

SHRI GADILINGANA GOWD: In view of the regrets expressed by the hon. Minister, I am not pressing my motion.

SHRI SURENDRANATH DWIVEDY: Was there any privilege motion? The Member says that he has moved a motion.

MR. SPEAKER: There is no motion. He had raised the matter under rule 377. He is not pressing even that because he is satisfied with what the hon. Member has said.

SHRI H. N. MUKERJEE: Is it not necessary for us in Parliament to make it clear that we do not mind in a commentary of parliamentary proceedings any expression of views in regard to our work? I personally never hear this radio commentary and I do not wish to hear it, nor do I think that I would miss much if I do not hear it. But the point is that if in a commentary there is no criticism then it is not a commentary. So, why should we object to criticism?

MR. SPEAKER: The newspapers also make criticisms. We cannot help it.

SHRI HEM BARUA: I hear the commentary and I like it.

12.17 hrs.

*DEMANDS FOR GRANTS 1968-69—
Contd.

MINISTRY OF DEFENCE—Contd.

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

I have received a number of calling-attention-notices on defence matters such as the supply of Patton tanks

*Moved with the recommendation

to Pakistan and things like that. Now, here is an opportunity to raise those issues. If I have to admit the calling-attention-notices on the same subject which we are discussing now, it would be difficult. Therefore, I have disallowed some of the calling-attention-notices pertaining to matters of defence.

श्री मधु लिवये (मुंगरे) : ठीक है, मंत्री महोदय सभी प्रश्नों का जवाब दें, कोई एतराज नहीं है।

MR. SPEAKER: Hon. Members can refer to these matters during the course of the discussion. Particularly when the Demands are under discussion, this is the most appropriate time when hon. Members can discuss the important points. Now, Shri G. S. Dhillon may continue his speech.

SHRI HEM BARUA (Mangaldai): May I seek one clarification from you? You will allow Members to participate in the discussion on the Demands relating to the Defence Ministry. But then there are Members who are not going to participate in the debate but who have tabled calling-attention-notices. . .

SHRI UMANATH (Pudukkottai): They may be passed on to the Minister.

SHRI HEM BARUA: Will those Members also be allowed?

MR. SPEAKER: I cannot allow all the five hundred odd Members to participate. Whoever participates must raise these points. How can I allow all the five hundred odd Members? That is not within my power.

SHRI S. M. BANERJEE (Kanpur): Let us frame a questionnaire and send it to the Minister.

SHRI SHEO NARAIN (Basti): Let him get it typed. We shall all sign it.

SHRI G. S. DHILLON (Taran Taran): I mentioned yesterday that we had learnt certain lessons after the President.

[Shri G. S. Dhillon]

the 1965 Indo-Pakistan war. Out of those lessons one lesson was clear....

AN HON. MEMBER: There is so much noise in the House. We are not able to hear the hon. Member.

MR. SPEAKER: Order, order. If hon. Members want to have some time, let them have it, and after that the House may begin its work. If they want, we shall all wait for some time, and they can decide whether to sit down here or to go out

I am appealing to every Member, including Ministers. Everyone has to be silent.

SHRI G. S. DHILLON: Yesterday, I said that we had certain lessons, one of them being that our defence strategy on land should have been revised—and was revised. Besides a strong Air Force, the strategy on land was revised, because when our forces were face to face with the Pakistan forces across the Ichhogil Canal, we learnt a number of facts which would not come to our knowledge earlier because of some complacent attitude. But within the few years after the conflict, I must say that our Defence Ministry has gone much ahead in constructing defences much better than we found on the other side of the border, not only in the matter of defences on the Lahore front, but also in regard to the construction of bunkers and other new devices which I do not think it proper mention here in the interest of the defence of our country.

I mentioned yesterday that a strip had been left on the Pakistan border and that the defences which were there from our side lacked bridges. I mentioned yesterday that the biggest peace-lovers turned out to be smugglers who opposed these defence systems. But one thing can be said about the people who had to part with their lands, that they were not only patriotic but continued to contribute a lot in handing over spies

who were found crossing certain obstructions which did not exist before this new defence system was built.

I request the Defence Minister to see that compensation to the land owners and farmers whose lands were taken or acquired by the new defence system be paid immediately, not only because they are facing economic hardship but also because we must see that the population does not shift from those areas and some confidence is infused among those people. Also, the question of compensation to these people whose lands were occupied not by the forces of Pakistan but by our own Army is pending a final settlement. Whenever these people approach the authorities, they are told that it is not the rehabilitation department which is dealing with it but it is only a matter undecided so far as to which Ministry is responsible for these payments. Finally, if no one is responsible, I think the Defence Ministry should be responsible for the payment to these people whose lands have been occupied during the war by our own Army and even now were used for firing and other field practices.

SHRI D. C. SHARMA: Very good.

SHRI G. S. DHILLON: The old man is disturbing a lot. It is a sort of habit with him. We are also friends in the University; he used to do the same thing there.

SHRI D. C. SHARMA: I was only saying that he made a fine point.

SHRI G. S. DHILLON: In the Report presented to us, it has been mentioned that some dangers to the security of the country arise not from other factors, only but also from the nuclear development which is growing at a faster pace than anticipated. Also it is a matter of big surprise for us that many facts have been mentioned and admitted in the Report about the expansion of the Pakistan

Army. Since 1965, according to one official report, the Pakistan Army has more than doubled. Two full armoured divisions have been added to it. 30,000 regular men, well-trained in land operations have been added, and a large number can be called in time from the reserve list. Besides this, they have doubled their air force; a number of squadrons have been added. As was discussed in the House the other day, they have equipped their air force with the most modern types of fighters and bombers. But still we have not been able to replace those obsolete Vampires, Toofanis and all those unneeded aircraft. Their Navy has expanded. Besides 8 vessels, regular destroyers and cruisers, they have acquired 5 submarines. In our own budget, whatever increase in expenditure we have seen is not because some armed forces were expanded but because a lot of that has been spent towards pension, pay and allowances, replacements, maintenance and other factors.

The pressure on our border with Tibet is growing every day. 16 divisions are posted on that border. It is a matter of great concern that while the pressures are growing, while both our neighbours, China and Pakistan, have expanded their arms, we are going at a very slow pace in re-equipping our air force, our land force and navy with up-to-date arms; we have not been able to replace our small arms even. So I would request the Defence Minister to throw some light on it, because I could not get any new information from the official report.

I had a chance to go to the Andaman islands, more than 250 islands, most of them uninhabited and unprotected. When we hear so much of fuss about a small deserted island between Ceylon and India, it was only a couple of days ago that a news item appeared in the press that Burma had claimed a small island in the Andamans. When we remember that the last island on the strip of

this group of islands known as the Andaman and Nicobar Islands is only 60 miles away from Indonesia, Penang and so on, these new factors must be taken into consideration in our defence system. Besides the smallest force in the island of Andamans and some other islands, besides the small naval base, we do not have much force. We talk of replacing the British supremacy in the Indian Ocean. The other day, there was some discussion in this House about that. We must develop a system by which there should be a sort of independent force which could work and go into action without waiting for other troops being transported from this end to that end or *vice versa*, from the northern border to the eastern border. There are a few islands that need our protection.

I fully subscribe to the views expressed here that we should have an independent approach in this matter of signing a non-proliferation agreement. But our research and developments should be such and it must be closely linked to our defence needs. In course of time, if ever we decided that we could not do without nuclear weapons, we must be in a position to switch over to nuclear weapons in a short time.

SHRI G. VISWANATHAN (Wandiwash): The Defence Budget seems to go on swelling from year to year. From Rs. 281 crores in 1960-61 it had now gone up to Rs. 1015 crores. We do not know how these expenses are going on.

12.31 hrs.

[MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER in the Chair]

Responsible people in this country feel that the defence expenditure could be cut to a sizable extent. Even in the National Development Council where the Chief Ministers meet to discuss the plan, the Chief Minister of Madras, Anna, suggested that the defence budget should be cut down by at least Rs. 100 crores. While reite-

[Shri G. Viswanathan]

rating that point, I want to stress that there should be rationalisation and co-ordination in the spending of the three arms—Army, Navy and Air Force.

Somehow, the Defence Ministry is neglecting the Navy, forgetting that we have about 3,000 miles of coastline. I am told that the Vedas prohibited sea voyages by the higher caste people on pain of ex-communication. I do not know if the Defence Ministry still holds such an outmoded view; otherwise they cannot explain why they have a few ships and call it a Navy. We are spending so much on the Army. Why should we neglect the Navy? Perhaps they think that the attack cannot come from the sea. Till 1962, we thought like that; we did not expect an attack from the North because of Hindi Chini bhai-bhai. We should not be complacent about the coastline. We must guard our coastlines also against danger. We see that the Army gets Rs. 563 crores compared to Rs. 38 crores allotted for the Navy. The non-effective expenditure for Army is Rs. 27 crores compared to Rs. 64 lakhs for the Navy. They should wake up at least now when an hon. Member Shri Dhillon pointed out some of the islands in and a mans are uninhabited. We already know the developments about Kachathivu, a strategic island. Ceylon claims it. I do not think that Ceylon might invade this country. I am saying this from the point of view of defence. We have to have two headquarters for the Navy—the Western and the Eastern commands. If a ship were to go from Vizag to Bombay or Cochin, today it has to go round Ceylon, a foreign country. If the Sethu Samudhram project is completed our ships will have uninterrupted passage; they need not go through a foreign country. In addition to its commercial advantages, its defence potential is important. I request the Defence Minister to take this up with the Prime Minister and the National

Development Council so that the Sethu Samudhram project is completed; after all it will cost about Rs. 20 or 25 crores. There is another problem. News is often appearing that the Defence Institute of Physiology and Allied Sciences which is at present located at Madras would be shifted to Chandigarh, capital of Punjab.

THE MINISTER OF DEFENCE (SHRI SWARAN SINGH): It is Union Territory.

SHRI S. KANDAPPAN (Mettur). I am sure you have got some preference for Chandigarh.

SHRI SWARAN SINGH: My mind is not so narrow as yours.

SHRI G. VISWANATHAN: An expert committee went into the various aspects of the question and considered various locations in the country and finally selected Madras for its location. When the building was going up, there was a demand to shift it from Madras. Three times the request was made but they were rejected by the Defence Ministry. When Mr. Chavan was the Defence Minister, a third time it was rejected. This House and the public were told that the subject was closed. We hear now again news about the shifting of the Institute from Madras to Chandigarh. The Minister may say that the expert committee suggested it. But what was the reason behind the setting up of that expert committee when the subject was closed by the former Defence Minister? This expert committee is being set up to shift that institute from Madras.

SHRI S. KANDAPPAN: That is the normal pattern. Whenever they want to do something new, or upset the present arrangement, they appoint an experts committee and then achieve their object.

SHRI G. VISWANATHAN: If they give so much weight to the recommendations of expert committees, why is it that the recommendations of so many expert committees are rejected and only in the case of this expert committee it is accepted? I do not know what is the view of the Minister. The public are suspecting his *bona fides*. They feel that this committee has been appointed to get some verdict in favour of Chandigarh and against Madras. Still, the Government say that the Development Council of the Ministry has not taken a final decision. I have not much faith in their *bona fides*, so far as this question is concerned. So, I want a categorical assurance from the Minister that the Institute of Defence Physiology and Allied Sciences will not be shifted from Madras to somewhere else, be it Delhi or Chandigarh. If the Minister wants an institute to be located at Chandigarh, there are a number of institutes which he can set up. Let him have one or two in Chandigarh or Delhi; I do not object to that.

Then, the Report says on page 18:

"Considerable progress has been achieved in the evolution of Defence terminology in Hindi and about twenty thousand terms pertaining to Defence Services have been evolved so far in Hindi and approved by the 'Expert Advisory Committee on Defence' in the Commission for Scientific and Technical Terminology. It has been decided to publish a glossary of such terms."

SHRI S. KANDAPPAN: This is the only country in the whole world where so many words are minted.

SHRI G. VISWANATHAN: We were thinking that only the Home Ministry is interested in propagating Hindi. I do not know whether Shri Swaran Singh is going to compete with Shri Chavan in propagating Hindi. If that is so, I think it is a dangerous sign, because the morale

of the army so far has been the best. We should not allow the language controversy to percolate to the army. But the way in which they are going on, it looks that they want to eradicate English completely and replace it by Hindi.

Take the case of NCC. The Madras Legislative Assembly passed a resolution and as a follow-up the State Government of Tamilnad requested the Defence Ministry that the NCC in Tamilnad should be given instructions either in the mother tongue or in English. I am told that the Ministry of Defence have rejected that request of the Government of Tamilnad. I want to know the reason for that. NCC is part of the educational curriculum. It is under the control of the college which is under the university which is ultimately controlled by the State Government because education is a State subject. The army only gives some arms and supervise the work. Of course, some financial help is given. Why could you not concede the request of the Madras Government to have the instructions either in Tamil or in English? What is the reason behind it? By your attitude you should not go to the extent of driving a particular government to take a decision to abandon NCC altogether. The State Government of Madras would not like to take such an extreme step but, at the same time, the Defence Ministry by their attitude should not push the State Government to take that extreme step.

Then the Report, as usual, says that the relationship between the employees and management in the public sector undertakings under the Defence Ministry and the ordnance factories continue to be cordial. During the last year's budget when I spoke on defence I pointed out that the relationship is not at all cordial. At that time, the management or employers of HAL, Bangalore had suspended 6 office-bearers and charge-sheeted about 60 or 70 workers. That

[Shri G. Vishwanathan] was the position last year. Now what is the situation? Has it improved? No, not at all. The situation has worsened. Only today I have received a letter from Bangalore that they are now having a tool-down strike. What is the reason? The management have suspended all the office-bearers of Hindustan Aeronautics Limited, Bharat Electronics Limited and Bharat Earth Movers Limited. In every public sector undertaking is this the way you are going to deal with the labour situation? They seem to be worse than private capitalists, private employers. Instead of setting an example in dealing with labour problems, this Government believes in a policy of frightening the employees. Are you going to achieve your objective by that? No, you should not victimise the workers. It is common knowledge that when a labour leader is arrested or a labour leader is in danger, the situation will go out of control. So, your action will only worsen the situation. All the Presidents, Vice-Presidents, General Secretaries, all the office-bearers of the three organisations of HAL, BEL and BEML are suspended, the reason being that on 16th of this month they had a token one day strike.

SHRI S. KANDAPPAN: It is a flagrant violation of all labour laws.

SHRI G. VISWANATHAN: Because of their suspension, for the last 3 or 4 days all the workers are on tool-down strike. So, what have you achieved by your action? You have not been able to brow-beat the employees. Instead of trying to victimise the employees, you should have called a round-table conference of the representatives of the employers and employees to deal with the situation and arrive at an amicable settlement. I do not know how Shri L. N. Mishra, who is in charge of Defence Production, will deal with the situation.

THE MINISTER OF STATE (DEFENCE PRODUCTION) IN THE MINISTRY OF DEFENCE (SHRI L. N. MISHRA): I am fully aware of the position.

SHRI G. VISWANATHAN: Still, he is keeping quiet. If those who are at the helm of affairs behave in this indifferent way, I do not know what we are heading to.

SHRI S. KANDAPPAN: A person who does not know anything about labour laws, how will he reply to such a point?

SHRI L. N. MISHRA: I know much more than he knows.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: The Minister can reply after the debate is over.

