

(श्री राम विलास पासवान)

श्रीर इस भयानक रोग से कोई बच्चा  
अपंग हो गया तो विकलांग वर्ष पर  
सरकार क्या जवाब देगी ?

(vii) WEST BENGAL'S LEGISLATION IN  
SHRI RAM KRISHNA SARDA VIDYA-  
PITHA AND THE BANGLADESH GROUP  
OF COLLEGES

SHRI CHITTA BASU (Barasat):  
S.r. with your permission, under rule  
377 I make the following statement.

An extraordinary situation has been created due to the reported rejection of assent by the President to the West Bengal Legislation which seeks to extend for a further period of two years administrative control and management of Shri Ram Krishna Sarada Vidyapitha.

It is to be noted that the administration of that institution was taken over for a limited period which expired on the 5th of April last. A Bill was passed by the West Bengal Legislative Assembly extending the period of such administrative control which has been reportedly refused.

A vacuum has been created in the administrative arrangements of the institution.

Another Bill has been passed by the West Bengal Legislative Assembly by which the State Government proposes to extend the period of administrative control over the Bangabashi Group of Colleges which expires on the 13th April, 1980.

This is an urgent matter and relates to the smooth and uninterrupted functioning of two important educational institutions of the State.

I urge upon the Minister of Education to make a statement in this regard.

14.35 hrs.

\*DEMANDS FOR GRANTS, 1981-82  
—Contd

MINISTRY OF DEFENCE

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: Now we go to the next item—The Budget (General) Discussion and Voting on the Demands for Grants under the control of the Ministry of Defence.

The House will now take up discussion and voting on Demand Nos. 19 to 24 relating to the Ministry of Defence for which 6 hours have been allotted.

Hon. Members 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 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, 1982, in respect of the heads of demands entered in the second column thereof against Demand Nos. 19 to 24 relating to the Ministry of Defence."

\*Moved with the recommendation of the President.

*Demands for Grants, 1981-82 in respect of 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 13-3-1981		Amount of Demand for Grant submitted to the vote of the House	
		Revenue Rs.	Capital Rs.	Revenue Rs.	Capital Rs.
<b>MINISTRY OF DEFENCE</b>					
19.	Ministry of Defence	26,13,07,000	17,48,93,000	130,65,33,000	87,44,64,000
20.	Defence Services—Army	404,07,09,000	..	2020,35,42,000	..
21.	Defence Services—Navy	49,87,58,000	..	249,37,92,000	..
22.	Defence Services—Air Force	165,30,83,000	..	826,54,17,000	..
23.	Defence Services—Pensions	47,19,28,000	..	235,96,37,000	..
24.	Capital Outlay on Defence Services	..	67,27,33,000	..	336,36,67,000

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: Now, Mr. Ajoy Biswas. Your party has been allotted 22 minutes.

SHRI AJOY BISWAS (Tripura West): I rise to speak on the Defence Budget.

Sir, defence has a link with the political situation in the neighbouring countries and the world as a whole. There is no doubt that the American imperialist has become the major threat to the freedom and integrity of the different countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America. It is the American imperialist who is using one country against another for his nefarious purpose. In this sub-continent the imperialist forces are very much active and they are trying to strengthen their influence in this region.

American imperialism is arming Pakistan as a part of their policy of containing socialist countries and also destabilising the political stability in this region. The present regime of Pakistan is actually acting as an agent

of imperialism. We cannot have any sympathy for the regime of Zia who is fighting with his own people. The democratic system has been abolished there and a reign of terror has been let loose in Pakistan. Actually, some quarters consider that there is no threat from Pakistan in this region. The aim is to cover the USA. The American imperialist is again trying to take the world to the brink of another war. You also know that in Diego Garcia they have already established a vast military base and they are also trying to create troubles in South East Asia and other parts of the world. Sir, we cannot remain a spectator in this regard.

The question is: what will be the strategy of our defence? You know our defence was built up by the colonial power, that is, the British. After 33 years of independence, we are following the same pattern. We are wedded to socialism, but everywhere the colonial outlook is prevailing . . .

AN HON MEMBER: He can place it on the Table of the House.

PROF. N. G. RANGA (Guntur): Let him speak.

SHRI AJOY BISWAS: Sir, the Army is a nucleus but it is the people of the country who are the backbone of defence. Without the close contact of the Army and the people, it is not possible to build up an effective defence. I shall here quote what the Retd. Major General Habibullah has to say. You will find there that he is also of the same opinion. You see the Major General has retired and what is his opinion?

"The consequence is that here in India, the present and the coming generation of military leaders and thinkers are thinking unrealistically in terms of NATO or the U.S.A., while it was the U.S.S.R. that defeated Hitler and then took Berlin before Montgomery or Churchill could even begin to deploy forces against that area...."

Sir, he also told that:

'It was the new social order that gave the Soviets the weightage. It was the logic of superior social relations'.

So, we must think how we shall be able to build up our defence. I want to know whether we shall follow the same path which Britain has followed in building up their defence in their country.

Sir, our army is totally isolated from the main-stream of the country. The army is..(Interruptions)

SHRI RANAVIR SINGH (Kaiser-ganj): What does he say?

SHRI AJOY BISWAS: It is a fact.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: The Minister is there to reply.

SHRI AJOY BISWAS: It is hundred per cent true. You cannot deny that.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: Please do not reply to that.

SHRI AJOY BISWAS: The army is mainly coming from the peasantry. But, there they have no democratic right so long as they are in army service. The armed personnel have the feelings or concern over the welfare of their families. You cannot solve that without solving the land problems. If you cannot acquire lands and give them how will the armed personnel be sure of the welfare of the families? Take the small country Viet-Nam—it has got one crore and fifty lakhs of population. They fought against the American Imperialists power. They fought against the American military forces and they defeated the American imperialists. That was because there was a close link of the army with the people of the country for their defence. (Interruptions) I again quote—this is not only my opinion but this is the opinion also of the retired Major General Habibullah. I quote:

"Against such a prospect how can the armed forces live, so isolated that they are totally disconnected with each other and with what is going on in the country, the very things which affect their daily lives, such as the social order, the local political climate, the integrity and probity of local officials, the secular outlook and the social intermixing of the people? These are all factors which should daily be the concern of the soldier as much as of all citizens. What goes on in his time and in his area should also be of interest to him. But an army organised on the imperialist pattern cannot make this its concern. Denied even printed information, particularly if that happens to be progressive, cuts the peasant soldier off from the peasants and from the interests of his own people. If he has to fight for the justice of a cause, there is no way of discernment left to him to sustain his spirit."

Sir, if such a type of defence is built up, then the defence expenditure can be minimised. It is definitely a matter of concern that a majority of the people are living below poverty-line, suffering starvation is common in the country. When our meagre resources are required to be used for the uplift of the country we are diverting a crucial amount from development work to defence purposes because, we are depending only upon sophisticated arms. They are no doubt necessary, but we are solely dependent upon sophisticated arms. We cannot defend the army and the people because of this colonial outlook. I would like to ask the Government whether what you are purchasing in the name of sophisticated arms are really modern. You have purchased Vikrant which is a second-hand thing and an obsolete thing you have purchased from Britain. The army should have their democratic rights.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: More members have given their names from your party.

SHRI AJOY BISWAS: Even the foreign agents are working inside the Army. But the Government is not concerned about that. I shall quote again from Maj Gen Habibullah.

"The other problem is the total black-out from politics of soldiers while they are in service. It should be most important that soldiers should know and partake in political thinking and discussion. Even if they are not permitted to stand for office, they should know who thinks what, why they prefer to support some and not other."

Then, Sir, he said another very important thing.

"It is peculiar that while a strict security watch is kept on soldiers regarding their connections with socialists and communists, no one would worry over much about their being Anand Margis."

Can you deny, Prime Minister, that Anand Margis are not working? Imperialist agents are working there. But they are not concerned about that.

Lastly, I wish to say something about the demands and the difficulties faced by the employees in the Armed Forces. The All India Defence Employees' Federation accepted the productivity linked bonus only because the Railway people have accepted it. But till now 2.25 lakhs of civilian Defence employees are not getting that bonus. Nearly 1.98 lakhs employees belonging to Ordnance factories have been paid 15 days plus 24 days productivity-linked bonus. Nearly 1.18 lakhs of employees working in Naval Dockyard, Static Workshops and a section of Air Force employees have been paid only 15 days bonus. There is also the question of stagnation for them. There are thousands of ordinary mazdoors who are not getting increments because they had already reached the last-scale in their pay-scales. Actually for the last 15 years they are not getting any increments. I therefore request the Government to look into the matter.

There was a report of the Export Classification Committee and then there came a report from the Oberoi Committee. The Federation demanded parity with Railway employees. This demand was conceded in principle. A committee was appointed known as Oberoi Committee. The previous committee was called Expert Classification Committee. They submitted their report after 5 years.

Regarding Trade Union rights, I wish to say something. During the regime of the Janata Government, the order notifying almost all the places as sensitive areas was withdrawn. Still certain restrictions have been placed which should now be removed in a democratic set up. Sir, the democratic right should also be extended to the Defence employees.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: Only democratic right or political right also?

SHRI AJOY BISWAS: Democratic right includes political right also. Now, I come to the closure of Ordnance Transit Depot at Alipore, Calcutta. This Ordnance Transit Depot has been closed and I would request the Government to look into this matter. Sir, there have been cases of victimisation of the Defence employees. There are 31 employees in West Bengal, 2 employees in Delhi and 3 employees in other place who have been given fresh appointments after so many years. They should be given the benefit of their past service. With these words, I conclude.

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

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

[Failure to modernise the armed forces] (7)

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

[Policy of acquiring two to three generations old equipment for the forces] (8)

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

[Failure to embark upon a programme of producing the most modern defence equipment in the country] (9)

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

[Dependence on defence equipment imported from one country only] (10)

SHRI R. K. MHALAGI (Thane): I beg to move:

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

[Need for immediate revision of Cantonment Land Policy] (23)

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

[Need for speedy settlement of the claims of Gram Panchayat in Ozar (Distt. Nasik, Maharashtra) in regard to the Defence factory there] (24)

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

[Delay in transferring GLR S. No. 8 (Excised Area) land which is under occupation of Cantonment, to Ahmednagar Municipality (Distt. Ahmednagar, Maharashtra)] (25)

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

[Need for speedy disposal of pension cases by Cantonment Boards especially by Dehu Road Cantonment (Distt. Pune, Maharashtra)] (26)

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

[Need to remove the grievances of defence civilian pensioners of Pune, Maharashtra] (27)

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

[Failure to absorb ex-trade apprentices in skilled grades in ordnance factories] (28)

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

[Need to take up the housing scheme for employees on land lying in Ordnance Factory Estate, Ambarnath (Distt. Thane, Maharashtra)] (29)

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

[Need to have a separate Soldiers Board at Thane for the District of Thane in Maharashtra] (30)

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

[Failure in taking action in the matter of deduction of interim relief from regular payment of productivity linked bonus to the departmental DMT's 'OFTIs' of Machine Tool Prototype Factory, Ambarnath, District Thane, (Maharashtra)] (31)

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

[Need to look into the problems of ex-servicemen from Aurangabad region in Maharashtra] (32)

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

[Need to look into the problems of widows of Air Force personnel who die during war time or peace time while on active flying duty] (33)

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

[Need to have a system of creation of Selection Grade Posts for Civilians in the record office of Defence] (34)

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

[Need to have meaningful discussion and arrive at a mutual agreement in regard to the demands submitted by Prativiraksha Mazdoor Sangh, MPF, Ambarnath] (35)

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

[Failure to take steps to redress the grievances of the employees of Machine Tool Prototype Factory, Ambarnath regarding deduction of interim relief from regular payment and non-payment of productivity linked funds] (36)

SHRI T. R. SHAMANNA (Bangalore South): I beg to move:

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

[Failure to give compulsory military training to all able bodies youths] (37)

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

[Failure to check slackness in NCC and ACC activities in schools and colleges] (38)

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

[Need for giving intensive training in the use of military weapons to people in border areas in order to fight foreign enemies] (39)

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

[Need for giving better facilities to Jawans guarding our borders] (40)

[Shri T. R. Shamanna]

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

[Failure to give to ex-service-men better benefits after their retirement like land, house sites and employment] (41)

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

[Failure to check wasteful expenditure in the military departments] (42)

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

[Need to recruitment for army also from non-traditional communities and areas] (43)

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

[Need to have better check over the disposal of military vehicles, equipments and un-serviceable materials to ensure their proper value] (44)

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

[Need to introduce commercial costing for work carried out at Hindustan Aeronautics Limited and other defence factories instead of present mode of fixing cost] (45)

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

[Need to equip our Army with atom-bombs to counteract the plan of Pakistan to prepare atom-bombs] (46)

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

[Need for having better co-ordination between the three services viz. Army, Navy, and Air Force] (47)

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

[Failure to take effective steps to guard the marine borders of our country] (48)

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

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

[Failure to accept the demands put forward by All India Defence Employees Federation] (49)

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

[Failure to recognise All India Defence Employees Federation alone as the only representative organisation of defence employees] (50)

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

[Failure to check malpractices in Recruitment Centres set up for recruitment of Jawans] (51)

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

[Failure to introduce democratic methods and traditions in the working of Cantonment Boards] (52)

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

[Failure to recruit Harijans, Tribals and persons belonging to religious minorities and backward sections in Army in adequate numbers] (53)

“That the demand under the head Ministry of Defence be reduced to Re. 1”

[Failure to inculcate the feeling of national unity among Army personnel] (54)

“That the demand under the head Ministry of Defence be reduced to Re. 1”

[Failure to raise pension of retired Army personnel] (55)

“That the demand under the head Ministry of Defence be reduced to Re. 1”

[Failure to check malpractices prevalent in the industries under Deptt. of Defence] (56)

“That the demand under the head Ministry of Defence be reduced to Re. 1”

[Need to further raise the production of Defence materials] (57)

“That the demand under the head Ministry of Defence be reduced to Re. 1”

[Failure to construct sufficient number of residential houses for defence employees] (58)

“That the demand under the head Ministry of Defence be reduced to Re. 1”

[Failure to give at least 8.33 per cent bonus to all 5 lakh Defence employees without any discrimination] (59)

“That the demand under the head Ministry of Defence be reduced to Re. 1”

[Need to be fully prepared to face the threat to the security of India due to supply of Arms to Pakistan by U.S.A. on large scale] (60)

“That the demand under the head Ministry of Defence be reduced to Re. 1”

[Failure to provide necessary amenities to Defence employees] (61)

“That the demand under the head Ministry of Defence be reduced to Re. 1”

[Failure to do away with the discrimination between Jawans and Officers of Armed Forces] (62)

DR. VASANT KUMAR PANDIT (Rajgarh): I beg to move:

“That the demand under the head Ministry of Defence be reduced to Re. 1”

[Failure to equip Army, Air Force and Navy with modern nuclear weapons] (63)

“That the demand under the head Ministry of Defence be reduced to Re. 1”

[Failure to fully Indianize the Defence department] (64)

“That the demand under the head Ministry of Defence be reduced to Re. 1”

[Policy of acquiring two to three generations old equipment for the forces].(65)

“That the demand under the head Ministry of Defence be reduced to Re. 1”

[Failure to have adequate participation by aircrafts of Indian Air Force on the Republic Day Parade] (66)

[Dr. Vasant Kumar Pandit]

“That the demand under the head Ministry of Defence be reduced to Re. 1”

[Failure to provide P.As.|S.P. As.|P.Ss. to the officers in the Armed Forces according to their status] (67)

“That the demand under the head Ministry of Defence be reduced to Re. 1”

[Failure to check the encroachment on verandahs in the shops owned by Delhi Cantonment Board, Sadar Bazar, Delhi Cantt.] (68)

“That the demand under the head Ministry of Defence be reduced to Re. 1”

[Failure to check the subletting and partitioning of Cantonment Board shops in Sadar Bazar, Delhi Cantt.] (69)

“That the demand under the head Ministry of Defence be reduced to Re. 1”

[Failure to check the unauthorised construction over the Cantonment Board property in Sadar Bazar, Delhi Cantt.] (70)

“That the demand under the head Ministry of Defence be reduced by Rs. 100”

[Need to construct the biggest dock of the world for the department of Defence] (71)

“That the demand under the head Ministry of Defence be reduced by Rs. 100”

[Failure to give compulsory military training to all able bodied youth] (72)

“That the demand under the head Ministry of Defence be reduced by Rs. 100”

[Failure to check slackness in NCC and ACC activities in schools and colleges] (73)

“That the demand under the head Ministry of Defence be reduced by Rs. 100”

[Need for giving intensive training in the use of military weapons to people specially in border areas in order to fight foreign enemies] (74)

“That the demand under the head Ministry of Defence be reduced by Rs. 100”

[Need for giving better facilities to Jawans, guarding our borders] (75)

“That the demand under the head Ministry of Defence be reduced by Rs. 100”

[Failure to give to ex-service-men better benefits like land, house sites and employment after their retirement] (76)

“That the demand under the head Ministry of Defence be reduced by Rs. 100”

[Need to recruit men for army also from non-traditional communities and areas] (77)

“That the demand under the head Ministry of Defence be reduced by Rs. 100”

[Need to introduce commercial costing for work carried out at Hindustan Aeronautics Limited and other defence factories instead of present mode of fixing cost] (78)

“That the demand under the head Ministry of Defence be reduced by Rs. 100”

[Need for having better co-ordination between the three services viz. Army, Navy and Air Force] (79)

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

[Failure to take effective steps to guard the marine borders of our country] (80)

SHRI R. S. SPARROW (Jullundur): Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, this subject, to start with I must say, is of prime importance to our country and I stand to speak in support of the Defence budget presented by the hon. Finance Minister. In so far as the problem is concerned, it is very complex and is of interest not only to one party in India but to all countrymen in India. And I suppose this has to be viewed in that manner. A nation today which does not have defence capability cannot be termed as being an independent nation. Department as somebody's satellite, yes, but not an independent country and for that reason all applicable perspectives concerning the subject have to be viewed dispassionately.

