

the 64 kilometres work would have been completed. If the entire track renewal work is completed, the present speed of the trains could be raised from 40 k.m. per hour to 60 k.m. per hour. Further, the entire money already sanctioned may lapse due to this unjustifiable decision of the railway authorities of the Southern Railway. The people of that area (backward Ernad area) are very much agitated over this issue.

I request the Minister of Railways to look into the matter and ensure completion of the said track renewal work.

13.20 hrs.

357-483

DEMANDS FOR GRANTS (GENERAL), 1991-92

Ministry of Defence ~~etc.~~

[English]

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: The House will take up further discussion and voting on the Demands for Grants of the Ministry of Defence.

Now, Shri Jaswant Singh may speak:

SHRI GEORGE FERNANDES (Muzaffarpur): What about the quorum, Sir?

SHRI JASWANT SINGH (Chittorgarh): I won't raise this.

SHRI GEORGE FERNANDES: It is not the question of raising, but the Minister should at least ensure this. But I am not raising it...*(Interruptions)*.

SHRI CHANDRAJEET YADAV (Azamgarh): Why all Congressmen are absent on such an important debate?

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: They are coming. They are anxious to hear....*(Interruptions)*.

[Translation]

SHRI KALKA DAS (Karol Bagh): Those who are responsible to run the House are absent.

[English]

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: They are coming now.

SHRI E. AHAMED (Manjeri): Allies are here in full strength to support the Government.

[Translation]

SHRIKALKA DAS: Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, you please direct the Government....*(Interruptions)*.

[English]

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SHRI JASWANT SINGH (Chittorgarh): Sir, I hold that this discussion on the Demands for Grants of the Ministry of Defence for the year 1991-92 is of particular importance to our country.

Sir in a situation of rapidly transforming, indeed transformed international and internal situation where the boundaries of yesterday's certainties have altered irreversibly the Annual Report of the Ministry of Defence for 1990-91 makes for very unhappy reading. I really do not know to which period or to what particular difficulties, problems and challenges it is referring because I am sure the ...

[Translation]

SHRI RAM PRASAD SINGH (Vikramganj): Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, there is no

[Sh. Ram Prasad Singh]

quorum in the House even when such an important issue pertaining to the defence of the country is being discussed in the House.

[English]

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: The bell is being rung—

(Interruptions)...

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: Now there is quorum. The hon. Member Shri Jaswant Singh may continue.

SHRI JASWANT SINGH: Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, with your permission, I would like to start from the very beginning, because I had submitted only very few sentences when the question of quorum was raised. I had started by saying that I hold that the discussion on the Demands for Grants of the Ministry of Defence for the year 1991-92 is of particular importance to our country. I submitted that in a situation of rapidly transforming, indeed transformed international and internal situations where the boundaries of yesterday's certainties have altered irreversably and beyond recognition, the Annual Report of the Ministry of Defence makes for very unhappy reading. I do not know to which period it is referring or to what problems it is addressing itself, because it is so out of sync with everything else that is happening both internally and internationally. I have often said in this House and the other House that the Defence Budget is the price that we pay for our foreign policy. I would like to modify that by submitting that now-a-days the Defence Budget is the price that we pay not only for our foreign policy, but it is also the price that we pay for the mismanagement of our domestic policy.

Sir, I had said that the Annual Report of the Ministry of Defence makes for very un-

happy reading and I will come to the international part and aspects of it in a very short while, but if you were to reflect that we are talking about an expenditure of roughly Rs. 20,000 crores on Defence of which, it is and has been, on an average, about one-third of our Non-Plan expenditure, then we are talking of very substantial sums of money, repeatedly year after year. But the particular year to which we are now addressing ourselves is of specific and of unusual importance. The present Government has come forward with three new initiatives, the new Industrial Policy, the beginnings of a new Fiscal Policy and a new Trade Policy. I submit that when so much is changing internally and when these three new initiatives have been taken, you can no longer continue with a Defence Statement or Annual Report or continue to plough the same furrow as of yester years. While going through the Annual Report, I was struck by a very small observation which illustrates the outdatedness of it. It is referring to the previous Ministers, it is referring to Shri Lalit Vijoy Singh, as being the Minister of State. I am sure this document was published some months back and has only been updated to meet the political uncertainties and changes that have taken place. It would have been my expectation from the Minister that at least the Report itself would be updated and made current enough to make the discussion on the Demands for Grants relevant and timely. What is then of particular significance is an analysis or assessment of the National Security Environment that this Annual Report has informed us about. It has started and perhaps rightly by a very short analysis of 'Operation Desert Storm'. I will not quote everything, but it does tell us that:

"India together with other like-minded countries, had actively worked for bringing about a cessation of hostilities, restoring peace and promoting durable security in the region."

This is pure fiction and pure myth making because in the context of the Iraq's invasion on Kuwait and Operation "Desert Storm", what I am particularly unhappy about is the total irrelevance of the initiative taken by the Government of India, leave alone these boastful claims that have been made here that India worked actively for bringing about cessation of hostilities. Not only India did not work actively, in fact, India had no role to play whatsoever.

The very second paragraph of this Annual Report of the Ministry of Defence starts with such a fanciful assertion, I do not know why one should pluck and go through almost 100 pages of this piece of fiction.

There is a brief mention here in para 3 about the process of *détente* and what is happening in the relationship between the two superpowers-now only one-that is United States of America and the Soviet Union. I can accept that this particular paragraph has been so cutdistanced by the events that have taken place that possibly the very logistical aspects of publishing it etc., would necessitate keeping it constantly updated. I concede to the Government that the sheer velocity of international change and transformation that is taking place is such that nobody could have possibly foreseen, leave alone arranged for it to be published in an annual report of this kind. But this is begging the question. Because the velocity of transformation and international change is so rapid, it is all the more necessary that a discussion of the security environment that the country faces today is made meaningful by making it a topical. I do not want to quote everything from this. But I do wish to highlight the aspect of proliferation of nuclear weapons which concerns us. But whereas this report departs markedly from the previous report is the internal. That is what has led me to make an assertion that now in our security consideration, the "internal" has also become a factor as in paragraph 5 of the report about

security environment and I commend the Government for the recognition of this in the paragraph on internal situation and it merits mentioning.

"There are certain developments that have cast their shadow on the security environment of our region. Terrorism, religious extremism and ethnic chauvinism have fomented separatist tendencies. In many cases, these have received support from external sources...."

It is an admission and correct and rightful admission.

It further says:

"Traffic in narcotics has markedly increased in our neighbourhood and its coupling with terrorism has created serious problems for national security."

But traffic in narcotics has not increased only in our neighborhood, India is now the transit area in the traffic of narcotics and it would have been better if the Ministry of Defence had recognised this problem that the country faces internally. It also recognises that the traffic in narcotics or narco-terrorism is now a factor of security and it is an internal factor which is what has led me to add to the external the internal factor.

About relations with Pakistan, inevitably there is a paragraph. There is a mention here of the support that Pakistan is providing to terrorists, subversive elements in Punjab and Jammu and Kashmir. Then, there is also a statement that Pakistan continues to pursue procurement of military hardware and technology from other countries far beyond its legitimate Defence requirements.

"In addition, it has continued with its clandestine and weapon-oriented nuclear programme and its efforts to

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acquire ballistic missiles and technology."

I have quoted this really for one purpose. I would like to know from the hon. Minister of Defence which organisation has carried out this assessment of the security environment of the country. What collective thinking, what input has gone into it, because if one were to examine this with the annual report of the Ministry of External Affairs for example, one would find variations, not merely of details, but of emphasis also. I am ready to concede that the security environment assessment of the Ministry of Defence need not always be necessarily that of the Ministry of External Affairs. But nevertheless, granting that the differences the two different Ministries might have on the same problem, the question that is begged is, the institutional arrangement that has provided the Ministry of Defence with this analysis of the security environment that the country faces. That is one of the questions that arises out of the Report.

What is this concept of national security? National security is not just a concept of Defence and it is not my function here in this debate to go into any prolonged analysis of what constitutes national security. Indeed, I would find that in the absence of information that I have, I am not perhaps even equipped to go into a detailed analysis or definition of what national security would be. But national security is a much wider and more holistic concept of which the ingredients, very broadly, and not exhaustively, would be the military, the internal and also the economic, for example. I think that is where, perhaps, the challenge that the country faces today is so much marked that, if the total national security concept would encompass within it the military, the international and the economic, then I submit that the nation has never had as adverse a national security environment as we face today. This, when it is combined

with a rapidly transforming and transformed international situation is one more difficulty that we face when discussing the Ministry of Defence.

Our discussions on this Ministry are invariably and perhaps inevitably, defused the unfocussed. I say 'inevitably' on purpose and, 'defused' and 'unfocussed' by choice, because there is I submit an absence of clarity of our concepts and this absence of clarity of concepts is not of today's making. It is a continuing process which repeated efforts over a number of years have not yet clarified.

There is a second difficulty which is that we always invariably discuss the Ministry of Defence with insufficient, always with inadequate information.

I would submit that despite these difficulties, I would put it to you, through you to the hon. the Defence Minister that in my assessment, the issues confronting the Ministry of Defence today are the following:-

1. What are our security and defence policy perceptions in this transformed world?

2. In that altered world, how do we manage our defence most efficiently and most cost-effectively? What ingredients ought to go into the management of that defence?

The third issue confronting the Ministry of Defence and I am not happy that it confronts the Ministry of Defence is the internal situation within the country and how does the Ministry of Defence address itself to that internal situation which has now become a very important factor of our total security. I believe that the Ministry of Defence cannot keep itself isolated from that. The fourth issue related to security facing us is the economic dimensions of our security particularly in the context of the total economic crisis that the country is confronted with. The fifth is for

clarity because it is an issue that faces us four-square internationally and regionally. The fifth issue is: What is the thinking of the Ministry of Defence in relation to A B C concepts which are the Atomic, Biological and Chemical Warfare concepts in the context of our region?

Sir, I will undertake a brief but a more detailed examination of all these five issues that I have identified. But before I do that, I would like to share with you a quote and this quotation is from, an Address to the National Defence College of Pakistan by Miyan Nawaz Sharif, who is the Prime Minister of Pakistan. While addressing the National Defence College of Pakistan at Rawalpindi on the 6th of June he said this. I have no doubt that the Ministry of Defence is aware of this. But what struck me was almost the use of the same language both by our Ministry of Defence and by the Prime Minister of Pakistan when assessing the roles and the threats in the context of one another. This is what Miyan Nawaz Sharif has to say. He has stated:

"India's military build-up, development of medium-range missiles and the military potential of its unsafeguarded nuclear programme pose a serious threat to Pakistan's security. The threat is accentuated by India's refusal to resolve the Kashmir dispute peacefully and its attempt to suppress the indigenous uprising in Occupied Kashmir.. and brutal use of force.. "Here, one word is illegible".

It further reads:-

"India has concentrated over 400,000 military and para-military forces in Occupied Kashmir for this purpose. The heavy deployment of its forces along Pakistan-India border also serves to heighten tension. This cannot, however, prevent us from offering moral and political support to the struggle of the

Kashmiri people for the exercise of their right etc. etc..."

Then, very briefly he quotes about the nuclear aspect which is:

"The issue of Nuclear Non-Proliferation in South-Asia is another complicating factor in Pakistan-India relations. It is, therefore, necessary to place the issue in its proper perspective..."

Then the Prime Minister of Pakistan goes on to explain the view point of Pakistan. I found it necessary to briefly make a mention of this because most of our military doctrine, military thought, military planning is Pakistan -oriented because the Ministry of Defence itself in its Annual Report has spoken of improving relations with the People's Republic of China.

Before I go further to a more detailed examination of the five issues that I have presented, there is one additional point that I would leave for the consideration of the hon. Minister of Defence. No Ministry of Defence, no Armed Forces of the world can operate in a situation in which you are placing the Indian Armed Forces. There is not a single part of the total international border that surrounds us except the Rajasthan border that can be called a secure border or an established, recognised international border.

No Ministry of Defence and no Armed Forces in the world can be given responsibilities of the kind that we are placing on them in having a situation of either hostility, near hostility or potential hostility with almost our entire neighborhood. Our southern peripheries unhappily are also no longer secured. In such a situation, the task that is given to the Armed Forces, under the Ministry of Defence, is almost an unattainable task. That is why, it is so important that our concepts be clear and we be clear about where

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the international situation has now brought us to.

Before I go to a detailed submission, not very detailed, but a mere elaboration of the issues that I have identified, I find it necessary to share my views with the hon. Minister about what I feel are the dimensions of this transformed world, and what the possible consequences of this could be to us. I am not going to labour the point of myth-making about our role in the Gulf war. But the Gulf war has indeed transformed beyond recognition a great many certainties that we were functioning with up till yesterday and they do have security related consequences for us. I am not going into the aspects of doctrines and tactical concepts. I am covering or attempting to cover a much wider canvas, like a situation in which the possibility of a West Asian Peace Conference in October has now emerged, a situation wherein Israel is to sit with the Arab countries, a situation wherein the certainties of our Indo-Arab relationship of which Iraq was a fulcrum, a kind of a lynchpin has now gone. When those issues no longer obtain, it would be an error of profound dimensions for the Ministry of Defence to continue to harp on yesterday's cliche.

The war that has broken out and I deliberately chose to call it war that has broken out in the Balkans, the near certain dismemberment of Yugoslavia, one of our allies and founder member of Non-aligned Movement, the request that is being made by Egypt in Accra that the Non-Aligned Movement should now amalgamate itself with the Group of 77, other voices that have been raised in Accra in the meetings of the Foreign Ministers of the Non-Aligned Group, raise questions which the Ministry of Defence can no longer not address itself to.

The developments in the Soviet Union

are really of profound importance to us. I do not know what the Presidium has decided up till early this morning, the two-thirds of the votes that President Gorbachev sought for at least 14 of the 15 republics to virtually be independent, was not obtained by him. But it is now imminent. The debate is continuing. I believe that when a situation has arisen in the Soviet Union where the building from where Lenin started the Revolution of 1917 is now seized, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union is debarred and banned; the republics of the Soviet Union now declared independent, the future of that Union in whatever transformed form or shape it might emerge in six months from now, has a direct nexus with our total security thinking.

And not just in a logistical sense; not just in the sense of the 70 per cent dependence that the Indian armed forces have on Soviet related equipment and Soviet related supplies and spares of that equipment. There are many question connected with it. I will take a minute to submit to you. Has the Government addressed itself to them? For example, take just three aspects of the changes that are taking place in the Soviet Union.

First, in the recent conference of the G-7 countries, to which the Soviet Union was a special invitee, the G-7 countries including the Soviet Union had agreed to maintain a register of transfer of weapons, which they will share with each other. Has the Government examined the implications of that on India's defence preparedness or our weapon supplies? Secondly, when the Republics of the Soviet Union are coming close to independence, when questions about unified and control over their nuclear arsenal are in the fore-front today of the world's concern, for us of immediate concern, not just of an immediate concern as of today, but for the past two years, it has been a matter of concern because the stretching at the seams of this Union was obvious then what are we to do. We have a 70 percent dependence on

Soviet weapons, weapon systems, spares, ammunition and supplies and the Soviet Union is going the way of hard currency. Whether the Soviet Union remains as a union or not, whether weapons manufacture is distributed over the Republics, whether the Republics are going to be independent, they would inevitably ask for renegotiations and in that case, where would this 70 per cent dependence of the Indian Armed forces on weapons, equipment be filled from? I will say it is a very big lacunae. I ask this question in the context of identifying the security threat. I also ask it because it is underlined in importance. By the reports that have appeared that about 300 AFEs, possibly T-62s and T-72s, captured by Saudi Arabia, courtesy United States of America, in the cave of Saudi Arabia, have been shipped to Pakistan. There will be similar other equipment that will find its way to Pakistan. Pakistan will continue to receive this equipment, lending importance to the points that I am making, about re-thinking, the totality of our Gulf policy and the totality of our approach to the Soviet Union.

There is then the third aspect, very important for the Ministry of Defence to address itself to. We had, over the past 44 and odd years, become lazy, on account of the certainty of the Soviet veto that we knew will always be there. Should an international situation arise in which if a UN-Pak sponsored debate takes place on Jammu and Kashmir, the Soviet veto would rescue us. It made us lazy. It prevented us from thinking out the options. It prevented us from working out our own security interests to their logical conclusions. I put it to the hon. Defence Minister that the certainty of this veto when it is no longer there, how will the Government of India be addressing itself to this immediate and potential or a possible difficulty that India might face. These are only some of the consequences. I possibly cannot go into a more detailed analyses of what the international situation has done to transform the totality of our defence and security related

thinking. But I put two more points for the consideration of the hon. Minister. I think there are serious limitations on the independence and autonomy of our defence budget making.

I don't wish to elaborate this point much further. It is no great secret that one of the conditionalities of the IMF is cutting back on Defence expenditure. If, in the context of a loss of initiative on account of international developments, in the context of our being ham-strung on account of internal developments and if there is a third and simultaneous difficulty that the country faces which is on account of the IMF conditionalities...

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: Please conclude.

SHRI JASWANT SINGH: I would beg your consideration Sir. Because of this limitation the autonomy of our Defence budget making is now severely curtailed and the Minister of Defence has to share with us his concern over this aspect. We would recognise, we appreciate the need to sort out the economic mess-this is not a debate on the economic mess-but unless the hon. Defence Minister shares with us the constraints that are placed on him on account of IMF conditionalities, he would not be able to have our consensus on as important an issue as national defence. Consensus is not merely conformity. Consensus is not merely agreeing to whatever the Government says. If the Government has to get our consensus both on the IMF conditionalities and the need for limitations that the Defence budget making has today, then the hon. Defence Minister has to share with us what constraints he is operating through.