SHRI G. VISWANATHAN: I do not know why the Ministry is allowing the management to behave like this, like dictators. The management have suspended all the office-bearers. Take it from me, not even a single office-bearer has been left out. All are under suspension. Are you going to control the situation in this way? This will only worsen the situation. I would request the hon. Minister to go to Bangalore immediately and try to settle the dispute amicably before it is too late.

The spokesmen of Government talk quite frequently of economy in expenditure. I find from the Report that they have cut down the expenditure by a few lakhs. How did they do it? They have cut down the rice quota given to the soldiers. Is this the way of economising expenditure? Instead of reducing wasteful expenditure, they have economised by cutting the rice ration given to the soldiers. At the same time, if you look at the Audit Report, you notice that so many lakhs of rupees have been wasted. Economy should have been practised there and not by cutting the rice ration of soldiers.

I will give only one or two examples. It has been mentioned in the Audit Report that by not taking a decision for derequisitioning surplus land they have incurred

a loss of Rs. 1.92 lakhs. In the same way, by not accepting a particular contract they have lost Rs. 9.79 lakhs in two years. A common item was being manufactured in two different factories. In no factory it was costlier. Yet, the Ministry went on encouraging the costlier plant to go on producing the item, because of which they lost nearly Rs. 10 lakhs. They are not stopping all this wasteful expenditure but, at the same time, they are economising expenditure by cutting down rice rations of the poor soldiers. They must economise expenditure where they can. Take, for example, military farms. We are told that in a certain military farm the production of milk costs Rs. 1.85 per litre whereas milk is available outside at 97 paise per litre. Then, why do you continue such military farms? Then, by not revising the sale price of milk they have lost about Rs. 30 lakhs. Not taking a decision in time cost them Rs. 30 lakhs. So, you should economise in these items and not by cutting down rice ration.

Finally, I would again refer to the situation now obtaining in Bangalore, where a tool-down strike is going on. About 35,000 employees are on strike. The situation will go out of control if the strike continues for two or three days. So, I would request the Minister to reply to this point immediately and take steps to settle the strike and withdraw the suspension order on the workers so that the situation will come back to normalcy. Otherwise, it will be too late.

SHRI NARENDRA SINGH MAHIDA (Anand): Mr. Deputy-Speaker, let me first pay a glowing tribute to our able and valiant jawans, who have been rendering valuable service on our borders for the last few years. They have shown us their mettle whenever we were in difficulties. I have had occasions of visiting the various fronts with the co-operation of the Defence Ministry. I say that you will not find a better personnel in the whole world as an

Indian jawan. I request the House that we should do all in our power to assist them, not only in battle-field with better weapons, with better rifles and with better ammunition, but also in their home-front to look after their families when they are absent from their homes. I would also request the Defence Ministry that in case of their death, their widows and their children should be better cared for and maintenance provision should be made for them immediately. I have heard some cases where such delays in payment of sums have put them into great harassment. I also commend that the families of the soldiers should be given land in compensation. It has been our tradition for generations that all our soldiers were given land so that they can live upon the land and look to their future generation with safety and confidence.

I would request the Government to establish or to rehabilitate our armed forces personnel when they retire, on the borders, either on the western section or the eastern section or on the Chinese borders. This is a very important question. We have been lately seeing that it is easy for Pakistani raiders to enter into Rajasthan or Assam borders and get away with not only cattle but our women and other folk. This should be prevented. This is going on for the last 18 years and we do not want any humiliation, for our women to be kidnapped by intruders. Our villagers should be able armed; they should be properly trained and not a single Pakistani or Chinese intruder can dare to enter and get away with it without being killed. I, therefore, very earnestly request the Minister, also to get in touch with the Home Ministry, to see that arms licences are given very freely and to proper persons in border areas.

We have lately seen that some of our Emergency Commissioned officers have been relieved. I cannot say that they should not be relieved. In an emergency, we always require our

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youth to prepare for our defences. If we do not need them, we should at least help them in securing jobs either in the public sector or in the private sector. They are well-trained personnel and they should be absorbed; their ability talents should be put to good use.

I want to say something about the N.C.C. also. There are two opinions. Very recently, some people have been saying that N.C.C. is not useful to our country. Some say that the response from the youth is not enough. I personally believe that we should introduce a compulsory system of training our young persons in the schools and colleges. The trend that we see of indiscipline is largely due to lack of training or lack of proper occupation. We see in foreign lands that young children or young school-boys, are trained in the art of air rifle shooting. Here, forget the air rifle shooting or any art of shooting we are not oriented that way. I quite believe that we are a peace-loving country and a peace-loving people. But circumstances have forced us, after the aggression of China and Pakistan, that we should not be in a helpless position. Like Arjuna, when he had *vishad*, Lord Krishna told him, "Whether you like or dislike, you have to arm yourself and fight"; we are in the same position today. Whether we like or dislike, we have not only to arm ourselves but to defend our borders. Our only existence is a strong defence. On that, I warn the Government to be aware of the need, not only of the defence forces but also of the civilians who should be trained. Only at the time of Chinese aggression, we were awakened and again we went into sleep. The country which is not prepared for welfare or for surprises, I am sure, will meet with a very bad fate. I may tell my hon. colleagues here that Delhi is not far away from Lhasa. It is easier to fly a bomber from Tibet to Delhi than from Madras to Delhi. We are within the range of 400 miles and 400

miles, in this air-space age, is merely a question of a few minutes. So, defences in the capital, defences in the big cities should be geared up.

I have noticed that, very recently, some black out exercises were carried out in Bombay. But the response was extremely poor. Therefore, I request the Defence Ministry and also the Home Ministry to look into this matter very seriously. We must accept the motto of Lord Baden Powell, the founder of the Boy Scouts, "Be Prepared". We should not be caught napping. We should be always prepared. In the modern world, one who strikes first wins the battle, the war, practically. That has recently been shown by Israel in their conflict with the Arabs.

SHRI NAMBIAR (Tiruchirappalli): Then, he becomes the aggressor.

SHRI NARENDRA SINGH MAHIDA: No matter what you call. But the aggressor has an advantage. We have seen in the case of China when they aggressed on our borders. We have not yet tried to take back the land. That position will never help us. We have been pressing for taking back the land which has been in occupation of China or Pakistan. If we are not prepared, we shall be met with a sad fate. I do not nod with what Israel has done or what other nations are doing. But I request my colleagues to take note of the fact that the aggressor has always the advantage and, if you are caught napping, we shall see our cities burning and weeping, nothing else.

SHRI NAMBIAR: God forbid!

SHRI NARENDRA SINGH MAHIDA: Of course, we always pray for peace. But peace is only deserved by those who are fit and who keep themselves alert. I, therefore, see the necessity of opening more military training schools. At present, we have some schools for upper classes. An expenditure of Rs. 250 per month

cannot be met by many of our poor sections. We are giving scholarships. But these schools should be more in number, not only for the army section but also for the naval section and the air section. It is not necessary that we should employ all those who come out of the schools. But this training is very necessary at the school level and also at the college level. We should not give up the idea of N.C.C. or the training of our youth. On the contrary, we should make it more compulsory and we should attempt to train our youth in the art of warfare.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: Now, the hon. Member may continue after lunch.

13 hrs.

The Lok Sabha adjourned for lunch till Fourteen of the Clock.

The Lok Sabha re-assembled after lunch at five minutes past Fourteen of the Clock.

[MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER in the Chair]

DEMANDS FOR GRANTS, 1968-69—
contd.

MINISTRY OF DEFENCE—contd.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: Mr. Narendra Singh Mahida to continue his speech.

SHRI NARENDRA SINGH MAHIDA: May I commend to the Government that they should absorb more retired and useful officers of the Defence Services in the public and private sectors? We have seen the working of some of our retired army officers who were appointed to high positions; for example, in the Gujarat Oil Refinery where the work was completed about seven to nine months earlier, and there was the discipline in the organisation and efficiency in the working of the refinery, of a retired Major General.

In the diplomatic field also, we have seen that they have given a very good account of themselves. So, instead of retiring and making them idle, my suggestion is that they should be made useful to the country because their training is such which fits them into many of our business occupations in the public and private sectors.

Then, a word about the research organisation in the Defence Ministry. I have had the privilege of visiting a few research organisations with the Estimates Committee and I must confess that they have done a very thorough job. They should be fully encouraged and their services should be appreciated because, after all, they are the persons who replace foreign, imported goods and make use of our own talents. Their organisation commands our appreciation, and all encouragement should be given to them.

I have a suggestion about sending our military personnel to our various Embassies. It is normally a custom with all countries to place military attaches with their Embassies. I would request our Government to send more of our military personnel to our various Embassies to enable them to gain technical knowhow.

Our air strength has to be increased in view of the assistance which Pakistan is receiving from the USA and other countries. Our strength of fighters and bombers has to be matched not only with Pakistan's, but it should also be increased with a view to defending our country from China as well. This is a very important factor. We should manufacture fighter planes and bombers in our own land, and we should not be satisfied with our present arrangements of making Avro engines and other engines. We must have in reserve a pilots' organisation for civil defence; those pilots who may be under Air India or IAC or in other places should be kept in reserve for being used in emergencies. I have been a very old pilot, at 1930s, and I can very well say that the

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knowledge of even the old pilots can also be put to use.

SHRI SRINIBAS MISRA (Cuttack): It is a personal offer.

SHRI NARENDRA SINGH MAHIDA: Then, the anti-aircraft section should be improved upon and more civilians should be given training because, the anti-aircraft guns are the only defence against air power. In consultation with the Home Ministry, the Government should arrange for the training of civilians in air defence, in the operation of anti-aircraft guns.

Our military intelligence system is quite sound. It has to be geared up; it has to be put on par with modern nations, because, after all, we in Delhi cannot hear about the activities of the other side over the borders. The military intelligence has to be geared up to match with the resources and the knowledge of other powers.

Our naval strength has also to be increased, looking to our large coast. As the DMK member rightly pointed out, we have a coastline of 3,000 miles, and the active patrolling has to be increased. This will have the double effect of safeguarding our coast and at the same time checking up smuggling and the foreign elements getting into our country through a submarine and landing anywhere in our coast. Our submarine arm of the fleet is, I know, in the making and very early decisions are being taken and submarine is a necessity to our fleet. I am quite sure the Defence Ministry is attending to it and very soon we shall have a submarine arm of the fleet.

I welcome the formation of the Eastern and Western Commands of our fleet. It is a very wise decision. After all one fleet cannot run about everywhere. So, this decision to form an Eastern and a Western Command is also very laudable.

Now, more co-operation is needed with our friendly neighbouring nations. We hold exercises only either with the British or other fleets. There are minor fleets in Asia and we should also have exercises with them, guide them, receive assistance from them and stand by them. So, I am of the opinion that the Asian nations between the Suez and Japan should get together and form their own organization as far as the fleets are concerned and have more co-operation in the working of it.

I desire Members of Parliament also should visit our fronts and give full encouragement to our Jawans and I shall request the hon. Minister that soon after the session is over, delegations of M.Ps.—lady Members are also welcome to join—should go to the front and give all encouragement to the Jawans there.

Lastly, I will also request the hon. Minister to hold military tattoos for the education of civilians. These tattoos have been very informative and I am quite sure that these tattoos will prove very popular and useful.

Before I conclude, a word about our stand on atomic weapons. Many persons and many friends in this House and outside have suggested that India should go in for nuclear weapons. It is a good suggestion. Nuclear weapons are very powerful, but the cost part of it has to be borne in mind. It involves a tremendous cost. Could India sacrifice her development for making atomic weapons? If we are prepared to give away all our developments and go in for nuclear weapons, it is a different thing. We cannot have both. Then we cannot fulfil the civil needs—the expansion of education, hospitals, roads or railways. So, a poor nation like ours has to make a very difficult decision and unless we co-operate with the giants like Russia or the United States and if they give a guarantee that in case India is attack-

ed, they will come to our rescue, then, I do not think we should go in for atomic weapons. How much we could depend upon them is another matter. So, I commend that the nuclear knowledge that we possess at present should be used for peaceful needs.

With these remarks I commend the demands of the Ministry to the House and appeal that they be passed.

श्री मधु लिमये (मुंगेर) : अध्यक्ष महोदय, सब से पहले मुझे मंत्री महोदय का ध्यान इस बात पर दिलाना है कि इन्होंने सदन से माँग की है कि इस लोग सुरक्षा के लिए उन को 1 हजार 15 करोड़ रुपये मंजूर करें। इन वर्ष इतनी बड़ी रकम यह है और अध्यक्ष महोदय, पिछले पाँच साल के आँकड़े भी आप देखिये। करीब करीब बजट का 26-27 प्रतिशत हिस्सा सुरक्षा पर खर्च हुआ है और हिन्दुस्तान जैसे गरीब देश में जिस की फी व्यक्ति राष्ट्रीय आमदनी इस वक्त 1960 के आँकड़ों के आधार पर सिर्फ 313 रुपये है, करीब करीब साढ़े चार-पाँच प्रतिशत राष्ट्रीय पैदावार का सुरक्षा के ऊपर खर्च किया जा रहा है। और यह अनुदान छः सात घंटे की बहस के बाद हम लोग मंजूर करने जा रहे हैं। तो क्या फिर दोबारा मंत्री महोदय इस बात पर विचार करेंगे कि इतनी बड़ी रकम जब पार्लियामेंट से आप मांगते हैं तो जनप्रतिनिधियों का इस खर्च पर नियंत्रण कैसे रहेगा केवल 6 घंटे की बहस के जरिए? इसलिये मैं उन से निवेदन करूँगा कि वह गंभीरतापूर्वक सोचें कि क्या सुरक्षा मंत्रालय के लिये पार्लियामेंट की एक छोटी सी स्थायी कमेटी न बनायी जाय जो कि इस खर्च पर अच्छी तरह नियंत्रण रख सके और उस में जो रिश्वतखोरी फिजूलखर्ची आदि है उस के बारे में अपने सुझाव दे, वरना जिस ढंग से सुरक्षा के ऊपर हम विचार कर रहे हैं मुझे यह तरीका अच्छा नहीं लगता।

दूसरा निवेदन मैं उन से यह करूँगा, हर साल इस सदन में यह माँग की जाती है कि सुरक्षा के बारे में हम को जो जानकारी सुरक्षा मंत्रालय की रपट से या दूसरे दस्तावेजों से मिलती है वह इतनी नाकाफी है कि उस के आधार पर कुछ बहस करना हम लोगों के लिये मुश्किल हो जाता है। इंग्लैंड जैसे देश में भी, अमेरिका की तो बात ही छोड़िए, इंग्लैंड जैसे देश में भी बहुत बड़े पैमाने पर यह जानकारी पार्लियामेंट के सदस्यों को दी जाती है। इस साल की जो रपट मैं ने देखी उस के बाद मुझे यह कहना है कि जो जानकारी हमें मिलनी चाहिये थी वह जानकारी हम को नहीं मिल रही है। साथ साथ मैं यह चाहता हूँ कि इस साल पब्लिक एकाउंट्स कमेटी ने तीन रपटें इस के बारे में दी हैं, क्या मंत्री महोदय यह आदत डालेंगे कि हर साल ऐंस्टीमेट्स कमेटी हो, या पब्लिक एकाउंट्स कमेटी हो, सुरक्षा के बारे में जो भी सुझाव यह दें और जिन सुझावों को आप ने स्वीकारा हो, उन पर अमल करने की दृष्टि से आप क्या कर रहे हैं इस के बारे में भी आप की जो सालाना रपट हो उस में आप एक अलग से जानकारी सदन को दें, क्या इस पर भी आप विचार करेंगे?

