

WELFARE AND IN THE DEPARTMENT OF CULTURE (SHRI D. P. YADAVA) : I beg to lay on the Table—

(1) A copy of the Annual Report of the School of Planning and Architecture, New Delhi, for the year 1969-70. [*Placed in Library See No. LT—633/71*]

(2) A statement (Hindi and English versions) explaining the reasons as to why the Hindi version of the above report could not be laid on the Table simultaneously. [*Placed in Library see No. LT—634/71*]

ASSENT TO BILLS

SECRETARY : Sir, I lay on the Table copies, duly authenticated by the Secretary of Rajya Sabha, of the following three Bills passed by the Houses of Parliament during the current session and assented to since a report was last made to the House on the 2nd July, 1971 ;—

(1) The General Insurance (Emergency Provisions) Bill, 1971.

(2) The Gold (Control) Amendment Bill, 1971.

(3) The Maintenance of Internal Security Bill, 1971.

12. 07 hrs.

INTERNATIONAL AIRPORTS AUTHORITY BILL*

THE MINISTER OF TOURISM AND CIVIL AVIATION (DR. KARAN SINGH) : I beg to move for leave to introduce a Bill to provide for the Constitution of an authority for the management of certain aerodromes wherent international air transport services are operated or are intended to be operated and for matters connected therewith.

MR. SPEAKER : The question is;

“That leave be granted to introduce a Bill to provide for the constitution of an authority for the management of certain aerodromes where at international air transport services are operated or are intended to be operated and for matters connected therewith.”

The motion was adopted.

DR. KARAN SINGH : I introduce the Bill.

CENTRAL BOARD OF DIRECT TAXES (VALIDATION OF PROCEEDINGS) BILL*

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF FINANCE (SHRI K. R. GANESH) : On behalf of Shri Y. B. Chavan, I beg to move for leave to introduce a Bill to provide for validation of certain proceedings in relation to direct taxes and for matters connected therewith.

MR. SPEAKER : The question is:

“That leave be granted to introduce a Bill to provide for validation of certain proceedings in relation to direct taxes and for matters connected therewith.”

The motion was adopted.

SHRI K. R. GANESH : I introduce the Bill.

12. 08 hrs.

DEMANDS FOR GRANTS, 1971-72—contd.

MINISTRY OF DEFENCE—contd.

MR. SPEAKER : We continue with further discussion and voting on the Demands for

* Published in Gazette of India, Extraordinary, Part II, section 2, dated 9. 7. 71.

† Introduced with the recommendation of the President.

[Mr. Speaker]

Grants under the control of the Ministry of Defence together with the cut motions moved.

How long will the Minister take to reply?

THE MINISTER OF DEFENCE (SHRI JAGJIVAN RAM): I will take an hour.

MR. SPEAKER: The Minister will reply on Monday.

SHRI N. SREEKANTAN NAIR: Who was on his legs last time may now continue his speech.

SHRI N. SREEKANTAN NAIR (Quilon): Yesterday I was dealing with the pay scales. While the servant sepoy gets about Rs. 47 per month and the soldier sepoy gets about Rs. 60 per month as pay, the General gets Rs. 4,000 a month, which with allowances comes to Rs. 6,000 plus entertainment allowance. A combatant jawan is permitted only 10 years in colour and 5 years in reserve; the General can serve 30 years and if necessary go upto the 60th year. Therefore, it is hard and unfair that we should ask the jawan to retire in his prime of life, in the early thirties and allow the Generals bloated with rich leaving and cocktails to serve even after they become imbecile.

12.09 hrs.

[MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER in the Chair]

Now I come to the Sainik Schools which are 18 in number. Many of the employees of these schools get only salary of Rs. 50 per month which an annual increment of Re. 1, they do not have free rations and have to work 13-14 hours a day. During vacation time, when they are supposed to take rest they are required to do maintenance work and the Principals pocket the amount allotted for such items.

There was a case which I pointed out to the Minister of a sweeper being dismissed by the principal of the Sainik School at Trivendrum because he refused to go shoulder deep into the night soil accumulation in the septic tank. The hon. Minister also wrote to me that he would look into the question and see that the lower sections of the employees are treated

better. May I request him to do something for this section of employees because they do not come within the purview of the pay commission?

Another vital point that affects the efficiency of our armed forces is the quality of the food and other supplies for the armed forces. Many of the officers in-charge of the supply wing are in league with corrupt contractors and the quality of the supplies has gone down. Very poor quality of food is supplied to our armed forces. It is true even in the case of armaments and medical supplies. I hope the Director-General of inspection will give some attention to these aspects of the question.

Then I come to the discrimination shown by the Ministry towards the State of Kerala. Of the eight public sector undertakings under the Department of Defence Production with investment of Rs. 155 crores not one is located in Kerala. Out of the scorers of ammunition factories, armament factories and ordnance factories, not one is set up in Kerala.

The unemployment-ridden State of Kerala does not have even a Recruiting office. Our educated young men and women have to go to the Capitals of other States to get recruited. In spite of the rampant corruption in the Recruiting offices, or perhaps because of it, some of our youths get recruited, but the recruits from Kerala alone have to undergo double verification. Even after entering the services, this discrimination dogs our steps.

The retired military personnel from the over populated State of Kerala alone are denied lands and facilities of rehabilitation in NEFA and other border areas.

The Defence Ministry had not only denied the people of Kerala their rightful share in the defence of the country and in the defence production of the country, but they have added insult to injury by the thrusting upon the beautiful harbour of Coching in Explosive Dock which was reacted by all the major ports in India, thereby endangering the safety of the refinery and the city of Cochin.

Thus, the Defence Ministry, which ought to have contributed most to the national integration of the various States and their people in India, have unfortunately discrimi-

nate against the people of Kerala in the most disgraceful manner. If this discrimination is not stopped atleast now, India may go the Pakistani way. Let Bangla Desh be an eye opener to our parochialists and Hindi fanatics.

SHRI D. N. TIWARY (Gopalganj) : Last evening, while speaking on the Defence Budget, one of the hon. Members said that the Report of the Ministry hides more and reveals less. I thought he was discussing the Ministry of agriculture of Irrigation and power which puts on the table everything. He should know that defence and foreign affairs are matters in which there is an element of secrecy, and if he put all these facts on the table, we may be harmed.

SHRI N. SREEKANTAN NAIR : The Americans know everything.

SHRI D. N. TIWARY : This is not America. In the Chinese war, for example, anything which happened or was said in our Parliament reached China before it reached our countrymen, we must take that into account.

SHRI BRIJ RAJ SINGH—KOTAH (Jhalawar) : Then, why put the Defence Demands before the House? Don't put them at all.

SHRI D. N. TIWARI : I have seen both last year's and this year's Reports. This year's Report is an improvement on the last year's Report.

There is nothing about it. Still it requires some more improvements.

On page 4 the report says....

"The indigenous content of this tank is being steadily increased during successive phases of production."

What is the percentage of increase? If this had been given to us, that would have been more beneficial.

We do not know whether it is 5 or 10 or 20 or 30 per cent. The report should contain some facts. If you are going to tell us something, tell us what improvement has been

made, and how far we have gone. If not, there is no use of saying that some improvement has been made.

About the I. A. F. accidents a clear picture should have been given. If these were air accidents, how many accidents took place and whether some of our officers were killed, and what loss we suffered....we should be told about these things in some detail.

About the use of Hindi, nothing has been said. It has been said that certain steps are being taken. What have you done and how far have you succeeded? It is not given in the report. I think an attempt should be made to make the report more meaningful and to improve upon the present style.

The defence of the country is organised keeping in view the potential enemies. The potential enemies are generally round about our country. We have to be watchful of what they are doing. If their preparations are of a higher order, we should be prepared accordingly otherwise we will be left in the lurch and ultimately we shall suffer. The report itself says on page 6:

"The extent of the defence effort must, of necessity, be influenced by the type and nature of threats faced by the country. The level of the defence expenditure regulated by the national will to be continuously prepared to face these threats."

With this background we have to examine what we have done and see what preparation we have made to prevent enemy threats. We know that our country is continuously under threat by Pakistan and China. To be realistic we must correctly assess the preparedness of these two countries and plan our defence accordingly. Our defence arrangements must be commensurate with the danger posed by these threats from Pakistan our enemy No. 1. It will be more correct to say that they are the only enemy and China is our second enemy. China wants to extend its hegemony in countries near China or India. It finds us an impediment in its way and therefore she tries to dishonour or destroy us so that there may not be any hindrance for her. About China's preparedness, the report says on page 1:

[Shri D.N. Tiwary]

"China conducted her 11th nuclear test over Lop Nor in Sinkiang on the 14th October, 1970. The explosion was approximately 3 megaton yield. China has been laying considerable emphasis on the production of ballistic missiles with nuclear warheads. According to an estimate China is capable of producing about 40 nuclear bombs every year of 20 kilo-ton capacity...."

China has already developed medium range ballistic missiles (range upto 3200 Km) though these may not have been operationally deployed yet. These missiles are capable of reaching targets in India from the launching bases in Tibet.

Will this be done to prevent this? Have we done anything? We have to talk this matter into consideration. We express only a pious wish. We say that India is trying to work for the total elimination of nuclear weapons from the armories of the world and to see that nuclear energy is utilised only for peaceful purposes.

Sir, by simply wishing we cannot prevent China from employing its weapon against India. We know that in the last war Japan was not defeated. What humbled Japan were the two bombs by which thousands of citizens were killed and Japan was humbled. So, we must have a rethinking about the atom bomb and about nuclear arrangements in this country. Nothing should be taboo for the defence of the country. If we have to prepare, perforce—though we do not want it and if we have to defend our country, that should be the only base for defending the country. We must be prepared to use nuclear power in the defence of the country. I think the circumstances demand that we re-think about the use of nuclear power should be done.

Now, I want to say a few words about military planning and management. In 1966-67, and 1967-68, and 1968-69, I had a chance to visit the undertakings under the Defence Ministry, and I found that much remained to be improved. They had less of production and the capacity was not fully utilised. Machines were laying idle. The report of the public undertakings Commi-

tees are there. They should be looked into. I do not remember everything therein but they should be looked into and what improvement is possible should be undertaken.

One thing more. I found the inventory is very high. It was disproportionate to the needs of the factories. Some articles were there which might be used for 10 to 12 years, but by that time they may become obsolete and may deteriorate in quality. So, in these public undertakings of the Defence Ministry, in which production is going on, we have to see that they are run on the same basis on which commercial undertakings are run.

It has also been said in the report:

"The management of inventory is an area which is claiming increasing attention consequent upon the substantial enhancement in the material inputs into the Defence Services. The basic aim of material management is the same whether in business or in Defence, namely to ensure availability of optimum requirements of equipment and material at the minimum cost and at the right time.

What is minimum cost. If inventories are very high, and the articles cannot be consumed in a year or two than you are incurring losses; your capital is blocked; your parts deteriorate or become obsolete. So, you have to look into these things while you are going to look into the production side

There are two departments: the defence production and defence supplies. I do not separate think there is any need for having departments like this. The two may very well be amalgamated and the cost lessened. I say this because I found that most of the things in the supply department are covered by the defence production department.

You have given the amount of articles that you have disposed of as being obsolete or useless; and they are of a very high order.

Page 17 of report says, value of stores declared to DGS & D is Rs. 104.33 crores and value of stores disposed of is Rs. 77 crores. What about the rest? It is not clear whether they have been thrown away or re-utilised. It should have been made clear whether the remaining stores amounting to Rs. 30 crores have been thrown away or re-utilised or what has happened to them.

Coming to that language policy of the defence department, page 31 of the report says that a scheme for teaching Hindi to service officers and personnel is being examined at the inter services level. After 23 years, it is only being examined. You can very well imagine what place is given to our official language.

श्री जगजीवन राम : सारे कमान्ड हिन्दी में हो गये हैं ।

SHRI D.N. TIWARY: Then it is said: All units/formations in the Air Force have been advised to implement the provisions of the official Language (Amendment) Act, 1965 as amended. Notices and sign-boards in the Air Force establishment are now being displayed in Hindi and English."

Only notices are being displayed in Hindi, not other things. If something more has been done, it should have been mentioned in the report so that members may know. Otherwise, everything seems vague and it seems no serious attempt is being made to implement the Official Language (Amendment) Act, 1965. In future reports, more explicit information should be given, so that members may give their comments.

I would like to say a few words about Bangladesh. Opposition members are angry with the Government and the ruling party, because we are not giving recognition to Bangladesh, immediately. Some members of our party also are eager that immediate recognition should be given to Bangladesh. But I was thinking what more help we can give to Bangladesh by simply recognising it, which we are not giving at present? Let us be practical. If what we are doing today is not sufficient, more can be suggested to be done.

But I do not think only recognition will be of much help; India will be the only country in the whole world to give recognition. We have found no indication of any other country taking in that way.

SHRI SAMAR GUHA (Contai): Even if you do not want to give recognition, there are other countries in world who want to do it, and I do not create trouble for them. Do not spoil their case. I had a talk with the Foreign Minister of Bangladesh and he strongly resents this attitude.

SHRI D. N. TIWARY: You should not try to suppress my view like this.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: The question of recognition is the responsibility of the Foreign Ministry, not of the Defence Ministry.

SHRI D. N. TIWARY: But so much has been said about this and without refusing them, I do not think the position will be clear.

Yesterday also many of the speeches pertained only to Bangladesh and nothing else. So, I have to clarify the position.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: From the Military point of view.

SHRI D. N. TIWARY: Yes. We have to be practical on this question. We can give Bangladesh all the aid that they need without recognising them. No other country has recognised Bangladesh. Some of our friends were saying that if we do that some countries may follow us. But I have not found any indication of that. On the other hand, this will give Pakistan an opportunity to proclaim to the whole world that India is at the root of the whole trouble.

SHRI SAMAR GUHA: Childish logic; Puerile logic.

SHRI D. N. TIWARY: My logic may be childish. If he is brave let him... (Interruptions)

MR DEPUTY SPEAKER This question has no relevance to the discussion on the Demands of this Ministry.

SHRI D N TIWARY The question of defence will come after recognition. In case we recognise them, then it becomes our duty to protect them from every onslaught from outside. Once it becomes an independent country with which we have friendly relations, if that country is on war with a country, then it involves us also in war. So, we have to consider all aspects before giving recognition. Government are not averse to recognising Bangladesh. They do not say that they will not recognise it. They are only waiting for the proper time and opportunity.

When the proper comes they will do it. After all we are not in possession of all those facts which are in the possession of government. So only the government know the proper time when to do it. Government are also not shirking their responsibility. They are sympathetic to the cause of Bangladesh and they are waiting for the right time. Let us not hustle them to do a thing which may not be correct strategically. During the Chinese conflict we failed for want strategy about time and place in fighting. So many books have been written about our poor strategy in that conflict. Therefore strategy is of the utmost importance and we should leave it the defence department. Similarly the question of recognition should be left to the government. Let us not hustle them to do a thing at an inopportune time. So I would beg of my hon. friends to leave the matter to the government. Let them by all means express their opinion but let the whole matter be left to the government so that they may take a suitable decision at the proper time.

SHRI H M PATEL (Dhandhuka) The first speaker referred to Bangladesh. It was not my intention to begin with that subject but I feel that it is desirable that I should do so. There is, it seems to me, it is not generally realised an undeclared war between Pakistan and India which Pakistan is winning. Pakistan is sending to us an enormous burden—six million refugees who have to come to this country and soon more millions are almost certain to come. What does it involve? It means Pakistan is shedding its own responsibility and

passing it on to us without declaring a war. It is inflicting a defeat on us and has, in fact, inflicted a defeat on us. Is that not an absolutely clear fact? When hon'ble Members say that we should not talk about war, etc. undoubtedly, let us not talk about it but let us at least face facts. And what are these facts? The facts are that Pakistan for its own reasons invaded—it may say it was an internal matter—nevertheless it was an invasion on East Pakistan now we call it Bangladesh and it proceeded to impose its will upon the people who had already declared their will in a free and fair election. I use the words free and fair because that is what Pakistan itself claimed that election to be and that election gave an enormous majority to the Awami League. Nullifying that decision of the people of Bangladesh, Pakistan used force and force in such a barbarous manner that it compelled this enormous number of people to leave that country and come to India. We could have—if we had been just realistic people and not governed by certain amount of humanitarian considerations—closed our frontiers and said 'No, you shall not enter. Why are you coming here?' But we did not that. Not having done so we have also now a certain responsibility for these people who have come. We are facing an enormous financial burden but there are other more consequences which may well flow from these refugees being in our midst. Remember, Sir, that the bulk of these people are Hindus. A vast majority has already left East Pakistan over the east several years and of what remained a substantial percentage is now in India. Pakistan is achieving its objective of having a wholly Islamic State through this undeclared war. And it may win this war if we do not make it clear that this is no longer an internal affair of Pakistan, because it has passed on such great burden on us.

The question therefore, for us to consider is—when we consider the Defence grants—on what, and for what purpose are we spending these Rs 1200 crores year after year in regard to our defence forces. To prepare ourselves against what? To prepare ourselves against aggression. And aggression does not necessarily take place by sending forces across the border. The Report of the Defence Ministry, unfortunately, is like an iceberg. It hides far more than it reveals. The first Chapter which describes the Policy and the

policy considerations which govern the Defence preparedness of this country is so vague and so brief—brevity is desirable as opposed to verbosity but not as opposed to clarity or as opposed to giving information to which this House has a right. You do clearly indicate that Pakistan and China countries with which our relation are not good.