I submit yet another thought and inevitably I have to leave them as thoughts with the hon. Defence Minister. I submit that in this transformed world both internationally and internally it, were to look at the Ministry

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of Defence;s problems only from the military angle and not from any other angle, even then I would submit that our reactions today are reactive, and only reactive. Hence our policy has become a reactive policy. I put it to you that the decade of the 80s is the decade of great loss by the country. It is my belief that till the beginning of the decade of the 80s, the country held the strategic initiative, the country had regionally a position wherein we had value dominance. We had a strategic initiative and we had a value dominance. It is not possible for me to elaborate on these concepts. I would leave them as thoughts or seeds of thoughts with the hon. Defence Minister. It is in the decade of the 80s that we lost this strategic initiative, we lost a position of value dominance in the region, and criminally, we lost the entire decade of the 80s and lost the strategic initiative on the nuclear question as well.

I have no time to elaborate these points. But I leave these thoughts because the totality of the problems that the Ministry of Defence faces are essentially increasing today. Therefore, I submit that if there has to be a change, if we have to address ourselves to the five issues that were identified, then I think the first change that has to come about is in our thinking.

I put it to the hon. Defence Minister, what about that mental shift of gear which moves the Ministry of Defence from being merely a reactive Ministry? What about moving into a gear-shift where we are able to strategically and tactically exploit opportunities instead of merely reacting to situations as they arise? What about thinking and thought being applied to the possibilities of reshaping this strategic environment that the country today faces?

I put it that in this decade of 90s, and-in the context of what is happening, would the

hon. Defence Minister consider my thought that our Defence thinking has to shift from a policy based on confrontation to security through cooperation?

14.00 hrs.

If the factors are international, regional and internal, then I think this qualitative change in thinking will have to come about. I am not filling in the details. The details are a matter of subsequent examination. But I do believe that both globally and nationally, we have come to a situation wherein we have to transform our security doctrine, thoughts, from a security based on confrontation to security through cooperation.

The first issue that I have identified before the Ministry of Defence is, therefore, related to this concept of cooperative security. Time does not permit me to analyse this in great detail, but some advantages of this are obvious. It would be in harmony with the global atmosphere that prevails. It would certainly be much more cost-efficient and effective. It would be relevant in the internal security angle which confronts the country today. I put it to you that even if applied in the Indo-Pak context, wherein if we could reassert ourselves and take the offensive about strategic domination, then a policy of security through cooperation could perhaps be of greater use to the country.

There are some other aspects-if I had more time, I would have dealt with them-of crucial importance. That is where the nuts and bolts come. The other point that I had identified was management of defence. In management of defence, I will put my thoughts to the Hon. Minister of Defence. The very first aim is that you must be clear about your national aims. What are the national aims? What is it that the nation wishes to achieve. It is only after the national aims are clear that you can have a security concept and only then you can distil the defence

policy out of it. Therefore, it is vital that there should be long-term planning in relation to matters connected with the Ministry of Defence. Here, I would share the advice and views of my good friend who has earlier held this responsibility. He has been though in name only a Minister of State for Defence—*de facto* he was a Ministry of Defence. I share his view entirely that the Ministry of Defence, or the Government rather, must receive a single-point advise on matters relating to security from the Ministry of Defence. What are the mechanisms for this single-point advice? Here again, I find the Annual Report of the Ministry of Defence as a very unhappy document. The Hon. Ministry of Defence would find that there is a reference made here to an organisation called the National Security Council. The wordings of that paragraph are as if the National Security Council is still working.

I had something to do with the setting up of the National Security Council. In the one and only meeting of this National Security Council that took place, I put it to the then Prime Minister that in India, we have a very high rate of infant mortality. It would be my hope that this new-born NSC would also not go the way of the routine average of infant mortality in the country. I am afraid, this NSC, so-called, met only once and has not met ever thereafter. I do not know why the Minister of Defence has taken the trouble to include a reference to the NSC in this document as if the NSC as a body was existing. It is non-existent. Therefore, this whole question of an institutionalised mechanism, which would enable the Government to receive single-point advice, after advice has flown into it from diverse and various channels, acquires greater importance.

Sir, time has now come for a fiscal decentralisation of financial powers in the management of Defence. A great deal of criticism here and in the earlier years has

been made about the working of Ministry of Defence being hamstrong on account of their being a specific financial advisor to the Ministry of Defence, as some kind of an overseeing ambassador of the Ministry of Finance. If you think in terms of greater and greater decentralisation, in terms of financial matters in other respects, I can say that time has come for the Ministry of Defence also to decentralise the decision making in financial terms and if necessary, give the three Armed Forces their respective Budgets and let them manage their Budget by themselves. I can go into an endless discussion and details on this point but I will give it again as only a suggestion.

I know that this point comes up and therefore, I will make only a brief reference to it, that is, about the business of teeth to tail ratio. I think this is an outdated concept. In today's warefare, there is no such thing as teeth to tail. A much better phraseology and much more accurate would be combat forces, combat support forces and logistic support forces. Now, no combat element can function unless there is combat support to it and simultaneous logistic support to it. While I am on this point, I will make one more suggestion to the Ministry of Defence.

Please do away with this artificial division within the Ministry of Defence and the totally of the Government of India and particularly, in the context of the Ministry of Defence regarding Plan and non-Plan expenditure. It is only then that these arithmetics that come pretending before the Defence Budget will begin to make more sense. Sir, I believe and again I am in harmony with my good friend, Shri Arun Singh. Let Defence procurement become a separate function of the Ministry of Defence all together. Please separate the civil services, separate the Armed Forces and separate yourself from day to day pre-occupation with Defence procurement. We know the damage that has been caused because for years together,

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attempts were made to cover up the enormous scandal of Bofors. But on deleterious effect that Bofors has resulted in is that it has stopped the decision-making processes in the Ministry of Defence.

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF STEEL (SHRI SONTOSH MOHAN DEV): But now it is too late.

SHRI JASWANT SINGH: It is not a question of late. I have always held this view...*(Interruptions)*...you cannot. But that is precisely begging the question because if you cover up a scandal and then you say that having covered up the scandal, you will cover it up year after year that will make the decision making processes paralysed. It is not good for my good friend, my colleague, the hon. Member from Tripura to laugh sardonically at what has been caused in consequence. You are guilty. You are not free from guilt at all.

Sir, I am suggesting an escape now for the Ministry of Defence because Ministry of Defence can possibly not afford to have a situation wherein decision making is delayed year after year, particularly in issues relating to security and weapon system. That is why, I suggest that time has come for the Ministry of Defence to think in terms of having a separate procurement wing all together.

SHRI SONTOSH MOHAN DEV: When everybody becomes an expert in gun, then that is what happens to the country.

SHRI JASWANT SINGH: Regarding Defence R&D, this is a subject which is very close to my heart and I want to spend a great deal of time on it. But I have no time. So, I will leave it at the present moment. I will also not go into the questions that have arisen about the tactical lessons of the Gulf War or what the Gulf War teaches us about mobile war-

fare, the importance of missiles and anti-missiles, air power, importance of reconnaissance in a mobile warfare or the questions which are very relevant to us, that is, the relative importance of Advance Early Warning Aircraft Versus Fighters or the question of MBT versus Advance Light helicopters.

14.10 hrs.

[SHRIMATI MALINI BHATTACHARYA in the chair]

These are very technical and very involved questions. And I think Demands for Grants is perhaps not the right occasion to raise all these points. I leave them as thoughts because these are some of the questions that have arisen as a consequence of the Gulf War.

Madam, there is one other consequence and I find it necessary to share my concern with the Ministry of Defence. I believe that with the loosening of the Soviet Union, the Southern Republics of the Soviet Union which are largely Islamic, will come under the influence either of Iran or of Iraq. It is a matter for us to reflect upon and to start reflecting from now. Whether it is Uzbekistan or Tajikista nor Kazakhstan or Turkmenia or Kirghizia, change is coming about. We would do ourselves a grave harm if we did not recognise that change in the Central Asian concept of India's security that is now imminent. Please recognise what it would do to our security if such a change went in a wrong direction. So, we must apply ourselves to that from now onwards.

I have taken a great deal of time. I will just share with you a thought and conclude. I was fortunate to chair a Committee in the last Parliament which addressed itself to some important questions relating to the Ministry of Defence. It is not customary to refer to the work that that Committee had

done and I will not go into the details of it. But there were two subjects that that Committee did examine. One was the question of Force levels, manpower, policy and management of that manpower. On the question of Force level, I just leave some aberrations with you and then I come to specific suggestions. As I had occasion to mention this to you earlier, the Naval Dockyard and the Mazgaon Dockyard are within a stone's throw. But in the Naval Dockyard, you do not pay your personnel what you pay to those in the Mazgaon Dockyard. In the Mazgaon Dockyard, they can go on strike but in the Naval Dockyard, they cannot go on strike. You are duplicating efforts and wasting resources.

Then, what is the ratio between off-shore and on-shore in the Indian Navy? It is not a question of whether it ought to be a Blue Water Navy, whether we ought to dominate what. First let us start by examining the off-shore and on-shore ratio and see whether it is the best and the most economic ratio. I am given to understand that the number of combatant and non-combatant Airforce personnel per combat aircraft in India is 140. In Israel it is only 38. Why is it that we need 140? You have Hindustan Aircraft Limited and you also have the Base Repair Depot at Kanpur. Do you need both of them? Can they not be integrated somehow in these days of difficulty?

I find the whole business of promotions very unhappy. I find it unhappy that promotions to the highest ranks, whether of the Army, Navy or the Air Force, should become issues either of contention, or of litigation and worst of all, of public controversy. I will not go into details of specific cases or individual names. But I would request the Minister of Defence to address himself to this question and examine the number of court cases that have come up lately, largely relating to promotions. Why are they taking place? Please also examine this whole vexed question of two streams that the Indian Army

had introduced-the command and staff streams and the differential in their retirement age and please examine what it has done to the morale and job satisfaction of this particular category of officers.

Madam, I must share with the Ministry of Defence a particular concern about the officers deficiency, both in the Air Force and in the Army. I am given to understand, my figure could well be wrong, that the officers deficiency in the Army is about 30,000 to 33,000. What has gone wrong; why does such a deficiency exist; are our recruiting processes to be blamed or is the right material not coming? It needs to be examined. In an Air Force Squadron, instead of the established complement that ought to be there, there are barely 11 to 12 pilots. Please examine that.

I am now on the question of defence land. The Ministry of Defence is possibly, after the Ministry of Railways, the largest land owner in the country. The hon. Defence Minister sits literally on hundreds of thousands of acres of prime land. A Committee has done this work. I would not go into the details of what this Committee had done. I had the privilege of examining this whole question of defence land range reorganisation etc-what can be done about these defence lands-in great detail. I would request the hon. Defence Minister to address himself to this particular point because in this reorganisation and reform of defence lands you will find that you are sitting on a gold mine and if you reform it properly, organise it properly, a great many of your current economic difficulties if not solved would certainly be mitigated.

I will conclude, Madam, by making just five recommendations. There is one brief, parochial point which I mentioned to the hon. Defence Minister earlier. In the Shahgarh bulge of Rajasthan, there is a belt roughly 30 km. wide and almost 100 km. long which is

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virtually in unadministered territory. I showed him the map. He is aware of it. The BSF security forces are put 30 to 35 km inside the International boundary. Between the BSF post and international boundary, it is the smugglers *raj* that now prevails. Being a desert, there is very little inhabitation there. And, if you find that Narco-terrorism is a factor leading to national security problem, then please examine this aspect.

My requests, in conclusion would be; firstly, either please revive this N.S.C. or do not continue to play this joke on us about having it on the book and yet it not doing anything. If the National Security Council is to be there, then form it. If it is not to be there, please scrap it. But, let us know what you intend to do with it. I think time has come when we need a White Paper from the Ministry of Defence. This is an oft-repeated request, but I do not make it lightly, make it in all earnestness and in all seriousness. We need from the Ministry of Defence a White Paper giving, in detail, all aspects: what consequences will all these international, internal logistic etc. cause to our security because of these changes. Madam, we need a White Paper on this.

My good friend Mr. Arun Singh has given a very fine report as the Chairman of the Committee on Defence Expenditure. I request, Madam, that this Report of the Committee on Defence Expenditure, if not in its totality, certainly the basic recommendations of this Report, be shared with the House when the hon. Defence Ministry gives reply. Let us examine that and let us also have the Government's response to the recommendations of this Committee on Defence Expenditure as chaired by Shri Arun Singh.

I put it to the hon. Defence Minister that all these problems that we face about pen-

sion, benefits, etc. which we have discussed over the past two days and the benefits to the ex-Servicemen relating to pension will not be resolved finally or fully unless you have a comprehensive National Manpower Policy. Unless you combine this Manpower Policy with a detailed examination of your force level, this problem will continue to surface.

Sir, my final recommendation to the hon. Defence Minister remains, for him to make public to the House, what we have collectively and all of us agree to with him and with hon. the Prime Minister in regard to the claim that has been pending for a very long time about the demands of various Ex-Servicemen's Leagues for benefits to Ex-Servicemen and improvement of their conditions.

Madam, I am very grateful to you for all this time given to me.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Shri Yellaiyah Nandi. He is not present.

Shri Kodikkunil Suresh. He is absent.

Shri Shravan Kumar Patel.

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SHRI SHRVAN KUMAR PATEL
(Jabalpur): Respected Madam, being an ardent believer in Gandhian philosophy and a staunch supporter of the principles of non-alignment and world order, I am basically an idealist and an optimist so far as the question of bringing peace and order is concerned to this world.

Our late Prime Minister Shri Rajiv Gandhi also conceived of a world free of nuclear weapons by the end of the twentieth century and it is indeed encouraging that the major world powers have, in the last few years, made a positive effort to make this world a better place to live in.

The recent treaty START is a step in

that direction. However, before the world reaches a stage free of strategic arms, we cannot ignore that designs of some of the powers which constantly strive to disturb the peace of the world in pursuit of their ambitions. Only last year the international community had to deal with a highly ambitious and expanding power in Iraq. The culmination of that misadventure was the Operation Desert Storm. The military disaster that Iraq has suffered as a result of United States-led attacks neutralising within hours Iraq's substantial air force, nearly the same size as ours, underlines the compelling need for a searching reappraisal of our military planning.

Soviet Defence Minister Dimitri Yazov's statement that his country has to review its entire air defence system in the light of the Gulf War is very important in this context. Like Iraq, India's potential for air combat and defence is based largely on Soviet equipment.

Thus the picture that has emerged from the Gulf War is that countries having superior Air striking power dictate the course of war. Henceforth India will have to give greater emphasis on harnessing our air striking capabilities vis-a-vis the recruitment, maintenance and deployment of a large size human army.

Another lesson that we have learnt from the Gulf War is the military power can best be used and made most effective by pooling all available resources from which follows the need for a unified command. General Norman Schwarzkopf exercised overall control of all the forces of coalition partners.

The difference with the way the Indian Armed Forces operate is best illustrated by the report of the late Air Chief Marshal P.C. Lal's recollections wherein he categorically writes about the lack of integrated planning. India is a vast country having an enormously long border and a vast sea coast and we can ill afford any slackness in regard to our

Defence preparedness for Defence preparedness is the sheet another of our freedom. Thus an overriding national priority has to be accorded to Defence expenditure. It goes without saying that any imminent external threat has to be dealt with first regardless of the cost factor.

The present Budget however comes in the wake of extreme economic pressures arising, besides the normal factors, from the Gulf War, the depletion of our balance of payments, the erosion of confidence in our economy abroad and the consequent devaluation of the rupee.

Coming as it does from such unprecedented economic crisis, the Defence Budget has been pegged at just Rs. 16,350 crores against the last year's expenditure of Rs. 15,750 crores.

In real terms it may appear to be a decrease over the last year's allocation; since sustained and healthy growth rate of economy is absolutely indispensable for maintaining an adequate level of defence "Nothing" say Engels "is more dependent on economic conditions than precisely the Army and the Navy." Inevitably, every year during the Budget Session views are expressed about the affordability and adequacy of our Defence allocations. Much, of course, depends on the criteria used to determine the external threat perceptions.

According to a British General "No country or alliance can consider itself adequately defended unless it has a range of capabilities available to its opponents." Translated in terms of India's geopolitical situation it means that we cannot consider ourselves adequately defended unless we can match full range of capabilities of our potential adversaries, namely, Pakistan and China at least singly if not collectively. Yet it is indeed relevant that for determining affordability the main criteria should be in

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terms of human development. I quote "The military expenditure of a nation cannot be considered affordable unless certain minimum standards of health, education and welfare of the people have been met." Looking to these parameters the present allocation seems to be rather adequate.

Viewing the situation in the present context we see a continuing effort on the part of Pakistan in augmenting and reinforcing its military power. Besides acquiring M-11 missiles from China it is acquiring at least 40 F7 fighter planes from China and striving to secure the second package of 60 F-16's from U.S.A. In this context, our scientists and technicians deserve our heartiest congratulations for successfully testing Prithvi, Agni, Trishul, Akash and Nag missiles. One disturbing news is that some 300 tanks captured intact from Iraqi retreating forces are somehow finding their way to Pakistan. Indian Government should take necessary action.

As an aftermath of Glasnost and Perestroika the process of increasing co-operation between USA and USSR continues to gather momentum. Fundamental political changes are occurring in the East European countries. Because of these momentous changes the military role of the Warsaw Pact has ended. The recent development in Russia are further going to have a far-reaching impact on global non-proliferation of nuclear weaponry provided their nuclear submarines do not fall in wrong hands. Even the conventional weapons and forces in Europe will be reduced to significantly lower level.

The recent signing by France and China of nuclear non-proliferation programme should induce India to follow suit subject of course to the fact that Pakistan gives up all its designs and efforts to building a nuclear weapon. I am sure the Super Power can play

a key role in making South East Asia a nuclear free zone. Perhaps the recent visit of Gen. Rodrigues to USA could throw some light to this aspect.