अध्यक्ष महोदय, मुझे यह कहना है कि अब समय आ गया है कि हिन्दुस्तान की जनता और सरकार सुरक्षा नीति और विदेश नीति के जो मुख्य उद्देश्य हैं, मकसद हैं उन के बारे में नये दिरे से सोचे। 21 साल की इन की कमजोर नीति के कारण, संकल्प शक्ति के अभाव के कारण, इन की लापरवाही के कारण, हमारी दुर्गति हो गयी है। 21 साल पहले तो हमारा एक स्वामी था, अध्यक्ष महोदय, अब ऐसा लगता है कि हमारे साढ़े तीन स्वामी हो गए हैं। एक मालिक तो हैं ही प्रेसीडेंट जानसन, दूसरे प्राइम मिनिस्टर कोसिजिन, तीसरे प्राइम मिनिस्टर विल्सन और कभी कभी ऐसा लगता है कि एक प्राधे मालिक नासिर साहब भी बन गए हैं। इसलिये अध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं यह बरखास्त

[श्री मधु लिमये]

कहूंगा कि 2½ साल के अनुभव की रोशनी में दोबारा सरकार पुनर्विचार करे कि हमारी विदेश नीति के और सुरक्षा नीति के उद्देश्य क्या होने हैं ? बिलकुल साफ बात है अपनी सीमाओं की रक्षा करना यह सबसे पहला मकसद होना चाहिये और इस के बारे में क्या सरकार की नीति रही है ? इधर दो चार साल से हम लोग मांग कर रहे हैं अपने नाविक बँड़े के बारे में। सरकार से अनुरोध कर रहे हैं कि उस के बारे में सरकार जागे। अब हिन्द महासागर के जो द्वीप हैं उन का मामला आने वाले दिनों में गंभीर रूप धारण करने वाला है। क्योंकि अंग्रेजों ने जो अभी सुरक्षा संबंधी नया फैसला किया है उसे कहा जाता है कि हिन्द महासागर के इलाके में एक रिक्तता उत्पन्न होगी और उस को कौन आकर भरेगा ? तो इसलिये सरकार का भी दायित्व होता है, हिन्दी महासागर के इलाके में और अरब सागर के इलाके में करीब 300 से ऊपर ऐसे द्वीप हैं जिनके ऊपर हमारा कब्जा है। लेकिन इनकी रक्षा के लिए क्या इन्तजाम है ? जिस तरह आज जमीन पर विदेशियों का कब्जा है और हमारी सेना होते हुये वहाँ पर अतिक्रमण हो रहा है, अब धीरे धीरे सागरीय इलाके, सागरीय क्षेत्रों में भी हमारे पड़ोसियों के द्वारा अतिक्रमण चालू हुआ है। मैं बर्मा और लंका का कोई दुश्मन नहीं। मैं चाहता हूँ कि इन के साथ अच्छे रिश्ते हों और मंत्री महोदय को याद होगा कि जब इंडोनेशिया के साथ हमारे रिश्ते खराब हो गए थे उस समय भी मैं ने यह कहा था कि भविष्य की दृष्टि से हम को अपना दिमाग हमेशा खुला रखना चाहिये कि इंडोनेशिया में जब परिवर्तन होगा तो हम को फिर मित्रतापूर्ण रिश्ते कायम करने के लिये तैयार रहना चाहिए। मैं गैर जिम्मेदाराना ढंग से पड़ोसी राष्ट्रों के साथ रिश्तों को खराब करने की बात नहीं कर रहा हूँ, लेकिन मंत्री महोदय से निवेदन करूंगा कि कमजोरी के कारण अपने मित्र

भी दुश्मन हुआ करते हैं और यह बात लंका और बर्मा के बारे में हुई है।

उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, कच्छातिबु का सवाल हम लोग उठा चुके हैं, कच्छातिबु के इतिहास से सारी बातें बिलकुल साफ हो गई हैं कि 1947 तक रामनाद के राजा का उस द्वीप पर कब्जा रहा। जब रामनाद राज्य भारत में विलीन हुआ तो उसकी रक्षा की जिम्मेदारी आपने ली, कच्छ राज्य विलीन हुआ तो उसकी रक्षा की जिम्मेदारी भी आपने ली थी, लेकिन इन जिम्मेदारियों को आप निभा नहीं पाये। आपने जो लापरवाही इनके बारे में बरती, उस का नतीजा आज यह हुआ है कि मामला उद्भूत गया है।

अण्डमान-निकोबार के बारे में भी यही हो रहा है। नेहरू साहब के जमाने में अण्डमान द्वीप समूह में से एक द्वीप—कोको नाम का—आपने बर्मा को दिया—यह देना कानूनी था या नहीं, इस के बारे में मैं नहीं कहना चाहता। लेकिन बेरुबाड़ी के बारे में सुप्रीम कोर्ट ने जो राय दी है, उस से बिलकुल साफ हो गया है कि इस तरह अपनी भूमि का दान करना सरकार के लिए न केवल अशोभाजनक है बल्कि गैरकानूनी भी है। तो कोको का दान आपने किया—क्या नतीजा हुआ ? जब उन्होंने देखा कि भारत की अपनी सीमाओं के बारे में नीति दुर्बल है, कमजोर है तो इन्होंने और आगे बढ़कर—बर्मा ने एक और द्वीप “नरकुण्डम” पर अपना कब्जा करने की कोशिश की है। उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, अभी अभी पब्लिक वर्क्स डिपार्टमेंट की एक टीम वहाँ पर गई थी और जब वह वापस आयी तो क्या खबर लाये—

“Next morning they went to Narkondam and found a plate erected by the Burma Navy. Then, another stone plate was noticed bearing the same character. Dates differ. One was February, 1958 and the other March, 1968.”

भागो इस खबर में लिखा है—

"In 1961, a Geological Survey Party of the Government of India had gone to Narkondam for mineral investigation and had not found any such plate anywhere."

उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, इसका मतलब क्या होता है? इनकी लापरवाही के कारण अब यह प्रयास बर्मा की नेवी के द्वारा नाविक बेड़े द्वारा किया जा रहा है कि हमारा स्तम्भ तो 1958 में भी लगा हुआ था और यह नया स्तम्भ 1968 में 10 साल के बाद लगा है। जबकि सरकार के पास जानकारी है कि 1958 में और इस बीच में कोई स्तम्भ या कोई पत्थर वहां नहीं लगा हुआ था। लेकिन इस सरकार की कमजोरी के कारण आज बर्मा की ऐसी हिम्मत हो रही है।

उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, सब से पहले में सरकार से निवेदन करना कि अपनी सीमाओं के बारे में सरकार जागरूक रहे, और गश्त लगाना या अपनी चौकियां कायम करना जिस तरह जमीन की सीमाओं के बारे में जरूरी है, अब समय आ गया है कि नाविक क्षेत्र में भी, सागरीय क्षेत्र में भी आपको सचेत हो कर काम करना पड़ेगा। पूरे नाविक बेड़े के लिये आपने इस रिपोर्ट में कितने सफे दिये हैं? क्या जानकारी आप हमको देते हैं? आप हमको यह भी नहीं बताते हैं कि सागरीय क्षेत्र में हमारे जो द्वीप हैं उनकी रक्षा करने की जिम्मेदारी हमारे नाविक बेड़े की है। आप बातें करते हैं—बड़े हमलों की, बड़े हमलों की चर्चा आपने जरूर की है लेकिन जो प्राथमिक काम होना चाहिये था हमारी फौज का या हमारे नाविक बेड़े का—कि वह हमारी सीमाओं की रक्षा करे, उसके बारे में आपने बिल्कुल ध्यान नहीं दिया है।

बारबार, उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, हमको कहा जाता है चीन और पाकिस्तान द्वारा काश्मीर और पूर्वोत्तर भारत में विद्रोही तत्व उत्पन्न करने की कोशिश की गई है, उपद्रवी तत्वों को प्रोत्साहन देने की बात लगातार चल रही है,

आपके पास उनके बारे में सबूत पड़े हुए हैं, लेकिन आपकी क्या नीति है? न कोई सक्रिय सीमा नीति है और न विद्रोहियों का मुकाबला करने के बारे में कोई नीति है। अगर चीन और पाकिस्तान हमारे देश में उपद्रव पैदा करने की कोशिश करते हैं, तो क्या आपका यह कर्तव्य नहीं हो जाता है कि पाकिस्तान में और तिब्बत में जो ऐसे तत्व हैं, जो स्वायत्तता चाहते हैं, स्वतंत्रता चाहते हैं, उनकी आप खुल कर मदद करें? लेकिन आपके तरीके बहुत विचित्र हैं। जब पाकिस्तान के साथ रिश्ता टूट जाता है तो पूर्वी बंगाल की आजादी की घोषणा आप करती हैं, आपको पख्तूनिस्तान और खान अब्दुल गफ्फार खां की याद आती है, लेकिन जब ताम्रकन्द करार करते हैं और फिर आपसे सवाल पूछते हैं तो टाल-मटोल की नीति सरकार अपनाती है। आज भी आप यह साफ नहीं कर रहे हैं कि आखिरकार पख्तूनिस्तान के बारे में, पूर्वी बंगाल की स्वायत्तता के बारे में आपकी स्थिर और स्थायी नीति क्या है? यहाँ कोसीगिरी के दबाव में, विलसन साहब के दबाव में आकर राष्ट्रीय हित की जिन बुनियादी नीतियों पर आपको चलना चाहिये, उन को भी आप छोड़ने के लिये तैयार होते हैं।

मैं आपको चेतावनी देना चाहता हूँ कि जब विद्रोह के बारे में पाकिस्तान और चीन सक्रिय नीति को अपना रहे हैं तो अपने बचाव के लिये और अपने सिद्धान्तों के लिये—मैं दोनों का मेल चाहता हूँ—आपको भी पख्तूनिस्तान, पूर्वी बंगाल, तिब्बत आदि के बारे में सक्रिय नीति को अपनाना पड़ेगा और आपके जो मित्र हैं उनकी आपको मदद करनी पड़ेगी, वरना इस देश की प्रादेशिक अभ्युत्थान पर प्रहार होगा।

उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, जहाँ तक हिन्दुस्तान की सुरक्षा का सवाल है, मैं मानता हूँ कि इसका कुछ सम्बन्ध विदेश नीति से भी होता है—ये मिले हुए सवाल हैं, पर देश की सुरक्षा की दृष्टि से प्राणविक हथियारों पर रोक लगाने के जो सुझाव आ रहे हैं, उनके बारे में मैं मंत्री

[श्री मधु लिमये]

महोदय से साफ़ पूछना चाहता हूँ—कम से कम मंत्री महोदय इस सदन को बतायें—कि यह जो 18 देशों का कमीशन बना हुआ है, उसमें अन्य देशों के साथ बातचीत कर के आप क्या रख अपना रहे हैं। यहां पर प्रधान मंत्री जी ने हम को कहा था कि इस वक्त इस संधि का जो मसविदा है, उसमें यदि ऐसा परिवर्तन हो जायगा, जिससे हम को सन्तोष होगा, तो ऐसी सन्धि पर हम हस्ताक्षर करने के लिये तैयार हैं। मैं सरकार से यह जानना चाहता हूँ कि आप कौनसी संधि चाहते हैं—न्यूक्लियर नान-प्रोलिफरेशन कमीटी चाहती हैं या प्राहिबिशन आफ न्यूक्लियर आर्म्स एण्ड डेस्ट्रक्शन आफ दी एक्सिस्टिंग स्टॉक-पाइल्स—इन दो संधियों में से कौन सी संधि चाहती हैं? अगर आप नान-प्रोलिफरेशन की बात करेंगे तो उसका साफ़ मतलब यह है कि संयुक्त राष्ट्र संघ में जिस तरह पांच वहीटो वाले ब्राह्मण राष्ट्र हो गये हैं, उसी तरह हथियारों के बारे में हमेशा के लिये चीन, फ्रांस, इंग्लैंड, रूस और अमरीका—ये आणविक हथियारों के बारे में ब्राह्मण राष्ट्र हो जायेंगे और हमेशा के लिये हम अछूत या शूद्र राष्ट्र बन जायेंगे। तो आज हिन्दुस्तान की जनता चाहती है कि आप ऐसी संधि पर हस्ताक्षर करें जिसमें समूचे आणविक हथियारों का नाश हो, उनकी पैदावार पर, रोक लगे। केवल शूद्र राष्ट्रों के लिये नहीं, बल्कि ये जो पांच ब्राह्मण राष्ट्र बन गये हैं, उनके लिये भी यह रोक हो। इसके बारे में आप सदन को अवगत कराइये।

उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, रूमनिया एक कम्युनिस्ट देश है, लेकिन आज रूमनिया और रूस के बीच भी अंतर्भेद उत्पन्न हो गया है। सब से बड़ा मतभेद आणविक हथियारों के फालाक के बारे में जो बात चल रही है, उसको लेकर है आज जब रूमनिया जैसा छोटा-सा देश जिस ताकत के साथ इस सवाल को उठा सकता है, तो क्या यह पचास करोड़ वाला भारत नहीं उठा सकता? इसीलिये मैंने साढ़े तीन मालिकों की बात की है।

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: The hon. Member should try to conclude now.

श्री मधु लिमये : उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं तो कुछ नई बातें कह रहा हूँ, मुझे थोड़ा समय और चाहिये।

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: But the hon. Member has already exhausted the time allotted to him. I endorse fully his preliminary remark that these are very important Demands but the time allotted is too short. It is very difficult to extend time. I shall give him a few more minutes and let him conclude.

श्री मधु लिमये : तो मैं चाहता हूँ कि रूमनिया आदि देशों से बात-चीत करके आणविक हथियारों के फ्रीज पर रोक लगाने वाली संधि पर हस्ताक्षर करने के लिये रूस और अमरीका के द्वारा जो दबाव आ रहा है उसका मुकाबला करने के लिये आप एक गैर-आणविक देशों का विश्व सम्मेलन बुलाइये और जो हमेशा से एक डर बना हुआ है कि ये हमको हमेशा के लिये अछूत बनायेंगे, उस डर से भारत की जनता को मुक्त कीजिये।

अब जो आपने रफ्त दी है उसमें कई ऐसी बातें हैं जिनके बारे में मैं खुलासा चाहता हूँ। कमेटी के बिना यह सब कैसे सम्भव होगा, यह मैं नहीं समझ पाता, जैसे कि सेना में जो फालतू सामान होता है उसके डिस्पोजल, बिक्री की बात है। इनके आंकड़ों के अनुसार, जैसा कि पृष्ठ 22 पर दिया है :

'value of stores recommended for disposal—Rs. 83 crores'.

83 करोड़ रुपये का सामान है, यह कोई मामूली बात नहीं है। इस तरह से ये लोग गैर सावधानी से खरीदते हैं और बाद में बहू सामान फालतू हो जाता है, उसको बेचने की नौबत आती है। कुछ सामान बेचने की नौबत तो आयेगी लेकिन जब इतनी बड़ी रकम इसमें बरबाद हो रही है तो फिर सुरक्षा मंत्रालय को इसके बारे में गम्भीरता से सोचना चाहिये कि क्या इसमें कोई बचत का रास्ता नहीं

निकल सकता है। जिसमें बचत करनी चाहिये उसमें तो नहीं कर रहे हैं लेकिन इनकी बचत का मैं एक अजीब नमूना दे रहा हूँ, पेज 23 पर है :

"In view of the increasing difficulty in obtaining meat requirements at reasonable rates, it has been decided to reduce the consumption of meat by issuing other substitutes to troops both in the peace and field areas and to officers in field areas for one week in the month, as an experiment's measure for a trial period of 3 years. This decision is expected to result in a saving of more than Rs. 28 lakhs per annum."

