.

There has been an attempt to break the Palestinian movement itself. That has been saved; and we hope that through the efforts in the Security Council, serious attempts in the coming months

[Shri B.R. Bhagat]

will be made to solve this question, to attempt solution of this question, viz. that the Palestinians must get their homeland. Without this, the West Asian problem cannot be solved. So, this is a very positive achievement of the non-aligned movement.

Another positive side is the Chairperson's personal initiative in the United Nations. In the last General Assembly meeting, Shrimati Indira Gandhi met 25 heads of Government to find solutions to the two most crucial problems, viz. peace and development—and later on during the deliberations of CHOGM, which does not have the same composition. The non-aligned movement has a larger composition, and is of one variety, i.e. they are non-aligned. It related to the question of South-South cooperation. In the CHOGM meeting, both North and South; but the emphasis, the philosophy, the message of non-aligned movement was carried to the CHOGM deliberations, because the emphasis was that in respect of both the questions, viz. disarmament and development a more positive effort and approach must emerge. So, today as a result of the wise leadership of Shrimati Indira Gandhi as the Chairperson, and the committed attempts of the Foreign Minister and his team, there is complete unity, coherence, strength and dynamism in the non-aligned movement. It is being recognized as the most potent force working for international peace; and I would add that its is the voice of sanity in the present-day critical situation.

Another emphasis today in the non-aligned movement is that we hear its echoes when we discuss the Super Powers or the attitudes of the two Super Powers to the non-aligned movement. We hear echoes in this House, outside it or outside the country, that we should be either truly non-aligned or genuinely non-aligned. But non-alignment is non-alignment. It is not a negative concept but a very clear concept involving independent action and freedom of action, judging all issues on merit. The

non-aligned movement during the one-year period under the chairpersonship of Shrimati Indira Gandhi, has not been neutral on any issue. All the issues that face the world today are difficult issues which other leaders try to circumvent. But Mrs. Gandhi as the Chairperson of the non-aligned movement has her clear concepts on these issues. So, they were discussed on merits, and the background was : what would take the world towards peace, and what would take the world towards equitable development, so that the disparities between nations are levelled up.

Now about the question of being equi-distant. Some people talk of equidistance between the two Super Powers, or between East and West. But that is not the concept of non-alignment. The non-aligned movement is not neutral on issues of war and peace. The issues are to be discussed on merit and how world development can be ensured more equitably; how world peace and international peace can be achieved ? Therefore, this is the basic achievement during this one year. Whether we may have achieved a solution for some of the basic problems or the crucial problems or not, that is not the yardstick with which to judge the issues. But the basic thing is that there is an awareness to the clarion call that went from Delhi Summit. So far the alternative to nuclear disarmament was mutual annihilation. I think this awareness you will find everywhere. It is not a minor gain. There are some positive gains in this field of peace. For example, now, we can see the light towards the achievement or the possibility of an agreement banning of chemical warfare. I think the contribution, the efforts of the non-aligned Movement towards this cannot be under-estimated.

Cyprus is a non-aligned country and faced break up as a result of violence. But due to the personal intervention of the Chair-person, Shrimati Indira Gandhi--when she sent direct messages to a number of countries in the region saying not to recognise the breakaway

Government—the NAM's initiative in this respect, particularly the initiative taken by Mrs. Indira Gandhi, prevented break-up of Cyprus. I must say that the Islamic countries round about rose to the occasion in not encouraging or in not recognising the breakaway Government. This is a great achievement in this mad world where everybody has gone mad, particularly those big powers. You also see the achievement of NAM in a situation like Central America when the smallest of the countries, Grenada was invaded by the most powerful country in the world, because Grenada, according to that most powerful country, is a threat to American way of life. Can you imagine this situation? Then you see what NAM Movement has done wherever it is possible in West Asia. They tried to alleviate the situation, bring calmness so that discussion can take place in a proper forum, in the Security Council. Palestinian Movement not to be broken up. Unity to be maintained. Cyprus from break-up to be maintained and on the question of development, Shrimati Indira Gandhi, as Chair-person took personal initiative in discussing this and discussing it with 25 Heads of Governments along with other problems of disarmament. But what is the situation there today? As I said, in the balance-sheet, there are some positive factors which we should not ignore. What is the most positive factor today? What is the silver lining in this tragic situation? The positive factor is the great popular revulsion against nuclear war and re-armament. You go to any part of the world. You go to the United States. There you will see the editorial written by *New York Times* or *Washington Post* or the statement made by President Reagan himself that any nuclear war is suicidal. The first statement made by the Soviet leader Mr. Andropov is that now any nuclear war is suicidal; it is not winable; and to that the response of President Reagan is that nuclear war is suicidal. All over the world or in Europe or in the non-aligned countries, there is a revulsion against nuclear war and re-armament.

ment. I think here too the contribution made by the Non-aligned Movement has been very significant.

And this positive element in the world, in the dark dismal scenario that the world faces today is the result of the Non-Aligned Movement. What is the other positive factor? The emergence of the countries of Western Europe is a calming and balancing factor in the second cold war and super power rivalry. This is both. In the two problems, North-South dialog ushering in a new international economic order trying to solve some of the basic issues and re-structuring—as our Foreign Minister says—having a second look at the global economic problems.—Here too, the OECD countries or the Western countries or the East, or the Western countries—it is not a solid phalanx but there are certain nuances. Countries Canada, France and other countries are on this question also, for a new international economic order for talks in settling these problems. So, on disarmament and on basic issues like nuclear disarmament the Central Europe has emerged as a total force, as a balancing force between the two super powers. This is a positive factor. Non-Aligned Movement and India in particular has helped this process in creating this process.

Then the trend towards a possible reapproachment and lessening of tensions between China and Soviet Union. This is another factor. Because these two Communist giants, the socialist countries, they were at loggerheads; there were lot of distortions or lot of turbulences in the strategic perception in the global and strategic perceptions which took place and we are happy to know that there is a sign of improved relations between these two countries. In this connection, I would say, that there is a positive sign, so far as the Chinese are concerned, in the global perception on there is a positive change, which we have noticed. This I will

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show by quoting two Prime Ministers of China, first Prime Minister Chou-En-Lai. He went to Africa 20 years ago and the Present Prime Minister Zhao Zeng, he also went there recently, two months back. That is a gap of 20 years during which no Chinese Prime Minister visited Africa. I will only quote the two statements of the two Prime Ministers of China on the African soil. Mr. Chou-en-Lai said 20 years ago that, "there are excellent prospects for revolution in Africa." These are his words, "excellent prospects for revolution". The Chinese at that moment were in a frame of mind for creating a revolution all over and more so in Africa. And Mr. Zhao Zeng today now, he is not for political turmoil, but for trade, trade partners and friendship and cooperation. So, the language has changed and we believe that these forces, if they are able to normalise their relations with Soviet Union of which a beginning seems to have been made, things are going to be different. So far as we are concerned, we continue to believe in normalisation of relations with China. The talks are going on. I know, it may take long, because the problems of the border are difficult. It is more difficult on their side because they have committed the aggression. They have to vacate. They have taken a position and they will not easily be able to give it up. But whatever time it may take there should be patience here. I advice patience here. We are not going to achieve any quick results in normalising the relations with China. Although trade is improving, there are more visits, the talks are different, the language is different; all these are signs of a new fresh air.

But the fact remains that so long as the border question is not solved, other questions are not very important. It is the Chinese side who has to make the concession. We will wait as long as they want us to wait. But they have to take the initiative. The perceptions in the Indo-Chinese relations are clear. Then another thing is that the Chinese leadership has been particularly friendly

to the Non-Aligned Movement. They have complimented and said that both on the new international economic order and peace initiative the Non-Aligned Movement is playing a positive role. They are trying to normalise relations with Soviet Russia. And their relations are cooling off with USA. These are the positive factors for peace, because China is a major power in our neighbourhood and we are vitally concerned with Chinese postures and perceptions in this respect.

The most important positive factor of today is the unprecedented solidarity displayed under the inspiring leadership of Shrimati Indira Gandhi by the Non-Aligned Summit and the clarion call for disarmament and particularly nuclear disarmament and levelling of economic disparity among nations. These are the positive factors.

Coming to our neighbourhood which is very vital to us, I will discuss how the positive and negative international factors are performing. The biggest negative factor and which has also been said in the Defence Ministry Report is that the security environment in our neighbourhood is very grave. What is the situation? You see the Indian Ocean. It has now the most offensive weapons and in the Diego Garcia there is a nuclear base with missiles and the latest arsenal. There is the naval presence in an increased manner of all the naval powers with a high level of sophistication in arms and deliveries. Then in West Asia the situation is explosive. We are always afraid, because it may ignite a new war, a global war. Then between Iran and Iraq the war continues. These two countries are engaged in this tragic war despite all the efforts by us, by the NAM, by the Foreign Ministers. These two very friendly countries, the non-aligned countries, should cease hostilities. Shri Banatwalla has made an appeal in this regard. This House also has made an appeal to our best friends that they should cease hostile operation.

Most of all, Pakistan is a threat to security. It is not only that Pakistan is armed with lethal arms of a higher

sophistication, which is unknown in this region, the arms that are coming of land, sea and air in the last 12 months, are unprecedented, but such arms delivery aid has been doubled to Pakistan. And now the real threat to the security of this region is from extra-regional powers. We should realise that. We should realise that is one of the essence of the non-alignment movement. Pakistan is a non-aligned country. But you cannot take any independent action if you are the recipient of big arms aid from certain regional powers. It is known that such powers do not give arms for nothing. They have their own strategic aims to serve in that. Therefore, the danger is that Pakistan has emerged, has become, the king-pin in this region in the global strategic perception of a super power.

We sometimes hear that the acquiring of bases or arms are to defend Pakistan, for the defence of Pakistan against Afganistan or any invasion through Afganistan, although it is not true. Then, they are going in for a unclear bomb. Certainly, they are going ahead with the enriched uranium plant. This can be for peace or war. Therefore, these are factors where there is an atmosphere of continued mistrust or misperception.

Yesterday Shri Biju Patnaik said that that he had been to Pakistan and that he is convinced of the friendliness of the Pakistanis. Frick ^{miss} of whom? If he is referring to the people of Pakistan, I agree with him, because the people there are friendly and they do not want war. But what about the rulers? What about the top brass of the army? Pakistan is a military dictatorship, where there are no democratic compulsions. If the Pakistani rulers want to adopt an adventurist policy in order to serve certain basic attitudes in their own country, what prevents them from following an adventurist policy against us or armed intervention? This is the basic thing.

Therefore, it is a happy thing, we are very happy that the South-East Asian

Regional Co-operation was launched in Delhi. This was launched because that framework is a moderate effort in generating co-operative effort in various fields. A number of committees, standing committees and others have been formed and they are going into study Groups. I hope they will soon be converted into Working Groups. It is an important effort in which all the seven sisters are engaged. Somebody referred to India as a big brother. India is not a big brother. It is a big sister, because India is the only country in this region which has borders with all. No other country has.

SHRI CHITTA BASU (Barasat) : Big sisters are better than big brothers.

SHRI B. R. BHAGAT : You know the difference between brother and sister.

India is the only country which has borders with all the other six countries. No other country has borders with all of them.

This area contains 20 per cent of the population of the world. Some of the poorest countries live here, with a per capita income of less than 200 dollars. India is the second largest country in population. Pakistan and Bangladesh are the 7th and 8th largest country in population. As a regional concept, this is a small thing. But it is a very major thing if it is brought about. A small beginning has been made. There are certain unifying factors e.g. the monsoon, the national psyche of all the countries, the literature, the language and so on. That brings about a similarity in their approaches. This area was one of the cradles of civilisation with a very long history. All these countries faced colonialism. In history they shared the experience of colonialism and now they have come out free. We hope that we will be able to bring about that regional co-operation. But each country is a separate entity with a different personality. They have different perceptions, they have different political systems.

[Shri B. R. Bhagat]

Therefore, a beginning is made, a small beginning for regional co-operation. We hope that this area together can solve the difficulties.

Therefore, our approach and our only policy towards our neighbours is that of positive co-operation, friendly co-operation, because that is the key to the whole problem. So, when we see that Pakistan is sucked into the global strategy with arms and tension is building up, that is the biggest set back to us. But we still hope that whatever be the extra regional context, we will be able to pursue this positive policy, to counter the war context, more so because peace is not the absence of war; peace is something infinitely much more than that—No doubt, we must have peace. But, more than that, we must have co-operation and friendship between the two countries. I know the ethos of both the countries. They must be reflected in the policy of the Government which we pursue. I am very glad that Government is quite clear in pursuing that policy.

Now the conclusion is the collapse of the detente, and the ushering of the second cold war, which is infinitely more dangerous than the first cold war. The first cold war produced war in Korea, Viet Nam, South Africa, West Asia and in Berlin. The second cold war has aggravated all the problems infinitely more, because the issue now is : how do we exist ? If we cannot co-exist, we cannot live; without co-existence, there is no existence; the alternative to co-existence is no existence at all. It is such a dangerous situation today.

This is compounded by the most horrible economic situation in the world. The world is bleeding, the industrialised countries are bleeding by the enormous military burden of 600 billion dollars a year. The result is that there is depression, recession and unemployment. There is also unutilized capacity. In the most powerful industrialised country in the world, 40 per cent of their industries are unutilized. 28 million people are unemployed in Western Europe and

North America. The number of unemployed in most countries has doubled and the world trade has fallen. As a result of this, they have exported bankruptcy to a number of developing countries. Most of the developing countries are in the grip of economic and financial crisis. Therefore, in this situation, these two factors have produced a situation in which anything might happen.

The North-South dialogue has not made much headway or is in a deadlock. The South-South dialogue is still groping but there is no alternative. The South-South dialogue is crucial in the sense that if we evolve certain intensive co-operation amongst ourselves, the South-South countries hold a leverage in bringing the North to talks on the basic issues. As I said, there is no solid phalanx of the west. Once the South-South dialogue goes ahead, we will be able to bring the North to talk on the basic issues of the new international economic order.

13 hrs.

Therefore, we wish the Foreign Minister all good luck. We give our best wishes to the Prime Minister as the Chair-person of the non-alignment movement, not for anything else, but because that is the only correct path to International peace and development. The policies pursued ^{by them} during the year have brought ~~reform~~, as I explained earlier. There is no alternative to this policy, because ultimately the world has to be saved and that can be done only by adhering to certain basic principles of civilized co-existence, where we let everybody live in an inter-dependent world, a world free from nuclear arms and all types of war, an inter-dependent world which progresses towards mutual development, in which there is no difference between North and South, East and West, an inter-dependent world in which there is no rich or poor. But, at the moment the whole world is facing this twin crisis : crisis of existence, nuclear holocaust as a result of that and the crisis of development, economic crisis

plaguing the whole world in which, as I said, there is only one common ground and that is the welfare of humanity. The Foreign Minister is doing well in pursuing that policy with rare commitment and hard work. We wish him well, and we wish his policy well.

SHRI P. K. KODLYAN (Adoor): Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, the struggle for peace, the struggle to avert a nuclear holocaust has become central task of mankind today. India has always stood for peace and disarmament because peace is indispensable for our development. But unfortunately, the Ministry's Annual Report* does not reflect this grave international situation, the threat of a nuclear holocaust facing the entire mankind. We in India naturally are concerned with the growing threat to the security of our country, but the threat to the security of the country has to be viewed in the context of the present-day international situation, the present international crisis. Unfortunately the U.S. under President Reagan has embarked up on a policy of military confrontation with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries and is engaged in a feverish effort to produce and deploy all sorts of deadly weapons including nuclear weapons with a view to attain military superiority over the Soviet Bloc.

When SALT-II agreement was signed some four years back the whole world heaved a sigh of relief. We in India had welcomed this Agreement of SALT-II, we had welcomed the atmosphere of detente that was created in Europe as a result of this agreement and India had even gone further in order to demand that detente should not be limited to Europe alone, but should be extended to other regions of the world so that the world can live in peace and countries and people will engage themselves in peaceful development. But the US imperialists have chosen another direction, as I said, a direction which is full of peril not only to themselves, not only to the Soviet Union, but to the entire world and the

mankind. Over the last 3 years they had successfully torpedoed the ratification of the SALT Agreement. Article 2 of the SALT Agreement had provided that the signatories of this Agreement, that is the Soviet Union and the United States should not deploy Cruiser Missiles with a range exceeding 600 kilometres. But they have now brought their first equipment and installed them in Western Europe, in West Germany, in Britain and in Italy thereby frustrating the Geneva talks on disarmament. The SALT Agreement had also provided for a sort of safeguard against the unilateral alteration of the existing strategic balance between the two great powers. But this action of deployment of medium range missile Pershing II and Cruiser Missile in Western Europe has altered the strategic balance. In these circumstances the Soviet Union was forced to go out of the Geneva talks. Now the situation has become very very serious. The Geneva talks which the United States has been carrying on has proved to be really a cover in order to deploy the nuclear missile in Western Europe. The USSR has made a number of proposals for reduction of nuclear armament, for disarmament. But these proposals were rejected one by one by the United States and it was the Soviet Union which had declared unilaterally that it will not do the first striking with nuclear weapons. They had in other words declared no first use of nuclear weapons and it had asked the United States to reciprocate but the United States refused. So, it is not as if some people are trying to propagate that the present grave international situation has come into existence as a result of the rivalry between the two super powers. Both the Soviet Union and the United States are equally responsible for the present day international crisis. We have seen not from the declaration alone, from the actual deed of both the great powers, who among them stand for detente for peace, who among them stands for the aspirations of the entire mankind to live in peace and who among them is trying to impose a nuclear war

[Shri P. K. Kodiyan]

over the world. We have our own experience about our neighbour being armed to the teeth. I shall come to this later.

As I have pointed out in the beginning, the task of fighting for peace and saving mankind from nuclear holocaust has become the central task which, in my opinion, is somewhat minimised by the approach of our External Affairs Ministry. This report does not reflect the seriousness of the situation. The struggle for peace is not a partisan task. It is not confined to any single Party. The struggle for peace is to save the entire mankind including our own people. Therefore, the ruling Party as well as the Opposition parties should come together in the struggle for peace.

The 7th Non-Aligned Summit at Delhi had issued the significant call. It is known as the New Delhi Message. It is a very significant message. This message was sent on behalf of the entire non-Aligned movement representing 2/3rd of the mankind.

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER : On behalf of the peace loving people of the world.

SHRI P. K. KODIYAN : It gives a call to the great powers requesting them to assemble in an international conference to discuss disarmament, peace and development. Is it not our duty to follow up this message with concrete action ? I agree that the Prime Minister, as chair-person of the Non-Aligned Movement, has taken series of steps in favour of peace, disarmament etc. In her address to the United Nations General Assembly, she very rightly pointed out the importance, urgency of maintaining peace in the world and bringing about disarmament. But we have to go further as Chairperson and as leader of the Non-Aligned Movement. The struggle for peace cannot be confined to Governments alone—Government to Government contact and negotiations. Peace cannot be brought to the present day world through diplomatic channels alone. Peace is to be

fought and won and that can be done only with the active involvement of the masses not only in our country but in other parts of the world and in other countries also. That is what is happening today in some of the countries. The previous speaker, Mr. B.R. Bhagat has referred to the active involvement of people in the struggle for peace in the Western Europe and even in America and several other parts of the world. Why can't India take the initiative to issue a call to the members of the Non-Aligned Movement not only to follow up the New Delhi Message with diplomatic actions but also to call upon them to encourage the masses in their countries to have a total mobilisation in favour of the New Delhi Message in order to compel the great powers to assemble at an international conference and discuss problems of peace, disarmament and development seriously ? I think, the Government of India should take the initiative.

Now, Sir, some of the opposition Parties including my Party have taken this question of peace and we are trying in our own way to mobilise our people and to educate our people, Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, I hope you will also come along with us in the struggle for peace because there is no party politics in it;

Generally, our people are not sufficiently educated about the dangers of war. The deployment of missiles in Europe will not be a threat to the people in Europe alone. Today, any nuclear war breaking out in any part of the globe will soon spread to other areas and the entire globe will be engulfed in a total war which will be totally disastrous for the mankind as a whole. The scientists from the various countries have studied the possible effects of a nuclear war : the United Nations have also made a study and the WHO has also made a study about it. They have all come to a conclusion that there cannot be a limited nuclear war; there cannot be a local war; there cannot be a winable war and there cannot be a victor and the vanquished in a nuclear war. The whole mankind

and the human civilisation will perish. Therefore, I would appeal very earnestly to the ruling party also to join the opposition parties in the struggle for peace.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : It can also be said like this that the Opposition parties will join the ruling party in this endeavour.

SHRI P.K. KODIYAN : Coming to our own neighbour, many hon. Members who have spoken have already referred to the serious threat posed to our country, to the security of our country as a result of developments in our neighbourhood. I do not want to go into all the details. But I want to point out one thing. It is not that by our very bigness of our size, of our population or by our attitude, we have created an apprehension in the minds of the neighbours, particularly, Pakistan. Yesterday, Mr. Biju Patnaik was trying to make out a case that the Government has failed and that it has created only apprehensions in the minds of the people of Pakistan by its big-brother attitude. I do not agree with him at all. I consider that the Government of India has been following policy of peace and friendship with all our neighbours, particularly with Pakistan. But, unfortunately, Pakistan has become an ally of the United States in its global strategy of military domination. It has become a part of the strategic consensus that the United States has worked out over this region. That is why the United States has been dumping an enormous quantity of sophisticated weapons in Pakistan. Is it not a fact that Pakistan gets all the sophisticated weapons in the name of fighting the so-called threat across Afghanistan? But is it not a fact that the bulk of Pakistan's armed forces are concentrated on our borders? Have we not the experience of the three previous wars when the American supplied weapons had been freely used against us?

Not only that, Pakistan is going to offer military bases in its territory for

the United States and the latest report is that Pakistan may become a regional headquarters of the Central Command of the United States for the rapid deployment of forces in this region.

Therefore, we cannot simply shut our eyes to what Pakistan has been doing. We have to guard against this development. We have to take the necessary steps to defend ourselves and to ensure our security, the security of our country.