India is a mighty country. It is a very large country and its potentiality and actual power have been established. There should be no doubt about it. We are all intelligent hon. Members sitting here under your aegis and we all try to understand what we have around us and that is why we have gathered here today to know where India stands vis-a-vis this particular subject and what is happening around us. Once we know what is happening around us in the near horizon of Indian sub-continent and at a long distance from us, we would be able to draw a satisfactory type of deduction to our own benefit. India's responsibilities, as being a very important nation, are very great and the aim we have to follow, I personally think of two types. One is to defend the motherland and the other one is to bring about and promote international peace. In so far

as the international peace is concerned, I think we have got all reasons to congratulate our Prime Minister and the team working with her, the External Affairs Ministry and the Government itself on that account. We are one country, the main country, the hub-centre of the total world today which is promoting non-aligned movement for the benefit of all. That part I will come to a little later.

In relation to the defence of our motherland, I have to bring you over to the Super Powers, and what they are upto these days. This is because something is happening which is very very serious in so far as Confrontation of Super Powers is concerned. Before I expand this premises, I would like to bring to your kind notice three dictums. Firstly, as chance would have it, no weapon so far has been invented at any time which was not used in battle or war. Secondly, as chance would have it, to fight is in the nature of man. Thirdly, the bigger nations or the Super Powers, the stronger ones, have a habit of trying always to put the weaker ones down and exploit them. We are only one nation, which is strong and we do not want to be under anybody's subservience.

Anyway, before I tell you what is happening around us, in this Indian sub-continent, I would take you to the confrontation field of the Super Powers. The day-to-day behaviour of the Super Powers is becoming addedly fraught with dangerous consequences. The factuality of the situation obtaining so reveals this fact. The way in which their unclear arms race is on, the way in which their arms are positioned the world over, the way their sea and air bases are established and expanded, the way their sea fleets and unclear armed sub-marines are roving the oceans strategically, and the way the weaker nations are willy nilly pulled into the unhealthy and explosive grouping by Super Powers indicate quite

[Shri R. S. Sparrow]

clearly the catastrophic situation which the world is being thrown in to. I would say every little on arms race, because you all have been reading about it. Nevertheless, I would give you little picture of this as to how the whole thing is working. First of all, while talking in relation to Russia, for instance, I would say this. The comfortable strategic superiority that Washington enjoyed only half a dozen years ago has now been replaced by, at best, unclear parity. The Soviets deploy more land based Intercontinental Ballistic Missiles than the U.S.A. They have 1400 at the moment, vis-a-vis American's 1054, and more submarine Missile launching tubes, that is 950 versus 656. By 1985, USSR could nearly close the current U.S. lead in strategic unclear warheads. The whole thing is now coming round the unclear warheads. What is going to happen is of utmost importance at least for us to understand. The USA today have 9200 unclear warheads as against 5000 of USSR. That is what the situation is in so far as Russia is concerned.

Now, I am to the USA side. Turning from economic troubles at home to the Soviet threat abroad, the Reagan Administration announced the largest and the most expensive peace-time military build-up in U.S. history. It is of utmost significance for us to understand. The Five-Year Plan would more than double the current defence Budget pushing it from 171 billion dollars to 375.5 billion dollars.

15.00 hrs.

Over the full coming five years as per plan it is going to build up to 1.5 trillion dollars. As worked out, that would be one stack of thousand dollar bills reaching the height of 103.5 miles i.e. about two and a half times the height of Mt. Everest. Here is also what the US Defence Secretary, Casper Weinberger, has to say in this regard. This is some importance strategically. He says:

"We do not believe we can temporise any longer in the face of Sovi-

et. Trials. The time for taking our time has ended."

The American Administration has also just taken an important step by approving a \$ 33 billion programme for the moveable MX ICBM. It is a new innovation and with that they will be able to save themselves vis-a-vis missiles, counter missiles, and counter counter missiles;—big time battles of unclear warfare.

Then they have other programme also i.e. cruise missile programme. Then they have programme of fighter bombers III also running into billions. In one case six billion, in the other case 4.4 billion.

A little extract from the UNO Experts Study Group Report would reveal to the House as to where the situation stands in the bigger context. According to the UNO Experts' Study Group Report the existing number of unclear weapons in the world today may be anywhere around 40,000 to 50,000. Their combined explosive power runs equivalent to one million Hiroshima bombs with their total explosive element coming to 13 billion tonnes of TNT, which represents three tonne for every man, women, and child on earth. According to the total figure by this study group the world today is spending every year the staggering amount of over 500 billion dollars. That would mean one million dollars every minute on the arms race. This is how the grouping and the arms race is coming up. The UNO Experts study Group Report observes:

"Never before has mankind been faced as today with the real danger of self extinction."

The SALT-I, and SALT-II Treaty of course are washed out. SALT-III is not even left as being a conjectural exercise. It is no more there.

I will just give you a little detail about arms positioning that I have worked out in my own chart as to what is roughly the arms position in so far as these two giant powers are concerned.

First of all NATO and the European Powers. Their nuclear weapons are worked out on what is known as the European GRAY Area. They are ranged or shall I say targeted against the Russians. Now this is how it is. First of all quick alert fighter bombers carrying nuclear warheads French and British nuclear strike Air Force carrying nuclear weapons. There are plans to deploy 570 Amercian-Pershing, CRUISE and LANCE ICBMs of medium range. Then, of course, there are over 50 submarines, polaris, Nautilus Class nuclear propelled and nuclear armed submarines and carrying those horrible multiple warhead tubes.

The Russians on the other side are also similarly positioned and have their nuclear weapons trained up. Four hundred Badger and Backfire medium bombers carrying air-to-surface missiles and bombs, 450 SS-4 and SS-5 medium range ballistic missiles; and similarly they have got about 60 submarines with nuclear assortment of weapons principally carrying Multiple Nuclear war head tubes. And incidentally this multiple tube ....

DR. KARAN SINGH (Udhampur): There is some commotion in the galleries. We cannot hear. (*Interruption*)

SHRI R. S. SPARROW: I was telling you about this multiple independent re-entry ballistic missiles used in these tubes I will just quote one example, for the House to understand this. Just imagine that fire-works are on, and some kind of a rocket is thrown out—as you do in the case of 'Atish Bazi'. And out of one shot out, you will have eight different shots then going out, with their projectiles, to eight different targets. It is also worked out with one push-button, and only one tube, when one missile is shot out. And those shots will be carrying nuclear war-heads, and they would be of nuclear fusion type, i.e., of hydrogen bomb type, and not like what you had at Hiroshima or Nagasaki. And there will be eight different targets. You can call them Moscow, Leningrad, Minsk, Kiev, Kursk Kubishev, Tashkent, and

even right upto Irkutak. Similarly, from the other side it will happen in the same way. This is just one missile out of eight for each tube if you have 16 of these tubes in each submarine, and if you have 60 submarines functioning and roaming the ocean at strategic positions here and there you can understand the significance of this type of fire-works. I have just given you an idea.

About the bulk of other weapons, I will just go through these quickly, for the information of the House. Land-based ICBM; Russia 1400, America 1054, submarine missiles: Russia 950, America 656, strategic nuclear war-heads: Russia 5000, America 9,200 annual production of sophisticated fighter aircraft: Russia 1150, America 500, only one example of conventional weapons: armed fighter vehicle, viz. tank Russia owns 50,000 and America 26,000. This is to give you an idea.

About conventional weapons vis-a-vis other type of weapons, as also other deadly weapons you read in the newspapers. There is the chemical warfare, with such deadly gases like nerve gas, mustard gas etc. Then, of course is the bacteriological warfare. That is also a possibility. One also reads accounts in different journals and technical types of write-up about Laser Ray, Neutron bombs, Gravity bombs etc.

Insofar as the Super Powers are concerned, they are out, badly positioned and wrongly positioned, to destroy each other if it comes to that. How is it going to go off, and touch off the spark—it is very difficult to predict, i.e. whether accidentally or otherwise. It can happen in any way. The point one has to work out is in relation to military strategic position. That is of utmost importance. For strategic reasons, it is of utmost importance.

I will just give you some feature of it: Russia is set to go into any kind of a big war on interior lines—of offence, defence and communications, whereas, on the contrary, America is working on the exterior lines—of offence, defence and communications. Even to

[Shri R. S. Sparrow]

help their so-called allies of Europe, they have to come thousands of miles —to the place to concentrate. This explains America's strategically rushing attitude and actions for setting up strong armament—saturated establishments and bases on islands and mainlands in the form of a steel ring around Russia, and the necessitated urge on the part of USSR to indulge in consistently nuclear arms laden, outward creeping thrust, from their own land base, across those territories which fall contiguous to their own. This is the strategic type of global situation in so far as these big-time two giants are concerned. Of course, I do not want to take you to the details as to what is going to happen after the first nuclear strike and the second strike takes place and how the conventional war conducting type weapons come into play and how the ground is occupied. Who does it first and who does it second, I do not want to bring you into this. I jump on to something else which is quite close to our own home and as to what is going to happen around us and what we are going to do about it. I will come down to that. I am also slipping away from the Super Powers, naval and air force and so on and so forth. They are all there. Even in the Far-East, they have got those bases.

In the case of Russia you see: Petroplovsk (North of Kurile Islands), Valdivosotok, Cam Ranh Bay (Cambodia), Danang (Cambodia) and East Coast of Laos—big air has and so on and so forth.

In a similar way, America have got their own Vokosuka (Japan), South Korea, Okinawa, Subic Bay (Phillipines), and Honolulu. You know they are confronting against each other in a very serious way.

Coming nearer home, we have got a few things to present for your kind information and that of the House. The strategic situation that obtains in and around the Indian Sub-Continent is indeed very grim and tense. From every point of view, it is very tense. First of all, we take the Gulf area, for instance. It has today become the hot

bed of activity. The bane of this explosive situation is oil. It is all for the oil. The American Defence Secretary, Casper Weinberger, for instance, says that Gulf area is an expected clash area between USSR and America. He categorically says that. So, this is the spot for clash. According to him Russia is poised either to make that fuel more costly to the West or cut off its access to it. And, Weinberger, announced—I quote—"We cannot deter that effort from 7000 miles away." We have to be there in a credible way. So, that is thesis and the sum total of their action to be.

That is why America is strengthening land military bases at Diego Garcia island, Mombasa in Kenya and Barbara in Somalia, that is why, they are strategically trying to enlist and set up more Allies as part of this confrontation. In this strategical orbit fall some Littoral States of the area, there also being a definite indication of dragging Pakistan and others into this rugged muddle of the oil oozing morass. It is so happening that there should be no doubt about that. What Russia is doing I will be coming to that.

In the same context, this is what the American Defence Secretary further has to say, I quote: "We must have naval superiority. Control of the Seas is as essential to our security as control of their land borders is to the Soviet Union." So, this is how their minds are reflecting.

Now, a few words on Afghanistan. The Soviet troops are still straddled across Afghanistan territory with their Armed Forces actively deployed; tanks, artillery, gunship and other weapons are being tactically used where necessary. The latest military employment of helicopters, gunships in Wakhan Province is well-known to everybody. Wakhan Province is hugging about 300 kilometres along our territory now under the occupation of China and Pakistan. Allegedly Azad Kashmir, what they say, is, or what the Kashmir territory part of....

**DR. KARAN SINGH: POK—**Pakistan occupied Kashmir. You should not use the term Azad Kashmir.

**SHRI R. S. SPARROW:** That is all right. But it is the area which belongs to India and we all know where about it is and so on and so forth; and its repercussions in this context of the hot war in Pakistan are there.

On the other side, America in one form or the other is trying to stiffen and to strengthen the resistance... On one side is Russia, in Afghanistan, on the other side, is America. They are trying to stiffen and to strengthen the resistance and retaliatory powers of Afghan refugees now established at a jumping off base in the north-west frontier of Pakistan. Even some other Western Powers are out to champion the retaliatory cause of the Afghan refugees. U.K.'s Foreign Secretary Lord Carrington when he came to Quetta declared that England was prepared to release four million pounds for the use of Afghan refugees. The supply of arms by U.S.A. to Pakistan is considered to be directly involved in that context also.

Then after Afghanistan, I will just touch on for a minute, Baluchistan is..... (Interruptions)

**MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER:** Come to India.

**SHRI R. S. SPARROW:** This Baluchistan area has been the bone of contention for a long time to various countries. For instance, one thing is, it has 900 kilometres of sea coast hugging the Persian Gulf. It has got three sea ports, the main at Gwader and this warm water sea port is also very important strategically for the gulf area and in that the super powers are interested. As chance would have it, it is very interesting to notice on top of all these conflicting influences there has arisen a dangerous confrontation so close to Baluchistan between the two giant super powers with an oblique angle spanner cutting across towards this hot

area over the Karakoram route from the side of China. This is another long spanner being thrown into this area. When a conflagration takes place this muddle is going to be very hot indeed for this particular area. The Chinese actions, on all accounts are dubiously dangerous. Their persistent effort to exclusively jump across India and aid Pakistan, especially from the military angle, cannot be termed as friendly. They go on building a network of roads and airfields on India's territory occupied by China and Pakistan, from India's holy Mansarowar area, onwards through Aksaichin, Skardu, Bunji to Gilgit running on to Chitral, cannot be anything except a hostile action. China's side influence, as a major military power, has always to be taken into consideration. There should be no doubt about that. And especially, China's active interest in the Wakhan province of Afghanistan, their collusive overtures to U.S.A. through Pakistan and their smiling nods at Sino-Indian detente talks are some of the enigmatic ways in which they usually carry their double faced international policies over the ages. There is nothing new in that. They want this to happen. There are most unpredictable type of situations that can be created by big country very close to our borders.

Now, about Pakistan, I have to say one or two words. To further disturb the already vitiated atmosphere in and around the Indian Sub-Continent, Pakistan of late has started taking a lot of outside help by way of striking type of weapons. I will just quote what are the head lines:

Pakistan making case for U.S. Arms U.S.A. ready to pump arms into Pakistan Haig wants U.S.A. to give aid to Pakistan Pak nuclear blast in two or three years Nuclear arms factory with Chinese help in Kautha-Pakistan.

USA going ahead with supplying two billion worth of very sophisticated offence weapons to Pakistan.

**PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE (Rajapur):** Let him come home.

**MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER:** It is a strenuous tour. I will have to ring the bell. It takes time for him to come to India.

**SHRI R. S. SPARROW:** I will take, one or two minutes more, with your permission.

**MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER:** You have already taken thirty minutes!

**SHRI R. S. SPARROW:** Yes, Sir, I appreciate.

**AN HON. MEMBER:** Let him continue.

**MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER:** Sit down.

**SHRI R. S. SPARROW:** I humbly submit that my aim is only to lay before the House as to what the situation is. I may be permitted also to say as to how things are being handled and how we are going to function. It is not for me to render any advice to another nation. But as a free-speaking citizen of India I feel it within my right to pass on a word of caution to my friendly nation, i.e. Pakistan. From the time Pakistan took to arms build-up and also avoidable military actions and military command and control of her national affairs, the result kept on ending only on occasional conflicts, battles, wars and big time loss. I would urge on my friend, Gen. Zia-ul-Haq, who also at one time belonged to my own town, not to toe the line of any super power in such a rush and hurry. Big powers carry a silly habit of ditching a weak partner at odd time. History shows a number of such examples. India as has all along been made quite clear by our hon. Prime Minister, wants to work with Pakistan as a friend. It was our hon. Prime Minister who, if I may recall, handed back to Pakistan every single inch of her large territory captured by India during the last Indo-Pak war. She was the person who asked for no reparations from her defeated enemy and freed thou-

sands of prisoners with dignity and honour. Was such a magnanimity any time shown by any super or other power? This is a mark of history and Pakistan must understand this.

Ours and Pakistan's destiny is linked inseparably. We have a common history and heritage. The Simla Agreement stands shiningly fresh to further progress our friendship. We as a combined force between India, Pakistan and Bangladesh can jointly forge our destiny ahead to tremendous advantage as owners of the sub-continent. Now, I should wish to ask Gen. Zia: "How say say you, General? Now is the time for him to think clearly for taking the correct decision as a good General should in the thick of a difficult situation and not just get subdued through the influences of others. We must took right and correct as to what is to be for this Indian sub-continent and to Pakistan itself.

Now I have a word about India's defensive role and preparedness. I have no doubt that under the able guidance of the hon. Prime Minister our high command would have rightly conceived all aspects of it, taking into consideration all that is happening around India's immediate horizon and beyond it. I have no doubt about it. I have attended various meetings and I understand the pulse of it as a specialist. I want to assure you that the best possible thing is being done under the aegis of the present Prime Minister. I have previously made it quite clear. In fact, in my opinion, without having to flatter anybody, I want to make it quite clear to you that she is the only one super international leader in the world today who can keep the world safe through her example. Let there be no doubt. On that account, I have to make an appeal even to the opposition that on account of bigger perspective and things, international things, especially which concern the defence of the country, we have to be one and we

have to think alike and support a tried-up type of individual of that eminence. We must give a full hand in preparing ourselves for anything that may come on our heads. That is my appeal to you.

The role that India is already following in relation to the promotion of the non-aligned movement under the stewardship of our hon. Prime Minister is in itself a strong deterrent. It is a deterrent. This particular notions, this particular idea of floating the non-aligned movement itself is a deterrent against any global or even localised war. This movement must be further strengthened. That is my plea. We must strengthen it. All of us must join hands. I would urge on my friends sitting here not to look back for any kind of guidance to somebody else outside. Here we solve out problems. We are strong enough to solve our problems. It is for this reason that I am putting up this appeal. We are a strong and independent power. We should abstain from getting involved in any kind of bloc or group fellowship. Why should we?

We will have our own bloc. India will have to lead the destiny of many. Can I recall as to what we are? We are second to none. Our civilian on, our culture, our way of working, our production, our every thing that we have is first class. It is only homogeneity that we have to build up. And here is the place where we can build up the homogeneity.

