

MR. SPEAKER: I think we should close this discussion. So far as any matter is concerned it may be referred to me. That is all.

SHRI S. MOHAN KUMARAMAN-GALAM: I quite appreciate what has fallen from my hon. friend Shri Shyamnandan Mishra. But I would only suggest that this is not a matter merely for the Government, but it is a matter for the House as a whole. I look upon it as a matter which we should solve by sitting together. I do not look upon it as a monopoly for me to make a decision or to make a proposal on. As I said earlier, I greatly appreciate the friendly way in which this matter was discussed on the last occasion, and I am quite sure that when we meet again on the 10th May, we shall find a way out of this problem

श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी : कन मुप्रीम कोर्ट ने जो फैसला दिया है क्या उस के बारे में विधि मंत्री जी कोई बयान करने जा रहे हैं ?

MR. SPEAKER: I shall think over it. The hon. Member may kindly sit down. I shall let him know about it.

श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी : हम जानना चाहते हैं कि कन विधि मंत्रालय उस के ऊपर कोर्ट बयान देने जा रहा है ।

MR. SPEAKER: I have not yet decided whether he can make any comment on the judgment or not. Let me be clear about it first.

SHRI SHYAMNANDAN MISHRA: You were also pleased to use the word 'judgment'. Has there been any judgment in this matter? There has been no judgment.

श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी : वह बयान नहीं देना चाहते तो कह दे कि हम बयान नहीं देना चाहते ।

अध्यक्ष महोदय : वह करवाएंगे, लेकिन अभी इतनी जल्दी नहीं ।

श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी : इस का मतलब है कि सरकार तय नहीं कर पा रही है कि उसे क्या करना चाहिए ।

13.54 hrs.

DEMANDS FOR GRANTS, 1973-74—

Contd.

MINISTRY OF DEFENCE—Contd.

MR. SPEAKER. The House will now take up further discussion and voting on the Demands for Grants under the control of the Ministry of Defence.

SHRI Vishwanath Pratap Singh may now continue his speech.

SHRI VISHWANATH PRATAP SINGH (Phulpur): Yesterday, we were discussing the concept of threat assessment. The concept of threat assessment cannot be confined to merely taking stock of how many tanks are in Pakistan or just how many troops are on the Himalayan borders. It is a much wider concept and we have to take into consideration the world strategic forces, the arms build-up in Iran, the election in Bangladesh, big power rivalry on the sea.

MR. SPEAKER: The House is becoming practically empty.

SHRI VISHWANATH PRATAP SINGH: You are also abandoning us!

13.56 hrs.

[MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER in the Chair].

I hope the lack of audience might be compensated by giving me more time.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: You will get the time allotted to you. I will take account of it from now.

SHRI VISHWANATH PRATAP SINGH: Thank you.

Even Mr. Mao's health are relevant factors in the assessment of threat to national security. When we assess the threat, we have to take into consideration all these inputs.

Yesterday, Dr. Saradish Roy of the CPI(M) said that there is no threat to the country and that the expenditure we are making on defence is rather too much. How are we to assess threat? Are we to come out of our bedrooms, look at the blue sky and seeing that there are no bombs falling say that there is no threat to the country? Are we to say the armoured personnel carriers that have been supplied by the US to Pakistan are just for Indians to take a tour round Pakistan? Are the 150,000 Chinese troops stationed on the Himalayan border on a camping spree? We cannot be lulled by lullabies of those who think that Aksai Chin was occupied by the Chinese in our national interest.

Coming to the concept of planning for defence, I submit, this cannot be confined to the four corners of the defence budget alone. Let us examine the 1971 campaign. We could not have moved our mountain divisions from the Himalayas had we not secured our northern flank by the Indo-Soviet Treaty. Our campaign would have been seriously affected had not our foodgrain silos been full. Our advance on the Barmer sector would not have been as fast as it was, if our Railways would not have laid the rails so efficiently. All these factors are necessary inputs to threat assessment.

For instance, I will take a very pressing problem facing our security. That is the shortage of officers. We have shortage of officers in the technical branches of the Navy, the Air Force and the Army. Now this is a

problem for which we cannot flog the Defence Ministry. It is a problem of Manpower Management and pertains to other Ministries. Here we have a factor which is affecting our defence and security effort and it is something beyond the Defence Ministry.

Again, we have launched the first and the third frigates INS *Nilgiri* and INS *Udaygiri*, but the second frigate, *Himgiri* has not yet been launched, the reason being that the parts, orders for which were given to indigenous manufacturers, have not been supplied in time. This is a matter which relates to the Ministry of Industrial Development.

Similarly the question of purchase of weapons. Yesterday an hon. Member said that we should purchase weapons on merit without any political considerations. I must humbly submit that the bargain and purchase of weapons are not settled in the Finance Ministries but in the External Affairs Ministries of the capitals. It is just not that we go window-shopping and buy anything from anywhere. I address this particularly to those who have their eyes glued to the west only. The purchase of arms must be from a country which is friendly, which will continue to give us the spares and necessary technical knowhow in the hour of need. Have we not yet learnt from the embargo that was imposed during 1965 conflict by the USA even on non-lethal items? In this context, we can appreciate the value of the Soviet friendship during the Bangladesh crisis.

14 hrs.

Sir, it was also said that we are looking for a vertical take-off aircraft for the *Vikrant*. Again there is the question from where these weapons are we going to buy. I do not know whether the *Seahawks* are still in

[Shri Vishwanath Pratap Singh]

serviceable condition and whether the Vikrant is only a floating air-strip. For this weapon also, we have to consider which country will stand by us in the hour of our crisis. Do we have a machinery to assess the threat in this wider contest? Do we have a body wherein all these inputs from the External Affairs Ministry, the Ministry of Industrial Development and the Economic ministries are fed in and the needs of defence are fed back to them? I say, we have none.

The Joint Intelligence Committee with three lieutenant-colonels and a brigadier to head it is not constituted to handle such a complex problem, nor can the Policy-planning division of the External Affairs Ministry handle such a big problem. I suggest that a broad-based, high-powered body consisting of representatives from the Defence Ministry the External Affairs Ministry and the economic ministries is formed under the Prime Minister to tackle the problem of national security in a wider context.

Not only this. We will have to carry the idea further. We have made our defence plan coterminous with our Five Year Plans. But we have created only an incidental correlation not an organic or an integrated one. We will have to create closer relationship with our Development Plans and our Defence Plans, so that the needs of defence are fed into the fabric of our Five Year Plan of development.

If we look at the things today, and assess our threats in this wider context, then, we find it is not Pakistan which is a threat to our national security but it is the play of the global powers that is a threat to security in this sub-continent. I will not go into the details, lest it might convert a debate on Defence to a debate on External Affairs. Thanks to the foreign military aid to Pakistan, we can now hear the purrings

of the Pak war machine on our Western borders. There is more than oil in the pipelines of Iran. Iran is receiving 800 chieftain tanks, scores of Scorpion light tanks, and other vehicles.

AN HON. MEMBER: Phantoms.

SHRI VISHWANATH PRATAP SINGH: I am told Phantoms also. And the spill-over from this is most likely to be siphoned away to Pakistan. We cannot rule out a threat from the North as well as the West simultaneously. In such a contingency, we should be able to hold the attack from the North and win a quick decisive victory on the West. For this we will have to boost our defence in the North, and have such superiority to force a military decision on that front.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: That is a good point to conclude with.

SHRI VISHWANATH PRATAP SINGH: I would request for a little more time.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: You should have addressed your party then. Left to myself, I would have given you all the seven hours. There are several other Members to speak and I am trying to co-operate so that everybody has a chance.

SHRI VISHWANATH PRATAP SINGH: I come to the last point, and that is, defence production.

Sir, I must congratulate our Ministry of Defence production on its efforts at producing small arms, the new Mig-21H infra-red vision, for the Vijayanta tank and a new field gun. Most of all I must congratulate it for the decision to develop missiles. The missiles is going to be our weapon for defence in the North against aerial attack, it will be our weapon for facing the tanks in the West. It has proved its value on the sea. I thank the Ministry of Defence for having put up a Cell to coordinate

missile production in the headquarters of Raur Department.

In the end, whatever be the weapons that may be used, it is our fighting men who will prove taller than the tallest weapon our adversary can find against us. It is the will and determination of the Indian people as amply expressed through the highest political leadership that shall prove the unassailable bastion of our security.

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA (Alipore): Mr. Deputy-Speaker, after ten years and three wars and, particularly after the traumatic experience of the 1971 war which was the first victory that we won, I find that this Report of the Ministry of Defence is conspicuous—to me at least it is conspicuous—by the absence of any sort of new thinking. I do not find here any new appraisal, new ideas about re-structuring our plants, projects and so on. I think we have reached a watershed now. Ten years ago, in this House, a question had been raised, for the first time, about taking to planning in the field of defence. For the first time, the system of working out Five Year Plans, later on roll-on plans from year to year and the creation of a separate Department for defence production and all these things were introduced. After that ten years have passed. We had been involved in three wars. I think that we have come to a stage and it is high time that we had a total re-appraisal or a total outlook of what we have done, where we have reached, what requires to be done and how it can be done better and, if possible, cheaper by better control over expenditure, tighter control and better use, maximum utilisation of our resources etc. These things, in my opinion, do require a new look. But, I do not find them anywhere in this Report. The previous speaker has referred to the fact that we are still not free from threats. Quite true. Nevertheless, I

do expect that after 1971, there would be some re-appraisal even of the perspective. After all, it is a fact that we are no longer compelled now to go in for a large-scale dispersement and deployment of our land forces in the same manner as we had to do before 1971. The land threat from Pakistan remains. But, it is radically changed from the previous dimension which was there. In the East, by the emergence of Bangladesh, the problem, primarily for us now, is of the Western front. The question of Kashmir is still there. I do not think that anybody expects any major attack across the Himalayas. Of course, the Chinese policy may be to administer some pin-pricks here and there and certainly to give assistance to Pakistan which they are doing. But now—I am looking back over a span of ten years—we also have reached a certain stage and nobody seriously expects that the Chinese would launch a major land thrust to-day, as they did in 1962. Even if they do, in their madness, it would be a very different proposition today from what it was in 1962. On the other hand, reference has already been made to the fact that the United States is again building up at least the air strength of Pakistan by supplying spare parts to re-equip at least 8 out of their 16 squadrons. Mention has been made of the Iranian build-up. It is true that 2 million dollars worth of US equipment is being given to them and the Shah of Iran is quoted as having said, "Our frontier is in the Indian Ocean". To that extent, of course, I do find from a glance at the defence budget that there has been some altered ratio of spending envisaged for 1973-74 as between the three services. A sum of Rs. 46 crores has been reduced from the spending on the army and a practically corresponding amount has been increased in the estimates for the air force and the navy. I think this change in the ratio is a correct and welcome one, but I wonder whether it just happened accidentally

[Shri Indrajit Gupta]

more or less or whether there is any perspective planning behind it. If you plough through the pages of this not so slim volume, you would not find any clues to it.

The total bill remains at Rs. 1700 crores, but within that some readjustment has been made between the three services, and a little bit more—Rs. 7.28 crores extra—has been allotted for research and development, for which I have been pleading over the years. Even after this addition, it comes to just 2 per cent of the total defence budget. But the total bill remains. If you take the overall situation today, is it not much more favourable to us than it ever was before? I want the Defence Minister to say something on this when he replies. Pakistan may be building up its strength; Iran may get some aid, etc. But we should not suffer from an inferiority complex. Our strength has increased greatly in the last ten years. Is there any doubt about it? The emergence of Bangladesh as a friendly neighbour on the east is a major positive factor in our defence plan. There is the Indo-Soviet Treaty. It is not necessary for me to dwell on it; I would leave it to my other friends. But it is so obvious to everybody in the world as to what it means to our defence. Then there is the indirect effect of the defeat of the United States in Vietnam and South East Asia, which is also a major factor. So, some general global perspective should be before us when we discuss these things. The time has come for a realistic and comprehensive reappraisal so that the overall defence effort is properly related to our national policies and objects. Surely we are not nursing ambitions to become a major military power. That has never been in our tradition. It has never been our policy. We cannot afford to make it our policy that we should emerge as a major military power in Asia. We

are more concerned with the development of our country, improving the conditions of our people, fulfilment of our development plans and so on. It is to guard that, for the security of that development effort, that we require an adequate defence against any aggressor who might attempt to attack us.

But this huge, far-flung empire which the Defence Ministry has become now over the last ten years, this loose, amorphous, rambling huge organisation—does it not require some reappraisal? We are very fond of talking about the ratio between the teeth and the tail of the armed forces and saying that the tail should be reduced so that there is less tail and more teeth. I would like to say that it is high time that the defence planning also is given some more teeth and less tail. Too much tail has developed in the body of our defence planning. It is high time now that we think as to how we can rationalise and streamline this entire gamut of defence planning. I would suggest that there should be some sort of authority—I hesitate to use the term "Chief of Defence Staff" because it may have all sorts of implications and connotations—some organisation, perhaps a Committee in the Defence Ministry, with the Chairman of that Committee being a part of the Cabinet Secretariat, or some sort of planning cell because, as everybody knows, the three Chiefs of Staff are far too much bogged down in routine matters of administration, as they have to be. So, after ten years, where is the agency now to have an overall look at the problem? I say that the Ministry by itself is such a loose body now that it is not enough. So, some planning cell, some defence policy committee which will be integrated with the Cabinet Secretariat has become absolutely necessary now for a more balanced composition of our defence forces and more stress on

self-reliance on indigenous production and less stress on "sophistication". I feel this growing craze for sophistication is a danger about which we have to be very careful. I am not against sophistication in the sense of keeping our armed forces up to date. But there is a craze for sophistication. Whenever any new-fangled device is developed somewhere in the west, there is an itching among many of the defence advisers and civilians in the Defence Ministry and others to acquire those things for us immediately. I think it is high time that we had a proper look at these things.

The teeth need not always be imported artificial dentures. Your own teeth also can be good enough if you keep them clean and sharp. So, we should see what the maximum extent is to which we can use our own teeth and the question of imported dentures should be gone into only where it is absolutely essential.

Then there is the question of democratisation of the relations between the officer cadre and other ranks. Are we going to have a new look at it or not? There is the question of promotional channels and promotional structure within the armed forces, as also the question of workers' participation in the management of the ordnance factories. Every year high tributes are being paid by everybody in this House to the performance of the ordnance factory workers, but when it comes to the question of associating them with the management of the factories, nothing is being done. In the public sector concerns which are not departmental undertakings the workers are going to get bonus. An employee working in the Modern Bakeries, a Government of India undertaking manufacturing bread, will be eligible for bonus, but an employee working in the Ishapur Rifle Factory, turning out automatic rifles for our jawans in the borders, is not entitled to bonus because he is a departmental employee

of Shri Jagjivan Ram. Can there be a bigger injustice? Who is going to look into it? Then there should be greater control over project planning and maximum utilisation of funds. Otherwise Parkinson's law will inevitably operate in this huge mighty empire known as Defence.