In this context, I earnestly and sincerely welcome the offer of assistance from the Soviet Union and, particularly the recent visit of Marshal Utsinov, the Soviet Defence Minister and his offering of even latest types of weapons in order to ensure our security and I am glad that we are maintaining the most cordial relations with the Soviet Union which has proved many a time that it is the real friend of India. It has come to our rescue in times of crises.

On the UN Conference on Indian Ocean latest reports say that the possibility of holding the conference is further receding. But still, the Government of India is pursuing the matter.

I would like to ask the Hon. Minister how long we would pursue this now that we have come to know that the United States has been deliberately trying to sabotage the implementation of the UN resolution on Indian Ocean.

There was once negotiation between the Soviet Union and the United States in regard to bringing about the reduction of military forces in the Indian Ocean. Without any valid reason, the United States walked out of those negotiations and since then it has refused to resume the talks and, at the same time, it has set up the military base in Diego Garcia. It has now been developed into one of the biggest nuclear arsenals in our region and the United States Seventh fleet ships are also carrying nuclear warheads there.

From all this, it is clear that the United States will not allow this conference to be held.

[Shri P.K. Kodiyan]

In this context, what are we to do ? Are we to carry on our persuasive methods ?

We have to go ahead with the proposal to have the Conference even without the presence of the United States, because the United States does not want the Conference to take place. It wants to militarise the entire Indian Ocean. It has become a threat not only to our country but to the entire region in West Asia, and South Asia. Therefore, there should not be any delay. We have to isolate the United States which has continuously tried to sabotage the implementation of the UN resolution on India Ocean.

With regard to Sri Lanka, I agree with the policy of the Government of India towards Sri Lanka, particularly the action taken by the Government and the initiative taken by the Government to solve the ethnic crisis there.

It was the best possible solution that India could offer without interfering in any way in the internal affairs of Sri Lanka. That has saved the situation. But I want to warn the Government about certain forces that are operating in Sri Lanka and which are trying to spread ill-will against India. Even very responsible persons, even some of the senior Ministers in Mr. Jayewardene's Cabinet, talk about India's help in training the eelam forces in Indian territory. The Government of India has refuted this several times. Even then they go on saying this. Behind this anti-Indian outburst there is a move to take Sri Lanka away from its present policy of non-alignment, its involvement in the non-aligned movement, and to provide military facilities to the United States in that country. Already there is a talk of Trincomalee being offered as a naval base. Therefore, the Government of India should guard against this move. Not only in Sri Lanka, there is a deliberate move in order to isolate India from its neighbours; this move is planned and led by the United States in order to isolate India, to create enmity between

India and its neighbours, not only they are building military bases but they are also trying to encircle our country with, if possible, hostile forces, hostile governments. Therefore, we have to guard against it, we have to fight against this danger also.

With these words, I conclude.

श्रीमती विद्यावती चतुर्वेदी (खजुराहो) : उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, विदेश मंत्रालय की रिपोर्ट हमारे समक्ष है। उसके अंदर यह इंगित किया गया है कि भारत संकटपूर्ण स्थिति में है। अमरीका द्वारा जो भारत के चारों तरफ सैनिक अड्डे बनाए जा रहे हैं और पाकिस्तान को जो आधुनिक शस्त्रास्त्र दिए जा रहे हैं उससे यह लगता है कि अमरीका का रुख भारत की प्रगति की तरफ अच्छा नहीं है। हम अपने पड़ोसियों से मधुर संबंध बनाना चाहते हैं। पाकिस्तान हमारा पड़ोसी देश है और हमारी संस्कृति और इतिहास एक ही रहा है। हम चाहते हैं कि पाकिस्तान हमारे अच्छे बोस्तों में हो। हमारी सरकार का जो इस ओर प्रयास हैं, उसकी मैं बहुत सराहना करती हूँ। अगर कोई देश लड़ाई करता है तो वह दूसरे देश के साथ साथ अपना भी नुकसान करता है। जो हथियार देकर उसके हितेशी बन रहे हैं, हकीकत में वे उनका नुकसान ही कर रहे हैं। वे भारत का नुकसान तो चाहते ही हैं, साथ-साथ पाकिस्तान का भला भी नहीं चाहते। हमारी सरकार ने भी इस ओर अथक प्रयास किए हैं। हमारे उनसे अच्छे व मधुर संबंध हों और जो ज्वालामुखी सामने है, उससे बचा जा सके।

आज हिन्द महासागर जैसी शांत जगह में भी हलचल पैदा की जा रही है। डिगो-गांशिया में सैनिक अड्डे बनाए जा रहे हैं। यह इस बात का संकेत है कि भारत के ऊपर ऐसी शक्तियों की विपदा के बादल मढ़राने की

कोशिश की जा रही है जिससे हमारे विकास में रोक लग जाए। हम नहीं चाहते हम लड़ाई के चक्कर में फँसे। अपने पड़ीसी देशों से अच्छे संबंध बनाए रखना चाहते हैं चाहे वह श्रीलंका या चाइना हो। हमारे विदेश मंत्री बहुत ही योग्य और समझदार हैं। उनके प्रयास बास्तव में सराहनीय हैं। यह प्रसास दोस्ती के दोनों तरफ से होते हैं, एक तरफ से नहीं। मैं सदन के माध्यम से अपने पड़ीसी देशों को आगाह करना चाहती हूँ कि हमारा जो पंचशील और सह-अस्तित्व का रास्ता है, उसी पर चलकर हम आगे बढ़ सकते हैं।

श्रीलंका की हुई घटनाओं से बड़ा दुख हुआ। हमारी प्रधान मंत्री और हमारे विदेश मंत्री की दूरदृशिता तथा सहनशीलता से जो परिणाम निकले हैं मैं समझती हूँ वह अच्छे ही होंगे। श्री पार्थसारथी जी ने भी जो शान्ति हेतु प्रयत्न किए हैं, वह भी सराहनीय हैं। मैं चाहूँ गी कि हमारे संबंध सुदृढ़, शान्तिपूर्ण और दोस्ती की तरफ बढ़े। हमारी विदेश नीति सराहनीय रही है। विदेश मंत्री जी ने दुनिया में अपने देश के गौरव को बढ़ाया है। दिल्ली में जो गुट-निरपेक्ष सम्मेलन हुआ उसमें सौ से अधिक देशों ने भाग लिया। हमारी प्रधान मंत्री जी को उसका अध्यक्ष बनाकर गौरवान्वित किया गया। इससे हमारे देश के जन-जन का मस्तिष्क भी ऊँचा हुआ है। आज अधिकांश देश शान्ति के मार्ग पर चल कर अपनी उन्नति हेतु प्रयत्नशील हैं। पंचशील और सह-अस्तित्व के सिद्धान्तों के हासीकार हैं।

इससे यह साबित होता है कि जो राष्ट्र इस ओर झुकाव रखते हैं वे जानते हैं कि हमारी तरक्की और मानवजाति का कल्याण इसी पर निर्भर है। चाइना से जो हमारे अच्छे संबंध बन रहे हैं, वह बहुत ही अच्छा कदम

है। इतिहास इस बात का साक्षी है कि बंगला देश के लिए हमने कितनी कुर्बानियां दी हैं। उसकी उन्नति एवं प्रगति के हम इच्छुक तथा एक अच्छे मित्र की तरह हमारी सद्भावनायें उसके साथ हैं और यही अपेक्षा हम बंगला देश से करते हैं।

हम लोकतंत्र के अनुयायी हैं, जहाँ भी प्रजातांत्रिक आवाजें उठती हैं, चाहे पाकिस्तान में हो या दूसरी जगह, उनके प्रति हमारी सहानुभूति और सद्भावना होना स्वाभाविक है। आज पाकिस्तान में जो हो रहा है, स्वतंत्रता या प्रजातंत्र की आवाज उठाने वालों के साथ जिस तरह से व्यवहार किया जा रहा है उसको देख कर हमें दुख होता है। हमारे स्वतंत्रता संग्राम में सेनानी खान अब्दुल गफ्फार खाँ को जो बीमार हैं, उनको जिस तरह का कष्ट है उनके प्रति हमारी सद्भावना और शुभकामनायें हैं और हम चाहते हैं कि हमें यह गौरव मिले वह इलाज कराने के लिये हमारे यहाँ आयें, और उनकी सेवा कर के हम अपने आपको गौरवान्वित महसूस करें, और दोनों देशों के बीच एक प्रेम की लहर दौड़े।

चोगम सम्मेलन में बहुत बड़ी सफलता मिली है। जब चार वर्ष पूर्व जनता पार्टी का शासन था और उस समय के हमारे विदेश मंत्री, जिनके कदम देश की धरती पर नहीं पड़ते थे बल्कि विदेशों में ठोकरें खाते फिरते थे, उस समय हमारे देश की प्रतिष्ठा और गौरव को कितना बड़ा धक्का लगा था। इसका जीता जागता उदाहरण है कि जब वह चाइना पधारे थे तो उसी समय हमारे मित्र राष्ट्र बियतनाम के ऊपर चीन ने चढ़ाई कर के हमें अपमानित किया था। आज वही चाइना हम से दोस्ती का हाथ बढ़ाता है, और हम भी बढ़ाते हैं जो कि हमारी नीति भी है।

[श्रीमती विद्यावती चतुर्वेदी]

यह एक बहुत बड़ी सफलता है। मैं चाहती हूँ सभी से हम अच्छे सम्बन्ध बनायें।

रूस हमारा एक बहुत अच्छा दोस्त है। हमारे यहाँ कहा है धीरज, धर्म और मित्र की परीक्षा होती है संकट के समय। रूस ने हमारा पूरा साथ दिया चाहे वह विकास से सर्वधित हो या और दूसरी प्रकार की आपत्तियों के समय उससे हमें बहुत बड़ा नीतिक बल मिला है। लेकिन इसके माने यह नहीं हैं दोस्त होने नाते उसकी जो नीतियाँ और विचारधारा है उसको हम अपने ऊपर थोप लें। हम अपनी नीतियों के अनुसार चलेगे, हमारे देश के लिये क्या उचित है, किस तरह का विदेश नीति पर हम चलना चाहते हैं यह हमारे अपने सोचने का ढंग है। हम मित्रता करेंगे पर किसी की विचारधारा को अपने ऊपर थोपने के लिये तैयार नहीं हैं।

मेरा विदेश मंत्री जो से एक और निवेदन है कि कुछ ऐसे देश हैं, कुछ ऐसी जगहें एजेन्ट तथा दलाल हैं जो हमारे यहाँ के गरीब लोगों को फुसला कर, दलाली कर के उन्हें विदेशों में मजदूरी हेतु ले जाते हैं उन्हें रंगीन सपने दिखा कर, और वहाँ जा कर के उनके साथ किस तरह से शोषण होता है, उनको परेशानी में डाला जाता है इस ओर आप जरूर ध्यान देंगे। और हमारी जो वहाँ एजेंसीस हैं वह ऐसे समय निष्क्रिय रहती हैं, उनका सहयोग नहीं मिलता है, इस ओर उन्हें सक्रिय करना पड़ेगा। और कहना पड़ेगा कि जब भी कोई ऐसी घटनायें उनके सामने आये तो उसको देखें और मदद करें। कई बार आपने अखबारों में देखा होगा, सदन में भी उसका चर्चा हुआ कि हमारे यहाँ की नावालिक बच्चियों से जादी करके उनको अरब मुल्कों में ले जाती हैं पत्नी बना कर और बाद में उनके साथ बुरा व्यवहार होता है, उनको वेश्यावृत्ति के लिये

मजबूर किया जाता है उन्हें गुलाम बनाया जाता है, और तरह-तरह का अमानवीय उनके साथ दुर्व्यवहार किया जाता है जो कि शोभनीय नहीं है।

मुझे आशा है कि विदेश मंत्री इस बारे में उचित कदम उठायेंगे। मैं यह नहीं कहती कि हमारी सब एम्बेसीज में गफलत है, लेकिन जैसा कि सुनने को मिला है, अधिकांश एम्बेसीज ऐशो-आराम या पिकनिक का स्थान बन गई हैं। हमारी एम्बेसीज के लोग अपने कार्य और कर्तव्य से च्युत हो कर काकटैल पार्टियों आदि में अपना ज्यादा समय व्यतीत करते हैं। उन्हें अपने कर्तव्यों के प्रति जागरूक करना चाहिये।

मैं विदेश मंत्री से अनुरोध करूँगी कि वह हिन्दी की संयुक्त राष्ट्र संघ और विदेशों में मान्यता दिलाने की पुरजोर कोशिश करें। यह इस देश के लिए गौरव की बात होगी। अपने दूतावासों में हिन्दी में कार्य हेतु प्रेरणा दें।

श्री हरिकेश बहादुर (गोरखपुर) : वाजपेयी जी ने यह काम किया था।

श्रीमती विद्यावती चतुर्वेदी : उन्होंने एक बार भाषण जरूर दे दिया था।

जिन परिस्थितियों में श्री म्हात्रे की दुखद मृत्यु हुई, उसका मुझे बहुत दुख है और मैं समझती हूँ कि सदन मेरे इस दुख में शामिल होगा। मैं उनके परिवार के प्रति अपनी संवेदना प्रकट करती हूँ। हमें अब बहुत सजग रहना होगा, क्योंकि आज चारों तरफ ऐसी शक्तियाँ सिर उठा रही हैं। जो भारत की उन्नति नहीं देखना चाहतीं, वे शक्तियाँ केवल विदेशों में या हमारे देश के आस-पास ही सक्रिय नहीं हैं, बल्कि वे हमारी सीमाओं के अंदर बुसपैठ कर के हमारे लोगों में फूट डाल कर हमारे देश को कमजोर करने की कोशिश

कर रही हैं। हमें उन शक्तियों से सावधान रहना है, और उन्हें मुँहतोड़ जवाब देना है, ताकि ऐसी कोई घटना दोबारा न हो सके।

कुछ समय पूर्व मैंने एक अखबार में पढ़ा था कि हमारे एक प्रसिद्ध खिलाड़ी, जिसने विश्व-रिकार्ड स्थापित किया है, के पास एक देश में खाने के लिए दाना तक नहीं था। उसने तीन-चार दिन तक हमारी एम्बेसी का दरवाजा खटखटाया, लेकिन किसी ने उससे बात नहीं की। मैं विदेश मंत्री से क्षमा चाहूंगी कि मुझे उसका नाम भूल गया है, अगर यद आया, तो मैं उनके समक्ष पेश करूंगी। उस खिलाड़ी ने तीन दिन भूखा रहने के बाद भी विश्व-रिकार्ड स्थापित किया। मैं विदेश मंत्री से आग्रह करूंगी कि वह इस घटना की जाँच कराए। अगर इसमें हकीकत हो, तो वह ऐसी व्यवस्था करें कि इस तरह की घटना की पुनरावृत्ति न हो। हमारी एम्बेसीज का यह कत्तौत्य है कि वे विदेशों में हमारे लोगों की सहायता करें और उनकी समस्याओं को हल करने की कोशिश करें। उन्हें ऐशो-आराम में सारा समय नहीं बिताना चाहिए। जिस तरह से हमारे विदेश मंत्री सक्षम हैं, जिस तरह से दुनिया में उन्होंने हमारे देश को गैरवान्वित किया है और इसकी छवि को उज्ज्वल किया है, मैं चाहती हूं कि विदेश मंत्रालय और हमारी एम्बेसीज भी उसी तरह से जागरुक और दक्ष रहें।

आज जो अणु-शक्तियाँ चारों तरफ मंडरा रही हैं, चाहे वे रूस की तरफ से हों या अमरीका की तरफ से, चाहे अफगानिस्तान में बाहरी शक्तियाँ हों, चाहे ईरान और ईराक को आपस में लड़ा कर एक दुखद स्थिति पैदा करने वाली शक्तियाँ हों, हमें उनसे सावधान रहना होगा और डट कर उनका मुकाबला करना होगा, ताकि दुनिया इस बात के लिए

तैयार हो सके कि इस तरह के गलत काम करने वाली चाहे कितनी बड़ी शक्ति हो, उसका वहिष्कार किया जाए।

इन शब्दों के साथ मैं विदेश मंत्रालय की माँगों का समर्थन करती हूं।

SHRI HARIKESH BAHADUR (Gorakhpur) : Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, the situation in the world today is very grave because on growing tension in various parts of the world, and the tension between the two super-powers United States and the Soviet Union. Also, the global arms race is creating a lot of tension in the entire world. This arms race is becoming a threat to peace and to the entire humanity. The very existence of humanity is in danger. Nuclear weapons can destroy the entire world at any time. So many confrontations are taking place and the problems are not being solved through negotiations. Some countries are trying to dominate other countries. It appears that any day these nuclear weapons may prove to be very harmful, may prove to be very disastrous for the entire mankind. India, as leader of the non-aligned nations; has to play a very important and significant role in this regard. In order to maintain world peace in general and peace in this particular sub-continent in particular it is very essential that India should play a very dominate and significant role. But sometimes, Sir, I feel that in spite of serious efforts we are not very much successful in this direction. But anyhow we have to put our efforts and we have to try to maintain peace in the entire world.

For peace, progress and prosperity it is very essential for us to have good relations with our neighbouring countries. But unfortunately our relations with our neighbouring countries are not very satisfactory. Some of the neighbouring countries are not prepared to trust us. This is a very dangerous situation if neighbouring countries are afraid of us.

[Shri Harikesh Bahadur]

Even a country like Nepal with whom we have been having very good relations is not very happy with us. Therefore it has become essential to analyse our entire foreign policy, to see whether any defect is there, why it is that even Nepal should think like this. Nepal is trying to develop her relations with Pakistan, Bangladesh and other countries and China also. They can have good relations with them but at the same-time we should see that our relations with them do not deteriorate. We must try to evaluate our relation with Nepal because only with good relations we can solve many problems.

Sir, it is a fact that devastating flood which destroys parts of eastern UP and Bihar can be solved only if Bhalubandh-Jalkundi projects are completed. Government of India has been trying to talk to them but now nobody could see any fruitful result in that direction. Therefore it has become essential to develop good relations with Nepal so that we can solve many of these problems. That is why I am requesting and urging upon the Government to review the whole situation and try to find out some way out so that we may have our cordial relations with them. Tension in Indian sub-continent is increasing. It is known to everybody. Most of the speakers who have spoken already are of the view that there is total tension around India today, around this sub-continent. It is because of the super-power rivalries and we as one of the biggest nations in this sub-continent has a major role to play, to diffuse this tension. The problem of Diego Garcia has been raised here time and again. But Diego Garcia is still under the control of the USA. We have been demanding that Diego Garcia must be handed over to Mauritius, but the USA never listened to it. The Indian Ocean which must be the zone of peace has become a zone of disturbance because of the presence of super power, especially the USA. The USA is almost having control over the entire Indian

Ocean. If I may say, the USA is involved in a very dangerous exercise in this Indian Ocean. I think it will be very correct to say so and therefore we want that this kind of activity must be stopped.

So far as the USA is concerned, her role towards India is not very positive and not very encouraging. We have always seen that the USA had encouraged those forces which were acting against the interests of India. Even the anti-Indian forces have been encouraged by the USA. The supporters of the so-called Khalistan Movement and the so-called President of so-called Khalistan and such other kinds of elements are also encouraged by the USA. It is known to everybody. Everything is happening there in the name of democracy, sometimes they say that there is democracy and they cannot stop such types of activities. But sometimes in the name of democracy they do not want to stop such activities and we always are observing that anti-India people are very much active in this country.

In the UK the assassination of our diplomat, Mr. Mhatre is a very condemnable incident. It had taken place because of the fact that anti-India forces are very active there, in Britain. Otherwise, this kind of thing would never have happened there. I would like to urge upon the Government that security to our diplomats must be ensured and they must be provided proper securities wherever they are. In regard to these forces which are being encouraged by the USA, as I said like supporters of the so-called Khalistan, etc., Government of India must take up these issues with the USA and we should try to warn them that our diplomatic reactions may get strained or it may not remain there. Something of this sort must be told, but I do not know how for the Government has succeeded in this effort because the USA actions do not seem to be very friendly. That is why I have given this suggestion. The USA has always been giving arms to Pakistan

which have been used against India. I am sure still they are pouring arms to Pakistan. Pakistan has almost become the arsenal of the USA and sophisticated weapons of every type are being given to Pakistan all the time. Pakistan, as everybody knows, will not use those arms against Afghanistan. In the name of Afghanistan they are getting these arms but they are not going to use them against Afghanistan, they are not going to use them against China, they will not use them against USSR or Iran or any other country except India because in 1954 when arms were being given to Pakistan, at that time itself India had raised objection to the supply of these arms to Pakistan.

The United States Administration assured the Government of India that those arms would never be used against India, but when in 1965 the war took place, everybody knows that all the arms given by United States to Pakistan were used against India. Again, in 1971 the United States went to the extent of sending the Seventh Fleet against India. This is the role of the United States towards us, and it has to be borne in mind all the time.

The United States of America is also trying to have bases around India in various countries like Sri Lanka, Bangladesh, Pakistan etc. If this happens, it will be very dangerous for us, because we are having an apprehension that America does not like us. Though we are the largest democracy in the world, and they are also a democratic country and they should try to have good relations with us, yet they do not want to support us on various issues. And specially, they feel that their national interest is to oppose Soviet Union and in order to oppose Soviet Union, they will have to encourage Pakistan, or some other countries which would provide bases to them. At the same time, they want that we should have good relations with them. If their national interest lies in confrontation with Soviet Union, why should we not try to safeguard our national interest by

trying build up our military strength and by acquiring more arms from those countries which are friendly to us? With those arms which we are acquiring, we can only safeguard our territorial integrity and freedom against those countries who are trying to attack us all the time, and Pakistan has always done this thing. Our national interest lies in safeguarding our national integrity, territorial integrity and freedom by receiving arms from those countries which are friendly to us.

The United States of America does not have any respect for the non-aligned movement. It is very clear from the speech delivered by President Reagan in New York before the General Assembly of the United Nations. They are having full condemnation for the entire movement. It is also very important and we should try to take up this matter with the world community, and especially with the community of the non-aligned movement to see that the United States of America is not given any kind of support in its designs against the non-aligned movement, because they do not have any sympathy for this movement, and they can, therefore, go to any extent.