As I said, in the sub-continent, we are the paramount power and we have to carry ourselves with that. We should have no compunction in showing this to anybody in the world. We are not with anybody. We are independent. We will do our things ourselves. If we want to buy anything from outside, we will buy and we will pay for that. There is no reason why we should not buy.

I have a few words about India's manpower. We have got the qualitative manpower of all sorts. But we

have certain weaknesses also. You want to ask about the jawan. I want to assure you that they are the finest in the world and they have proved it time and again. You want to ask about scientists and technologists, farmers, business acumen, the industrial production side of it. They are second to none. We have to lead our destiny in a cyclic type of move towards ascendancy. We are not going to go down. For that reason we have to accept the fact that we have our weaknesses and we shall have to plug those weaknesses. For that, I have a few things to suggest to you. We have to cure our weaknesses through a systematic process.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: You have to finish your speech by about 3.30.

SHRI R. S. SPARROW: Right, Sir. If this is the Army time, I think, I will have to complete it. But if it is the outside time, then I will have to consider.

Let us take the discipline angle of it. This manpower is our the strongest asset. All the same, in the same breath I would say that this is our the weakest asset. If I may point out with due deference to everybody concerned, as a nation, we have much less self-discipline. We have no school room discipline, work house discipline, party discipline or national discipline. Are we going to set it right? Yes, Sir. Although so much is being done, I will give some suggestions, specially from the military angle. We have to work out how best we can import broad-based basic military training nationwide as America, Russia and some other countries do; a sure method of improving discipline. How we may possibly amalgamate as also systematise the training and expansion in respect of NCC, the Territorial Army and other paramilitary forces. How we may rationalise to effect the defence studies permeation in the universities and introduce discipline imparting basic training on UTC model in educational schools and centres. How we arrange for and make use of the basic volun-

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tary military training before candidates selected join any Government or public service cadre. The best in fact will be if they serve in their expected parallel ranks for, say, three years in Armed Forces before joining their civil jobs. How the recruitment policy may have to be revised and implemented to cover the all demanding requirement of the modern day means and methods of warfare for the fast changing armed forces. And how also to ensure the eradication from and no entry of, my reactionary elements, into the Armed Forces. Somebody spoke there about letting armed forces indulge in politics or something like this. I would very humbly like to suggest that this is something which should not be done. No country does it. When you have given a profession, you follow that profession only. Otherwise, you read papers: you can have your ideas about anything. But within the orbit of discipline in the Armed Forces, you will not be a political man. This is what I would humbly suggest to my friend who, for certain reasons, suggested this.

Coming to indigenous production of conventional and sophisticated weapons, it is heartening to notice the activity and efficacy with which our conventional and sophisticated weapons' indigenous production is being stepped up under the aegis of the Ministry of Defence. I have nothing to say except to request the Finance Minister, if he could very kindly raise some more money, please pass it on to this side as fast as he can. In so far as the working on the indigenous side is concerned, I have studied all demands and I can say that this is the finest balance that you have been able to strike, in so far as the dishing out money and utilising money are concerned.

What is the situation of India in the nuclear field? I have got to say a word about the possible nuclear threat to India. In strategical terms, I doubt if

India would be the main centre for attack, if some Super Powers get involved with each other in nuclear warfare. I will give you the explanation some time later. Nevertheless, to guard against any off-shoot of nuclear actions, possibly as a process of neutralising India to suit any Super Power's strategic design, we have to ensure what active and passive and yet effective countering plans, drills and arrangements are rigged up in time to defend our public at large, the troops' vital areas and production centres. Since that is something within the scope of this, there is no reason why we should not keep on planning for this.

In so far as the armed forces are concerned, I have only one word to say. I want to assure you that I know of the armed forces of other countries of the world. I have talked on this subject with foreigners, many foreign specialists. I can say with confidence that India today has the No. 1, the finest army, navy and air force in the world. We have given proof of that in the different wars. I know we have sometimes pitched up one against two and yet the enemy was defeated. For that reasons I have a word of praise for all of them, right from the jawan to the senior officers. So far as the efficiency and training standards of our armed forces are concerned it runs to the credit of our Prime Minister, the Minister of State for Defence, the three Service Chiefs and their Commanders down the ladder to the jawan. The training which they are getting is the best and we cannot pick up any holes. This is the finest army in the world today.

We have given them all the privileges that we could give them. With the new cadre review, 1,300 Majors will become Lt. Colonels. There is similar upgradation right to the JCO. 50 per cent of them will go up one step further. We have given them other privileges also. I thank the Government for all this, because they have helped to build up the morale of the three services.

Coming to the ex-servicemen, I thank the hon Prime Minister and others for all that they have done to help the ex-servicemen. I have got a sheet full of what they have done for these people. But there are one or two small things, which should be attended to. One is the disparity in pension and commutation policy. Secondly, there should be revision of the pension commutation policy which, with the present day increased span of life and changed economic conditions, has become completely out of date. The other problem is the removal of disparity in the service pension from rank to rank.

Finally I would like to say that it is satisfying to mention here on the floor of this august House that as share of their services to the nation, whatever task has at any time been assigned to the ex-servicemen in any field, public or private, the same has been carried out by them creditably well, setting a good example. For instance, quite lately, ex-serviceman, Major Atul Dev has won the coveted award of Governor of North Eastern States Gold Medal for rendering outstanding services in the North-eastern States and Sikkim.

You may keep them in your private houses, you may give them any job to do, but do not keep them neglected. So far, you have kept them neglected. It is through the kindness of the present Defence Minister that we have started showing our heads up a bit. Otherwise you were not looking after our interests very much as it used to be before.

With this, I thank you very much for giving me the opportunity.

**SHRI SATYASADHAN CHAKRABORTY** (Calcutta South): Sir, I want one thing to be clarified because it is important. The hon. Member was approvingly quoting from one western expert that homosapiens are naturally aggressive. That is what he was quoting. The question is: Is it true and does he approve of it? Because,

if he approves of it we reach a conclusion that war is natural and that was the theory of the Nazis in Germany. So, does he approve this? (Interruptions). Try to understand...

(Interruptions).

**MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER:** He is not yielding. He has not accepted it.

(Interruptions).

**SHRI SATYASADHAN CHAKRABORTY...** Would he clarify? It is of vital interest. He is an experienced Member. He was quoting three dictums. (Interruptions). Is it his view? He was quoting three dictums. They are very important.

**THE PRIME MINISTER (SHRI-MATI INDIRA GANDHI):** I do not want to take the time of the hon. House. We all know that human history is a story of wars. At the same time as we get more civilized, we try to avoid war. That is also part of human history.

**श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी :** (नई दिल्ली) : उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, हम देश की सुरक्षा के बारे में चर्चा कर रहे हैं। सुरक्षा पर लगभग चार हजार करोड़ रुपया हमारा खर्च होने वाला है, लेकिन लोक सभा में बहस के लिए केवल छः घंटे रखे गए हैं और मेरे हिस्से में केवल 9 मिनट आए हैं। (व्यवधान) 9 मिनट में कोई सुरक्षा जैसे महत्वपूर्ण विषय के साथ न्याय नहीं कर सकता है।

सुरक्षा का प्रश्न एक राष्ट्रीय प्रश्न है। हमें अपनी स्वतंत्रता को अमर बनाना है। हमारी सीमाएं अक्षुण्ण रहनी चाहिए। हम अपने देश में जिस जीवन-व्यवस्था का विकास कर रहे हैं, बिना विघ्न के हम उसका विकास करते रहें, ऐसी परिस्थिति का निर्माण होना चाहिए। इसका प्रमुख दायित्व हमारी

[श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी

सुरक्षा सेवाओं पर आता है। मुझे यह कहने में कोई संकोच नहीं है कि हमारी सुरक्षा सेवाएं देश की अपेक्षाओं के अनुरूप आचरण करती रही हैं। सारे देश की उनकी वीरता पर गर्व है। सारा सदन इस मामले में सुरक्षा सेवाओं के पीछे है।

प्रधान मंत्री ने जब से यह पद सम्भाला है, वह देश को बाहरी खतरे के प्रति लगातार जागरूक रखने की कोशिश कर रही हैं। लेकिन ऐसा लगता है कि कुछ विश्वास की खाई पैदा हो गई है। यह खाई पैदा होना बड़ा खतरनाक है। अगर राष्ट्रीय संकटों के बारे में हमारा मतक्य नहीं है तो उन संकटों पर विजय प्राप्त करने के उपायों के बारे में सहमति कैसे प्राप्त की जा सकती है ?

यह जरूरी है कि हम अपनी सुरक्षा सेवाओं को राजनीति से अलग रखें। लोकतंत्र में सरकारें बदलेंगी। सुरक्षा सेवाओं को निष्ठा देश के प्रति होनी चाहिए, किसी व्यक्ति या किसी दल के प्रति नहीं। इस सम्बन्ध में मुझे दो घटनाओं का उल्लेख करना है।

बम्बई में मजगांव डाकघाट है। किसी समारोह में भाग लेने के लिए प्रधान मंत्री वहां गई थीं। उस डाकघाट का प्रबन्ध हमारी जलसेना करती है। उस समारोह में भाग लेने के लिए महाराष्ट्र के राज्यपाल को भी नियंत्रित किया गया था। मुख्य मंत्री भी बुलाए गए थे। प्रधान मंत्री जहां जायें स्वाभाविक है वहां राज्यपाल और मुख्य मंत्री उपस्थित हों। किन्तु बाद में डाकघाट के अधिकारियों से कहा गया कि राज्यपाल को दिया गया निमंत्रण वापिस ले लिया

जाना चाहिए। ऐसा क्यों किया गया ? क्या इसलिए कि वह राज्यपाल जनता पार्टी द्वारा नियुक्त थे?... (व्यवधान)....

श्रीमती इंदिरा गांधी : मुख्य मंत्री तो जनता पार्टी के नहीं थे ?

श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी : जी हां, मैं उस पर भी आता हूँ।

फिर डाकघाट के अधिकारियों ने कहा केवल राज्यपाल का नियंत्रण रद्द करना हमारे लिए संभव नहीं होगा, इसलिए हम मुख्य मंत्री को भी नहीं बुलाएंगे।

श्रीमती इंदिरा गांधी : May I interrupt here. मैं आप को यह समझाती हूँ। इस में थोड़ी गलत फहमी हो गई है।...

श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी : किस की गलतफहमी हो गई ?

श्रीमती इंदिरा गांधी : गलतफहमी हमें हुई। ऐसा हुआ था कि जब शुरू में मुझे वहां जाने को कहा तो मैं ने कहा कि समय कम है और अगर वह बहुत फार्मल फंक्शन होगा तो शायद वह हो न सके। इसलिए अगर ऐसा हो कि बिना किसी शोर शार के और इंतजाम के, बस, मैं जा के, कर के आ जाऊं, यह निर्णय हुआ था। बाद में उन्होंने कहा कि हम सब लोगों को बुला रहे हैं, तो मैं ने कहा कि इस के लिए तो मैं राजी हुई ही नहीं थी। अगर मुझे वे कहते कि राज्यपाल और मुख्य मंत्री को बुला चुके हैं तो उस वक्त मैं फौरन कह देती कि रहने दो। लेकिन यह मेरे ध्यान में नहीं लाया गया और क्यों कि मैं ने कहा

कि बड़े फंक्शन में मैं नहीं आ सकती हूँ, इसलिए यह थोड़ा हुआ, क्योंकि राज्यपाल हैं वह, इसलिए नहीं बल्कि मैंने सोचा कि इंतजाम बढ़ेगा और इसलिए वैसे जैसे अपना डिपार्टमेंटल होता है उस प्रकार से करने का सुझाव था ।

एक माननीय सदस्य : अब आप एलीमेशन वापस ले लीजिए ।...  
(*व्यवधान*)...

श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी : प्रधान मंत्री ने कह दिया, अब मैं इस को छोड़ता हूँ । मगर अच्छा होता अगर ऐसी घटना न होती ।

श्रीमती इंदिरा गांधी : मैं भी यही मानती हूँ ।

श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी : दूसरी बात मैं जरा नाजुक कहना चाहता हूँ ।

श्री संजय गांधी हमारे बीच में नहीं हैं । हमारे मतभेद उन के साथ उसी दिन समाप्त हो गए जिस दिन वह दुर्घटना में अस्त हो कर हमारे बीच से उठ गए । मगर एक बात मुझे पसंद नहीं आई कि उन के अंतिम संस्कार में भाग लेने के लिए सुरक्षा सेनाओं के तीनों चीफ यूनिफार्म पहन कर, मंडल लगा कर क्यों गए ? ... (*व्यवधान*) ...

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: Please sit down.

श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी : उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, अगर टोका टीकी होगी...  
(*व्यवधान*)..

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: They are sensitive about it. It is their feeling. You do not worry if they say anything... (*Interruptions*)

श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी : यह क्या हो रहा है ? .. (*व्यवधान*)...

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: I have requested him.

एक माननीय सदस्य : आप जैसे आदमी से हम यह उम्मीद नहीं करते हैं कि ऐसी बात कहेंगे ।... (*व्यवधान*)...

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: That is all right. Please sit down.

(*Interruptions*)

श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी : कोई इन में से यह कहने के लिए तैयार नहीं है कि वह गए तो गलत गए, उन को नहीं जाना चाहिए था ।... (*व्यवधान*)...

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: Order please, order.

श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी : अगर गलत बात नहीं है तो मैं अपनी बात कहूंगा सदन में ।... (*व्यवधान*) ...

फिर यह टोका टोकी क्यों हो रही है ? मैं जिस भावना से बात कर रहा हूँ अगर आप यह नहीं समझ सकते तो आप का दुर्भाग्य है और मेरा भी दुर्भाग्य है ।... (*व्यवधान*)... उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, यह समझ नहीं जोड़ा जायेगा ।  
... (*व्यवधान*) ...

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: I have told him.

श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी : यह मानवता की बात कर रहे हैं । संजय गांधी की मृत्यु के बाद मैंने जो शोक श्रद्धांजलि दी थी वह आप में से बहुत लोग नहीं दे सके । लेकिन जो गलत बात हुई है उसको कहा जायेगा । आप मुझ को कहने से रोक नहीं सकते । (*व्यवधान*)

श्री सतीश अग्रवाल (जयपुर) : यह क्या बात हुई ? अगर आप इनको नहीं बोलने देंगे तो हाउस कैसे चल सकेगा । (व्यवधान)

रक्षा संत्रालय में राज्य मंत्री (श्री शिवराज वी० पाटिल) : हम यहां पर बहुत गम्भीर विषय पर चर्चा कर रहे हैं और हम अपेक्षा करते हैं कि चाहे इस और के सदस्य हों या उस और के सदस्य हों, वे ऐसी चीजों के बारे में यहां पर बात करें जिनसे हमारी सुरक्षा बढ़ सकती है, हमारी ताकत बढ़ सकती है । समय कम है और अगर हम ऐसे कोई विषयों पर चर्चा करेंगे तो उससे कुछ निकलने वाली बात नहीं है । अभी उन्होंने कहा कि हमारे तीन सेनाधिकारी वहां पर गए थे और ड्रेस में गए थे—ऐसा उन्होंने कहा है । उनकी जो ड्रेस है वह रोज काम करने की ड्रेस है, उनकी वर्किंग ड्रेस है, अगर वे आफिस में भी काम करते हैं तो उसी ड्रेस में काम करते हैं और बाहर भी उसी में काम करते हैं । एक भारत का सुपुत्र हमें छोड़ कर चला गया था उसको श्रद्धांजलि देने के लिए वे वहां पर गए हुये थे । अब इस प्रकार की कोई बात निकालकर उनकी भी कीमत कम करना और सेनाधिकारियों की कीमत भी कम करना, इस थोड़े से समय में यहां पर ऐसी बात हमारे लिए शोभाजनक नहीं होगी ।

श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी : इस बात से इन्कार नहीं किया जा सकता कि अन्तर्राष्ट्रीय परिस्थिति विगड़ रही है । शीत-युद्ध हमारे दरवाजे पर आ गया है । यह परिस्थिति हमारे लिए और सारे संसार के लिए चिंता का विषय है । दुनिया में तनाव शैथिल्य की जो प्रक्रिया चल रही थी, उसे ठेस लगी है । घातक शस्त्रों की दौड़ तेजी के साथ आरम्भ

हो गई है । निशस्त्रीकरण के जो भी प्रयत्न हुए थे, उन पर पानी फिर गया है ।

हम चाहते हैं संसार में शस्त्रों की दौड़ रुके, शस्त्र घटें विशेषकर आणविक शस्त्रों का निशस्त्रीकरण आगे बढ़े । हमारे पड़ोस में क्या हो रहा है, केवल उसी का प्रश्न नहीं है । दुनिया में और भी देश हैं जो अणु क्लब शामिल हो रहे हैं या शामिल हो गए हैं । हमने सही फैसला किया था कि हम नान प्रोलिफेरेशन ट्रीटी पर हस्ताक्षर नहीं करेंगे । वह संघि भेदभाव मूलक है । लेकिन अगर आणविक शस्त्रों की दौड़ चलती रहेगी, नये नये देश उस दौड़ में शामिल होते रहेंगे तो फिर भारत जैसे लोकतन्त्रवादी देश को जहां अंतिम फैसला जनता करती है, अपने सभी रास्ते खोलकर रखने पड़ेंगे ।

उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, इस रिपोर्ट में जोकि 155 पेज की रिपोर्ट है, अगर इसका पहला प्रश्न आप छोड़ दें और दूसरे पृष्ठ का आधा छोड़ दें तो इस समय जो खतरे का अहसास है, यह पूरी रिपोर्ट उसको उद्घटित नहीं करती । कितना खतरा है, कहां से खतरा है ? प्रधानमंत्री ने किसी भाषण में कहा कि जो पुराने स्रोत थे, जहां से पहले खतरा आया था, वहां से भी आ सकता है, अन्य दिशाओं से भी खतरा आ सकता है । नए गठबन्धन हो सकते हैं, जमीन से, आसमान से, समुद्र से हम खतरे में पड़ सकते हैं, लेकिन अभी तक इस बारे में न संसद को विश्वास में लिया गया है और न ही देश को विश्वास में लिया गया है । यहां तक कि प्रधान मंत्री जी ने विरोधी दलों के नेताओं के साथ भी इस सम्बन्ध में चर्चा करना उचित नहीं समझा है । आखिर, हमें अगर देश की सुरक्षा करनी