You indicate also the state of preparedness of China and Pakistan. You indicate Pakistan has been receiving various military hardware from this and that country. Why don't you at the same time give some indication of the extent of our preparedness, how our preparedness compares with theirs—particularly in the context of the military equipment which Pakistan is receiving. If you say that Pakistan has received Mirage aircraft and we are relying on Mig 21 which we are producing, you should then at least tell us how our aircraft compare with theirs. You indicate what we are going to equip ourselves with without giving any comparative evaluation. There are so many other similar points on which the Defence Report ought to have given us information without endangering secrecy.

The Institute of Strategic Studies, London, brings out a publication called "Military Balance" in which they give the total military strength of each country. At least, even if you do not wish to give out what you know, you could surely, to make it easier for Members of this House, give in an Appendix, quoting "Military Balance", that say, China has this much strength, Pakistan has this much strength and ours is this much. You need not give information that you possess. We do not know, even after reading the whole of the Report, what precisely our strength is compared to Pakistan, to what extent can we cope with Pakistan, if there happens to be a need for a conflict with that country, and we have to face it on two fronts or maybe three fronts. As to what is the deployment of our forces, that you need not tell us. But you can give in general terms your assessment of how it is proposed to face the danger that faces us.

There is a kind of whispering propaganda going on in regard to Bangla Desh, that we are not acting in a decisive manner because the Military Chiefs are taking a certain

view that they are opposed to it. I think, this is very wrong and must unfair to the Military Chiefs. They would never say, "Do this or do that." What they would do, of course, is to give you a complete appreciation, a military appreciation, of the situation leaving the Government to take a political decision. Therefore, it is extremely unfortunate that anybody should talk loosely in those terms. Nothing can be more demoralising than to create such an atmosphere and let such a point of view spread amongst the people that our armed forces are reluctant to fight or to act. They are not reluctant to carry out any instructions that the Government may give. Whatever is happening or not happening is definitely and firmly the responsibility of the Government. It is the Government which has taken a decision to follow a particular line of action.

It is the Government which has, for instance, taken a decision, when the first Chinese atomic bomb explosion took place, that in spite of that, we will not go in for nuclear weapons development. It is the Government at that time which took the decision. Now, it is a matter for gratification that even at this late stage, we are waking up to the danger that this country is facing. For the first time, the Defence Ministry says in their Report or somewhere else that the nuclear development of China is a matter of concern to us. For the first time, this is being said. They have already advanced considerably. So, you can possibly say that they have advanced so much that for us now to trail behind would be futile. But that is not so. They can hold us to ransom.

Here is a line added in this Report :

"The belief that nuclear weapons are an effective means of political blackmail does not at present appear to be well founded."

On What basis do you say that ? I must say that is a statement of a most amazing kind that could be made. On what basis do you say that it does not appear to be well founded. What is it ? So far, the Defence Ministry and the Government, has been saying that if there is a conflict with China, it will be only with conventional weapons and that we are fully capable of taking care of them in a conventional war.

[Shri H. M. Patel]

Now the developments that have taken place already are a matter of concern and quite rightly. But we still have fortunately some little time. If to-day there is a conflict and China threatens to use this, other super-powers who possess nuclear weapons may well intervene and they may well intervene. Why? Not because of their love for us, but because of their own interest and because China has not yet developed a sufficient number of Inter-Continental Ballistic Missiles to pose a definite threat to Russia and America. When that point arrives, then you can rest assured that they will not want to jeopardise their own position for the sake of India and it will be for India to look after herself. Therefore even though it is late, it is most desirable that we take on hand immediately a nuclear programme and how do we take it? It is being said always that the cost is enormous and it will cripple us. Sir, this question of cost is really somewhat illusory, illusory in this sense that we have to decide our defence policy with reference to our security considerations. When we were overwhelmed by China in 1962, our defence budget was of the order of Rs. 200-300 crores. Thereafter our eyes were opened to the fact that because we were non-violent and because we had no designs upon anybody else, everybody would not necessarily leave us alone. We will have to make ourselves strong and we decided to increase our defence budget to equip ourselves to be capable of taking on those countries which might conceivably pose a threat to the security of this country. So we raised our defence budget from that small figure by 4 to 5 times. If we could do that, why can we not similarly find the money that is required for a nuclear programme?

It is not as if a nuclear programme is all money down the drain. The execution of a nuclear programme of this type also encourages the industrial development at a very rapid rate. We have, fortunately for us, reached a certain stage in the industrial development and have now the technical and managerial skills which would enable us to put through such a programme relatively easily.

Then, what is there in the way? Nothing except determination. What is lacking to-day is that determination to act when the country's interests are threatened. And that is precisely the point in regard to Bangla Desh. It is not that we want to go the rescue of Bangla Desh, but we must do so because it is our own economy which is seriously threatened. It is on its way to being disrupted. Even if we rule out the possibility of communal trouble which I say is a very real threat and we must consider ourselves fortunate that we have averted it so far—I must congratulate the Government on their success in preventing such troubles so far...

SHRI SAMAR GUHA : Congratulate the people.

SHRI H. M. PATEL : Yes, the people and also the Government. So, I suggest that we should not blind ourselves to these possibilities. It is not a question of financial burden only, but of many other burdens. We cannot send the refugees back soon. And if they continue to remain here for months on end, they cannot be kept unemployed. They must be found something to occupy them. And that means we shall have another couple of million unemployed added to the 40 million already unemployed in this country. So, it is in the light of all this that we have to take a decision. That financial burden might well be equal to whatever we may have to spend for a nuclear programme which we undertake. In fact that consideration points to our taking a decisive view in regard to Bangla Desh. We cannot allow things to drift in our own interest.

Nobody wants war. That is perfectly true. But war can become inevitable; it may become completely unavoidable not because of our seeking but because circumstances may thrust it upon us. To say that just because war may bring in untold miseries, one should not have war, makes no sense. Of course, all of us would like to avoid a war. But when those who are opposed to war say that those who talk of war are insensate and do not realise all that war implies, they are not being altogether fair. Those who say that war is unavoidable are certainly not anxious for a war. When this point of view

is presented by them, it is only because they are convinced that it is necessary for us in our own interest, in the interests of the integrity and the security of our own territories. It is in the interest also for our future development, that we face facts, that we take a realistic view; and that realistic view does not lie in ignoring the burden that the refugees throw upon us. That burden is not just a matter of money. It has many other implications of a social nature besides other kinds of implications. These are to be taken into account when we consider what our future policy ought to be.

One final word I would say in regard to the defence reports. Such reports to my mind ought to be far more informative and give us much more information in the interests of the Defence Ministry itself. Secrecy can be overdone. But Government has also to educate us. They can enable us and help us in judging the defence policies and the implementation of defence policies and programmes in a more adequate manner and for that purpose, I would suggest through you to the Government that the reports of the Ministries ought to be made available to the Members much earlier along with the budget papers if possible, not just a few days before the debate comes on.

श्री मुल्की राज सैनी (देहरादून) :
उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं रक्षा मंत्रालय की मांगों का समर्थन करने के लिए खड़ा हुआ हूँ। मेरा यह विश्वास और मान्यता है कि हमारा रक्षा विभाग एक उच्च, योग्य और सीनियर राज-नैतिक नेता के हाथ में है। जब से यह विभाग उनके हाथ में आया है, उसने बहुत उन्नति की है, हमारी शक्ति बढ़ी है और आगे भी बढ़ेगी।

लेकिन फिर भी रक्षा का सवाल इतना महत्वपूर्ण और व्यापक है कि उसके बारे में कभी भी संतुष्ट होकर नहीं बैठ जा सकता, कभी भी उसके बारे में लापरवाही नहीं की जा सकती। विश्व की, और हमारे पड़ोस की, स्थिति जिस प्रकार बदलती जा रही है, उसको देखते हुए हम जिसमें भी शक्ति बाँट कर सें यह काम है। इसलिए हम कह सकते हैं कि जो

जनराशि इस विभाग के लिए मांगी गई है, वह कम है और हर स्थिति में उसे कम ही कहा जायेगा।

अकेला रक्षा विभाग ही देश की रक्षा नहीं कर सकता है। अगर एका वाक्य में कहा जाये, तो सारे मंत्रि-मंडल में जितने विभाग हैं, आज वे सब रक्षा विभाग हैं, क्योंकि आज की लड़ाई या तरीका पहले की लड़ाइयों से बदल गया है। किसी समय राजा और राजा की लड़ाई होती थी और फौजें तमाशा देखती थीं। अगर राजा हार जाता था, तो उसकी फौज हार जाती थी। उसके बाद फौज की लड़ाई फौज से होती थी और जनता तमाशा देखती थी। लेकिन आज की लड़ाई ऐसी है, जिसमें सारा देश सारे देश से टकराता है, सारी जनता सारी जनता से टकराती है। अगर सारा देश संतुष्ट है, अगर देश में एकता है और एक दूसरे के प्रति घृणा नहीं है, तब देश सशक्त कहा जायेगा और उस देश का रक्षा विभाग शक्तिशाली होगा।

जहाँ तक हमारे देश की सुरक्षा का सवाल है, उसमें पहला स्थान फौज का है। हमारी फौज हमेशा से एक इतिहास बनाती आई है। उसके पराक्रम की गाम्भीर्य इतिहास के पन्नों पर स्वर्णाक्षरों से लिखे हुए हैं। जब कभी भी, जिस किसी स्थान पर—देश में या विदेश में—हमारी फौज गई, उन्होंने अपना नाम पड़ा किया। दूसरे महायुद्ध में हिटलर ने हमारी फौजों की वीरता, शौर्य और बलिदान-शक्ति को देखकर कहा था कि भाग, ऐसी पल्टन हमारे पास होती। हिन्दुस्तान की पल्टन, हिन्दुस्तान के सिपाही और हिन्दुस्तान के आफिसर के बारे में, हिन्दुस्तान के रण-कौशल के बारे में आज कोई शको-शुबहा नहीं होना चाहिए कि हम पहले भी अच्छे थे, जबकि यहाँ पर अंग्रेजों का राज्य था, और आज भी हम अच्छे हैं।

चीन के हमले के समय हम पर एक दाय आया था, लेकिन मैं व्यक्तिगत तौर पर यह विश्वास करता हूँ कि उसमें गलती हमारी फौज

[श्री मुत्कीराज सेनी]

की नहीं थी, कमजोरी हमारी फौज की नहीं थी बल्कि उसका कारण हमारी राजनैतिक कमजोरी थी, हम वक्त पर सजग नहीं हो पाये कि हमारे देश को किस स्थिति का सामना करना पड़ेगा, हमको दिवानी तैयारी करनी चाहिए, हमारा कौनसा मोर्चा कमजोर है और किस मोर्चे पर हमला हो सकता है। आखिर में हमने उस घटनाक्रम का परिणाम देखा कि उस वक्त के रक्षा मंत्री को अपना पद छोड़ना पड़ा।

किसी भी फौज का आधार उसका सगठन है। मैं बड़े अदब के साथ यह निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि इस देश में आज भी मार्शल रेसिज और नान-मार्शल रेसिज का भेद मौजूद है। जब सारा देश सारे देश से मुकाबला करता है, सारे देश की शक्ति सारे देश की शक्ति से टकराती है, तो फिर हम कैसे यह मान कर चल सकते हैं कि इस देश के पिछड़े वर्ग का व्यक्ति, अनुसूचित जातियों का व्यक्ति, मार्शल रेस में और फौज में शामिल नहीं हो सकता? 1967 में उत्तर प्रदेश में मुजफ्फर नगर और सहारनपुर में फौज की भर्ती हो रही थी। मैं उस समय यू० पी० में एम० एल० ए० था। मैं वहाँ पर भर्ती के वक्त गया। मुझे यह देखकर अफसोस हुआ कि जो रिज्यूटिंग आफिसर आये, उन्होंने कह दिया कि सिर्फ एक जाति विशेष के लोग ही लिये जायेंगे, इसलिये दूसरी जातियों के लडके लाइन से बाहर निकल जायें। उन्होंने न सिर्फ अनुसूचित जातियों का पिछड़े वर्ग बल्कि किसी भी जाति, के लडको को लाइन में नहीं खड़े रहने दिया। वहाँ पर सिर्फ एक जाति विशेष के लडको को रखा गया।

इसलिये फौज के सगठन में व्यापकता आनी चाहिए। देश के हर एक युवक को यह अनुभव होना चाहिए कि मैं भी मार्शल रेस का हूँ मुझे भी देश के लिये लडना है। आज ऐसा समझ आ गया है, जब हम अपनी फौज की सभ्यता को ज्यादा बढ़ा नहीं सकते हैं, क्योंकि हमारे सामन

सीमित हैं। लेकिन देश को अपनी रक्षा के लिए तैयार करने के लिये हमें पैसा खर्च करने और सिपाहियों को रिज्यूट करने की जरूरत नहीं है। आज जबकि हमारे देश में इमर्जेंसी का पीरियड आया है, देश के हर एक युवक को फौजी ट्रेनिंग देनी चाहिए, युवक वालन्टियर के रूप में फौजी ट्रेनिंग ले और उनमें स्कूल-बालेजो के लडके भी हो।

हमने अहिंसा का जो रास्ता अपनाया था, आज हम उससे बहुत दूर चले गये हैं। आज हम गांधीजी के फोटो लगाते हैं और उसमें प्रेरणा भी लेते हैं, लेकिन गांधीजी ने जिस तरह की अहिंसा का—वीरो की अहिंसा का—पाठ हमें पढ़ाया था, वह न तो देश में और न विदेशों में देखने को मिलती है। अशोक अहिंसा को मानने वाला था। उसने अपना शासन अहिंसा के आधार पर चलाया और उसने विदेशों में मिशन भेजे। आज हम उस रास्ते को छोड़ चुके हैं और हमने एक दूसरा रास्ता—हिंसा वाला रास्ता—अपना लिया है। इसमें कोई सन्देह नहीं कि काररता से अच्छी हिंसा होती है। इसलिये उस रास्ते पर चल कर हमको अपने देश के सब युवकों में रिज्यूट या सैनिक बनने की भावना पैदा करना चाहिए। आज यह भावना नहीं पैदा करनी चाहिये कि अमुक मार्शल रेस का है और अमुक नान-मार्शल रेस का है। इसलिये मैं श्री वीरेन्द्रमिह राव की इस बात से बिसएग्नी करता हूँ कि फौज में रेजिमेंटों के नाम जाति के आधार पर रखना सराब नहीं है। रेजिमेंटों के नाम क्षेत्रों, वीर पुरुषों और ऐतिहासिक पुरुषों के नाम पर रखे जा सकते हैं। लेकिन अगर रेजिमेंटों के नाम किसी जाति विशेष के नाम पर रखे जाते हैं, तो दूसरी जाति का लडका उसमें या तो भर्ती नहीं होगा और अगर होगा भी, तो हम में जातिवाद का जो अभिशाप है, वह उसको बहा रहने नहीं देगा। ऐसी कर्म मित्राले हैं। मंत्री जाति के लोग जाति बदल कर भर्ती होते हैं, लेकिन अब भेद खुल जाता है, तो उनको बहा नहीं रहने दिया जाता है।

13.00 hrs.