The nuclear capability of Pakistan is also a great threat to our national freedom and our integrity. Therefore, the Government must be aware of this situation. Recently, a new item appeared in a British daily regarding a plot to assassinate the President of Pakistan and it was published in several newspapers in this country. This news is very dangerous and completely against India. I would request the hon. Minister to clarify this situation, because I feel that some western countries are deliberately trying to create misunderstanding between India and Pakistan by encouraging this kind of news and giving importance to such rumours.

About insurgency in north-eastern region, only yesterday our Home Minister told this House regarding the involvement of some foreign powers in

[Shri Harikesh Bahadur]

the insurgent activities in this region. It is a very serious matter. Sometimes the Government says that there is involvement of some foreign powers in Punjab affairs, and sometimes they say this in respect of north-eastern region also. I would like to know whether the Government is doing something to find out these foreign powers.

They should try to find out and clearly say which are those forces and those foreign countries trying to destabilize our country.

14 hrs.

It is a very serious remark of the Home Minister. He said : "There were reports that camps were being held in Bangladesh to train insurgents." It is a very serious matter which should also be taken up with the Bangladesh Government, because they are our neighbours. If such things go on there, we will not be able to maintain good and cordial relations with them. For that purpose, it is very necessary that such types of activities are stopped. We must try to take up these matters with them and resolve this crisis.

So far as the Tamil problem in Sri Lanka is concerned, we have to make efforts to protect the interests of people of Tamil origin there.

About China, we should continue to develop our relations with them, because they are a very important Power in the world to-day. They are also one of our most important neighbours.

The situation in West Asia is very grave. We have to be careful and vigilant. Our support to PLO must continue.

About the Iran-Iraq war, we have to play a more positive role to see that this war ends. Our External Affairs Minister has done his best, he has tried to resolve this crisis, but unfortunately he could not succeed. We have a capable Foreign Minister, though he is in an incapable Government. I hope he will succeed.

SHRI K.T. KOSALRAM (Tiruchendur) : In support of the Demand for Grants of the Ministry of External Affairs, I wish to say a few words. All the previous speakers have dealt with various global issues and world problems. So, I wish to confine myself to the problem of estate workers of Indian origin in Sri Lanka, and the State-less people of Tamil origin living there. Our External Affairs Minister is well aware of this problem. He has studied it. So, I need not elaborate things.

I am not referring to the problem of Sri Lankan Tamils. First of all, I must be very clear about it. The Sri Lankan Tamils are called the Jaffna Tamils, living in the northern parts of Sri Lanka, and they want to have a separate Tamil State. I am not talking about them.

14.03 hrs.

[SHRI CHINTAMANI PANIGRAHI
in the Chair]

My problem is this : in the tea estates on the high mountains, there is

no police protection for the estate workers of Indian origin. They are attacked physically by the Sri Lankan racists. Three months back, people were killed. People of Indian origin have been butchered. My own relations, kith and kin have been butchered, and shot down. They have been deprived of their properties. One of the Ministers in the Sri Lankan Ministry has openly remarked that all of them should be thrown into the Indian Ocean. He is a very responsible Minister in their Cabinet. He has said this in the Sri Lanka Parliament.

Similarly, the Stateless people of Tamil origin are also the victims of the vandalism of Sri Lankans. I know personally cases of my relations have houses and shops have been burnt to ashes, some shot dead, some killed and butchered. Though they have been there for decades, they are the victims of the recent riots.

In regard to the question of issuing citizenship rights, you are aware of it. Mr. Thondaman, one of the Cabinet Ministers there, has been appointed to submit a report on the citizenship rights. He has submitted a report to the Cabinet. The Cabinet has approved that report completely, but it is not being implemented. The question of issuing citizenship rights to the Stateless people has dragged on during the entire period of Shastri-Sirimavo Agreement, which was later extended by Mrs. Indira Gandhi-Mrs. Bandaranaike agreement. Even today their

number is about 6 lakhs. Presently there is no agreement between India and Sri Lanka regarding repatriation of the Stateless people of Tamil origin. A few years ago, a reporting given by Mr. Thondaman, the Minister in Jayawardene Cabinet recommending issuance of citizenship rights to all the Stateless people was unanimously adopted by the Sri Lanka Cabinet. But no action has been taken by the government to implement this decision. Now also President Jayawardene has stated that citizenship rights would be given to all Stateless people of Tamil origin. But no time-limit has been indicated for this purpose.

The hon. Minister is aware about the Stateless people. I should refer to the positive contribution of our Prime Minister Mrs. Indira Gandhi in restoring the normally in Sri Lanka. Her special envoy Mr. G. Parthasarthy and our hon. Minister have also played a significant role in bringing the different political parties to a round table for deliberations about the whole issue. The super powers like America and Russia have lauded our PM's efforts in ensuring that this internal problem in Sri Lanka is not allowed to escalate into a global problem.

Unfortunately, I am given to understand from the Press reports in Sri Lanka that President Jayawardene is not keen to implement the agreement brought about by Shri G. Parathasarathy. It seems he is playing a partisan role in furthering the interests of Sri Lankan Thugs and Buddhist clergy. There is another indication also of his dubious role. Our High

[Shri K.T. Kosalram]

Commissioner in Sri Lanka on instructions from our Government gave it in writing to Sri Lanka Government that an oil refinery could be set up in Trincomalle in the joint sector where there are 101 giant oil tanks. There was my question in Lok Sabha to which answer was given to this effect. Yet President Jayawardene has given all these 101 giant oil tanks on a long-term lease to a Canadian-based American Company. You may be aware of it or you may not be aware of it. But I know it definitely. I know one of the Cabinet Ministers in Sri Lanka. Another American Company has set up a giant communication tower, near Colombo for spying on the movements of ships in the Indian Ocean. There is no reduction in the flow of arms from America into Sri Lanka. It is going on.

In these circumstances it is very necessary for us to evolve firm steps in regard to the security of estate workers of Indian origin and the stateless people of Tamil origin. The World Bank has stated categorically, you would have known, which has been endorsed by the Sri Lanka Bank that without these estate workers the tea economy of Sri Lanka will be finished for ever. It is accepted by the Sri Lanka Government. I suggest that we should not hesitate to rehabilitate lock, stock and barrel, all the estate workers of Indian origin and the stateless people of Tamil origin in Andaman and Nicobar Islands. We should keep our Naval ships ready for this purpose so that if the situation worsens like the recent racial riots, we can take all of them in one stroke. This

will be in consonance with our honourable Prime Minister's repeated statement that she would not keep quiet if racial riots take place in future. She has very categorically issued the statement.

I have already written to you that the Sri Lankan Navy does not hesitate to harass our fishermen from Rameswaram, in violation of the agreement between the two countries about fishing. Some of the fishermen have been taken into custody by the Sri Lankan Navy. Many times the catch of our fishermen has been confiscated by the Sri Lankan Navy.

The Sri Lankan Government is also not honouring the Kachchathivu agreement. When they are merciless in this manner, we need not remain silent spectators. We should take action to protect the rights of our fishermen.

Similarly, the Sri Lanka Government has taken over all the buildings, factories, shops of our people which were burnt in the riots. They are not giving any compensation for this. Nor are they returning the property. The Government should take steps to restore the properties to our people in Sri Lanka. In order to ensure the security of our Southern Coast, as has been pointed by our hon. Defence Minister of India, in a discussion during a Calling Attention in this Lok Sabha, the Sethusamudram Project must be taken up for implementation forthwith to protect our interests. This project should be taken up as early as possible.

SHRI CHITTA BASU (Barasat) : Mr. Chairman, Sir, a question has been raised about war psychosis being created in India by certain sections in our country. At the outset, I am to firmly assert that the people of India are not in any way interested in creating any war psychosis against Pakistan, or as a matter of fact against any country. We are opposed to the creation of any war crisis, or any war psychosis and to create any tension.

But the reality of the situation should also be taken into account while we discuss about the reality which exists in Pakistan today. The induction of sophisticated arms from the United States of America, the reported agreement between the United States of America and Pakistan for leasing land for the use of military bases in Pakistan, the opening of the Karakoram road, the drive of Pakistan towards nuclearisation and, more recently, the policy shift of Bangladesh and Sri Lanka cannot but create security hazards for the country. In this situation, we cannot afford to ignore the reality of the situation and, naturally, in this broad context the question has to be considered.

The most crucial point is that Pakistan dictator is not a free agent to act on his own accord or to act on his own volition. He has permitted himself and his State to be willing partners in the US global strategy or military equation, which is 100 per cent aggressive, there is no doubt about it. As a surrogate of the Western powers, Pakistan has got external compulsions. As a dictatorial regime, Pakistan has got certain domestic compulsions. We cannot ignore this reality, we can ill afford to this, which will be at the peril of the security of our country.

The people of Pakistan are not our enemies. As a matter of fact, the people of India want abiding friendship with the people of Pakistan. The people of India are very much pained to see that the people of Pakistan are not

free from the yoke of the dictatorial regime. As a matter of fact, the Government policy should be based on building up the bridge with the democratic forces now operating within Pakistan and more emphasis has to be given to the friendship with the people of Pakistan because that would be the guarantee for the abiding friendship and good neighbourliness between these two great countries of this continent.

In today's world context the question of war and peace is the central question. It has to be understood that we are faced with a qualitatively new dangerous situation. It has also to be understood that the world is being pushed towards the brink of a nuclear holocaust. This endangers the very human existence. I know the Government's avowed policy is for peace, non-alignment and development. But this policy losses its main prop when it refuses to identify the enemies of it, particularly the main enemy of the people, the aggressive-world designs which bring about world destruction.

The so-called super power rivalry theory, if you permit me to say, is wrong, misconceived and if it is not shorn immediately, I am afraid to say that this would contribute towards further promotion of aggressive designes of the enemies of peace. I do not know whether the Government would take this into account and firmly take a position which is anti-imperialist, anti-war and pro-peace.

Sir, I do not know whether you would agree with me, but I am convinced that we cannot afford to forget today that anti-imperialism and peace is one and indivisible, we cannot afford to ignore today the fact that economic self-reliance and peace is one and indivisible, we cannot also ignore the fact that the liberation struggle and peace is one and indivisible, we cannot also afford to forget that national

[Shri Chitta Basu]

independence, democracy, socialism and peace is one and indivisible. In this connection I would also draw the attention of the Hon. Minister of External Affairs to the recent decision of the Reagan Administration to link aid with political perceptions. Is it not sufficiently clear that unless you have got identical political perception, the Reagan Administration is against giving any aid to those countries ? Therefore, a struggle for peace in this present context is nothing, but integrated with the question of attaining self-reliance in economy.

Sir, we are in the NAM. As a matter of fact, our Prime Minister is the Chairperson of the NAM. But at the same time I take this opportunity to make it clear that the NAM has within its fold certain known Trozan horses and yet unknown Trozan Horses and that constitutes the basic weakness of the NAM. NAM can become a really effective force for peace, development and stability if it is firmly anti-imperialist.

Sir, as you know, the situation in Central America is very explosive today. In this context, the Non-aligned Bureau which met recently, expressed deep concern over the new escalation of these acts—the installation of foreign military bases, threats, attacks and hostile acts there. This Bureau also expressed concern at the deterioration of the Salvadorean conflict due to the continuation of the foreign intervention in the internal affairs in Salvador. So far as the declaration of the Bureau is concerned, it has taken a positive position, a positive step. But do you know which are the countries which are indulging in foreign intervention in Salvador, what are the countries which are putting mines around Nicargua, which are the countries which are involving in all the acts of separation ?

Unfortunately, the President of that Bureau, our Foreign Affairs Minister,

could not say firmly that it is the United States of America who is responsible for this critical and explosive situation in the Central America. Does it not reflect and signify the basic weakness of the man ? It does. My point is that if you are really for the policy of peace, you ought to be firmly anti-imperialist to fight against the agents of war who create death and destruction.

I want to highlight other issues. One relates to Srilanka. As I have mentioned earlier that Government of Srilanka has witnessed major policy shifts in regard to foreign relations and this was of a great concern to us. The progress of Colombo talks on the ethnic problems of Srilanka is tardy. Srilanka Government has imposed travel curbs on the Srilanka Tamilians. May I know what the Government of India proposes to do bearing in mind that the Srilanka Government representatives, spokesmen of the Srilanka Government take every opportunity of accusing India, and thereby create condition which is enemical to their interest. They have accused that Government are allowing armed insurgents to get training on the Indian soil. The situation in Bangla Desh should have been taken due note of by the External Affairs Ministry. Anti-Indian campaign has now reached heights in Bangla Desh. There have been moves of late to have a defence pact with Pakistan between Bangla Desh and Pakistan. A new situation has been created within Bangla Desh which has caused much concern and sense of insecurity among the minorities still remaining in Bangla Desh because of the Government of Bangla Desh attitude towards the properties of minorities. I would not have raised this question in this debate but there are serious complication, serious impact likely to be borne by India if situation worsens.

Many good things have been said regarding the situation in Diego Garcia. I have got no time. But I would only suggest that the Government of India

should take initiative in convening a Conference of the Littoral States so that the Indian Ocean can be made really a zone of peace.

Indo-Soviet treaty of peace and friendship is a bulwark for peace and we should see that it is further strengthened.

SHRI BHUBANESWAR BHUYAN (Gauhati) : Mr. Chairman, Sir, I would like to extend my support to the proposal on the demands for grants (Ministry of External Affairs). While extending my support for the budget proposals, I would like to draw the attention of the External Affairs Minister to certain points of importance for his consideration.

Sir, it will benerely repetitive if I say that the present situation particularly in this sub-continent is full of very serious complications and development as is evident from the fact of arming some of the neighbouring countries by certain super-powers. In the light of this fact I would like to inform you of another fact. In this context, I have learnt that our Indian military experts are convinced that Sri Lanka and Pakistan are going to give naval and land bases or preferably landing facilities for the American Rapid Deployment Force, despite the denial of Howard Schaffer, the U.S. Deputy Assistant Secretary of state. According to them, American naval facilities at Sri-Lanka, Trincomalee Port and at two Pakistani ports cannot be ruled out. This development, besides arming of Pakistan with more sophisticated armaments meant for mass destruction, mass annihilation and destruction of the natural resources is a very serious one. So, in this context, our External Affairs Minister, our whole diplomatic efforts and our principles have a major part to play. Although, our external Affairs Minister has taken a lot of trouble yet, I think, it is not adequate even to meet the vast propaganda carried out by the hostile neighbouring countries against India in the world. I, therefore think

that the first and foremost important thing is to counter the propaganda of those hostile countries against ours by introducing an effective propaganda machinery and by arranging efficient delegates to be sent abroad to explain our stand-point on different topics. In this connection, we are well aware that some of our neighbouring countries are accusing us very often that we are interfering in their internal affairs and so on and so forth. I am not yet sure as to what extent we have defended ourselves as well as we have projected our views in the world. For instance, in the recent hanging case of Maqbool Butt and many other persons, we are coming across many reports. We may also say that it is almost an interference in the internal affairs of ours by some neighbouring countries. If we express our fear or apprehension, I am sure then that there are not only people outside the country but also inside who are saying that we are suffering from the war phobia. May I ask you a question ? You say that some of our neighbouring countries are armed to their teeth irrespective of their size and population and requirements. Then, is it that we are interfering or are we really suffering from the war phobia ? Should we not say boldly to the people is not only in our country but throughout the world that we are preparing for the defence because what is the necessity of supplying sophisticated weapons if there would not have been any sinister design on the part of those countries and those who are at their back ?

Certainly, this development really reveals that there are certain sinister designs that are aimed at our interest and they are not very far to see.

As regards Diego Garcia, you are well aware of what has happened to this particular spot in the Indian Ocean. What is the present position ? In the light of these developments, I would like to say that although we are fortunate enough today to have our Madam Prime Minister as the Chairperson of

[Shri Bhupadashwar Bhuyao]

the NAM, yet I find that perhaps we have not yet been very successful in projecting our point of view that the Indian Ocean should be one of the free oceans in the world. I think, adequate efforts have not been made in this direction. India can lead all the countries of the non-aligned group in projecting the view-point that the Indian Ocean should be kept as a zone of peace. In this context, we should take a bold diplomatic offensive and steps to convince about our view-point in this regard.

In the light of the arms race not only in this sub-continent but throughout the world, it is very necessary for India to contribute in a major way towards disarmament movement. As to the present position of the disarmament movement. I think, India can play a major role and there is a major part left for our External Affairs Minister to play and he can take a very bold initiative in this direction.

India being a country that stands for peace, it can take a bold lead and can also give adequate support and sympathy to the other countries which are fighting for their liberation both in the African sub-continent and elsewhere in Asia against imperialism and colonialism. There are so many countries which are seeking our help. I think, as a free country, as we fought for our own Independence in the past, we have also got a moral right to help them, particularly in the light of our present-day foreign policy. I, therefore consider that our country has a major part to play and, in order to play its major part, our External Affairs Minister will devise such ways so that we can project our view point and not only we can convince the people throughout the world about our view-point, but we can also take a bold step in this direction.

Before concluding, I would request all the members of the House, irrespective of their political opinions and differences, to support the Government and to support its stand in projecting

India's image that stands for peace in the whole world.

श्री रोति लाल प्रसाद वर्मा (कोहरमा) : सभापति महोदय, आपने मुझे विदेश नीति पर जो बोलने का मौका दिया है उसके लिए धन्यवाद देता हूँ। आज सारा विश्व देखा जाय तो जिस तरह की राजनीतिक गतिविधियाँ बढ़ रही हैं, कूटनीतिक चालें जिस तरह की दिखाई पड़ रही हैं, और जिस तरह से आणुविक युद्ध के आसार नजर आ रहे हैं उससे लगता है कि सारा विश्व एक बाल्कनी पर बैठा हुआ है। इस परिस्थिति के निर्माण करने में दो महाशक्तियाँ अपनी अन्तर्निहित कुत्सित भावनाओं से काम कर रही हैं जिसका परिणाम तीसरे विश्व के लोगों को भुगतना पड़ रहा है। क्योंकि उन दो महाशक्तियों के कारण तीसरा विश्व जो पैदा हुआ है और वहाँ के लोगों को जिस तरह से एक संगठन में आत्मनिष्ठा और विश्वास के साथ बंधुता के साथ मिलना चाहिये वैसी परिस्थिति अभी तक निर्मित नहीं हो रही है।

भारत की जो भूमिका पिछले तीन दशकों में रही है और उनके दौरान समीक्षाधीन 1983 को देखा जाए तो इन तीन दशकों में भारत पराकाष्ठा पर इन्टरनेशनल विकास के सम्बन्ध में पहुँचा है। 1983 में हमने साउथ-साउथ सम्मेलन, निर्गुट सम्मेलन चौगम और विश्व हिन्दी सम्मेलन, किए और दुनिया के देशों को प्रभावित करने का प्रयास किया है, और भारत की वैदेशिक नीति पराकाष्ठा पर 1983 में मानी जा सकती है। लेकिन इसके बावजूद भी अगर हम देखते हैं भारत के जो पड़ीसी देश हैं उनके साथ

साथ हमारे सम्बन्ध जितने सुदृढ़ होने और अगाढ़ प्रेम होना चाहिए वह अभी तक नहीं बन पाये हैं। पाकिस्तान में अभी भी सरकार की ओर से जिस तरह से समाचार आ रहे हैं उनसे ऐसा लगता है कि एक भयानक युद्ध होने वाला है। और इस तरह की बात बराबर कही जाती है, चाहे संसद हो, बाहर हो या समाचार-पत्र हों, जनता के मन में एक मनःस्थिति बनती चली जा रही है कि सम्भवतः भारत और पाकिस्तान के बीच एक भयानक युद्ध होने वाला है और इस युद्ध में सारे देश की जनता को, भ्रम में डाला जा रहा हो इस तरह की परिस्थिति पैदा हो गई है। यह सही है कि दो महाशक्तियाँ अपने उद्देश्यों की पूर्ति के लिए हथियारों की होड़ लगा रहे हैं, उनका बिक्री मार्केट बना रहे हैं जिसके बीच में छोटे-छोटे देश उलझते चले जा रहे हैं। अमरीका का जो इस वर्ष का बजट है उसमें 1.78 खरब डालर 1984 के लिए रखे हैं और उसका जो खर्च हथियारों के निर्माण में, संग्रहण और भंडारण में खर्च हो रहा है प्रति दिन वह । अरब डालर हो रहा है। और यही कारण है कि हथियारों का व्यापार कर के सारे अविकसित और विकासशील देशों में अपना अपना मार्केट बना रहा है और इसी उद्देश्य से दूसरी महाशक्ति रूस भी अपने व्यापार को बढ़ाने के लिए ही राइबलरी में आ गया है। इस राइबलरी के चक्कर में निर्गुट देशों का चेयरपरसन होने के बावजूद भी हम निर्गुटता में कहाँ तक सफल हुए हैं यह सब को स्पष्ट है।

निर्गुटता का जहाँ तक सम्बन्ध है बंगलादेश, पाकिस्तान, श्रीलंका, बर्मा, श्याम में साथ हमारे सुदृढ़ सम्बन्ध और व्यवहार हीना चाहिए ताकि विदेशी आक्रमण हमारे ऊपर न हो।

जहाँ तक हिन्द महासागर का सम्बन्ध है, यह हौआ खड़ा किया जा रहा है कि अमरीकी जहाड़ी बेड़ा डियागो गासिया में पहुंच गया है। लेकिन दूसरी ओर रूस के 36 जहाज भी हिन्द महासागर में मौजूद हैं। इसी प्रकार वैस्ट जर्मनी, फ्रांस और यू. के. के 7 जहाजों का मिला-जुला बेड़ा भी वहाँ पर है। इस प्रकार हिन्द महासागर समुद्री बेड़ों के घेरे में पड़ता जा रहा है। कौन हमारा मित्र है और कौन हमारा दुश्मन है, वह तो भविष्य ही बताएगा।

हमें तटस्थता और पंचशील की नीति का अनुसरण करते हुए बीच का रास्ता अपनाना चाहिए, ताकि सब देशों के साथ हमारे मित्रता पूर्ण सम्बन्ध हों। मंत्री महोदय निश्चित रूप से एक योग्य मंत्री माने जाते हैं। वह सभी भाषाओं के जानकार हैं। लेकिन महासभा के 38वें सम्मेलन की कायंवाही से पता चलता है कि हम अपनी नीति पर अडिग रहने में असफल रहते हैं।

निःशक्तीकरण, डिसआर्मेंट, को ले कर इतना हुंगामा होता है, लेकिन प्रश्न यह है कि हम कहाँ तक उसको एक व्यावहारिक रूप दे पाते हैं। निर्गुट देशों का इतना बड़ा सम्मेलन हुआ। इस सम्बन्ध में उसका क्या योगदान रहा? ईरान और ईराक का युद्ध लगातार चल रहा है। इसी प्रकार फिलस्तीनियों का युद्ध भी हो रहा है। उसको रोकने के लिए हम कहाँ तक अपनी भूमिका निभा पाए हैं? निससंदेह हमारा प्रयास अच्छा रहा है, लेकिन तथ्य यह है कि संसार की स्थिति बहुत जटिल है। एक महाशक्ति अफगानिस्तान में आ गई है और दूसरी महाशक्ति ग्रेनाडा में पहुंच गई है। महाशक्तियों की आपसी होड़ ने संसार की अधिकांश समस्याओं को

[श्री रीत लाल प्रसाद वर्मा]

जन्म दिया है। हम निर्गुट देशों का नेतृत्व कर रहे हैं। हमारा प्रयास होना चाहिए कि हम एक जुट होकर शान्ति बनाए रखने में सहयोग दें।

THE MINISTER OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS (SHRI P. V. NARASIMHA RAO) : Mr. Chairman, Sir, we have had a remarkably peaceful debate on international affairs. I thank all the 22 Hon. Members who took part in the debate and gave very valuable suggestions.