है तो सेनाओं के साथ साथ उसमें सम्पूर्ण देशवासियों को लगाना पड़ेगा और अगर इस बारे में एक अविश्वास की खाई पैदा होती है तो यह देश के लिए बड़े दुर्भाग्य की बात होगी ।

इस रिपोर्ट के प्रथम पृष्ठ पर कहा गया है—पिछले कि वर्ष से भारत के पास-पड़ोस का सुरक्षा परिवेश बहुत ही तनावपूर्ण होता जा रहा है और रिपोर्ट में आगे कहा गया है—अफगानिस्तान में 1979 के अन्त में जो घटनायें घटी वह अनेकपूर्ण घटनाओं की चरम परिस्थिति के रूप में थी । अफगानिस्तान में रूसी सेना के हस्तक्षेप से पहले ऐसी कौन सी घटनायें हुईं जिनसे हस्तक्षेप का औचित्य सिद्ध होता है । क्या हस्तक्षेप, मेरा मतलब है इन्टरफियरेंस और इन्टरवेंशन सेनाओं का प्रत्यक्ष जाना—यह एक ही स्तर पर रखने वाली चीजें हैं । रूस ने अफगानिस्तान में सेनायें भेज दी । अमरीका सैनिक अड्डों को मजबूत कर रहा है, नए सैनिक गठबन्धन कर रहा है, हमारे पड़ोस में नए घातक हथियार देने का फैसला करने जा रहा है । इन सारी परिस्थितियों में हमारी सुरक्षा नीति को हमारी विदेश नीति का सम्बल चाहिए, सहारा चाहिए । मुझे कहना पड़ता है कि यह सहारा प्राप्त नहीं हो रहा है । कोई अफगानिस्तान का सैनिक हल नहीं चाहता । अफगानों के लिए कोई अपनी जान देने वाला नहीं है । हमारे देखते-देखते बहादुर अफगान गुलाम हो गये । गुरुदेव रविन्द्र नाथ का काबुली वाला हमारे देखते-देखते मर गया । गुरुदेव के देश ने कुछ नहीं किया । अगर रूसी सैनिक अफगानिस्तान में बने रहते हैं तो क्रिया प्रतिक्रिया का ऐसा चक्कर चलता रहेगा

जो हमारे भी लिए कल जाकर खतरा बनेगा और आज भी खतरा बन रहा है । प्रधान मंत्री जी इस बात पर प्रकाश डालें—रूसी सैनिक हस्तक्षेप से पहले अफगानिस्तान में ऐसी कौन सी घटनायें हुईं, जिनके कारण रूसी हस्तक्षेप उचित था ?

यह मुझसे आया था कि अफगानिस्तान में बाहरी हस्तक्षेप भी न हो और रूस की सेनायें भी निकल जायें, इसके लिए गुटनिरपेक्ष देश आगे आकर पहल कर सकते हैं, वहां सेना के दस्ते भेज सकते हैं, सीमा पर देखरेख का इन्तजाम कर सकते हैं । मुझे नहीं मालूम भारत सरकार के उस प्रस्ताव को आगे क्यों नहीं बढ़ाया या बढ़ाया तो उस सम्बन्ध में रूस की क्या प्रतिक्रिया थी ?

उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, सुरक्षा मंत्रालय में कोई नियोजन कमेटी है । मुझे नहीं मालूम वह कितने लम्बे काल के बारे में नियोजन कर रही है । अन्तर्राष्ट्रीय परिस्थितियां बड़ी तेजी से बदल रही हैं, लेकिन हम एडहोक फैसला करके नहीं चल सकते । दस पन्द्रह साल के परस-पैकिटव प्लानिंग की जरूरत है । आज एक सवाल है, कि हम अपना सैनिक बल कितना बढ़ायें । सेना हमारे पास है । वायुसेना को कितना और बलवान किया जाय ? समुद्र की ओर से भी संकट आ सकता है । हमारी सर्वोच्च सेनाओं की क्या आवश्यकतायें हैं ? मैं थोड़े ही दिन सरकार में रहा हूँ, इस लिये मैं ज्यादा अनुभवी होने का दावा नहीं कर सकता.... (व्यवधान) ...

एक माननीय सदस्य : गलती से आ गये थे ।

श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी : जी लोग आप को लाये, वे ही हम को लाये थे । लेकिन आप आये तो ठीक था, हम आये तो गलती थी ।

[श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी]

उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, आज समय आ गया है कि हम इस बात पर विचार करें कि क्या किसी ऐसी संस्था की आवश्यकता है जो पर्सपेक्टिव प्लानिंग कर सके, जो तीनों सेनाओं की शाखाओं की आवश्यकताओं और राष्ट्र के सामने चुनौतियों को समग्रता में देख सके।

उदाहरण के लिये टैंक का जवाब टैंक है, मगर रक्षा के मामलों को जो जानते हैं वे कहते हैं कि टैंक का जवाब एन्टी टैंक मिसाइल है। 5 साल बाद उस में क्या अन्तर आयेगा, कहा नहीं जा सकता।

अन्तर्राष्ट्रीय परिस्थितियाँ भी बदल सकती हैं। सोवियत संघ आज हमारा मित्र है। हम उम्मीद करते हैं कि वह मित्र रहेगा, मगर हमें हर तरह की सम्भावनाओं पर विचार करना है। चीन और रूस के सम्बन्ध आज अच्छे नहीं हैं लेकिन वे सम्बन्ध सुधर भी सकते हैं। चीन के आन्तरिक परिवर्तन किस सीमा तक जायेंगे कोई नहीं जानता। दस साल बाद हम दशक की बात कर रहे हैं, दस साल में किस तरह की चुनौतियाँ आयेंगी और उन का उत्तर देने के लिये हमारे सामने कौन से आपश्नज होंगे, केवल एक द्वार खुले रखना काफी नहीं है इसका विचार जरूरी है। एक महान शक्ति पर आवश्यकता से अधिक निर्भर रहना खतरनाक है।

मेरा निवेदन है कि इन सारी बातों पर विचार के लिए सरकार कमीशन आन डिफेन्स बनाने का विचार कर सकती है...

एक माननीय सदस्य: बहुत कमी-शन्न बन चुके हैं।

श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी: आज ही सबेरे आप ने इकानामिक्स रिफार्मज कमीशन का ऐलान किया है। अरे, कुछ तो दिमाग से बोलो।

दूसरी बात मैं यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि सरकार डिफेन्स के बारे में एक व्हाइट पेपर प्रकाशित करने का विचार करे। पार्लियामेंट के मੈम्बरों को भी बहुत कुछ बताने की जरूरत है। सिक्योरिटी अगल है, सीक्रेसी अगल है। हमारे यहां हर बात, जो भी सेना से सम्बन्धित है, गुप्त है। क्या खर्च हो रहा है? क्या सेना में अपव्यय नहीं हो रहा? इसे देखना होगा।

रिसर्च और डेवलपमेंट के बारे में भी मैं उल्लेख करना चाहता हूँ। इस बजट में 70 करोड़ रुपया हम ने उस के लिये रखा है। अभी तक हम ने करोड़ों रुपया रिसर्च और डेवलपमेंट पर खर्च किया है—इस का मूल्यांकन होना चाहिये कि हम ने रिसर्च और डेवलपमेंट में कितनी प्रगति की है? हमें देश को सैनिक साज सामान के मामले में आत्मनिर्भर बनाना होगा। आवश्यकता पड़ी तो हम जगुआर लेने का निर्णय करते हैं। टैंकों की आवश्यकता है तो हम दूसरे देशों में जाते हैं। विजयन्त टैंक का विकास जैसा होना चाहिये था, क्यों नहीं हुआ?

1972 में हम ने यह फैसला किया था कि "एअरक्रैफ्ट डेवलपमेंट प्रोजेक्ट" शुरू करें और हम उम्मीद करते थे कि उसके अन्तर्गत हमारी आवश्यकता पूरी होगी—मगर पूरी नहीं हुई। 1970 में हम ने भारत डायनैमिक्स लि० की स्थापना की थी, मगर उस में क्या उत्पादन हुआ इस की जानकारी नहीं है।

हम मिसाइल बाहर से ला रहे हैं। सिलिकोन के बारे में तो किसी अधिकारी को "पद्मश्री" तक दे दिया गया। मगर 16.00 hrs.

मुझे बताया गया कि हम अभी तक सिलिकोन का आयात कर रहे हैं। अगर यह गलत है, तो मैं मंत्री महोदय से यह चाहूंगा कि वे मुझे सही करें। राज्य सभा में एक प्रश्न हुआ था। पाटिल साहब जवाब दे रहे थे। एक ही दिन एक प्रश्न के दो उत्तर दिये गये।

रक्षा मंत्रालय में राज्य मंत्री (श्री शिवराज बो. पाटिल) : उसे समझने की जरूरत है, वह साइटीफिक मामला था।

श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी : यही तो मुश्किल है कि सारी समझ उधर इकट्ठा हो गई है, इधर तो तब नासमझ है !

मेरा निवेदन है कि रिसर्च एण्ड डेवलपमेंट को हमें मजबूत करना है और ऐसी परिस्थिति पैदा करना है कि हम अपनी आवश्यकताओं का सारा माज-सामान अपने ही देश में बना सकें। महा-शक्तियों का ढंग यह है कि वे हमें उपकरण तो देती हैं मगर उसके स्पेयर्स नहीं देती हैं, स्पेयर्स देती हैं तो दो हफ्ते के तीन हफ्ते के। इसलिए जब भारत और पाकिस्तान की लड़ाई होती है, तो दो-तीन हफ्तों में ही खत्म हो जाती है। न उनके पास हथियार रहते हैं और न हमारे पास हथियार रहते हैं। पाकिस्तान और भारत दोनों के लिए यह कसौटी का काल है, इस भूखण्ड की सुरक्षा जुड़ी हुई है। देश का विभाजन हो गया। फिर भी हम सुरक्षा को टुकड़ों में नहीं देख सकते दुर्भाग्य की बात है कि इस्लामाबाद और नई दिल्ली ने, दोनों ने, इस भूखण्ड में

परिस्थितियों में जो गुणात्मक परिवर्तन हुआ है, उसकी चुनौती को नहीं समझा और एक महत्वपूर्ण अवसर को हाथ से निकल जाने दिया। पाकिस्तान को हथियारों की जरूरत नहीं है। पाकिस्तान उन हथियारों से सोवियत संघ से नहीं लड़ सकता। पाकिस्तान की 16 डिवीजनों अफगानिस्तान की सीमाओं पर नहीं लगी हैं, वे हमारी सीमाओं पर लगी हैं। पाकिस्तान को आवश्यकता है राजनीतिक स्थिरता की, आर्थिक विकास की। मगर हम इस भूखण्ड के सारे देशों को अपने साथ ले कर नहीं चल पा रहे हैं, इस बात को हमें मान लेना चाहिए। मैं एक छोटी सी घटना का उल्लेख करना चाहता हूँ। वह छोटी घटना बड़ी न हो जाए, इसका मुझे डर है। श्रीलंका के राष्ट्रपति हमारे देश में आए थे राष्ट्र मंडल देशों से सम्बन्धित एक सम्मेलन में भाग लेने के लिए। आल इण्डिया रेडियो और टेलीविजन की ओर से उन का इन्टरव्यू लेने का प्रबन्ध हुआ था। इन्टरव्यू रिकार्ड कर लिया गया टेलीविजन के लिए, मगर वह इन्टरव्यू दिखाया नहीं गया।

एक माननीय सदस्य : क्यों ?

श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी : यह सूचना मंत्री बता सकते हैं या प्रधान मंत्री जी को बताना होगा।

श्री इन्द्रजीत गुप्त (वसीरहाट) : आप बताइए ना।

श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी : क्योंकि शायद उन्होंने कुछ ऐसी बातें कही थीं, जो नई दिल्ली को रुचिकर प्रतीत नहीं हुईं। क्या एक पड़ोसी राष्ट्र के अध्यक्ष, पड़ोसी राष्ट्र के नेता के साथ हमारा

[श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी]

यह व्यवहार होगा। इस देश में विचारों की स्वतंत्रता है। हमें आलोचना सुनने के लिए भी तैयार रहना चाहिए। इसकी लंकावासियों के मन पर क्या प्रतिक्रिया हुई होगी? घटना छोटी है, मगर तनाव पैदा करती है। हमें अपने पड़ोसियों से व्यवहार करते समय आवश्यकता से अधिक चौकन्ना रहना है। वे आकार में छोटे हैं, जन-बल में छोटे हैं, शस्त्र-बल में छोटे हैं, और आर्थिक प्रगति की दृष्टि से भी हमसे पीछे हैं। उन के मन में निराधार आशंकाएं भी हैं। यह हमारी जिम्मेदारी है कि हम उन्हें साथ लेकर चलें। यह ठीक है कि उन्हें साथ लेकर चलने के लिए हम राष्ट्र के महत्वपूर्ण हितों की बलि नहीं चढ़ा सकते लेकिन राष्ट्रीय हितों की रक्षा करते हुए स्टाइल आफ फ़िनिंग काम का तरीका ऐसा हो सकता है कि पड़ोसी को छोटा बना कर उसका समर्थन प्राप्त करने की कोशिश न की जाए।

16.04 hrs.

Mr. Speaker in the chair.

श्री एम० रामगोपाल रेड्डी (निजामा वाद) : बाजपेयी जी, हम कभी ऐसा नहीं करते, आप ऐसा क्यों कह रहे हैं।

Post Masters at a higher level] (8)

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE: This has nothing to do with sugar.

श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी : अध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं जब अन्तिम विन्दू पर आ गया हूँ। 1973 में भी श्री डी० पी० धर, जो प्लानिंग कमिशन के डिप्टी चेरमैन थे, उन्होंने सभी मुख्य मंत्रियों को एक पत्र लिखा था। उस पत्र की पंक्तियाँ मैं उद्धृत करना चाहता हूँ—

“We must look at the whole broad spectrum of international relationships to identify our foes and our friends. Is a policy of detente with

everyone in our national interests? It would, on the other hand, appear that for years to come the U.S.A. will remain our most powerful enemy.”

मैं नहीं जानता कि यह पत्र प्रधान मंत्री की अनुमति से लिखा गया था या नहीं लिखा गया था। अगर उस समय हमारा दोस्तों और दुश्मनों का असेसमेंट यह था तो मैं पूछना चाहता हूँ कि 1981 में क्या असेसमेंट है? हम किसी देश को स्थायी तौर पर शत्रु मान कर चलें, क्या यह ठीक है? सब के साथ मैत्री सम्बन्ध स्थापित करने में क्या बुराई है? यह ठीक है कि जिससे हमारे हित अधिक मिलेंगे उस से अधिक मित्रता होगी। एक बड़ी शक्ति के नाते और एक विशाल राष्ट्र के नाते हम रक्षा के सवाल को विदेश नीति से और गृह नीति अलग नहीं कर सकते। ईरान के शाह ने नारे हथियार इकट्ठे किए, लेकिन जनता पलट गयी तो उनका तख्ता भी पलट गया। हमारे पड़ोस में भी हथियार किसी को बचाने वाले नहीं हैं।

प्रधान मंत्री ने रेली में भाषण देते हुए कहा था कि किसान का एक बेटा फौज में है और एक बेटा किसान है। स्पष्टतः किसान और जवान दोनों जुड़े हुए हैं। हम रक्षा और विकास को अलग नहीं कर सकते। इसलिए रक्षा की दुरगामी योजना बनाते समय देश के पूर्ण विकास और उस विकास का लाभ अधिक से अधिक लोगों को कैसे मिले, इस पहलू की भी हमें उपेक्षा नहीं करनी चाहिए। इस सम्बन्ध में एक राष्ट्रीय मन बने और मैं चाहता हूँ कि यह मन बने। इसकी जिम्मेदारी प्रधान मंत्री के ऊपर है कि वह कहां तक इस सम्बन्ध में तैयार हैं।

मैंने पिछले वर्ष कहा था कि सुरक्षा मंत्रालय प्रधान मंत्री को नहीं लेना चाहिए, लेकिन अब मैं सोचता हूँ कि कम से कम सुरक्षा मंत्रालय की मांगों पर तो उनके दर्शन हो जाते हैं।

**श्री मोहन लाल सुब्बाडिया (उदयपुर):**  
माननीय अध्यक्ष जी, जिन डिमाण्ड्स पर यह सदन इस वक्त चर्चा कर रहा है उन पर बोलते हुए मेरे पूर्व बोलने वाले वक्ता ने उनके महत्व को कुछ समझा और उसके महत्व को कुछ न समझ कर ऐसी बहुत सी बातें कहीं।

सबसे पहले तो मैं यह निवेदन करना चाहूंगा कि आज जहां तक हमारे देश का सवाल है, हम कुल मिला कर अपनी रक्षा के ऊपर टोटल जी० एन० पी० का 3.5 परसेंट खर्च करते हैं जबकि हमारे पड़ोस के अन्दर पाकिस्तान अपने जी० एन० पी० का 6.5 परसेंट खर्च कर रहा है। उसके अलावा पांच सौ मिलियन डालर के शस्त्रास्त्र भी उसे देने की बात चल रही है। मैं उम्मीद करता था कि श्री अटल विहारी वाजपेयी जब यहां पर बोलेंगे तो विस्तार से वे स्पष्ट बात कहेंगे।