Apart from the revelations which we get from time to time in the reports of the Public Accounts Committee, which are full of them, people like us are not in a position to know anything concrete about the actual progress of the various projects. The Report may say that the total value of production in the ordnance factories and other defence establishment has gone up this year from so many hundred crores to so many hundred crores. That is a comforting piece of information that we get, but it means very little concretely unless it is related to the increasing costs all the time. The total value going up may not reflect the actual quantitative increase. It is this type of study which I want to be made much more thoroughly in depth now that we have passed through three wars in the last ten years.

I may put one or two questions, citing examples. We are told constantly that the Avadi Tank Factory, which is producing Vijayanta tanks, is doing very well. I want this question to be gone into in more depth. How many regiments of Vijayanta tanks per year are we producing? I want to know this: are we producing even one Regiment (44) of Vijayanta Tanks per year or not? It is no use giving us the value or the figures. We are also using imported tanks and Armoured Personnel Carriers. What is being done about the indigenous production of spare parts and components for imported tanks and Armoured Personnel Carriers? I think this is a question which will be crucial in an emergency situation in the future. But we know nothing about it.

[Shri Indrajit Gupta]

My friend spoke just now about the need of anti-aircraft missiles and radar equipment on the northern border. I am one with him. But what is the outlook? Are we going to concentrate more and more on making the production indigenous or, because the United States has offered us 90 million dollars worth of radar equipment which they had promised earlier but had not supplied and are now giving suddenly after renewing aid to Pakistan, are we going to rush in for it at the cost of making our production indigenous, or what do we propose to do?

I find in this Report a number of new things about new-fangled project management methods and concepts, computers etc., and fancy gadgets. I want to warn that we should not overdo it. There should not be a craze for sophistication. Who will decide the question as to what extent is it necessary, how far we can do without it. Our planning must take on a new dimension with some new organisation within it. I beg to differ from what my young friend said just now. He gave an omnibus view of all types of missiles. I differ from him so far as import of anti tank missiles is concerned. Each one costs Rs 25,000. I have no time to discuss whether this type of anti tank missile is suitable in our terrain and when we have used it in Panjab. In Europe thousands of tanks were employed on both sides in the Second World War and sometimes you cannot stop them without using these missiles. But that is not the position here. We know how many tanks Pakistan has got. Pakistan probably knows how many tanks we have got. Here, a tank can fight a tank. So, I would say that 106 m.m. recoilless anti-tank guns mounted on a jeep which we manufacture in our own country and which Abdul Hamid used in 1965 to destroy the Patton tanks those 106 m.m. recoilless anti-tank

guns, which have proved their worth need not be replaced by some new fangled expensive missile which has to be brought from outside.

About the plans in regard to the development work to convert Marut, not Maruti, into a supersonic plane, it has been going on for years. We have been told every year, by three Defence Ministers in succession, that this development of the Orpheus 703 engine for the HF-24 Plane is still going on and still we have not been able to reach supersonic capacity. Giving the benefit of doubt to the Defence Ministry that they will be able some time to make the HF-24 really a supersonic plane, then I ask you this question. We are building the latest model of HF-24, which will be really supersonic, and the MIG 21-M and also developing the great for MK II capacity. It is here in the Report on HAL. If we have three supersonic interceptor craft, HF-24, MIG 21-M and the Gnat, is it necessary for us to go on now thinking about building or importing or buying a very expensive new strike aircraft? I do not know. It may be necessary. But I want somebody to look into this from all points of view.

I would say, the technical men who are in the Defence Production and in Research and Development are ultimately at the mercy of a motely crowd of civilian bureaucrats who are manning this Ministry. The final powers of decision are not with the technical men. The final powers of decision are with all the civilian bureaucrats who have been brought from various services, sometimes on short tenures, and they are occupying all the key positions in the Ministry and the technical men have to keep running back and forth to them to get the final decision on projects, revision of projects, modification of projects and so on.

I think, ultimately, the sophisticated arms are not the answer. They did not help Pakistan in the past. It is the

men behind the gun who will ultimately count. Always we are told that we could not cope with the Chinese because they have so many people, a huge population, human wave after human wave came and overwhelmed us. If that is so, why can't we in this country have one or two million men as a reserve, trained in the use of our good old automatic rifles and machine-guns? We have got the unemployment problem. That will automatically take care of this also. We too can have a human wave standing behind the regular army trained in the use of automatic rifles and machine-guns.

There is no substitute ultimately for well-trained men, and, I would say, for well-trained and professionally competent officers. Therefore, I also share the concern of my hon. friend who preceded me about the persistent shortage of officers which has been referred to in this Report. No reasons are given for it. They only say that the authorised quotas of cadets for admission to our Military Academies are not being filled up now-a-days. I want to know why. What is the assessment of the Ministry? Is it because the emoluments and service conditions compare increasingly unfavourably with those who go in for business and, therefore, it is failing to attract youngmen? Is it that three wars in 10 years with their consequential casualties have dampened the enthusiasm of our youngmen to go over to the Army?

In this connection, I would also note the dissatisfaction reported in the press with regard to the Pay Commission's recommendations. It is reported that Army officers are very disappointed at the fact that the Pay Commission, whose secretariat was, after all, dominated by the IAS people and IAS thinking people, wants to keep the pay structure of 34,000 Defence officers below that of 3000 IAS officers. This is a very serious state of affairs. I hope it will be looked into

before the Government finalises its decision. What is wanted is an organised public campaign to attract the right type of men and officers to the Army.

In regard to promotions from the ranks, something should be done. Why not put a ceiling on the salaries of young executives in the private sector and in business so that our youngmen are not attracted only in that direction?

Finally, I am sorry, I have to end with a rather bitter note, the worst commentary possible on the "Col. Blimp" mentality which is still persisting in at least a portion of the higher echelons of our officer cadre and is provided by the recent public postures and antics of our one and only Field Marshal. I do not know much about his professional capabilities. I do not feel myself competent to speak about that. Obviously, this award has been given to him because of recognition of his services during the 1971 war. But I want to know from the hon. Minister whether he approves of this kind of public statements I quote:—

"If I had opted for Pakistan, you would have had a defeated India."

"I gave Yahya a good chit once, and see what he did to me."

"They can (that is you) offer me a Governorship or Ambassadorship but I am snooty."

Of course every man has the right of freedom of speech. Is it in keeping with this rank that you have bestowed on him? Is it commensurate with good taste? These are only the latest statements which have come out. I would like to refer to an extensive interview given by Field Marshal Maneckshaw to the *Guardian* of

[Shri Indrajit Gupta]

London on 3rd March 1973 It appears in a whole page He has said

"They say that I am not as Indian as I should be I would not go about in a damn bush shirt to a party "

This is his idea of being an Indian'

'I would not go about without wearing socks or something "

खाली पैर श्राप मत बलिए

"Bangladesh is still determined to hold the trials but Maneckshaw thinks

This is the Reporter's comment

" but Maneckshaw thinks that much of the talk about trials is 'so much hot air Mujib has to take a certain stand because atrocities were committed against his people A few may be tried but I think it will all fizzle out "

Is it permissible for the Field Marshal to go round the world talking like this to the Press?

He was asked, 'Could the Indian Army ever stage a coup?' and the reply is

"People say it is impossible but there is no such thing as could not I hate the word could not be done The army can do what it likes It can keep secrets."

"There were many discussions I used to have with my commanders and no politician knew about it "

He was asked this question:

"Could Maneckshaw get his teeth into a civilian job that would help to develop India?"

And the reply is:

"Well, they have got to change their attitudes "

"I could not be given a task and then be restrained by some deputy secretary or some financial bum "

You will excuse me, Mr Deputy-Speaker, for quoting this expression If I had used this expression, you might have said that it was unparliamentary, but I am quoting Field Marshal Maneckshaw

" But if there were no political interference of any kind, I'd take it on "

The reporter's comment was "The Field Marshal can afford to wait anyway "

Why?

"I married a rich woman, you see This is a great asset which has helped me considerably all my life I have been able to say bugger off to everybody "

I am sorry These are his words

MR DEPUTY-SPEAKER If they were yours, I would have ruled them out as unparliamentary

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA In conclusion I want to say that this is a serious matter, it is thoroughly anti-Indian, in extremely bad taste and shows his insufferable conceit. Pakistan may have lost the war, but our Field Marshal seems to have lost his head The recognition by the Government of his professional capabilities is no justification for him to talk irresponsibly in public. He did not go to Sandhurst. He is a product of IMA, Dehra Dun But he talks as if, for generations, he has had the blood of Sandhurst in him It shows that over the years precious little has been done to democratise the ideology and behaviour of some at least of our top officers cadre

If he persists in talking like this, it is better that we donate him to Pakistan.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: The Field Marshal may be advised to read John Masefield's "Consecration".

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA: Please suggest it to them.

श्री एम० रामगोपाल रेड्डी (निजामाबाद) :
उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं बाबू जगजीवन राम और शुक्ला जी को बधाई देना चाहता हूँ और उन की डिमांड्स का समर्थन करना चाहता हूँ। मगर पूरी तरह से समर्थन मैं नहीं कर सकता इस वास्ते कि जो बजट में रकम रखी गई है वह बहुत कम है। यह रकम अपने देश की जो आमदनी है उस का 3.5 प्रतिशत है बहुत से देश ऐसे हैं जो अपने देश की आमदनी का 5 प्रतिशत हिस्सा डिफेंस में खर्च कर रहे हैं। इसलिए मैं यह चाहूंगा कि डिफेंस का जो हमारा बजट है वह 17-18 करोड़ से कम नहीं होना चाहिए क्योंकि हमारे देश के जो संवुद्ध देश हैं उन देशों का डिफेंस एक्सपेंडीचर रोज़बरोज बढ़ता जा रहा है। पाकिस्तान के दो टुकड़े होने के बाद भी 405 मिलियन डालर का बजट पाकिस्तान में तैयार किया जा रहा है। इसी तरह से चाइना के डिफेंस एक्सपेंडीचर में भी बहुत ज्यादा वृद्धि की गई है। अभी माननीय सदस्य सरदीश राय ने फरमाया था कि हमारा कोई शत्रु नहीं है। शायद उनकी भाषों में कोई शत्रु नहीं दिखाई देता इसलिये कि वह चाहते हैं कि हमारा देश हमेशा कमजोर रहे और उनके चीनी भाई हमेशा हमें डराने लें। मैं नहीं समझ सका कि भाया वह भीने; में यह बात कह रहे हैं या शरारतन यह बात कह रहे हैं।

माननीय सदस्य इन्द्रजीत गुप्ता ने बहुत अच्छा भाषण दिया है जो देशभक्तिपूर्ण भाषण है। मगर उन्होंने यह कहा है कि बाबू जगजीवन राम ने इसमें कोई नई चीज नहीं बताई है। मुझे तो जगजीवन बाबू से यह शिकायत है कि उन्होंने इतनी चीजे क्यों बताई? क्योंकि राजतन में यही बीकनेस

है कि हमारे पास क्या है, क्या हो रहा है, वह सब को मालूम है। उन्होंने जो वित्तीय किताब छपी है शायद वह किताब सबन के मेम्बरो को मिलने के पहले ही पार्लियामेंट और इस्लामाबाद में पहुंच गई होगी। बाबूजी ने उसमें यह कहा है कि हमारे पास आर्म्ड फोर्स 18 है और इतनी चीजे हम रैंड कर रहे हैं। हमारे पास 25 पब्लिक सेक्टर प्रोजेक्ट्स हैं वहाँ यह चीजे पैदा की जा रही हैं। उसके अलावा मोनोपली है, उसेज भी इस किस्म की चीजे तैयार कर के गवर्नमेंट को दे रहे हैं। तो मैं समझता हूँ कि इतनी चीजे बताने के बाद उन लोगों को हमारे ऊपर कोई जासूसी करने की जरूरत रह जाती है क्या? उनको कोई सी आई डाँ जरूरत नहीं है। हमारी छिपा हुई चीजे उन के पास पहुंच जाती है। इसलिये हमारा यह आक्षेप है और हमारे पास यह कन्वेंशन होना चाहिये कि जो भी हमारा डिफेंस बजट होता है उसमें मिर्च पैसों की मजदूरी देने की बात होनी चाहिये अपोजीशन के मेम्बर्स कोई डीटेल्स मालूम करना चाहते हैं तो वह मंत्री महोदय के चेम्बर में जाकर डीटेल्स मालूम कर लें। मेरा सुझाव है कि इतने डीटेल में हम को बात नहीं करनी चाहिये क्योंकि हमारे शत्रु उसका लाभ उठाते हैं।

श्री इन्द्रजीत गुप्ता हाउस आफ कामन्स के डिबेट्स जरा उठा कर पढ़िये।

श्री एम० रामगोपाल रेड्डी : मैं प्रजातंत्र के राष्ट्रो का जब जिक्र कर रहा हूँ तो उसमें अमेरिका भी शरीक है, इंग्लैंड भी शरीक है, कनाडा भी शरीक है और आस्ट्रेलिया भी शरीक है। चाइना उसमें शरीक नहीं है। इतना ही मुझे कहना है।

मैं यह चाहता हूँ कि जो भी पैसा खर्च किया जा रहा है उसमें इजाफा होना चाहिये।

[श्री एम० रामगोपाल रेड्डी]

दूसरी बात—मे कमीशन के मुताल्लिक मैं पहले भ्रज कर लेना चाहता हूँ क्योंकि बाद से शायद मुझे मौका न मिले। अपने सिविल सर्वेंट्स और मिलिटरी एन्मोनैल के बारे में मैं बात करना चाहता हूँ। ज्यादा वारिश आती है, आध। आती है, सर्दी ज्यादा होती है, सूफान होगा है तो हमारा सैनिक 16 हजार फुट की ऊँचाई पर खड़ा रहना है। वहाँ उसे खड़े रहना पड़ता है या उसको दलदल में खड़े रहना पड़ता है जो घटनों से ऊपर बमर तक नदर डालता है उसमें खड़े रहना पड़ता है या रॉयल तान में रेत के छर्रे उसकी आँखों में गिरने लगे हैं। मार उसको वहाँ खड़े रहना पड़ता है। उसको हम क्या तनक्वाह देते हैं। उसके दूसरी तरफ सिविलियन है वह वारिश ज्यादा होती है तो घर में बैठते हैं और एक राव लेटर भेज देते हैं, चाहे वह तीन दिन के बाद पहुँचे उसमें कोई हर्ज नहीं है। ज्यादा गर्मी होती है तो एयर कंडीशन उनके लिये लगा होता है, ज्यादा सर्दी होती है तो एयर कंडीशन लगा होता है। मैं शर्म के साथ कहना चाहता हूँ कि जब भी मुल्क के ऊपर कोई सकट हो तो य लोग हड़ताल करते हैं। आज देखिए हमारे एलेक्ट्रिसिटी के और दूसरे उद्योगों की क्या हालत है? दस हजार की बात बैनर्जी साहब कर रहे हैं, इस मुल्क में 56 करोड़ आदमी रहते हैं। जब देश को जरूरत होती है तो फौज का सैनिक अपनी जान देता है और जब देश को जरूरत होती है उस वक़्त सिविलियन हड़ताल करता है। यही है उन दोनों का फर्क। इस बास्ते मैं यह चाहूँगा कि जितने रिटायर्ड आफिसर्स होते हैं मिलिटरी के उन सब को सिविलियन की जगह नौकरा में रखे और सिविलियन्स से बोलें कि मुल्क में रहना है तो दम में काम हिमालय की 16 हजार फुट की ऊँचाई पर जाकर दो दिन रह कर आये। क्या बदनामती है? यह सिविलियन्स को क्या होगया? यह लेबरर्स को क्या हो गया है? एन जी भोज को क्या