अध्यक्ष महोदय, हमारे जवानों के खाने में मांस घटाकर यह बचत की बात करते हैं। तीन साल के लिये प्रयोग के तौर पर इन्होंने यह किया है। मैं मांग करता हूँ कि तत्काल आप इस तरह की वाहियात बचत को बन्द कीजिये। इसमें कोई नतीजा नहीं निकलने वाला है।

इसी तरह में जहाँ तक वाइंग सिक्क्योरिटी फोर्स का सवाल है, उसके ऊपर भी बड़ी जिम्मेदारी है। यद्यपि यह फोर्स इस मिनिस्ट्री के तहत तो नहीं आती लेकिन यह फोर्स है, और फोर्स नाम पर केन्द्रीय सरकार नये नये पुलिस दल बना रही है। जब यह फोर्स केन्द्रीय सरकार के तहत है तो क्या बजह है कि शराब के सम्बन्ध में सेना के लिये जो नियम हैं वह बाडर फोर्स के लिये नहीं है ? उन्होंने पत्र द्वारा और जबानी भी मुझ से कहा है। इसलिये आप इसके बारे में जरूर कुछ कीजिये, चक्काण साहब से बात करके इनको सेना के स्तर पर लाइये और इनको और सैनिकों को घास खाने वाला जानवर न बनाइये। सामिष और निरामिष वाली जो बात है उसको कम से कम सेना में जवानों के लिये खत्म कर दीजिये। ये 28 लाख रुपये अगर नहीं बचेंगे तो कोई नुकसान नहीं होता है लेकिन डिस्पोजल के बारे में अवश्य सावधानी बरतिये।

पेज 42 पर जीप्स, ट्रक्स के विषय में श्रीर वैसे तो समूचे अपने उत्पादन श्रीर संशोधन के बारे में कहना चाहता हूँ कि चाहे यह सिविल उद्योग हो या फौजी उद्योग हो, संशोधन का जहाँ तक सवाल है, हमारे देश में बड़ा ढोंग चल रहा है। चांगला साहब से मैंने एक मर्तबा पूछा था कि इन संशोधन कार्यालयों के कारण या लेबोरेट्रीज के कारण कितनी बचत हुई तो उन्होंने कहा था, 30 करोड़ रुपये। फिर हमने कहा कि तफसील दो, लेकिन तफसील नहीं दी गई।

निसान ट्रक्स और निसान पेट्रोल के बारे में कहते हैं :

Nissan Trucks—"The indigenous content is now 45.2 per cent."

Nissan Patrol—"The indigenous content achieved is 33.32 per cent"

अध्यक्ष महोदय, परसेन्टेज का क्या मतलब है, यह पहले बतलाना चाहिये। जो कुल वैल्यू के यह प्रतिशत है, उस वैल्यू में से महत्वपूर्ण पुरजे आज भी विलायत से मंगते हैं और जो कम महत्व के पुरजे हैं उनकी पैदावार यहाँ होती है। लेकिन हम लोगों को बेवकूफ बनाने के लिये प्रतिशत में और फीसदी में बात करके गुमराह करते हैं। यह कोई फौजी सीन्नेट नहीं है, सब लोग जानते हैं इसलिये इसके बारे में सदन को इतला देनी चाहिये।

अब इमरजेन्सी कास्ट्रक्शन के बारे में आप पृष्ठ 24 पर देखें। इसमें इन्होंने कहा है :

"During the year, 1,219 works projects costing Rs. 45.27 crores approximately were sanctioned by the various competent financial authorities under the emergency works procedure and 17 projects costing Rs. 2.04 crores, were sanctioned under the normal works procedure."

मैं जानना चाहता हूँ कि आप तत्कालीन सिद्धान्त के नाम पर जितना निर्माण-कार्य किया गया है, क्या सचमुच वह आवश्यक था ? यदि आवश्यक था तो क्या समय के अन्दर उसको पूरा किया गया ? या आप तत्कालीन के नाम पर

[श्री मधु लिमये]

सिर्फ खर्चा ज्यादा करो और जो गति है, जो रफतार है पूर्ण करने की, जो एक पुराना तरीका होता है उसी रफतार से कामों को पूरा करो ? तो इसके बारे में भी सदन को जरूर तफसील देनी चाहिये ।

अन्त में मैं अफसरों के बारे में, खाल करके इमरजेन्सी के अफसरों के बारे में कुछ कहना चाहता हूँ । जब चीन का हमारे ऊपर आक्रमण हुआ तो इन लोगों ने आवाहन किया कि देश की रक्षा के लिये हमारे जो युवक लोग हैं वे आगे आयें । कितने ही लोगों ने विश्वविद्यालय छोड़ा, नौकरियां छोड़ीं और ये लोक सेना में भरती हुए, उनको इमरजेन्सी कमीशन मिला । लेकिन उसके बाद मैं देखता हूँ कि इमरजेन्सी अफिसर्स के बारे में हमें पचासों प्रश्न करने पड़े कि इनके साथ आपने बड़ा अन्याय किया । मैंने सुना है कि सागर में जब मिलिट्री एक्ससाइज हो रही थी उस समय वर्तमान सनापति, जनरल कुमारमंगलम ने कहा कि इमरजेन्सी कमीशन के अफसरों को जितनी जल्दी सेना से हटाया जायेगा, उतना ही सेना का भला होगा । उसके बाद मैंने सवाल किया और अब साबित हो चुका है कि इंडियन कमीशनड अफिसर्स होते हैं, वह बड़े वर्गों से आते हैं, वे अंग्रेजी माध्यम से पब्लिक स्कूलों में पढ़े हुए हैं और इमरजेन्सी कमीशन के अफिसर्स गरीब तबके से आये हैं, वे बंगला, मराठी आदि माध्यमों से पढ़े हुए हैं, वे ट्विस्ट करना नहीं जानते, छुरी कांटा चलाना नहीं जानते, और शायद टूटी अंग्रेजी बोलते हैं । लेकिन क्या इसका मतलब यह है कि वे लड़ाई के मामले में और देशभक्ति के मामले में, उन ठीक ठीक अंग्रेजी बोलने वालों से, पब्लिक स्कूल में पढ़े हुए और साथ साथ ट्विस्ट आदि अच्छी तरह करने वालों और नाचने वालों से, कम देशभक्त हैं या कम लायक हैं ? ऐसी कोई बात नहीं है । मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि इमरजेन्सी कमीशन के अफसरों के साथ इन्होंने न्याय नहीं किया है । इसके भेरे पास दो तीन उदाहरण भी आये हैं ।

एक दफ्तर में जो मामूली एक नौकर था, अब अफसर बन गया, उतनी कहा जा रहा है कि वापिस उसी नौकरी पर आ जाओ या जिनको प्रमोशन सेना से ही मिल गया उसे कहा जा रहा है कि उस काम पर फिर बले जाओ, फिर सिपाही बनो । तो क्या इमरजेन्सी कमीशनड अफिसर्स को आप इस तरह से निकाल देंगे, इनको वैकल्पिक नौकरी नहीं देंगे । फिर भविष्य में संकट आ सकता है । आज इस सदन में कौन कह सकता है कि आने वाले दिनों में हमारे ऊपर विदेशी आक्रमण का संकट नहीं आयेगा ? उस वक्त आपके आवाहन पर फिर सेना में कौन भरती होगा ? कौन आपकी इमरजेन्सी कमीशन लेगा ?

तो इन सारे सवालों के बारे में आप सोचिये । जो आपका उच्चवर्गीय और अंग्रेजी परस्त दृष्टिकोण है उसको छोड़कर, जरा धरातल पर, जमीन पर आकर योग्यता, काबिलियत और देशभक्ति के आधार पर अपनी सैनिक सेवाओं की पुनर्रचना करने के बारे में सोचो और विचारो ।

श्री कुशोक बाकुला (लद्दाख): उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, रक्षा मंत्री महोदय ने अपने मंत्रालय के लिये इप सदन में जो डिमान्ड्स उपस्थित की हैं, मैं उनका समर्थन करते हुए इसके लिये उनको हार्दिक धन्यवाद देता हूँ । सन् 1947 और 1962 में जब लद्दाख पर हमला हुआ था तब हमारे लद्दाख के जवानों ने हिस्सा लिया था । पहले तो उन नौजवानों को मिलीशिया का ही नाम दिया गया था लेकिन अब उनको इंडियन आर्मी के आधार पर ही सुविधायें मिली हुई हैं ।

दूसरे मैं इलिये अपने प्रतिरक्षा मंत्री महोदय को मुबारकबाद देना चाहता हूँ कि उन 6 महीनों के दौरान जबकि लेह-श्रीनगर सड़क बन्द रहती है और वहाँ से काफ़ी संख्या में लद्दाखी लोग हिन्दुस्तान में आना चाहते हैं लेकिन उनके लिये कोई सड़क की सुविधा नहीं है तो उन लोगों के आने जाने के लिये

वायुसेना के वायुयानों द्वारा व्यवस्था कर दी है। मंत्री महोदय को यह ऐयर सुविधा प्रदान करने के लिये दिली मुबारकवाद देता हूँ।

सन् 1947 और 1962 में भारत की रक्षा करते हुए काफ़ी लड़ाखी नौजवानों ने अपने प्राणों की बलि चढ़ाई थी। खास कर सन् 1962 में दौलतबेग ओल्दी और दमबोक के मोर्चों पर। लड़ाखी नौजवानों ने जिस देश-भक्ति और बोरता का जो परिवय दिया था वह किसी से छिमा नहीं है। उनके द्वारा किये गये बलिदानों और शूरता के कारनामों के लिये उनको मैडिल और चक्र वगैरह प्रदान किये गये हैं लेकिन उनके घर वालों को, उनके परिवारों को और उनके लड़कों को राज्य सरकार से न कोई वजोफ़ा मिला है न ही उनको कोई जमीन मिली है। पंजाब और राजस्थान के जवानों को काफ़ी सुविधा मिली है, परिवार वालों को जमीन और लड़कों को वजोफ़ा आदि मिला है लेकिन मुझे दुःख के साथ कहना पड़ता है कि इसके लिये कई बार माँग करने पर भी राज्य सरकार से अभी तक ऐसा कुछ नहीं मिला है। जो लोग देश की रक्षा करते हुए शहीद हो गये थे उनके अश्रितों को 300-400 रुपया इनाम राज्य द्वारा दे दिया गया था और हम ने भी उस समय लड़ाख के लोगों से चन्दा करके 300, 300 रुपये दिये थे। इस तरह से उनको 500 के करीब रुपया मिला होगा जोकि मेरी समझ में काफ़ी नहीं है। हमें यह नहीं भूलना है कि वहाँ पर उन बहादुर नौजवानों ने किस तरह से भुसुबतों का बोरतापूर्वक सामना किया और उन्होंने अपने कारनामों से लड़ाख और जम्मू, कश्मीर का नाम ऊँचा किया है। इसलिये यह सरकार के लिये यह आवश्यक हो जाता है कि उनके लिये कुछ किया जाय और जन्तूँ और अधिक सहायता आदि प्रदान की जाय। प्रतिरक्षा मंत्री महोदय कृपया इस चीज को नोट कर लें।

मैं यह अर्ज करना चाहता हूँ कि यह जो

हवाई जहाज़ से आने जाने की सुविधा आप ने वहाँ के लिये दी हुई है उसे आप को अभी और कुछ समय के लिये देते रहनी होगी। लड़ाख, जम्मू और कश्मीर यह तीनों एक तरह से एक इलाक़ा माने जाते हैं लेकिन दरअसल देखा जाय तो आज लड़ाख के लोगों के वास्ते आने जाने के लिये कोई इंतज़ाम नहीं है। मुझे पूरी उम्मीद है कि डा० कर्ण सिंह जो इस समय बैठे हुए हैं इसके लिये वह जरूर इंतज़ाम करेंगे लेकिन उसमें वक्त लगेगा और वह आज नहीं हो सकेगा इसलिये सुरक्षा मंत्री अवश्य इस तरह की सुविधा देंगे।

अभी हालत यह है कि सदियों के दिनों में लेह से ऐयरोड्रोम तीन मील के करीब पड़ता है और लोगों को भयंकर शीत में हवाई जहाज़ की इंतज़ार में दिन दिन भर ठहरना पड़ता है और कभी कभी मौसम की खराबी की वजह से जहाज़ नहीं आते हैं। इसलिये वहाँ पर लोगों के रहने की कोई व्यवस्था की जानी चाहिये। आज वहाँ पर रहने का कोई इंतज़ाम नहीं है। जहाँ मंत्री महोदय ने वहाँ से आने और आने के लिये हवाई जहाज़ में सीट देने की व्यवस्था की है वहाँ लोगों के रहने के लिये भी इंतज़ाम कर दें तो मैं उनका बहुत मशकूर हूँगा।

लेह-मनाली रोड बनाना बहुत जरूरी है। सन् 1949 में स्वर्गीय पंडित जवाहरलाल नेहरू जब लड़ाख आये थे उसी वक्त हम ने इसके बारे में उनसे निवेदन किया था। उसके बाद जब डा० कर्ण सिंह कश्मीर के सदरे-रियासत होते थे तो उन्होंने भी इस सड़क के बनाये जाने पर बहुत जोर दिया था लेकिन दुर्भाग्यवश उस वक्त यह जरूरी नहीं समझी गई। लेकिन मैं जब जब पंडित जी से मिलता था तो उन पर इस सड़क के बनाने के लिये जोर देता था। आज पुनः इस चीज को हाउस में दुहराना चाहूँगा कि यह लेह-मनाली सड़क बननी दो दृष्टियों से बननी आवश्यक है, एक सुरक्षा के दृष्टिकोण से और दूसरे लड़ाखी लोगों की सुविधा के दृष्टिकोण से। अब जहाँ तक व्यापारियों की सुविधा का सम्बन्ध

[श्री कुशोक बाकुला]

है अभी इस सड़क के न होने के कारण लद्दाख के जो व्यापारी दिल्ली, बम्बई और अमृतसर आदि से माल लेकर उधर जाते हैं उनको कश्मीर जाकर फिर वहाँ से चक्कर काट कर पहुंचना पड़ता है। वह उन्हें दूर पड़ता है जबकि यह लेह-मनाली रोड बन जाने से वह फ़ासला कात्री नजदीक हो जायगा और जन्हें सुविधा होगी।