फौज के लिये यह जरूरी होता है कि उसका अनुशासन अच्छा हो। उसके अंदर दो राय नहीं है कि हमारी फौज अद्वितीय है। इस मामले में दो चीजें मुख्य होती हैं ट्रेनिंग और अस्त्र। ट्रेनिंग हमारी बहुत अच्छी है। अस्त्र के मामले में हमारे यहां हमेशा-हमेशा यह सवाल होता रहेगा कि संसार के अंदर जो आधुनिकतम और नये से नये अस्त्र आ रहे हैं उनकी संख्या हमारे यहां भी बढ़नी चाहिए। दुनिया कहीं हो और हम कहीं हों यह हो नहीं सकता। अगर ऐसा हुआ तो हमें फिर उसी तरीके से चीन वाला जो डीवैकिल हुआ था, जो हार हुई थी ऐसी हारें देखनी पड़ सकती है। इसलिए यह ऐसा मुहकमा है जिसे मजग रहना चाहिए। मैंने अर्ज किया कि यह सारा मन्त्रिमंडल ही रक्षा विभाग है और फिर रक्षा विभाग तो किसी समय भी लापरवाह हो ही नहीं सकता, इसे तो हर समय सचेत रहने की आवश्यकता है। इसलिए हमें अपने यहां अधिक से अधिक अस्त्र तैयार करने चाहिए।

एक बात और मानकर चलनी चाहिए। हमारे यहां सब कुछ अच्छा है, अगर हमने यह मान लिया तो हम कमी उन्नति नहीं कर सकते हैं। कोई भी व्यक्ति उन्नति नहीं कर सकता है, कोई समाज उन्नति नहीं कर सकता है, कोई देश उन्नति नहीं कर सकता है। इसलिए हमें हमेशा ही आगे तरक्की करने की बात सोचनी चाहिए। मैं तो यह भी मान कर चलता हूँ कि आज हमारे देश के अंदर जो कारखाने हैं, जो पब्लिक अंडरटेकिंग्स हैं, या प्रायवेट अंडरटेकिंग्स हैं उनके अंदर जो काम करने की भावना, काम करने का तरीका और अनुशासन की कमी चल रही है उसका प्रभाव हमारी आर्डिनेंस फैक्ट्रीज पर भी पड़ रहा है। इसलिए हमें उस तरफ से भी हमेशा सतर्क रहना चाहिए। इस विभाग की जो भी अंडरटेकिंग्स हैं या जो इस तरह के कारखाने हैं उनमें इस चीज से सतर्क रहने की आवश्यकता है।

दूसरे, सिपाही, कमांडर और आफिसर वाला फर्क आज भी शायद हमारा वही पुराना वाला चल रहा है। हमारे देश में राष्ट्रीयता आई, हमारा देश समाजवाद की ओर चल रहा है। हम रोज कहते हैं कि छोटे और बड़े का अन्तर कम होना चाहिए। छोटे और बड़े से अंतर या उन की आय और व्यय में ज्यादा अंतर नहीं होना चाहिए। उनकी आवश्यकताएं पूरी होनी चाहिए। आवश्यकताओं की पूर्ति के बाद विलासिता का नम्बर आता है। लेकिन हमारे यहां उनकी आवश्यकता पूरी नहीं होती। जैसे सारे देश के अंदर छोटे व्यक्ति की बुनियादी आवश्यकताएं पूरी करने के लिए साधन मौजूद नहीं हैं, उनकी उतनी आय नहीं है वैसे ही बड़े दुख के साथ कहना पड़ता है कि सिपाही और कमांडर की आय और व्यय में बहुत बड़ा अंतर चलता है उसमें भ्रष्टाचार की खबरें भी आती हैं। वहां पर एक सिपाही के राशन में भी कमी कर दी जाती है। सिपाही की सुविधाओं में वही व्यूरोक्रेटिक ऐंटीट्यूड जैसा सर्बिसेज में चलता है वैसे ही फौज में भी सुनने में आता है। मुझे यह कहना नहीं चाहिए लेकिन दुख के साथ कहना पड़ता है, यह मुझे उनके द्वारा सुनने को मिला है जो फौज में रह कर के आए हैं। इस तरह से अगर भ्रष्टाचार की बू भी वहां आ जाती है तो यह संगठन खराब हो जाता है।

इसी तरह से जहां हमारी फौजों को असली मुकाबिला करना पड़ता है जिन्हें हम सरहद कहते हैं उसका मामला है जिसके बारे में हमारे माननीय सदस्य कल इतने ज्यादा माबुक हो रहे थे कि शायद उनका गला भर आया था और उन्होंने कहा था कि जिन बोर्डों के ऊपर सड़कें नहीं हैं, रास्ते नहीं हैं, पीने को पानी नहीं मिलता है हमारे सिपाहियों को सीमा पर बहुत कष्ट का सामना करना पड़ता है तो किस तरीके से उस देश के अंदर सुरक्षा की भावना हो सकती है? इसलिए यह प्राथमिकता उसे मिलनी चाहिए। जैसा कि माननीय सदस्य कल कह रहे थे कि टेहरी गढ़वाल और गढ़वाल में सड़कें नहीं हैं और ऊपर चमोली और पिथौरागढ़ में सड़कें भ्रामने बना दी तो नीचे की सड़कों के बगैर वह उपर की सड़कों किस काम की

[श्री: मुल्की राज सैनी]

होगी ? इसलिए बुनियादी आवश्यकता बोर्डर डिस्ट्रिक्ट्स की पूरी की जानी चाहिए। खासतौर से जिन को मुकाबिले की पक्ति में आगे रहना है उनको सतुष्ट रखना होगा। उन के लिए विकास की विशेष स्कीम लानी होगी। उन्हें हम पीने का पानी न दे सके, चिट्ठिया भेजने का इंतजाम न कर सकें तो यह बहुत ही दुर्भाग्य की बात होगी।

इस मामले से देश का सवाल आता है कि क्या देश तैयार है, इस बात का जवाब अगर हम देखें तो देश के अंदर जो युवक समाज है जहां से हम भर्ती करते हैं उसकी भांज क्या हालत है? जैसे हम कहा करते हैं कि कुम्हार जो बर्तन तैयार करता है उस बर्तन के लिए मिट्टी लाता है और उससे बर्तन बनाता है, फिर उनको पकाता है। तो गांव में कहावत चलती है कि अगर आवा खराब हो गया हो तो कुछ बुरा न हुआ लेकिन अगर खुदाना खराब हो गया, मिट्टी खराब हुई तो कुछ भी बन नहीं सकेगा। अगर मिट्टी ही ठीक न होगी तो बर्तन कहा से तैयार होगा ? हमारे देश के अंदर जिन युवकों को हम भर्ती करने के लिए तैयार करते हैं उनका दिमाग आज कहा जा रहा है। मैं बड़े अदब के साथ आपके माध्यम से आज कहना चाहता हूँ कि तीन चार शब्द हैं—आधुनिक सभ्यता, पश्चिमी सभ्यता, आधुनिकता, इसने आज इस तरीके से दुर्भाग्यपूर्ण हमारे देश की हालत कर दी है कि काफी-हाउस वाला, प्लंब वाला, ऐसा हमें बना कर रख दिया है, इस तरह फसा दिया है, कि हमारे युवक आज उससे बच नहीं पा रहे हैं और एक नया तथ्य जिस की तरफ मैं माननीय मंत्री जी का ध्यान आकर्षित करना चाहता हूँ वह है हिप्पी प्रारंभ। यह हिप्पी क्या है ? जहां तक मैंने देखा है वह कहते हैं कि बहु तो मस्त हैं और भू हिप्पी धर्म की दीक्षा लेने के लिए आए हैं (ब्यबधान) मैं कहता हूँ कि यह कैसे हिप्पी हैं जो मोदी होटल में रणजीत हाटल में और दूसरे बड़े बड़े होटलों में ठहरते हैं ? उन्हें रुपया कहा से आता है ? उनका देश भेजता है ? समाज भेजता है या कौन भेजता

है ? और क्यों भेजता है ? मैं यही कहना चाहता हूँ कि इस प्रारंभ को हलकें उग से नहीं देखना चाहिए। हमारे देश के अन्दर गुप्त-चर तरह-तरह के रूपों में हमारे बीच में आए हुए हैं। (ब्यबधान) मैं उन्हें हटाना नहीं चाहता। वह आते रहे। और ज्यादा तावाब में आए। लेकिन अपनी सरकार से दरखास्त करना चाहता हूँ कि हर प्वाइंट पर, हर स्थान पर इस बात की जांच रखें कि उनसे हमारे देश के हित को, हमारी सुरक्षा को कोई खतरा न पहुंचे। उससे अराजकता फैल सकती है, समाज के दर्शन पर उससे असर पड़ सकता है। इसलिए उसे देखना होगा। मैं तो वहीं मानकर चलता हूँ कि युवक समाज में आज बहुत बड़ी कमजोरी आई हुई है, विलासिता की भावना फैलती जा रही है जो हमारे शौर्य को, हमारे वीरत्व को कम करती है।

मैं रिचर्स वाली बात के सबंध में निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ, इस के बारे में कल यह बताया था कि केवल 19 करोड़ रुपया रिसर्च पर दिया गया है। तो रिसर्च पर अधिक ध्यान होना चाहिए जिस से हम अपने देश में ही नये-नये हथियार बना सकें।

अतः से मैं बंगला देश के बारे में अपने विचार रखना चाहता हूँ मेरी अपनी निजी मान्यता यह है कि बंगला देश की प्रारंभिक इतनी आगे बढ़ न पाती अगर समय पर या तो हम अपने आप को इतना तगड़ा दिखाते कि पाकिस्तान कोई ऐक्शन न करता अगर समय आ गया था तो हम भी उसी के अनुसार अपने कदम को गरम करते जाते। मेरी अपनी निजी राय है कि मान्यता कमी की मिल जानी चाहिए थी और आज एक दूसरा टाइम हो जाना चाहिए था। लेकिन मैं फिर कहता हूँ कि जैसे हमारी प्रधान मंत्री और दूसरे नेता कहते हैं हमें सब कुछ पता नहीं है, ठीक है हम यह मान कर चलते हैं कि आप जो भी कर रहे हैं वह ठीक कर रहे हैं, लेकिन देश की सुरक्षा के वास्ते आज बड़े से बड़े नेता जो कह रहे हैं, जयप्रकाश नारायण जो सर्वोदयी के नेता हैं और अहिंसा को मानने वाले

हैं, वह भी एक बात कह रहे हैं, उन की मालुमात मेरे से ज्यादा जरूर होगी और यह तमाम देश के अन्दर जो कहा जा रहा है और किया जा रहा है उस पर आप विचार करें और समय आने पर एक वीरतापूर्ण कदम उठाएं जैसी कि हमें आप से आशा है ।

इन्हीं शब्दों के साथ मैं आप को धन्वाद देत हूँ ।

SHRI N. TOMBI SINGH (Inner Manipur) : In the context of the present international situation arising out of Bangla Desh events the discussion on the Defence budget today has got tremendous value and significance and I deem it a real privilege to support the demands of this Ministry. I should at the outset like to express my utter surprise at the failure of the leading members of the international community to appreciate and understand the policy of the Government of India. A number of times Government of India have offered to sign a no-war pact with our neighbour, Pakistan which continues to be adamant in rejecting such an offer. And our country which is busy in building a socialist, democratic society, has been so much misunderstood by our own neighbours as well as the leading members of the international community. Now, I feel that it is time to search our own hearts and also to review our own activities. Why is it that in our efforts to make friends with everybody we have not been able to win over any one of the members of the international community ? It appears that everyone is unfriendly to us today in such a critical situation; and I do not like to say that our policy, our administration, is wrong, but my Point is that we have been so much misunderstood and if at all we have been misunderstood, we must have a rethinking on our own policy and efforts to implement it.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER : Please come to the defence matters.

SHRI N. TOMBI SINGH : I am coming. If we do not understand the degree, the gravity of the problem, perhaps we shall not be able to know how much we shall have to build for our defence. Therefore, I had to

say a few words as to how we are being misunderstood by our neighbours as well as by the leading members of the international community and we should condemn this failure of the big powers to appreciate our policy.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, I would like to confine myself to the eastern zone where the heaviest impact of the Bangla Desh events has occurred. This region comprising West Bengal, Assam, NEFA, Nagaland, Manipur and Tripura, has been open to serious dangers in the last Chinese aggression. We could understand how much was left to be done in the NEFA sector in the field of communication; roads were wanting, and there were practically no arrangements for civil defence. So, in this respect, the whole of the eastern zone is a dangerous zone, because during the last several years, China and Pakistan had been able to train many of our youths in the use of arms and also in the art of brainwashing and indoctrination, creating hostility towards India. In this zone, there have been interesting stories as to how our young men, boys from Nagaland and also from the NEFA areas, Manipur, Mizo area, crossed over to Pakistan and then to China, getting arms and getting trained, and getting trained in political ideologies also, and coming back. This problem is still to be tackled. In the event of any dispute between Pakistan and India or between China and India, whatever is the case, this situation will have to be tackled with a special attention by the armed forces, because there is every possibility of the fifth columnists coming up. Some political parties are just hovering in the sky over India like kites, some kites being flown from Peking, some kites being flown from Moscow; and there is every possibility of a large number of fifth columnist, black sheep, coming up in this zone. Therefore, we have got to strengthen the defence forces there, as well as the agencies specialising in awakening the citizens into national consciousness, into more of self-defence preparedness. In this context, the activities of border publicity units, the field publicity units of the All India Radio working in this zone will have to be increased. Much has to be done.

[Shri N. Tomi Singh]

Having said this I would now like to draw the attention of the hon. House and also the hon. Defence Minister to one aspect which may appear to be a small issue but, when I proceed to give an explanation, it may be worthy of being taken into consideration.

One very important and historic area known as the Contonment Area in Imphal, which is the most beautiful area, is now used by the Fourth Assam Rifles. This area the king's palace, was captured by the British in 1891 when the Manipuri forces were defeated by them and posted the armed forces there in order to subdue public morale. That was the last war on the Indian frontier. This area has been retained so far even after our attainment of independence. The Government and the people of Manipur have been repeatedly demanding that the army should be shifted from there, so that the civilian population and the military may have better relations and in the name of defence arrangements, there should be no wounding of sentiments of the civilians by putting military forces in that most important area. This is important on two grounds. This was the palace of the last king of independent Manipur. Before he occupied it as his palace, this was the place where the ruling duty of the Manipuri people, before their conversion to Hinduism, was worshipped. Therefore, they thought that this should be protected by keeping the palace nearby. Now this area has been completely cordoned off. For a glass of water from a sacred tank in the compound, which is necessary for performing traditional rites, one has to take permission from different agencies with much difficulty and sometimes to no effect. Therefore, I would demand that in spite of the financial implications—it may take time also—this may be shifted to some suitable area and this area may be reserved for civil administration and the people may be allowed to use this important, historic and sacred area as they have been using in the past. This will improve the situation there.

I am very happy to know from the Report of the Defence Ministry for 1970-71 that the Government of India have decided to raise a Naga regiment and to recruit to this regiment

50 percent Nagas and the rest from outside. In this context, I would suggest that, with all its glorious material background and being the eastern most frontier still further east of Nagaland, why should the Government not consider raising another regiment in the name of Manipur? One hon. member from our side suggested that naming of regiments after communities or States will create difficulties if the Government cannot satisfy every desiring group in the country. So, there is much risk in that. I do not know whether Government will find it difficult or not. But Government have decided to raise a Naga regiment and we are happy about it. But this must be followed more or less simultaneously by naming other regiments in the name of suitable communities and States. If the Government find it difficult, I would support the suggestion that naming of regiments in the name of States or communities should be stopped, because it will be impossible to satisfy each group. If we keep people unsatisfied, may be small or big groups, ultimately this will weaken our defence organisation and also inter-State relations.

Sir in this connection I would not like to say that the performance of the Manipur NCC Boys and Girls—Shillong circle comprises whole of Assam, Meghalaya, NLI A, Nagaland and Manipur—has been unique and unchallenged in this region. The martial tradition that area has been having will amply justify the recruitment of a regiment in the Defence Forces in the name of Manipur. Such a regiment should be raised more or less simultaneously with the Naga regiment.

Having said this on the subject, I would like to further mention that in the areas surrounding this Manipur belt and also the Mizo and other areas in the Assam-Meghalaya-NLFA sector, there has been tremendous effort by some international committees like the USA and the UK to educate boys through religion. Now, it appears that they are trying to change the mind of the people of these hill areas through culture. Culture is a very important aspect in developing relationship between tribes and tribes, between tribals

and nontribals and between the different communities in the country. The AIR Song & Drama Division's Performing Troupes who are serving as Entertainment Wing of the Defence Forces and the Border Publicity Agencies will, perhaps, do well by encouraging more and more of the culture of the Indian soil rather than encouraging more of the western culture.

I remember, Sir, a few years back, the Commission on Border Publicity visited Manipur and collected evidence. I was one of those who furnished evidence. The question put by one of the members was that supposing we increase the volume of western music—not only western music but also western type of dress and cooking—in the units of All India Radio in these areas because people are demanding, my reply was and many of my friends supported my view in this reply that we have no right to encourage the western culture which will segregate people from the main culture of the country. The extremists of these areas are already thinking in terms of sovereignty and independence of these areas. So, it is time that all these agencies, even the Defence Forces publicity agencies combined together and coordinate so that these young boys and girls are brought more and more within the national culture are national taste. Therefore, when we consider the Defence Budget today, defence may not necessarily be the building up of factories and increasing the number of aeroplanes alone. This should mean, as a very important aspect, the increase in the mental development and enhancement of the civilian mind towards more and more work towards defence. If that is not done this region is thrown open to various kinds of dangers—here we recollect with so much of disappointment and dissatisfaction what happened in NEFA in 1962—if this is to be repeated in the near future or in the distant future it will be very deplorable. With these few words, I support the Demands of this Ministry and thank you, Sir, for the indulgence shown to me.

SHRI SAMAR GUHA : Sir, the 1962 NEFA debacle was firmly dealt with in this House. But the dithering blunder

committed by the Defence Ministry on the fateful issue of Bangladesh and the danger that involves the whole nation, that denouncement is yet to be made.

Sir, I wish the Defence Minister were here. Just a few days back our Defence Minister made a statement at Agartala. When the pressmen asked him a question why India is not going to war with Pakistan the Defence Minister rebutted the pressmen by saying that a lion does not attack a jackal.

SHRI BRIJ RAJ SINGH—KOTAH(Jhalawar) : It only roars.

SHRI SAMAR GUHA : Unfortunately he is not here. I wanted to know from the Defence Minister what a real lion will do when an innocent cup in his neighbour's house is pounced upon by a jackal. Will the lion with his mighty posture of grandeur and lionism stand stoically indifferent or will he, with the heart of a real lion, immediately jump upon the jackal to save his neighbour's cup? I should say that the lion-hearted Defence Minister has not only misled the country but he has misled the Government on the political issue of Bangladesh. There are lots of talks going on in the lobby and outside that our arms high-ups are dragging their feet but ultimately the responsibility lies not with our arms chiefs but with the Defence Minister. I should say that they have miserably failed to make an assessment of the real danger from the side of Pakistan.