अध्यक्ष जी, मुझे क्षमा करें मैं उनके भाषण से यह नहीं समझ पाया कि उनका किस बात पर जोर है। वे अपने भाषण में कहने लगे कि हम किस को मित्र बनाना चाहते हैं, किस को दुश्मन बनाना चाहते हैं। एक जो हमारा मित्र है वह कल को हमारा दुश्मन भी हो सकता है। मैं यह नहीं समझ पाया कि आखिर वे क्या कहना चाहते हैं? चेयरमैन साहब, यह बात पहले भी वे कई बार कह चुके हैं। जब वे विदेश मंत्री थे तो उन्होंने इस

बात का प्रयत्न किया था कि कांग्रेस की जो नान-एलाइनमेंट की नीति थी, उसको इस प्रकार से टिल्ट किया जाए जिससे कि चीन और यू० एस० ए० को नजदीक लाने का प्रयत्न हो।

अध्यक्ष जी मैं यह कहना चाहूंगा कि जब हम डिफेंस की बात कर रहे हैं तो पिछले वर्षों के अन्दर जो कुछ हुआ उसको हम अपने दिमाग से दूर करके नहीं चल सकते। आज पाकिस्तान को जो शस्त्रास्त्र दिए जा रहे हैं, वे इसीलिए नहीं दिए जा रहे हैं कि वह सोवियत रूस का मुकाबला करे। कोई भी व्यक्ति यह समझ सकता है कि सोवियत रूस से लड़ने के लिए ये शस्त्रास्त्र नहीं दिए जा रहे हैं। कहने के लिए कहा जाता है कि गल्फ कंट्रीज की प्रोटेक्शन के लिए पाकिस्तान को मजबूत किया जा रहा है, लेकिन यह प्रयत्न तो ईरान में भी किया गया था दूसरी जगहों पर भी किया गया लेकिन वे सब असफल हुए, जबकि सत्य यह है कि इतिहास में कि पाकिस्तान की तरफ से इस देश पर हमले हुए और हमारे देश को उनका मुकाबला करना पड़ा। माननीय अध्यक्ष जी आज यह भी सत्य है कि कोई भी दुनिया का मुल्क यह कह कर नहीं चल सकता कि हिन्दुस्तान की नीति अग्रेशन की रही है। भारत हमेशा अग्रेशन के खिलाफ रहा है और जैसा कि अभी कहा गया, मैं समझता हूँ कि बंगलादेश का उदाहरण अपने आप आप में इस प्रकार का उदाहरण है जबकि यही प्रधानमंत्री जो कि इस समय डिफेंस मिनिस्टर भी हैं, इसके जमाने में बंगलादेश में बड़ी तादाद में हमारी फौजें थीं, लेकिन उनकी स्वतंत्रता प्राप्ति के बाद हम वहां से लौट कर चले आए। यह उदाहरण हमारे देश ने प्रस्तुत किया है। हमारे देश की नीति कतई अग्रेशन की नहीं है। फिर पाकिस्तान के अन्दर इतने शस्त्रास्त्र

## [ श्री मोहन लाल सुखाड़िया ]

इकट्ठा करने का मुख्य उद्देश्य सही है कि हिन्दुस्तान के ऊपर दबाव रखा जाए। अमेरिका कहता है कि ये शस्त्र हिन्दुस्तान के खिलाफ काम में नहीं लाए जायेंगे। पहले भी हमेशा शस्त्र देने के मौके पर उसने कहा कि ये शस्त्र हिन्दुस्तान के खिलाफ काम में नहीं आयेंगे, लेकिन मैं समझता हूँ कि कभी भी अमरीका की तरफ से इस बात का ध्यान नहीं रखा गया और हमेशा अमरीका के शस्त्र हिन्दुस्तान के खिलाफ काम में लिए गए।

अध्यक्ष जी, आज दुनिया में कहाँ क्या हो रहा है, इस बात में मैं नहीं जाना चाहता, लेकिन हमें इस बात पर निगाह रखकर चलना होगा कि आज चाइना, यू० एस० ए० और पाकिस्तान का एक एक्सिस बना है, जो हमारे देश के लिए एक तरह से चैलेंज है, खतरा है, इसको हमें ध्यान में रखकर ही चलना होगा। चाइना के साथ जब पंडित जवाहरलाल नेहरू हमारे प्रधान मंत्री थे, हमने काफी मित्रता की बात की लेकिन उनकी एक्स्पेंशनिस्ट की नीति थी। उसका परिणाम उस मॉके पर यह हुआ कि हमने फौज पर कम खर्च किया, जितना लाभ उठाकरके उन्होंने हम पर हमला किया। कहने की ताँ वे आज भी कहते हैं कि हमारी इच्छा हिन्दुस्तान के साथ दोस्ती की है, लेकिन दोस्ती का क्या परिणाम होता है ?

जनता पार्टी ने कहा कि हमने पड़ोसियों से मित्रता बनाने की कोशिश की। क्या चाइना ने जमीन लौटा दी, क्या पाकिस्तान ने कश्मीर का सवाल समाप्त किया? क्या हम पाकिस्तान के

साथ दोस्ती का हाथ बढ़ाना नहीं चाहते ?

“ताशकंद” समझौते में, जो कि कांग्रेस सरकार के समय में हुआ, क्या उसमें हमारे प्रधान मंत्री श्री लाल बहादुर शास्त्री की और हमारे देश की नीति समझौते में साथ एग्जस्ट करने की नहीं थी ? क्या शिमला पैक्ट में हमारी प्रधान मंत्री की यह कोशिश नहीं थी कि पाकिस्तान के साथ मेलजोल से रहा जाए, लेकिन पाकिस्तान के अन्दर जो गड़बड़ियाँ होती हैं, अशांति होती है, वहाँ के शासक उस असन्तोष को हमेशा हिन्दुस्तान की ओर मोड़ने की कोशिश करते रहे हैं और उन चीजों को जब हम निगाह में लेकर चलेंगे तो मैं समझता हूँ कि अत्यन्त आवश्यक हो जाता है कि आप 10 वर्ष बाद क्या होगा, या 20 वर्ष बाद क्या होगा, किसका किससे गठ-बन्धन होगा, उन सवालों में जाने के बजाए आज जो कुछ हो रहा है उस बारे में हम निगाह कर के चलें। आज क्या हो रहा है ? क्या यह सच नहीं है कि आज हमारे पड़ोस के अन्दर इस बात की तैयारी की जा रही है कि पाकिस्तान को पूरे तौर से शस्त्रों से सुसज्जित किया जाए। इस खतरे से आँख मोड़ कर चलने की बात करेंगे तो मैं समझता हूँ कि यह इस देश की आजादी के साथ खतरा मोल लेना होगा, इस देश को नुकसान में डालने वाली बात होगी। जब प्रधान मंत्री जी इसके बारे में देश को सजग करने की बात करती हैं, देश के अन्दर इस हवा को फैलाने की बात करती हैं कि यह खतरा हमारे सामने खड़ा हो रहा है, अगर उसको समझ कर यू० एस० ए० आर्म्स न दे तो हम यह नहीं कहते कि खतरा पैदा करो—अगर आर्म्स नहीं देते हैं तो बहुत अच्छा है, लेकिन अगर आर्म्स देते हैं तो मैं समझता हूँ कि कोई भी व्यक्ति, इस देश की आजादी को पसन्द करने वाला

इस बात को इन्कार कर के नहीं चल सकता है कि उन शस्त्रों से खतरा किसी को पैदा होगा तो वह हिन्दुस्तान के लिए पैदा होने वाला है। इस बात से आज हम इन्कार करके नहीं चल सकते और इसकी तरफ प्रधान मंत्री जो ध्यान दिलवाती हैं तो आप कहते हैं कि देश के अन्दर अविश्वास की भावना पैदा नहीं की जानी चाहिए। तो आप कहते हैं कि देश के अन्दर अविश्वास की भावना नहीं पैदा की जानी चाहिए। किस अविश्वास की भावना? अध्यक्ष जी, मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि खतरा दरवाजे पर है और हम जो यह कहते हैं इसका मतलब यह है कि देश की विल पावर को, ग्राम्ड फोर्सों की विल पावर को हम यह कह कर के मुगालते में डालना चाहते हैं कल ऐग्रेशन हो जाए तो देश इस मुगालते में रह जाए कि क्या ऐग्रेशन हुआ या वास्तव में हममें कोई गड़बड़ी की कि जिसकी वजह से यह नौबत पेश आयी। मैं समझता हूँ कि किसी राजनैतिक कारण से या किसी और वजह से जो वास्तविकता है उसकी तरफ से ध्यान न मोड़ा जाए, नहीं तो उसका असर बहुत उल्टा होता है। आपको मालूम है, अध्यक्ष जी, जब चाइना से लड़ाई हुई तो वह शस्त्रास्त्रों से ही नहीं लड़ रहा था बल्कि दूसरी तरफ बोर्डर से बराबर यह प्रचार कर रहा था सिपाहियों के अन्दर कि भाईयों देखो नक्शे में यह जमीन हमारी है तुम इधर न आना। वैसे ही अगर आज यह प्रचार किया जाता है कि नहीं पाकिस्तान की दोस्ती की इच्छा है हम ही कुछ अपनी समस्याओं की वजह से कोई समस्या खड़ी करना चाहते हैं तो मैं समझता हूँ देश को यह कह कर के सबसे बड़ा अहित करने की बात होगी। क्योंकि यह तो निश्चित बात है कि देश को कोई ऐग्रेसिव पालिसी नहीं रही है। आज देश के अन्दर कोई

नया प्रधान मंत्री नहीं आ गया, बल्कि वही प्रधान मंत्री हैं जिन्होंने बांगला देश के अन्दर जा कर उसको आजाद करके बांगला देश से लौट कर फौजें लौट कर वापिस आ गईं। तो यह कोई समझता हो कि टेरिटरी को लेने वाला कोई नया आ गया है तब भी यह कहने की गुंजाइश होती। लेकिन राजनीति के लिहाज से कभी रशिया के बारे में बात कहनी हो, रशिया से कोई नाराजगी हो तो भारत सरकार को बीज में ला कर के उलझाया जाएगा, यह उचित नहीं है। मैं आपसे कहना चाहता हूँ कि आज के दिन, जैसा मैंने कहा, कौन नहीं चाहता, हमारी प्रधान मंत्री जी कह चुकी देश की स्थिति स्पष्ट है कि पड़ौसियों से हम झगड़ा नहीं चाहते। लेकिन कोई देश के अन्दर शस्त्र इतने इकट्ठे करे और हम यह भी न कहें कि शस्त्रों का दुरुपयोग किया जा सकता है। कल जाकर के, और इसका खतरा है, तो मैं समझता हूँ कि वह अपना कर्तव्य पूरा नहीं करना होगा।

अध्यक्ष जी, मेरी तो यह मान्यता है कि जैसे शस्त्रों के दबाव के नीचे पाकिस्तान दबना चाहता है, जैसे बियतनाम ने गलती की शस्त्र लेकर के उसी प्रकार पाकिस्तान भी गलती करने जा रहा है। न तो वह अपने आप कोई अफगानिस्तान में जा कर के रूस से लड़ पायेगा, न किसी ओर से कुछ कर पायेगा, आखिर जा कर के उस देश को ही नुकसान होने वाला है, और उसी को ज्यादा से ज्यादा हानि पहुंचने का अंदेशा पैदा होगा।

अध्यक्ष जी, हम सभी जानते हैं, और माननीय बाजपेयी जी ने कहा कि हमें बाहर से शस्त्र मंगाने की इतनी जरूरत पड़ती है। मैं आपसे निवेदन करूँ

[श्री मोहन लाल सुखाड़िया]

कि कई देशों ने, और आपको मालूम होगा पिछली जब लड़ाई चल रही थी पाकिस्तान के साथ तो पाकिस्तान के रहनुमाओं ने कहा कि हिन्दुस्तान ने अपनी आजादी के बाद अपनी जरूरत के बहुत से शस्त्र बनाने शुरू कर दिये हैं, जब कि हम पूरी तरह से दूसरों पर निर्भर हैं। कांग्रेस के राज के आने के बाद जहां पहले राइफल हमें मंगानी पड़ती थी और चीन के साथ जब लड़ाई हुई तो ऊंची हाइट पर लड़ने के लिए, हमारे पास राइफल्स नहीं थी, उस राइफल को हमें बाहर से मंगाना पड़ता था, औटोमैटिक राइफल मंगानी पड़ती थी, आज हमने देश को इतना आत्म निर्भर किया है कि उनको बाहर से मंगाने की जरूरत नहीं रही। तो यह भी कांग्रेस ने किया है इन पिछले सालों के अन्दर कि आज गर्व के साथ हम अपना सर ऊंचा कर के चल सकते हैं।

शस्त्रास्त्र या अच्छे सोफिस्टीकेटेड व्पन्स के लिए इकोनामिक बेस स्ट्रांग चाहिए, और मैं समझता हूँ कि अध्यक्ष जी, विरोध पक्ष के नेता भी इस बात को मानेंगे कि हिन्दुस्तान ने अपनी जनता को भूखे मार पर आर्म्स रैस में नहीं डाला। हमने इस बात पर जोर दिया है कि देशवासियों को पहले खाने पीने में आत्मनिर्भरता दें। हमने उसमें कामयाबी हासिल की, और चीजों में भी कामयाबी हासिल की। हमने अपना एक बेस बनाने की कोशिश की जिसके जरिये हम अपने आप में आत्म निर्भरता लायें, केवल आर्म्स रैस में न पड़ कर के, हर चीज की बनाने में जायें। तो वह हमारा उद्देश्य नहीं रहा आर्म्स रैस में पड़ने का, और मैं समझता हूँ कि वह ठीक रहा है कि हम इस चीज में न पड़ कर के हमने अपना इकोनामिक और सोशल डेवलपमेंट किया, और आज पोलिटिकल स्टेबिलिटी इस

देश को दी। यह सारी चीजें करने में यह देश अपने आप के अन्दर दुनिया में एक अपना स्वयं उदाहरण रख कर के चलता है।

अभी हमारे विरोधी पक्ष के सी० पी० (एम) के सदस्य ने कहा कि आर्मी के अन्दर पोलिटिकली सांउड षिकिंग नहीं है, उनमें पोलिटिक्स होनी चाहिए और इस मामले में मेंन स्ट्रीम से वह दूर हैं। मैं समझता हूँ कि हमारे देश के अन्दर इन 30 वर्षों में हमारी जो अलग-अलग सर्जिसेज हैं, उन्होंने इस बात को साबित किया है कि जब भी देश पर संकट आकर खड़ा हुआ है, उन्होंने हिम्मत और हौसले के साथ दुनिया को बताया है कि हमारे देश की फौजें चाहे आकाश की हों या और जगहों की हों, उन्होंने बिना किसी झिझक के देश का साथ दिया है। आज उन हालात के लिए हम उनके लिए कुछ भी कह कर चलें, यह उपयुक्त नहीं होगा।

श्री अटल बिहारी जी ने कहा कि डिफेंस पर 4 हजार करोड़ रुपया खर्च किया जा रहा है। मैं निवेदन करूंगा कि हम तो अपने यहां इस खर्च को कर रहे हैं लेकिन हमारे पड़ोस में छोटा-सा देश है जिसको विदेशों से इतनी सहायता मिल रही है, यू एस ए से मिल रही है, चीन से मिल रही है

SHRI R. K. MHALGI (Thane): He has not made any grievances about that.

श्री मोहन लाल सुखाड़िया : आपने कहा कि इतने कम समय के अन्दर आप इतनी बड़ी राशि को यहां मन्जूर करवाना चाहते हैं, मैं निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि यह खर्चा तो कम है। मैं अपने

द्वितीय मंत्रों और प्रधान मंत्रों को निवेदन करूंगा कि खासतौर से नेवी को स्ट्रैथन करने के लिए जितना और ज्यादा खर्च करना पड़े, वह करें क्योंकि इस बात की बहुत आवश्यकता है। पहले तो हमारे लैंड बोर्डर्स पर ही खतरे थे लेकिन जबकि अब ओशन में खतरे की काफी एक्टिविटीज बढ़ गई है, तो नेवी को जबरदस्त तरीके से स्ट्रैथन करने की आवश्यकता है और उसके लिये मैं समझता हूँ कि ज्यादा से ज्यादा धन की जो आवश्यकता पड़े, उसको खर्च करने की कोशिश की जाये।

आर एंड डी के लिए आपने कहा कि कुछ नहीं हुआ। मैं समझता हूँ कि आप भी विदेश मंत्री रह चुके हैं, आप जानते हैं कि कुछ हुआ है या नहीं। लेकिन मुझे ऐसा लगता है अटल जी के भाषण से, क्योंकि वह विदेश मंत्रालय की मांगों के मौके पर बोल नहीं पाये थे, इसलिए उन्होंने सोचा कि आज मौका है, इसलिए वह बात भी आज इस भावण में वह बोल लिये। कुछ तो इसमें रैलेवेन्ट था, और कुछ नहीं था तब भी उन्होंने सारी बात यहां कह दी। उन्होंने वह बहुत सी बातें भी यहां कह दीं जो सोधे डिफेंस से ताल्लुक नहीं रखती थीं, लेकिन उन्होंने मौका ठीक ढूँढ़ा है इस बात के लिए कि आज उन बातों को कहकर चलें।

जहां तक आर्म्ड फोर्सों की कुछ बातें हैं, उनकी तरफ भी ध्यान दिलाना मैं अपना कर्तव्य समझता हूँ। सभी जानते हैं कि जो लोअर रैंज के सिपाही या दूसरे होते हैं, उनकी रिटायर होने की एज कम होती है, आम तौर से 32, 35 साल की एज में रिटायर हो जाते हैं।