As I look back on the debate, I find that the main focus has been on our relations with neighbours. The other point of importance which has been raised is the deteriorating international security situation. I consider both these points extremely important, and it was as well that the debate concentrated on these two. Sir, I would also like to deal with these two points in detail.

I would take up our relations with our neighbours first. Some Hon. Members have come back fresh from Pakistan. So, this freshness has been reflected here, but in what way, I shall submit presently. I am grateful to Prof. Raniga and Mr. Keyur Bhusan for having dealt with the points raised by Mr. Biju Patnaik in great detail, and I do not think I will have to cover the same ground once again. That is not necessary. I entirely agree with Prof. Raniga's analysis of our relations with Pakistan.

However, before taking up the other aspects of our relations with our neighbours, I would like to categorically reject all the allegations and insinuations suggesting India's involvement in any coup or plot in Pakistan. Such reports and insinuations appearing in some sections of the foreign press are absolutely baseless, highly mischievous and reprehensible. We have not interfered and will not interfere in any way whatsoever in the internal affairs

of Pakistan or any other country. We are not concerned about the composition or complexion of their governments. This policy has been absolutely clear and it has been made clear many many times before and it will continue to be our policy hereafter also. Our Prime Minister's most sincere and strenuous efforts to promote peace in the region and all over the world as well as good neighbourly relations are well known and acknowledged on all hands. So I do not think there is any need for any Hon. Member or anyone outside the Parliament or anywhere in the world to continue having any such doubts or any such fancies. I do not even call them doubts because there is no room for doubt. But if you really want to fancy, sky is the limit. This is what is happening. I have made an analysis of the reports. We have gone into the reports and what is contained in the reports in great detail. We find that they are flights of fancy. Genuine doubts can always be cleared but where you are dealing with a fancy, it is very difficult to clear a fancy because a fancy is a fancy.

Prime Minister has been pointing to the steadily deteriorating situation in the security environment in the sub-continent right from 1980. There seem to have been some suggestions made in some speeches here that this is being done in the year 1983 or 1984 with some ulterior motive or with an eye on the elections and so on. Now I would like to refute this most emphatically and say that at least in matters of security, national security, all sections of the House, all sections of the people and all political parties should try their best to rise above the compulsions or predilections of their parties. My Party has done it. The Government appeals to all others to do it because what was said in 1980 could by no stretch of imagination be interpreted as having been said for the election of 1985. Immediately after the new Government came into office Prime Minister drew the attention of every one to this Situation. Now what has happened during the last four years?

Has the situation improved? Is it not a fact that ever since Prime Minister made her first statement, the situation has deteriorated over the years and today if someone says that all this is being said with an eye on the elections, I must say that this is a very unfair, inaccurate and far from responsible statement. We should not say this and we should not indulge in this. Let us understand and let us see the situation as it is.

We have talked about the induction of arms into Pakistan. Members have many times and on many occasions expressed their concern.

The man in the street in India expresses his concern. Whatever individuals might think under the spell of temporary meetings and visits, it is a fact, it is an undeniable fact, that in this country, everyone feels apprehensive when a neighbour of ours is being armed to the teeth. This is a fact; this is an undeniable fact. So, what do we do about it? We try to argue with them; we try to discuss with them; we try to convince them that this is not necessary.

Mr. Patnaik yesterday said: "We have to ask ourselves many questions. When we ask those questions, we find that the questions which we are asking are hurled back at us." Yes, they will certainly be hurled back because, we do not know what questions to ask, what are the right questions to ask? One of the important questions to ask ourselves and to ask those who are concerned is, taking the last ten or fifteen years, who is responsible for the escalation in the sophistication of weapons—in the level of sophistication of arms—between India and Pakistan? Who has led the way and who has followed? It is a matter of record that at every stage, Pakistan has raised the level of sophistication in arms—never mind about numbers. Numbers will depend on size; numbers will depend on the length of the coastline; numbers will depend on the length of the border. But numbers, absolutely

so-called, without reference to levels of sophistication, without reference to quality, have little meaning. And, when it comes to quality and level of sophistication, the fact has been that Pakistan has led the way and India had to follow.

We are not for it even now. We have said this before. We are prepared to say it again any number of times. But, when all the appeals fall on deaf ears, there is nothing that media can do but be prepared for any eventuality. And this is what we have been doing. I do not think anyone can have any objection or take any exception to this policy—policy of peace, at the same time, policy of preparedness because we hear so much about the strategic consensus involving Pakistan. This has been discussed many times, whether one admits it or does not admit; the fact remains that, on the whole, an assessment of the situation convinces you that such a strategic consensus is being built. We do not want this; we do not want this consensus to be built in this area; we want the countries of this region to live peacefully in good neighbourly relations. We have made all efforts for South-Asian Cooperation; we have launched the programme, the programme is progressing well on many fronts.

We have been able to identify areas of cooperation. So, on the one hand, we are going ahead with peaceful programmes of cooperation but, on the other, there is just one thorn in the flesh that is coming in the way of good relations. Who can deny that this is a thorn in the flesh? Whatever efforts we might make for improving relations they can go only up to a point and cannot go the whole hog. So, this is what we have to understand. There are the questions that we have to ask ourselves.

15 hrs.

Sir, almost every week, we hear some new weapons being inducted into Pakistan—Harpoon missiles or something else. I am not a military expert. I could not give you the whole inven-

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tory. I am sure that Defence Minister will be able to take the House into confidence on some of these things.

So, this is what we have to ask ourselves. Mr. Patnaik also raised the question of two domestic servants. I think these will go down in history as the most talked about domestic servants in the world. I would not like to go into the details but how I wish Mr. Patnaik or any Hon. Member of the House kindly to do me the favour of interviewing these two domestic servants who have come back from Pakistan and tell me what they think of these two persons. Tell me whether these servants could, by any stretch of imagination, be considered as having been implicated or having done something which they are now being charged of having done. This is absolutely fantastic. This is a story. It is a total concoction and we have denied it. But, I am prepared, as I said, to give you the names and addresses of these persons. This is something very strange, very extra-ordinary, that this incident or a non-incident of two persons crossing over or pushed across the border which is what happened, should be made the Central theme round which all this web has been woven. To say the least, this is the most un-believable story and it is better that such stories are not concocted because they further vitiate the relations between the two countries.

The foreign secretaries of the two countries are going to talk about the two documents that are on the table. The members are aware of the circumstances in which these two documents came into being and why discussion could not go on earlier. There were impediments which were genuine and valid and now we hope that there will be no further impediments created from the other side to impede the resumption or starting of these discussions. We hope that the discussions will start as scheduled. Of course, we have our perception. They have theirs. Mr. Patnaik

said they are almost the same, the two documents. Yes, 80 per cent, they are the same but it is in the 20 per cent that the difference lies and if we are not able to resolve 20 per cent, our resolution of the 80 per cent will be of no avail. Even if it is 10 per cent or 1 per cent, we have to try and resolve that 1 per cent again and again until we succeed. So, it is going to be a process by itself. Let us hope that this process will succeed and India on its part will do whatever is possible to make it succeed, consistent with national security.

Coming to Bangladesh, again our relations have been good and they are good today. We have certain issues. Neighbours will always have some issues. I was advised by an Hon. Member yesterday to be generous. I want to ask the Hon. Members, particularly from West Bengal, whether they would like India to be generous in the question of Ganga water. Generous means what ? Generous about what ? Who am I go give away the Ganga waters to another country to the detriment of the coming generations of this country ?

To the detriment of the 700 million people of India ? This Government does not consider itself capable of doing that or justified in doing that. There can be no question of generosity where national interests are concerned. What we want is equity ; what we want is justice ; what we want is a cooperative spirit in which both countries can benefit ; and all our relations will have to be ultimately based on mutual benefit.

Now, everybody knows that there is not enough water in Ganga at Farakka. If you give more water to Bangla Desh, Calcutta port suffers. If you give more to Calcutta port, maybe, Bangla Desh will not be able to get the water she needs. So the main question is how to augment the Ganga waters at Farakka. There have been proposals. We gave them one proposal of getting Brahmaputra water through Bangla Desh to Farakka.

They have not been able to agree to that, they have some domestic reasons. They said that we should get water from Nepal by building dams there. This is a bilateral issue between India and Bangla Desh. And when Bangla Desh proposed that this bilateral matter should be trilateralised, naturally we could not agree. We have our own bilateral arrangement with Nepal. We would not like to internationalise the issue between India and Bangladesh. With these two proposals not having made much headway, certain other proposals also are being considered. They are still in the process. I am sure we will continue the process and ultimately find a way of sharing the Ganga waters on an equitable basis. I have no doubt about that. But it is a question of time. It is a question of patience. It is a question of political will on both sides, of being able to sell a formula to one's own people. All these things come in. Who can say that the 1978 agreement which was only for 5 years was an agreement which did not go against the interests of India ? I have not heard even one Hon Member for the last 4 years and more justifying the 1978 agreement as beneficial to India, or, as taking account of India's interests. It was for 5 years ; therefore it had to go at the end of 5 years. But that does not mean we are going to break the dialogue or break the question of sharing of waters. As I said we are going ahead with alternative proposals. I am sure at some point of time we will succeed.

In the matter of the Teesta waters, as the House is aware, we have been able to find a sharing formula for the time being. It is not final but it leaves certain percentage of the available water undecided, unshared, undistributed. But the rest is divided ; so, that small portion can be settled later. We find that it is a satisfactory formula for both sides. Both have agreed.

About the properties in Bangla Desh which are said to be in danger of being sold, we have been taking up the matter, as Hon. Members know, from

time to time persistently. It is as a result of these efforts, if I may say so, that the Government of Bangla Desh are looking into this from the point of view of those who are likely to lose these properties. They have assured us more than once that nothing will be done which would amount to confiscation. The properties would be made over back to the rightful owners. Now, how they are going to do it, what is the procedure, what laws will be invoked, is something which is within their domestic jurisdiction. But the result that we have impressed on them, the result that is wanted is that such deprivation of people of their properties should not take place.

I would also like to inform the hon. Member who raised the question that in all the discussions on Teesta waters, we had a representative of the Government of West Bengal is fully in the picture, whether it is land boundary between Bangladesh and India, the State Government on our side is kept in the picture.

Coming to Sri Lanka, the latest position in that the All Parties Conference which was set up as a result of the good offices of our Prime Minister, has been going on in the last few days, there were some reports that since not much headway could be made on the substantive issues, President Jayewardene was perhaps thinking in terms of adjourning the meeting *sine die*. This has not happened fortunately, but there has been an adjournment until the first week of May or thereabouts. So, meanwhile, there will be further talks, further consultations, informal suggestions and so on and we are hoping that since the process has been continued, they will be able to take advantage of this interregnum to find some solution which is acceptable to all concerned. Again, the matter is extremely complicated, it is complicated by many factors and therefore, if they take a time, we should not be surprised, no one should be surprised ; but if you have a long gap, what can happen is

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also something one has to consider. So, while we are happy that the process is on, and it has not been given up in desperation, we have to keep our fingers crossed as to what will happen in the interregnum, how well this interregnum will be utilised for informal consultations and to make up minds on all sides to come to a solution.

One suggestion which was made earlier also in both the Houses and which was repeated yesterday is that our High Commissioner to Sri Lanka should be a Tamil-speaking person. Sir, this is a very difficult demand to accept because if I have, as I have to have, as my Ambassador in Nepal a Nepali-speaking person, in Bangladesh a Bengali-speaking person. I am afraid this is not going to be possible. We have to post our Ambassadors, High Commissioners on certain norms, other than their mother-tongue. This, I hope the hon. Members will readily concede, is not possible ; but about our present High Commissioner in Sri Lanka, I want to tell the House as a point of fact, that he is not only popular with all sections of Sri Lanka's population, but in fact if they had their way, they would have him even longer than we would like to keep him there. So, He has done his duties so well, so promptly, so constructively that everyone is pleased and there is no question of any language group in Sri Lanka being dissatisfied with him ; and in principle we just cannot agree to a person with a given language; as mother-tongue being posted in a given country.

About Stateless persons, I understand that apart from the repeated promises made by President Jayawardene, even during the All-Parties conference, this matter figured in their discussions and the latest position seems to be that even the parties in Sri Lanka which were hitherto not very enthusiastic about giving citizenship to these remaining stateless persons are now veering around to the view that they

should be given so that all of them become citizens of Sri Lanka.

They find some distinct advantages in doing that. Whatever their reasons, we welcome this attitude on the part of the Sri Lankan parties.

About Bhutan, I do not have to say much because our relations are excellent. With Nepal, as I said, we have some issues in regard to certain projects and so on. Only a few days back, we came to an understanding in regard to the investigation of the Karnali project. This, I think, is a step in the right direction. It was a long-awaited step and it is being taken. So, that is one important point in which progress is being made.

With Burma, we have no problems. There was only one question remaining outstanding with Burma and that was the maritime boundary. We are well on the way to solving it and that is again a recent development. I am glad to inform the House that we shall have this question sorted out within a short time. Decisions to that effect have been taken.

I now come to the other point which has mainly occupied much time of the House during this debate, and that is the question of world peace and disarmament. Members rightly pointed out that mankind is sitting on the mouth of a volcano and anything can happen. If a nuclear war is triggered off, no one will be there to see the end of it, and the whole world will be blown to bits. This is a depressing enough scenario. We have been discussing this in Parliament and outside Parliament, in many forums over the world and we know how the spectre of destruction, even accidental destruction, is worrying mankind, day in day out. But I would like to submit to the House that, while on the one side this depressing picture is there to see, on the other, there are certain hopeful signs that mankind seems to have bestirred itself. People seem to be coming to the conclusion

that something should be done to save themselves from this disaster. There is a growing consciousness that this disaster should not be allowed to happen. The desire of mankind to live and not to be annihilated seem to be asserting itself in many forms. In Europe and many other countries, as is well known, peace movements have started. They have come up like a huge groundswell. Although, the peace movements are not yet strong enough to make any changes in the decisions of their Government, and decisions are being taken in spite of the peace movements, yet they are not unchallenged; there is a challenge posed against those decisions and the time will come hopefully when the people of those countries will put sufficient pressure on their leaders, on the leaders of their Government, to see the writing on the wall and make necessary changes in their policies.

Another very hopeful feature is that in many countries a debate, an intensive debate, has started on these questions at all levels.

At the academic level, it is going on; at the level of military experts it is going on. I had occasion to read a very forth-right article by McNamara who was for seven years the Defence Secretary of the United States. He has quoted several others, those who were experts in their day on matters of war and warfare; and he has very clearly come to the conclusion that more and more military experts are finding this jigsaw puzzle insoluble, as was shown in that beautiful film called 'War Games'. Ultimately, all the computers come to the conclusion that this is a game which has no end, and should not have been started. So, once the nuclear game starts, there is no end to it. There is only an end to the whole world. So, there is no victor, no vanquished. It is just not possible to win a nuclear war; and, therefore, a nuclear war ought not to be started. And that is possible only when those who can start the war have the political will to sit across the table

and find ways and means of how not to start the war, or how not to allow a war to be started either by deliberate intent or by human error or accident.

I wish just to quote a few sentences, a very categorical statement given by McNamara. He says :

"It is inconceivable to me, as it has been to others who have studied the matter, that limited nuclear wars would remain limited. Any decision to use nuclear weapons would imply a high probability of the same cataclysmic consequences, as a total nuclear exchange. In sum, I know of no plan which gives reasonable assurance that nuclear weapons can be used beneficially in NATO's defence."

So, if they cannot be used to the benefit of one side, nor to the benefit of another side, they should not be used at all. They should not be used because it is an exercise in futility. I quote again :

"I don't believe that the Soviet Union wishes war with that West; and certainly, the West will not attack the USSR or its allies. But dangerous frictions between the Warsaw Pact and NATO have developed in the past, and are likely to do so in the future. If deterrence fail and conflict develops, the present NATO strategy carries with it a high risk that Western civilization, as we know it, will be destroyed"

This is precisely what the non-aligned movement has been saying time and again; what we have all been saying time and again. And it is in this direction of abjuring nuclear violence, nuclear war, that mankind has to travel. I have no doubt that this has become the consensus all over the world to-day so far as people are concerned.

15.23 hrs.

[DR. RAJENDRA KUMARI BAJ-
PAI *in the Chair*].

I have quoted McNamara because obviously, quotations from him would have greater effectiveness in demonstrating our point. (*Interruptions*)

I shall now touch briefly upon some of the decisions, and some of the follow-up actions taken by the non-aligned movement under our Prime Minister's chairmanship within the last one year. Mention was made yesterday of the New York consultations. I would like to make a little comment on what was said yesterday. It was pointed out that only 24 or 25 countries attended, out of more than 150 countries. I would like to clarify this, because it is very necessary to understand the importance of these 24 or 25.

The call was given by the Non-aligned Movement. Out of the 150 and odd countries, 120 or 103 are already in the Movement. So, there was really no need for all the 102 Heads of States or Heads of Governments who came to Delhi to give this call, to troop to New York again to attend this meeting. They clearly said so. Many of them wrote back to Prime Minister saying that they were with her. She was calling this meeting on behalf of the Movement and, therefore, there was no particular necessity for all the countries to attend. So, we are left with about 50, let us say. Out of 50, this meeting was both for North-South and East-West. This is how we planned it; this is how it was conceived. It is not simply a question of North-South; that we have had several times and we will be having in future also, with what result everybody knows. But this was a meeting unique in the sense that both North-South and East-West were represented.

Now, I would like to inform the House—Austria, EEC Chairman, France, Canada, Finland, Netherlands and Sweden—now is this package not impres-

sive enough to represent the OECD countries and the developed world? This, I think, is impressive enough because they came with a political will to cooperate in this new venture, in this new process of finding solutions to the urgent economic problems of the world and also problems of peace. Among the East European countries, there are six of them, out of whom Hungary, Poland and Bulgaria came. Now, half of those countries is again an impressive figure; and the others were non-aligned countries. But they had a definite say in all matters in regard to the international situation, monetary situation; and they were also fully behind the proposal which was adumbrated here in the Summit about an international conference on money and finance with universal participation. Now, I am glad to inform the House that not only was this proposal welcomed by every one at these consultations, but the Prime Minister, in pursuance of the decision, has already set up a committee to go into all these details; and their report is due within a month's time. So, follow-up action has been pursued ever since the end of the Summit; and this action, I am sure, is going to lead to certain further consultations and meeting of minds. This is what was aimed at when the meeting in New York was called; and I am sure that it was a successful meeting in the sense that every one who participated thought that these consultations, these informal consultations were going to be very useful and they should be continued in some form or the other and that it should not be a one-time meeting which is forgotten after it is over. That was not the idea of the participants there. So, the New York consultations have resulted in something useful to all concerned.

Another point was raised in regard to construction of properties in other countries, our Embassy buildings and so on. It is true that in many countries we are paying high rents, but we have started a programme with an outlay of Rs. 70 crores from 1979-80 to 1984-85. This has been in operation for 4 years

now and already properties worth Rs. 50 crores approximately have been purchased or constructed. To day, MEA owns about 440 offices and residences abroad, which include 40 chanceries and 51 residences of Heads of Mission.

This is the information which I wanted to give to the Hon. Member who raised this point.

I think I have covered all the points raised. If there are any points which need to be clarified, I am prepared to do that, but I think I have attempted to cover all the points.

DR. SUBRAMANIAM SWAMY (Bombay North-East) : What happened to your mission to the Middle East ?

SHRI P.V. NARASIMHA RAO : You were not here to raise it, but I will tell you what happened.

The Middle East question has been causing anxiety to everyone. Some Members raised it and the latest position is that in Lebanon a re-conciliation effort has started. We are happy about it. But the situation is so dangerous and so uncertain that again, nothing can be said about the outcome of this. We wish them well. These talks are going on at Lusanne in Switzerland, and we hope that it will be possible for them to find some *modus vivendi*.

DR SUBRAMANIAM SWAMY : Why do you not talk to them instead of allowing Switzerland to be the venue ?

SHRI G M. BANATWALLA : They have found out some compromise solution.

SHRI. P.V. NARASIMHA RAO : But the question of Lebanon has been more or less superimposed on the main question of the Middle East, which is the Palestinian question. As the House is aware, there was some internal friction in the P.L.O. The Prime Minister called a meeting of the Committee of

Eight which was appointed by the NAM Summit. Out of the eight, four were chosen as a sub-committee and asked to go to Damascus and some other Arab Capitals. We went there and talked to the factions within the P.L.O. and as I have already reported to Parliament, our efforts bore fruit in the sense that an effective cease-fire was agreed to and later on developments have turned out to be rather good for the unity of the P.L.O., although factionism continues. But the main question of the Palestinian people still continues to hang in the balance because the Israelis are continuing with their settlements policy. There seems to be no way of bringing the Arabs together in order to find a solution at the negotiating table. So, we are rather far from a solution. But at least to the extent of preserving unity in the PLO ranks we have succeeded but we have to go a long way still.