हो गया है? वे हमेशा हड़ताल करते हैं। हमारे सैनिक अपनी जान देकर हमारी इज्जत, हमारा गौरव बढ़ाते हैं तो उस गौरव को मिटाने के बास्ते प्रजातन्त्र में रोज ये लोग एकावट डालते हैं। मैं यह बोलता हूँ कि ये देशभक्त है या देशद्रोही है? इस बास्ते मैं बाबू जी से कहना चाहता हूँ कि वह ज्यादा से ज्यादा सहमाणा अपने मिलिटरी के लोगों को बतन दे।

इसमें कोई प्रागे-पीछे न करे। इसीलिए मैं 400 करोड़ रुपए की ज्यादा माग कर रहा हूँ। अगर ज्यादा पैसा नहीं है तो सिविलियन्स को जो तनक्वाह दी जा रही है उसमें से 400 करोड़ रुपए काट दीजिये। जब तक ऐसा नहीं होगा यह मुल्क आग नरक की नहीं कर सकेगा।

दूसरा मुद्दा यह है कि हमारे यहाँ डिफेंस में जो काम हो रहा है—जैसे हमारी आर्डिनेंस फैक्ट्रीज जबलपुर, बगलौर, हैदराबाद में काम कर रही है, उनके बारे में शुक्ला जी ने बताया है कि बार के जमाने में थोड़े से नोटिस पर हमारे प्रोडक्शन में 150 में 200 परसेंट का इजाफा हुआ। लेकिन दूसरी तरफ देखिये—हमारी इण्डस्ट्रीज के प्रोडक्शन में क्या हो रहा है, जो अण्डरटॉकिंग गवर्नमेंट लेना चाहती है या लेती है वही हड़ताल होती है। हमलिय दोनों का कम्पैग्निज बनना चाहिये—हमारे सिविलियन्स देशद्रोही का काम कर रहे हैं, इन लोगों को भ्रम का चाहिए। खेती की पैदावार के लिए भ्रमाज डालने हैं, लेकिन बिजली वाले हड़ताल कर देते हैं, सारे बीजों को मुखा देते हैं और कहते हैं कि महंगाई बढ़ गई है। इससे महंगाई नहीं बढ़ेगी तो क्या बढ़ेगी?

मैं बाबू जी से कहना चाहता हूँ—वह मिलिट्री हुकूमत चला रहे हैं, थोड़ा सा सिविलियन्स में भी मिलिट्री हुकूमत चलायें। मैं बाबू जी से ऐसा क्यों कहता हूँ—वे बड़ एफिशियेंट आदमी हैं। जब मुल्क के अन्दर शूगर का कहत पड़ा था, अकाल पड़ गया था तो एक साल के अन्दर उन्होंने 100 परसेंट का इजाफा कराया था, 22 लाख टन से 44 लाख टन हो गया था, जो बोरी 500 रु० में बिकती थी, वह 120 रु० से 150 रु० के अन्दर बिकने लगी थी। जब आप एक क्षेत्र में काम कर सकते हैं तो दूसरे क्षेत्र में भी कर सकते हैं। यह डण्डा थोड़ा सिविलियन्स पर मजबूती में चलाये। अगर ये लोग हड़ताल करते हैं तो मैं पब्लिक-व्हिप्पिंग के लिए भी मजिस्ट्रेट करता हूँ, क्योंकि इन्दिरा जी ने जो बीडा उठाया है, ये लोग उसको विरोध कर रहे हैं, उसको नुकसान पहुँचा रहे हैं, उनके इमेज को खत्म करना चाहते हैं, उसके साथ देश के इमेज को भी खत्म करना चाहते हैं, ये देशद्रोही हैं।

हमारे यहाँ डिफेंस और मिलिट्री में जो इक्विपमेंट होते हैं, आज जो मोडर्न इक्विपमेंट है, वह दस साल के बाद आउट-आफ-डेट हो जाता है। इसलिए रिसर्च के बास्ते जो 21 करोड़ रुपया रखा गया है, वह अब 31 करोड़ हो गया है और आगे 43 करोड़ होने वाला है, फिर भी वह कम है। इसलिए रिसर्च पर ज्यादा खर्च करना चाहिये।

हिन्दुस्तान बहुत सी लड़ाइयों में हारा है, मुसलमानों के साथ हारा, इसलिए हारा कि उसके पास मोडर्न हथियार नहीं थे, जिसके पास माडर्न हथियार नहीं होग, वह जीत नहीं सकता। इसलिए मैं चाहता हूँ कि एटम बम बनाया जाए और मैं जानता हूँ कि उसको तैयार करने के लिये बाबू जी समर्थ हैं और वह कह रहे हैं कि नेक्स्ट इलैक्शन से पहले एटम-बम का एक्सप्लोजन जरूरी है।

SHRI C. T. DHANDAPANI (Dharampuram): Sir, let me, at the outset, congratulate the entire defence forces of the three wings who brought fame and victory to home. The great valour and adventurism of our Chiefs of three wings and the patriotism, sense of morale and high-spirit shown by our soldiers during the confrontation with Pakistan, have all created a record which has to be written by red letters in the annals of war strategy. All the more the wise counsel and the ablest leadership of Babuji who headed our soldiers was also responsible for our victory. His dynamism in thinking and tactfulness in execution have been appreciated by all sections of the world. He has capability of imagining all, of arranging all and of doing everything. I fervently hope that his leadership would deliver further goodness to his staff and to the country as a whole.

Our Air Force pilots proved themselves superior by doing a tremendous job which our country cannot forget.

But at the same time we should not forget their welfare also. A pilot in the Indian Air Force is getting a meagre amount as flying bounty. There is a negligible increase of Rs. 25 in the Third Pay Commission whereas a pilot in the Civil Aviation is getting several hundreds of rupees as salary and a good sum as flying bounty. I do not demand that the very same amount should be given to the Air Force pilots but there must be reasonableness in the matter of giving flying bounty.

The Pay Commission has fixed Rs 185/- as the minimum wage for peons, unskilled workers and other employees starting their career at the lowest rung of the ladder. Actually, this award is beneficial only to the higher staff whereas an infantry soldier is getting Rs. 175. Therefore, a special treatment should be given to the personnel who saved our territory and honour. I read a news item

[Shri C. T. Dhandapani]

I will quote from the Report—page 119:

in the papers that 2.7 lakh civil employees attached to the Defence Deptt have decided to go on strike if the pay commission's anomaly is not eliminated.

I am sorry to say that this Government is using them, the defence personnel, as a spare tyre in a car. Only when one wheel of a car gets punctured we think of spare tyre. Normally, we forget about it. Similarly, when war is on all glamour and importance is being given to the defence personnel but when war is over everything is forgotten. This sort of attitude of the Government certainly will not help to uphold the moral courage of our soldiers. Service personnel who retired in December 1972 batch should also be included in the new scale of pension from the time the interim report was submitted.

As far as the ex-servicemen are concerned it has been stated that about 60,000 ex-servicemen are released every year and out of these, about 45,000 ex-servicemen need help for resettlement in civilian life. About 3,500 disabled servicemen are placed in the ex-servicemen's list every year. I want to ask the government to give a categorical reply as to how many of these ex-servicemen and disabled men have so far been provided with jobs etc? Have the government got any infra-structure to see that all ex-servicemen are appointed in jobs? As soon as they left Army it became their personal problem to get jobs. Special provision should be made for the betterment of ex-servicemen. I know many cases that even the office of the Director General of Resettlement cannot help them much in the matter. Reservations for ex-servicemen have not been effectively implemented. I

"Though the reservations have been available in Government departments for some time, in the absence of an organisation to check on the actual placements against such reservations, the results have not been very satisfactory. There is a need to introduce a suitable method by which checks can be exercised to ensure that the intended benefit does become available in practice; this problem is under study."

I do not know what they are going to do about this.

Secondly, about war widows. So many promises have been made by the Government for war widows but at the same time war widows are thrown out. The promises given by the government have not been fulfilled. For example, I would like to read out a news item under the caption 'Agony of a War widow'. It reads thus:

"Following today's investiture ceremony of Gallantry Awards at Rashtrapati Bhavan, a 23-year-old war widow approached the Prime Minister to plead that the Government had not lived up to its promise to the war widows. Mrs. Kaur whose husband was awarded Shauryachakra posthumously for his bravery on the Ferozepur sector complained, although she had applied for the benefits promised to war widows, so far she has received nothing. Her applications for a plot of land, a gas station and a job for her father, a retired serviceman, have met with no success. Although she was one of the first to apply for the gas station, many others who applied long after her have received such agencies."

Out of this news item, two things are clear. One is that the war widows have not been given any benefits.

Secondly, even her father who is an ex-serviceman has not been given any job for a very long period. This is the way in which Government are handling the problem of war widows.

At the same time, we find that this Government can organise some private agencies to collect money or they themselves are efficient enough to collect money from the big monopolists for their election purposes; they collect money from the sugar millowners, from the cement factory owners and textile millowners....

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: How is that part of defence?

SHRI C. T. DHANDAPANI: I am coming to the point. My point is that they can collect money in a similar way for the benefit of the war widows and those who have suffered on account of the war.....

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: That is political war and political defence. But how does it form part of the Defence Demands?

SHRI C. T. DHANDAPANI: The Tamil Nadu State was the first State which contributed Rs. 6 crores towards the benefit fund. My point is that there should be some social security for these people. The Defence Ministry should evolve social security schemes for instance insuring the lives of soldiers—for at least 10,000 personnel in a year—and the premium should be borne by the Government themselves.

Regarding the Sainik Schools also, I would submit that the contribution by the Defence Ministry to these schools is very meagre. At least 75 per cent of their total expenses must be borne by the Defence Ministry so that these schools can produce a better quality of students than at present. Our country is poor. Unemployment and poverty is vast. The crisis in the Indian economy is yet to be solved. We are committed to peace and

friendly cooperation with other countries. At the same time, we are importing aircraft and army equipment and other sophisticated equipment from foreign countries. Of course, we have to protect our territory against external aggression. At the same time, we must not forget that industrial development should go along with defence preparations.

Out of eight public sector undertakings under the Defence Ministry, seven have made improvement and declared dividend also. The paid-up capital of these companies was Rs. 85.79 crores. My suggestion is that many more industries have to be started by the Defence Ministry. We must recognise the new correlation between defence and development. In almost all countries which are now developed, there has been good correlation between defence preparations and economic development. An important reason why defence and development have to be complementary is that the basic industrial sectors which support a rapid military programme are those very sectors which sustain a modern civil and industrial economy.

Defence and development are also complementary because any armament programme forces the utilisation of idle and under utilised capacity throughout the economy. This increases production without corresponding extra investment. Further, the feeling of patriotism generated in a defence programme tends to increase managerial and labour efficiency throughout the economy and the stock of technical know-how grows very rapidly. Thus armament accelerates capital formation and rate of growth.

Moreover, the expansion of defence forces with development of industrial sector—diminishes unemployment directly as well as indirectly. Therefore, we must intensify our defence production on a large scale.

[Shri C. T. Dhandapani]

14.57 hrs.

[SHRI S. A. KADER in the Chair]

But what do we see? A provision has been made in the budget for 1973-74 for the air force, Rs. 215.65 crores, for the purchase of new aircraft and other stores from outside. I think it involves foreign exchange also. For all these years, why could we not start our own schemes to manufacture these aircraft, however sophisticated they may be. We are importing not only aircraft but also store equipments. For stores and equipments, we are spending Rs. 634.53 crores.

But still we are depending upon foreign countries. Once we used to get arms from the US and some other countries. From the US alone, we have got \$ 168.3 million worth of arms equipment. Now we are purchasing from Russia also.

The amount allotted to the research and development department is not sufficient. It has been stated that in 1972-73 and 1973-74, it is only Rs. 62.80 crores out of Rs. 2,808.96 crores. Even after the Chinese attack, the amount allotted to this was very much less—Rs. 5.2 crores.

The report has mentioned about some new schemes. I came across a relevant mention about the question of production. It says:

"The main difficulty with the defence research and development particularly where manufacture of new equipment is concerned is that the procedural matters consume an inordinate time for the product to roll out of the assembly line and to be issued to the user unit. If this period goes to 7-8 years, as in the case of the L-70 anti-aircraft gun, it becomes outdated by the time the user units put it into service".

The Defence R & D has now been in existence for well over ten years.

Some funds have been sanctioned and, therefore, Government should consider appointing a high power committee to evaluate and assess the work of defence R & D done so far and to recommend how it could be streamlined and how the work of R & D in the public and private sectors could be co-ordinated with defence R & D, because we are now sending Indian-built aircraft abroad to get an ostensibly impartial opinion on its performance characteristics.

Development of ancillaries should be given priority under the small-scale sector. Government are committed to the development of small scale industry which removes unemployment to some extent and provides self-employment to young technical graduates and engineers and educated unemployed. There is a strong feeling in these circles that they could get a much more substantial share in defence supplies than what they are getting hitherto.

A large percentage of production of ancillaries is at present done by some of the monopoly houses. This should be given over completely to the small scale industry.

Before I say something about the problem, that is a State problem, I want to say about this naval force. Now, an overwhelming percentage of Indian trade is being carried in ships through the sea-lane of the Indian ocean. An attack from the sea is more dangerous to the freedom of India than any threat from across the land frontiers, and if India remains weak on the sea, if it is not organised to meet the threat, there is a possibility of the naval powers continuously exercising pressure to gain their political objectives.

15 hrs.

As far as the navy is concerned, India's defence burden is at 3.5 per cent of its GNP of which the navy gets only 10 per cent. The coast and

inland defence should be strengthened. We must keep open our sea lanes, and we must assist the developing countries that look to India. There must be a surveillance of foreign warships on the ocean. These are the important factors which we have to consider seriously and do something. At the same time, we have been demanding a dockyard at Tuticorin so that we can establish our forces there at the southern end of our country. So, the Government should consider this aspect also.