श्री एम० रामगोपाल रेड्डी : अब तो 37 साल एज कर दी गई है।

श्री गोहन लाल सुखाड़िया : हो सकता है।

वी० ए० ए० की ड्यूटी बार्डर पर लगती है, वह बार्डर को गाई करते हैं जैसे हमारे राजस्थान, पंजाब और दूसरी जगहों पर। सी० आर० पी० और पब्लिक सेक्टर ग्रंटरटेकिंग में भर्ती होती है उनमें रिटायर्ड फौजियों का भी काफी बड़ी बलक संख्या में स्क्रीनिंग कर के या और तरीके से जो अच्छे हों उन सारे लोगों को इन आर्गनाइजेशन में रिक्लूट किया जाये तो आपकी ट्रेनिंग का खर्चा भी कम हो जायेगा और ये लोग बार्डर्स की कंडीशन से भी वाकिफ मिलेंगे। जब कभी हीस्टेनिटिज की सिचुएशन पैदा हो तो इसके आर्मी और वी० ए० ए० के बीच ज्यादा को-ऑर्डिनेशन आसानी से होगा। एक दूसरे की अच्छी तरह से समझ पायेंगे। इसलिए इस बात पर भी विचार करने की आवश्यकता है। आशा है आप इस पर सोचेंगे।

मैं बहुत ज्यादा वक्त न ले कर इन्हीं चीजों के लिए निवेदन करूंगा। मुझे आशा है कि जो मांगें प्रस्तुत की गई हैं, अगर यह ज्यादा भी होती तो भी यह सदन एक मत से उन्हें स्वीकार करता, इन्हें स्वीकार करेगा और हमारी सुरक्षा ज्यादा से ज्यादा मजबूत रहेगी।

मुझे इस बारे में कोई खतरा नहीं है, चाहे पाकिस्तान के पास यू० ए० ए० के अस्त्र-शस्त्र आयें और चाहे किसी भी प्रकार से। पाकिस्तान अपने को आर्म्ड कर के चले वह पाकिस्तान को ही हानिकारक होंगे, हमारे देश की आजादी को कोई खतरा नहीं होने वाला है

[श्री मोहन लाल सुखाडिया]

यह निश्चित तरीके से मेरी मान्यता है और मैं समझता हूँ कि जिस चीज़ के लिए हमारी प्रधान मंत्री जनमत बना रही हैं जिस खतरे की तरफ ध्यान दिला रही हैं, उसमें विरोधी पक्ष के लोग भी यदि सहयोग दें तो वह देश के हित में होगा और देश में जो मूर्तक्य स्थापित करने वाली बात कही जाती है, वह भी स्थापित करने में बल मिलेगा।

SHRI K. P. SINGH DEO (Dhenkanal): Mr. Speaker, Sir, I rise to support the Demands for Grant of the Defence Ministry. One is always at a disadvantage when one speaks after Shri Atal Bihari Vajpayee because he on account of his rhetoric, oratory and wizardly of words keeps the House spell-bound, but his speech was rather interesting. In fact, he started off by saying that this debate should be kept above party lines because it was a question of national security and defence, but, thereafter, as is his practice, he went into the narrow and sectarian angle of bringing in the party matters. If one goes to the policy of the Janata Party in the last election manifesto on which ticket he has been elected to this House, this is what was stated:

"A constructive and imaginative foreign policy is a country's best defence. The Party will, however, fully maintain defence preparedness and ensure that the superior training and strategy of the armed forces is best matched with the best possible weaponry and equipment, indigenously produced or procured from varied and dependable sources that will not cut off in a crisis, with due regard to cost-effectiveness."

Then, in the same breadth, he criticised the acquisition of arms and ammunition which are necessary for modernising our armed forces.

While identifying the threat perception, the threat to our national security, he tried to ridicule the Prime Minister for alerting the people of India as well as having informed the nation on the question of national security.

16.27 hrs.

[MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER in the Chair]

We have seen how in 1962, because we were not psychologically prepared, nor militarily prepared, we had to learn a bitter lesson from the Chinese. Therefore, if the Prime Minister was doing her duty to the country, she was only living upto the expectation of the people who had given a massive mandate to her only fifteen months earlier. She was resorting to the most democratic method of taking the people and the Parliament into confidence. When she identified the threats which are developing to our security, she was not trying to raise a bogey as has been made out by Shri Atal Bihari Vajpayee.

While talking about nuclear disarmament, I would like to remind Shri Atal Bihari Vajpayee that in 1974 and 1975, Shri Advani, the then president of his party—he himself was also the President of their party—had spoken about producing the atom bomb and the cow-dung. I suppose, that wiser sense has since prevailed and he is probably now thinking of nuclear disarmament, and in fact, getting into the mainstream of the thinking of the world.

Very rightly, Shri Atal Bihar Vajpayee has pointed out that our air force must get the best equipment because of the present hostile environments, dangers from the sea, and the role which the Navy also has to play in the hostile environments and developments and the changing situation in the Indian Ocean. If he had taken the trouble to go through the Defence Ministry's report, he would have found that the Report has exactly pinpointed these things when it refers to defence planning.

Having been a former Foreign Affairs Minister, he knows very well that in the affairs of foreign relations, there are no permanent foes and no permanent friends. Only permanent interests. He himself was subjected to this when he visited China on invitation. The Chinese decided to attack one of our friendly countries. Today also when his erstwhile colleague, Prof. Swamy is visiting China, the Chinese military delegation is visiting Pakistan. I am sure they are not going there for talks on economic development. They are visiting there on a military question.

AN HON. MEMBER: Strange coincidence.

SHRI K. P. SINGH DEO: The CPM Spokesman, Mr. Biswas referred to the fact that armed forces are isolated from the mainstream. I do not blame him because from the place he hails from, it will be very difficult for him to appreciate. Had he belonged to Punjab, Haryana, Himachal Pradesh or Rajasthan, he would have known how every household, every man and woman and child is intimately connected and interested for the welfare of the Armed Forces personnel and every household has a stake to play in the armed forces in the country. It is only because of this interaction and the intimate relation with the civil population that our armed forces are doing their vigilance on the borders, resting assured that civil population is absolutely behind them.

Sir, I would like to give my comments on this Annual Report. First of all I would like to congratulate the Prime Minister, the Finance Minister the Defence Minister and the Defence Ministry for having done a very delicate balancing in formulating this year's Defence Budget. Although the 400 crores increase as compared to last year is being nullified due to the inflation, Pay and Pensions and certain rise in the fuel prices, Petroleum oil and lubricants, they have seen to it that the modernisation, the acquisition and the increase in mobility, fire-power and improvement in

the communications which is of vital importance as well as the welfare measures have not been lost sight of. In my opinion, the equipment, the training, the welfare measures go a long way and in fact, they are the single largest factor for the maintenance of moral and motivation which is essential for any Armed Force of any country to fulfil its obligations to the country.

The Defence Planning as well as the perceptives which have been identified in the Report has taken into consideration the geo-political and the geo-strategic situation which is developing in this sub-continent. Not only in this sub-continent, but also in the littoral and peripheral areas in the Indian Ocean. Therefore, our Defence preparedness must be geared up keeping this in view.

I would not like to go into the details of the figures which have been very lucidly and abundantly supplied by Gen. Sparrow in his opening speech. I would only like to pose a few questions that in the last decade, about four and a half billion dollars of arms have been pumped into the sub-continent by the super-powers and now there is effort both by China as well as the United States to arm Pakistan with another ten billion dollars worth of arms, equipment, supplies and spares. What is the Government's thinking or how would the Government like to tackle this question and of having the deterrents from the sea, air and land. Based on what had appeared in the newspapers and what has been agitating the minds of Members of Parliament, a Calling Attention Motion was discussed last week in this House about the massive arms aid to Pakistan; because with generation of equipment which we have, we may not probably be, in my humble opinion, able to pose a sufficient or adequate deterrent to the arms and equipment which Pakistan is seeking to acquire. At the same

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time, the Arab States have allowed Pakistani pilots and men to train themselves in their equipments, as well as train the Arab States in such equipment. Should these equipments find their way into Pakistan, what measures will our Government like to take? If the Government takes us into confidence in this regard, we will be very grateful.

Foreign affairs and Defence are both complementary to each other. This is not what I say; this is what military strategists like Sir Basil Liddle Hart and Carl Von Clausewitz as also military philosophers, thinkers and students of military sciences have said India can stay clear of Super Power rivalry, continue its policy of genuine non-alignment and also follow an independent policy, only if we are militarily and economically strong. Whereas we have taken care in respect of western, eastern and the northern sectors of our country as far as defence preparedness or deployment of forces is concerned, it is the south of India, the Indian Ocean and the Arabian sea that we have, in my opinion, to specially look at. In this context, I would not like to quote or refer either any Soviet or American experts, to which my friends on the other side are very allergic, but I would like to refer to one of our own serving Admirals viz. Admiral Mr. Roy who is now commanding the Eastern Naval Command. In the United Services Institute Journal, he has very rightly pointed out that the changing relations between the sea and the State have encouraged the Super Powers to register their presence in the Indian Ocean not only for military or political reasons, but also basically for economic reasons.

The Minister of Science and Technology referred—this very morning, while replying to a Starred Question, and also when he answered my mention under rule 377 last week—to the carpet of rich polymetallic nodules found under our exclusive economy zone. It holds the key to the economic

prosperity not only of India, but of the entire world. Here, the developed nations have the expertise, means, technique and technology to develop them. We are trying to develop them. These are some of the reasons which have prompted the big or super Powers—whatever you may call them—to increase their presence and strength in the Indian Ocean. Our Government has very rightly taken up this issue in the Non-aligned Conference. They had tried to carry everyone in the Non-aligned Nations Conference to this threat of destabilising the Indian Ocean. But in spite of the efforts in trying to get all the non-aligned nations alive to this threat, the Super Powers had very blatantly and in a very ironical and contemptuous manner not only not paid any heed to the non-aligned nations' resolution or their effort, but, at the same time, they had been stepping up their activities in the Indian Ocean. The other day, we wanted to know what was the response and reaction. I do not know why we were not forthcoming in this House to condemn the Super Powers for their blatant rejection of the non-aligned nations' plea that the Indian Ocean should be a zone of peace.

There was a mention that we are spending too much on defence and that defence is a diversion from development. It would be rather interesting if one would like to go through the study conducted by Prof. Emile Benoit of the Columbia University who in his book 'Defence and Economic Growth in developing countries' had identified in his study of 45 countries the irrefutable evidence of the relationship between defence spending, defence expenditure and the rate of growth of the economy. Not only that, he had also identified that there are four direct benefits which accrue out of defence expenditure. Firstly, he identified the training of man-power; Secondly, direct participation in industrial production; thirdly, development of more sophisticated technology; Fourthly, the psychological gains of

fostering a sense of security. In the training of man-power, whenever a person, whether in this country or outside, joins the Armed Forces, the training of man-power is systematic; It is imparted in a modern and scientific way and social education is given to him. He is trained in various industrial trades like machinery, welding, plumbing, drawing and other things. When he retires, he is an accomplished citizen who is an asset to the country and the nation, evidence of which we see in Haryana, Punjab, Rajasthan, western U.P., Himachal Pradesh and other bordering States.

The production in the ordnance factory, as has been brought out in the Report has gone upto Rs. 583 crores giving employment to 1.71 lakh of people. Not only the defence production or the ordnance factory caters to defence need, but it also caters to the civilian need, like HAL, produces Basant Aircraft and other aircrafts, helicopters for agricultural purposes. The factory at Bandara produces about 5000 tonnes of explosive. Bharat Electronics produces X-ray, T.V.s. and diodes. Praga Tools manufactures drilling tools as well as mining equipments, cutters and grinders. Therefore, the defence spending is not only confined or isolated to defence needs but it has also civilian spin-off.

Therefore, Sir, our late Prime Minister, Pandit Nehru had said that the equation of defence is your Defence forces plus your industrial and technological background the economy of the country and the spirit of the people. This was badly lacking during 1962 at the time of the Chinese aggression. Therefore, the need of the hour is, that the scientist and the soldier, the planner and the soldier, the scholar and soldier, must be brought together. Our former Chief of Army Staff, General J. N. Chaudhury had said, I would like to quote, when he spoke on the soldier and the scientist, he said:

"The main purpose is the development of operational research and the essence of operational research

lies in the principle if that logical thought backed by careful observation and meticulous analysis is a necessary basis for decision making.

Secondly, he said, "equipment and armament unlike wine do not improve with age."

Thirdly, he said, "It is interesting to note that by thinking for ourselves we have been able to model the organisation of our formations and units in the Armed Forces op to a pattern that is suited for the task of defending the Indian Sub-continent and not for going overseas to take part in some one else's wars as was happening in the colonial days."

And the most important thing he says:

"The ultimate aim of the Defence scientist must be to make the task of the fighting soldier easier, and the task of the fighting soldier is to defeat of the enemy wherever he may meet him."

Therefore, I agree with my hon. friend, Shri Sukhadia when he said that the R&D effort should be stepped up, and stepped up in all fields in India, in the Research and Development organisation and also in the public sector undertakings in the Ministry of Defence and the Defence Production. Research and Development must be done on the synthetic fuels and the hydrogen economy which other countries are doing which will save us on our P.O.L. requirements for which we have to pay a heavy price, to the tune of Rs. 6,000 crores every year. There should be further research and the Tata Institute of Fundamental Se. Research and the IITs, C.S.I.R. and the Universities must be associated with the defence planning and defence research. There should be integrated planning. The road system, the canal system, the PWD, the roads, the rail and the air ports and the air fields must take into consideration the residual military aspect and the requirements whenever these are planned.

The same is the case with the Department of Atomic Energy, the De-

[Shri K. P. Singh Deo]

partment of Space, the Institute of Oceanography and the various industries which are functioning in the country at the moment.

It is rather heartening and commendable that the Government has been utilising modern methods of management and management techniques as is evident from the report where logistic management, materials management, project management, resource management, work studies, value engineering, computerisation as well as systems analysis is being carried out and not only carried out, it is gradually being increased in all the three wings of the Services as well as in the Ordinance Factories.

There are at present 40 colleges and Universities in this country where military studies or military sciences are being taught. But they are being taught in isolation, having no link with the Ministry of Defence and therefore we should involve them specially like the united Services Institute which is one of the oldest institutes which deals with military studies which prepares our officers of the three wings of the Armed Forces for higher training for their Staff College for their National Defence College and other examinations for which their professional skill is tested.

There should be informed defence thinking in this country, rather than being inspired by some newspaper report, as that would be disastrous to our country. I would only cite the example of what is happening in the United States at the moment. This is an article in *India Today* dated August 1-15, 1980. This is from an Indian source:

"Much of the public discussion of U.S.—Soviet military issues is rhetoric and the average American becomes a hotbed of misinformation. For example, the portrayal of the Soviets as spending more on arms than the Americans is utterly useless because a more relevant com-

parison would be between Nato and the Warsaw Pact. The Fund for Peace and the Centre for Defence Information, an independent research and analysis organisation directed by retired Rear Admiral General R. LaRoque and Brigadier General B. K. Gorwitz, note that while both the U.S. and the Soviets have forces in excess of those required to defend their own territories, the bulk of US military spending is not designed for the defence of the US but for the projection of US military power overseas.

These independent defence analysts, using government statistics from various reports to Congress as well as data compiled by universities and leading defence think tanks, debunk the myth of American weakness being perpetrated by the Pentagon and the Press."

So, you can see the complicity of military industrial complexes in western countries who by their aggressive salesmanship, are trying to create a war hysteria, everywhere specially in Afghanistan and other areas.

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: You have to conclude now. You would be taking the time of other hon. members of your party.

SHRI K. P. SINGH DEO: I shall conclude as soon as possible.

In this context, I would only like to say that history reminds us that subjugation by foreigners was more due to neglect of the study of the science of warfare than lack of resources, material and human. Therefore, I would like to quote Dr. Noble Frankland, Director of the Imperial War Museum, which is dedicated to the study of war from all aspects. He has said that a war-likedisease has to be studied for three main reasons—firstly, in the hope of preventing it; secondly, if it occurs nonetheless, in trying to serve it and thirdly, for the purpose of understanding the society

in which we live, which, whether we like it or not, is influenced by past war and the militant spirit of mankind.

Having said, this, I would crave your indulgence, Sir, and thank the Minister and the Ministry for having prepared this excellent report. In regard to all the three services—Army, Navy and Air Force—whether it is modernisation of equipment, whether it is acquisition of newer generation of equipment, whether it is in armour, artillery signals, engineering, infantry or missiles, they tried to do their best under the circumstances of financial constraints. I would also like to point out that in the case of armour, we see in the report that we are going in for certain acquisition. I would like to know whether it is not possible, like other countries have done, to do retrofitting of our old Centurions, which have proved their worth and which can play their role effectively for another five to six years, whereby we will have to spend only 50 per cent of what we are going to spend in trying to acquire absolutely new tanks and armour.

The same is the question with the infantry combat vehicle or armed personnel carrier. Since we have the capacity technical know-how, expertise of doing this, in our base workshops, why are we not trying to utilise all this manpower and expertise?

As I said, in this Budget, the Government has tried to modernise and acquire new weapons without expanding the Armed Forces. When the Government is trying to acquire modern weapons, planning for manufacturing such weapons is also necessary.

I would like to know whether the Government has taken the trouble to study whether our country as a whole, like other countries, can be given military training in the form of the Territorial Army, which is now a step-child of the Armed Forces.

Mr. Shivraj Patil brought a legislation in the last session which had authorised Parliament to have the laying provision. That means, that no rules or regulations of the Territorial Army would be amended without the sanction of Parliament. When the Territorial Army was set up in 1949, its authorised strength was 1.3 lakh and the strength of the Armed Forces was 3 lakh. Now, Armed Forces have grown to 11 lakhs and the Territorial Army has come down to 45,000. That shows that we have not put enough effort to build the Territorial Army, which the citizens' army and which provides the opportunity for every able-bodied men between 18 and 35 to take military training and contribute to the defence of the country. Why I am saying this is that in various countries they have physical education for the development of character and for improving the health of the nation. In our country only NCC, is there which is limited to students for developing character and discipline. But here is the Territorial Army where a Battalion costs one-sixth of the total cost on the regular Army Battalion and can impart military training and produce able-bodied, disciplined and trained manpower which will be an asset, not only to the country but also to the public sector undertakings and various other industries and thereby help the development of the country.