DR. SUBRAMANIAM SWAMY : Do you not think that without talking to the other party, namely, Israel, you are not going to get a settlement ? Why are you so scared of talking to them ?

SHRI G. M. BANATWALLA : Instead of talking to them, better close the Consulate in Bombay. They do not deserve to be talked to.

SHRI P. V. NARASIMHA RAO : These two are entirely unrelated with this. The point is that no one talks in terms of finding a solution behind the back of the parties concerned. I do not think that is the idea. But we have no relations with Israel and Israel is continuing in its aggression. How do you talk to an aggressor while the aggression is on ? That is the point. If Dr. Subramaniam Swamy can help in vacating aggression...*(Interruptions)*

DR. SUBRAMANIAM SWAMY : You can talk to Pakistan which can aggress ; you can talk to China which can aggress ; but you cannot talk to a country which has not aggressed against you. I am surprised. I am all in

support of the Palestinian problem, but your approach is a hypocritical approach.

SHRI P. V. NARASIMHA RAO : My talking to Israel is not going to solve the problem. Their talking to each other is going to solve the problem.

SHRI SATYASADHAN CHAKRA-BORTY (Calcutta South) : Instead of talking to Israel, you should talk to the United States, who are their masters, because otherwise no solution can come out of talking to Israel.

DR. SUBRAMANIAM SWAMY : In that case, do not talk to the PLO ; talk to the Soviet Union, as they are masters of the PLO.

SHRI P. V. NARASIMHA RAO : Thanks for your advice. I am sure we are not going to settle this on the floor of the House.

Sir, I thank the members for their contribution. I hope I have covered all points.

SHRI SATYASADHAN CHAKRA-BORTY ; I raised one point regarding the enemy property in Bangladesh.

SHRI P. V. NARASIMHA RAO : I have replied to it.

SHRI SATYASADHAN CHAKRA-BORTY : Another point I raised was about Ganga waters.

SHRI P. V. NARASIMHA RAO : Both of them have been covered ; only you were away.

SHRI SUBODH SEN (Jalpaiguri) : Was the Government of West Bengal consulted at the time of the *ad hoc* agreement in regard to the apportionment of the waters of the Teesta ? Did it give its consent ?

SHRI P. V. NARASIMHA RAO : That has been answered.

MR. CHAIRMAN : That has been answered already, you will see the answers.

I shall now put all the Cut Motions to the Demand for Grant relating to the Ministry of External Affairs to vote, unless any Hon. Member desires that any of his cut motions may be put separately.

Cut Motions Nos. 1 to 47 were put and negatived.

MR. CHAIRMAN : The question is :

"That the respective sums not exceeding the amounts on Revenue Account and Capital Account shown in the fourth column of the Order Paper be granted to the President out of the Consolidated Fund of India 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, 1985, in respect of this head of Demand entered in the second column thereof against Demand No. 32 relating to the Ministry of External Affairs".

The motion was adopted.

Demand for Grant, 1984-85, in respect of the Ministry of External Affairs voted by Lok Sabha

No. of Demand	Name of Demand	Amount of Demand for Grant on account voted by House on 14th March, 1984	Amount of Demand for Grant voted by the House
1	2	3	4
		Revenue Rs.	Capital Rs.
MINISTRY OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS			
32.	Ministry of External Affairs	33,98,39,000	10,38,17,000
			169,91,92,000
			51,90,83,000

15.35. hrs.

DEMANDS* FOR GRANTS
(GENERAL), 1984-85—
(CONTD.)

Ministry of Defence

MR. CHAIRMAN : The House will now take up discussion and voting on Demand Nos. 18 to 23 relating to the Ministry of Defence for which eight hours have been allotted.

Hon. Members present in the House whose cut motions to the Demands for Grants have been circulated may, if they desire to move their cut motions, send slips to the Table within 15 minutes indicating the serial numbers of the cut motions they would like to move.

A list showing the serial numbers of cut motions treated as moved will be put up on the Notice Board shortly. In case any Member finds any discrepancy in the list he may kindly bring it to the notice of the Officer at the Table without delay.

Motion moved :

"That the respective sums not exceeding the amounts of Revenue Account and Capital Account shown in the fourth column of the Order Paper be granted to the President out of the Consolidated Fund of India *to complete* the sums necessary to defray the charges that will come in course of payment during the year ending 31st day of March, 1985, in respect of the heads of Demands entered in the second column thereof against Demands Nos. 18 to 23 relating to the 'Ministry of Defence.'"

Demands for Grants, 1984-85, in respect of the Ministry of Defence submitted to the vote of Lok Sabha

No. of Demand	Name of Demand	Amount of Demand for Grant on account voted by the House on 14th March, 1984	Amount of Demand for Grant submitted to the vote of the House
1	2	3	4
		Revenue Rs.	Capital Rs.
MINISTRY OF DEFENCE			
18.	Ministry of Defence	69,14,31,000	26,18,50,000
19.	Defence Services—Army	648,68,25,000	... 3243,41,22,000
20.	Defence Services—Navy	83,94,82,000	... 419,74,08,000
21.	Defence Services—Air Force	237,80,84,00	... 1189,04,17,000
22.	Defence Services—Pensions	93,97,33,000	... 469,86,67,000
23.	Capital Outlay on Defence Services 539,64,17,000

MR. CHAIRMAN : Now Shri Amal Datta.

SHRI AMAL DATTA (Diamond Harbour) : Madam Chairman, in these 8 hours allotted to the Defence Budget, this Parliament will be voting a sum of nearly Rs. 7000 crores. Before passing the Grants one may ask a very relevant question : Exactly what is the money going to be spent on ? Are the Members of Parliament informed of this in the Budget or otherwise ?

Madam, one policy which the Defence Ministry follows very consistently, whatever may be the inconsistencies in other respects, is to deny the Parliament all information regarding the country's Defence. So, whatever we say in these debates is not based on what the Defence Ministry tell us, but what we gather from the daily press from magazines, and in spite of the controversies raised by them, the Government has consistently kept silent on each and every such controversy which deals with arms purchase deals amounting to thousands of crores of rupees. The Jaguar deal, the Mirage deal and the sub-marine deal altogether would amount to nothing less than Rs. 4000 to Rs. 5000 crores, if not more, because I see different kinds of figures in different newspapers and different magazines and controversies are raised. One magazine went to the extent of saying, 'Is Mr. Venkataraman telling lies ?' The only source of information so far as the Defence is concerned is newspapers and not the Annual Report of the Defence Ministry which itself contains mis-information and dis-information of all kinds. I think I will be able to prove it to you now. So, the Defence debate has become an uninformed ritual for enabling the Members, after passing 7 or 8 hours in some kind of a discussion, to grant this money so that the Defence efforts, whatever they are, will continue. This is not the policy which is followed in any democracy. We are claiming to be the world's largest democracy. Can we not take a leaf out of the examples set by the other democracies ? What is

being done by the western countries which are the models ? We are supposed to follow the Westminister model. They issue White Papers on every new acquisition, on every new change introduced. The same is the case with France and other countries. But here, has the Government issued even a single White Paper on Defence, even when so many controversies have been raised ? Nothing. So, we do not follow any policy. The only consistent policy, as I said, is to deny the Members of Parliament adequate information and to give them all kinds of mis-information and dis-information. But to the people who want the information, it is irrelevant to them whether they give it or not. Later on in my speech I will show how they not only have the knowledge but even they dictate the policy of the Defence Ministry and the public sector undertakings under the Defence. There are no dearth of Laikins who, if they want the information, will pick it up and pass it on to others, but only Parliament is not given this information by the Defence Ministry any the Defence Minister.

Madam, on getting information regarding the non utilisation of production or repair facilities in a base workshop in Delhi, I approached the Hon. Minister for permission to visit the factory. But the permission has been denied to me, and I have very good grounds to believe and I shall put it before this House on the basis of which I had asked for the permission to visit that base workshop.

More than 100 engines for our to-day's MBT Vijayanta has been imported because repairs have not been carried out in that base workshop although repair facilities exist. On the basis of this information which I made clear to the Hon. Minister, I asked to go and see for myself what facilities exist. But the access was denied to a Member of Parliament. This is where we stand to-day. I think that this kind of situation, if it continues, then this Defence Debate which has already become

very stale and ritualistic will be totally useless. It is better to lump it with many other ministries whose demands for grants are never debated but guillotined and passed. I would, of course, admit one thing—we see that in the decision-making process of the Government we have no say. Whatever constructive suggestions we make are phoo-phooed. They are not taken heed of, nor taken note of, nor have been replied. For the purpose of verifying how many allegations and accusations have been replied to, I have gone through the entire debate of last year to see what the Minister has replied. Undoubtedly, there is lack of time. But very serious suggestions have not been replied to. One such suggestion was from Shri Unnikrishnan for forming a Standing Committee to go into the affairs of the Defence Ministry. This is already known to you that having found it impossible and unwieldy to control the Government through the Parliament, the British Parliament has introduced changes by having Select Committee attached to each Ministry and Defence has not been exempted from that. There is a Select Committee attached to Defence Ministry which can call everybody except the Defence Minister to give evidence before them. If this happens, then the question of so many deals which raise suspicion, that somebody is taking commission, such suspicion, will not arise. If at all they arise, Parliamentary Committee can go into them and allay the suspicion. It is very demoralising. The fact that it is demoralising is evident from to-day's newspaper which brings out the allegation very clearly why Nigerian coup took place. It was because of the large amount of commission which the previous Head of the Government took. So, this is the kind of demoralising effect on the armed forces where this kind of deals are allowed to go on and controversy raised and they are not allayed through some kind of parliamentary investigation. Who can be better placed than the Members of Parliament to make such investigations? I demand that the Minister should initiate a Standing Committee of Parliament on Defence Minis-

try. This is vital not only to scrutinise the expenditure and other activities of the Defence Ministry but to allay this kind of controversy which is very bad for the morale of the country and the morale of the armed forces.

Any discussion on the Defence Ministry Grant has to start with our National Security environment. We are in a situation where the designs of the United States of America are affecting us in all the three levels in which the national security environment is analysed—the global level, the regional level as well as sub-continental level. They have themselves created base in Diego Garcia which they are strengthening day by day in naval and air force and now there is a Rapid Development Force. They have claimed to be the peace keeper of entire area.

They are arming the nations in the Southeast Asia. They have created tensions on their own. They have created tensions by arming our neighbour Pakistan as also the countries in the entire West Asia. By giving Pakistan, arms and weapons, they have been enable to assume the role of peace keeper or the mercenary of the entire West Asia. Pakistan itself having got these arms F-16s, planes and tanks etc., has created a qualitative difference in the national security environment so far as external threat is concerned. But one has also to see what is the position within the country. Is the country integrated? Is the country cohesive? Can the country stand together if a war starts? What is the Government's view about that? What is the Government's perception about the internal security? Can the Government get all the people behind it? Has it been able to create that situation? Not only it has not but both internal and external security perceptions are complicated by the irresponsible pronouncements made by leaders of the ruling Party that, "There is inevitability of war, that there will be war before the end of 1948 with Pakistan." Why such pronouncements are made irresponsibly by people who have

[Shri Amal Datta]

been put in such a lofty position ? This is impossible that in a nation of 700 millions, leaders can make such pronouncements irresponsibly. But it has been made. And the confusion has been created in the minds of so many people. In fact, I would say, that in the Defence Minister's speech last year, he said, "We are keeping our nuclear submarines option open". That has also created a lot of confusion. You do not have even the capability of manufacturing submarines without nuclear power and yet you go and make that pronouncement may be as a sop to some Hon. Members here. I do not know why he has made it. But that kind of pronouncement without having any back-up for it, does create a lot of confusion and it is counter-productive. I am emphasising this because there is no systematic effort. No institutionalised effort anywhere in the Government has been made to assess the national security environment both internal as well as external. There used to be a Defence Committee of the Cabinet. But those functions, I am told, have now been taken over by the Cabinet Committee on Political Affairs. The committee has to discuss so many things not only the security, assessment and planning for defence, but so many other things also. Anyhow, what will 4 or 5 Ministers, who have no expertise and who cannot spend the time to understand the situation in any depth, sitting together do unless there is an institutional back-up ? There is nothing. There is no institutional system for the purpose of assessing India's external national security environment and internal national security environment for the purpose of making a qualitative and quantitative assessment and for the purpose of planning to meet the threat. This institution should be built up whose sole purpose would be to do this planning. Otherwise, no consistent and no coherent planning will be made and you will become a victim of *ad hoc*-ism. That is what we have been doing during the last 25 years or so.

We have some kind of a defence

planning since 1964. But it is supposed to be on a five-year plans. The latest plan, as we are told in the last year's Annual Report of the Defence Ministry had been finalised in 1982 for the period 1980-85. How can a plan finalised in 1982 be made retrospective from 1980 ? That means, whatever you have been doing from 1980 onwards has been regularised by formulating the plan and incorporating those things in the plan. The plan is only a show, an eye-wash, a make-believe and nothing more than that. It is not a plan at all because a plan has to be made in advance. There has to be a rolling plan and a perspective plan.

This year's Annual Report says that a perspective planning cell has been started without giving any details. In all the pronouncement, in all the learned articles, about defence preparedness, weapon acquisition, R & D and all that we always find that the experts say that a rolling perspective plan encompassing a period of 15 to 20 years is necessary for the purpose of defence preparedness of the country. Where is that plan ? Where is the organisation to make that plan ? Just saying that you have started a perspective plan will not do unless you say what is the organisation to make that plan. You do not have the organisation for the purpose.

In the Defence Ministry, there are civilians. Of course, there have to be civilians. But the civilians must build up an expertise on military affairs. If they do not have the necessary expertise, they cannot in today's very complicated and technologically advanced warfare make an effective contribution. Their presence is like that of a rubber stamp; either they put a rubber stamp or they do not put it. Sometimes, a civilian may arrogantly shut out a plan which is really required for the country's defence and, at some other time, he may approve something which is really required for the country's defence and, at some other time, he may approve something which is really not needed for the country's defence. The

people who are supposed to go through and pass it are ignorant of the military affairs. Has any effort been made to build up the expertise of military affairs, of the technology involved in today's advanced technology, amongst the civilians who are serving in the Ministry of Defence ? The answer obviously is no.

It is because the Government does not follow a consistent policy of building up such an expertise. It has followed a colonial policy of keeping a Secretary or a Joint Secretary or a Deputy Secretary or an Under Secretary for three years here and for three years there, just like a bee which will be collecting honey from all kinds of flowers. The policy will not do any more. The Hon. Minister does not and cannot possibly understand everything. I do not blame him. Nobody can understand everything of today's technological warfare. He single person can understand it. But what I am saying is that you must try to get the expertise built up in the Defence Ministry itself amongst the civilians also.

16 hrs.

Only a man in uniform will be able to say ultimately whether a weapon is effective in the field or not. There should be a number of people in the Ministry of Defence in uniform who can together with these expert civilians, form a group which can have a proper open discussion about the merits or demerits of particular proposals. At present there is no such organisation in the Ministry of Defence. It is very necessary to have that kind of an organisation in the Ministry of Defence.

It is also essential to make the Plan effective with a proper assessment of what is happening and what is going to happen ten or fifteen years hence in our countries which are inimical to us. we must have a clear perspective as to which countries are inimical to our country and from which country the threat to the security of our country is

posed directly or indirectly, If that perspective or assessment or planning is absent in the plan, then we will be victims of *ad-hoc*-ism. We may be having a Cell or a Department for Defence Planning. But without this assessment and this expertise, proper and effective planning for Defence cannot be made.

I do not know why 'defence' has not been given the importance it deserves in our country's planning from the very beginning. Even though development planning in India commenced in 1950 or 1951, defence planning started only in 1964. Unfortunately, we have totally eliminated defence from the purview of development Planning. May be, the zeallessness to guard the defence secrets is at the root may be the lack of understanding of the defence requirements of the country was at the root. But whatever has taken place in the past, it is no longer possibly now completely to separate the two. There are many aspects in which the defence development and the civil development must intermingle and they must supplement each other. It is, therefore, necessary that the Ministry of Defence should prepare a categorical investment plan for defence. The Ministry of Defence should act in coordination with the Planning Commission and it should ensure that there is no duplication and that the defence plan becomes realistic so that the Minister of Defence does not have to come before the House and say that "My scientist has produced the engine but the industrial infra-structure for making that engine is not there.

Our MBT project has been the subject matter of a lot of controversy. In yesterday's newspapers, I read that we are going to make neither the engines nor the gear box. Although we have started the project in 1972, we now require to import almost everything. We are told this year that the engines, gear box and suspension—all these things are still being imported into the country. As this rate, what shall we produce ? Can we produce this armour in our country ? Let us hope that we will be able to produce as least that. Let us hope that we will be able to produce

[Shri Amal Datta]

armour and the tracks for the tanks in our country. This issue had come up before Parliament earlier also. Last year, our Hon. Minister of Defence said "Don't think that something like the MBT can be developed in course of seven years. Just because we have not been able to develop it in seven years, don't blame us because, other countries have taken longer time". And he gave the examples of Germany and the USA. I had occasion to verify this statement. I have got with me the relevant pages of the International Defence Review here which give out in detail the milestones of the development of the Leopard tank of Germany, the Chieftain tank of UK and the XM tank of USA. The development trials of these were never delayed beyond four years after the defence specifications were given.

So, what the Parliament has been told by the hon. Defence Minister in the last year's budget speech is not correct, it is completely incorrect. Kindly verify. So far as this tank is concerned, I will have to come back to it later. Now let us go on with planning

What is the planning that we are doing? There is a Defence Minister's Committee which, I am told, meets every morning, but it meets without any agenda and, therefore there is no decision taken. No decision is taken because they meet but meet without any agenda, it is a kind of informal discussion.

Then what is the institutional arrangement here? There is the Chiefs of Staff Committee. The Chiefs of Staff have made their plans: the Navy has made big plans; the Air Force has made out bigger plans, and the Navy has made out even bigger plans for acquisition of arms, ammunitions, personnel, technical training, research, and so on. The Chiefs of Staff meet to find out how much portion of the budget they can get hold of. There is no

question of integration of the weapon system; there is no institution for the purpose of standardising the weapons; there is no system in which one says, 'Well, these are the weapons of the Army; so, the Navy will have this kind of weapons'. To ensure standardisation, to ensure commonality, to ensure integration of the weapon system, there has to be a joint planning, a joint evaluation of all weapons. That is not there. The Chiefs of Staff Committee is merely a system to do what I just mentioned. This is as far as I could gather. These are secrets which some of us cannot get. I have gathered them from newspapers and magazines as far as I could do so. These Committees are, therefore, working in a haphazard manner; they are working at cross purposes: they are not supplementing each other; they are not evolving a coherent defence plan for securing the country against enemy attack.

Another thing which at this stage I should emphasize—because I will not get a chance later—is this. We have been following a kind of policy which can only be called a 'reactive policy', that is, we have been reacting to what is happening in our immediate neighbourhood, namely, Pakistan. In the Defence Minister's speech last year it has been indicated that Pakistan has got F-16, we are getting Mirage and that is an answer to F-16. Are we going to plan our defence in that way that if Pakistan gets this, we will get that and if Pakistan gets that, we will get this and so on? Is that the way to plan? You have no plan. You only react. This is what we have been doing so far. Not only has this got to be stopped but we have also to bring within the ambit or scope of defence planning even that part of civilian planning which is very necessary for effective defence preparedness. There are several industries which are required for effective defence preparedness, for making weapons, whatever kind are required; for electronic warfare and all that kind of thing which has now become the main threat in any battle.

16.10 hrs.

[SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE
in the Chair].

Now-a-days it is very much required that the Government understand that this kind of planning is essential. Primarily it is essential to see that our people's morale is built up so that we know that not only there is a military force but there is also an industrial infra-structure to support it and the people of the country are behind them and will resist the enemy at all costs. What are you doing for civilian defence? I do not think this Government is at all aware that something has to be done, but I am prepared to learn from the Government if it is willing to part with its secrets....

DR. SUBRAMANIAM SWAMY :
They do not know anything.

SHRI AMAL DATTA : I hope they are doing something but I only wish.

I know that Gen. Sparrow has given a report on the Territorial Army and at least upto last year that has not been implemented. So that is something at least to begin with and one can build up from there.

So far as weapon acquisition policies are concerned, since the 1965 war with Pakistan when USA said that they were not going to supply us with weapons, we have had only one source from which to get the sophisticated weapons and that is USSR and they have helped us to produce indigenously quite a number of these weapons. Mig 21 we have produced. What else I do not know, but we have produced missiles along with several other things. But now we have started the path since the last few years of the so-called diversification of sources of supply. In whose interests is this diversification of sources of supply? I do not know. But obviously it involves large scale payment for acquisition of arms from countries which are reputed to part with large sums of commissions

for selling their weapons. And all these have created controversies. But before coming to that, this is going to create a great problem in maintaining inventories and also in organising proper logistics. I understand that an aircraft requires 25,000 pieces of components and if we have one type of aircraft, we will require 25,000 components and if we have three types of aeroplanes with no commonalities, I think then we will require 75,000 different components. It is not only a question of procuring and storing them but also reaching them at the place where they are required and how are you going to take them to where they are required and at the proper time. This is really something that baffles me and I hope you will be able to do it if the situation arises. But how and why you have gone in for this is something for which you owe an explanation to the country and to the Parliament.

Regarding the controversies and the reasons which have appeared in newspapers and magazines regarding these things and which have not been answered in Parliament—I have listed some of these because I thought that might help the Minister to understand and answer. Regarding Jaguar we have been told that no manufacturing will be made. This is a reversal of the policy of acquisition of only those arms which we will manufacture here. Why have we gone in for Jaguar at a stage when we knew that by the time we even complete assembly of the Jaguar, it may become obsolete and when the U.K. factory will have stopped the line for making Jaguars? Now apparently they have said that they are going to strengthen the missile systems in Jaguar.