सुरक्षा की दृष्टि से भी यह सड़क बननी अत्यन्त आवश्यक है। अब वह बनानी शुरू की है लेकिन मेरा कहना है कि वह जल्द बननी चाहिए। काम तो आप करते हैं लेकिन पीछे करते हैं पहले उसकी तरफ़ से गफलत बर्ती जाती है। हम तब भी कहते थे कि 1954 में तिब्बत में जो चीनी आये थे वह तिब्बत के लिए नहीं आये थे बल्कि वह भारत के लिए आये थे। हम चूँकि छोटे अर्थवादी हैं इसलिए हमारी बात जो किसी ने नहीं सुना लेकिन जब सन् 1959 में वहाँ से दलाई लामा अपने साथ तिब्बती शरणार्थियों को लेकर यहां भारत में आये तब जाकर कहीं भारत सरकार की आंखें खुलीं और कहने लगे कि यह चीनी भारत पर हमला करने वाले हैं लेकिन हम यह बात सन् 1954-55 से कह रहे थे कि भारत सरकार उधर सुरक्षा व्यवस्था की ओर ध्यान दें क्योंकि चीनी भारत पर हमला करने वाले हैं। इतिहास इस बात का साक्षी है कि हमारी आशंका और कथन सच निकला और चीन का भारत पर आक्रमण हुआ। इसलिए मैं फिर कहना चाहूँगा यह मनाली-लेह सड़क बननी बहुत जरूरी है और उसे जल्द से जल्द बनाया जाय।

पाकिस्तान चीन के साथ मिल कर अभी भी हमारी आज़ादी को खतरे में डालना चाहता है। कारगिल में सब से ऊंचे पहाड़ के ऊपर अभी भी पाकिस्तान की सेना बैठी हुई है। सन् 1965 के भारत-पाक युद्ध के दौरान हमारे फ़ौजी जवानों ने दो बार वहाँ से

पाकिस्तानी सैनिकों को निकाल बाहर किया और उसे अपने कब्जे में कर लिया लेकिन बाद में वह जो ताशकंद समझौता हुआ उसके कारण पाकिस्तान से मित्रता कायम करने के प्रयास के परिणामस्वरूप उस स्थान को हमारी भारतीय सेना को छोड़ना पड़ा। मैं ताशकंद समझौते की आलोचना नहीं करता लेकिन यह जरूर कहूँगा कि उसको छोड़ने से हमारा बहुत नुकसान हुआ है। आज पाकिस्तान चीन के साथ मिल कर के वहाँ से एकदम एक मिनट में हमारे जितने हवाई अड्डे हैं उनको खत्म कर सकता है। सामरिक और सुरक्षा की दृष्टि से ऐसे महत्वपूर्ण स्थानों को यह सरकार क्यों छोड़ देती है? क्या आपने इसलिए उसे छोड़ा है कि पाकिस्तान और हिन्दुस्तान में जल्दी मैत्री हो जायगी? क्या कश्मीर के मामले में पाकिस्तान चुप कर के बैठ जायगा? अगर ऐसा होना मुमकिन हो तो आप का वह काम बिलकुल ठीक है लेकिन वह तो हो नहीं रहा है।

इसी तरह पाकिस्तान से मैत्री की आशा में रा. औफ. कच्छ में आपने 300—350 मील का भारतीय इलाका छोड़ दिया। अब अगर इस से भारत-पाक मैत्री होती तो मुझे इस सब के छोड़ने में कोई आपत्ति नहीं है लेकिन यह भारत-पाक मैत्री कम से कम अग्रयुब साहब के जमाने में होती मुश्किल दिखाई देती है।

एक माननीय सदस्य ने अभी कहा प्रतिरक्षा मंत्रालय ने जो बजट अनुदानों के लिए धन राशि रखी है वह ज्यादा है और उसे कम किया जाना चाहिए। लेकिन मेरे ह्याल में देश की सुरक्षा के लिए और अधिक पैसे की व्यवस्था होनी चाहिए। आज हम देख रहे हैं कि चीन और पाकिस्तान हिन्दुस्तान पर हमला करने के लिए नुले हुए हैं और दूसरी ओर देश के अन्दर भी तोड़फोड़ की कार्यवाहियाँ हो रही हैं। इस

लिए यह बहुत जरूरी है कि सुरक्षा के मामले में हम किसी तरह की ढील न घाने दें और अधिक से अधिक पैसा इसके लिए हम जुटायें

मैं यहां के लिए एक नया आदमी हूँ और मैं यहां बड़ी आशाएं लेकर आया था कि यहां हम को बड़े बड़े सबक मिलेंगे लेकिन मुझे दुःख के साथ कहना पड़ता है कि निराशा ही मेरे पल्ले पड़ी है। हमारे विरोधी पक्ष के भाई बस हर समय सरकार की आलोचना करते रहते हैं। मैं यह नहीं कहता कि वह जहां आवश्यक हो वहां सरकार पर इलजाम न लगायें लेकिन महज आलोचना करने के लिए ही वह आलोचना न करें बल्कि देश के हित में वह एक कंस्ट्रिक्टिव रोल अदा करें। आज मैं देखता हूँ कि भाषा तथा अन्य समस्याओं के प्रश्न को उठाकर देश भर में हंगामा मचा रखा है और इन समस्याओं को लेकर देश की एकता को खतरे में डालने का काम उन के द्वारा किया जा रहा है। विरोधी दल वालों को देश की एकता को खतरे में डालने वाली कार्यवाहियों से बाज रहना चाहिये। आज की स्थिति में मैं समझता हूँ कि पुलिस और सुरक्षा सेना को सुदृढ़ करना अति आवश्यक है। हमें देश की एकता को नुकसान होने से हर कीमत में बचाना है।

प्रतिरक्षा मंत्री महोदय से यह भी अर्ज करना चाहता हूँ कि सोनमर्ग से ऊपर जब वह फौजी जवान आगे को चलते हैं तो वहां उन्हें 30 रुपये ऐल्टीच्यूड अलाउंस मिलता है। इतनी ऊंची सड़क पर यह अलाउंस बहुत कम है। इस को बढ़ाना चाहिये। जिस से हमारे जवानों को सुविधा मिले। जब हमारे सिविल सर्विस के लोग वहां जाते हैं तो उन को 75 परसेंट अलाउंस मिलता है पहले से राज्य सरकार ने यह कायदा बना दिया है। नुवरा, चांगयंग और चस्कार इन तीन जगहों पर, जहां तिब्बत

की सीमा मिलती है हम लोगों ने 125 र० अलाउंस देने की सिफारिश की थी, लेकिन उन्होंने इतना न मान कर 100 र० कर दिया। अब वहां सिविल सर्विस वालों को 100 र० मिलता है अगर उन के हिसाब से देखा जाय तो रक्षा सेनाओं को बहुत अधिक ऊंचाई पर रहना पड़ता है। जाना तो उन को कम से कम 20,000 फीट की ऊंचाई तक पड़ता है लेकिन 15, 16 और 17 हजार फीट की ऊंचाई पर ठहरना पड़ता है। लद्दाख में ही इतनी सड़ी पड़ती है कि वहां बैठ कर बिना आग जलाये लोग बाहर भी नहीं निकल सकते लेकिन हमारे जवानों को उस से भी ऊपर दिन रात ठहरना पड़ता है। इस लिये उन लोगों का अल्टीच्यूड अलाउंस 30 र० से बढ़ा कर कम से कम 60 र० या इस से भी ज्यादा किया जाये।

इसी तरह पुलिस की बात है। वैसे हमारे लद्दाख में तो ज्यादा पुलिस की जरूरत ही नहीं है, लेकिन राज्य सरकार वहां काफी पुलिस भेजती है, ठीक है। वह भेजें लेकिन मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि वहां ऊंचे अफसरों की इतनी जरूरत नहीं है, जितनी छोटे लोगों की।

लद्दाख स्कोर्स में 12 कम्पनियाँ हैं उन में से तीन कम्पनियाँ नुवरा में हैं और दो कम्पनियाँ दमचोक में रहती हैं। वहां पर इतनी सड़ी पड़ती है जून और जुलाई में भी जिन का ठिकाना नहीं है। जून और जुलाई महीनों में जो सिविल सर्विस वाले हैं उन को बाहर जाना पड़ता है, लेकिन जो जवान हैं उन को तो उतनी ऊंचाई पर रहना ही पड़ता है। इस लिये उन को और भी ज्यादा अलाउंस देने की आवश्यकता है। यह मैं इस लिये कहना चाहता हूँ कि अगर आज लद्दाख को खतरा हो जाय, तो वह खतरा लद्दाख के लिये नहीं है, वह भारत के लिये है। मैं जो कुछ कह रहा हूँ वह लद्दाख के लिये नहीं कह रहा हूँ। उन की संख्या इतनी ज्यादा नहीं है। वह कुल

[श्री वृशोक बाबू:]

90 हजार के लगभग हैं। वह तो भाग कर भी इधर आ सकते हैं। लेकिन वहाँ की जमीन हिन्दुस्तान के लिये बहुत आवश्यक है। आज अगर लड़ाख हमारे हाथ से चला गया तो समझ लीजिये कि सारा हिन्दुस्तान चला गया। इस लिये उस का खोना ठीक नहीं होगा क्योंकि आप ने देख लिया कि जब तिब्बत चला गया तो उस से हमारा कितना नुकसान हुआ।

आज मैं यह भी कहना चाहता हूँ कि हम लोग तिब्बत के बारे में कुछ नहीं सोचते हैं। जब कुछ माननीय सदस्यों ने यहाँ पर सवाल पूछा तो पिछले साल श्री चांगला ने जवाब दिया था कि हम तिब्बत के बारे में बहुत कुछ करेंगे। पाँच साल तक आप ने क्या कदम उठाया? क्या उस वक्त कदम उठायेँगे जब तिब्बत बिल्कुल खत्म हो जायेगा? तिब्बत तो वैसे ही आज खत्म हो गया है। वहाँ की बड़ी मैन्युस्क्रिप्ट्स थीं, बड़े-बड़े विद्वान थे, तथा वहाँ के बड़े बड़े मठ थे, उन सब को उन्होंने खत्म कर दिया है। वहाँ पर बुद्धिस्ट लोग हैं। जित्त तरह से वियतनाम में किया गया उसी तरह से चीनी लोग तिब्बत में करना चाहते हैं। इस लिये हमें इस का खयाल रखना बहुत जरूरी है कि जब तक तिब्बत स्वतन्त्र नहीं होता तब तक हमारे लिये चाइनीज का खतरा बना रहेगा। उन से पंडित जवाहरलाल नेहरू जैसे व्यक्ति को धोखा हो गया, और आज भी वह हम को धोखा देंगे। इस बार तो उन्होंने हिन्दुस्तान को धोखा दिया था, अब पाकिस्तान को भी देंगे।

इसलिये मैं अर्ज करना चाहूँगा कि लड़ाख की सीमा पर जितने हमारे सेना के लोग रहते हैं उन जवानों के लिये जरूर कुछ न कुछ रुपया बढ़ाया जाय, उन के अलाउंस के लिये और दूसरी सुविधाओं के लिये जरूर कुछ न कुछ किया जाय। यहाँ पर तो वह लोग कभी कभी होटलों वगैरह में भी जा सकते हैं, सिनेमा जा सकते हैं, लेकिन लड़ाख में वह बया करेंगे। अगर बाहर जायेंगे तो पहाड़

ही पहाड़ होंगे। वहाँ उन को कोई सुविधा नहीं है।

मैं सरकार का यह भी शुक्रिया भ्रदा करता हूँ कि वहाँ प. उन्होंने हमारी रक्षा सेनाओं के लिये बहुत बड़ा अस्पताल खोला है, लेकिन उस में सिविल लोग भी पूरी तरह इलाज करा सकते हैं। मैं इस के लिये बहुत ही मशरूर हूँ। जितना हमारे राज्य सरकार को करना चाहिये था या दूसरों को करना चाहिये था, उन्होंने उतना नहीं किया है, लेकिन केन्द्रीय सरकार ने सब कुछ किया है।

मैं सदन का ज्यादा वक्त नहीं लेता, मैं रक्षा मंत्रीजी को फिर से धन्यवाद देता हूँ।

SHRI UMANATH (Pudukkottai): Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, this year the defence budget has passed the Rs. 1,000 crore mark. We generally celebrate the silver jubilee, the golden jubilee and the platinum jubilee. I do not know how we propose to celebrate this defence budget having crossed the Rs. 1,000 crore figure. This year's defence budget figure, to say the least, is most staggering and fantastic and will have the most crippling effect on the economy and living conditions of the people.

The defence expenditure, which was Rs. 312 crores in 1961-62, has risen 3½ times to Rs. 1,015 crores in 1968-69. A contrast with the trend of national income will prove the serious implications of the defence expenditure this year. Between 1960-61 and 1966-67 whereas the national income at current prices went up by 55.3 per cent, the defence expenditure during the same period went up by 220 per cent. All through this period the *per capita* national income in real terms did not show any rise at all, the relevant figures being 310 and 313 only. That being so, this expenditure is one of the major sources of inflation, rising prices, diversion of developmental funds and of the present economic crisis in the country itself.

Serious efforts and initiatives for peaceful settlement of our disputes with our neighbours China and Pakistan and thus slashing our defence expenditure becomes an inseparable, inescapable and unavilable part of our efforts to take the country out of the present morass. The only section of the Indian people who may not relish this idea is the Indian big business who have their greedy eyes on the huge defence orders. Even as it is the portion of the defence expenditure that goes for purchases from the private sector is about Rs. 306 crores. It is no wonder they have a vested interest in such huge defence expenditure and in retaining the tension between us and our neighbours.

Coming to the problem of defence production, the crucial question is the need for total elimination of our dependence on foreign countries in the matter of defence production. After 20 years of independence our defence production basically remains dependent. Our Supply Missions in England and the United States are the living monuments of the 'sacred preservation' of our dependence.

The budget estimates for the London Mission is Rs. 24 crores. Many of the items that are sought to be purchased can be produced in our own country, and yet we are spending about Rs. 1 crore as establishment charges in London. The transport charges of our own personnel in the Mission within such a small country as Britain is about Rs. 10 lakhs. Lavishness needs no further proof. The 27th Report of the Estimates Committee of the Fourth Lok Sabha rightly said:

"The Committee . . . believe that with a determined phased programme much progress could have been made during all these years. The Committee hope that even now a determined attempt will be made to produce these articles indigenously on a phased programme."

What more proof do you require to

show that the Government was not taking determined efforts in this direction?

In fact, this feeling of security in the dependence on others has led the Government not to sanction sufficient funds for defence research projects, affecting the progress of research itself. From 1961-62 to 1965-66, every year the Government sanctioned only less than 50 per cent of the financial estimates of the various research projects, with the result that there were serious shortfalls in the physical targets of the research projects. The relevant figures of the shortfall in the physical target for research projects I am giving below. In 1961-62 the physical target fulfilled was only 26 per cent; in 1962-63 it was 14 per cent; in 1963-64 it was 27 per cent; in 1964-65 it was 36 per cent and in 1965-66 it was 37 per cent. Even in the plants under Government control substantial parts of capacity are left unutilized.

Take, for example, the Garden Reach Workshop. The percentage of idle hours to total working hours was 11.42 per cent in 1963-64. It increased to 18.39 per cent in 1965-66. In the new Machine Shop it was 14.50 per cent in 1963-64, which increased to 32.59 per cent in 1965-66. In one of the ordnance factories the rated capacity of producing tail units of bombs between June 1962 and September 1966 was 23,200. But do you know how many they produced? Just 6,000. And this despite more than adequate orders and though the Air Force has been stressing the need for urgent supplies.

Now, coming to the question of waste and inefficiency, this vast sphere of defence expenditure has become the grand theatre for waste and inefficiency. More than Rs. 80 crores worth of stores have been found to be either surplus, obsolete or useless for alternative use. This has been the state of affairs since 1958. Of this, Rs. 72 crores worth stores have been recommended to be disposed of. And yet upto October, 1967, only Rs. 10

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crores worth have been disposed of retaining about 86 per cent still undisposed of.

15 hrs.