SHRI RATANSINH RAJDA (Bombay South): Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, defence occupies a pivotal position in our national endeavour concerning the intricacies of the whole gamut of national security. The present age has been characterised by some one as an age of conflict and dark clouds of war are looming large like the sword of democles across our frontiers. Defence, therefore, today is a multi-dimensional problem. I have carefully gone through the Report presented by the Defence Ministry. If there is any domain where the entire country can speak with near-unanimity that can be the domain or the sphere of national

[Shri Ratansingh Rajda]

17.00 hrs.

defence. I am in complete agreement with the assessment made in the report with regard to the national security environment. The geopolitical and strategic position of India has placed us in a peculiar position. A piquant situation has been created, a vivid scenario visible around our country. What is the scenario? There is a perceptible escalation of tension in our neighbourhood. Very disturbing developments have taken place in Afghanistan. There is enlarged military presence of the Great Powers in the Indian Ocean and the Gulf region. The Iran-Iraq conflict has also aggravated the situation. The activities of our northern power have also to be watched very carefully. With Super Power rivalries and machinations in the third world countries, there is no doubt that the international environment for peace has deteriorated. Taking all these developments and happenings around us, and also in the international sphere, the sign or portents are very much ominous.

I am one of those who has always advocated friendship with Pakistan. At the cost of being misunderstood, day after day I have been putting several questions, either to the External Affairs Minister or the Defence Minister, with regard to our friendship with Pakistan, suggesting that since the Soviet troops are stationed in Afghanistan, the entire context has changed and, therefore, we should try to win over Pakistan, so that it does not go into a mad race for accumulation of arms and ammunition.

AN HON. MEMBER: Through the mantram of Morarji Desai.

SHRI RATANSINGH RAJDA: I am coming to Shri Morarji Desai, our ex-Prime Minister. He was right when he told us that a stable Pakistan is in the interest of India. I do believe that the stability of Pakistan is in the interests of our country... (Interruptions) I do not know whether my friends were students of political

science at that time. They have just cropped up immediately from nowhere; they do not know the politics of this country. I am a freedom-fighter and I know what it is.

Right from the beginning, right from 1947, all our leaders right from Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, have always wished well to Pakistan and we have never shown any feeling of animosity towards Pakistan. It is unfortunate that Pakistan has played in the hands of some Super Powers... (Interruptions) I am coming to that. You are unnecessarily getting afraid. In the two wars that have taken place, Pakistan has definitely played in the hands of some Super Powers.

But, at the same time, with the changed context, in our theatre on this side, by the Soviet intervention in Afghanistan, there was a golden opportunity for our country, and I think we should have utilized it, to convince Pakistan to develop friendship in this region with all the countries. If all the countries develop that sort of constructive friendship, then comes the corollary of the statement of Shri Morarji Desai, when he said that there is no need for Pakistan to accumulate arms and ammunition. Because if she is in difficulty India would stand by her and run to her rescue. It is in this context that I am making this suggestion.

I am not at all going to suggest that Pakistan should arm itself in such a manner that those arms could be utilized against our country. No patriotic Indian worth his salt would make such a statement and I am not making any such statement. It is unfortunate that this statement or stand of mine has been misunderstood by some of our young friends here.

About this development in Pakistan there is further escalation recently with the United States declaring that they are going to give them more arms they are going to give them sophisticated weapons and Pakistan is also rushing for them. There is a mad rush in Pakistan for nuclear

armament and nuclear capability. This has created an imbalance in the entire region there is no doubt about it.

As far as Afghanistan is concerned, our country can play its role. Now the Prime Minister has just left, but, Sir, I would have pleaded with her that she can play a very constructive role, she can utilise her influence with the Soviet Union and tell them that our country stands for territorial integrity, we respect the sovereignty of all the countries and that is why we have never supported the theory of stationing foreign troops on other country's soil. If that is done, and if we can successfully persuade the Soviet Union to withdraw their troops, then that would definitely lessen to a greater extent the tension in this part of the region and that is the entire argument I would like to advance as far as Afghanistan is concerned. Today we have heard disturbing news that Soviet troops are not only dumping ammunition, in Afghanistan, but they are also crushing the freedom fighters there. Today we have read in the press that poisonous gas has been utilised by the Soviet troops and those resisting freedom fighters have been done to death. Afghanistan is giving its blood, the martyrs of Afghanistan are dying for the freedom of their country and India should not be a silent spectator and that is my plea, a very strong plea, with the present Government. I think the Government is failing in their duty if they do not save them.

In the Report we have talked about Diego Garcia, but about the Soviet intervention in Afghanistan we are completely silent as far as this Report is concerned.

In the Report a mention has been made about the Super Power presence in Diego Garcia, as I have just now submitted. But, Sir, about the Soviet troops in Afghanistan we have not mentioned anything, nor have we discussed anything about the Sino-US policies in this part of the region in

the said Report. Unfortunately, the Super Powers have succeeded in shifting the epicentre to the region of Asian theatre and that is the greatest threat to this part of the region which escalates the entire situation from the military point of view.

Besides, there are some recent development which are very dangerous and to which I would like to draw the attention of this House. The other day the Prime Minister has also spoken about the danger of global flare-up. I do not know what is in the mind of the Prime Minister, but when she gives the reply she should take the country into confidence and tell us what is in her mind, how she assesses the situation and what, according to her, are the events which are likely to result in the global flare-up. I think the country, through this House, is entitled to know from the Prime Minister what are the reasons and what is the interpretation of the Prime Minister regarding this situation which may result in the global flare-up. We have also to take into consideration the U.S.—China—British Axis in the Middle-East and the Gulf countries. In this connection I would like to state in the Hindustan Times of April 3, 1981 there was a news item under the caption 'U.S. Gulf Nations signe Secret Pact'. This news item gains credibility because it was published in the London paper, "8 days" just after the return of the British Defence Minister John Knott's ten days' visit from his tour to gulf countries. This is a new development. We should have an eye on it. We should try to understand the implications of this move—Is it a healthy development or pernicious development that we shall have to assess and then we shall have to decide what should be our stand? This creates a bit of suspicion in our mind because of the Tory administration in Great Britain to-day. It is because of their thinking and the way in which Mrs. Margaret Thatcher is proceeding. Of course, we have got

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very cordial relations with Great Britain. We are Members of the Commonwealth. The Prime Minister Mrs. Thatcher is coming to our country. But U.K. has been playing a second fiddle as far as this thing is concerned. It is trying to play an honest broker between U.S.A., Pakistan China, etc. This is very much visible from...

**SHRI YASHWANT RAO CHAVAN** (Satara): How do you know that they are playing as a broker?

**SHRI RATANSINH RAJDA:** They are acting like honest broker. They have their imperialist design. They want to play the old game. If that is so, then we shall have to be on the alert. There cannot be any doubt about it.

Between Pakistan, China, U.S.A. and U.K.... (Interruptions)

Shri Chavan is asking me how do I know that they are brokers? It appears from the events that are taking place, it is very clear. Things are developing in such a manner that we shall have to take note of this. It is not without significance that just at the time of Mrs. Thatcher's visit to India, the British Foreign Minister Lord Carrington visited China and Pakistan.

**SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA:** So also Mr. Subramaniam Swamy has done that.

**SHRI RATANSINH RAJDA:** Now he does not hold any executive post. You should not worry about it. He is going there in a friendly manner.

17.12 hrs.

[SHRI GULSHER AHMED in the Chair]

**SHRI RATANSINH RAJDA:** I am sure our Prime Minister will take up this matter with the British Prime Minister when she comes over here next week.

A few days ago a huge rally was held in Trafalgar Square to oppose the racialist policy of the present Tory Government in London. At that time one of the Labour M.Ps. Mrs. Richardson suggested to our Prime Minister in the course of her speech that during the visit of the British Prime Minister to India, Mrs. Gandhi should give rough ride to her. In her view the Bill attempted to institutionalise racialism at a deep constitutional level. I would not utilise this language nor I would subscribe to it. But I would very much wish that this problem about racialism, etc.—this activity of Lord Carrington—must be discussed thread bare with the British Prime Minister over here. Our Prime Minister should stare very firmly in the eyes of the British Prime Minister and tell her certain facts. Some plain speaking has got to be done. There is nothing wrong a woman staring in the eyes of another woman. But this should be firmly conveyed that these are our emotions, desires, sentiments, and beliefs. I do not think we shall be able to serve the cause of peace in this region...

**SHRI JYOTIRMOY BOSU** (Diamond Harbour): They thrive on conflict. They survive on conflict.

**SHRI RATANSINH RAJDA:** In view of the scenario that I have tried to project in a short time at my disposal, if this is the scenario, we shall have to assess the needs of our army. We have to see how we can strengthen the army from this view point. These are our challenges and the army requires commensurate strength so that they can answer whenever there is any emergency.

We have to see that there is an increase in the tenth-to-tail ratio of our armed forces. We should make available to the three wings of our armed forces the best sophisticated weapons and their components. I would not like to go into the details. But I would certainly tell the Government that we cannot be oblivious of the fact that in some of the vital defence weapons, we are still depen-

dent on foreign countries either for basic raw material or for some other spare-parts. We require complete modernisation and replenishment of equipment, securing greater fire-power, greater mobility in the army and modern means of communications. This shows that our army requires a constant process of strengthening all the wings so that whenever a challenge comes, the army can defend our frontiers very ably and acquit itself very creditably. Whenever challenges have come, they have acquitted themselves very creditably. The entire country stands as one man behind the army. There are no two opinions about it.

This deficiency must be quickly made good. Our R&D organisation should be further strengthened and, I am quite sure, given the wherewithal; our scientists, engineers and technicians will do wonders. We are spending about 30 per cent of our revenue over the armed forces. The country must be ensured that every rupee that is spent is well-spent and it is spent for the noble purposes.

Sir, more than the machine, the man behind the machines is important. From that point of view, about the welfare and the service conditions of the army, the entire House should speak with one voice.

Sir, since I have not much time at my disposal, I would merely touch some of the points and conclude. The entire country wants an upto-date army equipped with the best sophisticated weapons and high morale of the jawans motivated by patriotic fervour to defend our borders. The country wants an army with full operational preparedness and utmost functional efficiency. The country wants an improvement in teeth-to-tail ratio. The country wants de-mobilised men to be absorbed in sensitive border areas so that their services could be constructively utilised in those areas.

Having said all these things, I would say that as far as this aspect

is concerned, the entire Parliament, the entire country, would always stand as one man behind the Prime Minister, behind the leaders of the country and behind our national armed forces.

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF DEFENCE (SHRI SHIVRAJ V. PATIL): Mr. Chairman, Sir, I am standing here to intervene in the debate. Tomorrow, at the end of the debate, the Prime Minister will reply. She will cover all the salient features. She will speak about the defence policy and the philosophy. It is not necessary for me to speak about those points.

I would like to thank the Members who have participated in this debate. Some of the Members have applauded our Defence Forces and the work done by the Defence Ministry. They have supported the policies adopted by the Defence Ministry. Some of the Members have made some valid suggestions and some Members have criticised also. But that shows how interested they are in the defence philosophy, policy and in the work done by the Ministry and the Forces in our country. That is a very welcome sign.

As far as the defence policy is concerned, there is no divergence of opinion.

Hon. Member Mr. Rajda, at the time of concluding his speech has said that we stand solidly behind the Prime Minister and the Defence Forces of the country.

Mr. Vajpayee spoke here. He is a very great orator and he has the capacity to criticise anything wrong and shatter it to pieces. But his heart did not allow him to speak in that fashion because the philosophy and the policy are acceptable to him. Probably, it was because of that he could not make any important points here. He wanted to make his speech a little spicy but unfortunately it became pungent. But what was behind

[Shri Shivraj V. Patel]

the back of his mind is very important and I would like to thank him for that also. But by not criticising the important issues, he has showed that he agrees with them and that is very important. (*Interruptions*).

Some Hon. Members have moved cut motions.

Some of the Opposition Members have spoken today. Some probably would like to speak tomorrow. It is expected that on behalf of the Ministry those points would be met on the floor of the House. However, I would like to submit to the House that it would not be possible to meet all the points that the hon. Members would like to make while speaking on the cut motions that they have given. But I would like to assure them that all that they wanted to convey to the Ministry would certainly be taken into account. Not only that. We would like to reply to them in black and white and we will do everything that is possible, if those suggestions can be accepted.

The points which are raised by the hon. Members over here are not difficult points. We, on this side, speaking on behalf of the Ministry are in a very fortunate position because most of the Members in this House agree on those points. There are certain points which are made by the Opposition Members and hon. Members on this side, on behalf of the Ruling Party, have replied those points and they will reply to those points in the course of their speeches tomorrow also.

I would like to give a broad outline about the most important points. I cannot, because of the constraint of time, go into all details. It would not be possible for me to touch all aspects of those points.

Hon. Members here have said that the world situation has become very risky. There are no two opinions on

this point. There is broad agreement on the point that, in South-West Asia, tension is increasing. There are no two opinions on the point that, in the Indian Ocean, the armaments are being amassed. Now, we all agree that Pakistan is collecting arms from different countries, and that means, not a very good sign. We have said in the House and outside also, the Prime Minister has said and all important persons in our country have said, that we do not have any bad designs against Pakistan, we do want that Pakistan should be stable, we do want that Pakistan should prosper. But history tells us something which we cannot easily forget. There were some wars inflicted on us by our immediate neighbour in the west and we cannot forget that. And if arms are collected over there, that means a short of danger to our country. On that point also there is no difference of opinion. So, Sir, on the question of threat perception, the quantum and the direction, probably, there is no difference of opinion, and I think, our nation, this House, is one on this point.

The second point which was suggested by hon. Members while speaking is that we should be prepared to face any eventuality. On behalf of the Defence Ministry and Armed Forces, allow me to say in all humility but at the same time with all the responsibility, that we as a nation are prepared to face any eventuality that may arise. How do we prepare to face the eventuality? We prepare to face the eventuality by training our armed forces, the members of the armed forces, individually and collectively by giving them the equipment that they require, but thinking about the philosophy and the policy that should be evolved, to meet any situation that may arise. These are the things which we would like to do as far as the defence forces are concerned. At the same time we want to prepare our country to face any eventuality by producing more in the agricultural fields, in the industries, by following the correct policy,

international policy and national policy, by making use of the diplomacy in a correct fashion and by trying to create a consensus as to the means and the methods that should be used to ward off war and maintain peace, security and tranquillity in the world—in this part of the world and with respect to the dangers that may arise on our borders also. On that point also, there is no divergence of opinion.

It was said that we should modernise. I am very happy to say, and it is very gratifying for us to note, that on this point also there is no divergence of opinion. We do try to modernise, we do try to have the latest weapons, the modern weapons, for our armed forces. How do we do it? We make use of the technology that is available in our country. Fortunately for us. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru laid the foundation of the development of science and technology and we are tasting the fruits of that broad vision of our great leader, our former Prime Minister, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru....

**SHRI JYOTIRMOY BOSU:** That has remained, more or less, a 'wall flower'.

**SHRI SHIVRAJ V. PATIL:** We are in a position to make use of the technology that is available. But, in the world today, the nations are competing with each other, science and technology is developing by leaps and bounds; it is not possible for a country like ours, which has several problems to be solved, which has several problems to face, to keep pace with all the developed countries in the world. Now, there are certain countries which have taken up certain aspects and they are developing on those only. Our intention is that all that can be imported, can be brought to our country and along with that, to get the science and technology and to make use of that science and technology and improve upon that science and technology and develop the capacity to modernise our instruments and equipments and all things necessary for ourselves for the future.

Now, that is the policy and the philosophy that we are following here. We are trying to modernise our equipment with the help of our factories and our public undertakings, with the help of the private factories and industries and scientists in our country as well as we are trying to take the help from outside also, I am happy to say that on this point also there is no divergence of opinion.

Some of the Members have said that we are importing arms from outside. Well, Sir, it is necessary.

Now defence is something which does not depend upon our country alone. If we have to face the danger, we have to find out where the danger is coming from, in what fashion it is going to come, with what weapons it is going to inflict the harm on us. Then only we can effectively meet the threat. When we take these points into account, it has become necessary to get something from outside also and to equip ourselves. It is not good saying that we are not going to get anything from outside. We do not want war. We want peace. We do not want to fight. We do not want anybody's territory. But simply by wishing for peace we cannot have peace. It is necessary sometimes to be strong to tell our would be adversary that it is not good to think in terms of war against our country. And then only we would be able to protect peace and security. Then only we would be able to maintain tranquillity in the world or in this part of the world. That is what we are trying.

**SHRI JYOTIRMOY BOSU:** You are not leaving anything for your Prime Minister tomorrow?

**SHRI SHIVRAJ V. PATIL:** As far as the R&D is concerned...

**SHRI JYOTIRMOY BOSU:** Perpetual dependence on imports. That is all. Dumping ground for outdated weapons and armour.

**SHRI SHIVRAJ V. PATIL:** My hon. friend, Mr. Jyotirmoy Bosu feels that perpetually we should not depend on any other country I do agree with him. That is a good proposition with which I cannot quarrel. I cannot dispute that. We are doing that. How are we trying to solve this problem? We have our Research and Development Wings. We have our laboratories, we have our scientists working and what our scientists are doing and what we are producing is known to this country and the world also. Because our scientists have been able to do something which is very important, other countries in the world have developed a respect for us. It is not necessary for me to give the instances and say that this is what we have done, that this is what we have done and that is why we can say that R&D has developed in our country. Sir, there are so many things about which there is knowledge available to all the people. There are so many things about which probably, some small complicated things, about which all the members in the House would not like to know also.

As far as the production is concerned, we have developed a philosophy also. As far as the production is concerned, for the equipments and instruments that we want for our defence, we have our defence factories, we have public undertakings and we would be producing equipments and instruments necessary for our defence forces with the help of our laboratories in our factories and public undertakings. We would like to make use of the capacity that is available over there and all that is necessary for doing that would be done by us. Sometimes in some factories it may not be possible to use the capacity which is established but our intention is to utilise that capacity. Our intention is to equip and get the equipments from those factories and public undertakings. But if it is not possible for these factories and public undertakings to give the equipment, we will certainly like to have those equipment from the people,

from the industrialists and from others in the country who are producing them and if it is not possible to get from them also, then we would have to perforce, whether we like it or not, willy-nilly, get it from outside. That is going to be our policy and that is going to be our philosophy.