There is another thing. There is a strong feeling that defence was neglected in the early years of planning. Without industrialisation there can be no real defence. This correct long-term view of defence ignored the possible short term threat to security, with the result that in less than 25 years, five military aggressions were committed against this country. Each aggression was necessarily followed by a sudden spurt in defence expenditure thus upsetting the entire planning process.

Mr. P. V. R. Rao—

MR. CHAIRMAN: Your time is up.

SHRI C. T. DHANDAPANI: Just two minutes, Sir.

MR. CHAIRMAN: One minute, as a compromise.

SHRI C. T. DHANDAPANI: Mr. P. V. R. Rao, the ex-Defence Secretary, said that "our exercise in planning and implementation in the sphere of defence had lacked urgency and proper sense of priorities."

Finally, before I conclude, I want to submit a most important matter which is alarming Tamil Nadu. And that is the imposition of Hindi. Not only this Government but the Members coming from the Congress are very happy that they are introducing

Hindi among the non-Hindi people. But I want to warn them this is not good. You may be happy over this, but, the same time, we are going to see the consequences in the very near future. It has been stated that "instructions have been issued to all offices under the Ministry of Defence to permit the use of Hindi as an optional medium for answering question papers in all departmental examinations conducted for Class III and IV posts." Secondly, "Hindi classes have been organised in all Units. Service officers are required to pass a preliminary test in Hindi. The basic examinations for promotion of Other Ranks are Army 3rd, 2nd and 1st Class Certifications of Education Examinations which are held in Hindi." As far as Tamil is concerned, you know it is a pure language. It is not at all mixed up with any other language. But other languages are mixed with Sanskrit and they may find it easy to learn Hindi. But as far as Tamil Nadu is concerned, it is difficult for them, and the Central Government is purposely imposing Hindi on our people. The soldiers coming from Tamil Nadu find it difficult, but at the same time, the soldiers coming from the Hindi areas do not find it difficult because it is their mother-tongue. If you impose Hindi purposely and want only...

AN HON. MEMBER: Deliberately—

SHRI C. T. DHANDAPANI: ... certainly we are not going to work for the integration. On the contrary, it is going to be disintegration in this country. Saying these words, I conclude.

श्री शंकर देव (बीदर) : महापति महोदय, अभी तक जितने भी भाषण मैंने सुने हैं, उनसे मुझे यही लगा कि सब माननीय सदस्यों के द्वारा राष्ट्रीय स्तर पर, नैगबल बेसिस पर, सोचा जा रहा है और इस बात

[श्री शंकर देव]

को भुला दिया गया है कि यह देश विश्व का एक हिस्सा है। जब तक विश्व में शान्ति नहीं है, तब तक हिन्दुस्तान में शान्ति नहीं होगी चाहे हम हिन्दुस्तान के डिफेंस पर 1600 करोड़ रुपये तो क्या 3200 करोड़ रुपये भी खर्च कर दें।

संयुक्त राष्ट्र की नेटवर्क रिपोर्ट के मुताबिक इस वक्त विश्व के सभी राष्ट्रों के द्वारा 200 बिलियन डॉलर प्रतिरक्षा पर खर्च किये जा रहे हैं। अगर हम प्रति-दिन खर्च का हिसाब लगाए तो विश्व भर में 375 करोड़ रुपये प्रति-दिन डिफेंस पर खर्च किये जा रहे हैं। सूर्य के पूर्व से निकल कर पश्चिम में छिप जाने तक विश्व के सब राष्ट्रों के पोलिटिकल लीडर्स विश्व की गरीब जनता का खून चूस कर, टैंकों के द्वारा वसूल कर के, 375 करोड़ रुपये प्रतिरक्षा के नाम पर खर्च कर देते हैं और वह सारा खर्च गरीबों पर लाद दिया जाता है। जब मैंने हिसाब लगाया, तो मालूम हुआ कि विश्व भर में प्रत्येक व्यक्ति पर प्रतिरक्षा के नाम पर करीब 400 रुपये का बोझ पड़ रहा है। इस का मतलब यह है कि एक भूखे और नगरे व्यक्ति की रक्षा के लिये 400 रुपये के उस आदमी को रखा जा रहा है, जिस के हाथ में गन है। इससे ज्यादा दिल्लगी और मजाक क्या हो सकता है ?

भारत आज में दस साल पहले प्रतिरक्षा पर 800 करोड़ रुपये खर्च करता था, लेकिन आज वह डबल हो गया है— 1600 करोड़ रुपये हो गया है। अगर वे इसी तरह बढ़ता चला गया तो मालूम नहीं, कुछ समय बाद वह कितना हो जायेगा। लेकिन मुश्किल यह है कि हमारी बेसिक रीच। कुछ गलती है। हम समझते कि अस्त्र-शस्त्रों से ही शान्ति हो सकती है। इस बारे में हम ने बहुत-बहुत सोचना पड़ेगा।

यूनेस्को की एक रिपोर्ट में कहा गया है :

"The world on an average spends Rs. 750 a year to teach a child how to read and, a little later in life, Rs. 58,500 a year to teach him how to shoot."

हिन्दुस्तान एक आइडियलिस्टिक कंट्री रहा है, जब कि दुनिया के समस्त राष्ट्र प्रैग्मेटिक उपयोगितावादी, रहे हैं—वे हमेशा अपना हित ही देखते रहे हैं। आज हिन्दुस्तान को दुनिया के सामने अपनी मिसाल और अपना आदर्श पेश करना पड़ेगा। जब तक कोई व्यक्ति या राष्ट्र सामने न आये, तब तक विश्व का बचाव नहीं हो सकता है।

मुझे अमरीका जाना पड़ा और मैं बहुत दिनों तक वहां रहा। मैंने देखा कि वहां पर तमाम साइंटिफिक फैसिलिटीज हैं और सुख-चैन के सब साधन उपलब्ध हैं। लेकिन मैंने यह भी देखा कि अगर कोई पैसेंजर प्लेन भी आवाज करता हुआ ऊपर से गुजर जाता तो बहुत से अमरीकन बिना देखे ही, यह सोच कर कि कहीं वह रक्षा का प्लेन तो नहीं है, ट्रेन्चिंग में घुम जाते थे। इसमें ज्यादा बदकिस्मती की बात और क्या हो सकती है ?

मैं यह नहीं कह रहा हूँ कि आनरेबल मैम्बरें कुछ जानते नहीं हैं। वे सब कुछ जानते हैं लेकिन इस के बावजूद इस बात का रेपीटासन होना चाहिए। हम राम का नाम लेते हैं। एक बार राम का नाम लेने से भी काम चल सकता है, लेकिन हम तो सौ और हजार बार राम का नाम लेते हैं। हम इस लिए इस बात का रैपिड होना चाहिए। इस हाऊस के सदस्य पढ़ें-लिखें समझदार हैं। हम भारतीय संस्कृति के अनुयायी हैं। भारतीय संस्कृति हमेशा सत्य, अहिंसा, प्रेम, दया, कल्याण, कोआपरेशन, सद्भावना, आत्त्व भावना और विवरप्रेम का सम्बोध देती रही है।

हमारा कर्तव्य है कि हम आत्म चिन्तन करे । मैं हिन्दुस्तान के लिये नहीं बोल रहा हूँ मैं विश्व के लिये बोल रहा हूँ ।

माननीय प्रति रक्षा मंत्री के विचारों को मैं ने कई बार सुना है । उनका साहित्य भी पढ़ने का मौका मुझे मिला है । जब मैं उन का साहित्य पढ़ता हूँ तो गदगद हो जाता हूँ । उन के भाषण सुनता हूँ तो मैं भावना में आ जाता हूँ । समझता हूँ भारतीय संस्कृति का इतना पुजारी, इतना बड़ा भक्त इन तमाम तत्वज्ञानों को अपने दिमाग में रख हुए है । हम उन से ऐसी भाषा रखने है कि कोई ऐसी पालिसी ईवान्व की जाए कोई ऐसा तरीका निकाला जाय कि हमारा प्रति रक्षा का बजट कम होता चला जाय न कि बढ़ता चला जाय ।

एक माननीय सदस्य सारी आर्मी को डिमबैंड किया जाय ।

श्री शंकर बेब वह तो हमारा लक्ष्य है ही ।

इसलिए मेरा यह कहना है कि जब तक विश्व के अंदर तमाम राष्ट्र मिल कर एक न हो जाय, वैसी एक व्यवस्था न हो जाय, वैसा एक आर्डर न हो जाय, वैसा एक कानून न बन जाय तब तक शांति नहीं हो सकता है । हम यह समझ रहे हैं कि हम डिफेंस का खर्चा बढ़ाते चले जा रहे हैं, अभी रेडडी साहब ने कहा कि प्रति रक्षा का बजट और भी ज्यादा इस से दुगुना होना चाहिए, वह यह समझ रहे हैं कि अगर हम अस्त्र-शस्त्रों का डेर कर देंगे तो शायद उससे शांति मिलेगी । लेकिन अस्त्र-शस्त्रों के डेर के अंदर शांति नहीं बल्कि शांति है वर्ल्ड की युनिटी के अंदर, वर्ल्ड के एक आर्डर के अंदर, विश्व की एक सरकार लाने के अंदर ही शांति है ।
(व्यवधान) . . .

सभापति महोदय, बहुत ही गंभीरता के साथ सोच विचार करके मैं इन तमाम लोगों के लिये एक यही मुझाव दे सकता हूँ कि विश्व की एकता के लिये कुछ न कुछ सोचने के लिये हम को एक सेपरेट मिनिस्ट्री एक पृथक मंत्रालय कायम करना पड़ेगा । उसे आप कह सकते मिनिस्ट्री फार इंटर्नेशनल अडरस्टैंडिंग, मिनिस्ट्री फार बल्ड पीस थार वन वर्ल्ड कुछ भी कह सकते है । तो इस तरह की मिनिस्ट्री काय होनी चाहिए क्योंकि वन वर्ल्ड और प्रति रक्षा मंत्रालय इन दोनों का एक संबंध है इसलिये मैं यह कह रहा हूँ । (व्यवधान)

सभापति महोदय माननीय सदस्य वन वर्ल्ड गवर्नमेंट के लिये बाल रहे है ।

श्री शंकर बेब हिन्दुस्तान विश्व का एक अंग है यह मैं पहले क' चुका हूँ इसलिये हिन्दुस्तान को भी इस के ऊपर गंभीरता से सोचना पड़ेगा । अगर हिन्दुस्तान इस के अंदर इनीशिएटिव ले सकता है तो यूनाइटेड नेशंस की भी गवर्न कर सकता है यूनाइटेड नेशंस को भी गाइड कर सकता है ।
United Nations is United Nations of nations like India and other nations.
सेपरेट मिनिस्ट्री नहीं हो सकती तो एक छोटी सी राय में पेश कर सकता हूँ जिस को माननीय प्रति रक्षा मंत्री नोट करे । वह यह है कि हम ने नेशनल इटीग्रेशन कोसिल बनाई । इसी बसिस पर एक छोटी सी इंटरनेशनल इटीग्रेशन कोसिल हो जाय । नेशनल इटीग्रेशन कोसिल जिस तरह से सारे हिन्दुस्तान के अंदर नेशनल सालिडैरिटी लाने का प्रयत्न करती है उसी तरह ने (व्यवधान)
मैं सिर्फ इतना ही अत में कहना चाहता हूँ कि अगर डिफेंस के खर्चों को कम करना है या खत्म करना है तो कम से कम इंटर नेशनल इटीग्रेशन कोसिल को बना कर के कुछ न

[श्री शंकर देव]

कुछ काम किया जाये तो अवश्य ही यह मिशन हमारे आसपास के जितने देश है उन में विश्व प्रेम, भ्रातृत्व भावना और गुडविल मिशन को ले कर जा सकता है और उन में भ्रातृत्व भावना ज्यादा बढ़ेगी तो जाहिर है कि हमारे डिफेंस के खर्च कम हो सकते हैं और खत्म भी हो सकते हैं। नहीं तो अगर शत्रु को ही बढ़ाते चले जाएंगे तो हम तो यही समझेंगे कि पहले जमाने में जो जंगली लोग थे वह लोग ककड़ों और पन्थरों में लड़ते थे आज के जमाने में बड़े बड़े शस्त्रों में लड़ते हैं तो वह लोग छोटे जंगली लोग थे, यह बड़े जंगली लोग हैं, इतना हमें कहना। इन शब्दों के साथ मैं प्रति रक्षा मंत्री में यह कहूंगा कि इस के ऊपर भा वह साचे। मैं न जो कुछ भी कहा वह इसी दृष्टि से कहा है कि नेशनल रेनिम पर सोचते हुए आप इन्टरनेशनल प्रवाइड आफ व्य को भी अपने दिमाग में रखें और उस के ऊपर भी सोचें। इस से अधिक और कुछ नहीं हो सकता कि वन वर्ल्ड गवर्नमेंट हो जाये। मैं इतना भी कहते हुए आप के विचारों को वृद्ध करना चाहता हूँ। यह हमारा नशन ही नेशन नहीं है। जब तक कि विश्व एक न हो जाये क्यों कि विश्व का ही एक हिस्सा हिन्दुस्तान है, विश्व को आप पहचान रखिए, उन के बाद नेशन को, इन शब्दों के साथ मैं सभापति महोदय का धन्यवाद देना हूँ कि बहुत ही शान्ति के साथ मुझे बोलने की अनुमति दी।

SHRI SURENDRA MOHANTY (Kendrapara) Mr. Chairman, Sir, during the discussion on the Demands for Grants of the Defence Ministry so many high falutin praises have been showered on the achievements of the Indian army in Bangladesh that I do not wish to add my quota to it lest it would be considered superuous. But the entire credit for it has been exclusively claimed by Field Marshal Manekshaw in such a sweeping manner that all the contributions of the people, the Indian Army

and the Government of India have been completely overlooked. Field Marshal Manekshaw is on record to have said that had he opted for Pakistan the result of the Indo-Pakistan war would have been otherwise

AN HON MEMBER. That was a joke

SHRI SURENDRA MOHANTY No self-respecting Field Marshal of a country should indulge in such kind of silly jokes. A report says

"A high Defence source laughed away the Field Marshal's remark about India's likely defeat in the event of Sam Manekshaw's commanding the Pakistani Army and said the report itself made it clear the Field-Marshal was talking in a lighter vein"

Whether he was speaking in a lighter vein, whether in levity or in seriousness, my submission is that no self-respecting Field Marshal of a country should indulge in such kind of levity. I wish the Minister here to record his displeasure at such kind of statements. We cannot afford to have such kind of Field Marshals who, in a kind of narcissistic indulgence carry these jokes too far

There is another matter I wish to invite the attention of the House to before I come to offer my remarks on the budget proper, and it is this. Of late, it seems, our defence organisation has become so lax that our operational plans even during the war are being known much in advance of the date of the action. In this context, I would invite the attention of the hon. Minister to a talk which the ex-Defence Secretary, Shri Rao, delivered on "India's

defence policy organisation since Independence" where he is reported to have said:

"As you know, in Delhi, more secrets have, or at least had, a habit of leaking out at the top." Mr. Rao went on to say that the plan had travelled. To his utter surprise he received a phone call on behalf of the President enquiring whether our troops had gone into action on the Amritsar front according to the 'top secret' plan.