I agree with the views of the hon. Member, Jaswant Singh. There are certain developments that have cast their shadow on the security environment of this entire region. Terrorism, religious extremism and ethnic chauvinism have fomented separatist tendencies and in many cases they have received support in India from our neighbouring countries which is greatly regrettable.

Traffic in narcotics has markedly increased in our neighbourhood and its coupling with terrorism has created serious problems for national security.

Perhaps the formation of National Security Council could play a pivotal role in times to come, taking into account linkages between the evolving external situation in the political military and economic field and our domestic situation.

The Ordnance Factories in India need to be urgently technologically upgraded. The process of modernization should start at the earliest. With the possibilities of spares procurement from the Soviet Union and erstwhile Eastern Block countries being converted to Hard Currency we must embark on crash reorientation programme to service the Soviet Block equipment in terms of earning foreign exchange. These same factories can meet the requirements of a phenomenal global market wherein other countries are facing similar problems as India, but they do not have the infrastructure to meet their defence requirements.

This has become even more necessary with the recent trend of events in the USSR.

The defence production factories at

Jabalpur should be kept foremost in mind while deciding upon the modernisation plan so as to safeguard the interests of over 40,000 Government employees there.

Jane's Defence Weekly of 24th August 1991 clearly quotes that Soviet scientists who visited India recently have suggested that the missile systems could be overhauled using the existing material in India in our factories.

In the end, I would like to state that India being a peninsula has vast coastline with an enormous exclusive economic zone. This area is going unexploited which we can only ill afford in the context of a growing population. An area where defence efforts will have direct spin offs in the economic sphere is in maritime and ship building industry. The Research and Development wing may be suitably directed to formulate an action plan in this respect.

I support the Demands for Grants.

14.13hrs.

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SHRI VISHWANATH PRATAP SINGH
(Fatehpur): Thank you Madam for giving me this opportunity.

Before I come to the general issues, I want to take the issue of the pension of ex-servicemen. This is something which is agitating the ex-servicemen for quite a long time. And recently the Opposition leaders met the Prime Minister on his invitation and the hon. Defence Minister was also there. Here, on the floor of the House, I would pointedly want to put this issue.

The ex-servicemen have been agitating for 'one rank one pension' for quite some time. The usual argument that was being given is that it will not be possible to make a reasonable distinction between ex-service men and the other Government employees,

civilian employees. In this regard, I had a consultation with the Attorney General, Mr. Soli Sorabjee when we were in the Government and he had told us that a reasonable distinction can very clearly be made. The tenure of Jawan or Army man is much shorter than the tenure of the civilians. In fact, for the Jawan, it is only 17 or 18 years and it a very short tenure of employment. So, the duration of employment opportunity is small. The risk is much higher. Certainly, the last risk that one takes is when one goes to the Army or the Air Force or the Navy. Also, the time of stay away from his family, you have to calculate in the defence service.

So, the hardships are much greater than any other service.

At the same time, even in the Constitution, it is given that the President of India is the supreme commander of the force. This is a very very special provision. This specific provision itself distinguishes this force from the other.

I want to assure the hon. Minister that if any legislation is required or anything of that sort is required to protect the ex-servicemen, we are ready to cooperate with the Government and the Government can bring a legislation where there can be no doubt about their separate classification.

In this regard, the National Front Government had taken a decision in October 1990 to give benefits of pension to the ex-servicemen. The CCP had taken the decision of giving benefits from sepoy to subedar major level. The Government had in mind to give it to all the officers also. The point was that at that time do we hold back this decision of giving benefits from sepoy to subedar major who constitute more than 90 per cent of the ex-servicemen, till we take the final decision in respect of the officers also or we announce this and then process in respect of the officers. We took a decision to announce

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what we have already processed and the Government's announcement was made after the CCP's decision. Then the package for the officers was also being processed. The commitment of the Government for the officers was also made clear through a press release on behalf of the Government that whenever is finalised for the officers, they also will get the benefits from the same date as other ranks. Here I would request the hon. Defence Minister that he should make it clear on the floor of the House that whatever proposals he may have in this regard, no account the benefits to the ex-servicemen should be less than what had already been decided by the National Front Government. This is just the minimum. In fact, I would look upon you to improve it. When all faults are being found, I will be happy to find one more fault here also and then an improvement is made in this. Here also it has been our understanding that this is the intention of the present Government that in no way the benefits will be less to the ex-servicemen than what the National Front Government had decided upon.

I want to state it clearly on the floor of the House that in matters of public interest there is no question of secrecy because we are all concerned with a matter in which the ex-servicemen are emotionally involved and so also all of us. May I state that from the meeting we had with the Prime Minister in the presence of the Defence Minister, we clearly understood and we were given the assurance that the benefits that will accrue to the ex-servicemen will not be less than what the National Front Government had agreed to give them? Here also we were given the assurance that a statement to this effect would be made on the floor of the House by the Defence Minister. I look forward to that statement and that clarification on the floor of the House. I want to make it clear on behalf of the Janata Dal that unless this

clarification is coming forth very clearly and categorically that the benefits to the ex-servicemen will be not less than what had already been decided, it will not be possible for the Janata Dal to further get into any committed or any other proposal of this nature because this is the minimum assurance that we look forward on the floor of the House. Governments may come and Governments may go. But any assurance given on the floor of the House has much greater weight. This is what we have understood. If there is any difference in understanding between the hon. Minister and what I am saying, it may be clarified. But this is what we demand on the floor of the House today. The announcement must come right now from the Defence Minister that the benefits will not be less than what had already been decided upon.

Now coming to the general debate, though there is a 4 per cent increase, a nominal increase, in the budget provisions of the Defence Ministry, if we take care of global inflation and devaluation, in real terms there is a cut in defence budget. We know that there is an economic hardship. We are in difficult times. But import of real cut in real terms should be fully understood. I will elaborate on this as I deal with various points.

Here it is necessary that a holistic view is needed when it comes to the defence and security and we cannot take only a fiscal approach to it. Security is not merely now a matter of the Defence Ministry, because of international environment, foreign policy, economic situation, various social forces in the country, any elements of alienation that may be taking place in any part of the country, drugs and their connection with terrorism and also of clandestine operations. We have now come across BCCI. So, now the defence of the country and its security is no longer with one Ministry. Therefore, it is necessary to take a holistic view, an integrated view and for this propose it is necessary that the

concept of the National Security Council that was approved by the National Front Government should be carried forward and as Shri Jaswant Singh just now said that it should be made operative. It is also necessary because the way the Government runs, the Minister changes, the Prime Minister changes and even the Chiefs of Staff also change because there tenure is about two or two and a half years. So, there is no memory bank today, no continuity is there and with the individuals their cannot be changes of policy. Now, this is what we are being subjected to and the policies are falsified. So, it is all the more necessary to have a National Security Council. It was considered that it will not be above the Cabinet. It was decided within the Cabinet that the National Security Council will be there, a Planning Policy Committee in which Chiefs will be involved and a permanent Secretariat thereof which will provide the necessary material to the National Security Council as well as Planning Policy Committee.

So, here I would request the hon. Minister to make a statement to this effect that National Security Council will be made operative because that is necessary to meet the challenges of security that we have.

At the same time, it is necessary to have an assessment of the threat perception for a longer period. Because of this flux in the Government, I suppose, every one is more concerned about the immediacy and the immediate and what during his tenure will be the possible things that will crop up, perhaps, the long-term perspective is lost. Therefore, defence plan of 15 years for the minimum because that is the life of our weapon system also would be the appropriate time frame to assess the various threats-not only assessment of security threat, but there should be also an assessment of what our goals are now, what positively we want to achieve? We certainly want to achieve peace in this region. How do we achieve that? So, it is not

only to react to a security threat, but also what the positive initiative we should take. So, here it is necessary to take a holistic view. Not only the Defence Ministry but everybody will have to be involved and that is why we made the concept of National Security Council. It should be under the Prime Minister who can coordinate with all the Ministries and real decisions could be made.

Now, along with this security, we have also to take into account a new form of threat of low level insurgency. Now, low level insurgency we are facing in Jammu and Kashmir and Punjab. I think in our assessment of how to deal with this, it is not the Defence Ministry alone that can deal with it, the Home Ministry has to be involved, the economic Ministries will have to be involved, the political leadership will have also to be involved. So the real threat today requires a collective responsibility. Also this low level insurgency, although it poses a threat which we have not faced in earlier wars or conflicts, is what will happen behind the lines. I suppose there should be an analysis of this and a thinking on this as to how we meet such a contingency.

All this has now become necessary to weave into a long-term plan and find out solutions for it.

Along with this, the threat perception is also of weapon acquisition policy. We do not have a weapon acquisition policy which will fit into the contours of our assessment of threats and how do we respond to it. What happens today? The budget allocation is made and the various Chiefs are allotted that money-the Army, the Navy and the Air Force-in a certain proportion, which has been going on. In that way the money is distributed. But no integrated view is taken. What will be the optimum mix? The same money can buy you tanks. It can also buy you aeroplanes. It can also buy you missiles. Now, what is the proper mix in the threat environment that we have? Do we need to put more of aircrafts or

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a combination of missiles or of tanks? Which will be the best combination? Now, this exercise is not done. So, an integrated view has to be taken and this is what is very necessary because we have seen in the Gulf war. Now it is technological war. So, just mechanically going on the way we are going on-will not do. We have to take the new reality into account because we have seen technological upgradation, technological surprises across the border. How do we respond to it? This is what concerns the present budget.

The cut has come in R&D. The cut in R&D will mean ten to fifteen per cent cut. Let us see what does this budget really mean. USSR has been one of our very reliable friends. Even today our friendship is as firm as ever and we must cultivate it further. But there the situations are changing. They have all the good reason. They all will stand by India. But, at the same time, with the economic changes that are taking place and with all that is happening many times, it is now the question of whether at the same rate the supplies of spares and all that will be available. That has come on one side. The other side is that with our balance of payment problem and also the availability with the West, how much will be there, because we know that there are political considerations when it comes to arms supply. Then what is the answer? Except self-reliance in these matters and the strengthening of our R&D, there is no other answer. And precisely that is where the cut has come. I think this is something very dangerous and it should be stopped. Any delay in Arjun tank or LCA will be much more costlier in the long run, whatever savings we may try to do at this juncture.

Coming to public sector units in the Defence, with these budget cuts, what is happening? Lot of money has gone into

public sector investment. While money has been put in and we need these units for our self-reliance, budgetary provision for purchases is not there. So, these public sector units are going in the red or just do not have orders. It is not the private sector which will buy their products. So, where do they go? In this how do we match? When we put in a public sector unit, I think a longer-term commitment of the Government will be necessary as to its purchases so that our public sector units in the Defence do not become losing and redundant units. At the same time, the spin off benefits of space research, of atomic energy and also of Defence, should flow to the economy. So, in a way, for strengthening the economy, the contribution from the Defence Ministry is there.

One thing now we should take note of is how do we respond to what we now see as daylight of the nuclear capability of Pakistan.

I think it is time that we recognise that even the U.S. Administration has not been able to give a certificate under the Preslar Law that Pakistan does not have nuclear capability or nuclear weapon. For that sake, money has also been denied to Pakistan. I think it is time that we cannot close our eyes to this fact. It is much better if we openly say: Yes, Pakistan does have nuclear capability. Pretences in this matter are not going to help us nor it will be clarifying our responses. By accepting the fact that Pakistan does have nuclear capability - it is clear as daylight - now even U.S. realised that if it did not have it, it could not certainly certify as such.

Now where are we? We are living in oblivion. I do not know how the Government will make a response. What will be the response? I am not saying that we should get into a nuclear race. At the very outset, I want to make it very clear. But the fact and the reality have to be recognised and an open dialogue on that basis with Pakistan will be

more realistic rather than trying to put it under carpet and trying to behave as if nothing happened.

At the same time it is very clear; once this reality is understood, there is a radical change in the strategic situation. Conventional weapons and conventional warfare have no meaning. How do we face this situation ? I would like know from the hon. Defence Minister whether he could assure that the country will not be faced with a position of dis-advantage in any symmetry of this nature. At the same time, we should also enter into a dialogue of confidence-building. What will this lead to ? Once this position is clear that we do not go into nuclear race pact, a dialogue of confidence-building will be needed. Because the economic compulsions of both sides will be so harsh that I think there should be more realistic approach to our foreign policy between each other and from measures of confidence building to measures of reduction of arms. As everybody knows, nuclear war cannot be won. It is not worth fighting. This logic will bring us closer to reality and also once we openly recognise the fact that Pakistan does have nuclear capability, there will be international pressures; it will not be able to put cover on Pakistan and to desist from this path.

Coming to N.P.T., I want to put a poser to those who have been trying to pressurise India to sign the N.P.T. ? What is N.P.T. ? What are you forcing us ? I think it will lead to much healthier and more realistic debate. I think the objection should not be of nuclear race between the two countries but should be towards agreement to non-use of nuclear Capabilityt against each other and non-first-strike of nuclear weapons. I think there was some dialogue earlier for this purpose, for telling each country that its atomic installations should not strike on the other. I do not know how much progress has been made or whether Pakistan has given the details thereon etc. I think pressure on that side

should go on. And then we can jointly put pressure on other countries who have nuclear capability and whose weapons can reach the sub-continent. And then we can fall into arrangement on non-use of nuclear capability against each other.

Now, in this situation, while on the side of Pakistan in the long-term certainly we have to aim at finding more practical solutions and it can be more sagacious for us that our relations improve and the ultimate goal should be in that direction, but the realities in between have to be taken note of. I think the security environment is very important that we improve our relations with China which we started and we continue to make efforts in that direction and it was a good sign that China and India agreed to pull their forces on the border because if there is no intention on either side to try to occupy territory, there is no point of heavy concentration of troops on the Sino-Indian border and the positive progress that has been made on either side, I think we should continue with China. The whole security environment changes once with China we have our relations improved and for our security I think that should be Agenda No. 1 of our foreign policy of improvement of relations with China.

With USSR already we have got relations, they have to be further strengthened. Certainly it does concern when 11 missiles are transferred to Pakistan and there is now talk of co-production with Pakistan. I think we should use our offices and our diplomacy there and try to cancel this and see that it does not further increase.

Regarding U.S., I think we have a problem of US arms reaching Pakistan and that has been our problem for a long time and the country will be telling them, that is one of the serious problems that we face. But we have noticed that there has been a shift in US position so far J. & K. is concerned, and I think there is a better appreciation in the

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sense that they are now talking about talks. So bilateral solutions should come.

The interest of US in curbing narcotics I think we should try to cooperate because here narcotics laundered money adversely. This is a nexus which is a nexus which is a real security threat for us and US interest in stoppage of narcotics should be watched. Ultimately it is the US that is doing and I think we should divert their interest in terrorism that they have.

These are the points which, I believe, we should take note of. Now, I think with USSR, in the new situation, identifying the co-production will be a more fruitful line than the supplies from one side. That will be the healthier approach and I think the USSR would also be interested in co-production. I think we improve the relations with USSR on the one side and ours with China and China and USSR on the other side bilaterally. This can be a basis of our future security framework. When I say 'security', I mean not formal arrangements with any Bloc etc. Certainly not. That is not what I mean. But certainly an improvement of relations between the three will have a stabilising effect in this area, in this region, and this alone we should aim at.

Now, after the bipolar world evaporating, we have seen that the US as one force has come and is exercising its muscle power of money and arms and all that and trying to impose its will. That is one of the fears that we have. But still as I visualise, there will be fierce economic competition between US and Europe, and US and Japan. The economic sanctions will be there and I don't think it is going to be reduced in the near future.

It is these tensions that will continue to give us leeway and in the new orientation

that we have, we should be able to exploit the opportunities that would open up on this account to our advantage.

15.00 hrs.

Then, I want to say one thing about ex-servicemen. The National Front Government decided that 75 percent of the personnel would be drawn to Rashtriya Rifles from the ex-servicemen. It was a very good proposal where the ex-servicemen would have had an opportunity for re-employment, because many times, we have sent either police or the Army to States like Punjab, Kashmir and Assam. So, the Rastriya Rifles could have filled this need and I would request the hon. Minister that the Rastriya Rifles concept should be pursued with because that will give job opportunities to the ex-servicemen.

Lastly, I want to say that the Nobel Company which owned the Bofors Company has now been taken over by the Government of Sweden. If the Government of India does apply pressure, I think, much of the information that the Government of India needs could be forthcoming. In a short duration, we could freeze the Swiss Bank accounts. Even in the Philippines case, they were not able to get the documents of Macros, but we could succeed in two course against A.E. Services. With in a few months we could get the documents of the A.E. Services with us which has Jordanian connections and also we could get the secret part of the Swedish Audit Bureau Report. Our blacklisting of the Bofors had started telling on them and had started showing cracks in the Bofors. Now, with the new management in Government, why should we pay for anything or pay for the sins of the earlier management ? This is the correct time and if the Government applies pressure, further information on Bofors would come. I look forward to an assurance from the hon. Defence Minister on this account.

With these words, I reiterate and I look

forward to assurance on the ex-servicemen in the spirit in which we had a dialogue with the hon. Defence Minister.

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SHRI INDERJIT GUPTA (Midnapore) :

Mr. Chairman, Sir, a very wide canvas has been covered by the contributions to this debate which have been made by some of the eminent speakers on this side of the House, particularly. (*Interruptions*) As far as the question of ex-servicemen is concerned which has been very much in the headlines in the last few weeks and which has caused a considerable amount of public agitation with all parties, I think, irrespective of party differences and labels expressing broadly their sympathy and support for the demand of the ex-servicemen—I agree with Shri V.P. Singh that today in a short time we are going to conclude the voting on the entire Budget, actually by 6.00 p.m. and the Defence Minister has got an opportunity here now on the floor of the House to state quite clearly as to what the Government proposes to do in this matter. Personally I am of the opinion that, that phrase or formula whatever you would like to call it, 'one rank one pension' is not strictly an accurate formula in its implication and definition. It is not accurate; it is a convenient way of expressing of what the ex-servicemen have been wanting. But the main point is that, all these arguments that civilian side being neglected or they will raise these demands once the ex-servicemen get, we should be quite clear that these are two different entities altogether.