For instance, Pakistan made a plan that it will be possible for them to knock out all the nationalist forces, the Bangal Regiment of the Pakistan Rifles within 72 hours. They tried it. They attacked all the barracks of the Bangal Regiment, the East Pakistan Rifles and police. But, unfortunately for them and fortunately for the revolutionaries and the nationalists of Bangladesh, they could not finish it because there was a tremendous national upsurge. The result was that two divisions of the Pakistan army were almost over-powered except in Dacca and Chittagong area; in all other areas the

[Shri Samar Guha]

Pakistan army undertook a defensive position of a hedge-hog type in the sense they took their shelter in cantonments, garrisons and barracks. In those days the army chiefs of Pakistan in Dacca were sending frantic SOS to Rawalpindi to send reinforcements, but the West Pakistan Government did not do it. They waited for two weeks and not a battalion was sent; they did not dare. Because, we all know that Pakistan has seven divisions of their army in West Pakistan, and these seven Divisions are absolutely essential for maintaining defence balance of West Pakistan against India. They waited. They did not dare to send a battalion. But, Sir, when they found that there was on reaction from this Government - and I have been told by some authoritative sources that some high-ups in our Government they passed on a word in an alcoholic condition in a dinner party to some foreign Ambassador that India is not going to take action-it is only then after to weeks that Pakistan took the calculated risk to send two and a half Divisions of their much necessary army to Bangla Desh. They had two Division in Bangla Desh and reinforced that by another two and a half Divisions which become four and half Divisions. These four and a half Divisions completely routed the Bangla Desh people and committed genocide.

Sir, this lion-hearted Defence Minister at least could have the stratagem of a cunning jackal. I still do not want our Army to go to war with Pakistan. But, Sir, if our Defence Minister had asked our Army to show a little bit of its teeth to Pakistan—there was on necessity to bite - the whole situation would have been different. We pressed that at least our Army should take defensive position in the western part to keep the West Pakistan Army back in West Pakistan. If we had done that Pakistan would not have dared to send even a battalion to Bangla Desh. Sir, we were told—we were told in an important meeting- that we have mobilised our Army to take defensive position but ultimately it proved to be utterly it incorrect.

Sir, then I will again say this Defence Minister has misled the Government on

recognition. Why is the Government hesitating? Because if recognition is given then Pakistan will immediately force India into war. Let us take into consideration the defence position of Pakistan. Today, what is her position in Bangla Desh? Yes they have four and a half Divisions but these four and a half Divisions compared from the military stand-point have been fanned out. They have squandered arms and ammunition over the common people. Further they have to discharge the functions of both police and Army because there is no policeman in Bangla Desh. Also they had one squadron of the air Force out of which four or five have been knocked down by these revolutionaries.

In such a precarious position, at the moment, they are operating through only waterways. The rail and the land communication is very dangerous for them. There are not able to use, as far as their supply line is concerned, the rail or the land communication but only waterways.

This is the position. It is a fact that about 10 battalions of the Pakistan Army and a few officers have already been killed by the Mukti Fauj during the last 3½ months. That means they are dangerously imbalanced. Let us take the case of West Pakistan. From 7 Divisions, now it is only 4½ Divisions, Pakistan I should say, is terrible afraid of this dangerous defence imbalance created due to the transfer of 2½ Division of their army to eastern sector.

Secondly, I do not know whether our Defence Ministry knows it that about 20 to 25 percent of the Navy and the Air Force of Pakistan are manned by Bengalis. They are in key positions as ground engineers, mechanical engineers, pilots and the important crew. The Pakistan Government is no longer trusting them. They have been completely immobilised. What does it mean? It means the fighting capacity, the hitting capacity, of the Pakistan Navy and the Air Force has been reduced by 20 to 25 per cent. Is it not a fact to be taken into account by our Defence Ministry?

If you go through the Pakistan papers, you will find that they are making frantic efforts to replace Bengali rabels in the Air Force and the Navy by recruitment from West Pakistan.

It is also known as I have said, that they have exhausted their ammunition in Bangla Desh in killing the common people. They are now making frantic efforts to complete their arms and ammunition from the European and NATO market, from U.S.A., from France, from china, from Turkey and from Iran. They have not yet completed it. France is saying that they are not going to give supply after 25th March. What about the previous commitments? They are having within a few months. 2 squadrons of fighter bombers from France and the fourth sub-marine is coming to Pakistan very soon.

This is the position at the moment with Pakistan. In Bangla Desh, they are trying to raise militia, paramilitia, policemen and counter guerilla forces from amongst the Bengalis. What does it mean? It mean that at the moment Pakistan's defence position is completely imbalanced so for as India is concerned. I do not know whether our Defence Ministry has advised the Government that if we undertake the risk of giving immediate recognition to Bangla Desh that may involve us in a war of Pakistan. That is unfounded, unfactual, baseless and it is out of the timidity of the Defence Ministry to advise the Government that way. May be there is something which they are not saying in this House. May be, they may have a fear of the friend of Pakistan, that is, China. Even then, I ask the Defence Minrster : Is there any single instance even in the neighbouring countries of Laos, Cambodia, Vietnam where they are givin all help? Is any where Chinese army physically present? No; nowhere. The Chinese army on the Tibet border is about a lakh. It is known to us. The last year's figure was like that. But our army strength is more than double on the Himalayan front. It is also a fact that from logistic standpoint we are in a far better position. In the monsoons and in the coming winter season, it is not easy to send supplies in the Himalayan areas. With the opening of a window of Washington for

Mao-tse Tung to get into UNO is a big factor which you should also take into account. Therefore, even the fear of China coming to the help of Pakistan in the eventuality of any misadventure on the part of Pakistan against India—I do not know—is an alarmist view, not based on fact and actualities. Therefore, I say this Defence Minister is responsible for misleading this country and he will be responsible, I tell you for more crisis, more misery, for more blood, for more tears of the Indian people in future because he may wish it. You made many propheasies, ethical postulates he may utter. But the inexorable forces of events are leading us to a certain—I do not know—to certain invoking nemisis perhaps. He will be responsible for that. If this Minister had the courage, if this Minister had the sagacity, if this Minister had the factual knowledge and the disposition of the Pakistan's army, if the Minister had the knowledge of the forces working inside Pakistan, we could have taken a decision much earlier and we could have finished the job much earlier. But we will have to do that job—That I caution—with the blood of the people of our countrv.

With these words, I would just touch a few points about the nuclear hazards. Not much, because in this House I have dealt with that issue on several occasions and in several debates that I have raised.

Our Minister has posed the threat of Chinese nuclear weapons against India what did he say? China manufactures 40 nuclear bombs every year, They have got a stockpile of 150 and they also are manufacturing thermonuclear bombs and they are also going to embark upon the making of long range ballistic missiles. It is a threat. But what is the answer to this threat? A brilliant answer—an ethical postulate and the illusion of nuclear disarmament. This is not the answer. What is the real answer? I know, Sir, it is not easy to go nuclear for a country like ours. But, I must make a distinction between strategic nuclear weapon and tactical nuclear weapons. Strategic nuclear weapon means thermo-nuclear. That is hydrogen war-heads with a delivery system. It requires first making a bomb, an atom bomb and then the thermo-nuclear bomb

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because atom bomb is used just like a match stick for igniting the hydrogen inside the bomb. Now, the delivery system is also very costly.

Leave a side the issue of making a thermo-nuclear bomb by India for two reasons. First, it is highly costly and secondly because at least we can take a chance with regard to our security.

What is that chance? Use of thermo-nuclear war-heads by any country in the world has a great hazard of strating or sparking of a globe war. Therefore, we can take the risk. But what about the tactical nuclear weapon?

SHRI INDER J. MALHOTRA (Jammu):
It is only in theory.

SHR SAMAR GUHA: What is it? I is an atom bomb in a smaller size. Now, the NATO powers have never considered this tactical nuclear weapon as a nuclear weapon. But they have been converted and they have been added as conventional arms with these tactical nuclear weapons. The NATO powers, the USA and to a certain extent China also have strengthened their conventional arms and armies. With this tactical nuclear weapon you can make a nuclear mortar, nuclear shell. Within a range of 2000 to 4000 yards, you can cause devastation by just one single shot. Suppose China uses a few nuclear mortars or a few nuclear shells of the weight of $\frac{1}{4}$ to 2 k. tonnes in some of our passes, then within three or four minutes, they can finish a number of our divisions, before the world knows and before the world takes the hazard of conducting a global war for Indian defence.

Regarding tactical nuclear weapons, the question is whether India is capable of doing it and whether we are in a position to bear the cost. Keeping in the background the fire-power and the destructive capacity of nuclear Mortars and Nuclear shells, I should say that nuclear mortars and nuclear shells are less costly compared to the conventional mortar and conventional shells of equivalent fire-power. The question of cost, therefore, does not arise. It is

more of capacity. The question is whether we have the capability. Yes, as a student of sciences, with some knowledge of the subject, and after studying the whole matter for the last four years, I have raised many questions here on this subject, and I say that the answer to the question is 'Yes'; India is capable of producing at least four or five dozens of nuclear mortar shots and shells, for tactical use by our Army.

We have the know-how technology well mastered. We have plutonium enough in our stock-pile, in our store. We have the capacity even to do it without having a nuclear blast experiment. The technology has been so perfected that without even an experimental blast, we can make perfect tactical nuclear weapons like nuclear mortar and nuclear shell in a laboratory without allowing the world to know about it. Therefore, we have fuel, and we have know-how technology and we have everything. In fact, we already have the fuel, so there is no cost even for having the fuel; so there is no question of cost even for making at least four or five dozen nuclear tactical mortar shots and nuclear shells. It is the fuel which is the most costly. The only cost is for making the mechanical device to put them together at the time of fusion. Therefore, it is not a question of cost. It is not a question of the know-how technology; it is not a question of capability either. We have everything. It is only whether we can give up our timidity and take a courageous decision. If the green signal is given, I say, since I have had a talk with some of the scientists engaged in the Atomic Energy Commission, that they can give India as an arm for our national security within less than six months at least a few dozens of tactical nuclear weapons.

श्री राम लहस्य पांडे (राजमंदगांव):
उपाध्यक्ष जी, श्री समर गुहा ने बड़ी सावधानता से स्वीच की और युद्ध के आवाहन से ले कर एटम बम बनाने तक का आवाहन दे दिया। श्री समर गुहा, जिस बड़े में कुछ नहीं होता, आवाज उठाता

आती है और जो बड़ा भरा होता है, उससे आबाज कम आती है। युद्ध करने का आबाज न आबाज की तेजी से कमी नहीं लड़ा जाता और किसी आइने में वह इमोजन से भी नहीं लड़ा जाता और न आइना के, वह नर से लड़ा जाता है। अगर घमनियों में शक्ति है तो वह बोलता नहीं और इस संघर्ष में, श्री समर गुह, मैं आप से निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि हमारी सरकार न दैन्य न पलायन की नीति से प्रसिद्ध रही है।

श्री समर गुह : हम को न समझाइए, दुनिया को समझाइए।

श्री राम सहाय पांडे : आप समझ जाएंगे तो दुनिया समझ जाएगी।

श्री समर गुह ने अपने बड़े ओजस्वी भाषण से यह सिद्ध करने का प्रयास किया कि मिनिस्टर युद्ध के लिये प्रस्तुत नहीं हैं, उन्होंने एक अफसर की ओर इंगित करते हुए यह भी कहा कि विदेशी दूतावास में एक आर्मी का बड़ा अफसर....

श्री समर गुह : मैंने अफसर का नाम नहीं लिया।

श्री राम सहाय पांडे : उन्होंने कहा कि अफसर शराब के नशे में यह कह रहा था कि हमारी सरकार युद्ध के लिये तैयार नहीं है बंगला देश के प्रश्न पर। यह बड़ा गैर-जिम्मेदाराना स्टेटमेंट है। शराब के नशे में वह बात कर रहा था और उन को बड़ी अपारिटी हो गई यह कहने की कि कहाँ क्या बात हो रही थी।

श्री जगन्नाथ राव जोशी (शाजापुर) : शराब के नशे में आदमी सच बोलता है।

श्री राम सहाय पांडे : जोशी जी कह रहे हैं कि शराब पी कर आदमी सच बोलता है। तो भेज दो दो बार बोलत उनको क्यों कि हम भी भरोसा करते हैं उन से कि वह सच बोले।

हमारे जवानों और जवानों की संरक्षण शक्ति के सन्दर्भ में यह कहना अनुचित है।

SHRI SAMAR GUHA : I have not used the words 'army personnel'. I said 'high-up'. Let him not put blame on the army. I have calculatedly used that word without any adjective before or after it.

श्री राम सहाय पांडे : हार्द अफिसर का उन का मतलब चाहे जो कुछ हो, लेकिन वह यह सिद्ध करना चाहते थे कि कोई व्यक्ति विदेशी दूतावास में जा कर शराब के नशे में हमारी युद्ध नीति को बता रहा था कि बंगला देश के प्रश्न पर हम युद्ध नहीं करना चाहते।

श्री समर गुह : हम युद्ध नहीं चाहते। हम चाहते हैं कि रिकनिशन दें।

Let them liberate their country. Give them full, all-out aid to liberate their country.

श्री राम सहाय पांडे : बंगला देश के प्रति, उस की स्वाधीनता के प्रति और उस की क्रांति के प्रति प्रधान मंत्री ने कई बार—एक बार नहीं कई बार—देश को सम्बोधित करते हुए कहा है कि हमें पूरी सहानुभूति है। बंगला देश तो हमारा पड़ोसी देश है। इस सूर्य के नीचे पृथ्वी के किसी भू-भाग में अगर लोकतन्त्र के लिए इन्कलाब होगा, क्रांति होगी, तो हमारी सहानुभूति उस के साथ होगी, और बंगला देश के साथ तो हमारी सहानुभूति और भी है, इस लिये कि वह हमारा पड़ोसी है।

जैसा मैं ने कहा यह कोई भावनात्मक बात नहीं है, यह एक स्ट्रैटेजी है, एक गणित है, सत्य की आवश्यकता है, और उस के बाद सोचने और समझने की बात है, कदम उठाने की बात है। जब मैं ने न दैन्य न पलायन की बात कही थी तब इसी बात की ओर इशारा किया था कि यदि आवश्यकता होगी तो हम युद्ध भी करेंगे।

[श्री राम सहाय पांडे]

हमारी स्तन्त्रता के बाद दो युद्ध हो चुके हैं। जब चीन ने हम पर आक्रमण किया था तब हमारे फौज के लाजिस्टिकल इन्तजाम में कमी थी, यह हम महसूस करते हैं, इस लिए जहाँ नेफा में और सेला पास में हमारे कुछ जवान अव्यवस्था के कारण हताहत हुए वहाँ बालाग और लद्दाख के मोर्चों में बहुत बहादुरी के साथ लड़े। 1949 के पहले हमारे जवानों की स्थिति कुछ विचित्र थी। उस के पहले वाली फौज हमारी फौज नहीं थी। वह फौज यह नहीं कह सकती थी कि हम इस मातृभूमि की रक्षा के लिये, सार्वभौम सत्ता की स्थापना के लिये जियेंगे या मरेगे। स्वराज्य होने के बाद जैसे ही यह जवान और फौज हमारे हाथ में आई, उस के बाद पहला उदाहरण उन की बहादुरी का तब मिला जब 26 अक्टूबर, 1947 को हरि सिंह के विलय पर हस्ताक्षर के बाद उन की पुकार पर हमारे जवान हवाई जहाज पर बैठ कर काश्मीर गये और श्रीनगर पहुँचे 27 तारीख की सुबह। चौबीस घंटे में एक नया इतिहास बना जब वह श्रीनगर तक पहुँचे और धमासान युद्ध किया। वह पाकिस्तान के साथ पहला युद्ध था। वह लौगों की पुकार थी और वह पहला अनुभव हमारा था। हमें अपने जवानों और अपनी फौज पर गर्व हुआ कि लौगों की पुकार पर हमारी सार्वभौम सत्ता, हमारे देश, हमारी मातृभूमि को रक्षा के लिये वह गये और युद्ध किया तथा सफल हुए। 1949 में सीज फायर होने के बाद युद्ध समाप्त हुआ।

13 54 hrs.

[SHRIMATI SHEILA KAUL in the Chair]

1949 से 1959 तक का इतिहास निश्चित रूप से ऐसा इतिहास रहा जो एक तरफ शांति का और दूसरी तरफ काम्यूनिस्टों का इतिहास था। पाकिस्तान को चीन से और 1954 का

जो अमेरिका का एग्जिमेंट था उस की तहत अमेरिका से बहुत से सोफिस्टिकेटेड बेपल्स मिले। हमारी आर्मी खाति व आह्वान में लगी रही क्योंकि उस पर पंच शील और नान-अलाइनमेंट का प्रभाव था। दस साल की उस गलती का जब 1959 में आक्सार्ड चिन के क्षेत्र में चीन की गतिविधियों से हमें पता चला तब हम बेले और पहला स्वेत-पत्र (व्हाइट पेपर) यहाँ पर रक्वा गया। 1962 में युद्ध हुआ। उस युद्ध में भी अपने जवानों के लिये हम नहीं कह सकते वह किसी भी रण कौशल में पीछे रहे। बालाग में पटानिया के नेतृत्व में हमारे जवान लड़े और चीन का सफाया किया। लद्दाख में हम अच्छी तरह लड़े। लेकिन 1962 की उस चीन की लड़ाई को मैं अंग्रेजी शब्दों में ब्लेसिंग इन डिस्गार्ड मानता हूँ। तब हमारी आँखें खुलीं। हमारी तैयारी 1962 के बाद शुरू हुई। 1962 से 1965 तक हमारी फेक्ट्रीज गोला बारूद, टैंक्स और जहाजों के उत्पादन की तरफ बढ़ीं। साथ ही हम ने देश का आह्वान भी किया कि अब आवश्यकता इस बात की है कि जहाँ हम आर्थिक विकास के लिये आगे बढ़ रहे हैं वहाँ हम सार्वभौम सत्ता और भारत भूमि की रक्षा के लिये भी आगे बढ़ें।

देश का आज का मोटो है हल और गन, किसान और जवान। हल हमारे आर्थिक विकास का प्रतीक है और गन हमारी सार्वभौमिक सत्ता की रक्षा का प्रतीक है। इसी सन्दर्भ में शायद शास्त्री जी ने आह्वान किया था 1965 के युद्ध से कि जय जवान, जय किसान। यह उसी युद्ध नीति का समर्थन है कि न दैन्य न पलायन। हमारा हौसला कम नहीं है, हम युद्ध से घबराते नहीं हैं, लेकिन युद्ध हम पायलपन से नहीं करेंगे। हम युद्ध बुद्धि से, शकलमन्दी से समझदारी से करेंगे, लेकिन समय की आवश्यकता के सन्दर्भ में करेंगे। इस बगला देश प्रथम पर भी अगर आवश्यकता होगी और हमारी सार्वभौम

सत्ता, हमारी सार्वभौमिकता पर कोई भी दावा नहीं करेगा। हम भी उसके लिये तैयार हैं। आशवासन केवल आशवासन नहीं हैं, आशवासन वास्तविकता में बदलेना, आवश्यकता होगी तो हम युद्ध भी करेंगे, लेकिन जिस तरह से श्री समर गुह कहते हैं उस तरह से नहीं। श्री समर गुह कहते हैं कि युद्ध कर दो, वह कहते हैं कि एटम बम बना लो...