This is how top secret plans are leaking from the defence organisation. It pains one to consider how our defence organisation has come to this coffee club status where top secret operational plans are being released to the press and the politicians. In that context I would like the hon. Minister to throw some light, whether the Government accepts what their ex-Defence Secretary has said or they disown it.

Coming to the Report, it suffers from a defect paucity of facts relating to the arms of our defence in the name of secrecy. This kind of secrecy inhibits Parliament from getting a correct view of our Defence establishment or a realistic appraisal of our Defence Plan. For instance it is known that Pakistan is now acquiring the British Chieftain tank which is the best tank comparable with the American M. 60. Pakistan is acquiring this tank through Iran. The other day the Minister of Defence Production Shri Shukla had announced in this House that a new tank was in the offing. I searched in vain through the report to find a glimpse of this but I do not find any mention about it. If I look through this report to know if we have got enough anti-tank mines this report does not provide any answer. My submission is that unless Parliament knows the real extent of our Defence preparedness, our inadequacies, how are we going to have a Defence Plan and

how are we going to contribute in any way towards the formulation of such a Defence Plan? Therefore, my submission is that our report henceforth should not suffer from such kind of inadequacy in the name of society. The whole Press is full of stories relating to the Defence Establishment and military hardwares. The minutest details relating to our Defence forces are being published in so many journals. These throw much light on this topic but not the Report which is being presented to Parliament.

Having said this, it should be said to the credit of the Government, we as a peace-loving nation, pledged to usher in democratic socialism, spend the least of our G.N.P. on Defence. The Report mentions that India's expenditure on Defence in 1970 was computed at 3.4 per cent. In 1972-73 also we had maintained almost the same proportion. For a comparative analysis, I am quoting the following figures of Defence expenditure by other Asian countries. It will be seen that India is spending the least.

China's budget is never known. But according to the observers of Chinese Military Affairs, China is spending 10 per cent of G.N.P. on its Defence forces. Indonesia having no defence commitments of as extensive nature as that of India is spending 43 per cent of G.N.P. on its Defence forces. Pakistan is spending 42 per cent, Japan is spending 9.50 per cent whereas we are hardly spending 3 per cent of our G.N.P. on our Defence establishments.

While this is a correct policy, and valuable resources ought not to be spent on unproductive hardwares and a ceiling should be fixed on our Defence expenditure, it should be our endeavour within our limited resources to increase the tail to teeth ratio of our Defence organisation. But when we look at the Report, what do we find? The narrations are completely opposed to the orientation.

[Shri Surendra Mohanty]

Here we find on page 11 of the Report:

"The greater part of the outlay on Defence is taken up by such fixed commitments as pay, allowances, accommodation, transport and maintenance. The on going programmes also absorb a substantial amount. Only a small proportion of the budget is, therefore, available for new programmes and projects."

This is exactly my demand. While I quite appreciate that we must fix a ceiling on our defence expenditure and should spend as less of our GNP as possible on military hardware, we must see that it is put to real use and our tail to teeth ratio is increased. But on the other hand, we find that most of its expenditure goes for fattening the tail without sharpening the teeth. But in the wake of the post-Bangladesh developments, with the increasing aggressive posture of Pakistan encouraged by military aids from China, from USA, from Iran and may be from USSR, we must have a fresh look at the situation.

The Chief of Army Staff, Gen. G. S. Bewoor is on record to have said in an interview to Lok Raj in February, 1973:

"Despite the fact that the Indian Army is regarded strong, it did need weapons and improvement in training."

Now, I ask in all humility, with this kind of achievement, how are you going to improve training and how are you going to improve ordnance factories to produce new weapons?

In the wake of recent alarming reports on the rapid multi-dimensional increase in the naval strength of some of our neighbouring countries, the need for a versatile and powerful naval force becomes urgent and unavoidable. How are you going to

get it? Barring a few recent acquisitions, most of our Navy's ships have already served enough time and have already done enough service to join the mothball fleet. Our VIKRANT, the pride of our Navy is 12 years old. Her weaponry have become obsolescent, if not obsolete. DELHI is 42 years old—old enough to find a place in a naval museum. Even 'MYSORE' is 16 years old. We need destroyers and anti-aircraft frigates and anti-submarine frigates which have become antiquated.

Even our Air Force needs modernisation. According to military observers:

"If the Pakistan Air Force continues modernising at its current pace, while we confine our response to a few score replacement aircraft, by 1975, the P.A.F. will nearly surpass the I.A.F. in capability."

Technological progress being what it is, conventional weapons are getting out of date every day and it is possible we are found wanting in certain weapons and equipments in relation to our adversary. In that context, a thorough study of our weaponry vis-à-vis Pakistan Army based on the experiences of 1971 war must be undertaken.

I am reminded, on the eve of retirement of Field Marshal Manekshaw, the Chief of Army Staff had said in his own words that "some of the fat of the Army should be shedded." I do not know what he meant by shedding of the fat. Perhaps, he referred to the reorganisation of Indian Army in the context that the tail to teeth ratio bears no relation.

Therefore, while it will be a patriotic duty to support these Demands, I would only beg of the hon. Minister not to be complacent and not to rest on his oars of achievements in Bangladesh but to really modernise Indian Army so that it emerges as a force not only for meeting aggression but also for ensuring peace.

श्री अमरनाथ बिश्वालंकार (बडीगढ़) : सभापति महोदय, मुझे इस बात की ख़ुशी है कि डिफेंस के बजट पर जो श्री बक्ता बोले हैं, चाहे कांग्रेस पार्टी की तरफ से या अपोजीशन की तरफ से, उनकी काफी कास्ट्रक्टिव एप्रोच रही है। वह जो एक तरीका होता था हर एक बात को बुरा बताने का, उसकी इस्तेमाल नहीं किया गया है। मैं समझता हूँ इस प्रकार का यह पहला मौका है जिसके लिए हमारे रक्षा मंत्री और हमारे रक्षा उत्पादन मंत्री मुबारकबाद के मुस्तहक हैं।

रक्षा का मवाल एक बहुत बड़ा सवाल है और काफी पेचीदा है। हम अब तक बहुत कुछ विचार करते रहे हैं कि पाकिस्तान से हमारा विरोध है, हमारी दृष्टि ज्यादातर उधर जाती है या कुछ चाइना की तरफ जाती है। इसमें कोई शक नहीं कि पाकिस्तान के साथ पिछले दिनों में जैसा हमारा विरोध रहा और जैसा अब भी चल रहा है, उससे पाकिस्तान की सीमा पर काफी खतरा है तथा चाइना के सम्बन्ध में भी हमारे दिल में काफी आशकाये हैं। लेकिन हमें रक्षा मन्त्रालय की रक्षा के सम्बन्ध में एक नीति अपनाते हुए जो एशिया का एक राजनीतिक स्तर है, जो राजनीतिक चित्रपट है उसके ऊपर ज्यादा विस्तार से विचार करना चाहिए और हमें उसी दृष्टि से अपनी रक्षा की नीति अपनानी चाहिए। इसमें एक बात बहुत साफ हो रही है जो नजर नहीं आती है कि हमारी किस्ती भी इच्छाये हो, हम किस्ती ही चाहते हो कि हम भारत के इस उपमहाद्वीप में शांति स्थापित कर सकें और उसके लिए हमें प्रयत्न जारी रखने चाहिए, इससे मैं सहमत हूँ लेकिन ऐसा नजर आ रहा है, स्पष्ट रूप से नजर आ रहा है कि दुनिया की कुछ ताकतें इस बात पर तुली हुई हैं कि भारतीय उपमहाद्वीप में शांति नहीं होने देगे। इस समय जो नीति पाकिस्तान में अपनाई जा रही है, अमरीका और कुछ

दूसरे देशों की तरफ से जो हथियार दिए जा रहे हैं और इस बल की कोशिश की जा रही है कि इतने हथियार पाकिस्तान को दिये जाये कि वह पूरी तरह से हथियारबंद हो जाये और एक पैरिटी स्थापित हो जाये। उसके आस पास के देशों को भी हथियार दिए गए हैं, भूमाल के तौर पर यह कोशिश है कि ईरान में इतने हथियारों की सामग्री इकट्ठा कर दी जाये कि उससे पाकिस्तान को भी मदद मिले और यदि आवश्यक हो तो एशिया के दूसरे देशों में भी उनको इस्तेमाल किया जा सके। अमरीका की यह एक बहुत ही खतरनाक नीति है। इसलिए हमें भी अपनी डिफेंस की नीति बनते हुए इस बात को ध्यान में रखना है कि दुनिया के यह देश जो एक तरह की गूटबन्दी कर रहे हैं और हमारे लिए रक्षा की समस्याओं को पेचीदा कर रहे हैं उसका हमें मुकाबला करना है। उस दृष्टि से मैं समझता हूँ मेरे मित्र शंकर देव जी ने विश्व शांति और विश्व एकता का उल्लेख किया है। वह बहुत अच्छी बात है और हम उस नीति पर चलते रहे हैं उनको हम पसन्द करते हैं लेकिन दुनिया में जो रियलिटीज़ हैं उनको सामने रखते हुए और देखते हुए हमें उन बातों के लिए तैयार होना पड़ेगा। इस समय जो हमारा रक्षा का बजट बहुत ज्यादा नहीं है वह और ज्यादा बढ़ता जाये उसके लिए भी हमें तैयार रहना पड़ेगा और जो हमारी रक्षा की तैयारियां हैं उनमें किसी प्रकार की कजूसी या भित-व्ययिता नहीं रखनी होगी। इस मामले में कजूसी को छोड़ कर पूरी तरह से हमें तैयारी रखनी पड़ेगी।

इस दृष्टि से हम देखते हैं हमारे रक्षा मन्त्रालय का जो कुल बजट है उसका 60 फीसदी हमारी थल सेना, हमारी आर्मी के लिए है, एयर फोर्स के लिए केवल 20 फीसदी है और नौवी के लिए केवल 5 फीसदी है। एक जमाना था जब हम ज्यादातर या पकी

[श्री अमरनाथ विधानकार]

थल सेना को मजबूत करने थे । आज भी उसकी आवश्यकता है और महत्व है जिसकी हम कम नहीं कर सकते क्योंकि हमारे देश की एक विशेष स्थिति है और जो हमारा बार्डर है वह बहुत लम्बा चौड़ा है । उसके लिए हमारी थल सेना की आवश्यकता तो है ही साथ ही साथ जो हमारा समुद्री बार्डर है वह भी बहुत लम्बा चौड़ा है जिसके लिए हमें बहुत बड़ी नेवी की भी आवश्यकता है । नेवी के लिए पूरे बजट में केवल 5 फीसदी दिया गया है जबकि हम देखते हैं कि हमारा देश तीन तरफ से समुद्र से घिरा हुआ है तथा कई दूसरे देश इस बात की कोशिश कर रहे हैं कि अपना समुद्र में इन्फ्लूएन्स लायें । जिस समय हमारा पाकिस्तान के साथ युद्ध हो रहा था उस समय जिस प्रकार अमरीका अपना सातवा बड़ा लाया था उसमें आगे आने वाली आशनाओं का हमें संकेत मिलता है । ऐसी दशा में हमें सचेत होना चाहिए और इस बात का विशेष प्रयत्न करना चाहिए कि हमारी जो नेवी है वह हममें भी ज्यादा मजबूत हो । अभी जैसा कि श्री इन्द्रजीत गुप्त ने कहा कि ईरान के शाह ने इस बात को कहा है कि हमारा फ्रिटियर जो है वह इंडियन ओशन तक है । इसलिए जो हम चाहते हैं, अगर मागर में शांति स्थापित की जायें, उस शांति को वे स्थापित होना देना नहीं चाहते हैं । इसलिए हमारे लिए मजबूरी हो जाती है कि हम अपनी नेवी को और ज्यादा मजबूत करें ।

साथ ही साथ हमें अपनी एयर फोर्स को भी मजबूत करना है । इस दृष्टि से मैं समझता हूँ एयर फोर्स और नेवी पर जो परसेन्टेज रखा गया है, हमारे कुल रक्षा बजट का वह कुछ इम्बैलैन्स है और उसको बढ़ाने की जरूरत है । मैं इस बात से तो सहमत हूँ और मुझे प्रसन्नता भी है कि हम बहुत तेजी से तरक्की कर रहे हैं । यह कहना

तो बहुत आसान है जैसा कि कल कुछ लोगों ने कहा कि जो भी कुछ होना चाहिए उससे कम हुआ है लेकिन हमें देखना चाहिए कि कहां से हम चले थे और कहा तक हम पहुंचे हैं तथा कहा तक पहुंचना है । इस दृष्टि से मैं समझता हूँ हमारे देश की प्रगति काफी तेज है । इसमें एक बड़ी बात यह है कि जनता का भरोसा बड़ा है, हमारा रक्षा मंत्रालय, और हमारी सेनाएं काफी सज्ज हैं, सचेत हैं, काफी मजबूत हैं । आज देश में एक आत्म-विश्वास पैदा हुआ है कि दुनिया का कोई देश या कोई ताकत यदि हम पर आक्रमण करना चाहे तो हम उसका पूरा मुकाबला कर सकते हैं । इस बात को हमें खुशी है । लेकिन साथ-साथ हमारे देश में कुछ ऐसे विरोधी दल भी हैं जो गलत प्रोपेगैंडा करने हैं लोगों में अशका उत्पन्न करते हैं कि हमारे यहां कुछ नहीं हो रहा है, हम बहुत कमजोर हैं, हम हार जायेंगे । जनमघ और कुछ दूसरी पार्टिज के नाग दस प्रकार के हैं । मैं समझता हूँ उनको दस बात में सचेत होना चाहिए और इस प्रकार का वातावरण देश में उत्पन्न नहीं करना चाहिए जिससे लोगों का हौसला कमजोर हो । यह चीज देश के लिए बड़ी खतरनाक है । यह दर्शनाह है । इसके खिलाफ देश में हमें हौसला पैदा करना चाहिए, देश में आत्मविश्वास पैदा करना चाहिए कि हमारा देश बहुत मजबूत है ।

हमारे देश को जो आडिनम फीकटरीज है वह काफी अच्छा काम करनी है । पिछले युद्ध में जिस प्रकार से, हमारी सेनाओं के जो तीन अंग हैं उनका आपस में कोऑर्डिनेशन हुआ वह बहुत ही अच्छे में डालने वाला है । सारी दुनिया को उसने अच्छे में डाला । इसलिए जो हमारी रक्षा नीति है उसको और आगे बढ़ाते हुए उसकी भावना को हमें कायम रखना है और ऐसी कोऑर्डिनेटेड पालिसी बनानी है जिससे तीनों जो हमारे अंग हैं वह आपस में मिलकर अच्छी तरह से