It is not only a question that the majority of the Servicemen have a very short period of service, though that is a very major factor, but also something else. Approximately 50,000 people are retiring annually from the Defence services below the age of 40, well between the age of 35 and 40 years. This is being done, in the words of the Ministry, to maintain what is called, the youthful profile of our Defence forces. They should be young; they should look young. They should not be

full of people who are ageing. But the fact of the matter is that these 50,000 people who are coming out of the Services every year at the age of 40 years of below 40 even are trained people and are disciplined people. Perhaps they are the most disciplined group of people in the country today. I have to admit it. We have to think where they are to go and how they are to maintain themselves and their families. In the case of civilians, there is generally some sort of a retiring age and the age of superannuation is fixed and they retire at that age. Here, there is nothing of that kind.

Secondly, when a civilian employee is disabled, let us say, he meets with some accident or is injured or loses hand or leg or something, generally it is the practice that such civilian employee is given some alternative job, which is described as some lighter form of work, which he can manage despite his disablement. That kind of attitude towards them helps many of them when they are disabled. But this is not a case with the servicemen. When you lose hand or foot or something, when you are a soldier in the Army, that is the end of it for you. There is no question of getting any alternative job or lighter job or anything. You go out. So, we have to bear these things in mind.

This is a different lot of people. I am not going into all the questions. For example, other Members here have raised about housing. I know civilian employees also do not get adequate housing. But after all, these are people who are prepared to risk their lives in the service of the country. I was really quite emotionally moved when I saw all these ex-servicemen who had gathered here the other day for a very disciplined and peaceful kind of dharna. Many of them, you see, were wearing gallantry awards. They came with their medals and gallantry awards as veterans of the Bangladesh war, veterans of so many other wars. These are the people who are prepared to sacrifice everything

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including their lives. We remember them only at the time of war. This is the whole trouble. At the time of war, the whole country is in euphoria singing loudly and praising our soldiers, our airmen and our sailors. But when there is no war, in normal peace time, it is very easy to forget the fate of these people. That is why, this demand has assumed particular significance, I think, in the public mind also.

We do not know why the 1990 decision which was taken by Mr. V.P.Singh's Government which we were supporting, though it was limited and was described as an ad hoc decision and it extended only from the Sepoys up to the Subedar Majors was not implemented. The next instalment if it had come—but did not come because the Government fell—would have covered the officers also. But we do not know why that whole scheme which was prepared, which was finalised, which was worked out, whose financial implications were calculated, which went up to the Cabinet and approved by the Cabinet, was not being implemented. We do not know. Why had Mr. Chandrashekhar's Government kept it in abeyance ? What were the reasons for keeping it in abeyance have not been disclosed. I do not think, this is a correct method to go about these things. Of course, everybody knows that there have been intensive discussions going on for the last two or three days.

I do not venture to say that there is complete identity of the points of view of the leaders of political parties and the Government, but I am hopeful that a kind of broad agreement can be reached, as Mr. Vishwanath Pratap Singh said, provided the Defence Minister makes it amply clear on the floor of the House that whatever they propose to do now whether they want to set up another Committee and go into further details and all those things but that must be preceded

by an assurance that whatever may be given in future will not in any case be less than what was decided by the V.P.Singh Government. We cannot go back. we have to go forward. It means that whatever pensionary benefits the Government may decide in future -first of all, of course, the decision should not be delayed for months and months but there should be some time-bound arrangement made-whatever is given henceforth, should be extra. That means additional, over and above, what was decided in October, 1990. That should be clearly stated here. Without that, the ex-service men will not find any credibility in the offer. They will feel that this is just another Committee. We have already had three or four Committees. If you just try to hand them out and another committee without anything else, well, I do not think the ex-service men will react favourably to that. There will be a feeling of bitter disappointment and disillusionment.

Therefore, since the country owes so much to these old soldiers, I hope the new Defence Minister will make things clear here on the floor of the House.

Shri Vishwanath Pratap Singh has also spoken at length about the National Security Council which was set up during his time. In fact, much of his speech today was outlining the tasks which the National Security Council should take upon itself. I do not know what the National Security Council is doing. We should be told something about it. It was set up over a year ago and its task was to make certain assessments of a strategic nature. We do not know what assessments they have made so far. In this changing world, not only changing world but largely changed world, what are the new strategy assessments that this National Security Council has been discussing or has been formulating?

I do not want to go into all those things about the nature of the Pakistani threat.

Even this morning, the Minister of External Affairs was asked about the visit of the Foreign Secretary of Pakistan recently and he has replied saying that he had conveyed the message from the Prime minister of Pakistan to our Prime Minister that the Government of Pakistan was sincerely interested in resolving all bilateral problems through serious and constructive dialogue for normalising relations between the two countries. Well, so far so good. But we are worried, all of us are worried, because the experience on the ground, the reality on the ground does not always conform to these admirable sentiments which the Pakistan Foreign Secretary stated when he was here.

What exactly is our assessment ? The National Security Council must think of this. They must have thought about it and spell out.

We are having some quite serious type of exchange of fire and hostilities in the Poonch sector of Kashmir. Now may be things are quiet again because the Army Commanders on both sides have met and tried to come to some kind of a truce or a settlement. But what was it ? It is not a symptom of peaceful intentions at all. They are giving help to the terrorist activities, particularly, I would say, in Kashmir.

After the Gulf War and so-called victory of the US armed forces over Iraq, there is a big sea-change in the whole equation of forces in this area, that is to say, in the Gulf area.

The United States may be feeling now that their technology, their superior technology and their tremendous concentration of fire power which they have demonstrated during the Iraqi war is something against which no other power, no other country will in any case be able to stand. They are left as the sole Superpower now, dominating this whole area, dominating the oil-rich area. It

was after all a war for oil. It was not a war for anything else. But what are the repercussions going to be in this area, in Indian Ocean area, in the Western part of our country? There must be some assessment by the National Security Council in this regard. Sir, I would like to hear something about the new change in the Soviet position, as has already been mentioned. I do not want to go into that again. But certainly it has some impact on our national security. Of course, Shri S. Krishna KUMAR intervened yesterday and had given some assurance to the House of the outcome of his recent talks with the Soviet authorities regarding the continuation of cooperation between the two countries in defence matters particularly. I hope that his assurances are well-founded because changes are taking place all the time. We do not know about it. It is not a question of intention. It is a question of capacity. The Soviet Union also cannot for ever go on behaving like a sort of a Santa Claus, handing out things for the Christmas, free of charge, to everybody right and left. They are in a tremendous economic crisis themselves, in a crisis of resources. Therefore, the terms of these cooperation and supplies and all that, the terms if they are amended or changed to some extent, we should not be surprised or should not take it amiss. It does not mean that the supplies will not come anymore. But they may not come on the type of terms on which we are getting them earlier. But we have to get those supplies, I believe, because 80-85 percent of our weaponry has been supplied from that country. We cannot suddenly turn-over; switch over to some other sources of supply. In any case such sources of supplies may not be available.

Sir, in this Annual Report of the Ministry—I am not quoting it—they have, in a particular section, dealt with—what they said was—the main thrust of the Seventh Defence Plan which is now coming to an end. We have been having the five-yearly Defence Plan since 1963. This report refers to, what it

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considers to have been, the main thrust of the Seventh Plan. Now, the Eighth Plan is being chalked out. What is going to be the main thrust of this in the Eighth Plan? The Ministry must have thought about it. The National Security Council must have thought about it. What is to be the main thrust of this Eighth Defence Plan in the new environment? Broadly, something should be told to us. Obviously, air-power, of course, has become increasingly decisive. It is true that air-power does not mean only having combat aircraft. It does not mean only having helicopters. It means all these things. It also means having missiles and all that. So, this air-power will be decisive in any future hostilities. Unfortunately, most of the equipment which is needed today for developing the air-power is having to be inducted and will continue to be inducted for some time, I presume, from abroad. We have not yet developed our indigenous capacity to the extent of providing this country with adequate air-power indigenously-manufactured. There is some progress, a little bit progress but that is far from adequate. So, what is going to happen? We should know about it. Very expensive things are going on inducted from abroad.

Sir, we are suffering from a tremendous resources crunch. There is no doubt about it. Whatever may be the reasons for it. I am not going into that. The fact of the matter is that there is a tremendous crunch in resources, particular in foreign exchange resources this country is having to face now. Otherwise, we would not have to go to IMF, this and that. But to buy this type of equipment from abroad is something which is really a quite formidable prospect.

And I agree with Shri. V.P. Singh that much more attention, much more serious basic attention will have to be paid to the question of self-reliance which I know has

got limitations. We may like to be self-reliant in these things. But we cannot just use it as a phrase. But much more attention has to be given.

We spent something like Rs. 1500 crores a short while ago in entering into this contract with the Bofors Company for the purchase of these Howitzers. That agreement, that contract with Bofors included the number of guns which would be supplied to this country within a certain time schedule. After that we do not know anything about what is happening. The spares for those guns, the ammunition for those guns were all, according to that contract, to be supplied to us within a certain time frame. And I wish to know about it. It is no secret, I think, now for anybody whether at least terms of that contract in these respects is being properly adhered to or not by the supplier. The other part of the agreement was developing of indigenous capacity to manufacture the Bofors guns on the basis of their Swedish technology. That is a part of the contract. We paid money for that. It was said, "they will help us to set up indigenous production base here." What has happened about that?

May we know something? Vast sums of money are involved in it. Though the Defence Minister may not be the only authority to speak on this question about further investigation into that Bofors kickbacks case, yet the way has been cleared. I do not know why my friend on that side gets so agitated about it. We want the truth to come out. It does not matter, what it is. It is better the truth comes out so that all kinds of rumours and gossips and all that can be dispelled. Somebody has taken that money. It is not our saying. It is the National Audit Commission of Sweden which revealed, for the first time, that this company had paid an amount of about Rs. 85 crores to somebody. But they said that they could not reveal the identity of persons who took the money. That is their law, their rules. I do not know that. After that prolonged exercise has

been gone into and you know very well that a case has been taken to court where the FIR lodged by the CBI was challenged by a Gentleman who filed a Public Interest Litigation- one Shri H.S. Choudhuri- whom the Supreme Court has now declared to be a person who has no locus standi at all and who cannot enter into this litigation. But that litigation was dragged on for months together demanding that the FIR lodged by the CBI should be withdrawn. Well, that thing has fallen through. There was a deadline. Had that judgement of the Supreme Court not come earlier than the deadline, then all that submissions we had made to the Swiss Bank including Letter Rogatory and all that, the whole thing would have fallen through. Luckily, I am happy the Supreme Court delivered its judgement just in time and has declared that the FIR is thoroughly valid and this Gentleman who filed the case has no *locus standi*. Therefore, there is no bar now. The Swiss Bank was ready to give us certain information, certain documents and material regarding those people who have got their accounts in those Banks and who are alleged -alleged I say - to have been the recipients of this kickback money. Now I want to know from the Government whether they are seriously going to pursue this investigation or not. There is no bar now. As he said, in the meantime, this Company, the parent company of Bofors has gone bankrupt. (*Interruptions*) What has happened to you? I will talk to you afterwards. The parent company of Bofors has gone bankrupt, has been declared bankrupt in Sweden and has been taken over by the Government.

I hope that this is not going to present them any technical difficulty in the way of our recovering ultimately that kick-back money which was included in the price of the guns and which we are entitled to recover. We are not going to pay that kick-back money which will be pocketed by somebody else. So, the Government of India has to fight this matter further, prosecute this investigation and see

to it that it ends favorably for us.

I want to make only one or two points. One point is that in view of this crunch in resources of foreign exchange, we cannot go on buying more and more expensive equipment from abroad. Whatever is absolutely essential, if we cannot do without it, then we will have to buy, we will have to get some money. Otherwise, I think, an extended programme of better maintenance of equipment, which we have already have which is not bad equipment, and some upgrading work can be done. For example, the tank engines can be upgraded. It was done by many countries. Retro-fitting of tanks and the guns of these tanks can be upgraded. But, it will require allocation of more funds for our base workshops. The base workshops of the army do not do an excellent job. I do not think that it is properly recognised everywhere by everybody. The base workshops do a first class job. But, they require much more funds now and a little bit of modernisation. And the ordnance factories, those of them, which help in this work of developing self-reliance should also be helped with more funds and any other things that they need.

We are in favour of the policy of the Government which of course, had been brought about under great compulsion of, of compressing our imports as far as possible. Because, we are not in a position to enjoy the luxury of unrestricted imports. The imports are being compressed but they should not be compressed to a point where our public sector undertakings in the defence sector are not able to get their essential components and parts, with which they have to carry on their production. In fact, the Finance Minister had told us one day that if we do not compress the imports, there are big public sector undertakings-defence undertakings-which may have to be closed down, because they cannot get their essential imported components. So, that must be looked into. Secondly, I want to ask a question, which I ask every

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year, but never get a reply. What is the fate on the main battle tank ? Year after year, we have been told that 'Arjun' is still undergoing trials. There were trials after trials, but no engine could be developed. The trouble is that an adequate tank engine has not been developed in this country, up till now. We have tried to do it in public sector, private sector and everywhere. But, we could not get an engine which has the requisite horsepower to propel a new modern battle tank like this-MBT, which we had conceived of. I do not know, how much money had been spent on it. I think that you should be frank and tell the country that the concept of this Arjun Tank is not going to come off. It is better to drop it. There is no use keeping it going on from year to year like this without any prospect of its fructifying into a kind of tank that we need. You have got our old trustee-Vijayanta; you have got 355; you have got 372 and you have got these BMP 1 and 2. Of course all are imported. But, we can improve their capabilities by working on them. Many countries, even Israel, which Shri Jaswant Singh was talking about, had done a great deal of upgrading and retrofitting of all their old tanks and are using them quite effectively.

Similarly, there is the question of light combat aircraft. I will be very happy to know, at what stage project is. This is also something, which we hear year after year. Is it still viable or is it being abandoned or what ? This light combat aircraft, according to your book, its report, the prototype, as a test, may be flown, four years from now.

Four years hence in 1994 or 1995, he was saying, two test flights of the prototypes may be held. How much are we spending on this, I do not know. But we are not making progress at all. So, more funds must be spent on our indigenous defence research and development. They must be given some

specific tasks, some jobs to do within, as far as possible, some kind of a time-frame.

You are going in for privatisation for some time now of defence supplies, associating the civil sector with our defence sector for the supply of many articles and items. I have only this to say that the privatisation of this type should be restricted to non-lethal items only. There will be a temptation. I know there will be a trend towards allowing this private sector to produce what are called critical components. It is mentioned in your book approvingly mentioned that critical components of sophisticated equipment are also increasingly being given to the private sector to manufacture. I think the Minister knows very well that in the recent Industrial Policy Resolution of this Government, the items which are specified, will continue to be in the public sector. Defence is one of them defence equipment and defence items. Well, For the last few years, you have given some hundreds of crores worth of orders to the private sector. But please be vigilant that it does not come into the lethal items. What is the meaning of critical components of sophisticated equipment, including combat vehicles. It is mentioned here. So, defence supplies generally should continue to be reserved for the public sector because that is what your new Industrial Policy Resolution also days.

Then, there is a reference here-which I welcome that the cost effectiveness of defence expenditure should be given top priority. Obviously when we are in this financial mess-cost effective expenditure is always necessary now it is much more necessary. But you go through the Defence audit reports and the reports of the CAG. Many have been published recently. They are published periodically. They are never discussed in Parliament or anywhere else. They paint a very gloomy picture. Thousands of crores of rupees are being wasted due to cost over-runs and due to defective equipment being brought and

found to be useless and all sorts of things. They are all listed in the CAG's report. But somebody must be accountable for that. We do not hear of any people who are, after inquiry found to be responsible for all these gross wastages, being brought to book and being hauled up. Then, this will go on year after year like this.

One or two points only more and I will finish. This accountability, of course, has been referred to here. But the accountability a major casualty not only in the defence sector, accountability has generally been a casualty in this country. But in Defence, we cannot permit it to go on like this. Therefore, I would beseech of you that when you talk of cost-effectiveness, go into all these audit reports and CAG's reports and see what has been happening. Sometimes it is a criminal wastage taking place. It is just blandly written there that so many thousand crores of some particular item were ordered. They came. They came late, first of all. After they came, they were found to be defective. They could not be used and they are lying there for months and years together. Somebody must be accountable for all this. The immediate thing is accountability. Otherwise no country can function. So, please look into all this.

Another point I want to make is about promotions at the highest level. I am not talking about any other level. I am talking about the highest level.

You cannot go higher than the Chiefs of Staff level, that is, Chief of Army Staff Chief of Air Staff and Chief of Naval Staff. Promotions to these posts in our country have to follow and had always followed some strict well established conventions and norms which are generally accepted in the Services and by everybody. I only want to say that there should not be any suspicion at any time that this policy of promotion is being distorted due to some subjective and personal considerations. I deliberately do not want to refer

to some recent controversial decisions which have taken place in the question of promotions at the highest level. But I believe that if these norms and conventions were properly adhered to, these suspicions would not have arisen. And it is very bad for the health of the Defence Services. Therefore, it is the obligation of the Defence Minister to see that only the senior most and the best of the officers are appointed as the Chiefs of Staff and nobody else manages to get in by some other means.