Was it not known at the time when the deal was struck that these missiles would be required? Why strengthen the missile system of the Jaguar at this stages? Why was it not done earlier? There have been repeated increases in price. Originally, when the negotiations were started, its cost was Rs. 7.5 crores. But, the calculations show that about

[Shri Amal Datta]

Rs. 18 crores have been paid on the Jaguar. If the newspaper recording about the Nigerians is correct, I think that one Jaguar costs Rs. 21 crores to the Nigerians. But, they are getting Rs. 2 crores by way of commission. I do not know how much commission they gave in respect of the Indian deal and to whom has this gone. The point is that we have knowingly gone to the countries which pay such commission. And somebody is getting that commission. Otherwise, this kind of a thing cannot happen. The British offered us their electronic counter-measure system. They had agreed that they will give us adequate electronic system. Now they have told that this is not the latest generation one and that they will give us the latest generation at a price. Why? I am told that the Jaguar is a lowflying aircraft. It is how vulnerable because even an infantry man with shoulder hung rocket can shoot it, (*Interruptions*) With the Air Force Early Warning System which Pakistan has, the Jaguar is completely useless. This is not what I am saying. This has come out. You please reply to this. I have no other way of getting this either confirmed or contradicted.

The other plane is Mirage. The first thing about Mirage is that there is no manufacturing programme for this. Is it correct or not? Will the Hon. Minister reply? What is the price of the Mirage? Will you can quote the price with the total weapon system. I think that will be the best way of doing it. In the last year's debate, when the question of manufacture of Mirage was raised, I think, the Hon. Minister replied by saying that we have not yet finally decided as to whether we will make the mirage or not. That was because we might go in for a twinengine aircraft. This was in the first week of April. In June, when the Hon. Minister went to USSR, at that time, reports came out about the negotiation for MIG 29. In the meantime Mr. Ustinov came. Obviously the Hon. Minister gave this

reply because he had information about the MIG 29. Obviously, before the Mirage deal had been completed and the contract was signed as late as in October 1982, it was known to him about the MIG 29 development. And obviously, there was no intention for going in for the Mirage manufacture here. The country was given an eyewash by saying that we were going in for the Mirage manufacture—some of them—here. So, there is again the reversal of the arms policy knowingly for the purpose of making a deal and nothing else. About MIG-29, I do not, know what are you going to do with this. You said that the twin-engined aircraft will be better than the Mirage. Then, why have the Mirage at all?

Sir, we have gone in for the submarine deal, with a German firm called D. W. T.—this is an abbreviation of a big name—in preference to a Swedish firm. I have been told like that. What I have seen in the report is that this has been done on the basis of the last wish of a person who had died. I do not want to name him.

Within a week of the death of that person of the ruling party, you have gone in for this deal. What has been the evaluation report? Submarines and things like that are not bought on the basis of the last wish of somebody.

This is the funniest and the most ridiculous thing and it is there in print and the Minister has to reply if he can. There has been evaluation reports on these submarines thrice. Why the deal has been held up? Has it been held up because the Naval Chief of Staff had demanded a lower noise level? Although top brass of the Services are rewarded with jobs after retirement that Naval Chief has not been given any job after retirement.

Sir, Biretta pistol is being imported from Italy whereas it could have been made at Ishapore. This is the state of affairs. We are not able to make medium range artillery. Our Defence

research and development expenditure is 2 per cent and this is one of the lowest. There is no reason why you cannot increase it when you are increasing the Defence budget through arms purchases every year from abroad. I say the budget does not reflect the true commitments that the Government is making because the terms of payment are on 15 years basis.

Sir, before I conclude I would like to draw the attention of the Hon. Minister to the fact that there are more than 6 lakh civilian workers in the ordinance factories and other departments of the Defence Ministry. All India Defence Employees Federation has given a strike notice after their annual conference. It is for the purpose of implementing the Third Pay Commission's report so as to get parity of wages with the Railways and P & T workers. This is their only demand. There are, of course, other demands of recognition etc. but this is the main demand. The Hon. Minister was invited to attend that conference. It is the usual practice for the Hon. Defence Minister to attend annual conferences but in this particular case although three days were indicated to him and he could visit on any one of these days yet he did not attend. Had he attended the conference the strike notice would not have been given. I think there is still room for settling the differences. I would request the Hon. Minister to do his utmost to settle this difference because what they want is what is just and due to them. It is going to make a very small difference. May be in future only a little more money has to be given.

Lastly, Sir, the Hon. Minister has said that weapon is no better than the man behind it. In the days of electronic warfare we are acquiring more and more sophisticated weaponry whereas the intake of engineers in the Air Force is going down. The report says during the last five years whereas the intake should have been 650 it is not more than 250 which means our technical services are deteriorating

when on the one hand we are acquiring more and more sophisticated weapons. You must improve upon the condition of service of the engineers. They suffer from frustration as no promotional opportunities are offered to them. Unless this state of affairs is corrected we are not going to fare well in the future warfare which will mainly be an electronic warfare.

SHRI BHOGENDRA JHA (Madhubani) : I beg to move :

"That the Demand under the head 'Ministry of Defence' be reduced to Re. 1."

[Failure to have Common messes for officers and jawans in all the three wings of the defence forces.] (1)

"That the Demand under the head 'Ministry of Defence' be reduced to Re 1."

[Failure to increase the ratio of promotee officers to that of directly recruited in all the three wings of the defence forces.] (2)

"That the Demand under the head 'Ministry of Defence' be reduced to Re. 1."

[Failure to inculcate among officers and jawans the feelings of anti-imperialism, anticomunalism and democratic patriotism in the context of internal and external threats faced by the country] (3)

"That the Demand under the head 'Defence Services-Pensions' be reduced by Rs 100."

[Need to implement the orders regarding payment of revised pension to ex-servicemen by the treasury at Madhubani in Bihar as per decision of Supreme Court on 17.12.82.]
(26)

"That the Demand under the head 'Defence Services-Pensions, be reduced by Rs 100."

[Need for raising the rates of pension of Jawans of the three wings of the armed forces.] (27)

"That the Demand under the head 'Defence Services-Pensions' be reduced by Rs 100."

[Need of providing self-employment opportunities to ex-servicemen by granting loans, subsidies and knowhow.] (28)

SHRI E.K. IMBICHIBAVA
(Calicut) : I beg to move :

"That the Demand under the head 'Ministry of Defence' be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Need to provide funds to set up a Naval Academy at Azhimala.] (4)

SHRI RAMAVATAR SHASTRI
(Patna) : I beg to move :

"That the Demand under the head 'Ministry of Defence' be reduced to Re. 1."

[Need to keep the Defence forces in a state of preparedness in order to meet any situation.] (6)

"That the Demand under the head 'Ministry of Defence, be reduced to Re. 1."

[Need to accept maximum help from USSR and other socialist countries with a view to strengthening our Army, Navy and Air Force.] (6)

"That the Demand under the head 'Ministry of Defence' be reduced to Re. 1."

[Need to purchase latest weapons from USSR and other socialist countries.] (7)

"That the Demand undrr the head 'Ministry of Defence' be reduced to Re. 1."

[Need to well equip the ordinance factories in India with the help of USSR and other socialist countries in order to make them self-sufficient.] (8)

"That the Demand under the head 'Ministry of Defence' be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Need to have common messes for officers and Jawans in the three wings of Defence Forces.] (9)

"That the Demand under the head 'Ministry of Defence' be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Need to inculcate the feelings of unity and fraternity among the officers and Jawans of the Defence Forces.] (10)

"That the Demand under the head 'Ministey of Defence' be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Need to infuse sense of anti-imperialism, anti-communalism, national integration and to strengthen democratic feelings among officers and Jawans of Defence Forces.] (11)

"That the Demand under the head 'Ministry of Defence' be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Need to remove the discontentment among Jawans of Defence forces.] (12)

"That the Demand under the head 'Ministry of Defence' be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Need to revise the Pension Code formulated for ex-servicemen.] (13)

"That the Demand under the head 'Ministry of Defence' be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Need to give employment to ex-servicemen in para-military and security organisations in public sector immediately after their retirement.] (14)

"That the Demand under the head 'Ministry of Defence' be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Need to establish a separate Ministry for the rehabilitation of ex-servicemen.] (15)

"That the Demand under the head 'Ministry of Defence' be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Need to grant travel concession to ex-servicemen.] (16)

"That the Demand under the head 'Ministry of defence' be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Need to provide free medical aid to ex-servicemen in military and civil hospitals] (17)

"That the Demand under the head 'Ministry of Defence' be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Need to provide free education to the children of ex-servicemen getting pension upto Rs. 1000/- p.m.] (18).

"That the Demand under the head 'Ministry of Defence' be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Need to establish a Defence Service Bank for ex-servicemen] (19)

"That the Demand under the head 'Ministry of Defence' be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Need to fix the age limit for retirement in respect of officers in the Defence services as has been done in regard to Jawans.] (20)

"That the Demand under the

head 'Ministry of Defence' be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Need to expose the designs of the imperialists to surround India from all sides.] (21)

"That the Demand under the head 'Ministry of Defence' be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Need to stop shifting of Defence Accounts Office from Patna to some other place.] (22)

"That the Demand under the head 'Ministry of Defence' be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Need to stop transfer of items of work of Defence Accounts Office, Patna to offices located at other places.] (23)

"That the Demand under the head 'Ministry of Defence' be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Need to stop transfers of employees of Defence Accounts Office, Patna.] (24)

"That the Demand under the head 'Ministry of Defence' be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Need to extend all the facilities for the rehabilitation of the ex-servicemen.] (25)

"That the Demand under the head 'Ministry of Defence' be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Need to accept the demands of employees of Defence Accounts Office, Patna.] (29)

"That the Demand under the head 'Ministry of Defence' be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Need to recognise Calcutta-based Federation of Employees of Defence Accounts Offices.] (30)

"That the Demand under the head 'Ministry of Defence' be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Need to check the harassment of the employees of Defence Accounts Office, Patna.] (31)

"That the Demand under the head 'Ministry of Defence' be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Need to ensure better amenities to Jawans of All the three wings of Defence Services.] (32)

"That the Demand under the head 'Ministry of Defence' be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Need to concede the demands of the all India Defence Employees Federation] (33)

"That the Demand under the head 'Ministry of Defence' be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Need to pay bonus to all civilian employees of Defence Services] (34)

"That the Demand under the head 'Ministry of Defence' be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Need to provide employment to ex-servicemen.] (35)

"That the Demand under the head 'Ministry of Defence' be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Failure to solve the problems of ex-servicemen.] (36)

"That the Demand under the head 'Ministry of Defence' be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Need to accept the demands of Indian Ex-servicemen's League.] (37)

Sonth) : I beg to move :

"That the demand under the head 'Ministry of Defence' be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Failure to reduce defence expenditure by bringing efficiency in administration effecting economy and checking waste.] (38)

"That the demand under the head 'Ministry of Defence' be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Need to check nuisance by military personnel to civilians near cantonment areas.] (39)

"That the demand under the head 'Ministry of Defence' be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Need to give adequate service benefits to army personnel and ex-servicemen.] (40)

"That the demand under the head 'Ministry of Defence' be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Need to provide concessions for education and employment to the children of personnel of armed forces.] (41)

"That the demand under the head 'Ministry of Defence' be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Need to be vigilant and better prepared to meet all challenges from Pakistan including use of sophisticated arms.] (42)

"That the demand under the head 'Ministry of Defence' be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Need to be vigilant to check any attack from North-West or North-East.] (43)

"That the demand under the

head 'Ministry of Defence' be reduced by Rs 100."

[Need to recruit persons to from army all parts of the country.] (44)

"That the demand under the head 'Ministry of Defence' be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Need for self-sufficiency in the manufacture of all types of arms in India.] (45)

SHRI SUDHIR GIRI (Contd) : I beg to move :

"That the demand under the head 'Defence Services—Army' be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Need to check malpractices in supply of food of soldiers.] (48)

"That the demand under the head 'Defence Services-Army' be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Need to redress the grievances of the staff of ordnance factories.] (49)

"That the demand under the head 'Defence Services—Army' be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Need to reduce expenditure on stores.] (50)

"That the demand under the head 'Defence Services—Army' be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Need to effect economy in expenditure.] (51)

"That the demand under the head 'Defence Services—Army' be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Need to increase the remuneration of soldiers.] (52)

"That the demand under the head 'Defence Services—Army' be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Need to enhance the privileges of the army personnel.] (53)

"That the demand under the head 'Defence Services—Army' be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Need to reduced the expenditure on entertainment by top army officers.] (54)

"That the demand under the head 'Defence Services—Army' be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Need to accept the demands of staff of ordnance factories.] (55)

"That the demand under the head 'Defence Services—Air Force' be reduced by Rs. 100."

(Need to take steps to check the ex-Air Force Officers from indulging in espionage.) (56)

"That the demand under head 'Defence Services—Air Force' be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Need to ban employment of ex-Air Force Officers by private firms.] (57)

"That the demand under the head 'Defence Services—Air Force' be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Need to effect economy in expenditure.] (58)

"That the demand under the head 'Capital Outlay on Defence Services' be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Need to check the malpractices in construction works.] (60)

"That the demand under the head 'Capital Outlay on Defence Services' be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Need to check the malpractices in Inspection Organisation.] (61)

"That the demand under the head 'Ministry of Defence' be reduced to Re. 1."

[Failure to construct a naval ship-building yard at Haldia in West Bengal.] (74)

"That the demand under the head 'Ministry of Defence' be reduced to Re. 1."

[Failure to set up an electronic equipment manufacturing unit in West Bengal.] (75)

"That the demand under the head 'Ministry of Defence' be reduced to Re. 1."

[Failure to achieve self-sufficiency in the production of defence armaments.] (76)

"That the demand under the head 'Ministry of Defence' be reduced to Re. 1."

[Failure to equip fully the defence services with the latest weaponry without looking for help from foreign countries.] (77)

"That the demand under the head 'Ministry of Defence' be reduced to Re. 1."

[Failure to evolve a suitable machinery to redress the grievances of the defence personnel]. (78)

"That the demand under the head 'Ministry of Defence' be reduced to Re. 1."

[Failure to narrow down the disparities in salaries of the personnel of different categories in defence services.] (79)

PROF. AJIT KUMAR MEHTA
(Samstipur) : I beg to move :

"That the demand under the head

'Ministry of Defence' be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Need to provide suitable jobs to ex-servicemen.] (62)

"That the demand under the head 'Ministry of Defence' be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Need to reduce defence expenditure by improving management.] (63)

"That the demand under the head 'Ministry of Defence' be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Need to reduce dependency on big powers for defence requirement.] (64)

"That the demand under the head 'Ministry of Defence' be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Need to inculcate the feeling of anti-imperialism, anti-communalism, anti-totalitarianism and love for democracy among the officers and Jawans of the defence forces.] (65)

"That the demand under the head 'Minister of Defence' be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Need to expose the designs of expansionist powers around our borders.] (66)

"That the demand under the head 'Ministry of Defence' be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Need to inculcate the feeling of national integration and patriotism among our Jawans and Officers.] (67)

"That the demand under the head 'Defence Services—Army' be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Need to give proper representation to all sections of society and regions of the country in

recruitments to the armed forces] (68)

"That the demand under the head 'Defence Services—Army' be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Need to do away with the system of naming the brigades after castes and religions.] (69)

"That the demand under the head 'Defence Services—Army' be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Need to drop the caste names of the existing brigades.] (70)

"That the demand under the head 'Defence Services—Army' be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Need to change the names of the brigades given during British regime]. (71)

"That the demand under the head 'Defence Services—Army' be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Need for proper rehabilitation of retired army personnel.] (72)

"That the demand under the head 'Defence Services—Army' be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Need to have commonnesses for Jawans and officers to inculcate feelings of brotherhood.] (73)

SHRI ANANDA PATHAK (Darjeeling): I beg to move :

"That the demand under the head 'Ministry of Defence' be reduced to Re. 1."

[Failure to engage defence personnel in productive work when not in active service.] (95)

"That the demand under the head 'Ministry of Defence' be re-

duced to Re. 1."

[Failure to educate the Jawans in a regular way to imbibe the spirit of patriotism and to raise their political consciousness.] (96)

"That the demand under the head 'Ministry of Defence' be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Need to check encroachment on land of Rifle Range at Kurseong in the district of Darjeeling and relinquish the said land to the State Government of West Bengal for constructing a public stadium and playground.] (97)

"That the demand under the head 'Ministry of Defence' be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Need to improve the civic amenities for the civil population of Jalapahar, Lebong and other cantonment areas.] (98)

"That the demand under the head 'Ministry of Defence' be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Need to give Central Pay scale and other service conditions to the civilian employees employed in cantonment Board Services.] (99)

"That the demand under the head 'Defence Services—Army' be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Need to check the harassment of civil population by Defence personnel residing in and around cantonment areas.] (100)

"That the demand under the head 'Ministry of Defence' be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Need to provide suitable employment to the dependents of

armymen and ex-servicemen.]
(101)

"That the demand under the head 'Ministry of Defence' be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Need to stop harassment of poor peasants in and around Khaprial, Matigara, Bagdogra, Bengdubi, Salbari and other parts of North Bengal by Defence Personnel.] (102)

"That the demand under the head 'Ministry of Defence' be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Need to set up a Sainik School at Darjeeling.] (103)

"That the demand under the head 'Ministry of Defence' be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Need to set up a Sainik Training Centre at Darjeeling] (104)

"That the demand under the head 'Ministry of Defence' be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Need to give clearance to Neorakhola Project for augmentation of drinking water for the Defence and civilian population at Kalimpong in the district of Darjeeling.] (105)

"That the demand under the head 'Ministry of Defence' be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Need to grant bonus to all the civilian employees in Defence Services.] (106)

"That the demand under the head 'Ministry of Defence' be reduced by 100."

[Need to give the pay scale of State Government of West Bengal to the teachers of Primary Schools of Jalapahar,

Lebong and other Cantonments.] (107)

"That the demand under the head 'Ministry of Defence' be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Need to pay bonus to the Cantonment Board Employees.] (108)

"That the demand under the head 'Ministry of Defence' be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Need to improve the service conditions of the employees of Border Road Projects, MES and GREP.] (109)

"That the demand under the head 'Defence Services—Pensions' be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Need for proper assessment and adjustment for the ex-servicemen irrespective of the period of their retirement.] (110)

"That the demand under the head 'Defence Services—Pensions' be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Need to enhance the rate of pension for the defence personnel.] (111)

SHRI M. M. LAWRENCE (Idukki):
I beg to move :

"That the demand under the head 'Ministry of Defence' be reduced to Re. 1."

[Failure to inculcate among army personnel the feeling that the workers and peasants of country are their close allies.] (112)

"That the demand under the Head 'Ministry of Defence' be reduced to Re. 1."

[Failure to give equal opportunity for education to the

children of defence personnel irrespective of their status and ranks.] (113)

"That the Demand under the Head 'Ministry of Defence' be reduced to Re. 1."

[Failure in giving proper encouragement to the scientists in the defence department.] (114)

"That the Demand under the Head 'Ministry of Defence' be reduced to Re. 1."

[Failure to abolish the contract system in defence department.] (115)

"That the Demand under the Head 'Ministry of Defence' be reduced to Re. 1."

[Failure to have common messes for all irrespective of status and rank in the three wings of defence forces.] (116)

"That the Demand under the Head 'Ministry of Defence' be reduced to Re. 1."

[Failure to increase the ratio of promotee officers to that of directly recruited ones in all three wings of defence forces.] (117)

"That the Demand under the Head 'Ministry of Defence' be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Need to provide funds to build a Naval Academy at Azhimala.] (118)

"That the Demand under the Head 'Ministry of Defence' be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Need to stop giving facilities for berth to U.S. Warships in Cochin Port.] (119)

"That the Demand under the

Head 'Ministry of Defence' be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Need to check ill treatment by the Army Officers towards the staff of the Border Road Organisation.] (120)

"That the Demand under the Head 'Ministry of Defence' be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Need to extend all the benefits of army personnel to the staff of Border Road Organisation.] (121)

"That the Demand under the Head 'Ministry of Defence' be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Need to review the Pension Code formulated for ex-service-men.] (122)

"That the Demand under the Head 'Ministry of Defence' be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Need to give employment to ex-servicemen immediately after retirement.] (123)

"That the Demand under the Head 'Ministry of Defence' be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Need to give travel concession to all ex-servicemen.] (124)

"That the Demand under the Head 'Ministry of Defence' be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Need to give free education to all ex-servicemen.] (125)

"That the Demand under the Head 'Ministry of Defence' be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Need to enhance the pension of ex-servicemen.] (126)

"That the Demand under the Head 'Ministry of Defence' be redy-

ced by Rs. 100."

[Need to give bonus to civilian employees under Nevy.] (127)

"That the Demand under the Head 'Ministry of Defence' be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Need to accept the demands of civilian employees of Cochin Naval base] (128)

SHRI R.P.L. VERMA (Kodarwa) :
I beg to move :

"That the Demand under the Head 'Ministry of Defence' be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Need to modernise Army, Neavy and Air Force.] (129)

"That the Demand under the Head 'Ministry of Defence' be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Need to attract brilliant students in ordance factories.] (130)

"That the Demand under the Head 'Ministry of Defence' be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Need to achieve self-sufficiency in the production of arms and ammunition needed for Nevy, Army and Air Force.] (131)

"That the Demand under the Head 'Ministry of Defence' be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Need for removing the discontentment among the *Jawans* of defence services.] (132)

"That the Demand under the Head 'Ministry of Defence' be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Need to give preference to unemployed persons for recruitment in Defence Services.] (133)

"That the Demand under the

Head 'Ministry of Defence' be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Need to check indiscipline in Army by weeding out anti-social elements.] (134)

"That the Demand under the Head 'Ministry of Defence' be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Need for rehabilitating the ex-servicemen in border areas in a systematic manner.] (135)

"That the Demand under the Head 'Ministry of Defence' be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Need to fix age-limit for the officers of the defence services as has been done in the case of *Jawans*] (136)

"That the Demand under the Head 'Ministry of Defence' be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Need for giving bonus to civilian employees of the defence services like the industrial workers] (137)

"That the Demand under the Head 'Ministry of Defence' be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Need for appointing most competent persons on the senior-most positions in the defence services in an impartial and independent manner.] (138)

"That the Demand under the Head 'Ministry of Defence' be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Need to recruit one child of ex-servicemen in the Army.] (139)

SHRI R. S. SPARROW (Jullundur):
Mr. Chairman, Sir, taking into account the enormous complexities and magnitude of developing India's multifarious

problems, especially in regard to its defence, and economic building, requirements for programmes, rationalising, the allocation on its annual budget, particularly the defence side of it, is not an easy matter. In my opinion, any amount of fiscal juggling may not bring about a particular answer to the problem. Things are moving so fast and so quick, that it is indeed very very difficult subject to handle in so far as the national exchequer is concerned. None the less what I found was, the manner in which the demands of the Defence Budget grants have been allocated under defence heads shows a markedly efficient handling of the case in hand. And I have reasons to congratulate the Ministries of Defence and Finance for producing such a workable Work table : It is a workable work table. It is not just asking or the moon. We know where we stand as a country. We know our limitations. We know know that there are 700 millions people whom we have also side by side to bring up. We know all the other constraints. We know what is around us, we know what the world is on to. So taking all that into consideration I admire the manner in which some allocation has been worked out. Some constructive improvement perhaps can be done here and there.