It is not necessary for me to speak about the modernisation of the Army, Navy and the Air Force and so many things. We are producing all those things and we have given an outline and in that outline report succinctly very briefly we have said what is to be done with respect to the army, what we intend to do with respect to the navy and what we intend to do with respect to the air-forces also.

There was a suggestion just now given that we should develop our navy. Well it is a valid suggestion; we cannot dispute that. But, as present, we have to develop our army. Our army is going to be very important. But, as things are developing in the ocean, the ocean bed is becoming more and more important. Ocean resources can be exploited by men today and we cannot neglect that aspect also. It would be necessary for us to develop navy also. But the development of navy cannot be done within a short span of time, within one year's or five years' time. It is not possible. That does not mean that we do not have the plan to develop our Navy so as to make use of the ocean resources that are available. We will have to protect our coastline; we will have to protect our sea-route and we would like to protect all these things in the sea-bed which can be made use of by us. I am making a very guarded statement. These are the plans we have certainly thought about. Any country in the world would like to do the same thing and, at the same time, the space is becoming very important. The air is also becoming more important. As a matter of fact, the Air Force is also important and we have certainly to give strength to our Air Force. If

we could produce the equipments required for the Air Force in our country we would be very happy to do it certainly. But, if it is not possible, in that case, we shall have to get the equipments from outside. We will have to strengthen our air force also. If we do not do it, we fail in our duty. It is not that only for five years we have the Plan; we are planning for twentyfive years. Some suggestions were given that we should have a perspective planning and we should not have only small plans. Let the Members not go with the impression that we do not have any plan; we have not thought about the future Plan. We are not spending in a random manner, we are spending in a manner in which it should be done. We do have plans; we have thought about it. We may change our ideas also as and when they are necessary. Please do not go with the impression that we spend in a random manner and in a haphazard manner. These are the things that we do. We know what is required or what is not required. This is the Government which is working and which is wedded to planning. It was Pandit Nehru who started the Planning; it was Pandit Nehru who established Planning here and this Government is following the concept of planning. Please do not go with the impression that our Defence Ministry is working without any Plan.

Sir, we are trying to develop coast-guards organisation also. We should try to guard our coasts and, about the Territorial Army and about the N.C.C., some points were raised by my learned friend, Shri K. P. Singh Deo. Well, Sir, our intention in having the territorial army and the N.C.C. and such other organisations which are not the armed forces proper, is to acquaint and people with the arms and to acquaint our people as to how things take place in the Armed Forces.

As far as N.C.C. is concerned, our intention is to inculcate a sort of dis-

cipline in their minds to make them physically and mentally prepared and disciplined and to prepare them to be good citizens of this country. With this intention we are having these things. Our wish is that these organisations are important organisations. Maybe, they are not as good organisations as the army is from the point of view of their fighting capability. But, there are other intensions and there are other designs and there are other things which we want to achieve. We would certainly have them and we shall continue to have them.

About the welfare measures, there was a suggestion made that there should be welfare measures. We do realise in the Defence Ministry and in the Armed Forces also that weapons are important. But, more than weapons, the men are important. No doubt the use of weapons is also important. We do try to give the men, to use the weapons, the requisite amount of training. We do prepare them physically and mentally and, at the same time, we do look after their welfare. We do give them all the facilities which can be given within the financial constraints under which we are working here. Our Prime Minister is there and the Defence Ministry is there and the entire House is there. There is not a single person in this House who says that we should not provide facilities to our armed forces; we should take steps to see that the welfare measures are provided on a large-scale so that our brave and gallant soldier, sailor and air-force officers live happily. There are no two opinions on this point. We have taken some steps and we will certainly take more steps which would be necessary in future.

Sir, it is not possible for me to give all the details about the welfare activities which are being carried on. During the last year's speech these activities were explained to the House by Shri C. P. N. Singh ji. He explained in an explicit manner. We have done it in the Report also. If

[Shri Shivraj V. Patil]

there are any doubts concerning this in the minds of the hon. Members they may ask us and we will explain and clarify. As far as welfare measures about ex-servicemen are concerned this is a point about which our Prime Minister is very very careful. Our Prime Minister goes out of the way to see that certain things which are necessary for the ex-servicemen are done. There are Boards at the national, State and district levels. (Interruptions)

I agree there are no soldiers' boards. We have laid down a criteria. If there is a certain number of ex-servicemen in a district a board can be created. If there is any district which is having that particular number of soldiers and if there is no board in that district well you can bring it to our notice and we will certainly take steps. (Interruptions)

Sir, we have taken so many steps. Our intention is to help the ex-servicemen. In what fashion we do that. We give them opportunities for employment. We have asked the public undertakings both under the Central Government as well as State Governments to reserve seats for them. Both the Central and the State Governments are also doing it. We give them loans for establishing factories. We give them money required for taking up agriculture and all that. We give them licences to purchase the tractors and other things. There are so many things. It would not be possible for me to go into details in view of the limited time at my disposal. But I can assure the House that the welfare of the ex-servicemen is a very important thing. It is realised by the Government and we will do all that is possible and necessary to see that those who have served our country and gone out with the capacity to work that their services will be certainly made use of by the country for the sake of their own welfare and for the welfare of the country also.

Sir, as far as the question of war and peace is concerned I have made my views very clear. Again I would like to repeat. This country has no desire to grab the land of any other country. History has proved it. The manner in which we acted in the past has proved it. We don't want war to be started against any other country. But, Sir, we have a duty to ourselves and that duty we will certainly discharge. We will not fail in that duty. We will be working all the time for peace but if time comes we will be ready to face any eventuality that may arise. We do realise that the expenditure we have to incur on the Defence Ministry is there but we are not spending as much as our neighbours are spending. We are not spending as much as others are spending and in view of what is happening across the border and also in view of the shape of things taking place in the world and also in view of the ships revising in our ocean. So many things are happening over here. We cannot neglect our Defence and I am sure this amount of money that the Defence Ministry has asked for. On the contrary—broadly I thank all the Members—the hon. Members have said that if you want this amount take it and if you want more take that also. But, Sir, I may say that we would be able to manage with this. If need be you are there and, I hope, you will be able to certainly help us. Some people have been saying that we have spent more. The first speaker while speaking said 'You are spending more than what you should.' I think that is not the view of the majority of the members in this House; that is not the view of the people outside also. That is the view of a very dismal minority in this House and outside also. I think it is not necessary for me to dwell at length on this point.

I would like to submit to this House that the preparation of war is certainly costly. I am not saying that it is not costly. War is more costly than

the preparation of war. If we are required to fight a war, we must win it. We must protect our dignity and honour and sovereignty and integrity. If we don't do that, if we fail in that, we not only lose the war, but we lose what is very important, the confidence itself which is necessary for the development here in other spheres also. So we would not like to leave anything to chance. We would always be ready and prepared. We will be always vigilant. We would work for peace. But, at the same time, we would be ready to face any eventuality along with the armed forces, along with the people, who are working in the fields and factories and offices, along with the entire population, all the people, living in this country.

There are certain points which have been raised by hon. Members and I would like to meet some of the important points made by them.

One of the important points which the first speaker made was about the motivation. He said that unless there is something of a motivation, it is not possible to fight a war. Well, Sir, I must submit with great respect that we are not a country which has existed for all these years without any motivation to live. We are a country which fought a war for independence against one of the mightiest powers in the world. Did we do that without any motivation? Is there any Member in this House who says that we fought that war without the necessary motivation? We underwent all sorts of indignities and all sorts of sufferings. Did we do that without any motivation? When we fought for independence, at that time the people living in Kerala, in Andamans, in Nicobar, the people living in Kashmir and Assam, all of them joined together and with one voice they fought for this war. There was the motivation and the motivation was provided by our great leader Mahatma Gandhi, and Jawaharlal Nehru. We wanted democracy in this country. So we fought. We wanted independence for our

country. So we fought for it. We wanted to create a social atmosphere in which all are treated at par; all are treated as brothers and sisters; nobody is discriminated against because he comes from a lower caste; nobody is distinguished or discriminated against because he belongs to a different religion or any such thing. So, that kind of a concept or that kind of a philosophy was given to us. The philosophy of secularism was given to us by Mahatma Gandhi and so we fought. We wanted to create a different kind of society. We fought and we won that war. We wanted that there should be equality and even if equality is not possible immediately at least there should be an equitable distribution of the wealth of society. We wanted to create a condition in which everybody would have something and a man living here or there would not have all the things, all the luxuries of life. We wanted to create that kind of a society, a socialist society and for that we fought. Those are the basic principles which we have provided for in our constitution. These are the basic concepts enshrined in the Preamble of our Constitution. Those are the motivating forces. It is a different matter if we are not talking about them. It is a different matter if somebody goes on criticising, this is not there, that is not there, and so on and so forth, forgetting what is done, in what condition that is done and so on. So, it is altogether a different matter. Our country has a long history; we are proud of our material wealth; but we are more proud of our concept, of our philosophy, which has sustained this country, through all these ages. So, to say that we have not got any motivation is wrong. We do have this motivation. That is why we are together. That is why we are facing all our difficulties. That is why we have been able to develop also. A country which is a different type of country may have a different kind of motivation. That is a different matter. But to say that we do not have a motivation is not at all correct.

[Shri Shivraj V. Patil]

Now, the hon. Member, Shri Vajpayee said about planning. I have already said that we are not working in a vacuum. They are not children sitting there asking for this kind of toys and that kind of toys. Now, they have thought about everything, the quantum, the direction of threat—as to what is going to happen in 5 years, 10 years time and in 20 years' time. We know how we have to develop it and everything. We have accepted the concept of planning and development. The organisation which looks after this part of work is probably the organisation which is not known to all of us here. Probably some of us know about this. But even after knowing, probably they may like to criticise them. I might give some information about this. We do have an organisation, the Chief of the Committee is there, and they do sit together, they do think about the requirements of the army, navy and the airforce. They do advise the Defence Ministry and most of the time, the advice given by them—I would say 99 per cent of the advice given by them—is not flouted. It is accepted because it is the advice given by the experts.

Now, we do have the Secretaries of the Planning Committee also and the Secretaries are from the External Affairs Ministry, Defence Ministry and other Ministries. They sit together and do consider and plan the things. It is not that they are not planning. At the same time, we do have the Cabinet Committee of Parliamentary Affairs. All the matters which are to be decided go to the Cabinet Committee on political affairs and they do consider what is to be done and what is not to be done and how it is to be done. These things are already there. Whenever it is necessary, we do contact the experts and we do ask them for their advice and the advice given by them is followed by us. Don't think that we are going just without any planning. The apparatus is there. May be we may like

to approve the apparatus here and there and strengthen it if it is necessary. That is altogether different. To say that it is not there is not correct.

Sir, I do not know whether a White Paper about the planning and all these things can be published. Now, we have the Committees, Parliamentary Committees. They do take into account all these aspects and there is the biggest forum, the august House is there, the Members who want to express their views can come here and can give their advice. They can give the advice to the Ministry. Instead of talking about the small issues and instead of criticising individuals, incidents here and there, if we talk about the broad things as to how we should develop, in what direction we should go if we talk about important things, it would certainly help us. This forum is already there and it is capable of helping us also.

Now, certain references were made to certain people and certain things. I think it is not necessary for me to say anything about that. I would say only one thing. It is not in our nation's interest to speak in that fashion. If we have the nation's interest at our heart, we would rather not like to talk about the things which have not been there or even if they have been there. There is one point which Mr. Rajda, while speaking, has said. He said "let us strengthen the teeth and curtail the tail". Well that is what we are trying to do. Please do not have any misgivings on that point. We are not increasing the numbers. We are increasing the quality. We are increasing the quality of the training aspect and we are emphasising upon that. We are emphasising upon the modern weapons. We are emphasising upon the concept, the philosophy. These are the things which we are emphasising upon. While doing that, we are certainly trying to strengthen the teeth and reduce the tail. Sir, it would not be necessary for me to make a very very long speech. The Prime Minister is going to reply tomorrow. But at the end I would like

to say one thing. Sir, we are giving training to our Jawans and officers. But at the same time, we are trying to develop the qualities of the leadership also. The quality of leadership is not material or tangible and it cannot be easily created. You can create the machines, but it is difficult to create the human beings and, the great human beings for that matter. We are very fortunate in having the soldiers who have understood the quality of leadership; we are fortunate in having the generals and officers who have understood the importance of being a good leader, a leader who can see in the future and can have a comprehension of all the things. I must say that we are fortunate in having the Prime Minister, as the Defence Minister. The hon. Members opposite are allergic to certain suggestions, but may I ask them how many Alexandras are created in the world, how many Caesars are created, how many Napoleons are created in the world. May I ask them, how many Shivajis, they have seen, how many Akbars, Mahatma Gandhis and Jesus Christs they have seen! These are the individuals... (*Interruptions*) who have given a different direction to the world. Some people have given a different kind of philosophy, some people have given a different kind of administration, and some people have strengthened the world in the field of economics. These are the qualities which cannot be created. If a man wants to be a leader, he cannot be a leader. It is the forces that exist in the circumstances, it is the innate qualities in the man, it is the inspiration which a man or woman gets for that matter from inside which can create such a leader. I think, the Members in the Opposition will not dispute this, because they do not have a leader of that kind.

I was very happy at what Shri Vajpayee said. Of course, he twisted a little when he said that last time he had started saying that the Prime Minister was the Defence Minister and that the Prime Minister would not have enough time to look after the Defence. But he had to

change his mind and to say... (*Interruptions*).

SHRI BAPUSAHEB PARULEKAR (Ratnagiri): The Minister is not in a position to appreciate the joke. He said something else. The Minister cannot appreciate the joke and differentiate between a joke and a serious point... (*Interruptions*).

PROF. SATYASADHAN CHAKRABORTY: On a point of order, Sir.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Under what rule?

PROF. SATYASADHAN CHAKRABORTY: Sir, they have a convention that in every speech, they will utter the name of the Prime Minister six times, but he has done only two times... There is a breach of... (*Interruptions*).

MR. CHAIRMAN: There is no point of order.

SHRI SHIVRAJ V. PATIL: The mettle and fibre in an individual is important. That gives the individual all the strength. But at the same time, you cannot forget the concept and the philosophy, which is the result of the thinking of the country and the leader who recognises that philosophy is the real leader. The leader who articulates that philosophy, the leader who implements that philosophy, the leader who can see in the future and understand the past and take suitable measures, is the real leader acceptable to all of us and the history. That is the point which hits them more... (*Interruptions*).

18.00 hrs.

I am very happy and it is very gratifying for all of us that everybody in this House has something good to say about our Armed Forces. Our Armed Forces are doing their duties in a very laudable manner. They have acquitted themselves very well in the past and I am sure they will acquit themselves very well in the future also. We have all praise for them. Let us, Sir, in this fashion encourage them to do their duty. Let us salute their readiness to sacrifice everything for the sovereignty and integrity of the nation, for the honour and dignity of

[Shri Shivraj V. Patil]

the people in India and for the glory of our motherland.

18.01 hrs.

BUSINESS ADVISORY COMMITTEE  
FIFTEENTH REPORT

THE MINISTER OF PARLIAMENTARY AFFAIRS AND WORKS AND HOUSING (SHRI BHISHMA NARAIN SINGH): Sir, I beg to present the fifteenth Report of the Business Advisory Committee.

HALF-AN-HOUR DISCUSSION  
FOREIGN AIRCRAFT LYING ABANDONED AT BOMBAY

MR. CHAIRMAN: Now we will take the Half-an-Hour Discussion.

DR. VASANT KUMAR PANDIT (Rajgarh): On the reply given on 27th March, 1981 to my unstarred Question No. 5301 regarding foreign aircraft lying abandoned in Bombay Airport. Sir, I am surprised why such an able Minister has given such a lame answer to a non-political question? The question is casually treated and reply is 'so evasive that it hides more than it gives out. There is no motivation in this question. The question is of National Airport Security and Safety. Therefore, my salient questions to you are. How the Airport Authority of India not taken any cognizance of this plane for the last two and a half years? Why was the plane allowed to lie in the operational area of the Airport for such a long time? How is it that your eyes were opened to the presence of the aircraft only when the aircraft started leaking its fuel? Why, for the sake of safety the aircraft was not defuelled? You have given the name of the owner of the aircraft. What attempts have been made by you to find out who was operating the plane? What is your landing and radar report? At what time did the plane land? What information you have with you about the crew and the pilot? All these vital informations are not there at all.

What efforts you have made to find out the man who landed the plane? How did the customs come into operation after two and a half years of its presence? Sir, even a bicycle if it is lying in the operational area of the Airport would have been lifted. This is not a small two-winged aircraft. It is a Boeing aircraft lying there untouched. Therefore, has any gross negligence of duty been ascribed to some officials? Otherwise, the Minister has got to give me some valid reason as to why they did not touch this Boeing.

Was any *panchnama* done? What did the aircraft contain? Did you suspect that this aircraft was that of a smuggler? I would like to have details of the radar record, and of the landing record. Why was the plane allowed to land without schedule? By whom? What efforts were made, though Messrs. Jet Power U.S.A. to find out as to who was operating the aircraft at the time of the mishap?

The aircraft has not been removed from the operational area even to-day. What is the cause? Why is it that you have not removed it, even after confiscating it, thus endangering the security at, and safety of international airport? Why was the aircraft not defuelled? As a matter of safety, the airport authority should have done it. When did your Department come to know about this aircraft?

I have grave doubts that this aircraft was operated by a smuggler or an international agent. If it was a case of somebody else chartering the flight, it could have been revealed, But the Government does not reveal anything at all, except the names of the owner and the lessee. Who was operating? What happened after this? When was the first enquiry instituted; what was the finding of the first enquiry? Did they say that the aircraft was lying for the last two years? Why was it not removed? Have you claimed parking charges or damages from anyone? These facts should have been revealed to us in the reply. Only then we could feel satisfied.