काम कर सके तथा हमारी रक्षा नीति और भी सुदृढ़ हो सके। मैं खास तौर पर इस बात की ओर ध्यान दिलाना चाहता हूँ कि जहाँ हम बहुत कुछ सामान तैयार कर रहे हैं उससे मैं सहमत हूँ और मुझे इस बात की खुशी है कि हमारी प्रधान मंत्री ने बार बार विश्वास दिलाया है, इस बात को इम्प्रेस किया है कि हमें सेल्फ-एफीसिएन्सी चाहिए, हमें आत्म-निर्भरता चाहिए, वह एक बहुत बड़ी चीज है और उसने हमारे देश के मागेल को बहुत ज्यादा बढ़ाया है। मैं समझता हूँ कि सबसे ज्यादा आत्मनिर्भरता डिफेंस में उत्पन्न की जा रही है और यह कर्नी भी चाहिए, लेकिन मैं चाहता हूँ कि जो सामान तैयार होता है उसमें स्पेयर के लिए विशेष काम करना चाहिए। थोड़ा सा हमें ऐसा आश्रम होता है कि काफी सख्या में स्पेयर को तैयार करने की जो योजना है उसमें कहीं न कहीं थोड़े से गैम्स हैं जिनका पूरा करने की आवश्यकता है।

बैस तो बहुत मारी बात बहने के लिए है लेकिन एक बात मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि डिफेंस वा जो हमारा काम है उस काम को तो वह करता ही है और आगे भी करेगा लेकिन उसके साथ साथ यह जरूरी बात है कि हमारी इंडस्ट्रियल बेस भी बनें। कोई भी देश तब तक तरक्की नहीं कर सकता है जब तक कि उसकी इंडस्ट्रियल बेस न हो टेक्नालाजिकल बेस न हो। इसी तरह में पेट्रोकेमिकल्स है मेटालर्जी, और दूसरी ब्रांचें हैं उनमें भी काफी तरक्की होनी चाहिए। मैं चाहता हूँ कि दूसरे जो मंत्रालय हैं वह भी डिफेंस के साथ पूरी तरह से कोऑर्डिनेट करे ताकि इन चीजों में भी तरक्की हो सके। टेक्निकल ट्रेनिंग को भी कोऑर्डिनेट करना चाहिए। मैं महसूस करता हूँ कि इस कोऑर्डिनेशन की हमारे देश में बहुत आवश्यकता है और इस तरफ बहुत ज्यादा ध्यान देना चाहिए।

जिस समय लड़ाई चलती है, उस समय तो सिविल डिफेंस की बहुत

जरूरत महसूस की जाती है और उस की बहुत चर्चा होती है, लेकिन जब लड़ाई न हो रही हो, तो उस समय हम सिविल डिफेंस को भूल जाते हैं और उसके लिए कोई तैयारी नहीं करते हैं। मैं चाहता हूँ कि लड़ाई के वक्त हम जो भावना उत्पन्न करते हैं और सिविल डिफेंस के लिए बिना तरह की तैयारी करते हैं, उसको शान्तिकाल में भी जारी रखना चाहिए और इस सम्बन्ध में योजनाएँ बनानी चाहिए।

फील्ड मार्शल मानेकशाह द्वारा कही गई कुछ बातों के बारे में यहाँ चर्चा हुई है। यह इस बात की निशानी है कि हमारे मिलिटरी आफिसरों में जो भावना है, वह आम लोगों की भावना में बिल्कुल भिन्न है और हमारे मिलिटरी आफिसरों देश की भावनाओं में बिल्कुल अछूते पड़े हुए हैं। जो आफिसर जनता की भावना और जमाने की स्पिरिट को समझता है, वह इस प्रकार की बात नहीं कह सकता है। इसलिए इस बात की आवश्यकता है कि हमारी सेना में डेमाग्रेटिक स्पिरिट को लाया जाये और हमारे मिलिटरी के लोगों की भावनाओं को आम जनता की भावनाओं के मताधिक बनाने की कोशिश की जाये। यह बहुत बड़ा काम है और इस की बहुत आवश्यकता है। रक्षा मंत्रालय को इस दिशा में कदम उठाना चाहिए।

डिफेंस इंडस्ट्रीज में जो आफिसरों काम करते हैं, उनमें भी अफमरशाही या नौकरशाही की भावना नहीं होनी चाहिए, बल्कि उन में यह भावना हो कि वे वर्कर्स के साथ काम करने वालों के साथ, मीठे सम्बन्ध स्थापित करें। यह हमारी रक्षा नीति का एक आवश्यक अंग होना चाहिए। इस के बिना हमें काफी कठिनाइयों का सामना करना पड़ेगा।

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

SHRI C. M. STEPHEN (Muvat-tupuzha): Mr. Chairman, Sir, I rise to speak on the Demands for Grants relating to the Ministry of Defence.

Sir, it is not possible for anybody to approach this subject with a sense of levity or in a sense of light-heartedness, or in a spirit of 'political sword-crossing'.

Recalling what had happened in the vital life-and-death confrontation of 1971, one is certainly inevitably overwhelmed with a feeling of heavy indebtedness for the great contributions that the Ministry of Defence and the Armed Personnel have made towards the preservation of the various democratic systems and the freedom of our country. Therefore, unlike when discussing the demands of other Ministries, I for one, am not inclined to refer to the performance of any particular personnel in the military cadre any matter relating to promotion or individual grievances, or to cast any aspersion on anybody which may hurt the sentiments of anybody.

Now, Sir, I am not going into the technical aspects of the Defence strategy. I think, these are matters in regard to which many of us are not certainly adepts, if I may say so; at any rate, I am not so. The technical aspects of the armoury to be used, the ammunition to be used, the equipments to be acquired etc. are all matters which can profitably be left to the experts to consider and to decide.

It is the overall view of the way the defence establishment and the defence endeavour are developing—that I am interested in the political assessment of the whole thing. When I come to that the first question that arises is whether there is a need for a massive defence effort. On this point I respectfully differ from the approach I found in the speeches of the spokesmen of CPM and CPI. The spokesmen of the CPM went to the extent of saying there is no danger of

attack on this country and, therefore, there need be no concerted effort for defence strengthening. My friend, Mr. Indrajit Gupta, though he did not spell out in these terms, put forth a question: Why should we concentrate on this so much and whether or not things which happened in the course of last year have altered the picture so much so that we should change our defence strategy, and mentioned, particularly, the Indo-Soviet Treaty. He said things have considerably changed and, as such, we can take an arm-chair attitude.

I would like to say that I entirely differ from that approach—an approach whereby you consign the interests of defence to any other country, however, friendly it may be and to take an attitude in the fortuitous circumstances of the other being properly behaving and we, therefore, need not be very much prepared. It is a highly suicidal attitude which we cannot afford to take.

During the days of friendship with China when we were saying 'Hindi-Chini Bhai Bhai' nobody expected that there would be an onslaught from the Chinese side. In the first chapter it has been spelt out in detail as to how the contours of the international sphere are such as should put us on the alert. We find Pakistan is arming and more divisions are being equipped. Bangladesh, of course, is a friendly nation at the time, but that does not mean we should not be prepared. China in spite of our persuasion is arming itself considerably and is not giving any intention of going to be friendly with us. The politics of Indian ocean and the rivalry between the nations is not something which is likely to put us on the case. Therefore, taking everything into consideration it is absolutely necessary for this country, which in the course of the last 25 years had to pass through five wars, to be on the alert and to pay any price for that in order that a national humiliation may not be inflicted on us. It is from that side that I am approaching this question. When

anybody gives a counsel of the country being able to remain unaware, as the CPM spokesman did, my humble submission is that it is a counsel of defeatism and danger to the nation. The philosophy which says that a socialist country cannot attack and, therefore, even if it is an attack it will not be an attack because it is a socialist country, this is a philosophy which we have to throw down to the limb of contempt

Approaching this question like this the Demand of Rs. 1,700 crores on the Defence side is something which nobody will grudge to vote for, and voting for this Demand is to compliment the Ministry for the way the affairs of Defence have been pursued. This is something new which is perceptible in the approach

If one would go through the report of the Ministry, one would find that there is in the first place an integrated approach, with external policy on the one side, defence preparedness and defence strategy on the other and internal industrial development on the third side, all the three aspects getting integrated and being viewed as part of the same pattern. This is an integrated approach, and again for the first time, we find a planned approach to the whole thing and a projected plan for the future and preparation within the resource, available. I do not want to say anything more than that on this.

One important aspect on which I would particularly comment is the effort that is being made for indigenisation of our services and for making our services and the ordnance side of it self-sufficient. Here, I must particularly compliment the Ministry. One cannot but read with a certain measure of thrill when the report says that 1971-72 and 1972-73 have placed the record in the matter of ordnance production, with about 1,15,000 workers and with a production to the tune of about Rs. 177 crores worth of material. The report also points out that certain factories have accounted for

their full capability and have even exceeded that in some cases. During 1971-72 the production has gone up to the extent of about 15 per cent and then during the next year it has gone up by 200 per cent. This is a matter on which we have got to give every credit to the Ministry and the Administration which has accomplished this, along with this, we have also to give complete credit and acclamation to the workers who carried out this magnificent job in the defence of this country

Therefore, we are proceeding to the stage of self-sufficiency in this matter. A variety of materials is being produced here, and an effort is being made to rely less and less on foreign supplies and more and more on our own endeavour and on our own research capability.

On the research side, we find expansion being effectuated, and innovations being attempted. An attempt is being made to equip every factory with research capabilities and complete cohesion and coordination is being attempted. This line must be proceeded with further with complete augmentation and vigour. That is the submission that I have got to make.

Again, the coordination that we found in the war between the three wings of the Defence Forces, namely the Army, Navy and Air Force gave us certain lessons, and certainly one cannot ignore the importance of developing the naval wing of our defence apparatus and also the aerial wing. It is gratifying to note that every effort is being made to strengthen them also.

There are one or two more points to which I would like to draw the attention of the House. One has already been dealt with in detail here, and that is about Mr. Manekshaw. I do not want to refer to him in person, but there is a principle which is coming up. This is not the first time when such a thing has happened. Military personnel retire and the moment they retire,

[Shri C. M. Stephen]

they start behaving as if they are free from any inhibition and they can reveal the secrets or things which they came in contact with when they were in service. I would like to ask whether this is permissible or not. That is the question that we have got to deal with.

SHRI SHYAMNANDAN MISHRA (Begusarai): But what secrets has he revealed?

SHRI C. M. STEPHEN: The question is whether Government would have permitted Mr. Manekshaw to make the sort of statement which he had made if he were in service. Secondly, if he would not have been permitted to make that statement, and it was not permissible for him to make that kind of statement when in service, then merely because he has retired from service, is it permissible for him to make it? This is the question that we have got to deal with. We have got experience of other military officers in the past also coming out with books or coming out with revelations about things which they had come in contact with when they were in service. Even after retirement, a military person is known by the title he holds, whether it be Captain, Brigadier, Lt. Col. and so on, and, therefore, it is a matter of propriety for the military personnel themselves and it is a matter of self-discipline for themselves rather than a matter of some discipline to be inflicted by the civil authority. If it develops to an extent when the civil authority will have to impose its disciplinary check, that restraint will have to be exercised. Sufficient has been read from the statement of Manekshaw. A plea was made that it was done in levity, in a light-hearted vein. Light-heartedness is something which may be accepted from somebody, but not from the Field Marshal of India. And this too to a foreign journal. I have absolute objection to the way he dealt with it.

Therefore, we have got to approach this on a question of principle. I am

only placing it before the Ministry to be dealt with as a matter of principle. The matter of promotion, how promotion was barred by somebody being put above him—these are the things he has said after he retired.

I want only to say one thing that when Manekshaw retired, he retired with the goodwill, blessings and acclamation of the people of India. But he has torn to pieces and tatters those sentiments of admiration, acclamation and appreciation of the people of India by this cheap statement he made to a foreign journal. This is not a joke. This long statement running into pages cannot be a joke.

SHRI SHYAMNANDAN MISHRA: Do you want them to live of an abnormal life full of tension even after retirement?

SHRI C. M. STEPHEN: It is not a question of an abnormal life; it is a question of discipline.

Every year, 60,000 people are discharged or retired from the services. What is to happen to them? Some resettlement is being attempted and all that. But I would submit that their services have got to be utilised to the maximum. Retirement of 60,000 every year means you are recruiting in their place an equal number. Therefore, those posts which might have been available to the civilians who may be aspiring for jobs must be made available to them. To bring about a situation when they serve for 10 and 15 years and in the thirties of their lives get discharged and have to fend for themselves in the streets without the prospect of being absorbed is a cruelty against we have to evolve some measure. Their rehabilitation and involvement in the national effort is a question to which we have to address ourselves.

Quite a lot of effort has been made to popularise the services and to popularise the image of the military before the country through public relations efforts and exhibitions being

arranged. To make the services dearer to the people and the people dearer to them is a very vital thing in a democratic set-up. It is also absolutely essential to make the people defence-conscious. For that I would suggest that there be more exhibitions throughout the country displaying the advances we have made so that the people may become conscious of it. An attempt was made in Asia 1972 which was a tremendous success. We saw how people were gathering in large numbers to witness it. It must be done on an all-India basis.

Lastly, about the territorial army. The civil forces must be made the maximum use of. Let it be so phased that when an emergency arises, it is not only the men in arms on whom the nation can count but the millions of people who have had a training at some time or other who could be summoned to defend the nation. It is on these lines that the Territorial Army should be developed in the factories, fields and villages in a large measure, so that we could count on these millions having a primary and elementary training to be at the service of the nation in times of need.

With these words, I again place on record my appreciation of the services rendered by the services and the clever husbanding that was done by the Ministry headed by Babuji, and wish them to go ahead with it.

16 hrs.

SHRI PRAVINSINH SOLANKI (Anand): Mr. Chairman, Sir, this year the defence budget has touched Rs. 1,700 crores. Once upon a time it was Rs. 200 crores. It has never been objected to by Parliament. In fact, whenever the Defence Ministry demanded a higher amount, it has been sanctioned by the ruling party as well as fully supported by the Opposition also, because we all feel that it is a primary need for defence, and whatever amount they have demanded we have given it to them. But I feel that Rs. 1,700 crores is a lot of money. And

if we streamline our defence department, we can easily save Rs. 150 crores to Rs. 200 crores. Some of the experts are also of this view, and I think they have expressed their opinion at various meetings that a saving of Rs. 150 to Rs. 200 crores can be made.

Today's speeches were of different kind. Some Members said that there is a world community and we would not even require an army. As for myself, as a proud Indian, I would like to have a very, very strong army for our nation.

AN HON MEMBER: Shame.