Finally, I agree with the Defence Minister himself who has not spoken anything here just now but had been speaking outside in various places. I read one of his statements with which I agree 100 percent, if he has not quoted wrongly, that is, there should not be increasing use of the Army, as there is, for purposes which are really supposed to be purposes of the civilian police or other paramilitary forces. He had referred to the fact that some State Governments have got into the habit of just telephoning and saying that there is an uncontrollable law and order situation or some riot situation and to please send the Armed Forces immediately. And in such a situation, Sir, you have to send the Armed Forces immediately. And in such a situation, Sir, you have to send the Army sometimes. You cannot avoid sending it when some Chief Minister is saying everything is burning and all that. But the point is, Sir, the use of the Army more and more for controlling this kind of a law and order situation and for breaking strikes sometimes I must refer to it because I am a trade unionist—or for even carding certain areas in towns and cities and carrying out house to house search within the carded area is not, strictly speaking, the job of the Army. Army's job is to guard our borders against threat of external aggression and they should not be used more and more for purposes which are policing purposes and it is not good for the Army also. The Army is not trained for this job. It is trained for absolutely

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different type of job. If they are used of policing purposes and if they are moving about him convys and if somebody throws something from the side of the road on that convoy, then we know how the Army will react. They will stop the convoy and get down and burn the whole village. It is happening in Jammu and Kashmir and Punjab and other places. That is the training of the Army. I do not blame them. That is the way they have been trained. Either you kill and you will be killed. But in many of these places where you are dealing with, a large civilian population may be misguided for the time being, may be they have been agitated because of something. But, basically, the civilian population cannot be dealt with by the Army in this way and it will lead to all sorts of complications which we are having to face now. Talk about human rights suppression, stories of torture, etc. This is a very unpleasant thing which we do not like to hear. And therefore, if you go on using the Army, it is bad for the Army's morale also. It is bad for the morale of the Jawans. It lowers the prestige of the Army. Some cases of indisciplined behaviour towards the civilian population becomes inevitable because of the kind of conflict and clash which is taking place. And whenever they do take place, they should be immediately inquired into and also on the complaints being received. This is very essential.

We do not want this to be internationalised. We do not want the International Amnesty and some other Human Rights Commissions to come here and shout about the excesses being committed by our Armed Forces. Same thing happened when the IPKF was in Sri Lanka. You put them into an environment which they are not accustomed to at all. They have to fight in the midst of a hostile population and fight in the middle of jungles and in terrains with which they are not acquainted at all. They have to face

people who are carrying out guerrilla type of operations like laying mines and carrying out ambushes. Our Army is not trained for this kind of operations at all. Therefore, I think Sir that it is best to the extent possible to avoid using the Army in a hurry for some adhoc type of operations or mainly for purposes which are not Army purposes, which should be dealt with other people. It is your job that you have to improve the efficiency of your Armed Police and para-military forces and all that. They should be able to deal with such situation. The Army should not be called upon to get involved and mixed up in these things because in the long run, it will do no good either to our country or to the morale of the army or to the civilian people who have to face these encounters. I hope I have not misread the statement of the Defence Minister which he made outside recently and I also hope that he will also confirm what I have said.

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SHRI D. VENKATESHWARA RAO (Bapatla) : Mr. Chairman Sir, thank you very much for giving me an opportunity to speak. Many of my senior colleagues both their vast experience, have dealt with various aspects of our Defence, varying from service conditions, research and development, external relations, nuclear weapon strategy and also our relations with the USSR, China, Pakistan.

I do not have a personal knowledge about Defence, but what I would like to bring to the notice of the Government is based on some news items and also some informations that I could get from some publications.

I am given to understand that between 1985 and 1989, our purchases for Defence were to the tune of about 17 billion dollars or so. Most of these purchases were for Soviet Migs, German submarines and the Swedish Bofors guns, etc. So, a lot of foreign exchange was spent to purchase all these weapons. We are very much aware of the recent financial crisis due to shortfall in foreign ex-

change. The Government must necessarily curtail this expenditure to overcome the crises. For this, it has to adopt some measures. With regard to Defence requirements, the process of indigenisation should be developed and unnecessary wastage should be avoided. By adopting this type of methods, we can reduce the expenditure on Defence.

While discussing modernisation and indigenisation of our weaponry, we have come across certain faults. For example, the Director General of Ordnance Factories wanted to set up the required infrastructure for indigenous manufacture of Bofors type of gun. In 1989, the cost was estimated at Rs. 1,100 crore, of which Rs. 850 crore was allocated for the new gun production line, Rs. 250 crore for the factory to manufacture eight types of ammunition and two charge bags for the Bofors gun.

The Cost Effective Study conducted by the Master General of Ordnance (M.G.O.) shows that the Bharat Earth Movers Limited, one of the eight public sector undertakings, is willing to set up a gun production line at the cost of Rs. 120 crores. Similarly, a Pune based Private firm can produce cartridges at the cost of Rs. 20 crores, which would be filled with the explosives by the Ordnance factory later on. So, a clear cut thousand crores of saving is there. These types of savings should be kept in mind when we are dealing with the arms purchase.

The war wastage rate should be reduced. We have still several purchases to make, which are all pending for one or another reason. For example, the Bison project. It was sanctioned in 1961 and was meant to update the Vijayanta Tanks. This was abandoned in 1987. A suitable engine to replace the existing Leyland L-60 was not found and this affected 1,700 Vijayanta Tanks.

Project Rhine, sanctioned in 1987 for

updating the T-72 tank was a non-started.

Project Panther, meant to update T-54/55 has achieved very little.

Fourteen years of work has not produced a single type of prototype of -Arjun Tank. As per the Army perspective Plan by 2000, about 10 regiments were to be equipped with Arjun Tanks.

So, when all these projects have not been implemented the war wastage rate should have been reduced.

The Comptroller and Auditor General pointed out that in 1982 some guns were purchased and Rs. 33.62 crores worth of ammunition were also ordered. But in 1985 the guns order was cancelled but the order for ammunition was kept valid. So, when the guns were not purchased, the ammunition that we were getting became useless. In this way there was Rs. 33.62 crores of loss to the exchequer.

15.49 hrs

[MR. SPEAKER *In the chair*]

Another area mentioned by the Audit in this regard is chetak Helicopter. A sanction of Rs. 6.92 crores to modify Chetak Helicopter for an Anti-tank role proved suboptimal. As the amount was too meagre they could not fulfil the required projections.

In the Navy, they refused to visit the place of submarines when they were not upto the mark. Moreover sufficient funds were not given with the result that they became helpless so, in this manner, various projects which were started did not give the desired results; this was due to lack of proper planning. We have got some other examples where light combat aircraft project and other projects- it was mentioned by my senior colleagues also- were initiated in 1960. All

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these projects are still pending without any kind of progress.

The other area where we can curtail expenditure is the transport system. We have got one, two and three lines of transport system. One or two lines of transport system is supposed to be very essential during war time as well as when there is no war. But the other system remains idle when there is no war. During that period, vehicles can be hired from the civilian side whenever they are needed.

Siachen, as we all know, is 21,000 feet above the sea level. In this area, the operations are very difficult to perform. There is an urgent need to resolve this conflict so that a lot of expenditure can be saved. We are spending Rs. 32-40 lakhs per day over there in saving human lives. If this conflict is resolved earlier, then crores and crores of rupees can be saved. Like that, everywhere we have to see how we can save money.

My senior colleagues and other hon. Members have expressed their views regarding one rank one pension. I also agree with them. We should not compare these people who are retiring at the age of 30 to 40 with the people serving in other departments. These people have to face very difficult situations during their tenure. So, I request the hon. Finance Minister to come out with a policy statement whereby he can give comprehensive benefits for them so that they will be very grateful to him as also to the previous Government.

With these words, I thank you for giving me an opportunity to speak on this subject.

DR. KARTIKESWAR PATRA (Balasore): I am supporting the Demands for Grants under the control of the Ministry of Defence. I request all the hon. Members to

give their sanction to these demands for grants. But before doing that, every hon. Member should know how the expenditure has been incurred in the previous year; whether it has been incurred properly or not. Our aim is to give some suggestions and to see how the utilisation of the money granted had been made in the previous year and how it will be made during the next year.

Sir, I support the hononorable Shri V.P. Singh and Shri Inderjit Gupta who have submitted proposals for providing amenities, comforts to our Jawans and the Armed Forces who have been fighting for the country, giving their life for the defence of the country. Country's security is the security of the individual. That is why I first want to pay my tribute to the Jawans.

In Orissa there is a tribute which, when translated into English reads thus:

"Loving country who forgets relations and affection
At the call of the soil who comes forward
Leaving all his dormant and drowsy state
To remove the sorrows of the country-mother
Who comes forward to open her breast before the fire
I pay them my tribute."

Sir, First of all I may be permitted to start from my State, Orissa. Orissa contributes a lot to Defence through many major Defence establishments that are there in Orissa.

There is a military air base at Charbala in Cuttack district. There is a MIG factory at Sunabola in Koraput district, there is Naval Training Centre at Chilka in Puri district; there is the proof and Experiment Centre at Chandipur in Balasore district, there is an Ordnance Factory at Sonitala in Bolangir district, there is a Training Centre at Gopalpur in the Ganjam district and there is a Radar

Station at Nilgiri in Balasore district.

The people of Orissa are always ready to make all sacrifices for the Defence establishments. I want to mention here why the National Test Range at Baliapar could not possibly be established so far. I want to categorically put forth before this august House that this proposal for the establishment of a national test range at Baliapar was initiated in 1977 and the then Government put lot of emphasis on establishing that National Test Range at Baliapar. But for the last 14 years it could not possibly be established. Why ?

MR. SPEAKER: You have to be very brief. There are other Members who want to speak.

DR. KARTIKESWAR PATRA: Before I talk about the Bofors case and about the comments of the Comptroller and Auditor General of India I want to make the position about the establishment of the National Test Range at Baliapar clear. That is why I would like to request you to give me some time.

MR. SPEAKER: You are quite capable of saying many things in few minutes.

DR. KARTIKESWAR PATRA: In 1980 there was a discussion in New Delhi regarding the establishment of this National Test Range at Baliapar.

At that time, the Defence Minister was present. All party members from Orissa including the Chief Minister and other Ministers participated in that discussion. At that time, Shri Arunachalam was the Advisor. And the present Secretary of Defence Department was present. He explained everything. It was told that an expert committee consisting of three persons-one person from the Defence Ministry, one person from R&D and another person. Director-General (Quality Assurance)- investigated and enquired

various parts of the country and they concluded that Baliapar is the suitable place for the establishment of national test range. At that time, I had told them not to interfere in the matter. At that time, I categorically said that this place is not suitable and it should not be implemented if the support of the people is not there. Also I told that people of Baliapar will oppose tooth and nail, and I had requested them to choose another suitable best site. But my appeal was turned down then.

Sir, many attempts were made by many Prime Ministers in the past. But no official could enter into that pocket because Baliapar is the greenery of Balasore. There is a vast terrain of cultivable land. As per the proposal of the Government, 70,000 people will be displaced and 99 villages will be evacuated in Baliapar... (Interruptions)

MR. SPEAKER: Please come to the point.

SHRI KARTIKESWAR PATRA: This is a very vital point. This should be considered.

MR. SPEAKER: All these information are available. You need not give them. Please come to the point. There are many Members, who want to speak.

SHRI KARTIKESWAR PATRA: Sir, some Members have taken more time, more than 40 minutes. I had categorically prayed in your Chamber to give me more time to express my grievances.

MR. SPEAKER: You will have time to speak. But you need not give the statistics.

SHRI SRIKANTA JENA(Cuttack) : Sir, the entire people of Orissa are opposing the national test range to be set up at Baliapar.

MR. SPEAKER: I am not disallowing him. But I am saying that he need not give these details.

DR. KARTIKESWAR PATRA: My argument is this. We have not opposed the establishment of other establishment of defence in Orissa. And why the people of Orissa oppose to this establishment tooth and nail ?

Sir, as per the estimate of the Government, 70,000 people will be evacuated. But to my estimate, it will be 1.5 lakhs of people. There are certain people who have landed property there but they do not have a residential house there. There are also affected in this and they will also be displaced. That is one thing. Another thing is that 41 villages of Bhograi also will be evacuated. And the vast terrain of land will also be acquired by the Government.

If the picture of Baliapal would not have been in the map, what would be the fate of this establishment of national test range? It would have been established elsewhere in a second suitable place. So, I fervently request here, before the House, before the hononorable Defence Minister and the Prime Minister, to shift the site of this national test range from Baliapal to a second suitable site.

Will this Government kill my people ? Will this Government come forward to establish the National Test Range by killing my people ? The reply must be that it would not be the case. That is why, I request the hon. Minister to consider the matter, discuss the matter and then take suitable steps in this regard.

Regarding their case for Bofors, in this House, there was a debate and some big persons, who had taken the opportunity of this Bofors case, had been placed at such a place in the country that everybody went on selling this idea of Bofor. But this time what happened?

"Sindhu bhitar pap chhipe na;
Nichh chhipe na badpan gai.

Sabha ke bhitar pandit chhipe na;
Suraj chhipe na badal chhai."

Truth can be revealed in a day. I demand before this House there should be a committee to inquire into the case and its report should be placed before the House for the hon. Members to know and for the country to know because it is a matter in which there are political overtones and some persons took the opportunity to acquire power. I am not naming the persons. But they very well know their position.

I want to submit before you that the hon. Comptroller and Auditor General of India has given some comments for the year 31st March, 1990, No. 8 of 1991. Those comments have not been properly replied or properly redressed. There was loss of crores of rupees in Defence Department due to negligence of officers and some other persons and because of that we are facing trouble now. It was also pointed out for the CAG that 67 per cent of what was budgeted for a specific matter, had been totally mis-used.

MR. SPEAKER: You have to conclude now. You cannot go on like this. The time is very limited. You should know how to say a point.

DR. KARTIKESWAR PATRA: I want five minutes more.

About training simulators it has been said in the audit report:

"An audit review of the installation and utilisation of some of the training simulators in the Air Force revealed, inter alia, that two simulators costing Rs. 11.49 crores had remained non-functional from July 1985 and March, 1987 respectively due to unstable power supply."

There is another very vital point and I quote that:

"Government had approved in September, 1983, the acquisition of three types of vessels along with ammunition and other special equipment at an estimated cost of Rs. 967 crores. An audit review of the acquisition, operation and maintenance of these vessels indicated, inter alia that a large number of design inadequacies in one type of vessels acquired at a cost of Rs. 618.30 crores, placed critical constraints on its operational deployability."

It was told that it would be ready not before 1993. This is the situation.

Similarly, there are so many cases which have been pointed out by the Audit about the negligence of the Defence officials.

But, I will not go into all that. Only some points here I want to raise.

MR. SPEAKER: No new points. Now, these two points are more than enough.

DR. KARTIKESWAR PATRA: Sir, with these words, I conclude.

[Translation] 421

SHRI D.D. KHANORIA (Kangra): Mr. Speaker, Sir, it is unfortunate that there is no mention of making a provision for 20 lakh ex-servicemen in the Defence Budget. All of us are aware that everybody has to retire one day after service and one has to find for one's family. There is wide disparity in the rates of pension of the armed force personnel who retired many years back and those who have retired recently. I am myself an Ex-service-men who served Army for thirty-two years. I feel that there is wide disparity in the pension of soldiers and officers who retired prior to 1973 and those who retired after it. There is a strange anomaly. When the third Pay

Commission & Report was implemented an Army Havaldar who retired prior to 1973 used to get a pension of Rs. 375 per month but today a person of same rank is getting his pension at the rate of Rs. 761 per month. A Subedar Major who retired prior to 1973 used to get Rs. 551 pension per month whereas as the person of same rank who retired after 1973 gets Rs. 1588 per month. Similarly a Lieutenant who retired prior to 1973 is getting Rs. 850 pension per month whereas the person of same rank who retired after 1973 is getting Rs. 2550 as pension per month. A Brigadier and Lt. General who retired before 1973 are getting Rs. 1648 and Rs. 2534 pension per month respectively whereas persons of similar rank who retired after 1973 are getting Rs. 3150 and Rs. 3800 as pension per month respectively. This is a big anomaly. The service conditions and nature of duties of persons working in Armed Forces and Civilian Departments are altogether different. When an Army Jawan retires he is around 35 to 40 years of age. At that age his children are not settled and he has to face many hardships.

On the other hand our counterparts in the Civilian Departments retire at the age of 58 years. They get all promotions during their career while being posted at one place and doing desk job. They are also able to construct a house of their by the time they retire and their children are settled and thus they do not have any problem as such. On the other hand the Jawans and Officers of the Armed Forces who work day and night get a meagre pension. When they go back home after retirement they have to face lot of hardships. The Jawans who retired prior to 1973 fought many wars for the country. They fought wars in 1947-48, 1962, 1965 and 1971. These men have been awarded gallantry medals but their pension is far less than those who retired much after 1973. These men got Victoria Cross during the British time and then Vir Chakra, Mahavir Chakra and Paramvir Chakra. But in the

[Sh. D.D. Khanoria]

matter of pension, they lag far behind. They have made lot of sacrifice throughout their life to get these medals. They have not purchased it from any market. They get these medals because they are always ready to sacrifice their lives for the country. But when they retire, they get a meagre pension. They do not have enough food in their homes because their land has already been lost as in most cases the land has gone to the actual tiller. I, therefore, urge upon the Government and the hon. Defence Minister to seriously think about 20 lakh personnel of the Armed Forces who are agitated over this matter. They have been returned to many State Assemblies. Besides, in 1984 there were a few retired Army officers who were elected to this House. Today, the number of Ex-servicemen in this House is also about eight.

We want full support from the House and want that these disparities in wages should be removed. Shri. V.P.Sigh had sanctioned an interim relief for this purpose. An adhoc relief ranging from Rs. 7/- to Rs. 459 had been released. This should have been given equally right from the rank of Sepoy to the level of Subedar Major but it has not been done so far. Therefore, Mr. Speaker, Sir, I would like to submit emphatically, through you that the disparity persisting in the rates of pension of retired Army personnel should be removed so that they could reasonably provide for their families and the agitation among them is also eased.

This is all what I want to submit in respect of the retired army personnel.