श्री समर गुह : मैं ने कभी युद्ध की बात नहीं कही। मैं भ्रम भी कहता हूँ कि मैं पाकिस्तान से युद्ध नहीं चाहता।

श्री राम सहाय पांडे : श्री समर गुह कहते हैं कि वह युद्ध नहीं चाहते, लेकिन वास्तव में वह युद्ध चाहते हैं। लोक सभा में श्रीर लोक सभा के बाहर अपनी तकरीरों में वह युद्ध की बात करते हैं। हम भी आप के साथ हैं अगर आप युद्ध की बात करते हैं, लेकिन हम समझदारी के साथ युद्ध करेंगे और समय की आवश्यकता के अनुसार युद्ध करेंगे। इस लिये हम तैयारी करेंगे और फौज को सशस्त्र करेंगे लेकिन बिना आवश्यकता के हम युद्ध में नहीं पड़ेंगे।

SHRI SAMER GUHA : You should remember that nowhere in the world in any guerilla warfare, if it is prolonged and protracted, the leadership remains in the hands of the nationalist forces. The leadership goes into the hand of some other extremist forces, the examples of which are known to you in Asia, south Africa and every where. Delay, prolongation and protraction mean that. That also you keep in mind.

श्री राम सहाय पांडे : मैं युद्ध के सन्दर्भ में कह रहा था कि हमें इस बात का एहसास है और यह जानकारी है कि 1964 के एग्रीमेंट के अनुसार पाकिस्तान को बड़ी भारी तादाद में गोला बारूद, टैंक, हवाई जहाज, सुपरसोनिक जहाज मिल रहे थे।

14.00 hrs.

चूंकि चीन कम्युनिस्ट है, इस वास्ते उसके खिलाफ इनका प्रयोग होगा, यह उन्होंने कहा। पाकिस्तान ने चीन से एग्रीमेंट कर लिया। लेकिन फिर भी उसने इन शस्त्रों का प्रयोग हमारे खिलाफ किया। 1954 के बाद 1959 में एक दूसरा एग्रीमेंट उसने पाकिस्तान के साथ किया। इस पर हमने आपत्ति की अमरीका से तो उसने कहा कि बस भ्रम और नहीं, बस फार आल। भ्रम इसके बाद हम उसको और कोई युद्ध सामग्री नहीं देंगे। लेकिन आज ही सुबह हमने श्री निक्सन का स्टेटमेंट पढ़ा है जिस में यह कहा गया है कि 35 मिलियन डालर की युद्ध सामग्री पाकिस्तान को पहुंच रही है। मैं श्री समर गुह जी से पूछना चाहता हूँ कि क्या वह यह समझते हैं कि युद्ध चाहे आज न भी हो लेकिन जो सामग्री, जो गोलाबारूद जो हवाई जहाज, जो जहाज और जो टेक्नीकल नो हूऊ पाकिस्तान को अमरीका द्वारा दिया जा रहा है उसको देने का उसका मुद्दा क्या है, इसको हम नहीं जानते हैं? हम अच्छी तरह से जानते हैं। हमें अच्छी तरह से इस बात का एहसास है कि वह एशियन सब कंटिनेंट में युद्ध की ज्वाला भड़काना चाहता है। जो ये गोरे लोग हैं वे इसकी कीमत हम से लेना चाहते हैं। चीन के विरुद्ध इस्तेमाल करने के लिये जो हथियार पाकिस्तान को दिये गये, वे हथियार हमारे खिलाफ इस्तेमाल हुए। चीन और पाकिस्तान में एग्रीमेंट हो गया। लेकिन फिर भी आज अमरीका और चीन भी पाकिस्तान को हथियार देते हैं। क्या श्री समर गुह यह समझते हैं कि हम इस सब को जानते नहीं हैं? हम जानते हैं। इस वास्ते इस मंत्रालय के काम को हमने आगे बढ़ाने की कोशिश की है, इसके उत्पादन को बढ़ाने की कोशिश की है। 1964 और 1969 के बीच में हमने पांच हजार करोड़ रुपया खर्च करने का आह्वान किया। इस तरह से पांच पांच वर्ष के प्लान हमने बनाये हैं। पांच हजार करोड़ रुपये से हम आगे बढ़े हैं। हमने 1965 में यह सिद्ध किया है कि पेट्रोल टैंक को हमारे शरमन टैंक तोड़ सकते हैं। हमारे नैट्स उनके जैट्स

[श्री राम सहाय पांडे]

को तोड़ सकते हैं। यह कहा गया है कि इसके पीछे टेक्नोलोजी है। ठीक है कि टैक्नोलोजी है और होनी भी चाहिये। लेकिन उससे भी बड़ी चीज हौसला है, शक्ति है मातृभूमि की खातिर मर मिटने की, कुरबान होने की, फना होने की देश में और जवानों में---

श्री समर गुह : इस्तेमाल करेंगे ?

श्री राम सहाय पांडे : आवश्यकता पड़ने पर अवश्य इस्तेमाल करेंगे। आपके कहने से नहीं करेंगे। समय आने पर करेंगे,

अमरीका और फ्रांस उसको हवाई जहाज देते हैं, जहाज देते हैं। अमरीका जहां तक सम्बन्ध है वह ह.युमैनैटी के नाम पर आंसू भी बहाता है। अंडर न्यूट्रीशस पापुलेशन को दूध का पाउडर भी वह देता है। हम समझते हैं कि अगर हम स्वावलम्बी हो जायें, सैल्फ रिलायेंस हम में आ जाए और हम अपने सहारे देश की रक्षा का दायित्व ले लें और इस काम के लिए किसी दूसरे की तरफ न देखें तो हम सब चीजों का समुचित उत्तर दे सकते हैं। आप 19 65 और 19 71 के बीच के इतिहास को देखें। हमने अपने देश के जवानों के हाथों में बंदूकें दी हैं लेकिन उसके साथ साथ उनको हौसला भी दिया है, एक रचना भी दी है और एक योजना भी दी है। साथ ही साथ देश ने उनको सम्मान भी दिया है। 19 65 में शास्त्री जी के नेतृत्व में जब युद्ध हुआ था उस वक्त इस देश के हर व्यक्ति ने, इस देश की मां और बहन ने बड़े प्यार और स्नेह से जवानों का सत्कार किया था। मुझे एक घटना की याद इस संदर्भ में हो आती है। अमृतसर के पास एक गांव में एक मां अपने घर से रोती हुई निकली। एक ने पूछा, मां तुम रो क्यों रही हो, तुम्हारे चार बच्चे युद्ध में जूझ गए शहीद हो गए तब तो तुम रोई नहीं, लेकिन आज तुम्हारी आंखों में ये आंसू कैसे आ गए ? उस मां ने कहा कि उन चार जवानों के बाद मेरी कोख में पांचवां

बेटा पैदा क्यों नहीं हुआ जिस को मैं देश रक्षा के लिए दे सकती। यह क्या सिद्ध करता है ? यह सिद्ध करता है कि हमारी धरती पर अपने बच्चों को न्योछावर करने वाली माताओं की कमी नहीं है। हमारी संस्कृति ऐसी है, हमारी भावनायें ऐसी है जो अगर युद्ध की नौबत आती है तो युद्ध लड़ने के लिए हमें प्रेरित करेगी।

हिमालय हमारी संस्कृति और रक्षा का प्रतीक समझा जाता था। लेकिन आज वही हिमालय घायल हो चुका है। हमारे जवान हिमालय पर गए हैं और लड़े हैं। हमें मालूम है कि उत्तर और पूर्व की सीमाओं पर परिस्थितियां क्या हैं। हमें यह भी मालूम है कि चीन ने एक लाख चीनी फौजियों को तिब्बत के उस ओर रख छोड़ा है। हमें तिब्बत का अनुभव है। पाकिस्तान को मिलने वाली सहायता का भी हमें पता है। हमारे दो दुश्मन पाकिस्तान और चीन हमारे कभी मित्र बन सकेंगे यह एक प्रश्नवाचक चिन्ह हमारे सामने उपस्थित करता है जिसका उत्तर समय ही दे सकता है, हम नहीं दे सकते हैं। हमें तो अपनी आंतरिक-योजनाओं को पूरा करना है और साथ ही साथ सीमाओं की रक्षा भी करनी है।

जहां तक बंगला देश का सम्बन्ध है, वहां जिस क्रान्ति ने जन्म लिया है, मैं पटेल साहब और समर गुह साहब को विश्वास दिलाता हूं कि उसके प्रति उनकी जो भावनायें हैं और उस क्रान्ति को समर्थन प्रदान करने की जो उनकी इच्छा है, हम उससे पीछे नहीं हैं। अगर वह समर्थन हमारा उससे प्रति न होता तो जिस तरह से और जिस प्यार और स्नेह से हमने साठ लाख शरणार्थियों को अपनी छाती से लगाया है, सम्भव है कि वह कठिन काम हम न कर पाते। साथ ही साथ यह भी सम्भव है कि देश भी हमारा उस अवस्था में समर्थन न करता। हम चाहते हैं कि दुनिया के देश और लोग असाधारण परिस्थिति को समझें और हमारी भावनाओं को भी समझें। यह भी

समझें कि लोकतंत्र की स्थापना के लिए उदय हुई इस क्रान्ति को कभी दबाया नहीं जा सकता है। जनरल याह्या खां की आर्मी अगर चाहे भी तो भी वह इसको कभी दबा नहीं सकेगी। बंगला देश की जो मूवमेंट चली है, इस में एक सब से बड़ी बात यह देखने को मिली है कि इस्लाम के नाम पर बना पाकिस्तान आज दुनिया की नजरों में एक्सपोज हो गया है, इस्लामिक फौज दूसरे निहत्थे इस्लाम को मानने वालों को बूचर कर रही है, उनका कत्लेआम कर रही है। हमारी कोशिश होनी चाहिये कि इसी इतिहास की पुनरावृत्ति हो। जो जवान हमारे देश से आये हैं हम उन में एक इस प्रकार का जजबा भरें, इनक्लाबी जजवात उनके दिल में भरें और उनको अपना ऐसा समर्थन दें ताकि जिस स्वतंत्र देश की आजादी के लिए वे लड़ रहे हैं उसके लिए लड़ते रह सकें। वे वापिस जायें और लड़ें और हम उनको इस काम में पूरा पूरा समर्थन दें।

एक शब्द में रक्षा उत्पादन के सम्बन्ध में कहना चाहता हूं। कुछ उपबिलधयां हुई हैं जिन पर देश को बड़ा गर्व है। आपने टैंक बनाये हैं। हवाई जहाज बनाए जिन में मिग 21, एब्रो, एच एस 747, एच एफ 24, छोटे छोटे नैट और हैलिकॉप्टर आदि हैं। यह तो ऊपर से लड़ने के लिए हवाई जहाज हमने बनाए हैं। इनको स्वयं हमने बनाया है। पनडुबियां हमारे पास हैं और पनडुबियों के साथ लगे हुए हवाई जहाज भी हमारे पास हैं। नेवी भी हमारी माडर्न है, आधुनिक है। वैजयन्त टैंक हमारे वे टैंक हैं जो पैटन टैंक से भी अच्छे साबित हुए हैं। अभी तक संसार में सब से अच्छा जो जर्मन टैंक है लियो पोल्ड उससे भी इसकी मार बड़ी है। ईसापुर राईफल, आटोमैटिक राईफल आदि हमने 1962 के बाद ही बनाए हैं। शक्तिमान ट्रक्स, निसान जीप्स आदि का निर्माण भी किया है। सड़कों का निर्माण भी बड़े पैमाने पर हुआ है। प्रतिवेदन को पढ़ने के बाद हम आश्चर्य ही बिना नहीं

रहते हैं कि समय आने पर हमारे जवान इनका प्रयोग करके दुश्मन के छात्रके छुड़ा देंगे। इन शस्त्रों का उत्पादन और जवानों के हौसले हमारे लिए एसेट साबित होंगे। किसी भी परिस्थिति के लिए हमें तैयार रहना है। पाकिस्तान हो या चीन हम दोनों को अच्छी तरह से जवाब देंगे, इसका मुझे भरोसा है। हमारी सीमायें जो आज धायल हैं यह केवल इतना ही नहीं है कि हम भावनात्मक दृष्टि से उनको देखते हैं। सामरिक दृष्टि से भी देखने का प्रयास हम करते हैं। शाठ्यम् प्रति शाठ्यम् की नीति पर हमें चलना चाहिये। न दैन्यं न पलायनम्। न हम दीनता दिखायेंगे ओर न ही हम भागेंगे। हम पाकिस्तान से युद्ध भी नहीं करेंगे। युद्ध आवश्यक होगा तो युद्ध करेंगे, उससे भागेंगे नहीं।

श्री जगजीवन राम और विद्या चरण शुक्ल के नेतृत्व में जिस प्रकार से यह मंत्रालय काम कर रहा है, जिस तालमेल के साथ हम सामरिक तैयारी कर रहे हैं, इससे सार्वभौम सत्ता हमारी सुरक्षित है, इसका हमें गर्व है।

इन शब्दों के साथ मैं रक्षा मंत्रालय की बजट मांगों का समर्थन करता हूं।

*SHRI J. M. GOWDER (Nilgiris) : Madam Chairman, before I extend my support to the Demands for Grants of the Ministry of Defence, I would like to place before the House a few of my suggestions.

Madam, all of us are aware that our sensitive borders are simmering with hypertension. It is also common knowledge that the Territorial Army assumes the role of second line of defence at the time when our country is faced with a serious border crisis. We are dismayed by the declaration in the Annual Report of the Ministry that though the authorised strength of the Territorial Army is 50,778, the actual strength as on 31.12.1970 is only 43,782. I am unable to appreciate why there is a shortfall of 8000. I wish to seek a clarification from the hon. Minister whether it is due to non-availability

[Shri J. M. Gowder]

of personnel for recruitment to the Territorial Army or whether it is due to lack of adequate interest on the part of the authorities in building up the Territorial Army to its authorised strength. The role of the Territorial Army during national emergency, I need not overstress. I wish to emphasise that the attitude of negligence in developing this important organ of national defence must be immediately given up.

The Appropriation Accounts of the Ministry reveal a startling fact that a huge sum of Rs. 3.5 crores was surrendered last year. This amount was voted by this House for being spent on augmenting the defence potential of the country. I would ask : have the Ministry failed to see the need for this sum or have they become complacent about the security of the country? It is time that the Defence Ministry does some heart-searching.

The hon. Minister of Defence has stated time and again on the floor of this House that there is acute paucity of medical personnel in the Defence Services. What have we done to overcome this shortage? Do the Government think that the solitary Medical College under the aegis of the Ministry will be able to produce enough doctors to man the medical services in the Defence set-up? This amount of Rs. 3½ crores could as well have been spent in setting up another Medical College. Thousands of young men, aspiring to become Medical Practitioners, are unable to get admission in the existing civilian medical colleges. If we have another Medical College under the Armed Forces, these people would be able to achieve their ambition and at the same time the Armed Forces would also have enough number of doctors. It is not that the funds are diverted to a purpose other than that for which they have been sanctioned.

Now I will refer to the recruitment policy in the Armed Forces. Even today, when modern and sophisticated weapons have become the order of the day, we seem to be following the same old policy laid down by the Britishers whose emphasis was on the brawn power rather than brain power.

It was all right when the Armed Forces were equipped with ordinary fire power. That policy is obsolete and out dated in the context of scientific and technical advancements made in the field of military armoury. Now, mental alertness and a fair measure of intelligence have become the essential ingredient of an effective soldier. It is not that he should be six feet tall and bursting at the seams. Even a man who is five feet tall can be better placed if he possesses the qualifications I have referred to earlier. I would suggest a reorientation of our recruitment policy to suit the needs of a modern Army.

We prescribe the age of 20 years and below for recruitment in the Armed Forces. We give the young men intensive training for five years at an enormous cost. But, according to the existing procedures, they are released at the age of 35 years, after completing their contractual period of 15 years. The effective utilisation of their services is only for 10 years. Unless their service tenure is extended up to 45 years of age, I am strongly of the view that the services rendered by them will not be commensurate with the amount spent on their training. I would suggest that they should be retained in the Armed Forces till they attain the age of 45 years.