SHRI PRAVINSINH SOLANKI: It is not a shame in having a powerful army which will safeguard our country and the country's interests. In fact, in this modern power politics, there are five great powers—the USA, the USSR, China, Western Europe and Japan. Japan is an economic giant. But we in India are feeling the isolation. This isolation, the USSR is also facing. We are not a major power as far as military is concerned. Economically also we have our own problems.

I would not mind if our name is added in the list of five. Why should we not be one of the big five? We should try for that position. Recently somebody mentioned about the USSR and India treaty. I have nothing against that treaty. Actually, it was a necessary thing, because the western powers were, out with their silly policies, were avoiding us, and they were trying to take advantage of our position. All the time they went on helping Pakistan, and in that condition, this treaty was a welcome thing. But as Mr. Stephen said, the more we become dependent upon ourselves the better it is. The time will come when self-reliance in the matter of defence will be a necessity, because we do not know how the world current changes. Today, one may be our friend, but tomorrow one may be our enemy. So, it is better to be dependent on our own resources which we have already, and we should try a little harder; we will then, I think, become self-reliant in the field of defence.

[Shri Pravinsinh Solanki]

One thing more I want to say and that is about the co-ordination between the Defence Ministry and Ministry of External Affairs. After all, defence is correlated with the Ministry of External Affairs and foreign policy. If there is co-ordination. I would like to know from the hon. Defence Minister whether he is satisfied with the present co-ordination or he would perhaps like to have a little more co-ordination in this.

Another point that I want to raise here is, we would like to know some thing about defence production. Recently, at one function, our Minister of Defence Production announced that we are going to manufacture the MBT tank, that is, the main battle field tank, and that it might come up during 1980. It will be a powerful tank and a very, very useful tank. But besides this, we know very little about what other products we are making.

Some people raised doubts that we should not disclose military secrets. But, I assure you that other people and other countries of the world know much more about ourselves than what we know. We read many journals about U.S.A., U.S.S.R.'s military strength. China's report is published and there is nothing secret there. I personally do not think this is a matter of top secret. We need not go to the babu's chamber to find out what is our defence potential—top not secret but bottom secret. We are having a perspective plan for 1980. There would be no harm if you put it in the next report. You publish what are the things which we are going to make; let us realise that. After all, out of that realisation, we will be able to help you in giving you more amounts for you if you so require.

I was very happy to learn that in the field of electronics, we are really making good progress. There was a report earlier which says that right from the current level of Rs. 185 crores we have to go upto Rs. 1,055 crores. If this is

the progress and if we can maintain this, I should say that we should achieve this target. Electronic is a very vital factor in our defence. We have to be careful about Iran which is becoming a military force. From our past experience we know that whenever Pakistan requires arms, if they do not get them directly from America, they get them from other sources—from Iran and other Muslim countries. They have helped Pakistan. It is likely that again if Pakistan needs any help, it will get it from Iran. To-day, in the present negotiations, Pakistan is going as a proxy to Iran. This may be a mutual understanding and their future policy.

Another thing that I would like to point out is this. Recently, the appointment of the Air Chief took place. And Shri O. P. Mehra become the Air Marshal. If you remember, in this House, the previous Defence Minister, Shri Krishna Menon, promoted Gen. Kaul out-of-turn. There was an up-rear in the Lok Sabha for this out-of-turn appointment. General Thimmayya had to resign. And Shri Menon was taken to task. Similarly another out-of-turn appointment was made in the case of Shri O. P. Mehra. I would like to ask whether he had over taken over the charge of Air Command. As far as my knowledge goes, he was brought from the H.A.L. charimanship to the Air Marshal while the other people who are in the seniority list—Air Marshal Shivdev Singh and Air Marshal M. Engineer, had taken active part in the last war. In fact Air Marshal Engineer was in charge of the western and eastern air commands during the last war. With such a service record and with such an ability, he has been bypassed and Shri O. P. Mehra has been promoted. Possibly, the decision was not entirely that of the Defence Minister. It was brought to the Prime Minister's Secretariat. Whatever it may be, this was an out-of-turn appointment and there are lots of stories about this. Parliament should take serious note of this. I wish this should be clarified at the earliest.

Another thing that I want to say in this House is that a few weeks back the Gurgaon firm problem was raised. A private individual has been given a land there. Considering the fact that the factory is very close to the air installation, it creates security risks and many people misunderstood the Defence Production Minister and he was even accused of misleading the House. But, I am sorry to say that the hon. Defence Minister observed golden silence at that time. I hope he would like to break that golden silence today.

The colonial pattern which we have in the army should also go—the officers' cadre and the jawans—particularly when there is more stress on equality and socialism etc. Conditions of jawans should be improved a little. Many people are still under the impression even inside the House that the jawans are now better off than before. It is not so. Whereas the officers retire at 52 or 58 years, the jawans who have been active on the battlefields retire at 35 and are thrown on the streets, with a meagre pension of Rs. 40 or Rs. 45. We are not helping the jawans to establish themselves in private capacity, while most of the senior officers who retire are immediately taken up in civilian service and they continue to receive a four figure salary with bungalow, car and other allowances. This wide gap in the army between the officers and the jawans should be narrowed down and jawans should be helped more.

Take even the present schemes the Defence Ministry has started. Take the allotment of land. I am receiving 4 to 5 letters daily from retired jawans in Gujarat that the Collectors are sitting over their applications and not a single jawan has been helped to obtain land. Maybe things are better in Rajasthan or Haryana. But in Gujarat, hundreds of applications are pending. This scheme was so much publicised that everybody entitled to apply applied for it. If the State Government is responsible for this, the Defence Ministry should intervene and stress

upon the State Government to release these lands as soon as possible.

Even in the matter of gas agencies, petrol pump allotment etc., influence counts more. The poor soldier, the wounded jawans, the war widow—they hardly know about it. Retired Majors and officers get it. I know some instances where Majors and Colonels have left active service because this was more lucrative and giving a steady income of Rs. 2000 from the gas agency or petrol pump.

THE MINISTER OF DEFENCE (SHRI JAGJIVAN RAM): Will you give some examples?

SHRI PRAVINSINH SOLANKI: Yes; I will write to you.

We are putting a lot of stress on technical advance. Defence has become a technical necessity. I do not know why ICS and IAS officers are allowed to hold the higher positions in the defence department. Can we not get technical staff to man those posts? Even in the HAL factory, pilots and regular military servicemen are utilised, as if we do not have any technical men to produce aeroplanes. This position should improve.

THE MINISTER OF STATE (DEFENCE PRODUCTION) IN THE MINISTRY OF DEFENCE (SHRI VIDYA CHARAN SHUKLA): Sir, the magnitude and variety of the activities of the Department of Defence Production have so far depended on the assessment of the threat pattern, potential or immediate and we have tailored our production capability on that basis. But the experience we have been having since the Chinese aggression points to the necessity of our evolving not only an integrated pattern of defence production, integrated with the common economic development of the country, but also to have a great deal of long-term thinking on defence production.

After the Simla Agreement we had all thought that we will enter into an era of comparative peace and non-

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disturbance on our borders. But the subsequent events in Pakistan and the attitude that has been taken by the authorities in Pakistan in raising several new infantry divisions and increasing the lethality of their armed forces to an alarming extent has forced us to think anew about the entire strategy. So, when we consider the needs of defence production in this House, we have to consider this in the background of what I have just now stated.

16.16 hrs.

[SHRIMATI SHEILA KAUL in the Chair]

The Report that has been presented to Parliament has given the figures of various items of defence production. It goes to the credit of all workers, officers and all those who are engaged in our Ministry in the work of defence production that without any significant addition in capital, man-power or any other thing of this kind, we have been able to increase production in our departmental defence factories and public sector defence undertakings to an all-time record. This was possible because of the devoted work of our workers and officers and also because of certain new improvements that we have evolved in our procedures and in our production techniques.

As the House knows, we have had many difficulties, particularly with regard to our departmental factories. These departmental factories are subject to the same constraints which are put on any government department. Therefore, while other production units go about free from interference from the UPSC or DGS&D, the defence ordnance factories have to function within these limitations. Still, they have been able to give a grand account of themselves and it is something about which we can all be proud of.

I would not take the time of the House by quoting figures which are already mentioned in the Report. But I would like to make one important point before I go into some salient details of our defence production and what we are planning for the future. A lot of people are prone to think that whatever money goes into defence production is not only inflationary but it is also always used for the armed forces of the country. It is true that we have established these undertakings mostly from the viewpoint of creating capability in our country to sustain the defensive equipment and defensive postures in our armed forces. We have created these to see that we do not have to depend on powers that influence many developing countries either by supplying defence equipments or by denying them. This is one aspect.

The other aspect that I want to emphasize is that a great portion of the production of our departmental defence factories as well as public sector defence undertakings go to fulfil the vital civilian needs in the country. As a matter of fact, in the last two years a major portion of the production that we had in the defence public sector undertakings went for civilian use, like, Bharat Earth Movers making heavy earth-moving machinery, Garden Reach Workshop making all kinds of things that were necessary. They were also necessary for Border Roads Organisation, like, road rollers air compressors and many things like that. Also, they were being supplied to meet the defence needs.

I could give examples of various items that are needed by the armed forces as well as by the civilian population. But the main point that I am making here is that all this is needed because in times when the tensions are mounting around us or the assessment is such which points to the greater defence preparedness, then the capacity that we have in our

defence production organisations could be immediately diverted from civilian needs to the defence needs of the country. Therefore, if anybody has this question-mark in his mind that if we are meeting the civilian needs from defence undertakings, why we need such large defence production installations, one reply is that we want this capacity to meet emergent needs. Secondly, for economic viability also we have to have undertakings of a certain size with certain economic production. So, whatever figures of production that you have seen in our Report not only contribute to the defence of the country in a very substantial manner but also in a greater manner contribute to the economic growth and economic well-being of the country.

Sir, the hon. Members who have been to "Asia '72 Defence Pavilion" might have marked a new slogan that we gave to ourselves, that is, "Security for Prosperity" and this we want to implement in a greater measure in our defence production schemes in future. Therefore, while on one hand, we ensure that our armed forces get all the sophisticated and conventional weaponry that they need for their proper and good functioning, we also want to see that we also contribute in a great measure to the economic well-being, economic progress and development of the country.

The tempo of defence production has been maintained mainly not only to make up our reserves but also to see that our workmen do not become unemployed or under-employed. We want to keep them and we want to use their talents, the capacity that they have developed and the expertise that they have got, to the maximum possible extent. This has to be done. Otherwise, as it happened after 1962 or 1965 aggression on us, we had to put good bulk of our defence workers on idle-time wages or we had to lay them off. This we do not want to do at present. Therefore,

our plans are to see that within the budgetary constraints that have been put on us in this Budget, we should re-arrange our priorities and our production in such a manner that we do not retrench any worker, that we do not lay off anybody and that we do not put them on idle-time wages. In certain cases, it has happened. But it is our constant endeavour to see that wherever this has taken place, we remove this and in future, we do not allow this kind of thing to take place.

However, I must warn the honourable House that the budgetary cuts that have been imposed on the Department of Defence Production would inevitably mean that we will have to rationalise our production in the coming years in such a way that whatever money has been allotted to us by the honourable House is properly utilised and is utilised to see that all the workmen and the capacity that we have is put to the maximum and optimum use.

I would like to say a few things about departmental factories which are popularly known as ordnance factories. Here we have found that not only the workers have been very devoted and very faithful to their factories and work but they have also been innovative. A good number of workers have suggested small changes in the equipment manufactured in these factories and we have found the changes suggested by the workmen very effective and very good. Therefore, we have decided, in principle, to set up design and development cells in all departmental factories under the Department of Defence Production. To begin with, we are setting up these cells in six major factories and slowly we shall set up these cells in all the factories, so that the workmen have incentive and the opportunity of not only offering their suggestions but also using their creative instinct and experience in improving the product that they manufacture.

[Shri Vidya Charan Shukla]

The second important thing that we have done to improve the working of our ordnance factories, particularly in the augmentation projects or expansion projects or new projects is to introduce the modern concept of project management. So far, in the departmental factories, this project management concept was not utilised, but now we have made a start with it and I am sure that this will not only cut down on the delays that used to be tagged on with all our expansion or augmentation projects and new projects but will also mean a good deal of efficiency in our work.

We have been more or less, self-reliant on the conventional weaponry side. But we have not rested with this achievement. It is a rat race which must be well run; otherwise, we will be left behind and no amount of achievement of the past can compensate for the carelessness in future. Therefore, with the help of our Research and Development organisation and with the help of our own expertise in the factories, we have been developing new products. The House well knows about the 105 mm Indian field gun that we have made. This project has been sanctioned and now we are in the process of setting up facilities for manufacturing the gun. While we are still setting up facilities to manufacture this gun, we have already started working on Mark-II version of the gun which will succeed the gun which is going to go into production. This is the way we are thinking into the future, so that we are ready and we keep pace with the rest of the world in all these vital equipment. This 105 mm. Indian field gun will replace the World War I Vintage 25 Pounder gun.

The Vehicle Factory at Jabalpur has been set to meet the requirements of army transport. Here we have

been manufacturing Shaktiman truck, the Nisan truck and the Jonga. The indigenous component in Shaktiman has increased in a very encouraging manner and it is gratifying. But I cannot say the same for Nisan and Jonga where we have to make still greater efforts to see that indigenisation takes place at a faster pace. Apart from this, we are planning to produce bigger vehicles which would be needed by our armed forces in future, and we are actually consulting the Ministry of Heavy Industries which are in charge of vehicle production in the country to see whether we can also use the facilities created in the Vehicle Factory, Jabalpur, to cater to the needs of civilian transport, civilian trucks. Here there is a great demand, and the projected demand is so heavy that unless we have an ambitious plan, a large plan, to produce these and also produce heavier vehicles which go up to ten tons, we will have to import these things in future. Therefore, to avoid the contingency, we are planning to increase the facilities in the Vehicle Factory, Jabalpur to meet these future requirements.

Then, regarding the Heavy Vehicle Factory at Avadi, some mention was made about the main battle tank by one of the hon. Members who spoke. As I have already said, our Research and Development organisation is actively planning about this and we are going into this and various projections have taken place and actually a paper had been produced which had been discussed in a seminar. So, this attempt is going on. At present our Vijayantha tank is quite capable of taking on any of the duties for the armoured corps but in future we want to have a tank to succeed it and we have got to work on that project well in advance, several years in advance, so that we have in our hands in the coming decade a tank which would be equal to the best in the world.