 SHRI SURYA NARAYAN YADAV

(Saharasa): Mr. Speaker, Sir, our former Prime Minister Lal Bahadur Shastri had given a slogan 'Jai Jawan Jai Kisan', Sir, it is clear from the Defence Budget that in our country the soldiers have remained as neglected as the farmers. Shri Pawar is an experienced

Minister. Sir, you must have observed that all these Members who spoke on this subject referred to the wide disparity in the rates of pension of all ranks in the Armed Forces. All the leaders admitted that those who fight for the security of the country and are ever prepared to sacrifice their life are in a miserable plight. They retire at the age of 35-36 years. Mr. Pawar, you would be surprised to know that after retirement they have to run from pillar to post for five to six years to seek re-employment through the Directorate of Rehabilitation such has been setup in each state by the Defence Ministry. However no scheme is implemented by them. Arrangements must be made to ensure that not only reasonable pension but also free education is provided to the children of those who were always ready to sacrifice their lives for the nation while serving in the Armed Forces. The children of the army officers while they are in service are given an opportunity of education in the best school but after the retirement of army personnel, the Government does not take care of the education of their children. The Government does not give any priority to the educational facility for the children of Ex-servicemen.

Since there is no audit of the Defence expenditure, it implies that proper utilisation of such funds should be ensured. At the time of Chinese aggression we were not strong enough from defence point of view. Pt. Jawahar Lal Nehru had given his approval on the proposal of border road from Darbhanga to Forbisganj but to this date, no provision has been made for this purpose in the Defence Budget, even though this road is of strategic importance and during the days of Chinese invasion Indian army had to pull out for want of such a road in those areas. However, I would like to give a warning that if China or Bangladesh dares attack us, we would have to face the same consequences that we faced many years ago. The defence transport system will collapse as it did during the time of Pt. Jawahar Lal Nehru.

Therefore, I would like to say that in view of the strategic importance of road, rail or any other mode of transport in these areas, special attention must be paid to this project urgently.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, just now a mention was made that Pakistan is ready to wage a war against India. We may defer it by a few days or months but it is an admitted fact that they are giving training to terrorists in the border areas. We must come forward to destroy these training camps.

Sir, you must have come across the news report wherein General Afzal Beg said that India has become very powerful and it might attack Pakistan any day. This is an indication and a warning by Pakistan any day. This is an indication and a warning by Pakistan that they are ready for a war and we should also be ready for it.

You cannot negate the fact Pakistan has a nuclear bomb. In such a situation India cannot afford to be complacent. This is high time when our country should also spend the required money on our defence preparedness and develop a similar bomb. The army should be given latest weapons and the army officers should be provided with maximum facilities.

With these words, I end my speech.
Thank you.

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SHRI MOHAN RAWLE : (Bombay South-Central) : Mr. Speaker, Sir, at the outset I pay my tributes to our former President Dr. Radhakrishnan. The Defence portfolio was held by the late Prime Minister Shri Rajiv Gandhi, the former Prime Ministers Shri V.P. Singh and Chandra Shekhar Ji and now it is with Shri Sharad Pawar who is from Maharashtra. I know the hon. Minister personally. When we went to Bombay we had an opportunity to observe his courage during a naval exercise. If he is well-versed in

politics, and it is yet to be seen whether he is well-versed in defence matters also.

Sir, Pakistan is indulging in false propaganda against India in their own country and abroad. It is also providing financial support to terrorists in Kashmir. It is getting modern weapons from America, China and Iran. It is being said that there has been an improvement in Sino-Indian relations but this is not true. Pakistan is waging a proxy war in the guise of terrorists in Chhamb and Poonch areas. For the last so many days Pakistan has been resorting to shelling in Poonch area of Jammu and Kashmir which left 22 dead. Recently there has been shelling in Chhamb area also.

I would like to inform the House that even though the present Prime Minister of Pakistan Nawaz Sharif and the former Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto have divergent views, but in their recent interviews to a foreign news media, they said that within one year there could be a war between Pakistan and India over the Kashmir issue. This means that Pakistan is ready for war. We have tried to find a solution to this problem at the Foreign Secretary's level, but in vain. The late Lal Bahadur Shastri while speaking at the Ram Lila Maidan had said that we would not respond to Pakistan's abuse with counter-abuse but with bullets. This is what we expect from the present Government.

Sir, Pakistan is spreading false propaganda about India in foreign countries. Pakistan is not interested in improving its relations with India. It buys tea from Argentina, China and Kenya at dearer rates but it is not prepared to buy the same thing from us at lower rates. Sir, we purchased 1200 Vijayanta Tanks from Britain, but the production of this tank was stopped 20 years ago by that country. We brought 60 warships 15 years ago but these have now become outdated. The production of MIG-21 aircraft bought from the U.S.S.R. has since been stopped

[Sh. Mohan Rawle]

by that country. Warplanes with latest technology should be purchased. Today, along with Pakistan, China is also our enemy. At present, the strength of the Chinese army is 30,30,000 that of the Indian army is 12,62,000 and that of the Pakistani army is 5,15,000. Today, China has surface-to-surface missiles with a range of 13,000 miles and air to surface missiles with range of 3,000 miles.

Sir, the Defence budget provides Rs. 892 crores for the Navy, Rs. 8079 crores for the Army and Rs. 2054 crores for the Airforce, but it should be increased. We saw modern techniques being used in the Gulf War. We must pay greater attention to our Navy and Airforce. Sir, there should be no shortage of fuel for our aircrafts. If fuel is in short supply, our training standards could fall and this would lead to problems during war. The average consumption comes to 150 litre per day per aircraft and we must ensure its supply for this purpose. I know time is short.

The I.P.K.F. operation in Sri Lanka resulted in heavy expenditure. But the greatest fault on the part of the Government was that that dependents of the jawans killed there were not rehabilitated. It should be expedited. The army should not be used for maintaining law and order in the country. Army personnel deployed on the Mazagaon docks have not been given revised scales for the past 15 years. Their grievance is that they are not getting house rent allowance and children education allowance. 45 per cent of the personnel are working there on contract basis. If they go on strike, the country could become very vulnerable during wartime. War can start any time. (*Interruptions*)...The incidents of shelling are not being made public by the Government. Presently, there are only 18 Sainik Schools and their number should also be increased. There is no naval pre-training school in Maharashtra. Such schools should be opened in Raigarh and

Ratnagiri which are coastal areas. Our Defence Minister belongs to Maharashtra. He knows that Navy was introduced in India by Chhatrapati Shivaji. Later the Britishers came and rules over us. So our armoury should never remain empty. Every year 50,000 soldiers retire from the Indian army. I would like the respective States to take the responsibility of their resettlement.

Lastly, I would like to know what is being done by the Government regarding the Defence Expenditure Committee which was set up under the Chairmanship of Shri Arun Singh. The Government should review that matter. There is a lot of propaganda about facilities for ex-servicemen but there is a feeling of acute discontentment among them. The Government should accept their demand of one rank-one pension. We feel proud to see the contingent of ex-servicemen during the Republic Day parade but when they agitate and stage Dharnas, we feel ashamed. So I request the Government to pay attention towards their plight. With these words on behalf of the Shiv Sena, I oppose the Defence Budget (*Interruptions*)... Sir, while opposing the budget I express the hope that the hon. Defence Minister will consider my suggestions and take appropriate action. I thank you for giving me the opportunity to speak.

SHRI TEJSINGHRAO BHONSLE

(Ramtek) : Mr. Speaker, Sir, I rise to support the Demands for Grants of the Ministry of Defence. At the time of India's independence, Kashmir chose to merge with the Indian Union which led to a war between India and Pakistan, after which one part of Jammu and Kashmir acceded to the Indian Union and the other part was forcibly occupied by Pakistan as Azad Kashmir. Since then, Kashmir is a burning issue.

In 1962, there was a war between India and China. In 1965, India and Pakistan fought a war and again in 1971, there was a war resulting in the emergence of an independent

Bangladesh. Later on, IPKF was sent to Sri Lanka and when it was withdrawn from there, the influence of LTTE increased in the northern part of island nation thereby jeopardising the security of India.

According to a statement of MS Benazir Bhutto, the Ex-Premier of Pakistan, Pakistan possesses the know how for manufacturing atom-bomb. Has the Government of India taken note of the statement? During the tenure of late Smt. Indira Gandhi, an atomic explosion was successfully carried out at Pokharan, but till date, atomic power is being made use of only for medical purposes and for the well being of the mankind. Ever since the war with Pakistan in 1971, incidents of intermittent firing are taking place in the Poonch sector. In an interview with Newsweek, the Pakistan Prime Minister stated to have remarked that Indo Pak war was imminent, while at the sometime, discussions were on with the visiting Minister of Defence of Pakistan on the ways and means of checking infiltration from across the Pakistani borders. We fail to understand the logic for all these exercises. What the Government of India was doing to get the terrorist training camps closed in Azad Kashmir? Will the Government of India would think of dismantling terrorist training camps in Pakistan, if Pakistan refuses to stop terrorist activities in India?

The Government of India must be aware of the ongoing terrorist and disruptive activities in India of ULFA of Assam and Cachin Army of Myanmar working in tandem with each other. Likewise LTTE of Sri Lanka has been creating an atmosphere of terror at several places in India. Their threat to hijack Poona-Delhi flight and to blow up Mettur Dam are the latest instances of their intention to create terrorism in the country. In Punjab even now at least 30 persons are killed everybody.

Sir, the terrorists are roaming freely

killing innocent persons and Police Personnel. Keeping in view the present position of the country and the recent Middle East War, there is an urgent need to argument the defence production and the penetrating power of Indian armed forces. Because of the fundamental economic changes in USSR, it may not be possible to meet the defence requirements of India. So, India should become self-sufficient in the matter of defence production.

Foreign exchange can be earned from the sale of armaments produced domestically in India. At present, the Department of Defence Production is producing 50 percent of defence requirements of our country. If we could produce cent percent of defence requirements, there would be no need for import of armaments. India could export light weapons like pistols, machineguns, stenguns, handgrenades, light guns, motor vehicles, trainer aeroplanes and weeded out arms for sale and earn much needed foreign exchange.

Sir, unity among all concerned can be brought about through adoption of one rank one pension scheme. Probably, it will put a heavy burden on Public exchequer. Therefore, I request the Government to implement it in a phased manner. Priority must be given to aged pensioners. Then, after that, other pensioners can be given bonds to ensure less burden on Government. There is no proper arrangement for treatment of ex-servicemen and retired officers suffering from serious ailments. It is absolutely necessary to provide for treatment of diseases like cancer, Kidney transplantation and heart surgery. National Front Government mooted the proposal for "one rank, one pension" scheme on 13 October, 1990. This would benefit about one and a half lakh pensioners, but would cause discontentment among the public at large. Only 8 percent people would be benefitted by the scheme and the remaining 92 percent not get any benefit.

[Sh. Tejsinghrao Bhonsle]

Probably, as a result of it, there would be widespread discontentment among retired officers, JCO's, honorary Commission holders and ex-servicemen in alternative jobs and widows of defence personnel, who generally remain out of the purview of the Scheme.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Mr. Bhonsle, please send your suggestions to the hon. Minister of Defence.

SHRI TEJSINGHRAO BHONSLE: Mr. Speaker, Sir, I am concluding. In the end, I would like to suggest that housing facilities may be provided for every defence personnel and more Kendriya Vidyalayas be opened for education of their children. Special leave could be granted to defence personnel posted at remote border areas. This provision was in vogue during the British rule. Arrangements for railway reservation on preferential basis may be made and special trains from Jammu to Bombay, Madras, Calcutta and Guwahati be started again. In roadways buses also, reservation facility could be extended to defence personnel.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, in the end, I would like to give one more suggestion. On the pattern of nomination of retired Colonel to Maharashtra Legislative Council, retired defence personnel could be nominated to Rajya Sabha as a representative of ex-servicemen to honour these persons as a matter of gesture.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, with these words, I conclude and hope that Government would definitely consider my suggestions and implement them. I fully support the budget.

[English]

SHRIDIGVIJAYASINGH (Rajgarh): Sir, Shri Tejsinghrao Bhonsle, the direct de-

scendent of Chatrapathi Shivaji, has supported the Defence Budget. Now the Shiv Sena should reconsider its decision and support the Defence Budget.

MR. SPEAKER: While voting the Budget, they will do that.

(Interruptions)...

[Translation]

DR. S.P. YADAV (Sambhal) : Mr. Speaker, Sir, I rise to oppose the demand for grants of Ministry of Defence. After a long struggle, country became independent in 1947.

MR. SPEAKER: Time is short, so please highlight the points and so not elaborate them. I am making the suggestion so that a number of points are put before the House.

DR. S.P. YADAV : I withdraw.

MR. SPEAKER: You are allowed to speak for 5-7 minutes as there are others also.

[English]

I am not objecting to your making the speech. I am saying that the time is limited. Don't you speak?

[Translation]

DR. S.P. YADAV : Everyone has spoken on the issue. So I withdraw.

MR. SPEAKER: All right.

W 32 (Interruptions)...

SHRI V.N. SHARMA (Hamirpur) : Mr. Speaker, Sir, I would like to submit that all

members should get equal protection from you. Since yesterday I have been observing that you are permitting some of the Members to speak for a longer duration of time whereas when our chance comes, you ring the bell just after two minutes.

(Interruptions)...

[English]

I very humbly submit that the trend of the debate has been spoiled.

[Translation]

Through you and through this august House. I express my heart felt gratitude to our defence forces who are equipped with best fighting machinery and are considered to be the finest soldiers in the world. But I shall certainly oppose this Budget. They are considered as the finest soldiers because during the second world war they fought against fascism to save democracy. Not only this, they fought three battles against the so called Islamic republic of Pakistan since 1948 to safeguard secularism. In 1948, Pakistan attacked on a small part of India and they were paid in the same coin. Had Nehru ji not committed a mistake, the name of Azad Kashmir would have been wiped out from the world map. (Interruptions)

[English]

I am quoting from history you cannot change history. That is what I will say.

[Translation]

In 1965, Pakistan made yet another bigger attempt to wage a war against us and this time our soldiers reached Lahore. In 1971 another attempt was made, as a result thereof that country was divided and I am sure that they will suffer a major set back if they make any other attempt to wage war in future. The Soldiers have won the apprecia-

tion of one and all but I am expressing my apprehension about the people who are responsible for giving leadership i.e. their civilian bosses who spoiled the whole machinery for their selfish political motives as they are least concerned about the welfare of the country. That began with the jeep scandal, inferior jeeps were purchased for the use of soldiers and the man who bought such jeeps was Shri Krishna Menon who was the friend of Pandit ji. That is why matter was hushed up. Similarly, during the China war, Nehru ji said:

[English]

"Yes, I have ordered my army. The army commander has been ordered to throw them out."

[Translation]

The result was that the Himalayan blunder took place and the country suffered a humiliation. Despite this humiliation, Nehru ji was not prepared to company with him.

[English]

He saved Krishna Menon. The President had to threaten him with dismissal.

[Translation]

We have given such leadership to the army. (Interruptions)...

Treacherous act of China so much grieved Nehru Ji that it finally took his life. In 1971, when General Manekshaw was the Chief of the Army, he was asked to give his opinion about the preparedness of the Army to face the possible war , he emphatically said;

[English]

"I believe my army is not prepared yet." He took probably three or four months time. Everybody knows the result.

[Sh. V.N. Sharma]

[Translation]

There had been another Chief of the Army Staff under a different Prime Minister. He was asked to march to Sri Lanka. He ordered his troops instantly without thinking the pros and cons of it. Consequently, it took heavy toll of lives of our soldiers and the officers.

[English]

This is a gradual deterioration in the army through the civic leadership.

[Translation]

Mr. Speaker, Sir, the present situation is very critical. Now you see.

(Interruptions)

MR. SPEAKER: Please conclude quickly.

(Interruptions)

[English]

SHRI V.N. SHARMA: I wish that the army is protected from such unscrupulous people.

MR. SPEAKER: You leave the historical aspects behind. You come to the point.

(Interruptions)

[Translation]

SHRI V.N. SHARMA: This is a suggestion. They should protect the army from such people. I am giving this suggestion because we have got rid of the monopoly of

one family. A new person has taken over charge of the office of Prime Minister and a brave Maratha is our Defence Minister. His dynamism reminds us of Angre, Shivaji and Rani Laxmi bai. That is why I am talking all these things. I would also like to bring yet another information to his notice so that he may learn a lesson therefrom. One Chief of the Air Staff demitted office in the morning and by the evening his Chair was occupied by a new occupant who was given an extension for a period of three months because another one is in the waiting. Such sort of manipulation is there and there and this has happened in the Navy. This fact has already been reported by the Statesman fifteen days ago. Such sort of machination and manipulation has taken place. The high ranking officers and not the petty officers have filed cases against it. The result was that the two officers did not get their due and they have been made Flag officers.

[English]

MR. SPEAKER: Such things happen. Appointments, transfers and promotions are never discussed on the floor of the House. Let us add to the strength. Let us not reduce the strength. We never discuss about the appointments, transfers and promotions on the floor of the House.

[Translation]

SHRI V.N. SHARMA: It is submitted that unless we discuss the shortcomings how can they be rectified. (Interruptions)

[English]

MR. SPEAKER: There are certain things which we do not discuss on the floor of the House. There are rules followed by us; there are conventions followed by us. (Interruptions)

[Translation]

I would like to submit that special atten-

tion be paid to the D.R.D.O. so as to effect improvement in it. Corruption is rampant there in for quite sometime. The cost of L.C.A. i.e. the light combat Aircraft Project has escalated. In support of my contention, I would like to quote from Half-an-Hour Discussion of 20th May 1985. Sir, this relates to the meeting when the present Prime Minister was the Minister of Defence.

[English]

There is nothing knew in it, but they may be reminded. Shri Raja Mahendra was member of this committee as MD, DMD, HAL and he had been closely associated with the ICA programme, ever since the conceptualisation of ICA.