Even conceding that the requirements of the Armed Forces demand their release, do the Government ensure payment of their pension immediately after their release? There are cases of inordinate and unconscionable delay where the personnel have expired before their pension claims are settled. I would like to suggest that action should be initiated for settling the pension claims one year before the release of the personnel, so that they are not left stranded after their release. The Public Accounts Committee have referred to such cases of gross negligence on the part of the authorities in the matter of settling pension claims. I would appeal to the hon. Minister that he should look into this question and do the needful.

Madam Chairman, at the time of Indo-Pak War, when the Prime Minister gave the

clarion call to the people of the country that they should render all possible assistance for the defence of the country, the Indian women gave all their jewellery and their savings. When the people of the country are ready to sacrifice everything they have and when they repose their implicit faith in our judgment and discretion, it behoves of us that the money is spent in the right direction. We cannot afford to go on gazing at the foreign countries, whether it be U. S. A. or U. S. S. R., for our defence requirements. Recent events have proved beyond doubt that no country will come to our rescue when our security is imperilled. On the contrary, we find that the U.S.A. is sending ships-load of arms to Pakistan. We have no other recourse except to achieve self-sufficiency in the matter of defence production. We should in our country manufacture modern weapons, including if necessary nuclear weapons. Dependence on other countries for the defence of our country will be disastrous.

In conclusion, I would refer to the Cordite Factory in Aravangadu, which is part of my constituency. The Defence Minister also had come there. It continues to be in the same state as it was at the time of Britishers who set it up. This factory has not been developed at all during these years. If only it had been improved, not only the people of the area would have had greater job opportunities but more explosives would have been manufactured for our Armed Forces. I would appeal to the hon. Minister that he should bestow his personal attention in the matter of developing this factory. The villagers of this area gave willingly their land for setting up this unit. So far, neither their lands have been de-requisitioned nor alternative lands have been given to them. Their sufferings seem to be a dry in the wilderness. I would request the hon. Minister that he should expedite the process of giving alternative lands to these agriculturists who are in great distress.

With these few words, I support the Demands for Grants of the Defence Ministry.

THE MINISTER OF STATE (DEFENCE PRODUCTION) IN THE MINISTRY OF DEFENCE (SHRI VIDYA CHARAN

SHUKLA) : Madam Chairman, the purpose of my short intervention in this debate is only to bring forward certain relevant and salient features of the Department of Defence Production and the Department of Defence Supplies, and certain points which have been mentioned by hon. Members and certain doubts that have been expressed by hon. Members opposite, particularly Shri Inderjit Gupta, who is unfortunately not here, and Shri S.M. Banerjee; both of them raised bulk of the points regarding these two Departments.

I would like to clear a few of those points so that the perspective regarding the work that is being done in the Defence Ministry in these two fields is clear.

The main purpose and the policy that we are following in the field of defence production is to achieve a high degree of self-sufficiency. In the modern world it is not possible for any country, however big or mighty it might be, to achieve hundred per cent self-sufficiency in the field of production, particularly in the field of defence production. Our experience so far has been that in critical times most of the countries rely on their own supplies of defence stores because even friendly countries stop supplies of defence items to others on political considerations. Therefore, if we want to maintain our policy of non-alignment, freedom and also strength in the international sphere, it is of vital importance that we must have a very sound base for producing defence equipments in our own country. In this respect we have made much progress, particularly after 1962. I would like to say that our emphasis is to produce most of the stores and equipments in the ordinance factories that we have set up and the other public sector undertakings which are functioning under the Ministry of Defence.

Certain observations were made by the hon. Members yesterday that we are relying more and more on private sector for defence production. I think this point must be clearly brought out to the House so that our policy is properly understood. We want maximum production to come out of our establishments, whether they are ordinance factories or limited companies func-

[Shri Vidhya Charan Shukla]

tioning under the Ministry of Defence. In order to do so, it might be necessary sometimes to farm out some smaller and non-critical items or equipments to civilian sector, not necessarily in the private hands but also government undertakings which are functioning under several Ministries so that the equipments, the technical know-how and the technical personnel that we have at our command can be put to the maximum use and we can produce the maximum amount of defence goods in our establishments. If we fritter away our energy, our technical know-how and technical personnel in producing small non-critical goods, which can be produced in the civil sector, then we will inevitably be reducing our capacity to concentrate on the production of such goods which must be produced only in defence establishments and nowhere else. Therefore, whereas we have increased the total value and the total number of items that we are producing in our defence establishments, we have also followed this policy very cautiously and carefully to give non-essential items to such reliable suppliers and manufacturers who have been found reliable and who have co-operated with us in a very good manner. I would say that we would not touch anybody against whom we have the slightest suspicion, either regarding their reliability or the quality of the product that they produce. Several instances of these could be given but I only want to state our basic approach to this particular matter.

Apart from this, there are many other things for which we have to enter into foreign collaboration. This point was also raised yesterday. Regarding foreign collaboration it is also clear that in the modern world of quickly advancing technology it would be quite impossible for us to avoid foreign collaboration altogether. Shri Indrajit Gupta raised an important point yesterday when he referred to the total budget of our Research and Development Wing. Our policy is to spend as much as possible within our resources to improve our own Research and Development Organisation and therefore, from Rs. 11½ crores five years back now it has become Rs. 17½ crores this year and within the next five years we

want to increase this allotment to research and development to Rs. 46 crores.

This indigenous research and development has helped us a great deal and we attach highest importance to our own indigenous research and development for defence equipment. But nonetheless even in spite of doing all this I cannot rule out the foreign collaboration in development of defence equipment. We will have to by technical know-how from abroad so that we are not lagging behind and this has to be done not only by India but by the most advanced industrial countries in the world. They have to depend on each other. They have to exchange information and they have to utilise the development in a particular field in one country and we had utilised such information from friendly countries and this is a factor which will continue to an extent in our defence production budgets in future years also.

The other important aspect of our Defence Ministry's activities is 'import substitution'. There are many materials which were completely imported because they could not be produced in India for various reasons. While on the one hand we are trying to establish the capacity in the public sector for producing these items and while these capacities are being developed we do not want to lose any time and we are trying to locate indigenous resources of production and indigenous resources of development of such spares which are entirely imported from outside and the Department of Defence Supplies which mainly deals with this question of import substitution of defence requirements has been able to do a very good job. They have so far located about 17,000 items which were being imported in various measures and these 17,000 items which are used in various defence equipments are now produced in India indigenously and we do not have to spend foreign exchange in this. In certain respects we may have to give foreign exchange help to begin with but this means a tremendous saving of foreign exchange.

Now, Madam Chairman, you would be glad to know we have been in

the Deptt. of Defence Supplies able to place an order of Rs. 72 crores on the indigenous suppliers in the field of import substitution only. This is a very encouraging development because the import substitution was seriously taken up by us only after the 1965 war when we found that during the Indo-Pakistan conflict various western countries put a total embargo on the supply of defence equipment and parts to India.

That showed us the urgent necessity of locating the various sources in our country even though they may not be in the public sector or the defence sector so that if there were these indigineous sources, we would never be put into that kind of embarrassing and critical position where a one-time friend in a particular kind of political situation decides to put an embargo for various political reasons, wrong or right, and give a complete dislocation to our own defence endeavours and defence production. Making a beginning in 1965, if in 1971-72, we have gone to the extent of finding out some items for which we have located the indigenous capacity and the total order that we have been able to place with our indigenous sources in substitution for foreign sources is to the tune of Rs.72 crores speaks very highly of the good work that has been done in this field.

Some points that were raised yesterday need some clarification. Before doing that, I would like to give the total figures of production of our defence undertakings, that is, the public sector undertakings which are limited companies. The production in these undertakings has been stepped up and now the total production is expected to be worth about Rs. 190 crores. In 1970-71, that is, last year, it was Rs. 154 crores and this year it is expected to be Rs. 190 crores.

Various factories like the Hindustan Aeronautical Ltd., and the Bharat Electricals Limited are not only making this huge production but they are also making a good deal of profit. We have also entered into export market which we carefully select and we are exporting goods for several crores of rupees to these markets. We are very careful that while we export and earn foreign exchange, we do not impair our own defence preparedness or our own needs. We want to do this

not only to maintain our tempo here but also to see that the defence production and, particularly, the public sector undertakings in defence production are always kept in such a way, are always run in such a way, that they are not a drain on the public exchequer and that we make maximum and optimum use of every penny that is put in these factories and undertakings.

My hon. friend, Shri Indrajit Gupta, mentioned about the engineering and design work in Ishopore Factory. The Factory has been provided with a small organisation where they do the checking work. They check up the prototype that has been made of various weapons that are manufactured there and most of the corrections are made on the spot. Various other factories that we have put in various parts of the country also have such small organisations attached to them. It is a fact that our research laboratories are situated in various parts of the country and they are catering not to the factories only near their own periphery or near about their own location but wherever they are most needed. Therefore, it is possible that a research laboratory in one place might be catering to the basic requirements of factories located in other parts of the country. But, we see to-day that factory is not wholly dependent upon that research laboratory and that their ordinary work and their usual work is stopped if some mistake is found out in any particular product.

Some points were raised about Ambajhari factory. As a matter of fact, this matter has been raised in this House several times. But, briefly, I will say that because again of 1965 war, this factory's progress has been somewhat slow. Certain products have to be made with American collaboration and in 1965 war this collaboration was suddenly withdrawn. Therefore, we had to depend upon our own indigenous designs and engineering skill and many things we had to substitute and, therefore, it took more time than was envisaged originally to get this factory into production.

SHRI S. M. BANERJEE (Kanpur) : It has started production now.

SHRI VIDYA CHARAN SHUKLA : It is very near starting production.

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA (Alipore) : You are confirming what I said. It is dangerous to depend on this type of collaboration.

SHRI VIDYA CHARAN SHUKLA : It was inquired about the indigenous content of the Vijayanta tank. The indigenous content of the Vijayanta tank to-day is 60% in terms of value. Here also, it is wrong to say that the armoured plate and the guns are mostly imported. On the other hand, the armour of this tank and the guns of this tank are mostly made in our country. But some of it, of course, is at present imported but we are making our efforts to see that the indigenous content in this production rises up very fast.

About the MIG 21 there was some slight misunderstanding because of the language used in our annual report. It was not said that our own raw material was used in the manufacture of the engine. It is well-known that in the absence of some special steel and alloy, we have not been able to make that kind of an engine that is necessary and we have to import these parts. And it was also known that to fulfil this need of special alloys and steels we have prepared a project to manufacture them and this project is going to be located in the constituency of Shri S. M. Banerjee—Kanpur and we hope this project will get going very soon and once we get these special steels and alloys which are fundamental for production of many many sophisticated defence production items, our dependence on foreign sources will be far less than it is to-day.

The efforts that we are making regarding production of an advance strike aircraft in the country have been mis-understood and some remarks were made yesterday that we are trying to make this advance strike aircraft because our other aircraft HF-24 has not come upto expectation or has failed. This is a complete misconception. As a matter of fact, the HF-24 that has been produced is already in squadron service in the Air Force and is giving a good account of itself and what we are now trying to do

is the second generation of this super-sonic aircraft and this is the aircraft which will be used in the eighties or in the late seventies if we come to the stage of production and we want to be completely self-sufficient about this vital requirement of our Defence Forces. For, to depend for such vital equipment on other countries would be difficult. We have known that in many very advance and developed countries, years of research and thinking go on. They do the research and thinking for eight to ten years before they come forward with an aircraft of this kind. Therefore, we have also started thinking about this advance strike aircraft. Recently, we held a symposium in which this matter was considered by experts from various fields, from the Aeronautical Research Laboratory, and from the HAL; expert from various other fields and from our Air Force come and gave their views on this subject. As hon. Members know, there is a board which regulates the aeronautic developments in our country, and so all these matters will come before that board and these matters will be given high priority and we shall try to develop all these vital matter of defence equipment within our resources as fast as we can.

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA : Just to put the record straight, I would say that the hon. Minister is not being fair to me. I did not suggest that HF-24 had been a failure in the sense that it could not be used by us. I know that it is in service. But what I said was that HF-24 could not be developed to supersonic capability and that is what we are trying to do for so many years.

SHRI VIDYA CHARAN SHUKLA : When I said this, I did not say that Shri Indrajit Gupta had said so.

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA : I am saying it because I know I had said that.

SHRI VIDYA CHARAN SHUKLA : There are two other Members also who had mentioned this point.

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA : I wanted to make clear my point.

SHRI VIDYA CHARAN SHUKLA : The other point that some Members had raised was about the Bharat Electronics Ltd. Here too, the undertaking has done an excellent job so far. Very sophisticated equipment for radar and for wireless equipment has been made here and the equipment that is currently under production has been found extremely valuable. I can assure Shri Indrajit Gupta that they maintain a close liaison with our research laboratory or establishment at Pilani. In fact, not only with that, but with various other establishments too, we maintain liaison; wherever we can find useful information, we maintain liaison with them and try to utilise all the technical knowledge that we have in the country to make the facilities in BEL as useful to the country as possible.

Coming to the question of idle capacity in the ordnance factories, except in the clothing group of the ordnance factories, there is no idle capacity in the ordnance factories. We are using to the maximum advantage whatever capacity we have and as a matter of fact we are finding it necessary in several fields to increase the capacity and increase the number of shifts in several factories to cope up with the regular requirements of our Armed Forces. And even where there has been some idle capacity, there has been no retrenchment of workers. I must pay my tribute to the defence workers who are doing an excellent job, and I am sure they have a great sense of national pride and responsibility in these factories. Therefore, we have always found it possible to take their cooperation and increase the production wherever it has been found necessary.

Some comments were made by Shri Indrajit Gupta and some other Members about the comments of the Comptroller and Auditor General. As the House knows, all these comments will go before the Public Accounts Committee and they will scrutinise these comments and call upon the officers of various Ministries, particularly of Defence if the comments relate to defence accounts, to explain all these things, and then the Public Accounts Committee's report will come before this House. Therefore, I think it is premature for me to comment or give

replies to the comments that Shri Gupta made about the Auditor General's report.

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA : I only quoted the Auditor General.

SHRI VIDYA CHARAN SHUKLA : That is also premature. The PAC will to go into all that, find the other side of the story and then present its report and then would be the proper stage in which we can take a particular view on those comments made.

SHRI S. M. BANERJEE : What is premature now? The comments of the Auditor General?

SHRI VIDYA CHARAN SHUKLA : The comments of hon. members.

Some hon. members wanted to know what we are doing in Bharat Dynamics. This undertaking established in Hyderabad is in charge of making rockets and missiles and the first project undertaken is the anti-tank rocket we are making. Its range is about 3 kms.

SHRI G. VISWANATHAN (Wandiwash): Sivakasi rocket !

SHRI VIDYA CHARAN SHUKLA : It is quite functional and very efficient. It is not a short range for anti-tank operation.

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA : Whose collaboration?

SHRI VIDYA CHARAN SHUKLA : We have got very good collaborators, but we do not want to depend on our collaborators in this. We have a very good scientific establishment in Hyderabad which is making good and useful research in this subject and with the help of our indigenous research, we expect to expand the activities of Bharat Dynamics in various fields very soon.

Many other points were made which have a relevance to defence matters to which the Defence Minister will reply.

SHRI S. M. BANERJEE : Defence Production Board?

SHRI VIDYA CHARAN SHUKLA : I said in reply to a supplementary by Shri Banerjee himself that this Board has been set up to expedite the administrative functioning of various departments of the Government of India connected with defence production. Here workers' participation would not be really relevant. It would be relevant in various management boards of defence undertakings. We are actively considering this point and will take a decision very soon.

SHRI S M BANERJEE Does 'defence undertakings' include ordnance factories also or will it be confined to only public undertakings?

SHRI VIDYA CHARAN SHUKLA : For the present, it is only public undertakings.

In conclusion, I would like to assure hon members that we are aware of the grave responsibilities devolving on us at the present juncture and also in the future. Unfortunately, because of considerations of security, we are not able to gloat over our success and say many things which will probably gladden the hearts of hon members but which will not be in the national interest to do so. But I would like the House to be reassured that we realise our responsibility in this field and are doing our best to see that this responsibility given to us by the House and the money regularly and cheerfully given to us by this Hon. House is used properly for the proper defence of the country.