The indigenous component of the Vijayanta tank is 68 per cent but within the next five years we will make it 95 per cent indigenous. The five per cent component would be such that the indigenous manufacture of that particular component will not be economically feasible; the things required will be so little, the capital investment so heavy, that it would be more useful to import them and to store them rather than to make everything in our own country

Also, we have progressed a great deal in regard to the indigenous production capacity of our armoured personnel carriers. There has been a prototype produced in the Heavy Vehicles Factory and we have finally selected the engines and certain trials have taken place about which we are satisfied. We are in the process of finding a project team in regard to this project as soon as we get the Government sanction. And once this is got we will go in full steam on this project

While referring to Public Sector, it is better if I mention some of the achievements of these factories. Our public sector undertakings in 1971-72 produced goods worth Rs. 173 crores. Now the expected production,—with all the power-cuts and other budgetary constraints and so on, would be in 1973-74, to the tune of Rs. 251 crores. As I said earlier also, a majority of these things will go in for the economic development and prosperity of the country apart from a large chunk which will go to the armed forces.

I would like to mention the achievement of the HAL. Hon. Members might have read a few months back that the HAL had produced an agricultural aircraft which has been named as Basant, which is going to be used for agricultural spraying purposes. This is a plane which has been entirely conceived, designed and produced in India, by the HAL itself, within its own resources which are

limited. We have also undertaken the production of a new helicopter which is SA-315 which has been named as Cheetah meant for certain kinds of uses. We have now here also devised a system by which not only in terms of value, but in terms of items that are used in these products, these would become indigenous, within a time-limit, within a fixed time-frame. Of course, I will come to this point a little later.

But there are only one or two points which I would like to say specifically about the HAL. Grant has earned a name for itself. We took this plane for the first time to the International Air Show at Frankfurt. Kiran used as a jet trainer is produced entirely by HAL by its own effort. They made tremendous mark in the Air Show there. We received not only compliments from the leading aircraft manufacturers from the world over who had come to the Air Show but they were surprised to find that Indian aviation industry has begun to produce planes of this kind

Now, about Marut—HF 24—Some hon. Members wanted to know as to what is its future. This plane is a first-class plane but it has got certain draw-backs. At the time we are trying to remove those draw-backs and this plane has a very exciting future, and if our plans and efforts succeed we are sure this plane will play a very important part in our Air Force in the coming years.

An enquiry committee has been set up on the Avros. I would not like to say a lot about it, but I would like to mention that Avros have been functioning satisfactorily as far as the Indian Air Force are concerned. But we have to look to the future. Therefore, we have started an exercise of thinking about a new generation plane which will take the place of Avro in the years to come and which will, of course, be produced in the Kanpur Division of HAL. We

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will surely consult closely the Indian Airlines and we expect they will also use this new plane if and when it comes about—may be in 10 or 12 years. Avro has a certain life-span and after this, in order that we are not left out and we do not have to go in suddenly for some kind of emergent licence agreement, we have started thinking about it. I am sure we have got many many years to take a decision after careful consideration and consultations, and also weighing our requirements and the requirements of the Indian Airlines we will take a decision in time about this particular matter. It will be a successor to Avro. We have just embarked on this thinking. There is no plan. There is no negotiation. We held a meeting with the Ministry of Civil Aviation on this matter and both our experts and the experts from the Ministry of Civil Aviation are putting their heads together.

Now, coming to Mazgon Docks, we had the distinction of producing the first warship in our country recently 'Nilgiri' which is a sophisticated frigate which has been handed over to the Navy last year. The indigenous component in the first frigate itself was round-about 50 per cent and indigenisation cell for naval stores did a good work in trying to locate indigenous resources and giving us many of these stores which would otherwise had been imported.

Because of our insistence on indigenisation, the production and the fitting out time of the first frigate was a little long, but I think it was perfectly in national interest to do so, even though it took a little more time we used a good many indigenous components in the production of the first frigate. The next frigate which is going to be handed over to the Indian Navy, namely the *Himgiri* will have an even greater element of Indian-made components, and these

components are not small components; the main turbine and the main functioning parts of these frigates will be of Indian origin and made completely in India. There are a few things that we shall still have to take from other countries because of the economic constraints on account of which we cannot invest all that money to produce them here, but none-the-less it will be an entirely Indian effort.

The working results of our public sector undertakings have been very satisfactory. We have contributed a large profit to the national exchequer. Apart from Praga Tools and Bharat Dynamics which is a new undertaking, the six other defence public sector undertakings have been running at a profit and running with a good deal of efficiency. This is a very satisfactory state of affairs. They have been able to finance their own expansion in several cases, and we want them to become more and more self-sufficient and spend more money in their own in-house research and development.

1642 hrs

[MR DEPUTY-SPEAKER in the Chair]

Before I go into other matters, I would like to mention about our policy about the licence agreement and collaboration agreements. Even though this is a sad fact, it must be admitted that a good deal of our production at least in the sophisticated field still depends on licensed production.

We want to avoid this in the future, and the new policy that we have adopted is twofold. One is to see that what has been done in the past is not repeated and what has been done in the past is rectified in the future. The new policy is to see that wherever we have to take foreign technical help in the sophisticated field, we should take it in the form of a design and development agreement, and before the entire

know-how would come to us and we take it over, and we put our R & D on it straightway so that while the products are being manufactured in the country on the basis of the latest technical know-how that we have acquired, our R & D starts work on it for the Mark-II version and the future versions so that we do not have to depend on extension of collaboration and licence agreement in order to produce the later versions of the equipment which we produce under licence. So, we want to give up this policy of licensed production and collaboration agreements as far as possible. In a few cases, it might still be necessary, but as a matter of policy we want to go into, and we are going into, design and development agreements so that this era of licensed production and collaboration agreements which create trouble particularly during the periods of tension is over in defence production.

The next phase or the other part of this policy is that in regard to the old licence and collaboration agreements that we still have, we have told all our undertakings that there would be no automatic or no easy extension of those agreements. They have been asked to produce a time-bound programme of indigenisation and they have been told that they will have to indigenise the entire thing within that time, and unless we are convinced that it was absolutely impossible to do so, there would be no extension of the earlier agreement that had been entered into.

A few new projects have been mentioned in the report, and, therefore, I do not wish to take the time of the House on them. This is regarding the special alloy plant being set up in Kanpur to meet the requirements of the various ordnance factories, and another plant we are planning to set up in Hyderabad which will manufacture the super

alloys and futuristic alloys so necessary in the aviation, electronic and other sophisticated industries, for manufacture of rockets, missiles and things of that kind.

About personnel policy, we have been fortunate in having uniformly good relations with the workers. My thanks are due to Shri S. M. Banerjee and Dr. Melkote who head the two big unions of defence workers. They have been extremely co-operative throughout and we have had good relationship with our workers. There have been certain difficulties here and there, but we have been able to solve them with understanding and goodwill. This is extremely important; as a matter of fact, we insist that the managements must have absolutely good relations with our workers in defence undertakings.

As a matter of policy, we also want to give preference to the local people, where factories are located. As a matter of natural and social justice, if we get people with necessary qualifications and experience locally, they should be given preference. When it is a question of higher posts where local talents are not available, we can take anybody most suited for the job. But to ensure that there are no complaints on this score from the local people or the State Governments, we have issued a circular to all our undertakings to associate a representative of the State Government with the recruiting body so that everything is known to the State Government and everything is done in such a way that it does not create any regional tension or local difficulties.

In our public sector undertakings, we have also stressed the need for setting up in-house research and development facilities. This is being done not only to produce better products in future but also to indigenise the various things made there.

[Shri Vidya Charan Shukla]

I will now say a few words about the Garden Reach Workshop. It is one of the important undertakings in Bengal. This undertaking has contributed a good deal to the economic regeneration of Bengal. It has also given a good account of itself. It has made dredgers, tugs and many other ships for the first time in the country. It has taken over companies closed for several months. It has taken over another company which was in liquidation. A third company has been taken over to expand its facilities and also to run these closed undertakings in an economic way. I must say that all these undertakings taken over by the Workshop are running very well now.

We have also produced in the Ranchi Division of the Garden Reach Workshop marine diesel engines for the first time in the country. These have a great HP going upto 10,500. These big engines can be used for quite large vessels.

Before coming to the Department of Defence Supplies, I would like to make a brief mention of the Directorate-General of Inspection. This organisation does a tremendous amount of work, but does not find much mention either in Parliament or in our report. We have made mention of this in this year's report to Parliament. But I must pay my compliment to them for the good work that is done by this organisation in our country. It is entrusted with the work of inspection of supplies that go to our armed forces.

Therefore, the importance of the work can be easily visualised. If they do not function well, or they are negligent, there can be serious difficulties faced by our armed forces. Nothing demoralises a fighting person, or a fighting soldier or an airman or a naval person more than a faulty equipment or weapon in his hand in times of emergency when he is risking his life and fighting for the

country's security. At that time, if the equipment does not function well, no amount of leadership and training is going to help him. Therefore, we insist on quality. This quality maintenance is ensured by the DGTD organisation. By and large, this organisation has served the country well, and we are also in the progress of modernising their procedures and seeing that they become more and more effective in future.

The Department of Defence Supplies which was set up after the Chinese aggression has also done a very good job. They started a work which was not done earlier, that is, of import substitution and setting up the manufacturing facilities for such components and such items as were not manufactured in India and which were imported from abroad. They have indigenised a good deal of items, over 15,000 items, since they were set up, and this work is riddled with all kinds of difficulties. Many items have to be rejected as something was faulty, and development charges had to be given; guidance had to be given, and after a great deal of difficulties the results have come up, and this year, in the period between April, 1972 and February, 1973, the value of supplies received, as a result of effort of the Department of Defence Supplies, has come to Rs. 16.21 crores. This is a great improvement on the earlier years. The momentum seems to have caught up and we hope that in future this will become more and more.

A few words about the research and development organisation. Many hon. Members have complained, with good justification, that we have been rather niggardly with our defence research and development efforts, and that we have not allotted enough money to them. This criticism has justification in it, but the mere allotment of money is really not going to help us unless we have also the capacity to use all that money in a proper way. So, while we are allotting more

and more resources to our research and development organisation, we are also in the process of setting up and expanding the facilities in the country so that more and more research and development can be done and we do not have to go to foreign countries or foreign technical collaborators for the latest developments in defence science.

This organisation has done a great amount of work within the constraints and within the money that has been allotted to them. It has really given a good account of itself. I want the hon. Members to appreciate the difficulties that defence research and development faces as compared to other scientific institutions under the Government of India, and the scientific institutions under the Council of Scientific and Industrial Research and other autonomous bodies like the Atomic Energy Commission or the Space Research Organisation which are completely independent. They do not have to go through the various tiring processes of the UPSC and other time-consuming processes. They can quickly deliver the goods; they do not have to purchase things through the DGSD, whereas the defence research and development organisation, being a departmental organisation, has to go through the UPSC and recruit scientists through the UPSC. What happens is, most of the scientists, rather the good ones, are immediately taken over by the autonomous scientific organisations under the Government of India or by private institutions, and the left-overs who do not find any place anywhere—the (UPSC) advertises—go to the UPSC and whatever the Commission recommends we take them. I am not saying that we only take the left-overs. We have taken very good scientists and we have also tried to send our teams to the Indian Institutes of Technology and we have picked up more and more competent boys.

But, this is the sample of difficulty that this organisation faces, and in

spite of this difficulty, it has done a tremendous deal of good job. We have also to pay a good deal of attention to the recruitment of scheduled castes and scheduled tribes boys in our organisation. Here, I must say that there was a good deal of difficulty and not much was done earlier. Now, we have taken steps, and I hope that we shall not only make up the deficiency of the past but in future we shall not also allow further deficiency to take place.

Before I conclude I would say that our aim of defence production, defence supplies and R & D is not only to increase the self-reliance of the country in this field and contribute significantly to the industrial development, but also our future goal is to maximise it and to put our country in a self-reliant position in most of these things, so that we do not have to depend for our defence and our security on the tender mercies of any country-friendly or unfriendly

SHRI BANAMALI PATNAIK (Puri): Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, I must congratulate the Defence Minister for his wonderful performance. Indeed as compared to any other country, our achievements in our armed forces are very good. Look at the working of our military personnel. They are made use of both for civil purposes as well as for defence purposes. Whenever the civil police fails, they are called upon to assist them. They are also entrusted with other tasks.

In this connection I would like to submit that before Independence, the policy of the British was to recruit from the "martial" races and others were treated as "non-martial" races. That policy was changed after independence. But, I am sorry to say that this has not been implemented. In one of his speeches the Minister of Defence, Shri Jagjivan Ram, to the youth of the Country made a mention about this programme. But, I

[Shri Banamali Patnaik]

am surprised to find that people from various parts of the country are yet to be recruited in the army. We are really proud of the fact that Punjab and Haryana have contributed to our defence forces. When we go to these places we are proud to hear about the sacrifices made by these people. The prosperity of Punjab and Haryana is not because of small scale industries or agriculture but because of a large number of defence personnel working in that part of the area. A major part of the contribution of army pension goes to this area amounting to about Rs 250 crores a year. Therefore, we have to think in terms of recruitment to the army from different parts of the country. It has now become a question of vested interest. They are not recruiting a major part of the personnel from Bengal, Bihar, Orissa and Tamil Nadu. From here only a few are recruited. I had been to various parts of Mysore and in many villages, they do not even know about this recruitment. So, unless we change the recruitment policy, a large number of personnel will not come forward. I wish that all parts of the country should have the responsibility as Punjab or Haryana for defending the country. There was a demand for constituting an Orissa Regiment after the Chinese war. The Orissa Government passed a resolution, but it is still pending with the Defence Ministry. We must create a feeling that all parts of the country are prepared to make sacrifices for the defence of the country.

MR DEPUTY-SPEAKER: You can continue tomorrow

17 hrs.

DISCUSSION RE: BREAK-DOWN OF POWER SUPPLY IN DELHI

MR DEPUTY-SPEAKER: We now take up the discussion under

Rule 193 on the statement of the Minister of Irrigation and Power earlier in the day. Under the rules, only 1 hour can be allotted for this kind of discussion. I would request the hon. members to keep that in mind and cooperate.

SHRI INDRAJIT GUPTA (Allahpore): Sir, I take it that the purpose of this short discussion is to find out if the minister can throw any light on this mystery of the great black-out which took place in Delhi yesterday, which I am told is going to continue today. We are sitting in Parliament House all day, but rumours are coming from outside that this evening and tonight the situation is likely to be much worse than yesterday. I say it for two reasons: I am told—I did not hear it myself—yesterday at about 4 or 4.30 PM before the collapse took place, the minister had assured the people that there was no danger of any power break-down in Delhi. Today in his statement this morning he has said:

"It is hoped to recommission one or two more machines by this evening, so that the full requirements of the city can be met."

We hear that the situation might be worse this evening and tonight. I hope he will throw some light on the latest position and what we are supposed to expect when we go out. Because of the separate generator available in Parliament House, we are enjoying the blessings of light and cold breeze. But we know what is happening outside. It seems that areas in Delhi have been demarcated into VIP areas and non-VIP areas, by whom I do not know. It is reported in the newspapers that the Prime Minister's House, Rashtrapati Bhavan, Ministers' houses and of course, Parliament House and such other places are considered as VIP areas where special arrangements are made so that no dislocation takes place. But the areas of responsibility and