[Translation]

This concept was mooted during the period of Mahendra Ji.

Regarding it the hon. Member of this House Shri Kalmadi stated that our requirements would be fulfilled at the cost of Rs. 30 thousand crores and by the time this will be acquired at the turn of the century the rules of warfare would be changed.

[English]

The things will become redundant.

[Translation]

And you have dept such a person.

[English]

I am quoting from there. I have got a letter which the Chairman of HAL has written to Shri A.K. Pandey, Joint Secretary (Defence) (Interruptions)

MR. SPEAKER: No, we do not read a letter in the House. There are rules to be followed. We do not read the letters. Well, if you have some information from the letters, you can make use of it.

[Translation]

SHRI V.N. SHARMA: O.K. Sir. A very relevant thing has been mentioned.

[English]

It is being practised in the Army.

[Translation]

You might be knowing this.

[English]

You cannot marry a foreigner.

[Translation]

The officer in the IFS cadre too have to seek permission for this but the same is not required for the civilian officers. This gentleman was possessing British citizenship for himself and his wife was also a British passport holder. It has been written that the foreign citizenship is a very very dangerous thing, I suppose. Atleast our defence services should be kept free from such things. Mr. Speaker Sir, the civilian authorities were not allowed to interfere in the matter relating to Armed forces. Such blunder like the LCA project on which an additional expenditure of Rs. 2000 crores incurred would not have been committed. It has been mentioned in the CAG report that during 1982-83, the cost for 6 prototypes happened to Rs. 560 crores but in 1990 the cost of only 2 prototypes was Rs. 1560 crores. That is why I am saying that whenever any civilian gets access to these works, such thing is liable to be happened. I would like to give yet another instance of such lapse. Recently, one Shri Bhargava Saheb of the Maruti Industry was sent there for setting up of the one branch of Maruti Udyog but he, through his negotiation, made some other industry settled there. Such thing has happened recently, so all of us might be remembering this.

[English]

I am very much worried about the civil leadership.

MR. SPEAKER: You have made a very comprehensive speech. Now please conclude.

[Translation]

MR. SPEAKER: Now please conclude.

SHRI V.N. SHARMA: There is one more danger. Now I shall not talk about any person as some of us have taken objection to it.

MR. SPEAKER : Sharma Ji, please conclude after this point.

(Interruptions)

SHRI V.N. SHARMA: I am talking of DRDO i.e. Defence Research Development Organisation. The wife of the gentleman whom I quoted is a foreigner. (Interruptions) my problem is.....

[English]

MR. SPEAKER: Now, please conclude.

[Translation]

SHRI V.N. SHARMA: No, Sir, there is a problem. Now-a-days

[English]

There is another danger in DRDO.....*

MR. SPEAKER: This will not go on record.

(Interruptions)

SHRI MURLI DEORA (Bombay South): It must be expunged.

SHRI CHANDRAJEET YADAV (Azam Garh): Either the Member should withdraw his remarks or it should be expunged.(Interruptions)

SHRI V.N.SHARMA: I am sorry. (Interruptions). I am withdrawing my remarks. (Interruptions) I did not know the rules. (Interruptions) I have withdrawn my remarks. What is the problem now? (Interruptions) I did not name. (Interruptions)

[English]

You should not have used it. But now conclude.

SHRI V.N. SHARMA: I am sorry, Sir.

Mr. Speaker: That will not go on record.

[Translation]

SHRI V.N. SHARMA: Mr. Speaker, Sir, I would like to submit that the Alloy Factory at the cost of Rs.100 crore, I stated this because.....

[English]

I do not believe it has given the desired results. So, this bottomless spirit of DRDO must be seen. This sacred cow of defence expenditure has also become a secret cow. So, this does not mean that we do not keep track of everything they do.

[Translation]

Mr. Speaker, Sir, a Titanium sponge plant of Rs. 100 crores is going to be erected there despite we have already one such of Rs.10 crores. (Interruptions) Sir, they supply us also the same items which they supply to the others all over the world. Much have been said here against the interests of our army. The quality of the armaments used during the 1965 war has been questioned here. So misuse of any kind must be checked and the amount so saved must be spent on the welfare of the army.

[English]

It seems that I have become a little too controversial for the last about ten days. So, I am concluding.

SHRI INDERJIT (Darjeeling): Mr. Speaker, Sir, I had no intention of parti-

pating in this debate. I am, therefore, grateful to you for allowing me at short request to make a few points and seek a few clarifications.

My first point relates to the Henderson Brookes' report. As we all know, our country faced a major debacle in 1962 and we suffered a humiliating defeat. Lt. -Gen. Henderson Brookes was asked to go into this matter. I feel, it is time that this report is made public so that we could learn from the experience of that great and humiliating debacle. Most of the principal actors of the drama are no more with us. Therefore, there should be no difficulty. Moreover it is almost 30 years since that report was submitted. This is a point which I would like the Defence Minister seriously to consider.

The second point which I would like to make relates to the Arun Singh Committee's report on Defence Expenditure and Planning. Mr. Arun Singh himself made certain remarks. He gave an interview to the Press which he said was on a personal basis. I do think that the Arun Singh report should also, be made public, more particularly because it deals with the questions of drastic changes in management, production and privatisation issues. I believe, he has also made a proposal in regard to the creation of Rashtriya Rifles. This needs to be considered seriously since servicemen have to leave their job at the early age of 30 or 35 years. They could perhaps be absorbed in the Rashtriya Rifles. He has said and we are all agreed that it is most unfortunate that the Army should be called out time and again for civil use which is neither good for the Army nor is it good for the country.

The third point which I would like to make relates to the question of supplies from the Soviet Union. We have been facing certain difficulties during the last two years for getting very vital spares and supplies from the Soviet Union. I learn on good authority that the Soviet Union has, during the last one year or more, appointed some American agents for offering these spares and supplies. Virtually across the counter.

17.00 hrs.

These agents have approached the Government of India and various wings of our Defence forces. If it is not so, then I think that it is time that we should approach the powers that be in Moscow and get these supplies directly from them if necessary on dollar payments rather than through these high commission agents

SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE: You take directly from America.

SHRI INDERJIT: No. I said we should take directly from Moscow.

Mr. Somnath Chatterjee is still to fall in line with the developments in Moscow.

The next point which I would like to make relates to a clarification which I want on the question of MBT, the Main Battle Tank. My good friend and name sake Mr. Indrajit Gupta had already spoken on the subject. I think it is a matter of great distress that even after 15 or 20 years, we have not yet been able to produce an engine which would have the required horse power. Now, Shri Krishna Kumar, the Minister of State for Defence said here yesterday that this tank was on various trials in Rajasthan. I would like to know whether this tank has an indigenous engine or it is an imported engine. I think the country has to be told about it very clearly because he gave an impression yesterday as though the Main Battle Tank has finally been produced by our great R&D Section which I do not think doing well enough.

One or two small additional points, and I shall conclude. The next point which I would like to deal with is the question of Pakistan. Everybody has repeatedly deeply spoken about Pakistan. I think our security requirements require us to come to some understanding on the basis of the Simla Agreement. And I do think that at the moment, both India and Pakistan are insanely indulging in bleeding each other white through their arms acquisition race. Something ought to be done to stop this. We have to move in that direction.

[Sh. Inderjit]

My last point is about accountability. The question of accountability has not received the attention of this House or even of the previous Lok Sabha of which I had the privilege of being a Member. Accountability can be brought about only if we go in for the Committee system. I do believe that we should have a Standing Committee on Defence if we have a Standing Committee on Defence, then we will be able to save the country from many of the shameful and scandalous happenings in the Defence field.

Finally, Mr. Speaker Sir, in the very limited time available to me. I would like to make one other point with great diffidence. I am glad to see that the top brass of the Army, Navy and Air Force are here to listen to the debate. At the same time, I would like to make a point, that the Army Chief is, "

He is perhaps abroad now for good reasons. But Mr. Speaker Sir, it is most important that he should have been present here today. (Interruptions)

SHRI SHARAD DIGHE(Bombay North Central): Sir, he cannot refer to persons in the Gallery. (Interruptions)

SHRI SOMANTH CHATTERJEE: Sir, Galleries cannot be referred to in the House. (Interruptions)

MR. SPEAKER: I will remove it from the record. That would not form part of the record.

(Interruptions)

SHRI INDERJIT: Sir, I withdraw my reference to the Gallery. But I would say and I believe that at the moment, ... " ... I do think that we should establish the convention by which all the Chiefs, namely, the Army, Air Force and Naval Chiefs, ought to be present for the debate. I think it is most unfair and wrong that he is not present here now. Parliament's dignity is involved (Interruptions)

SHRI SHARAD DIGHE: No Government servant need be present to attend to Lok Sabha proceedings. (Interruptions)

MR. SPEAKER: In all fairness, it should be said that the chiefs were not knowing as to when the Demands for the grants of the Ministry of Defence will be taken up.

(Interruptions)

MR. SPEAKER: Nothing more in view of what I have said.

SHRI INDER JIT: I would conclude by saying that healthy conventions established in the past in this regard must be adhered to and Parliament's dignity is not compromised (Interruptions)

SHRI RAM NAIK (Bombay North): Sir I am on a point of order.

MR. SPEAKER: What is it?

SHRI RAM NAIK: My point of order is any reference to Defence Personnel and with particular reference may naturally go to the whole of India through the Press and it would look so awkward and to pass on remarks on just those who cannot defend themselves is not proper. So, I would suggest that this reference should not be on record. Only then, this reference will not reach the whole of India. Otherwise, it is not good. And finally, people will know that these remarks were made. (Interruptions)

SHRI INDER JIT: I only urge that we should uphold well established conventions and nothing else. The dignity of the House must not be compromised. (Interruptions)

MR. SPEAKER: I do appreciate what you have said. As I have said, it was not decided when the Defence Ministry's Demands for Grants was going to come up for discussion. In view of that, if some officer is not present, it is not proper for any hon. Member to make a reference with respect his presence or absence. At the same time, I think it would be

"Expunged as ordered by the Chair.

better if go through the records. I will go through the records and see what can be done. I am not saying that it will not form part of the record. I am also not saying that it will form part of the record.

SHRI INDER JIT: My only point is that healthy conventions should be followed.....

MR. SPEAKER: No more of it, Mr. Inder Jit please. Please sit down. Well, I think for about eight hours, the Members have made very good points on the Defence Ministry. Many Members could have spoken and could have made many more good points. But unfortunately, time constraint is there. I think the hon. Minister for Defence should at least have one hour to reply to the good points that have been made and at 6 o'clock we have to apply guillotine. That is why, Mr. Ahmed and other hon. Members, I am very sorry that I am not in a position to accede to your forceful plea and I would request you to take your seats. I request the hon. Defence Minister to commence his reply.

[Translation] 445

THE MINISTER OF DEFENCE (SHRI SHARAD PAWAR): Mr. Speaker, Sir, I am on leg to get the demands of grants for the Ministry of Defence approved by this House. The hon. members from the both sides of the House have made very good and valuable points regarding the country's security arrangements. And I am of the firm view that these points will certainly be helpful in making our National Security policy.

A different atmosphere is now visible in the world. After the gulf-war, an atmosphere in favour of peace is intensely gaining ground in the world. The super powers are coming closer to each other in order to reduce tension. the powerful countries of the world are talking in terms of reducing their stocks of atomic, chemicals and other lethal weapons which they are possessing in a large quantity. India is very happy with the emergence of this new environment in the world.

Sir, many hon. members have made their submissions regarding atomic power.

They have expressed their desire to know the policy of India regarding this. As far as the policy of India regarding this is concerned, we have put forward our views many times before the world. Our country is also going to succeed in achieving the atomic power, but we want to use this power for peace and development only. This is a good thing that some of the countries are talking to ban the atomic weapons. But none of them has come forth to destroy the stock of their atomic weapons they have piled. Here the names of China and France have been mentioned in this context. India is happy that both of these countries have signed on the non-proliferation treaty. But we are much concerned of this that they talk of banning the atomic weapon on one hand but on the other they transfer the technology to other countries. There should be a complete ban on the making of atomic weapons all over the world. There should be ban also on the transfer of this technology to other countries. Attempt should be made to destroy the stock-pile of atomic weapons possessed by these countries, and unless some final settlement is reached in this regards, India's signing non-proliferation treaty will not be in the interests of the country.

There has been a good start with regard to reducing tension in the world. There were two power-block and now, its seem that only one power block is going to exist . Some good steps taken by the Soviet Union and America together are liable to help in establishing world peace. But at the same time we should take the internal situations in Asian countries into consideration as well. And thereafter we see that there is only one power-block that dominates the world. Through the influence of the only power-block left in the world, some difficult situations may arise there. I am glad to note the changes in Americas, stand on certain issues. Take In India for instance. In regard to Kashmir problem America had taken some different approach earlier. Now that an initiative on bilateral discussions is in process. Now America does not seem to support the Pakistan's endeavour of inter-nationalising the Kashmir issue. And this is a healthy sign on part of America that it is considering the

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reduction in economic and military assistance to Pakistan which wants to go ahead in acquiring the atomic capability. The world has become more conscious regarding the concept of peace. It is a more opportune time to pay attention towards establishing regional peace.

The world peace cannot prevail in case of a conflict between super powers and regional strife. In the Gulf war, the entire world has witnessed how a regional strife caused world wide tension resulting in this war fought by world's Modern technology. This has amply proved that the war can break out when efforts are not made to defuse tension. That is why, the efforts being made for ushering world peace must be carried out at regional level also. It will certainly benefit the countries like India, Pakistan, China etc.

Sir, the Prime Minister of Pakistan had given certain proposals regarding the use of nuclear power. Although no specific proposal was put before India but in his recent speeches he certainly referred to this issue. He has taken certain initiatives to ensure peace in the South-Asia. India is never opposed to this concept. But this is contradictory because on the one hand, he is taking up certain proposals to ensure peace in the South Asia and on the other hand, he is trying his best to increase nuclear arsenals. The efforts made to get nuclear arsenals from China by Pakistan contradicts the very proposal of peace and security being propounded by it. That is why India has not made public its stand in this regard so far.

I have pleasure to state that efforts have been made to improve our relations with our neighbours. we have friendship with Soviet Union for several years. Today, the circumstances have changed there. The cries for democracy are being heard and the economic changes are being brought about these. The consequences that follow from such measures at the initial stages are very much visible there. But we are happy to note that they have successfully tackled the problems

and now they are rebuilding their country. Soviet Union has always been with India with regard to matters concerning its defence . Several of the hon. Members have expressed their concern over the impact on the defence preparedness of India following these changes in the Soviet Union. It was suggested to look for an alternative source. But Soviet Union and particularly Russia has contributed a lot in improving our defence equipments such as Tanks, aeroplanes and other sophisticated technologies. I think we must continue our existing agreements with Soviet Union which will terminate in 1995. Sir, it is again a matter of pleasure to note that my State Minister had recently visited Soviet Union where he was given an assurance that friendship with India will continue as before irrespective of its internal affairs. I myself want to visit Russia and try to explore all the areas for ensuring help for Russia with regard to matters concerning our defence, as their approach and attitude are still the same towards India despite changes in their internal affairs. We can certainly resolve all our problems through mutual discussion and evolve a novel way in the present circumstances.

Sir, in the changing scenario, India has also tried to improve its relations with several countries. The steps have also been taken to improve our relations with U.S.A. I have already referred to shift in its stand on Kashmir. It has shifted its stand from the concept of Plebiscite to that of bilateral talks and has conveyed the same to Pakistan as well Consequently, we have tried to improve our relations with U.S.A. We are trying to improve our relations in defence sector also.

Sir , the chief of the Indian army has gone to U. S. A. today with the intention of adopting their latest technology for our armed forces. India has always pursued the policy of maintaining friendly relations with our neighbours. We have good relations with Nepal, Bhutan, Maldives and Bangladesh. we are still trying to improve them.

Pakistan's approach in this context is to expand its nuclear capability and it has also taken some steps in this regard. It is being

done with the help of China, which is regrettable. It was alleged here that we prepare our budget keeping in view Pakistan's Defence Budget. It is not true. We are anxious to have friendly relations with Pakistan. When the representative of Mr. Nawaz Sharif came here, he was welcomed by the Prime Minister. India accepted the proposal of peace offered by Pakistan. India had all along reiterated that the people of India have no ill feeling against our Pakistani brethren; that India did not want to intervene in the internal affairs of Pakistan, that relations between the two countries should be improved. Both the countries are fighting against poverty and in order to achieve any success in this regard, it is imperative that we should not make excessive provisions in our Defence Budget. Both the countries are facing serious economic crisis and to overcome it, they must make drastic cut in their defence budgets. India is following this policy. It was alleged that the provision made in Budget for Defence is not adequate. Sino-Indian relations too were discussed here and today there is no tension on our borders with China. In the recent years, China has not taken any such step which can create anxiety or doubt in our minds. Therefore, we will try to develop good relations with China also to ensure mutual development.

As far as China is concerned, there is certainly peace on the border and efforts are being made to improve our relations with China. Mr. V.P.Singh had also referred to it in his speech. But our neighboring countries are being supplied armaments by China. China have decided to supply an atomic Submarine to Pakistan on the plea that India had taken the initiative in this regard. But I would like to make it clear that India had obtained a submarine from Russia for training purposes only and it was not equipped with any arms and ammunition and that too was handed back to U.S.S.R after the completion of training. I had never been the intention of our country to create panic among all the countries of the world by having it. It is for this reason that I want to make it obvious that we are not at all in favour of making more allocations for Defence. So far as national security is concerned, we will never make

any compromise. If it requires greater attention, it would definitely be given, but it is not proper for India to expand its Defence Budget because it will give wrong signals within and outside. If we analyse the provisions made for the Defence Budgets during the last 4-5 years, it would be clear to the House that there has been progressive reduction in the expenditure on Defence each year against the total expenditure of the Central Government. I would like to put the figures of the previous years before the House.