Defence preparedness in its entirely is an inescapable need, at this particular time. The situation is such geo-politically and geo-statistically for India. Our final aim therefore has to be such as to own a first class or first rate overall defence potential, the modern-most sophisticated weaponry the best trained regular armed force and an in-exhaustive second line of reserve defence forces so as to meet adequately the exigencies of a sudden and an all out war that may be thrust on us.

As I go on, I will say a little more on it.

Sir, the war clouds are gathering rather ominously thick all around, that there should be no doubt about it.

Even External Affairs Minister give an indication on that account. Many of us are aware of this fact. I will therefore skip over that part of it.

But just for the moment, if you put up with me. I will give you impression of where the world stands. The world, in my opinion, is expecting to face a terrible turmoil. We are all human beings. We know the nature of man. We know how he has been dealing with—we remember from old days—that any kind of weapons that came to be under his possession, we know how stones upwards have been used. I pray to God : now let us put a stop to this. I have visited Hiroshima and Nagasaki soon after the was (World War II) and I know what type of a catastrophic situation that one could see there. That is nothing compared to what it may now be. We know the effect of nuclear war heads; we know how many nuclear weapons are there. There are 50,000 nuclear weapons in the hands of various powers in the world USA leads with 10,000. USSR coming number two is owning 7400. So, there are others also. So far as nuclear war is concerned, you can multiply any number you wish to. Statistics are there. But you all know what it is. This is the type of situation where war clouds are of that nature as we see them today. As chance has it, super powers motivated by their political cum-ideological cum-economic interest, are not in a mood to defuse their nuclear backed actions and attitudes as one sees. All types of efforts and thoughts have been put in SALT-I, SALT-II and what not. And, every time Pershings, Cruise missiles, deployment was mooted. Efforts had been made even in Geneva Convention again and that does not seem to have worked and so this is the way where they remain pitched up against in each other. Their general attitude and Military Stance on the contrary, each case, is becoming irretrievably stiff and inflexible. I am very glad that our country under the leadership of Shrimati Indira Gandhi, our Hon. Prime

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Minister and the Government and the Minister of External Affairs, is the only basis of hope; 'India'—the only oasis of hope.

India is one place where some kind of easy breath, one can take, as otherwise it is horrid and the amazing part of it is that most of these troubles and most of these wars have taken place even now appos to this turmoil all round starting from the Caribbean cauldron, right from starting end encircling all round Lebanon, Congo, Katanga, Nigeria, Biafra, Uganda, Ethiopia, Somalia, Iraq, Iran, then go away to even Koreas, Vietnams then down to Kampuchea and all round, small time big time wars. And, the amazing part of it is that they are fed by the superpowers' armaments like 'bakshish' and through difficult wars they have butchered their people, they killed each other. It took place on Asian soil; for your kind information it took place on Asian soil. It was where Koreas, it was where Indo-China, that is now called Vietnam, Kampuchea so on and so forth, such war took place. There was also Bangladesh trouble. You cannot deny this. It was also there. There was so much of killings in one way or the other and I have not yet touched the Middle East part of it.

Sir, you remember about the millions of boatmen who moved about everywhere. About 8.1 million people died. One of the Committees of Parliament went to witness Kampuchea and they saw at one place 7000 persons, women, children and men; their bones stacked at one spot and at one go they were killed. It is amazing. So, this is a bad type of omen.

Now, I will come to blood curdling highlights. The House may perhaps remember these incidents. The first one is that destructive nuclear weapons are consistently piling up unhindered. The second point is that Nuclear Tests still

go on in spite of the Nuclear Test Ban Treaty of 1963. Besides other nations, the USA has carried out 407 such tests and the USSR 336 since the inception of this Treaty. But then the Tests go on. Third, all wars, after the World War II, took place in developing countries only and how happily we acquire all types of weapons. As far as cost is concerned, on the arms race, the world is spending 1.3 million dollars every minute. The Military Aid that has been given to the Third World countries goes up to 400 billion dollars over the last 20 years, as opposed to only 25 billion dollars economic aid given over the same period.

And for war purposes for hundred billion dollars, so that you should stab each other and finish off, and later on whatsoever is left out, we would have a game fighting with nuclear weapons and mankind would be eliminated.

In so far as the deadly weapons are concerned, I do not have to say much; you know about it. I would only add, that it is not only now left to the nuclear weapons, nuclear warheads and so on and so forth, but major powers unfortunately have added on their armament list chemical, bacteriological, laser and cosmic rays, controlled weapons of warfare aided sophisticatedly by space-set and other versatile yet death-dealing systems. It is a terrible things to have bacteriological warfare—it started in World War I—and then chemical warfare, the mustard gas; and I know the countries where they have been practised again. You have been hearing about it here and there at certain places, but the stock-piling is there. There is no question about it. When these things are released, that would be detrimental to the safety of the people on the surface of this planet.

Now, I come to my own country and South Asia. Frankly speaking, in the present day geo-political and geo-strategical setting, India seems to be an obvious centre-piece theatre of war. I do not want war; I have seen all wars

and I know what terrible type of things they are the people of India are peace loving people. The actions of our Government are all peace-loving; we permeate peace and we have shown that successfully, as has already been enunciated by one of our friends a few minutes ago. In the United Nations, the Non-aligned Conference and everywhere, India's name has gone sky-high. I had the opportunity to go out and attend international meeting, and there India's name was sky-high. About seventy to eighty foreign countries were represented there both from Europe and all over the world. Very good. We are not out to fight. I have been through all these wars, Indo-Pak and so on and so forth. We never aggressed, but as chance has it, we had to be involved in war sometimes.

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Unfortunately, the concerned super powers' intentions in this case can easily be deduced from the headlines of the newspapers. There are some powers, who are colluding and pushing people into each other's grip to fight out, and this will be clear from some of the headings of the newspapers which I am quoting :

"Zia handing over military bases to USA ;

US Defence experts stationed in Quetta, Pak facilities for USA— Ports, Military Bases and so on.

"Zia harps on Kashmir"

What he says is : "Pakistan cannot forsake or forget Kashmir".

Then :

"Pakistan a step closer to making nuclear arms."

Then, we see the significance of the Karakoram road across our head, a sword of Damocles. Then, we see the Chinese military experts constructing air fields and whar not, along the no-man land, what we call the occupied Kashmir

and they call it Azad Kashmir territory. This is what is happening.

Then, there is military spying ? Why are they spying on us ? For what reasons ? We are not spying against anybody, and even some of our poor Generals have been caught because of something else, because of some misunderstanding and whatever you call it. Many spies were captured three years ago. The super power agents are aiding and abetting extremists and terrorists in punjab and other places

All that is designed to de-stabilize India. So, take my warning for that. That gives us some lesson. For God's sake, we have to put our heads together, and treat it as a national question and not pull each other's legs.

We have to defend ourselves. We know how to defend ourselves. We have defended ourselves. My close friend just now pointed out that Defence plans were defective. I wish to point out to him and say : 'Yes; any time any modification can be brought about.' On that I have full faith in the Ministry of Defence. They are at it all the time. Whenever any kind of loophole can be plugged, it is done. I say this out of experience. So far, the present system has really stood the test, Admirably well.

Every English man had gone away. Nobody was there to teach and train us at the highest level. From that day to the last 1971 Indo-Pak war, it was so. Pakistanis had their advisers, and what not. We did not have any—not one. We fought, planned and did exceedingly well—from the strategic angle down to tactical and administrative angle. So, I would say that whatever has to be considered is worth considering; that wherever some modification is necessary, it can be brought in.

Insofar as the war preparedness is concerned, I have 1 or 2 words to say. To start with, I must say that I have a commending word to say in relation to

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the three Armed Forces—Army, Navy and Air Force. The Chiefs of Staff of the three Forces are, take it from me doing a remarkable job for us. They are doing very good work indeed. Down the line, you will always find some odd types of people here and there. That is a different question. It is a very large affair now. You are now playing not only with...**

as you were doing only one or one-and-a-half or two decades back. You are now playing with...*

THE MINISTER OF DEFENCE (SHRI R. VENKATARAMAN) : Don't give figures please.

SHRI R. S. SPARROW : Now our strength is more.

MR. CHAIRMAN : They may not be recorded. Figures are not to be recorded.

SHRI R. S. SPARROW : I agree. I am sorry, although you know that I am very much secrecy minded.

So, what I mean is that every day, things are getting complicated, and we have to see to the importance all-round. So, the figures are there; but we are doing very well. And insofar as our Armed Forces are concerned, they are in excellent mettle. Let anyone come and try it.

My humble apologies to my one-time colleague, now a big man in Pakistan, the resident when I tell him : "Be very careful. Don't spoil the whole thing, and also put as in jeopardy. Don't let this sub-continent, which is a beautiful sub-continent, go to the dogs, as other places have gone. You say you want Kashmir. You cannot get Kashmir. It is not the way to get Kashmir or any other portion, for that matter. Last

time you tried. You wanted to get Kashmir. You know what happened."

To Yahya Khan, I even sent messages saying : "Don't indulge in that, Yahya." He had served under me also for 1½ years. I sent a special word to him saying : "Don't indulge in this. You will spoil all." What happened in the bargain ? He lost Bangladesh.

That is amazing. So, one has to be a little judicious in these matters.

Nevertheless, I have to make it a little short. I have 1 or 2 special recommendations to make. My special recommendation in this regard is that our country has not, for centuries now more or less, been a theatre. At least for 100 years, it has not itself been a theatre of war.

It has never been; and general public at large are not aware of such things as defence measures and what not. So, we have to bring about a stronger accent on that; and how do we do it ? Allied with that, we have always to rig up with our reserve and second line defence; reserve and second line defence is very important; it is important in the sense that once you go into big time battles and they are very demanding, there can be so many casualties; and it takes time before you can train a person. In some cases like the air force or the tank people, it takes some years before you can train them up. Therefore, your territorial arms may have to be expanded. Your NCC, after all has an inclination also towards the armed forces in its own way; and every country does it. Even boy scouting has something to do with that. Once you are disciplined, you will be understanding things better if some one is teaching anything for that matter; even a weapon or anything else for that matter. So, on that side, I wish to recommend to the Hon. Defence Minister that we have to draw our attention much more cogently and bring it up as best as we can under the circumstances.

**Not recorded.

The other point that I would like to commend to you is this. But before doing that, I would like to answer the previous Speaker's question which I felt I could possibly do, that you have brought out the question about delay in production of the M.B.T.—Main Battle Tank. You see the problem is this. When you quoted the example of Leopard and Panther and so on and so forth, that gave me the idea. I tell you how about the first one which you personally do not know. For instance, Englishmen had set up certain tanks, they had Mark I, Mark II and various other tanks. You like Churchill Lander and later on Centurion and so on and so forth. They had all this. Now, it is not easy to immediately get things done. Vijayanta was created at our factory and as chance had it, I was then the Director; and it was worked out with my cooperation to rig up that tank. It takes a long time to prepare things according to a certain design—prototype alone for the user; the user has to use the prototype for two years running or something like that to make certain that it does do the job well, in consultation with other experts. In the olden days when those tanks were produced, for instance, Sherman, what did they do the Americans? Within one or two years, they produced the Sherman. How they got hold of four Chrysler engines, banked those together, that gave the power, and added transmission and it worked. And a steel cockle shell was put on top of it with some kind of a gun which ultimately turned out to be a very ordinary gun. But in those days, it was fine; it was all right. So, that way, it was different; it was a war like move. But if you want to do it sophisticatedly everything, every instrument, everything else has to have a correlation with each of the components of a tank. So, it takes a little more time, but, I am certain that the Hon. Defence Minister will give more details on this point.

I have a very special point to bring to your kind notice and there I am certain that all the members of the House will possibly bear with me. You have done very much; and the government

has done very much for the servicemen as also for the ex-servicemen. The cadre review has given them a fillip; they have also given enhancement in pay; they have been given also more facilities; and ex-servicemen now are also getting enough and are very happily positioned in so far as their pension is concerned. But one irksome thing is there. The ex-servicemen before January/April 1979 are not given the same pension as one after that. This is what you call a disparity in pension. Disparity in pension should not be there. It cannot be there. You had started it well. We all talked about it. We discussed it in various Committees, the Estimates Committee and other Committees, and so on and so forth. And then the Supreme Court judgement came. Then, there were two counterparts, which were working. One was the central body, the staff on the civilian side and the other body was the Servicemen's side. The Civilian staff have been able to get what they wanted. The Armed Force side could get what they wanted. The civilian staff get readily what they wanted. They had also taken me as one of their promoters and friends, and we used to work together. They have got it because their method of service is based on past services, whereas the ex-servicemen or the soldiers, their method of pay and emoluments and everything about pension is worked out on rank basis. That is because they cannot keep on working until the age of 58, whereas the civilians do.

The other point about ex-servicemen is they have led a hazardous life all through. They should also be given some concession for that. In so far as the Supreme Court judgment is concerned, possibly their ranking on the one side and the fiscal authority may have worked or come in the way, but the interpretation seems to vary. For instance, the ex-servicemen have been given an option and it looks as if we were given a certain types of ready-reckoner to work. It was something which amounted to higher mathematics or some such thing. If we think of Garhwali and Kumaon and some other

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ex-servicemen of the Dogra Regiment residing in the hills of Uttar Pradesh, Maharashtra or in Haryana, they cannot understand it. I have been receiving letters from all over India, from Kerala, Maharashtra, Tamil Nadu, Patna, from all places, singing out the same difficulty. I think it is a genuine difficulty. They say, that "if you do not want to give any backlog, do not give; but please do not bring in any disparity. Start paying." Because, for them rank consciousness is there. I think one Subedar Major has gone on retirement one or two days before a particular day and a Jawan who goes some time later, gets more pension, or more or less the same as the Subedar Major. A Lieutenant Colonel if he goes time previous to that date, he gets Rs. 625 and if a Subedar Major who has retired a day after he gets Rs. 646/- . And our country is made of such people that father and son and so on and so forth they are in the armed forces. Do not let the father crack jokes or the son crack jokes on him. They should not say 'You retired as such and such and you are getting this much' and so on. This sort of rank consciousness is there. This has also to be taken into account. You may very kindly look into this. It is important. It is my humble appeal and I hope it will be looked into cautiously. After that whatever you decide will be welcome to everybody. If some of our friends sitting here they could bring in any formula in relation to this it will be good. The formula that was brought out,—does not matter, some one has done it—and it has done remarkable good for everybody.

This was the only point that I wanted to bring to your notice. Otherwise, I highly commend the manner in which things have been carried out by the Ministry of Defence. Their Planning, thinking, working methods, all of them are highly commendable.

With these words, Sir, I thank you

very much for giving me an opportunity.

DR. VASANT KUMAR PANDIT : (Rajgarh) : Sir, my hon. friend just now commended the work of the Defence Department. I do not stand here only to criticise it. We have here the picture of a binocular on the report. The binoculars can show us how the horses are running in the race course, at most the scenic part of the Himalayan mountains. But I personally feel that what we definitely require is a telescope.

The defence policy of any country has got to be geo-centric. We see, from our point of view, all around us. I have gone through the Report, it is a very good one, but there are some lacunae which I may point out. The question is : what is our geo-centric position ?

As far as India is concerned, there is not a single friend around us. Pakistan is poised for a war against us, Bangladesh is politically unstable and there is internal trouble. Both these countries are not having duly-elected governments. They have military regimes. Our northern borders are suffering under pressure. The internal situation is not too congenial either. If we have to face a war, the morale of the people is so low that we will find it difficult to face it.

Our Hon. Prime Minister off and on warns the country against war clouds, sometimes the Hon. Defence Minister gives vent to his ideas and some of our Generals also sometimes talk about our preparedness. But let us face facts. No doubt, we have done a lot in creating an international opinion against war and to build peace by NAM, CHOGM, Commonwealth and so on. I am not under-estimating them. But, in the context of a war, all of us know very well, we stand alone. There are countries, there are powers, which do not want a democratic continent like India to develop or progress in the Asian field. Therefore, let us be frank that, unfor-

tunately, if there is any war, it will be a war of proxy ; it will not be a war between two countries only. Therefore, we have to see what is the situation around us.

16.58 hrs.

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

Preparedness for war includes internal vigilance as well as self-reliance coupled with a strong defence policy. Let us do this thing in a proper perspective. I will now come to the three angles from which I would see the country's defence preparedness. One is the intentions and war—like preparations, policies and strategies employed by our neighbours. On this point there will be no misgiving that some day we have to face a war. The second angle would be the defence preparedness, self-reliance in our arms, in our defence requirements. The third aspect is the morale in the country, which depends on the morale of not merely the jawans but also of the general public.

War are not made for nothing ; they have been made for various reasons. It is not war mongering, but full preparedness and self-reliance that would be the real price of our freedom. With this angle in mind, I am now putting forth some suggestions with regard to the ever-readiness to face a war.

17.00 hrs.

Logistically, the political conditions in the country have to be contained as fast as possible. For the last several months, I mean, a year and a half, the tensions in Punjab have been increasing. The Punjabis have a galaxy of valiant records in previous wars ; so also the other regiments. It is not the man behind in the tank or in the aircraft that matters, but it is the line coming down up to the village that counts to build up the morale. We have to build

up that morale. Politically certain decisions will have to be taken, we cannot lose time at this stage. There is instability in the country. There is not only the law and order situation, but there are other things like casteism and other struggles which have been going on at all times, may be for creating a vote bank. But we have to pay a very high price for it in the event of a war. We cannot sit silent and ponder over this internal situation in the country.

Sir, the situation in Jammu and Kashmir is far from satisfactory. You can imagine what exactly will happen in the event of war while sending our troops to the borders. What would happen to the morale of the general public ? There are cases like that of Larkins. Today there was a question in the Lok Sabha about a case where there was insurgency and leakage of Defence pictures smugglers in Gujarat (Kutch) area. This has been happening for a long time. The foscign agents get together with the smugglers. The smugglers have got a link with the police, but within the smugglers there hide foreign agents who are deployed to get as much information as possible and it is a sad story that the strategic information of the Indian Defence organisation flows so easily for money outside the country. I had occasion to go Gujarat some time back. In reply to the question on that subject it was said that they have now alerted the security forces. But we have no fast travelling vessel there to catch them. But the smugglers have a faster vessel by which they come and go. This is not a question concerning the Home Department only. Anything happening on the western borders, north-eastern borders and north-western borders has to be looked at from this angle of defence preparedness, defence security and defence intelligence.

Now we come to the question of what is likly to happen and how much we are prepared. I am not a Cassandra of doom. I will be with the Government and in fact all of us are with the

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Government and we have had the taste of this for the last three times that the entire country stands as a solid rock. Whatever Government there is, they face the eventuality. I wish and hope the same thing will happen again. But something needs to be done.

Forewarned is forearmed. The time is running very short. Our Defence budgets have gone up and rightly too. We welcome it. We want only more results. There is such a big agglomeration or the machinery, weaponry, armaments which we do not have and that becomes a question of public debate. I will cite a few examples, recent examples. Here is an article by Jagan Chawla—'Poor Production Planning.' It is the *Indian Express* of 23rd April, 1983. It says :

"When major weapon systems are bought and produced under license also, their import content in the initial stages in 100 per cent which comes down to about 69% when the production is to be phased out. Keeping this in view one reckons that the value added per man-year to the equipment produced by the Defence Production Organisation is a small fraction of what their counterparts achieve in the collaborating countries. This is one of the major causes of high costs of defence production by the government, leading to scarcity of resources to equip the Services adequately. The increase in value of production shown from year to year does not mean that the quantities of weapons or armament product has increased proportionately."

There is another article to which I refer. It is the *Hindu* of 6th December, 1983. 'The Changing phase in defence planning'. Here PAC has been reported :

"The Committee consider that

this could have been avoided had the Ministry and Air Force subjected the long term requirements to closer scrutiny. The Committee, therefore, reiterate the observations made earlier that this case reflects adhocism in taking decisions and..."

This is dilly-dallying in what exactly should be manufactured. We are going through a scientific and sophisticated age as far as armoury is concerned, war equipment is concerned. Why should there be two or three opinions—this expert committee, another expert committee. Their reports clash and ultimately, no decision is taken.

There is a third article which also brings out the same thing. There is an article in the *Statesman*, New Delhi dated 7th February, 1984 by Shri S.N. Antia—Defence Preparedness 'A decade of Neglect and Complacency.'

Such articles do come and they should come. But that becomes a national debate. These people are intelligent people. We are lay-men. But if we read these with interest, our faith is shaken. We feel that everything is not all right. It is not as it is published in the report and something is lacking somewhere. Whatever is lacking, I leave it to you, Hon. Minister, to plug those loopholes as soon as possible and do something concrete in the years to come. Take quick decision.

Here is an article by Shri G.C. Katoch. It is in the *Statesman*, New Delhi of 1st June, 1983—Defence of the Skies 'No room for Half-Measures.'