In certain factories, established for more than 10 years, the avoidable waste has been to the tune of 100 per cent more than the normally allowed rejection per centage. Losses in certain institutions like military farms are enormous. The military farms which produced a profit of Rs. 43.11 lakhs, incurred a loss of Rs. 21.66 lakhs in 1964-65 which increased to Rs. 77.37 lakhs in 1965-66.

I want to know from the Government: Is it their demand that the millions of poor people in this country should pay for this waste, inefficiency and corruption, in the name of strengthening defence?

I now come to the conditions of the Jawans who are at the foundation level of our defence. Recently, certain revisions in the allowances relating to jawans have been announced. But that has not resolved the basic grievance of the jawans namely, discriminatory treatment by the Government between the ranks and the officers in the matter of benefits. A year ago, when our party mentioned this, the Prime Minister came out with a great non-existent discovery that we were creating division between ranks and officers. I say with a full sense of responsibility that it is this very Government which has introduced a wide disparity in service conditions and that they are themselves creating this sense of discrimination among the ranks. In the matter of Dearness Allowances, while the officers are paid the full rate as paid to civilian officers of corresponding pay ranges, the application of the same principle is denied to the ranks. In the matter of city compensatory allowance and bad climate allowance again, while the officers are to be paid in full, the equivalent to civilian rates, even the JCOs and other ranks are to be paid only two-thirds of the equivalent of civilian rates.

I am not demanding equality in the quantum of payment to an officer and a jawan but I am demanding that in the application of principles, there must be equality between officers and ranks. In the matters of principles, there should not be any discrimination. The whole pattern of salaries and allowances to officers and jawans has produced a disparity that the salary bill of a few officers in the Navy is equal to 52 per cent of that of the ordinary ranks whose number is vast. The relevant figure for the officers in Air Force is 40 per cent. In contrast, the Government has no hesitation when it is a question of withdrawal of existing concessions to the ranks.

On the 1st of this month, about six free concessions which were enjoyed by the civilian employees in Udhampur, Srinagar and Jammu, which they were enjoying for the past 20 years, were suddenly withdrawn leaving them in the lurch. The sooner the Government retrieves this position, the better for the morale of the services.

Another problem that created untold sufferings and pain to the servicemen and their families is the unpardonable delay in the settlement of their claims. The phenomenon of delay in settlement of claims is steeply rising. Upto 31st March 1963, the number of unsettled claims was 124; 1963-64—237; 1964-65—926 and 1965-66—3,775. As on September, 1966, the total number of 5,062 claims are lying in files unsettled. Of these 50 per cent of the claims relate to those who died.

One can imagine the pain and torture suffered by the families of the dead on this account and fear of the morrow that is haunting the jawans in service. I know from my personal experience what this delay costs. A civilian employee in the military services, with an ailing wife and six young kids, resigned his job so as to

treat his wife with the settlement claims. His claims were not settled for a long time with the result that his wife died with neither money for treatment nor for daily maintenance. I have caused those children to be admitted in an orphanage.

The Government has made a rule that the relevant papers for settlement should be sent by the authorities one year before his retirement so that his claims will be disposed of at the time of his retirement. And yet what is the position? Between 1961 and 1965, in 1,178 cases out of 1,518 cases, papers were sent after retirement. Of these, in 53 per cent cases, they were sent one year after retirement. In 232 cases, they were sent 1 to 3 years after retirement. In 141 cases, they were sent after 3 years.

In the case of death, the rules are that papers are to be sent as soon as possible. And yet what is the position? In 958 cases, papers were sent 1 to 3 years after death and in 493 cases, they were sent more than 3 years after death. This callousness to the servicemen must be stopped. Of course, the Defence Minister has been helpful when approached with individual cases. But this phenomenon as such must be eliminated.

I wish to draw the attention of the Defence Minister to a problem which is agitating the minds of jawans whose families are living in the Chhamb area which is just at the border between Jammu and Pakistan. Thousands of families of the jawans were uprooted from this area when Chhamb became a live sector in the 1965 conflict. After the war, these families were forcibly brought back to these areas by the Government of J and K. State against their wishes. Having compulsorily brought them, the J. & K. Government violated the solemn assurances given to them, in the matter of rehabilitation. As a protest, 10

displaced persons including 9 women, all of whom were related to jawans in service, went on hunger strike recently in Chhamb. Any Government with a sense of responsibility would deal with them gently and cautiously since any rash step might have serious repercussions in the army and jeopardise the defence itself, that area being on the borders. But the Sadiq Government sent police who mercilessly beat up hunger strikers including women, demolished and set fire to their huts and next day opened fire upon the demonstrators and shot dead a man of 75. This is what is happening on the borders.

I demand that in view of the likely repercussions on armed forces by the conduct of such irresponsible Government which itself is the security risk on the borders, the Defence Ministry must partake directly in the matter of their rehabilitation.

Lastly, I wish to remind you that during last year's debate I had brought to the notice of this House the contacts certain top officers of our army had with foreigners. The Government do not seem to have taken it seriously. Subsequently, now, the ex-CIA agent, Mr. John Smith, has made certain statements wherein he has made certain revelations about the CIA contacts with various officers in the army. I do not say that everything that he has said must be taken to be true. But certain things seem probable. For example he reveals that one CIA agent wrote the autobiography for Gen. Thimayya and that Prime Minister Nehru having come to know of it stopped it. It is admitted by Gen. Chaudhary that the deal for his becoming a military correspondent of a British paper was concluded behind the back of the Government at the instance of the Burmah shell boss. It is admitted by both Gen. Kaul and Gen. Chaudhary that the Burmah Shell boss was in constant touch with both of them. It is admitted by Gen. Kaul that as soon as he was promoted, he used to be in

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touch with a British military official for military advises behind the back of the Government. When these things could be admittedly true, why could not this statement that the CIA agent wrote autobiography for Gen. Thimayya be not probable?

I disagree with the Government's callous attitude on the question of serious enquiry into such allegations. This attitude may cost this country its independence and what little democratic rights we enjoy. Such a serious investigation assumes utmost importance especially when we learnt that some of these officers were tempted to the point of moving armies to take over the Government.

Here is a revealing extract from another source.

I quote the extract:

"Wherever the truth may lie, and here again many guesses are possible, there appears to have been in January 1961 some inkling on the part of Jawaharlal Nehru and Home Minister Pant of the existence of some sort of danger.

Significance appears to have been attached to an order given by Gen. Thimayya moving a Division from Ambala to Delhi. At the same time, an Armoured Brigade was located at Mathura, 90 miles from Delhi on the Agra Road, a brigade which was part of the armoured division at Jhansi, under the command of Gen. Thorat.

"Kaul, who was then Quarter-Master General, was asked to ascertain from Gen. Thimayya about the purpose of the move; it appears the order had been sent from Army Headquarters direct to the Divisional Commander and the principal staff officers did not know of it

"In any event, the order was countermanded. Within a month or two afterwards, at a reunion of the Kumaon Regiment at Ranikhet in the Almora Hills, and almost the last function which Gen. Thimayya attended before leaving the Army, speeches were made, a report of one of which attributed to Gen. Thorat a somewhat remarkable statement to be made by a serving officer, criticising the Government, and appealing to the troops for their loyalty to the Army Chief with no word about loyalty to the Government or the Constitution of India."

I am not quoting the *Blitz*; this is an extract which I have quoted from no less a person than Mr. S. S. Khera, the former Cabinet Secretary and your Defence Secretary. It is his words I have quoted and not of the *Blitz*. The quotation has appeared in the *Blitz*. That is all. I would like to say that, if the officers have such temptations and if they have contacts with foreign big business and intelligence as well, this country will be doomed.

Finally, I understand that, with regard to cantonment administration, there is a statutory provision which permits of separate laundries for westerners and for Indians. It seems that this provision for separate laundries for westerners and Indians, this discrimination, is on the Statute Book. It has not yet been removed. This is a shameful thing and this also must be removed.

SHRI PILOO MODY (Godhra): The remarks regarding *Blitz* should be expunged.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: Mr. L. N. Mishra.

THE MINISTER OF STATE (DEFENCE PRODUCTION IN THE MINISTRY OF DEFENCE (SHRI L. N. MISHRA): I seek the

indulgence of this House to intervene in this debate for a few minutes. It will be for my senior, the Defence Minister to reply to the main points made by the hon. members of this House. But I would like to state here a few facts connected with the problems of defence production, research and development, the role of private sector in defence preparedness and industrial relations in our defence installations.

Experience gained as a result of the two hostilities, the two aggressions, one made by the Chinese in 1962 and the other made by Pakistan in 1965, threw up new problems and new challenges to us. It was realised that it was high time that we relied upon the indigenous production in the matter of defence in a progressive manner as quickly as possible, and also that we should have modern and sophisticated weapons. We also realised that it would not be advisable to depend upon the external assistance and foreign collaboration for having arms for our army, and that we must have suitable weapons to suit our special conditions and the difficult situations at high altitudes and other places.

Rapid strides have been made in this direction and most of our ordnance factories have been modernised and new arms and equipment have been given to the army. More and more reliance on the indigenous production is being given.

The Army has been undergoing a major re-equipment of its weapons etc. This covers rifles, carbines, mortars, guns of various calibres and a host of other items including communication equipment. While this large scale re-equipment plan has been in progress, as the House knows, the Army has been considerably expanded. Most of these large number of new items have been taken up for production and very substantial progress has been made in supplying them to the Army.

As the House is probably aware, at the time of declaration of the Emergency in 1962, most of the ordnance factories had old and antiquated machines. These machines had to be over-utilised to meet the increased requirements. It was obvious that a large programme of replacement, renewal and modernisation was necessary. This was also the quickest method of improving and increasing production. It was taken up three or four years ago and I am glad to say that two-third of the modernisation programme of the ordnance factories has been achieved.

Despite many difficulties such as delays in shipping due to the Suez crisis, reluctance of many countries in making supplies to us, the ordnance factories have done commendable work to meet the large requirements of new and sophisticated items of equipment and ammunition. The House will be glad to know that, while the figure of items of arms, ammunition and vehicles in 1964-65 was Rs. 64 crores, in 1965-66, it went up to Rs. 70 crores, in 1966-67 it rose to Rs. 84 crores, and in 1967-68 it rose to Rs. 92 crores. This is excluding clothing, parachutes, high altitude tanks, sleeping bags, cables and general stores. It reached its maximum yearly production of Rs. 48 crores in 1963-64, and is now stabilised at Rs. 20 crores. Even with this decreased amount in clothing and general stores, the overall issues from ordnance and departmental factories during 1967-68 is expected to be Rs. 112 crores which is a record figure.

The major task of Defence Production is to meet the requirements of the large scale equipment of the Armed Forces. But equipping of a modern fighting force with complicated electronic and automatic devices is not an easy task. I am glad to say that India's defence production establishment has acquired a capability of mastering the latest techniques and producing modern equipment. We have been able, to a great

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extent, to equip our armed forces with all the modern and sophisticated weapons needed to meet the challenge that the modern warfare has thrown to us.

Replacement of old types of equipment with new ones are going on at a fast pace. Side by side new items of equipment are also being introduced.

For the Navy and the Air Force also a number of new items of weapons and ammunition have been taken up for production for the first time. Although the requirements of these Services are relatively small, the establishment of the new items required by them has involved considerable effort on the part of our ordnance factories in close association with the Services and the Research and Development Organisation. It is not easy to develop new weapons and produce them in less than four to five years. The experience of even developed countries is that it takes three to five years to develop a new weapon and two to three years to produce it for bulk output. Out of necessity we had to narrow down this period and we have done it to the satisfaction of our users, the armed forces.

A substantial contribution towards Defence Production is also made by a number of our public sector undertakings, of which, the Hindustan Aeronautics Ltd., and the Bharat Electronics Ltd. have been making a large contribution towards defence preparedness. Hindustan Aeronautics has five Divisions and the oldest and the largest of them is the Bangalore Division, about which the hon. Member of the DMK Party spoke this morning. Its production covers a large variety of aircraft and engines, namely, HF-24, Gnat, Kiran, Krishak, and Alouette helicopter. While the production during 1967-68 at this Division is expected to be about Rs. 18 crores, it has not come up to

our expectations. There have been certain difficulties in the recent past, which are, to some extent, inherent in an industry where the requirements are very rigid and sophistication is of a high order. These are being looked into, and we hope that things would improve.

Three factories are in the process of being set up for the manufacture of MIG aircraft, namely, at Nasik, Koraput and Hyderabad. Earlier stages of manufacture at Nasik and Hyderabad have already commenced and in Koraput, production will start after the test bed has been installed. The assembly of the aircraft has been proceeding according to schedule and we have already made deliveries of a number of MIGs to our Air Force. Production at the HAL factory at Kanpur has been stabilised and delivery of HS-748, popularly known as AVRO is being made to Air Force and Indian Airlines ahead of the schedule.

With the setting up of three new factories at Hyderabad, Nasik and Koraput, we have enhanced our aeronautics production resources considerably. This is beyond any doubt. However, while on the whole there has been a good progress in aircraft production, I must confess that we have still a long way to go.

The hon. Member belonging to the DMK Party referred to the industrial relations at Bangalore. I am aware of the situation there and it is a fact that industrial relations in Bangalore have not been as good as they should be. But I will request the hon. members to look into the points of dispute. If he had cared to study these, there have been three points, namely, (i) the workers have been demanding the application of Central rate of D. A. to the workers; (ii) re-instatement of seven of eight workers who were discharged on the ground of indiscipline; and (iii) wages for the lock-out period. I would like to

state categorically that, so far as the first point is concerned, the application of Central D.A. rate, the workers will have to decide whether they want to have D. A. according to the recommendations of the Engineering Wage Board or the Central D.A., they cannot have the best of both; either they can have the rate according to the recommendations of the Engineering Wage Board or if they do not want to have that, they will have the Central D. A. rate; if they make a choice, then the HAL will be prepared to negotiate or come to some settlement on that. There are five units of HAL—Bangalore, Kanpur, Koraput, Nasik and Hyderabad. Agreements with four units have been arrived at and they have accepted the formula evolved by the workers and the management, but Bangalore is the only unit which has not accepted the new agreement. Here, I would like to say, about reinstatement, wages for the lock-out period and D. A. this is not merely a trade union consideration the interest of the workers, which is standing in the way of settlement.

Sir it is something more than that and it is something political and I do not want to go in to the details of that. I will say if the workers of Kanpur find it acceptable if the workers of Koraput find it acceptable...

SHRI S. KANDAPPAN *rose*.

SHRI L. N. MISHRA: Sir, I am not yielding.

SHRI S. KANDAPPAN (Mettur): If it is something political as the Minister said I would very much like the hon. Minister to give the details.

SHRI L. N. MISHRA: Sir so far as the details of the agreement are concerned, I have laid a copy of it on the Table of the House, either in the Rajya Sabha or this House, ten days back. If the hon. Member is interested, he can look it up.

SHRI S. KANDAPPAN: If the labour first makes the choice you are prepared to accept?

SHRI L. N. MISHRA: I am prepared. I am saying it is for them to choose.

SHRI S. KANDAPPAN: When they choose, you will have no objection?

SHRI L. N. MISHRA: The workers will have to choose either the Engineering Wage Board recommendations or the Central D. A. rates. It is a fact that Central D. A. is applicable to some of the public sector units.

SHRI S. KANDAPPAN: Do you say that?