श्री बरेन्द्र सिंह बिष्ट (अल्मोड़ा) माननीय अविष्ठात्री महोदया मैं आप का आभारी हूँ कि आपने मुझे इस महत्वपूर्ण अनुदान पर बोलने का अवसर दिया। सबसे पहले मैं मंत्री महोदय को धन्यवाद देता हूँ कि सुरक्षा मंत्री की हैसियत से वह इस कार्य भार को बहुत अच्छी तरह संचालित कर रहे हैं। इसमें दो रायें नहीं कि वह बहुत अनुभवी और दूरदर्शी व्यक्ति हैं और सारा कार्य उनके हाथों में इस देश का बहुत भली भाँति चलता रहेगा। फिर भी मैं अपना कर्तव्य समझता हूँ कि कुछ बातों पर उनका ध्यान आकर्षित करूँ, विशेष रूप से इसलिये कि मैं

ऐसे इलाके से आता हूँ जो उत्तर प्रदेश का पर्वतीय क्षेत्र है, सारा इलाका फौजी इलाका है। हर एक परिवार से एक व्यक्ति जरूर फौज में होता है। उन लोगों के बीच मैं रहने से थोड़ी बहुत मुझे जो जानकारी हुई है उस आधार पर मंत्री जी का ध्यान आकर्षित करना चाहता हूँ।

सब से पहली बात मैं यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि जो पाकिस्तान की लड़ाई वगैरह का चर्चा है इस को मामूली चीज नहीं समझना चाहिये। कहा जाता है कि जब गोदड़ की मौत आती है तो शहर की तरफ भागता है। तो पाकिस्तान की इकानामी और बजट से यही मालूम हो रहा है कि यह उस की मौत का समय है, वह कुछ भी कर डाले इसमें हमें ताज्जुब नहीं होना चाहिये। इसलिये जो ताशबन्द में सधि हुई है उस पर विश्वास कर के हमें सोया रहना नहीं चाहिये। इस समय को हम इमर्जेंसी का समय समझना चाहिये और वार फुटिंग पर सारे देश और सरकार का ध्यान होना चाहिये और जो भी हम उस के लिये कर सकें वह करने के लिये हम प्रयत्नशील रहे।

मैं मंत्री महोदय को धन्यवाद देता हूँ कि 1962 में जहाँ रक्षा बजट 300 करोड़ २० था वह बढ़कर 1970 में 1,151 करोड़ हो गया तथा 1971 में 1,243 करोड़ का बजट हो गया। लेकिन मेरी समझ में यह राशी नाकाफी है, आज की परिस्थिति को देखते हुए बहुत कम बजट है। जब पाकिस्तान 50 फीसदी अपने बजट का रक्षा पर खर्च करता है तो हमारे देश को भी उस से सतर्क होना चाहिये और कोशिश करनी चाहिये। अंग्रेजी में कहावत है कि "बन्ध बिटन टूटाईस आई।" एक दफा हम लोग नङ चुके हैं पाकिस्तान और चीन से, तो बहुत कुछ तजुर्बा इस देश को हो चुका है कि कहा हम ने घोषा खाया, क्या हमारी कमिया रही। उन के बारे में मंत्री जी को अच्छी तरह जानकारी है। इसलिये इस को एक बहुत इमरजेंसी का समय समझकर जितनी भी कोशिश हो सके,

जितना भी धन हमारे पास हो इसमें लगाकर देश की सुरक्षा के लिये विशेष ध्यान देने की जरूरत है। अगर हम भरोसा करें कि फौरेन कन्ट्रीज हमारी मदद करेंगे तो मैं यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि कोई भी मुल्क हमें मदद सिर्फ़ अख़्त मूदकर मित्रता के नाते नहीं करता। जो भी हमें मदद करेगा वह यह देखेगा कि इस में उसका हित है या नहीं अपना ही हित सोच कर कोई भी देश हम को मदद देता है। इसलिये मैं चाहूँगा कि जो भी बातें और कन्ट्री कर रहे हैं उम का हम भी अनुकरण करें। हम क्यों भावुकता के आवेश में आकर पाकिस्तान की इस लड़ाई में झुलमन की कीशिश करें। आप देखते होंगे "आल फौर सैल्फ़ ऐंड गोड फौर आल" यही आज की पोलिटिक्स है तो सारे राष्ट्र इसी तरीके से सोचते हैं। कोई किसी के लिये मरने को तैयार नहीं है। फिर भारत क्यों बंगला देश के लिये अपने लिये मौत बुलाये, वह मेरी समझ में नहीं आता। अभी माननीय समर गुहा भाषण दे रहे थे कि बंगला देश को रिकग्नीशन दे देना चाहिये। मैं उनसे प्रार्थना करना चाहता हूँ कि ऐसी भूल कदापि न करें। एक तो हम ने वैसे ही 80 लाख भ्रादरियों का खिलाने का खर्चा अपने सिर पर ले लिया। ईस्ट और वेस्ट पाकिस्तान लड़े और 80 लाख लोगों का खर्चा हमने खामखा अपने सिर छोड़ लिया, यही मैं भूल समझता हूँ। यह तो इंटरनेशनल कम्युनिटी की जिम्मेदारी है, सारी दुनिया उसका खर्च वहन करे, हिन्दुस्तान क्यों करे। यह ठीक है कि दुख में पड़े हुए भ्रादरियों को खिलाना हमारा कर्तव्य था, मगर इससे प्रागे बढ़ना हमारे लिये उचित नहीं है। आज आप रिकग्नीशन दें और कल को कनफ़रेंशन में आ कर पाकिस्तान से लड़ बैठे तो हमारा क्या भविष्य बनेगा। तो मैं मंत्री महोदय से कहूँगा इस चुनाव के पहले आप ने देश को प्राश्नासन दिया है कि हम गरीबी हटायेंगे। तो यह गरीबी हटाने का तरीका नहीं है, इस से तो आप देश को भस्म कर डालेंगे, और जैसे हिटलर ने महान गलती कर के जर्मनी को हमेंशा

के लिये खत्म कर दिया वैसे ही जनसंघी भाई उसी विचारधारा को देश में लाना चाहते हैं इसलिये ऐसी बातें करते हैं। मगर आप ऐसा करेंगे तो यह हमारी बड़ी भूल होगी और हम देश को हमेशा के लिये रसातल में डाल देंगे। मैं मानता हूँ कि पाकिस्तान की कुछ ताकत नहीं है और जैसा माननीय समर गुहा ने बताया कि बंगला देश के 20 प्रतिशत लोग पाकिस्तान की हवाई और नौसेना में है, लेकिन हमें यह नहीं भूलना चाहिये कि हमारा दुश्मन केवल पाकिस्तान ही नहीं है। ज्यों ही पाकिस्तान से हमारी लड़ाई हुई तो वह हम ही तक सीमित नहीं रहेगी बल्कि यह एक इंटरनेशनल लड़ाई हो जायगी, जैसे वियतनाम में चल रही है। तो यह लड़ाई अमरीका और चीन के साथ हमारी हो जायगी जिससे देश को आपत्ति के कगार में फँक देंगे।

जैसा मैं ने पहले कहा मैं एक ऐसे इलाके से आता हूँ जो पर्वतीय क्षेत्र है और हर परिवार का कोई न कोई सदस्य मिलिट्री में होता है। वह एक सरहद्दी इलाका है, और आप को मालूम है कि तिब्बत में चीन की लाख, डेढ़ लाख फौज है। तो उस इलाके को आप इग्नोर न करे। पहले मैं ऐक्स-सर्विसमें के बारे में कहना चाहता हूँ कि उनकी बहुत बुरी हालत है, उन लोगों के लिये न खाने का, न पहनने का, और न उन के बच्चों की पढ़ाई का कोई इंतजाम है, न उन के पास जमीन है। जितने भी रिटायर्ड या रिट्रीज्ड मिलिट्री के लोग हैं उन को रिट्रीबिलिटेट करने के लिये तराई आमर में बहुत जमीन है वह उन लोगों को दें और कोआपरेटिव में इंडस्ट्री चलायें, प्रासान किस्ती पर लोन दें। इस 70-71 की सुरक्षा विभाग रिपोर्ट में लिखा है कि अंडमान, निकोबार और नेफा कितनी ही किस्म की मदद ऐक्स-सर्विसमें को दे रहे हैं कई जगहों पर उन को जमीनें दी हैं, कई जगहों उनको ट्रेक्टर, बसें, और टैक्सी, कारें दी गईं ताकि वह अपनी गुजर बसर कर सकें। तो ऐसी हालत में उत्तर प्रदेश के इस क्षेत्र के बारे में आप का ध्यान आकर्षित

[श्री नरेन्द्र सिंह बिष्ट]

करना चाहता हूँ। जो सरकारी ब्राकडे दिये गये हैं उन से पता चलता है कि कितने आफिसर्स और जवान मिलिट्री में जाते हैं। आप देखें कि सबसे पहला नम्बर यू०पी० का है जहाँ में 17 7 प्रतिशत आफिसर्स में आते हैं और 15 3 प्रतिशत जवानों का नम्बर है। दूसरे नम्बर पर पंजाब आता है, तीसरे नम्बर पर हरियाणा और चौथे नम्बर पर महाराष्ट्र आता है। जहाँ तक देश की सुरक्षा का सवाल है तो यू०पी०

सब से भागे है, इसलिये उन की तरफ उदासीन होना सरकार की भूल होगी। इसलिये मैं चाहूँगा कि जैसे रिटैबिलिटेशन का काम प्रबन्धित, निकोबार और नेफा में हो रहा है ऐसा ही उत्तर प्रदेश में तराई भाग में होना चाहिये। ऐक्स सर्विसमें सेक्रेड लाइन आफ डिफेंस और एंड आर्म्ड को भी मेन्टेन करने का काम कर सकते हैं अगर उन को हेल्प दी जाय। यदि कोई फौजी लडाई में मर जाय तो उस के जो उत्तराधिकारी होते हैं उनको काम नहीं मिलता, वे भूखे फिरते हैं। अर्मी पासोनल श्री प्रताप सिंह कौर का नाम लेते हैं कि पंजाब में उन्होंने लडाई में मरे लोगों के परिवारों, डिसेम्बलड, रिटायर्ड और रिट्रेन्ड अर्मी के लोगों के लिये बहुत अच्छा काम किया था, जब कि यू०पी० में कुछ नहीं हो रहा है। इसलिये मेरा निवेदन है कि आप कोई लियेजा अफसर नियुक्त करे जा कि ऐक्स सर्विसमें के हितों की रक्षा करने के लिये बड़ा कार्य किया करे जो सोलजर हमारे फौज में काम करते हैं, हथेली पर अपनी जान रख कर 14, 15 हजार फीट की ऊँचाई पर देश की रक्षा करते हैं अगर उनके घर के बेलफेयर का काम हम नहीं देखेंगे उसका उचित इतजाम नहीं करेंगे तो वे कभी अच्छी तरह से काम नहीं कर सकते हैं। जब तक घर की व्यवस्था ठीक नहीं है अपना बेस्ट वह देश के हित में, राष्ट्र के हित में कभी नहीं दे पायगा। तो मैं चाहता हूँ कि आप इन लोगों की ओर ध्यान दें।

15 00 hrs.

अब मैं सारास में कहना चाहता हूँ कि पे कमीशन ने जो इन्फ्रीज आफ पे के लिये कहा था, वह तनस्वाह जवानों की जरूरत बढ़नी चाहिये क्योंकि परिवर्जित पावर रुपये की बहुत कम हो गई है। जो रुपया उन को मिलता है उस से उन का जीवन निर्वाह नहीं होता है।

दूसरी बात मुझे यह कहनी है कि जो उन की रिटायरमेंट की ऐज 48 साल है जबकि सिविल में 58 साल है, वह एक दो साल और बढ़नी चाहिए क्योंकि इसी उम्र में रेस्पॉन्सीबिलिटीज बढ़ती हैं और उनका अनुभव भी बढ़ता है।

बोर्डर रोड्स के बारे में मुझे यह कहना है कि डी० जी० बी० आर० की जो सड़के बन रही हैं उनकी प्रोग्रेस बहुत ही स्लो है, पर्वतीय क्षेत्र में जो सड़को की प्रोग्रेस है वह बहुत ही स्लो है। पिथौरागढ़ में जो बेनटोन्पेट बन रहा है उस की प्रोग्रेस भी बहुत धीमी है। रिट्यूमेंट फैसे-लीटीज नहीं दी जा रही है। फौजियों द्वारा जो बीजे वहा लोकली मिल सकती है उन को वहा से नहीं लिया जाता है और दूर मैदानों से ज्यादा कीमत दे कर लाया जाता है। एक बात यह भी कहना चाहता हूँ कि थोडाखाल में जो सैनिक स्कूल है, उस में वहा के विद्यार्थियों को जगह नहीं मिलती है। मेरा कहना है कि वहा जो स्कूल बने है उन में वहा पर सेना के परसोनल के जो लडके हैं उन को एडमीशन मिलना चाहिए। इसके अलावा जिले में ही हथियार आजकल है, जो साफेस्टीकेटेड बेपन्स हैं वे नये से नये लाने की कोशिश होनी चाहिए क्योंकि मुझे जो फौजी मिलते हैं, उन से पता चलता है कि उन को सेल्फ काफीडेंस नहीं है। वे समझते हैं कि यू० एस० ए०, रूस और फ्रांस के हथियार कहीं ज्यादा अच्छे हैं और ये बेपन्स उन को मिलने चाहिए।

हो सके तो उन्हें अपने देश में बनावें अन्यथा विदेशों से मंगावें।

श्री जानना चाहता हूँ कि जब सब परसोलन पर आप की सीलिंग फिक्स्ड है जैसे मैदानी फौज, हवाई जहाजी फौज ऐसे ही नेवी में यह सीलिंग फिक्स्ड होनी चाहिए। कितने हमारे यहाँ सरप्लस पाइलट्स हैं उन के लिए रोजी इन्डियन एयर-लाइन्स में दिलाई जानी चाहिए और हमारे यहाँ जो टेरीटोरियल आर्मी है वह 51 हजार तो होनी चाहिए। इस वक्त 44 हजार है। इस के अलावा मेरा कहना यह है कि मीडियम मशीन्स, एन्टी टैंक राकेट और ग्रेनेड्स हमारे देश में ही बनाए जाएँ। एन्टी टैंक ग्रेनेड पहले फ्रांस से लाये जाते थे, अब इन को बेल्जियम से लाया जा रहा है। यह कहा जाता है कि फ्रांस के अच्छे होते हैं।

समापति महोदय : अब आप बैठ जाइए। दूसरों को भी बोलने का मौका दीजिए।

श्री नरेन्द्र सिंह बिष्ट : एक बात यह कहनी है कि हमारी बोर्डर सेक्यूरिटी फॉर्स जो है, उस को ज्यादा तनक्वाह मिल रही है, हमारी आर्मी को भी उतनी तनक्वाह मिलनी चाहिए। जो इस में जवान, एन० सी० ओज०, जे० सी० ओज० आदि हैं उन में बड़ा भारी डिस्पाइन्टमेंट है।

एक आखरी बात मैं यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि देखा यह जा रहा है कि जितने फोर्थ क्लास एम्प्लॉई हैं, उन से अफसर लोग घर का काम लेते हैं। इसलि एम' चाहता हूँ कि जो छोटे सिपाही हैं उन से डामेस्टिक वर्क आफोसर्स न कराएँ।

श्री मोहनलाल इन्द्रजित्तल (शैरकपुर) : बेयरनेन माहव, मुझे बहुत ज्यादा नहीं बोलना है क्योंकि वक्त बहुत कम है। अभी सार्वजनिक अभी महोदय का बक्तार्थ मैं ने सुना, जो सप्लाय और प्रोडक्शन से सम्बन्धित है। उन्होंने एक ऐसा स्थल जाहिर किया है और उन्होंने यह बताया है कि उसमा फौज ठीक है, आगे बढ़ रही है और बढ़ती रहेगी,

फिर मत करो। आज के मरठन युग में जबकि और तमाम देशों में बहुत बहुत चीजें हो रही हैं, उस के मुकाबले में हम क्या कर रहे हैं, यह उन्होंने नहीं बताया। जो हो रहा है वह आगे बढ़ेगा, इस का तो कुछ मतलब नहीं हुआ। इस के साथ ही साथ उन्होंने यह बताया कि हम दूसरों पर कितने डिपेन्डेंट हैं, हमारा वार प्रोडक्शन जो है, जो सप्लाय हैं, दूसरे मुल्कों पर हमारा वारोमदार कितना है। इस चीज पर उन्होंने कोई रोशनी नहीं डाली। इस के माइन यह हुए और इस से मतलब साफ यह हो गया है कि अब जो कुछ है वह हम कर रहे हैं। यह धारणा देश को देना और ऐसे संकट के समय में ऐसा कहना, मैं समझता हूँ बहुत खतरनाक है।

इस के साथ ही साथ मैं यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि इन्होंने यह बताया है कि प्रोडक्शन बढ़ रहा है। इस के साथ साथ जो कांटेक्टों के मातहत काम हो रहा है, जो ज्यादा से ज्यादा काम कांटेक्ट्स पर दिया जा रहा है, जिन के पीछे काफी मजदूर काम करते हैं, उन की तनक्वाह और दूसरी सुविधायें ठीक नहीं, उन की मजदूरी पूरी नहीं, इस के बारे में एक लफज भी इन्होंने नहीं कहा। इस के साथ ही साथ आप जानते हैं कि डिफेन्स प्रोडक्शन का काम इच्छापूर फैक्टरी में, जहाँ आये दिन मजदूरों कि जानें ली जा रही हैं, और काशीपुर गनशील फैक्टरी में होता है और इन में एप्रेंटिस लेने का एक कामवा था, एक वस्तु था। स्कूलों में जो अच्छे पढ़ते थे, वे वहाँ पर जाते थे और ट्रेनिंग तीन वर्ष की होती थी और ट्रेनिंग के बाद उन को काम दिया जाता था। दो वर्ष पहले से उस चीज को बन्द कर दिया गया है, उन की ट्रेनिंग की परीक्षा नहीं ली जाती। अगर किसी की ली गई तो वह फेल कर दिया जाता है और अगर पास हो जाता है तो उन को काम नहीं मिलता। हजारों की तादाद में हर फैक्टरी में ऐसे लोग हैं। इस के सम्बन्ध में कुछ नहीं बताया। हमारे देश के नौबतानों की जिन्दगियाँ बर्बाद हो रही हैं। इच्छापूर मेरे इलाके में है, मेरी कांस्टीट्यून्सी में है।

[श्री मोहम्मद इस्माइल]

बहा पर हजारों ऐसे नौजवान हैं जो अपने स्कूलों और कालेजों को छोड़ छोड़ कर बहा गये और काम किया और आज उन को निकाला जा रहा है। वे घूम रहे हैं और रोते फिर रहे हैं, इन के सम्बन्ध में कुछ नहीं बोले। यह बहुत बड़ी चीज है। इस के साथ ही साथ यह भी कह देते कि हम ने मजदूरी की तन्खाह बढ़ाई, डियरनेस एलाउन्स दे दिया इन को यह माग भी बह पूरी कर दी। इन के बारे में कुछ नहीं बताया। यह बड़े आश्चर्य की बात है। ऐसी काम्पलीसेसी नहीं होनी चाहिए, ऐसा आत्म-विश्वास नहीं होना चाहिए और सब चीज ठीक है और तुम फिर न करो। आज जिस तरह से बगला देश के लिए कहा जाता है कि हम जब समझेगे तब मान्यता देंगे, तुम बकते रहो, जब हम समझेगे तब मानेंगे। यह तरीका ठीक नहीं है। एक चीज तो यह रही।

इस के अलावा एक और चीज कह कर मैं छोड़ देना चाहता हूँ और वह चीज हमारी आर्मी से ताल्लुक रखती है, जिस का जबाब अभी नहीं दिया गया और मुमकिन है कि हमारे मंत्री महोदय श्री जगजीवन राम जी दें कि जो ब्रिटिश के जमाने से जो आर्मी को चलाने का तरीका था वह आज भी कन्टीन्यू चल रहा है या नहीं? उस में कोई परिवर्तन लाए है इस चीज को वे बतलाएंगे ऐसी मुझे आशा है। तमाम माननीय सदस्यों न जो बातें बतलाई हैं और जो मुक्तार्थीनी की है, मुझे आशा है कि मंत्री महोदय इस बारे में बतलाएंगे।

एक बात मैं खास तौर से आप के सामने रखना चाहता हूँ। मंत्री महोदय हमें यह बतलाए कि हमारे देश की जो आर्मी है, उस को जो देश प्रेम की बातें सिखलाई जाती थी कि जो हमारे देश पर हमला करे उस को रोको, आज वह पढ़ति क्या खत्म कर दी गई है। क्या आज उस को यह बताया जाता है कि दुश्मन को मत खोजो,

उस को मत तलाश करो और जब हम कहेगे तब जाना। आज अगर कोई जन आन्दोलन होता है, तो उस को दबाया जाता है और बहा पर सी० आर० पी० भेजी जाती है और बहा पर बन्दूको से लोगों को दबाया जाता है और कहा जाता है कि यही दुश्मन है। यह सब कुछ सिखलाया जा रहा है। बगला में इलेक्शन से पहले मिलिट्री को भेजने की क्या जरूरत थी। क्या आज यह नीति खत्म हो गई है कि मुल्क में फ्री इलेक्शन हो। हथियार ले कर वे गलियो गलियो में घूम रहे हैं। यह पढ़ति आज हमारी आर्मी में चल रही है। इस से क्या अपने देश की रक्षा हम करेंगे। इस से देश के आदिमियों का प्रेम हमारी आर्मी क्या हासिल कर सकेगी। मुझे आशा है कि नहीं। अभी भी वेस्ट बगला में गलियो गलियो में पलटने घूम रही है। सी० आर० पी० जाती है और लडकों को पकड़ लेती है और मारती है। लडके के बाप और मा मिलिटरी के पैर पकड़ने है और मिलिटरी वाले खड़े खड़े तमाशा देखते हैं। इसका क्या असर हमारी आर्मी पर पड़ रहा है। मंत्री महोदय इस के बारे में सोचें ?

आज आर्मी को जनता के विरुद्ध काम करना सिखलाया जा रहा है। बगला देश से शरणार्थी आए। उनको बसाने के लिए, उनकी मदद करने के लिए फौजी ट्रक और फौज के आदमी लगाये जा सकते थे। लेकिन वैसा नहीं किया गया। उनकी सेवा हर तरह से की जा सकती थी लेकिन वैसा नहीं किया गया। जहाँ सैलाब आते हैं, आधी से घर उड़ जाते हैं और अकाल पड़ता है बहा पर फौज नहीं जाती है, उसको बहा पर मदद करने के लिए भेजा नहीं जाता है। अगर बहा भेजा जाय तो वह जनता का प्रेम हासिल कर सकती है और पापुलर आर्मी बन सकती है। तब जनता समझ सकती है कि यह हमारे देश की आर्मी है। आज बिहार में बाढ़ आई हुई है और

बहा कई इलाके डूब गए हैं। गाब गाब में आदमियों की लाशें पड़ी हुई हैं। वहा पर आर्मी को नहीं भेजा जा रहा है रिलीफ और रेस्क्यू ऑपरेशन के लिए। बगला में यह कहा गया है कि यह नक्सलाइट्स की तलाश कर रही है। मैं समझता हूँ कि आर्मी को अपनी राजनीति चलाने के लिए इस्तेमाल किया जा रहा है। नक्सलाइट्स के नाम पर सी० पी० एम० बालो को पकड़ पकड़ कर बन्द किया जा रहा है। और उनकी हत्याएँ की जा रही हैं। इन तरह से अगर आपने अपनी राजनीति चलाई तो यह आपके और देश के लिये खतरनाक चीज होगी।

आर्मी को कोई लिट्टेचर पढ़ने के लिए आप नहीं दे रहे हैं और न ही उसको पढ़ने की इजाजत देते हैं। कुछ भी आप उसको करने नहीं देते हैं कबल जा जनता द्वारा आन्दोलन चलाये जाते हैं उनके खिलाफ उसका इस्तेमाल करते हैं। पालिटिकल परपज के लिए उसको आप भेज देते हैं। हम इसके मूख खिलाफ हैं। सी० आर० पी० पर आप काफी रपया खर्च करते हैं और इस खर्च को बढ़ाते जा रहे हैं। जगह जगह आपने आर्मी रखी हुई है। जनता यह महसूस करने लग गई है कि आर्मी एक खतरनाक चीज है और उसको देख कर बह डरती है और बबर जाती है। आर्मी के प्रति जनता के मन में घृणा पैदा हो रही है। यह सब आपकी नीति की वजह से हो रहा है। आज सत्ता आते हैं, आधी से थोपड़े आदि उड़ जाते हैं, लोग मुखमरी के शिकार होते हैं और वहा पर रिलीफ का सवाल पैदा होता है। वहा पर आर्मी को लगाना, उसका इस्तेमाल करना यह आपकी नीति नहीं है। वहां आर्मी का आप इस्तेमाल करते तो जनता यह समझेगी कि यह हमारी आर्मी है और उस पर उसे फरार होगा। तब जनता समझ सकती है कि आर्मी देश की रक्षा भी करती है और हमारी रक्षा भी करती है। लेकिन आप ऐसा नहीं कर रहे हैं।

वीरभूम जिले में आपने मिलिटरी भेज दी है। अभी वहां इसको भेजा गया है। प्रेजिडेंट्स

के एक हफ्ते बाद वहा इसको भेज दिया गया है। जितने भी वहा थाने हैं उन सब में इसको भेज दिया गया है। वहा मिलिटरी का काम क्या होगा? काम होगा दुश्मन को रोकना। दुश्मन आज कौन है? दुश्मन आज किसान हैं, नौजवान हैं, मजदूर हैं। यही क्या आपकी नीति हो गई है। यह अगर आपकी नीति हो गई है तो इसका क्या परिणाम निकलेगा? मैं समझता हूँ कि इसके भयंकर परिणाम निकलेगे और आप को खत्म हो जाना पड़ेगा। इस तरह से आर्मी का इस्तेमाल करना जहर फैलाना है।

बगला देश के बारे में मैं एक लफ्ज कहना चाहता हूँ। कल एक नौजवान को बगला देश पर बोलने के लिए इन्होंने खड़ा किया। उन्होंने कहा कि हम लोग बगला देश को मान्यता देने की बात करते हैं लेकिन अगर कल को पाकिस्तान के साथ लड़ाई होगी तो हम पाकिस्तान का साथ देंगे। वह तो कल पैदा हुए हैं, उनको हमारी पार्टी नीति के बारे में क्या पता है। मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि मान्यता देने का मतलब यह नहीं है कि आप पाकिस्तान के साथ लड़ाई करें। इसका मतलब यह है कि आप उनका हथियार दे और वे लड़ें, वही सब काम करें।

SHRI P. NARASIMHA REDDY (Chittoor).
Madam Chairman, in the debate on the Defence Demands much of the ground has been covered by many hon. Members from all sections of the House, and I would like to confine myself to a few facts pertinent to the matter. In the Report given to the House by the Defence Ministry, it is quite clear that men in charge of the Ministry as also of our Defence Forces are quite aware of the changed situation in the Defence context that has been created by the threats to our national security.

The acquisition of nuclear capability by China has certainly made a vital difference in the context of defence preparedness in Southern Asia. It is no use pretending that this nuclear capability acquired by our hostile neighbour will not be employed against us or that its employment will depend on

[Shri P. Narasimha Reddy]

the reaction or concerted action by other nuclear powers. It will be idle to remain in such a hope. As we have seen to our cost in the recent Bangla Desh upheaval and the demographic aggression committed on us by Pakistan what was the reaction of the world powers ? It is well-known that they reacted in a poor or feeble way and they have allowed the greatest genocide in history to be perpetrated with impunity. Knowing the reactions of these great powers and that they always act in their own national interest without any heed to any professed ideology or policy, I repeat it is idle to hope that this nuclear capability will not be employed against us by China unless the great powers permitted it or connived at it. Therefore, we must be prepared against such an eventuality.

I want to submit that it is self-deception and illusion to think that the possession of nuclear capability by China has not made any difference in our attitude or in our defence reaction. For example, in the present demographic aggression committed by Pakistan on India we have not been able to react in the way we would very much like to. It is certainly a fact that Pakistan would not have dared to commit such aggression on our country but for the connivance or assistance of another hostile neighbour China, nor have we flinched from reacting in the only way in which we and the country want the Government to react.

Therefore, this important factor of the nuclear capability acquired by our hostile neighbour has to be faced squarely and I want the Minister of Defence to give his assessment of the new threat to our national security. In fact, when the hon. Minister for Defence Production covered all the main points raised on the floor of this House regarding arms and armament production, modernisation, research and development, I had hoped that he would make a reference to the production of an atom bomb or an atomic weapon, as has been called for from several sections of the House. But, as he has himself explained, it is a matter of major defence policy which he has left to the Defence Minister to be dealt with at the appropriate

time. I also feel that it is a major strategic policy decision which probably it is not in the public interest to be announced. In that case also the House should be re-assured by the Defence Minister, Shri Jagjivan Ram, that he is conscious of this grave threat to this country from 'his quarter, that he is aware of the universal feeling prevailing in the country in this regard and that he is prepared to take the course of action that is warranted by the situation and I am sure that we can rest content in his wisdom in this matter.

I would refer only to one or two matters which as a representative from Andhra Pradesh I am interested in bringing to the notice of the House and the Ministry. Regarding recruitment to the army an hon. Member who has spoken earlier has given statistics of the composition of the army from various States, which gives a higher place to several States while no place or probably a very low place to several others like Andhra Pradesh. In fact, I would request the Defence Ministry to pay attention to this lop-sided representation of States in the army and see to it that recruitment is kept up in Andhra and other States in southern India. In fact, from my personal experience I can say that the recruitment in the southern Rayalaseema districts of Andhra Pradesh is not done in a systematic manner and many of the educated youngsters who have been thinking of a career in the army have not been made aware of the opportunities for enlisting in army, much publicity has not been given in this regard, so much so that not adequate representation for such backward and deserving areas is provided in the army. This deficiency, I am sure, will be met.

I will conclude with one more point. I would also appeal to the Defence Ministry that in the context of defence conditions prevailing today whether it is not timely to give thought and consideration to the long-standing demand that strategic considerations in this country require an auxiliary capital to be developed in South India. In fact, madam, you are aware that since long in the interest of national integration we have been from all the States in South as also the people in the North—of the opinion that the

Parliament should hold a Session in one of the Southern States every year. That the national integration and national security will be doubly secured if the question of setting up an auxiliary capital in the South India is agreed to.

DR. MELKOTE (Hyderabad) : Madam Chairman, sitting in these benches I should naturally oppose the demands of this Ministry but instead of joining that I am standing here today to support all the demands of this Ministry for the simple reason that the country is facing a very critical situation. On the one side we have the problem of East Pakistan and on the other side the new values that the present Government want to inculcate in the country and get things implemented it is necessary for everyone of us in this juncture to support the demands of this Ministry.

Madam I want to pin-point only one aspect of the question. It is that in the production of material for defence we have various industrial units spread all over India and the products are of varied type, many of them sophisticated. We have built up beautiful industrial estates in many parts of the country where in the machinery are the best we could produce and purchase from any part of the world and the workers on the whole are very dedicated. We have officers manning these industries very capable people and inspite of these things, not that the production is not satisfactory I would say the production can possibly be doubled or trebled. This happened in crucial moments like war with Pakistan and war with China and if that could occur why could this not occur in our everyday life? This is the only point I want to make here. This is not occurring because the workers in these industries are taken for granted. Whilst the Labour Minister and the Prime Minister often speak of participation of workers in the management and inspite of three or four months that have occurred in the formation of this Ministry may I know what steps the Government or the Defence Minister undertook or the Minister of State in Defence Department undertook in order to bring about such a situation in these industries. If these things could be done I am quite aware that the worker will produce quite a lot because there

is discipline in the factories—in most of these factories.

Sir, at Iahapur things were not quite all right. This is not just a place where I should stress some of those points which hinder production but even there, Sir, with the strength that the Military has and the Defence Department has much could be controlled and, I feel, that if the Defence Minister takes into his heart and is aware of the situation this could improve tremendously.

Madam, I would like to point out to you that with this machinery—and most of this machinery are not manufactured in our own country. Now a days they are being manufacture and they are quite good. But all these fifteen or twenty years they have purchased machinery from various parts of the world and the Indian worker working on those machines in those countries where he worked produced a certain quantum of material which is three times or four times what he produces here, for which he gets a salary also very much higher than what he gets here. Here, he may get anything like Rs. 200 to Rs. 250. But if he works in Germany or Switzerland or America or Russia or England, he would get nothing less than Rs. 1000 or Rs. 1500 or, possibly even Rs. 2000.

Then, much of the defence material that we purchase from other countries often times is cheaper than what we produce in our own country. The defect lies in the lack of sufficient amount of protection. Whether this production is lacking because necessary materials are not being supplied or there is not a good understanding between the management and the worker or the welfare of the worker is not properly attended to, etc, I do not want to go into those things now because it is not necessary to do that here. It is necessary for the workers, their representatives and the Government to sit together and thrash out matters.

If in the defence production, in all defence production centres, we create a norm and which becomes the norm for the whole country, what an amount of advance our country can make. This is a point that I would like to stress on the Defence Ministry

[Dr Melkote]

because they set a fine example. With a patriotic zeal, if a worker in the defence production centre and with a salary that he gets produces that much, why should you not expect the same thing in other places, provided we implement what the Defence Minister would like to implement in many of these production centres.

I would appeal to the Defence Minister to pay attention to this particular aspect so that we who are giving a lead to the working class in the defence production may give our fullest support to the Defence Ministry in order to produce more war material that we need and in addition, set a fine example for workers in the other fields of industry. This is the only point I would like to make here.

There are several points that I could have made. But I would like to take up those points if any meeting is to be held and I would request the hon. Defence Minister to convene a meeting, invite us to participate and talk to us frankly and freely so that we can give our best.

15 29 hrs

[Mr DEPUTY-SPEAKER in the Chair]

THE MINISTER OF DEFENCE (SHRI JAGJIVAN RAM) Mr Deputy Speaker, Sir, I am thankful to the hon. Members of this House for taking such a keen interest in the defence Budget and the Defence Ministry.

It is but natural that Bangla Desh should permeate the discussion. It is quite natural that on an issue on which the whole world is exercised the hon. Members of this House feel so much exercised. It is but natural, as I have said, that in our thinking of defence matters Bangla Desh has pre-occupied and has all been pervasive in this discussion.

The defence of a country depends upon so many factors and the defence policy is to be determined taking into consideration all

those factors, such as, our relation with our neighbouring countries, our relation with other countries of the world, our external policy, the internal policy and all that. So many factors influence the determination of the defence policy of the country. While considering the defence policy of the Government one will have to take into consideration the various factors.

MR DEPUTY-SPEAKER You may continue on Monday. Now we take up a Private Member's Business.

15 30 hrs

BOUNDARY COMMISSION BILL*

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE (Rajapur) I beg to move for leave to introduce a Bill to provide for the constitution of a permanent Boundary Commission to resolve inter-State boundary disputes between States and States and between Union Territories and States.

MR DEPUTY-SPEAKER The question is

That leave be granted to introduce a Bill to provide for the constitution of a permanent Boundary Commission to resolve inter-State boundary disputes between States and States and between Union territories and States.

The motion was adopted.

PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE I introduce the Bill.

CONSTITUTION (AMENDMENT) BILL* (Amendment of articles 19 and 326)

डा०क०श्रीनारायण पाठे (महसूर) उपाध्यक्ष महोदय मैं भारत के संविधान का और संशोधन करने वाले विधेयक को पुरःस्थापित करने की अनुमति चाहता हूँ।