All these show that there is something lacking in our planning and this has to be seen seriously. Therefore, when we read or listen to these questions we feel disturbed. In the event of war with Advance Warning Aircraft with powerful Radar where do we stand we do not know? Has confusion ended with Jaguar, or Mirage 2000 or MIG 29? What exactly are we

going to have ? Are you going to have all the three ? Because each sophisticated machine or equipment requires special type of training, hours of training and experience ? We cannot waste in having two or three of the same type. Similarly, where is the Main Battle Tank ? As has been said by one of my friends, when will Chetak be ready ? Are you going to import T-72 from Soviet Russia ? Are you going to assemble T-72 on licence ? Would you give details on these things ? It has been a subject-matter of common debate in the newspapers. There is also a lot of misgiving with regard to the Advance Light Helicopters. I am told, there is no design for the last one decade. There is no decision yet as to which model to follow—whether to get them imported, buy them or make them. I only cited three examples. I would therefore request the Hon. Minister to remove my misgivings. I feel in the whole country there are misgivings. I am not fully knowledgeable. But there are many like me in the country, who are not knowledgeable. Their morale will only be boosted when we are told that everything is going on the right lines according to the plan, the perspective plan and a close review plan and everyting is all right and nothing will be wrong.

One of the causes for dilly-dalling and changing the design etc., is a craze to purchase them in the international markets. May I tell you that there is an international cartel working against India ? This cartel will give you first, prices for a lower model. Again, you will go to some other country for better model. Then, they will reduce their price and in this rigmarole, you will lose a lot of valuable time. Once you have decided to purchase a particular type of sophisticated armoury, stick to it and buy it from that country which gives us immediate delivery, with the know-how. You should also consider the question of spares. I am horrified that some of our equipments which are imported, more than 60% parts, will have to be imported. This import-component of the spares might throttle us

at a given moment. Therefore, stockpiling of the spares for defence production programme, to make them here has got to be seen along side with defence working.

Sometimes, we hear about corruption in the forces, in the depots and elsewhere. This needs to be tightened. There should be no scope for any rupee which has been granted in the Defence Budget, to be ill-spent. On the contrary, we should try to give something more. Unnecessary heavy expenditure on non-Plan items is there. It should also be checked and the loopholes should be plugged. In purchase of Indian-made goods also, placing of orders for indigenous articles also, there is a lot of politics involved. And then, if there are any cases of nepotism and lacunae in the conditions of services that should also be plugged out. There should be no controversy nor national debate on the purchase of sophisticated weaponry and equipments. I am confident that the Hon. Minister will remove my doubts and also assure the House that all is being done and will be done in the near future.

The defence preparedness of the country includes civic defence. It is men in the country that also matters. The last three wars were different. As has been rightly said by my hon. friends, if any way is thrust upon us, it would be different from the previous three wars. This is going to be a sophisticated war and an equal part, if not 50 per cent, will be played by the people at large.

I am afraid, there has been a little bit of neglect of civic defence. In all the last three wars; when I was MLC in Maharashtra, we had civic defence committees. At that time, we found that even sirens were not working properly. This is the time we can train people. It will take a long time. The people also have to be educated about the far-reaching effects of modern warfare. We have sitting ducks, like, the Tarapur Atomic Station right at the sea cost, the Bhabha Atomic Research

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Commission, the Bombay High and there are many other such places. They are sitting ducks in a modern warfare. There are people who are staying at such vulnerable places which could be the targets. They have to be oriented towards how to face modern warfare. Therefore, I would be seek you to re-organise civic defence committees, expand N.C.C., deploy home guard; auxiliary forces; territorial army, ex-servicemen and put them into some concrete formula whereby they could go to the people, not only to assure them but also to prepare them to face the situation in the eventuality of a war.

This is the right time to expand your Sainik schools. More and more Sainik schools should be there. We are talking about the 20-point programme, about the employment of educated and also uneducated people. More Sainik schools are required. The places like Madhya Pradesh, Nagpur and Karnataka are logically okay and these should be utilised for having a network of Sainik schools.

Similarly, my other suggestion is, with regard to either civil or military hospitals ; as it is, we are far short of them now. We are also far behind a reasonable doctor/patient ratio and nurse/patient ratio. This should also be brought up to the international level so far as doctors, nurses and para-medical staff in military is concerned.

Now, if all these things are done, I am confident that our great country can rise to the occasion and face any eventuality if it is thrust upon us at any time anywhere.

SHRI ARJUN SETHI (Bhadrak) : Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, at the outset I thank you very much for giving me an opportunity to participate in the discussion on the Demands for Grants relating to the Ministry of Defence.

While listening the Hon. Member opposite who initiated the discussion, I failed to understand why he had taken much pain to find fault with the Ministry of Defence. He even had used the occasion to criticise the Ministry saying that the Ministry has no perspective planning, no clear threat perceptions and so on and so forth.

Being a Member of this august House, I would like to inform the Hon. Member who spoke that whatever he has said in the course of his speech bears no relevance to the report of the Ministry of Defence. The report of the Ministry of Defence has, at the very outset itself, pointed out clearly the perception of threats to the security of our country. The report has also deal with the perspective planning that the Ministry of Defence has undertaken as regards the defence planning in the country.

It is true that whatever planning or development or technology we adopt, there is always scope for improvement. I admit it. But the Hon. Member from the opposite has done no better by saying that the Government lacks the preception of the threat to the security of our country and that the Government lacks the perspective planning that is required for our country. The Member opposite has indulged in such talk just with a view to gain a debating point.

The security threat to our country needs to be assessed realistically in the long-term, sub-continental, regional and global context. This truth should be brought home to the planners of our country.

It is strange that many people in our country, not to speak of the motivated people and the people who are misinformed, continue to discuss the security problems of our country only with reference to Pakistan forgetting our Big Brother in the North, China. But, we as a country and the world as a whole, for that matter, know that we

have both internal and external problems to face and Pakistan is not the solitary instance for us.

Whatever attempts have been made the Ministry of Defence to solve these problems and whatever achievements have been made by it, are commendable.

The Ministry of Defence has pointed in its report what steps have been taken by them to meet the challenge that has been posed to us from time to time by our neighbouring countries as well as by the countries to our North, West, North-West and in the Indian Ocean.

This task which has to be faced by the Ministry of Defence is no doubt a gigantic one. It is commendable that however enormous the problem may be, the Ministry of Defence has made gigantic efforts to build up a force which could meet the challenges made to us by our neighbouring countries as well as in the Indian ocean.

Many Hon. Members in the House and many people outside unfortunately underestimate and under-rate the dangers facing the security of our country. Many of the Hon. Members are trying their best to make us believe that there is no threat to our security. They also pacify us by saying that Pakistan is not in a position to wage a war against India and that we have more military strength compared to Pakistan and this is the reason why Pakistan will not dare attacking us.

These people are also advancing the argument that the Government is putting forward the threat to our security from Pakistan only with a view to creat a war psychosis among the people.

But the position is not so easy.

We read in the papers what my Hon. friend, Gen. Sparrow, has mentioned ; there has been news in the press as to what sophisticated weapons are being poured in Pakistan by the USA as

well as by the other countries. Such arming of Pakistan is a danger for us. We know from our experience that the arms and weaponry acquired by Pakistan from time to time have been used against us from time to time, and it is no secret that such acquisition of arms by Pakistan and other countries in our neighbourhood has got a bearing on our security. This is the problem that our country is confronted with. Having said this, I must request the Government as well as the Hon. Minister to take steps to face this challenge. Our Navy, our Army and our Air Force must be ready to meet any eventuality that may arise in future.

We have a vast coastline to guard against any kind of dangerous development. We have many installations, both off-shore and on-shore, as well as maritime interests, to guard against. Similary, we have the exclusive economic zone spread over an area of 19.5 lakh sq. kilometres. This is the vastness of the problem that our Navy is confronted with. The naval warfare is also peculiar in the sense that there are no fixed boundaries of the theatre of war and the scene of operation can shift dramatically from time to time. This necessitates a high degree of preparedness and dynamic response to situations as they emerge. We know that the Hon. Minister has stated in this House as well as in the other House, and it has also been mentioned in this Report, that they have taken care of whatever news has appeared in the press, whatever new acquisitions are made by Pakistan as well as in the neighbourhood, they have taken care to see that we can meet those challenges adequately. I would request the Hon. Minister that he must specifically spelt out the details as to what steps they have taken. We read in the papers that recently Pakistan has acquired Harpoon missiles to arm their Navy with. We know that Pakistan has no coastline as big as ours to guard. Then what for have they acquired those missiles ? It is certainly having a security bearing on our defence. I request the Hon. Minister that he must

[Shri Arjun Sethi]

categorically inform the Parliament of what steps they have taken, the Ministry of Defence have taken, to meet the challenge, to meet the new emerging responsibility that has been cast upon the Government.

Similarly we read in the press—and it has been raised in this House as well as in the other House—that recently Pakistan has acquired more F-16s along with AWACS. If this report is true, I would like to be informed of what steps Government have taken to meet this situation as well.

We know and the Hon. Minister has informed the Parliament that we are acquiring the latest version of MIG to meet this challenge. And we are also acquiring the latest version of arms and weapons. It is all good. But we must not depend upon foreign sources always because in times of war and in critical times there may be a situation, there may arise a situation which will have dangerous repercussions on our country's defence preparedness because a country which is friendly to-day may turn inimical at any time. There may arise occasion which may turn them inimical to us. In that context if we depend on foreign sources for these arms, our interests may be placed in jeopardy. Therefore, I request the Hon. Minister that he must see that our dependence on foreign countries must be minimised and for what I know, Government take care to see that whenever they import something, they get a licence to produce that weaponry in our own country. But as my Hon. friends have just mentioned, when we get our own thing produced, it becomes obsolete. In that case when we negotiate and enter into an agreement for acquiring certain weapons, why not we straight-away go in for licensed production. The agreement itself should contain provisions to enable us to go in for licensed production straightaway.

An Hon. Member has mentioned about Jaguar as well as Mirage—that we have already acquired Jeguar and we are going to acquire Mirage from France. While getting these weapons and aircraft, we must immediately have an agreement so that their licensed production is started in our country in the interests of our country because unless we do that, valuable time will be lost when we go in for the production of that particular aircraft or weaponry and they may become obsolete also.

Just a few words about our Coast Guards. As I mentioned earlier, the Navy along with the Coast Guards have a gigantic task to perform in guarding the vast coast line of our country as well as to protect the maritime interests as well as new installations that have been coming up in the sea. I am told that the Government has decided to acquire a few helicopters for our Coast Guards but that has not been done as yet. If the reports are true and I read them in the press, I would like to know from the Hon. Minister whether they have decided to acquire helicopters and whether it has materialised or not. Sir, at the end, the defence technology that has been emerging is also changing fast. The technology is a force multiplier. And any weaponry, however sophisticated or advanced that may be, becomes obsolete with the advent of new technology which is very fast in defence. So, keeping this in view as our goal in Defence policy, we must try to keep ourselves ready so that at no point of time our defence preparedness lags behind and we do not fall short in our defence technology.

SHRI N. GOUZAGIN (Outer Manipur) : Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, I thank you very much for calling me to participate in this debate and to speak from the front lines. I thought that it would be quite sufficient if someone speaks from the last bench because the Ministry is a Defence Ministry.

Of course, defence forces have to

fight in different lines. If and when necessary, they have to defend the back side also. That is why we have here the front seaters and back-seaters. First of all, I have to place on record that our forces are able as well as capable of fighting back any attack from all sources. This is the confidence of the people of the country. I am proud about all the serving officers and the personnel in the Defence services I must give the credit to the Defence Ministers who are capable of handling the Ministry efficiently. I am not going into details of the budget. But, I want to say a few words. As you know, these days we live in free India. But, in some sectors, we fail to give equal treatment to the people—I am talking here of the pensioners—the pensioners who have served for a longer period before Independence and retired immediately after independence. They are getting a much less pension whereas those who retired in the recent past are getting more pensions than them even though both of them were holding the same ranks. What is the difficulty that is holding this thing on? Why not the Minister-in-charge of Defence take care of this? They should give equal treatment to the people who had served this country faithfully in the past in the matter of pension. I must say that this is something wrong that we have done to the people of our country. If this is done, it will give some sort of an incentive to the serving personnel also. I request the Minister to look into this.

Secondly, Sir, in the three wings of the armed forces, namely, infantry, Air Force and Navy, if there is any disparity in their pay structures then it may lead to discontentment. This should also be looked into. As far as possible, the Minister should give incentives to the officers and jawans. Without our Defence service personnel the country will not survive. They defend our country day and night. They guard our borders day and night. They are not entitled to any overtime allowance also because of the nature of their duties. Therefore, I plead with the Hon. Minis-

ter that the pay structure of the Defence Services should be given more emphasis at the time of making the budget so that they are made to draw more pay and allowances.

Sir, we talk about Jaguar, Mirage, F-16, Atom Bomb and Nuclear Bomb. Why should we not get ready to face any eventuality even when the other side uses the most lethal weapons against us? Why should we not possess these items? It is not our right to possess them? If we are afraid of any attack from the other side why should we not possess these things? It does not necessarily mean that we have to use them first.

Sir, when you have sophisticated weapons, then you are all the time in a better position to negotiate with the side. So to be offensive is the best defence. We must know this.

Of course, I do not say that we have to change our policy. We may continue to follow our policy of non-alignment and peace but we have got the right to possess and make these things. Talking about acquisition of sophisticated weapons by the neighbouring countries and also criticising them will not help us. Therefore, my principle is, to be offensive is the best defence.

So, Sir, whatever amount is in the Defence Budget, we have to vote for it without criticising it and if somebody feels it is still too small, it should be increased.

Sir, we are talking about unemployment. Why don't we increase the number of our defence forces and provide more employment opportunities to the younger generation? Therefore, Sir, while saying all these things I do not mean that I am not satisfied with the present arrangements. Rather I feel and I am proud that we are able to counter attack. I am saying how I improve it, Sir. This will only raise the image of our country's defence and

[Shri N. Gouzagin]

we will be able to meet any attack from any side,

With these words, I support the Demands of Grants for the Ministry of Defence for 1984-85.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : Mr. Vairale.

PROF. N. G. RANGA (Guntur) : He is generally silent but today he is very eloquent.

SHRI MADHUSUDAN VAIRALE : My friend was not in the House when I spoke on General Budget for 40 minutes.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : Prof. Ranga spoke on Railway Budget for 45 minutes. Now Mr. Vairale.

SHRI MADHUSUDAN VAIRALE (Akola) : I am here to give my whole hearted support to the Demands and Grants which have been presented by the Minister of Defence in the House. Sir, I must say that we have no doubt about our preparedness in matters of defence, because, we are very certainly, under the dynamic leadership of our Prime Minister and the every efficient handling of defence department by our Defence Minister ; we presume all things are being done in the right perspective. My friend who spoke just now before me spoke about the manufacture of new weapons and other things. I do not think that I should repeat the same thing.

But I would like to bring to the notice of the House certain facts. When we are preparing or our national defence we are aware of the very dangerous international situation. Unfortunately the international situation happens to be very delicate, sensitive and explosive. First, we are a developing

country. I do not arrogate to myself to say that we should follow some other democracies in this matter but I feel that we may follow big democratic brother's attitude in this field, particularly because it can be helpful to us while making our preparedness. The latest theory in the matter of international defence is the theory of deterrent. if that theory is considered to be valid I think it should be given due consideration, while determining our own defence policy in the country. I have no doubt that the theory of deterrent has full validity And if that theory has some validity, then that has to be reflected in our defence preparedness.

Sir, modern technology is making great strides. It is a technology in the field of defence, in the field of production of nuclear armaments, in the field of production of latest missiles and this technology is becoming more and more effective. In fact in some countries producing arms seems to be their main industry. If this kind of production of arms happens to be the main industry in some countries, then the consequent theory is very clear. Unless they sell what they produce, they cannot earn profits and if they have to sell, unless there is a possibility of war, people will not buy arms. So, there has to be a possibility of war and that is why there has to be direct or indirect planning of how more and more wars will take place on the earth. It seems that some big powers plan this through various methods and suitable agencies. According to me, there is a very deceptive concept and that concept is that this is done for strategic purpose, for working out defence strategy. Perhaps ten years before, the word 'defence strategy' had a different meaning, The word 'defence strategy' has a different connotation today. If I want to be guarded and defend myself in Delhi, near Lok Sabha, then I can very well justify putting some nuclear missiles in my constituency with the argument that it is a defence strategy and I needed that defence preparedness. In such an

atmosphere, while talking about the Defence policy, no doubt we shall have to be more and more fearful. I would certainly suggest when we read particularly the International Press, we cannot imagine that even by an accident havoc can happen to us, even if we do not get into war. But if it starts somewhere else, it does not mean that those who are not concerned with that war, will not be affected. They will also be affected, they will also be destroyed. One side says that it has missiles and it can hit the other country's capital within 10 minutes. But the other side says that it has got missiles which can hit other countries' capitals within 7 minutes. Then, again, there is a statement coming from a country that it has got missiles which can hit the other country's capital within 3 minutes. Then there are more and more possibilities of submarines having unclear missiles under the sea and again to detect those submarines, they are developing new technology and now the latest thing, that I have come across in the International Press is that some countries are contemplating for having some stations in the space from where they could send the rays on the earth which would hit these missiles while in transit.

Now, if these things go like this, what kind of defence strategy one has to work out? I am not advocating that we have to follow all these strategies. But what I want to impress upon is that while chalking out the defence programme, while planning our defence requirements, I am sure that our strategy must keep all these factors in mind.

Today, as I said, our neighbour is not keeping quiet. We have been encircled. To Pakistan—I do not know whether my figure is correct and I am open to correction—during the last five years, arms worth several thousand crores have been supplied and some believe that these arms were supplied to them not as loan, but as I said, I do not know on what basis they were supplied to them. Then, again at Diego Garcia, a nuclear base is being created

and recently some incident took place during foot-ball match, in the east of our country.

I pray to God that it may not be an indication of something else than one isolated incident, because nothing is impossible now-a-days. This is because when something is taking place in one part of the world, some people in this international situation would very much like that we are kept busy on our eastern border, they would also like that they should keep us busy on coastline, they would also like that we should be kept busy in the direction of Diego Garcia etc. as well as on coastal line and also in the North. There are already destabilising forces planted in all directions.

While supporting the Demands of Grants for Defence, I deem it my duty to draw the attention of the Hon. Minister to these various factors.

When I talk of modern technology and arms becoming a major industry for some countries, I also must draw the attention of this august House to one factor that defence or defending the country is not only the problem of the armed forces, which are standing alert on the borders of our country. Unless there is a very high morale inside the country, unless there is a sense of topmost patriotism in the country, unless there is a sense of integrity in the country, unless there is constant vigilance about our own high morals and spirit. I do not think, we can only depend on the armed forces. All these attacks and aggressions now-a-ays are not made only through weapons like aeroplanes, or nuclear missiles, or tanks or bombs, but there are other ways of aggression and those ways of aggression, particularly in modern days are by poisoning the minds of our own people, by creating quarrels amongst our own people, by creating inferiority complex in our own population, by creating diffidence about our leadership and by creating a sense that we are smaller, poorer or inferior compared to other parts of the world. And, there

[Shri Madhusudan Vairale]

could be quite a few agencies either deliberately or without intention playing into the hands of those who want that our mind, if not wholly, at least a part of it, should be poisoned, morale should be weakened and I am afraid, unless we take precautions, we would be in difficulties.

I know, it is not the direct duty of the Department of Defence. I hope, the Hon. Defence Minister will excuse me, but when I talk of the car I have necessarily to talk of the stepney along with the car. And that is why I am mentioning this. This is an important factor. As a patriot, I myself get a suspicion many times that indirect attacks in a certain way are being made through propaganda, through radio, TV and even through international news agencies and section of media.

PROF. SAIFUDDIN SOZ (Baramulla) : Which radio and which television ?

SHRI MADHUSUDAN VAIRALE : It depends, which station you tune to. I would say that radio happens to be one. It only depends on which wavelength you are. It only depends to which station you tune. It depends on which news you would like to hear. It depends on these and other things ; and that is why more and more powerful radio transmitters are being put in all around our country. That is why Voice of America is stronger in Sri Lanka.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : Mr. Vairale, I think you are not going to conclude quickly, because you are making our points very strongly. So, you can continue tomorrow.

Now we take up the Half-an-Hour Discussion. Shri Ram Vilas Paswan.

18 hrs.

HALF-AN-HOUR DISCUSSION

Enquiry Report Regarding Delhi Electricity Supply Undertaking Bill

श्री राम विलास पासवान (हाजीपुर) :

उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, सबसे पहले मैं आग्रह करूँगा कि यह इतने लोक महत्व का प्रश्न है और यहां हमारे मित्र श्री आरिफ मोहम्मद खां साहब बैठे हैं, उनसे मुझे पूरी सहानुभूति है, लेकिन मैं चाहता हूँ कि आप मंत्री महोदय को बुलाएं।

श्रीमती प्रमिला दण्डवते (बम्बई-उत्तर मध्य) : मंत्री महोदय कहां हैं ?

SHRI RAM VILAS PASWAN : Sir, I want that the Cabinet Minister, Mr. P. Shiv Shankar should be present here, because what I am saying is that day before yesterday when this Half-an-hour discussion was listed, then also yester-Shiv Shankar was here but he was not present in the House. To-day also he is in Delhi, in his office.

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF ENERGY (SHRI ARIF MOHAMMAD KHAN) : This is no impropriety.

उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं यहां पर हूँ।

श्री रामविलास पासवान : मैं इसलिए कह रहा हूँ कि इसमें कई अफसर पकड़े जा चुके हैं और मैटर इतना कांप्लीकेटेड है कि कैविनेट रेंक का मंत्री ही हो।

श्री आरिफ मोहम्मद खां : उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं आपको विश्वास दिलाता हूँ कि अगर रामविलास पासवान जी कांप्लीकेटेड मैटर उठा सकते हैं तो मैं उस कांप्लीकेटेड मैटर का जवाब भी दे सकता हूँ।

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : If you are not satisfied with his replies, then you can say this, and ask for the Hon. Minister's presence.

श्री रामविलास पासवान : उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, बहुत परिश्रम करने के बाद यह प्रश्न सदन के पटल पर आया है।