SHRI L. N. MISHRA: I have stated that. Perhaps the hon. Member is not aware of it. In fact 2 or 3 Members of Parliament have been in constant touch with me. Only last night I had a discussion with some Members of Parliament coming from Bangalore and who are taking active interest in the labour movement at Bangalore. I made it clear to them that it is for the workers to decide. It is not the workers' welfare that is guiding the movement but something else and the hon. Member is aware of it. Just because he comes from a place near by he cannot expect that he knows much more.

SHRI S. KANDAPPAN: I am very closely connected with the labour movement.

SHRI L. N. MISHRA: I will now come to the question of shipyards. Our shipyards at Mazagon Dock, Bombay and Garden Reach Workshops, Calcutta and Goa Shipyard, Goa have been making good contribution towards defence production. The project for the construction of the Leander class frigate, which has been undertaken by the Navy in the Mazagon Dock is going according to schedule and it is expected to be launched on the 23rd October this year by the

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Prime Minister. The frigate construction work is being co-ordinated in such a manner that it would be possible to deliver to the Navy one frigate every year, starting from October 1971.

Mazagon Dock has also delivered a dredger of high capacity to the Navy and we will deliver the first inshore minesweeper in the next 2 or 3 months. In addition both Mazagon Dock and Garden Reach Workshops have satisfactorily undertaken a number of refits to the ships of the Navy. Mr. Uma Nath made some points. Sir it is a fact that there had been some dislocation in the Garden Reach Workshops. But Sir if you take it with the overall state of the situation, we have every reason to be satisfied with the progress made by these workshops.

DR. MAJTREYE BASU (Darjeeling): What is the percentage of casual labour employed in the Garden Reach Workshops? Sir, under the name of casual labour, old employees are taken in.

SHRI L. N. MISHRA: This question has been brought to our notice and we are looking in to it and we have asked the management to take stock of the whole situation so far as the problem of casual labour is concerned.

There is one point which might satisfy hon. Members, that is about the financial return that we are getting from the investment that we are making all these years. Now in these public sector undertakings under the Ministry of Defence the trends of increase in production and profitability have been maintained. The total production of these units during 1967-68 would be about Rs. 90 crores as compared to Rs. 61 crores in the previous year.

It is also expected that our units will close the year with a profit and that Bharat Electronics, Mazagon Dock, Garden Reach Workshops and

Bharat Earthmovers will declare suitable dividends. Hindustan Aeronautics cannot be expected to declare a dividend as it is involved in a large expansion plan. It will be of interest to the House to know that the return on investment in Defence Public Sector Undertakings was 8.1 per cent during 1966-67 against 7.5 per cent. in the preceding year, as compared to 2.8 per cent. for public sector undertakings as a whole during the year 1966-67.

Sir, I would like to say a few words about the development of electronics and radar also. The report of the Bhabha Committee of which the hon. Members are well aware is our main guide on the subject. The development of the electronics industry is progressing satisfactorily. With the supply of equipment from BEL, the modernisation of the Army communications equipment has to a large extent been completed. Planning has commenced for the establishment of a new factory for the manufacture of radar and micro-wave equipment. This would help to progress the Air defence plan of the Air Force. The HAL Electronics Factory at Hyderabad has already taken up the production of air-borne electronic equipment. Apart from the micro wave and radar equipment factory of BEL a separate electronics factory is also being set up by the Atomic Energy Department.

The production of electronics which was Rs. 26 crores in 1964-65 came to Rs. 50 crores last year and this year it is expected to be Rs. 65 crores.

Yesterday and to-day also a number of hon. Members spoke about our research and development programme. I would like to say a few

words about our programme of research and development. We do appreciate the anxiety that hon. Members show about our programme of research and development.

The impact of science and technology on modern weapons needs no emphasis. In our case it is all the more important that we must break from the habit of collaborations. Our weapons must in any case be attuned to our own operational needs and the requirements of extreme differences in terrain and temperature. They must be capable of performing efficiently in deserts, jungles and high altitudes, in high temperatures as well as temperatures as low as 30° even 40° centigrade.

Considerable effort has gone into the Research and Development in the last 9 or 10 years. A major re-organization was effected in 1958 when the set-up was reconstituted in its present form by the amalgamation of all Research and Development resources in the Defence field under the Scientific Adviser. To-day there are 29 establishments and laboratories which cover practically all the areas of defence research for instance, armaments, electronics, aeronautics, oceanography, engineering, metallurgy, high altitude equipment and physiology.

The emphasis is on research of an applied character with a view to achieve maximum self-sufficiency in design and production by utilising indigenous raw materials and resources. Basic research of a fundamental character is largely left to other agencies. The Research and Development Organization has now in hand over 750 main projects. The total number of projects in hand would be in the region of 1200. For several projects outside agencies are freely used. University and other civil research institutions of the country have 75 projects. 46 research projects have been entrusted to CSIR Laboratories, Atomic Energy Commission and other industrial institutions.

The Research and Development Budget, which was of the order of 5.24 crores in 1962-63, increased to Rs. 12.80 crores in 1967-68 and in the current year we have made a provision of Rs. 14.12 crores. The expenditure on research and development has thus almost trebled in the last 6 or 7 years.

Even with this rate of growth however, we realise that the percentage expenditure on research and development is low in India being a little over one per cent of the defence Budget as compared to that in certain other advanced countries such as UK, USA and USSR where between 12 to 15 per cent of the defence budget is spent. I must, however, mention that both our resources and the problems which we have to tackle are different in scale. Moreover, the fact that our Research and Development Organization is one of recent growth sets its own limitations in so far as the basic infra-structure research facilities and trained personnel and accommodation have to be built up to a certain level before a substantial investment in research is expected.

The Research & Development Organization is drawing up a plan for the future in consultation with the Service Headquarters, keeping in view the existing research and development base and the requirements of the user for various advanced types of equipment. For obvious reasons it is not possible to give details.

While on the subject of Research and Development I would like to refer to a question raised again by the hon. DMK Member about the shifting of the Institute of Physiology and Allied Sciences from Madras and say something about this to allay the misgivings of the hon Member. Research in Physiology is an important branch of Defence Science dealing with human problems of military personnel in peace and war. This is not an industrial undertaking. Originally a physiology division was functioning

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within the Defence Science Laboratory in Delhi to deal with physiological problems as applied to the Armed Forces. In view of the rise in research tempo in problems concerning physiological and biochemical responses and human performance characteristics under various conditions of stress and strain it was decided to raise a full-fledged Institute of Physiology and Allied Sciences under the Research and Development Organization of the Ministry of Defence. Government sanction for setting up the Defence Institute of Physiology and Allied Sciences at Madras was given in September, 1962 and accordingly the institute was set up at Madras, as it was considered that by and large Madras satisfied the requirements and environmental conditions required for the type of work then envisaged for the institute.

After the Chinese attack, it became necessary to station a large body of troops in high altitude areas. As the existing knowledge on the subject of high altitude physiology was very meagre, this institute was called upon to reorient its main activities to high altitude problems of the Army. About 90 per cent of the projects of this institute in hand relate to the Army and of these over 80 per cent are related to conditions of high altitudes and cold environments. Keeping in view the conditions of our borders, this trend will continue for a considerable period. Mainly on this account successive Directors-General of Armed Forces Medical Services have represented for shifting the Institute to the north has its present location has led to considerable impediments in the way of research.

Recently the Chiefs of Staff Committee strongly recommended that a committee should be set up to go into this question afresh. Accordingly a committee comprising *inter alia* of scientific and technical officers was set up. They have assessed in great detail the merits and demerits of retaining the institute in Madras and

also the implications of shifting it to another location. The report of the committee is under consideration and it is difficult for us to say anything at this stage.

SHRI S. KANDAPPAN: Is it not a fact that Government have already got two high altitude laboratories in the north?

SHRI L. N. MISHRA: The hon. Member should not look at it from the point of view of his own State; he should not look at it from a parochial angle. Perhaps, the hon. Member is not aware of one fact namely that we have recently taken a decision to shift the Defence Vehicles Research and Development Unit which was established at Ahmednagar in 1947, to Avadi near Madras. I would submit that the hon. Member must have a broader all-India outlook and should not bring in parochial considerations in such matters.

SHRI S. KANDAPPAN: What he has said does not deserve to be answered by me. Without indulging in cheap arguments, let him give a categorical answer to the point that I have raised. Is it not a fact that Government already have two high altitude research laboratories in the north? Therefore, why should they think of shifting this institute from Madras to the north?

SHRI L. N. MISHRA: The issue is whether the utility of this laboratory will be better by stationing it at Madras or somewhere else. The question has been examined by a committee and the report of the committee is under consideration. We have not come to any final decision. But I would ask the hon. Member not to take a view that simply because it is located in Madras it should continue there; as a matter of fact we are shifting the Defence Vehicles Research and Development Unit established in Ahmednagar in 1947 to Madras. So there is no prejudice against Madras. As a matter of fact many of the units of defence establishments are in Madras.

DR. MAITREYEE BASU: But high altitude is there in Madras also. There is a factory at Arvankadu.

SHRI L. N. MISHRA: Unfortunately, our troops are not located there; they have to be on the north facing China and Pakistan and others. They are not in Madras.

SHRI UMANATH: Madras is a safer place.

SHRI L. N. MISHRA: There has some criticism as regards our approach to the private sector in the matter of defence preparedness. It is said that we are not encouraging the private sector and we are not giving any encouragement to them to take over the responsibility of defence production. If the matter is examined in detail it would be found that this criticism is not based on facts.

After the Chinese aggression particularly, we have been trying to encourage the private sector as far as possible, but it is a fact that we are committed to have progressive growth of the public sector in this country. We believe in public sector; we are not saving also that we do not want the private sector because we believe in a mixed economy.

If we examine the question of defence preparedness in detail we shall find that all possible efforts have been made to give encouragement to the civil sector in the matter of defence production.

We have recognised the assistance which the civil sector can give in increasing the supplies to the Defence Services. To the extent to which the existing capacity in the civil sector could be used, investment in the defence sector can be reduced. This should be realised. It also helps to give a broader base to defence industries and thus augment the capacity for indigenous production in emergencies.

Towards the end of 1965, the Department of Defence Supplies was also specially set up with the object of

achieving speedier import-substitution for components of weapons and ammunition, spare parts, and where possible even items as a whole. The progress made by this Department is encouraging. It has already placed orders covering nearly 5000 items of value of over Rs. 15 crores. The important factor, however, is that even the more difficult items have already started coming in.

The Director General of Ordnance Factories also has authority to go direct to the civil sector for obtaining the manufacture of components. He has also in this manner taken considerable assistance from the civil sector or the private sector. We do appreciate that the civil sector would be interested only if substantial orders are placed on them. Every effort is made to this end. It can thus be said that the contribution of the civil sector in helping and augmenting production of the ordnance and departmental factories as well as of the public sector undertakings is very considerable.

The capacity established in the private sector is proposed to be utilised on a continuing basis. Manufacturing units in this sector which establish capacity are given order for 80 per cent of the requirements in the second year also.

It is my intention that wherever capacity has been established in the civil sector new capacity for the same item should not be established in the defence production units. However, where capacity exists in the defence production units, it has to be really utilised.

To assist the civil sector in establishing the production of the more sophisticated defence stores, we have been giving financial assistance in the form of advance payments against the purchase of materials etc. Technical experts also advise and assist the industry in establishing production of sophisticated items.

Items connected with new weapons have very close tolerances and it is necessary to ensure that they are pro-

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duced of quality and specifications up to the appropriate standard. It has been our experience that in view of the sophisticated and complicated nature of the items certain firms in the civil sector have not been able to keep up to the production targets.

I can, however, assure the House that necessary steps are being taken to associate and seek the co-operation of the private sector in a such a manner that they could be activated in the shortest possible time in the event of an emergency.

SHRI S. M. BANERJEE (Kanpur): Not at the cost of the public sector ordnance factories. 20,000 items have been given to the private sector.

SHRI L. N. MISHRA: Not at the cost of the public sector. I am glad that the hon. Member holds that view. It will never be at the cost of the public sector. We shall give progressive encouragement to the public sector but where capacities are available in the private sector, we shall try to utilise them and encourage them.

Now, I come to the question in which Shri S. M. Banerjee is very much interested, namely the conditions of the defence workers. Shri S. M. Banerjee knows very well the conditions of the defence workers. I do realise that they are having a hard time especially in view of the rise in prices; their wages are not commensurate with the rise in prices, and, therefore, they are having a difficult time. We do appreciate all these points. But I would like to appeal to the leaders of the defence worker to bear one-thing in mind namely that the defence workers are not industrial workers; they are not even public sector workers like those of the Hindustan Steels. Their place is vital in our national life; therefore, they have to bear in mind that if they do anything which jeopardizes the production of defence equipment it tells upon the interests of the nation.

Therefore, they will have to bear in mind that discipline and production are not to become the casualty of their movement. I want that they should have a strong and healthy trade union. We are prepared to meet their genuine grievances, but at the same time we also want from them that they will ensure discipline and they will see to it that there is productivity and production also.

SHRI UMANATH: Why should he not restore the permanent negotiating machinery which was withdrawn by Government, if he really wants that?

SHRI L. N. MISHRA: Perhaps, the hon. Member is not in touch with the subject. Shri S. M. Banerjee knows about it.

SHRI S. M. BANERJEE: On behalf of the defence worker federation I assure him of full co-operation in the matter of maintaining discipline, decorum etc. In fact, he had inaugurated our defence workers' conference. I must congratulate him for that. He delivered a nice speech also. But my only submission is that the defence employees have a lot of problems; unfortunately these problems; are not being discussed today with the result that the All India Defence Employees' Federation had to give a call for token strike on the 15th May. Is he prepared to negotiate? Shri Swaran Singh is not available; at least Shri L. N. Mishra is available. I want an assurance from him that he is prepared to discuss these problems with them.

SHRI SWARAN SINGH: It is not proper to say that I am not available.

SHRI L. N. MISHRA: It is not fair to the Defence Minister to say that he is not available. He is always available. About the strike notice, I would like to say that I have seen the resolution and I have seen the demands made in the resolution. There was also a question about it in the Lok Sabha and the hon. Member

knows the answer that we have given. We are examining the various points made by the workers.

So far as sitting round a table is concerned we are always prepared to do so and negotiate. I am always prepared to do so.

SHRI S. M. BANERJEE: You are.

SHRI L. N. MISHRA: I am prepared, and my senior colleague, the hon. Defence Minister is also prepared. He will get satisfactory answers and replies provided he is reasonable and accepts this condition that no settlement can be at the cost of discipline and production.

SHRI S. M. BANERJEE: Not at all.

SHRI L. N. MISHRA: He must bear that in mind. Whether it is in Jabalpur, Kanpur or other places let there be this deal between the defence workers and Government. We will take care of their well-being and welfare and wages. Let them be responsible for discipline and productivity.

DR. MAITREYEE BASU: What about the negotiating machinery?

SHRI L. N. MISHRA: If they agree, it would be our obligation to fulfil our part of the agreement.

As regards the machinery, Shri Banerjee knows that we are discussing this also. We have agreed to discuss it on an informal basis because there has been a joint consultation machinery of which Shri Banerjee is also a member. We do not want duplication of machinery.

SHRI S. M. BANERJEE: We do not want the joint consultation machinery.

SHRI L. N. MISHRA: You have accepted it.

SHRI S. M. BANERJEE: It must die a natural death. We want our negotiating machinery, nothing else. In

front of Sardar Swaran Singh we went at 11 O'clock; he assured us and then we took our meals. But after sometimes, there was nothing....