[English]

In 1987-88, the defence expenditure compared to total Central Government expenditure was 18.39 per cent; in 1988-89 it was 17.81 per cent; in 1989-90 it was 15.52 per cent; in 1990-91 it was 14.76 per cent and in 1991-92 it was 14.42 per cent.

[Translation]

Thus, we have come down from 18% to 14% during the last 5-6 years which is not the case with Pakistan. If you look at the Defence expenditure of Pakistan against its total Central Govt's expenditure, you will find that it was 38.8% in 1987-88, 34.1% in 1988-89, 34.6% in 1989-90 and 34.9 % in 1990-91. This has been published in "Economic Survey Pakistan and India". Latest figures of Pakistan have not been made available so far, but these figures show that India is trying hard to reduce its Defence Budget. It was alleged here that International Monetary Fund must have asked to initiate some steps in this regard but this has not been done for the first time. We have been taking similar steps for the last five years. Our young member, hon. Sh. Mohan Rawle has stated that we should attack Pakistan but India does not want war with any one. We are for having friendship with Pakistan. We want to have good relations with China also. We are for having good relations with all our neighbours. That is why we are reducing our defence expenditure every year.

It was stated that an additional sum of Rs. 350 crore has been provided this year as compared to the provision made during the

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last year. But I agree with Shri V.P. Singh that this amount may appear to be more, but keeping in view the devaluation of Rupee more payment in foreign exchange and other expenditure, in a way it is actually a reduction in the budget.

As far as Pakistan is concerned, it is our desire to improve our relations with them. During my talks with the envoy of Sh. Nawaz Sharif and in his subsequent detailed talks with the Prime Minister, it was conveyed that Nawaz Sharif Saheb wants peace in the region.

They want to have friendly relations with India. They are prepared to settle down the issues through bilateral talks. Our Prime Minister has welcomed all such proposals and we still stick to that policy. But the attitude of offering peace proposals on the one hand, and to make an all out anti-India propaganda abroad on the other may obstruct the efforts to bring about an atmosphere of peace.

You must have noticed that one month back, former Pak Army Chief had made a statement that there was a possibility of war with India. However I am happy to note that the new army Chief of Pakistan has stated that present situations are not favourable for a war with India. The Prime Minister of Pakistan has also observed that they could have good relations with India and there is no situation of war because neither we nor they intend to think that way. But in an interview to the newsweek magazine, he expressed that there could be a war on the Kashmir issue. These are contradictory statements. No doubt, we are fully prepared to settle issues through bilateral talks, but such talks can be successful only when there is improvement in the ground level situations. Without it, no progress can be made in this regard. I have been told that Pakistan is still indulging in such activities as army training, supply of arms, ammunition and money, to the terrorist elements alongwith intrusion and infiltration Kashmir and Punjab. It is really something very sad

that this information is correct.

There is hardly any day without an incident of exchange of fire on Indo-Pakistan border and particularly on the Kashmir border. Fire is opened first by the Pakistani troops which is only retaliated by the Indian troops. Pakistan is making a false show of efforts to improve its relations with India. On one hand it is indulging in the activities of firing on Indian troops, false propaganda against India and making the issue of Kashmir an international issue along with its bogus complaints against India with Human Rights Organisation of the other.

Sir, we had some discussion for a few days also on this topic. The hon. member Mr. Chandra Jeet Yadav had referred to it and apprised this House of all that he had come to know through BBC transmission in Poonch sector. As a matter of fact, there is a village named Kirani in Poonch Sector which is near the line of control that divides this village itself in two parts. Some of the houses of this village happen to fall on the Indian side and some others are in the Pak Occupied Kashmir

On 2nd and 3rd September, our army officers posted at our army check posts in that area came to know that Pakistani soldiers along with some terrorists are trying to infiltrate into the Indian side of the border. It led to the clash of troops. Pakistani troops had initiated firing with full preparedness. Heavy firing continued for two days. So India had to deploy her army with a view to take steps to drive out the Pakistani terrorists from the Indian territory and that fighting continued for two days. In fact, Pakistani troops drove in ten kilometers into the Indian territory to open fire on Indian troops. It caused a great damage.

AN HON. MEMBER: What was your army doing there?

SHRI SHARAD PAWAR: You are asking this question as to what the Indian army was doing there. In fact they took the required steps and drove away all the Pakistani soldiers and terrorists, from the Indian territory. However on account of bombardment, Indian troops suffered a loss of eight of their persons

I.e. one officer and 7 persons of other ranks and more than forty persons were left injured in the action. Our soldiers noticed that while returning Pakistani soldiers were also carrying with them the dead bodies of about twenty Pakistani soldiers. Inspite of all this, Indian counteraction proved productive because later on the army commanders of the two countries met to resolve the issue and decide that there will be no recurrence of such action in that region. As per the latest information received only this noon, there is complete peace in that area and Pakistani and Indian troops have gone back to their earlier positions in their respective areas. But it has made one thing very clear that on the one hand Pakistan talks of bringing about improvement in its relation with India while on the other hand, it follows the policy of helping the terrorists. It is ample proof of malafide intentions of Pakistan. Therefore, I would like to say categorically to my countrymen that we want to have friendly relations with them, and we will try our best to maintain harmonious relations with that country but if Pakistani army takes any such step as it had taken on last 2nd or 3rd September in Poonch Sector, the Indian soldiers are competent enough to counter that action.....(Interruptions) However we are worried to see the vicious attitude of one of our neighbouring countries at such a point of time when a peaceful climate has been created all over the world with the unification of two Germanies and an air of change in the relations between the Soviet Union and America which is bringing them closer. On the contrary, our neighbouring country is prepared to move into a wrong direction. This is not good at all. In view of these developments, our Foreign Secretary will visit that country perhaps on the 19th of the next month and we shall definitely raise this issue with them to ensure that whatever has happened the past is not repeated in future. However on our part we shall do all that whatever is possible in this regard.

It has been mentioned here that we are incurring increasingly more and more expenditure on our Defence preparedness. On that point I have already stated here that that is not the position. But the hon. Members

should always keep it in their mind that areas of responsibilities of the army, the navy and the air force have been constantly expanding.

We are to take care of the security of 15 thousand kilometer of our land border and more than 7,500 kilometer of sea border. Besides, this department is also entrusted with the security of our islands because special security measures are required to be taken in respect of our oil deposits in the sea bed. Our army is always ready to extend its help to maintain the territorial integrity in the event of any natural calamity in the country. That is why all these are the responsibility of our armed forces. The actual cost of the work can not be instantly assessed as it increases when it is actually undertaken by them. In fact we are not going to increase our defence allocations. However routine expenditure is a must and it should not be taken that way that the funds allocated are not being utilised properly. Yet, we continue to follow the policy of restricting our defence expenditure. Even today our current defence budget allocations comprise of 72% of revenue expenditure and 28% of capital expenditure. Even in 1972, 80% of it was meant for salaries and allowances, 33% for essential military equipments, 4% for revenue works and 5% for families and other items. We have not allocated much amount for defence personnel. But in view of the latest developments witnessed in the field of defence technology during the recent Gulf War, it would not be proper to ignore our defence requirements. Therefore, when we are yet to formulate a new defence policy, we are not in favour of expansion of our army. Instead, our efforts will be to equip our army with all sort of sophisticated and latest type of arms and ammunition. More attention should be paid to this aspect of the problem. So we will ensure enough of that supply. It is true that we depend on other countries for the import of such weaponry. But in the face of foreign exchange constraints, such an import is becoming increasingly difficult. In view of this situation, we shall have to lay greater stress on indigenous research and development. Hence our policy is to pay greater attention to this point.

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Shri V.P.Singh says that our allocations for defence research and development have been declining. But that is not the fact. I have seen that on this account there was a provision of 2 percent amount during 1989-90 which rose to a level of 4.3% in 1990-91. That level has been maintained even during 1991-92. It shows that there is no decline on this count because we want to pay greater attention in this regard. In respect of research.

(Interruptions)

SHRISOMNATH CHATI, RJEE: What is the actual value of Indian rupee? Percentage is okay. But it does not make a big difference.

(Interruptions) Murli Deora also does not agree.

SHRI SHARAD PAWAR: Why do you drag Murli in it? We need to emphasize self-reliance in view of the foreign exchange constraints and internal situations prevailing in our friendly countries. On this point we have paid greater attention.

A lot has been said here about the DRDP, some of the Members said that it is not working properly and getting delayed. They also said whether MBT is to be Arjuna or not. Also, they have expressed their apprehensions about LCA Project. But I would like to say here that this department has done a commendable work during the last few years. Today, we have achieved self-reliance in several areas. The credit goes to DRDO. There are so many things. It has been asked here as to what is the actual progress made in this regard. The House should be apprised of it. But we must know that there are a number of things which we cannot disclose in national interest. Our Research Development has tried its level best to show an appreciable performance in the field of armament development. development. It has modified and improved upon Indian field gun Mark-I, Mark-II and self-propelled gun. It also indigenised multibarrel Rocket system. This department also de-

veloped several ammunition including most lethal and anti-tank ammunition. Really, they have done a very commendable work in the field of land and sea mines and armaments.

(Interruptions)

[English]

I am coming to that. As regards electronic equipments that is all major systems of Army communication network like electronic switch, local area network,

[Translation]

These have been modified by this department. They have designed and developed a number of electronic devices which have been very useful for the electronic department.

It has done wonders even in the engineering section, which have benefited the country. They are still making persistent efforts for indigenisation and development of Arjuna Tank as main Battle Tank, which has been widely discussed here also. First, it has been stated here that a lot of expenditure has been made on that account but in fact only an amount of Rs.174 crores has been incurred on this project. Rs. 375 crores have been spent on LCA project. The Prototype of the Arjuna tank frequently referred to here is now ready. As per the statement made by the Minister of State in the Ministry of Defence yesterday, it is now under trial in the desert of Rajasthan for the last six months. Some drawbacks have been noticed on it and the efforts have been made to remove them. I believe that this tank is comparable with the best of tanks available in other countries of the world. It is in no way less efficient.

You might have seen the American tank 'Abraham' used in the recent Gulf-War and keeping in view the capability and technology of Abraham, British tank 'Leopard' and the German tanks, M.B.T. Arjun is in no way inferior to these three ones. From some points of view, M.B.T. Arjun is even more improved and likely to be used in the near future. The allegation that its many compo-

nents are imported from abroad is not at all true. I would like to mention that its engine has not so far been developed here properly. The Present engine is imported Germany, but we would definitely develop an engine here, it may take few days or months or years. It is not a fact that 70 or 60 percent improved components are being used in it. It is even less than 50 per cent but our ultimate aim is to build this tank completely indigenously...*(Interruptions)*...It has been commissioned.

As far as the Commissioning of L.C.A.project is concerned, much time has gone in it. I know that many hon. Members in the House have enquired about it. We would not like to go back to the background. I know that it has taken enough time, but I would like to tell the House that even a big country like America took 15 years to set up such a big project. While setting up a big project like L.C.A., we cannot overlook the fact that we had no infrastructure here. The responsibility to prepare infrastructure also rests with this Department. In the beginning, the engines are not very good, so we must prepare a prototype design with an imported engine and only then, it should be taken for a trial, and then, it should be improved to the best of our capability. We have paid attention towards this. I myself want to go to Bangalore next week, along with aeronautical experts to study the entire project and find out ways to remove defects if any, in it.

Many of our hon. Members have participated in this discussion and gave certain suggestions. Col. Ram Singh Saheb stated that there was no utility for aircraft carrier and I.N.S. Vikrant and Virat have become very old. It is true that they have become old, and they were old even when India purchased these aircraft carriers. But they were renovated and these are proving to be useful even to-day. Our Navy got strengthened with these aircraft carriers. Navy always needs an integral air-support. Navy cannot succeed without the support of airforce when hundreds of miles away on the sea. So, the need for aircraft carriers cannot be over-emphasized. The fleet must be a balanced one. Its pre-requisites are carriers, subma-

rines, aircrafts, dress-tyres, frigates, big frigates, like Godawari or Rajput and these all taken together can be helpful for the protection of the sea and we have paid much attention towards Navy.

Here, I do not agree with what shri Amal Dutta has stated. The protection of sea boundaries of India is not a small task. More than 80 percent Indian trade conducted hitherto has been conducted through the sea-routes and during last year, the trade worth Rs. 70,000 Crores was done. All of our import and export transportation is carried out from there, oil tanks on which our industry depends, come and go from there. So we cannot neglect our Navy and I fully agree with Shri Ravle Saheb that when we neglected our Armed forces, the Britishers came here and subjugated us. we should always pay attention towards our Navel forces.*(Interruptions)*

Hon. member, Shri Sudhir Sawant has pointed out that the organisational set-up of our army is not balanced one as 25 percent of it is its teeth and 75 percent is tale. But in reality, it is not so. In Indian army, 52 percent is teeth comprising of infantry, armed cores, artillery, engineers, signals, these all work in combined support. Tale services are 48 percent, comprising of supply-cores, army and Ordnance cores, E.M.Es, electrical and mechanical engineers, army education-cores, postal services etc. I would pay my personal attention to bring it down.

(Interruptions)

Shri Chandra Jeet Yadav Saheb stated that the report of the Ministry was old one, and contained old information. It contains the names of the persons who are no more the Prime Minister and the Defence Minister. I would like to point out that this report is for the period from 1st April, 1990 to 31st March 1991. At that time, its responsibility rested on Shri Vishwanath Pratap Singh and Shri Chandra Shekhar and so, their names have appeared here. The name of the present Defence Minister will appear in the report of the next year. *(Interruptions)*

SHRI VISHWANATH PRATAP SINGH (Fatehpur) : Mr. Speaker, Sir, there is one minute left for guillotine and we have to speak about the issue of ex-servicemen? I fear that because of it , we may not get time.

SHRI SHARAD PAWAR: Guillotine may be applied after 5 minutes. Mr. Speaker, Sir, the question of national security was raised and I would like to point out that we have paid adequate attention towards this. Only two months have passed since the formation of this Government, it will take some more time, but adequate attention has been paid to it. So far the issue of National Security is concerned....(Interruptions)

I would not like to take too much time on Defence-production. This year, a provision of Rs. 25.00 crores has been made. Regarding the role of private sector.(Interruptions)

Many hon. members have raised the issue of one -rank-one-pension. I would like to say that Government have no feeling of discrimination about those ex-servicemen who have served the nation. They have certainly sacrificed for the sake of the country, it is our duty to remember them and we intend to do so. Much attention has been paid towards some of their demands such as accommodation, banks loans. So far, one-rank, one pension, is concerned, I have discussed it with many hon. members and I agree with Indrajit Guptaji who had opined that the concept of one-rank-one pension is not sound.

The concept is right or wrong, that we would discuss afterwards. But what Shri Vishwanath Pratap Singh decided has been widely discussed. He did not approve the concept of 'One rank one pension, the decision was taken on adhoc basis. It was stated in decision that 90 percent army personnel would be benefited, but I do not think so. Merely 8.5 percent of the Jawans will get the benefit. The decision taken in 1990 covered only upto the ranks of Subedar Major and not the officers. Even in Jawans also, 92 percent of them were not included it. Therefore, more attention is required to be

paid to it. We would not be able to do justice to the Jawans if we take decision in a hurry. Therefore, the Government have decided to constitute a committee under the chairmanship of the Minister of Defence. The Minister of Finance, the Minister of State in the Ministry of Defence, Minister of State in the Ministry of Personnel, Public Grievances and Pensions, the Minister of State the Ministry of law, Justice and company Affairs, 5 MPs and 4 representative of Ex-servicemen would be other members of the Committee. It has been stated in terms of references.

[English]

- a) To review them existing pension structure and other retirement benefits of the Defence service pensioners of the different ranks who retire at different point of time; and
- b) Keeping all relevant considerations in view to evolve a feasible approach for improving their retirement benefits of the Defence pensioners and to lay down the manner in which their cases my be dealt with in a time-bound manner.

[Translation]

I would like to clarify 2 points. One is that the Committee will give its recommendations before December 31,1991.

SHRI RAM VILAS PASWAN (Rosera): The time limit can be further extended.

SHRI SHARAD PAWAR: There is no possibility of further extension. The Committee will function on the basis of decision taken on 1 November, 1990 but kept in obeyance and concentrate on finding the probable reforms. The decision of November 91 will not be changed. The aim will be not only to give more benefits but to introduce more reforms also. The Committee after taking the State Governments into confidence, will find our ways and means to provide facilities to the Ex-servicemen. I am confident that I will get the cooperation of all

I would not like to take more time of the House. I visited a number of places during the last one and a half month, I went to Siachen, Jaisalmer, watched Naval exercises, inspected the production unit, Kanpur and research Institute, Pune. I am glad to submit to the House that the morale of our Jawans in Siachin, posted at a height of 22,000 feet is very high. They are always ready to fulfil all the responsibilities for the security of the country. Air force is providing full protection there to the Army; Navy is also performing their duty in a magnificent manner. Therefore, so far as the security of the country is concerned, the Government is confident that our soldiers, be they high officers or of lower rank, are doing their duty properly and are in a position to protect the country. With these words I conclude.

SHRI RAM NAIK (Bombay North) : Mr. Speaker, Sir, I agree to what the hon. Minister of Defence has said. I therefore, would like to withdraw my cut motions.

[English]

MR. SPEAKER : I shall now put all the

cut motions to the Demands for Grants relating to the Ministry of Defence to vote together unless any hon. Member desires that any of his cut motions may be put separately.

All the cut motions were put and negatived

MR. SPEAKER: I shall now put the Demands for Grants relating to the Ministry of Defence to vote.

The question is:

"That the respective sums not exceeding the amounts on Revenue Account and 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, 1992, in respect of the heads of Demands entered in the second column there of against Demand Nos. 16 to 22 relating to Ministry of Defence."

The motion was adopted