SHRI L. N. MISHRA: Shri Banerjee and others raised the question of housing in the Jabalpur ordnance works. We have recently sanctioned the construction of 2100 houses at a cost of Rs. 2 crores or so. More projects are also being formulated in this direction.

SHRI S. M. BANERJEE: Rs. 75 lakhs.

SHRI L. N. MISHRA: We are always willing to help in this respect. So far as to housing problem is concerned, we hope we will be able to meet it in a period of 10-12 years. It is not so easy as the hon. Member thinks. It is really a serious problem which had been neglected. We are trying to give our attention to it.

We have recognised that night duty entails strain on the workers. A night duty allowance has, therefore, recently been sanctioned. The incentive bonus scheme has been liberalised. Some improvement has also been achieved in providing medical cover for the workers and their families.

The workers in defence installations are active participants in a mighty national endeavour to safeguard the sovereignty of the country. This distinguishes them from the workers in other industrial undertakings. I know our workers are patriotic people and when the opportunity comes, they will be prepared to offer every sacrifice in the service of their country. I must however utter here a note of caution in view of some recent incidents, that defence workers are engaged in producing equipment needed for defending our national sovereignty and nothing can be done or will be allowed to be done which would weaken our effort. No matter how genuine the grievances are, that should not be allowed to jeopardise production. The

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various machineries of joint consultation must be made fuller use of for redress of grievances, but jeopardising production, as the House will appreciate, affects defence preparedness and any weakness in this might well threaten the very existence of the nation. I would, therefore, ask for the co-operation of all political parties to ensure and help in preventing incidents which threaten continuity of production. So they should realise the gravity of the situation in which we are placed today and should not try to precipitate matters.

We are prepared to look into matters concerning the HAL and also some other concerns. Shri Banerjee referred to a token strike on May 15. I am prepared to sit with them and to talk to them with a view to redress genuine grievances. But I would request them not to precipitate matters, not to think in terms of jeopardising defence production and defence preparedness.

Before I conclude I would like to say that the Defence Production establishments have proved their capability of mastering the latest technique and producing the most modern and sophisticated equipment. Today our fighting forces are assure of getting the most modern equipment necessary to enable them to discharge the task assigned to them.

We are on way to achieving self-sufficiency in important items of arms, we have developed new weapons of significant values and there is every reason to feel satisfied with the progress we have made in the matter of Defence Production.

SHRI S. M. BANERJEE: In the Jammu and Kashmir area in the case of MES employees, 1500 to 2000 of them, they were getting a field concession. This has arbitrarily been stopped from 1 March 1968. This is a very sensitive area. May I request him and the Minister to say whether they

would restore this. There was actually a token strike, pen-down strike and hunger strike. What more is needed in Kashmir to press this demand? Will the Minister at least give me an assurance that he will look into the matter?

SHRI SWARAN SINGH: I will certainly look into it. But I might explain that these three places to which the hon. Member referred, that is, Jammu, Udhampur and Srinagar are places which we cannot say are field areas. In Jammu and Srinagar if concession was of free rations etc. that situation is completely changed. If the concession is withdrawn, the normal compensatory allowance admissible in any city or town of that size will certainly apply. It is really a switch-over from one to the other.

SHRI UMANATH: Most of these people came from outside places on the definite understanding that they would continue to get these concessions. If you want to withdraw the concessions, they say 'send us back or restore the concessions'.

SHRI SWARAN SINGH: That is a separate issue which cannot be tagged on to this.

They were getting this. The other allowances which are normally admissible to their other colleagues, who are working in similar conditions, were not being paid to them. Now this concession of free rations is a peculiarity of a field area where there are actually field conditions. That has been withdrawn. In their place, they are entitled to the types of concessions which are available to their other brethren on the civilian side who are working in towns of the same size and same conditions.

SHRI S. M. BANERJEE: I was referring to civilian workers.

श्री ए० सि० सहस्र (जिलासपुर) :
सभापति जी, मैं आपके जरिए से यह कहना चाहता हूँ, चास पर जब कि डिफेंस मिनिस्टर

साहब यहाँ बंटे हैं, कि जो हालत आज हांसी में है एक टेम्पल को लेकर उस के सिलसिले में मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि यह चीज अच्छी नहीं है। आपने और हम लोगों ने हिन्दू धर्म की रक्षा की है लेकिन आज वहाँ पर जो हालत है, मिलिट्री के कब्जे में आने के बाद वह जो काली का टेम्पल है, वहाँ पर हमारी बहनें और मातायें जाकर प्रार्थना नहीं कर सकती हैं तो फिर कैसे काम चलेगा। इसलिए मेरा निवेदन है कि आप इस चीज पर गौर करें और आप मुझे टाइम दें ताकि मैं इस पर अच्छी तरह से प्रकाश डाल सकूँ।

SHRI SAMAR GUHA (Contai): Mr. Chairman, the partition of India, the Nehruite policy of political extrovertism, the luxury of *panchsheel*, surrender of Tibet to Red China and the pacifist psychosthanea of the present Congress leaders in Delhi are the contributing factors that have led to the present predicament in our defence problem which is now consuming one third of the national revenue, an under-developed country like ours. Yet it seems to me that our Government has neither a clear appraisal of the nature, strategy and tactics of the enemies, who are no longer potential or unidentified but are aggressively activated and actual, nor a defence policy for defending our national independence.

As to the nature of our enemies, it has been stated in this defence Report:

"Of these, the Chinese danger poses to be a long-term one while the danger from Pakistan centres on certain problems and has certain elements which do not give it such a long-term character".

This is an absolutely misconceived appraisal of the danger from the side of Pakistan. Even if we make a complete gift of the whole of Kashmir to Pakistan, it will not be possible for

this Government to stop the practice of belching out of volcanic hatred by Pakistan against India as long as the Pindi Lord has the necessity to rule over the colony of East Pakistan and to maintain that political chimera of the unity of Pakistan with the two antipodal regions completely separate from each other. For the existence of Pakistan, they will maintain a posture of perpetual enmity with India.

Our defence problem is indivisible so far as China and Pakistan are concerned and it is almost of the same nature. India faced successively one attack from China followed within three years by another from Pakistan. Now our problem is this. It must be remembered that these two potential enemies, China and Pakistan, have combined themselves in a solid phalanx with the sole objective of defeating India. The problem for the defence of India is this. We are completely encircled by two enemies, completely identifying themselves and forming a solid phalanx with the sordid policy of crippling India. Now it is potentials but they may actually strike India simultaneously, with synchronising thrust on all our frontiers. That is the crux of the problem before us today.

We have to realise what is the actual strategy and the tactics of the Sino-Pak phalanx against India. That strategy is to involve India in as many fronts as possible, even in our oceanic front, as on our other frontiers. They have also another objective—to create extra fronts, that is, fronts within our country. Everybody knows what is going on in Nagaland and the Mizo Hills and how they are being helped by Pakistan and China; everybody knows what the plebiscite fronts in Kashmir are trying to do. Therefore, we should not only consider facing the Sino-Pak phalanx on our frontiers but also facing the Pindi-Peking columns inside India. As I said, Sino-Pak collusion is trying not only to

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involve us in our frontiers but simultaneously also inside our country. Our defence tactics should be such as to meet this. What is our strength to match this joint phalanx of the Sino-Pak collusion? The report of the Defence Ministry admits that about thirteen to sixteen divisions of the Chinese army are deployed in the Himalayan border; it also says that Pakistan has doubled its land army. What does it amount to, as against the strength of our army of 8.25 lakhs? The strength of the existing Sino-Pak armies which we are facing, excluding the paramilitary forces of Pakistan, is over a million. We have to face the army of China and Pakistan combined together and it will be nearly a million. What was the strength of the Army of Pakistan before 1965? Hon'ble Defence Minister is nodding his head against the number I mentioned.

SHRI SWARAN SINGH: I did not want to interrupt your train of thought. You continue with your speech.

SHRI SAMAR GUHA: He should kindly stop nodding. My point is that at this moment we are out-numbered with respect to the strength of the joint Sino-Pak armies.

It had been admitted by our Defence Minister that since 1965, Pakistan had doubled its Air Force. Today, in every paper it has come out that America has permitted the sale to Pakistan of about 100 M 47 Patten tanks and also planes from other countries. In the naval front also Pakistan has five submarines while we have none. With respect to China, the report tells us that China has made progress in nuclear weaponry at a pace which we could not even anticipate. This is the admission by our Government.

Faced with such a serious defence problem what should be our policy?

How can we counter the potential enemy which any day may turn out to be an actual enemy, both in our frontiers and inside our country? I should say that our policy should be that we should counter the enemy with those very tactics and strategy, which they have directed against us. Our potential enemies are trying to involve us in almost all our fronts and also inside our country. If you want to match them, you have to counter them by their own strategy and tactics. When it comes to this, our so-called policy of Panchsheel comes in our way. We are living in a shell; we have created a sort of a world for ourselves, as if the world is living in some sort of a utopian ideology. So far as defence is concerned, at any time, anywhere in the world, whatever be the brand of the country, communist or fascist or militarist or capitalist, the only one consideration that guides defence is national security. I shall give you a few classic examples. What was the Stalinist defence policy? Fascism was the sworn enemy of communism. What did Stalin do during last great war? Communist Stalin joined fascist Nazi Hitler and then within two years joined the American capitalism and fought fascist Germany with American arms, American weapons and American ammunitions. Another classic example is that of Egypt which is maintaining its defence alliance with Russia while in Egypt the communist party is banned and almost all communists are jailed. There is no deep ideological love between China and Pakistan yet they combined—which I cite as the third classic example. Yet they have formed a solid phalanx against India. The fourth example is from our own country—that is of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose. He wanted to go to Russia; Russia refused to give him shelter. He went to Germany where he joined hands with Germany. Germany declared war against Russia and wanted Netaji, Azad Hind Fauj to be sent to Russia. He refused to do so. When

he came to Japan, the Japanese declared war against China but Netaji refused to follow suit. In the case of every nation, as in the case of Netaji also, what was the supreme consideration regarding Defence policy. It is nothing else but national security and national independence. Be it a communist or capitalist or militarist or fascist Government, the prime factor and the guiding principle of Defence policy is national security. There is no other consideration or ideology or politics for any nation in the world for any. The only consideration to guide national defence is national security. Netaji joined hands with the Communists, with the fascists, with the imperialists; but he never allowed himself to be identified with the internal politics of any nation. That should be our objective.

16 hrs.

As I have already stated, counter the strategy and the tactics of the enemy by similar moves. The enemy is trying to involve us in as many fronts as possible. Here I will again, just remind you of the classic remark of Bismark who said: 'Do not allow the two wings of the eagle to fight simultaneously.' Whenever Germany did it during the first war and the second war, Germany got defeated so long as they were fighting with the two wings of the eagle. But when the Germany were fighting only one side, they were victorious. As long as we have to fight with two wings of an 'eagle' on the eastern and western Himalayas, as we are almost encircled today, we have to fight simultaneously the synchronised Sino-Pak thrusts with outnumbered physical strength, outnumbered armaments, outnumbered air force and outnumbered naval force. Therefore, keeping aside all ideological considerations, all so called fashionable policies of *panch sheel* what should we do? The only one consideration—the consideration of national security—should be our guiding principle in defence sphere.

So, I would suggest, firstly, Indo-

Soviet collaboration. It is very good that a move has been initiated by the Government. But the Government is not cautious enough. Just to have military hardware from Russia, the Government of India is not cautious enough to see that Communist Russia is not allowed to sell Communism in India along with the military hardware. Secondly, it is time that some sort of defence pact with Burma, Malaysia, Indonesia and Ceylon are entered into. The British power is evacuating from that side and a vacuum is being created. Now that Burma is at loggerheads with China, the time is very propitious, very opportune, for India to enter into a defence pact with those neighbouring countries who believe with us in the policy of non-involvement. Thirdly, we should have defence and political understanding with Afghanistan. Fourthly—I know our Government would shudder to think of it—but I am making this suggestion with all sense of responsibility—with all faith in peace and socialism, I would say that India, for her own interests, that is to involve China in another front,—India must establish political and some sort of military relationship with the Taiwan Government, i.e. the Formosa Government. If Red China could enter into a treaty of friendship with Fascist Pakistan, if Russia could join hands with capitalist America at a time when it is fighting fascist Germany, can we not enter into some kind of alliance with an enemy of China to contain the menace of China? Is it not in our national interest? Is it not in the interest of national security? We have to throw away all political principles so that a part of the strength of the enemy could be confined to the other front. Is it not necessary to do that? What are the Sino-Pak phalanx doing? We should counter them with the same strategy, by keeping them engaged in as many fronts as possible. Is it not necessary for us to do that for our own national security.

Then without entering into too collaboration with other governments,

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about which we are very much touchy, we should follow the policy of Netaji, i.e., not entrancing too much our relation with the enemy of our enemy. We should not estrange too much of our political relationship with the enemy of our enemy. I do not want to elaborate on that for obvious reasons.

Then I come to another thing on which also our Government is very touchy. They will immediately jump up when I mention it. In India we have several lakhs of Tibetan refugees. We are providing them with rehabilitation. But I would tell the government that if they really want to fight on the Himalayan front, while providing rehabilitation to the Tibetan refugees, at the same time, they should keep an army of brilliant mountain fighters who know the climate of Himalayas, who know every region of Himalayas and their terrains. You may raise several divisions of the Tibetan army. If you can recruit Nepalis, have Nepalis in our army. If possible, have the Khampas, because they know every area of the Himalayas. You can have a Khampa division. They will fight China like tigers in the Himalayan frontier.

Then, we should vigorously support the Pakhtoons and the independent movement of the East Pakistanis.

Here I may give my personal experience, which is something dangerous. I had a talk with a top military officer in a certain place on a certain occasion. For obvious reasons, I would not mention the place. There the military were called to give service to the civilian people. I was surprised to find that even 10 per cent of the equipments that were taken there did not work due to either operational and mechanical defects. This is dangerous. Government must go into it thoroughly. Even during the Indo-Pakistan war it was reported that 40 per cent of our tanks did not ope-

rate effectively due to mechanical faults.

Lastly, every day we are facing the problem of meeting the challenge of Chinese propaganda. On the Himalayan region they are selling books on their theory of communism. Even in yesterday's paper there was a news item that the Chinese are publishing books and pamphlets to be transported to Bengal to be distributed among the people just to undermine the morale of the Indian army. It is time that Indian army is given certain ideological training. *Kasam khaja*, the old British concept of loyalty would not do. The Indian army should be inspired with a sense of patriotism, with a sense of Indian nationalism, with a sense of mission, with the knowledge that they have a mission to fulfil. As Netaji said, "India has a mission to fulfil and for that India has passed through centuries of innumerable vicissitudes." That type of ideological training should be given to our army if you want to match the phalanx of the Chinese army. Jai Hind.

16.08 hrs.

COMMITTEE ON PRIVATE MEMBERS' BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

TWENTY-FIFTH REPORT

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: The House will now take up Private Members' Business.

श्री हरबयाल देवगुण (पूर्व दिल्ली):
उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं प्रस्ताव करता हूँ:

"कि यह सभा गैर-सरकारी सदस्यों के विधेयकों तथा संकल्पों संबंधी समिति के 25वें प्रतिवेदन से जो 27 मार्च, 1968 को सभा में पेश किया गया था, सहमत है।"

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER, The question is: