

[Mr. Speaker]

sent to me also, and I had forwarded it to the hon. Minister. Now, something should be said about the reaction, whether they are really considering it or they will take some more time. Something definite must be told to the House.

Shri Satya Narayan Sinha: As I said, Government are considering the matter.

Shri Harish Chandra Mathur: I wish that the hon. Minister's reply is more effective.

Shri Surendranath Dwivedy (Kendrapara): When the hon. Minister replies to the debate on the Demands for Grants relating to the Commerce and Industry Ministry, will be able to tell us the decision of Government on that matter? Shall we be able to know that when the hon. Minister replies to the debate on those Demands? Is that the position?

Shri Satya Narayan Sinha: As I said, hon. Members should wait and see.

Mr. Speaker: That is no answer to be given to the House. Either a commitment should be made that the hon. Minister would make a statement particularly dealing with it when he is replying to the debate, or it should be said that he will make a separate statement about that. Something should be said on those lines.

Shri Satya Narayan Sinha: Yes, something will be said whether they are going to proceed with it or not.

Mr. Speaker: Would that be said?

Shri Satya Narayan Sinha: Yes, in the reply.

श्री यशपाल सिंह (कैराना) : अध्यक्ष महोदय, आपकी आज्ञा से मैं एक सैकेंड में यह निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि हमारे कांस्टीट्यूशन के मुताबिक डिगनेटरीज की औनर को भेटेन करना सरकार का काम है।

मैंने आज भी लिख कर दिया और पहले भी एक कौलिंग अटेंशन दिया था कि हिन्दुस्तान के: एक्स गवर्नर जनरल की शान के खिलाफ श्री बा० पटनायक ने एक बयान दिया है और...

कध्यक्ष महोदय : इसके लिए माननीय सदस्य उन से क्या पूछते हैं ? यह तो मुझ से उन्हें पूछना चाहिए।

श्री यशपाल सिंह : अध्यक्ष महोदय ही फिर बतला दें कि उस मामले को उठाने का हमें कब मौका मिलेगा ?

अध्यक्ष महोदय : मुझ से पूछने का तराका और है और वे उस इस्तेमाल करें।

DEMANDS FOR GRANTS—contd.

MINISTRY OF DEFENCE—contd.

Mr. Speaker: The House will now proceed with further discussion and voting on the Demands for Grants under the control of the Ministry of Defence together with the cut motions moved.

Out of 10 hours allotted, 3 hours and 50 minutes have already been taken, leaving 6 hours and 10 minutes.

Shri Anthony.

Shri Surendranath Dwivedy (Kendrapara): I take it the Minister will reply on Monday.

The Minister of Parliamentary Affairs (Shri Satya Narayan Sinha): On Monday.

Shri Joachim Alva (Kanara): The hon. Deputy-Speaker gave me to understand that I would be given a chance early today as some of us have a particular preoccupation elsewhere. We shall be grateful if you would give us a chance. We were sitting here yesterday for five hours hoping to get a chance.

Mr. Speaker: I will be calling him after Shri Anthony. Let him be ready.

Shri Joachim Alva: Thank you.

Shri Frank Anthony (Nominated—Anglo-Indians): Mr. Speaker, Sir, it is a measure of the determination of the country that there is complete unanimity, both in this House and indeed in the country, on the urgent need for strengthening our defences. And because of this, we are committed to a comparatively huge expenditure which is a tremendous, but perhaps, a necessary burden.

Shri Chavan is comparatively new to this House. But I think I ought to tell him that I, as one of the most senior Members of this House, have been in the past bitterly critical of the fact that it has become almost a bad tradition for the Defence Ministry to keep this House deliberately ignorant of even the most elementary defence preparations. I say this to the Defence Minister, that he has emulated that bad tradition. Personally, I consider his Report an affront to this House. We are told exactly, precisely nothing. Would it not be more honest if because Government distrusts this House, if because Government distrusts fellow-Indian legislators. Would it not be more honest than going through the farce of the motions of getting us blindly to endorse a huge bill of expenditure—would it not be more honest—if Government got the Defence appropriations certified by the President, indicating to the country that Indian legislators cannot be trusted with even the most elementary details of defence preparations?

What has happened in the past? The Defence Minister has repeatedly fobbed us off with all kinds of assurances—and they will be continued—bland, smug assurances that everything in the defence garden was perfect, that we were ever ready to meet aggression from any quarter. Tested

for the first time in the crucible of reality, all those assurances have proved to be what? —a tissue of bare-faced untruths.

What were the facts? The stark facts were that we were hopelessly, utterly, completely, unprepared. The stark facts were that our troops were sent up to fight at heights without a glimmering of any kind of acclimatisation. The stark facts were that our troops in many instances were sent up without adequate clothing. These were the stark facts. I know that for some of the combat units that you collected at the last second, you did not have a complement of ordinary bolt action rifles.....

Mr. Speaker: Kindly address the Chair.

Shri Frank Anthony: I am sorry: These were the stark facts. What has happened? What I regret is the complete, continuing lack of candour on the part of Government. Government will not take this House into its confidence; Government will not take the country into its confidence. It still assumes an attitude of omniscience, an arrogation of infallibility in defence matters. The Prime Minister will never admit a single mistake. The Prime Minister and the Defence Minister still insist that our intelligence is perfect. I am not blaming the military intelligence side. I believe that unlike most other countries we have failed completely to develop our military intelligence side, that we are largely dependant on our civilian intelligence, and it has not only proved wrong, it has been proved to be pathetic. What happened in the Goa action? There were official statements of 20,000 and 30,000 European Portuguese troops. We took a hammer to kill a gnat. We concentrated huge unnecessary forces to go in, to find 2,000 or 3,000 Portuguese boys there. Fortunately it was an error on the right side. We overestimated the strength of the enemy.

But what happened with regard to the Chinese? There was a hopeless,

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disastrous under-estimation of the Chinese strength. Apparently the Prime Minister was briefed by our intelligence for what it was worth. I would have thought no one, and certainly not the Prime Minister, would have proclaimed it, but briefed by our intelligence, the Prime Minister proudly proclaimed that he had given orders to our forces to drive out the Chinese just like that from the NEFA area. Apparently, our intelligence was to the effect that there were a handful of Chinamen there, and that if we sent a few ill-equipped troops, they would chase them out. And so the Prime Minister made this proclamation.

What happened? Our troops were sent there without adequate equipment, and thanks to the intelligence of the Government, we went and committed our troops in the Thagla area.

My friend Shri Indrajit Gupta made a very clever speech. It was clearly insidious, this complete, sedulous whitewashing of the politician and the corresponding trashing of the image of our fighting men. I do not say that here and there our officers did not fall down, I do not say that here and there our jawans did not fall down, but by and large they maintained the finest traditions of fighting and of courage.

What happened? You sent the men as sitting ducks in the Thagla area. They did not have a chance to fight. The Chinese were heavily entrenched, entrenched in overwhelming superiority with overwhelming fire power. We sent a handful of troops to be massacred. That was what happened in the Thagla area.

And I say this same mentality, this same procedure, these same processes have been followed, the Defence Minister tells us now.

One Mr. Patnaik—he may be a very estimable gentleman, I do not know

much about him, he may have all the sort of attractive brashness of an energetic youth, I do not know, but so far as I am concerned as a lawyer, to me constitutionally he is neither fish, nor fowl nor good red herring. This gentleman goes to America and discloses all kinds of information. For once the Prime Minister was candid. When we ask for information in the House, the Prime Minister always supports the Defence Minister in denying us even elementary information. He was so avid to come to the support of one of his roving colleagues. He said: what, this information is usually disclosed in progressive countries. I agree with it. My quarrel with the Ministry is this, that they have not only this false, exaggerated sense of security; it is so exaggerated, it is pathetic, it is ridiculous. Does the Minister want us to believe that British firms that are supplying us planes, the French firms that are supplying us tanks and some other firms that are supplying us tanks and the Americans who are supplying us with automatic weapons in their journals do not put out what they are supplying us? We are the only people who are denied this information. I just do not understand it.

Then, Shri Chavan as a dutiful Congressman will go to the Congress legislative party and tell them: we are going to double the army, we are going to have six more ordnance factories. Why don't you tell us? We have to scrounge for the information in all sorts of devious ways.

Mr. Speaker: Again, he is not addressing the Chair.

Shri Frank Anthony: I am sorry.

Then, the Minister has told us that he has appointed an enquiry committee. It is a good thing. But, let me tell him this, that some of us are very suspicious of the unduly protracted nature of these enquiries. As far as I remember, the Minister promised us that these enquiries, this probe

into the NEFA debacle or whatever you want to call it, into inadequate equipment and lack of leadership, would finish in four months. Now it is going to take another eight weeks. There is a suspicion on this side of the House that this probe which should have been completed within two months at the latest, has been deliberately protracted so that it will come after the Parliament session has concluded. Public memory being notoriously short, people will forget where to place the blame for our reverses in the NEFA area. I would like the Minister to tell us this. Are we going to be vouchsafed some kind of an indication of the findings of this enquiry committee? Who is going to sit in enquiry on the basic primary weaknesses? All the time Mr. Indrajit Gupta suggested: the morale of the Army is not so good. It is a cleverly insidious, typical communist pattern; the Indian Army is demoralised; the Chinese are overwhelmingly superior! Who is going to pin down the basic primary causes of our reverses? I say this with all humility but I say it without qualification. The basic primary causes, the origin for our reverses were political. The reasons for our reverses in the NEFA area, if they are to be nailed to the counter, will have to be nailed to the Prime Minister and the Defence Minister. I say that advisedly.

In the first place, there is absolutely no rapport between the politician and our military needs and the military services. I am not blaming the politician. We have been politically conditioned in ahimsa; there has been almost an allergy between the Defence Services and the politician. There has been no planning, no semblance of any kind of thinking along military lines by the politician. And the politician has got into the habit of treating, at least in the past, the Army as a necessary evil to be scrapped if possible, but certainly to be reduced as far as possible. That is what has led to the Armed Forces having usually one arm tied behind their back, and very

often, both the arms tied behind their backs, and because all the mistakes have been political mistakes. Politics has dominated and vitiated all our military preparations. A few years ago, I read an account in a paper, that the then Chief of Army Staff, one of the very finest that we had, put forward a scheme, several years ago, for minimum modernising of the small arms equipment. What happened? That was several years ago? I can only conclude that the Prime Minister or the Defence Minister laughed him out of court. Today we are blaming the Army because their equipment was hopelessly inadequate and lacking in modernisation. Was not this a basic political mistake? Who insisted on continuing hostages to Chinese good faith? Who insisted and persisted in the illusion of 'Hindi-Chini bhai-bhai'? The politician. Because of this wrong political assessment, this wrong political assessment vitiated all our defence preparations the whole time. From the Defence Minister downwards, they said Pakistan was the principal enemy. I do not say that Pakistan is not a potential aggressor. But the whole time, the real danger of communism, of Chinese communism was deliberately played down by the Defence Minister. And because of that deliberate miscalculation what happened?

Because they persuaded themselves to believe that the Chinese were never a threat, practically all the mountain artillery and mountain batteries were all disbanded. Today, probably, they are running about trying to revive their mountain artillery units. They laid emphasis on heavy tanks. Sherman tanks and Centurion tanks, the Sherman tanks are completely obsolete. What emphasis was laid on light tanks? I was reading an account by one of our young officers the other day. In the Ladakh area they were in the dug outs one minute. The next minute, they were sitting ducks because our troops did not have mountain artillery; they did not have any kind of tanks. The Chinese help-

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ed by their friends here with all kinds of propoganda and helped more positively by the Russians with the Russian P 76 tanks which were highly mobile and powerful and with mountain artillery shot these bunkers from over these young fellows' heads. They were almost defenceless in the face of the overwhelming Chinese firepower supplied by the Russian J 76 tanks and by some other latest Russian mountain artillery. What was the mistake? Our troops did not have the weapons because of this basic political weakness—playing down the Chinese menace, scrapping our mountain artillery units, emphasise on the heavy tanks capable only of fighting in the plains and not concentrating either on mountain artillery or on light tanks. I know you are buying some light tanks today. You are buying them in a hurry.

Mr. Speaker: I have not placed any orders.

Shri Frank Anthony: I am sorry; I beg your pardon. I have unfortunately got into that habit. Then, take the ordnance factories. There was a complete lack of any urgency in the ordnance factories. Once again, deliberately, they have lulled this country into a false sense of complacency under pressure from the communists and the quislings in this country including the fellow-travellers in the Congress party. They deliberately played down the sense of urgency. The ordnance factories were producing percolators, concentrating on all kinds of nonsensical civilian goods instead of an weapons. This is what I do not understand. I have always considered, and I still consider the Prime Minister a big enough man to admit the mistakes, but the communists are deliberately fobbing off all the blame on to our fighting men. I do not say that the army are blameless. But let the politicians take some of the blame. Who made the major

decision during the fighting in NEFA? I want to know. I do not suppose I will get a candid answer. As far as I know, as a layman, I know very little. I used to be on the National Defence Council many years ago, for many years, on the Standing Consultative Committee, when incidentally we were told very much more by the British than what our fellow Indians tell us today.

Shri Indrajit Gupta (Calcutta South West): You are siding with the British!

Shri Frank Anthony: I am not siding with the British. My insidious friend is an extremely good advocate of communism and communist countries, but what I am pleading is this. Who made the decision in NEFA? Were they not political decisions? Some of us were under the impression that our defence line, according to the military appreciation, was drawn long before along the Tawang area. Who suddenly changed it and drew the defence line in the Sela-Bomdila area? Was it a political decision dictated from Delhi? I do not know. Of course, my friend is bound to say that it was necessarily a military decision. But will he say this to me? The decision to ground our air force, the decision to refuse to give the minimum tactical air support to our army—was it not the decision of the Defence Minister or even of the Prime Minister? Will he tell us that any army officer or any air force officer would have dared to fly in the teeth of ordinary military conventions, of giving the minimum tactical air support to our ground forces? Was that a military decision to deny our men fighting gallantly and heroically in the Walong area? What did they ask for? Does the Minister expect me to believe that our people fighting heroically in Walong did not ask for air support, that the air force was not prepared to give it to them, the air support which could have converted their resistance into a major

Chinese defeat? Who took the decision? It must have been taken at the highest political level.

All right. You took the decision. I am not saying that it was wrong. It was a decision which changed the resistance—which might have converted retreat into a victory. It was a gallant retreat and an orderly retreat. What happened in the other places? Some of us met Mr. Averell Harriman. He was candid with us, and one of the things I pleaded with him was this: that I was not prepared to believe that the Indian jawan fought any less courageously than he has even done. And he agreed with me. He said, "Mr. Anthony"—many of my friends from this House were there—"Your blunders in NEFA were all tactical blunders. One tactical blunder after another." But were they all military blunders, or were they primarily, in many instances, political blunders? Some were seeing themselves, pruning themselves, as would-be Generals, seeing themselves as Hitlers and Stalins. Whose blunders were they? Who gave these orders not to use but to ground our air force? I say there was a paralysis of fear. Who was afraid? I find it very difficult to believe that our army and air force commanders were paralysed by fear. It was a political paralysis. I said fear, because admittedly the Chinese are overwhelming superior in the air—ten to one—that they might by way of reprisals attack our industrial centres and our cities. But I am quite certain—and that is what I find fault with—that our whole political conditioning is wrong. The Prime Minister was sermonising us about brutalisation, but the Government must accept a minimum commitment of the totality of war and they cannot get paralysed with fear. What if the Chinese were going to indulge in reprisals? Was that any reason why we should ground our air force and allow our armed men fighting gallantly against tremendous odds the denial of minimum air support? We were not prepared for the commitment of

war; that is the whole thing. It was a political decision taken in a paralysis of fear. We were prepared to sacrifice our fighting forces on the ground. But what are we doing for the future? That is what I do not understand. That is where clever people like Mr. Indrajit Gupta come in. What do they plead? All the overtones of communist subversion were underlined in his speech—no air umbrella, no foreign bases. Who has ever pleaded for air umbrellas? Who has ever pleaded for foreign bases? It is not only pretentious but dangerous non-sense to talk about not making the minimum necessary arrangements and to sacrifice the defence of the country, because we are so overborne by shibboleths and cliché-mongering.

To talk about self-sufficiency is utter pretensions and ignorant non-sense. Are powerful, advanced countries like Britain and Germany self-sufficient? I am not talking about military alliances. Don't they enter into some arrangement? What have we done? We are nothing if we are not hyper-hypocrites. The communists and the fellow-travellers in the Congress Party know the weaknesses of the Prime Minister. We know that in the foreseeable future, not in 5 years, not in 10 years, not in 15 years, will we be able to meet the Chinese with any semblance of parity in the air. We know that. How do we meet it? If the Chinese attack us again, do we repeat this tragic performance of keeping our air force grounded or do we enter into some alliance.

The Prime Minister too was stamped into all this by the calculated tactics of communists and on this side the fellow-travellers making ambivalent statements—no air base, no air umbrellas. I do not know much about Prof. Galbraith, but as a professor, I think he is a fairly mild person but apparently even he was exasperated. He had to come out with a statement saying, who has offered you an air umbrella? Who has offered you foreign bases? It was

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you who ran to us when you were in desperate need and we came to your assistance. But what do the communists and the fellow-travellers in the Congress Party want? They know that we are in a position of hopelessly unrelievable inferiority to the Chinese. They know that if the Chinese attack us again, without some kind of aid, our air force will be absolutely helpless. I just do not understand the equivocation on the part of the Prime Minister himself. Who has asked for air bases? What were the 300 young Americans doing here? Do they come here just because they like the colour of our lovely brown eyes? Do the Americans want to sacrifice their husbands, brothers and sons because they like the colour of our eyes? It is because they have the fellow feeling of a democracy.

We have not shown even elementary gratitude to them; we have been churlish in our attitude. We have not only been ungrateful, but we have been churlish in our ingratitude. The 300 American boys were ferrying our troops and our equipment and the communists said, "Why should we have 300 Americans here? Don't they form a kind of foreign garrison?" It is a question of making the minimum arrangements so that in future, if the Chinese attack us, we will be able to commit our air force tactically and also be able to offer some protection for our industrial cities, etc.

As I said, they raised this whole bogey of air umbrellas and the Prime Minister was stampeded. Ultimately he had to clarify his attitude to the House. What has been the result? What has been the aid ultimately given to us? It has been marginal, minimal aid. I believe the Government expected very much more. But what have we got? About Rs. 30 crores from Americans and an equal amount from the Commonwealth countries. Here we have these glaring huge gaps in our defence preparation. Why has this aid suddenly dried up?

Is it because, as I said, of the ambivalent attitude? Is it because we are so much under pressure from the communists and the fellow-travellers in the Congress Party that both Britain and America feel that there is no point in giving us aid, although we need it? Or, is it because they do not approve of our planning?

I read a report, and I have the cutting here, that we asked for but were refused 104 supersonic fighters and Bomac ground-to-air missiles. Why? Is it because they have no respect for our planning, or is it because they have become a little browned-off with all our ambivalence and our churlishness. I do not know whether the Defence Minister will be prepared to give me an answer.

But, Sir, I want, if I can get it, some kind of a reply to this. What kind of reorganisation of defence production and supply is going to be done? I was speaking to Shri Krishnamachari, I could get nothing out of him; he is ultra-loyal to his colleagues. But this is my own interpretation of the set-up. What is this economic and defence co-ordination? Surely, the whole thing should be lumped together. There is Shri Raghuramaiah, the Minister of State for Defence Production. What I am almost certain of—they would not admit it—is that our defence production instead of being co-ordinated, instead of being rationalised, instead of being streamlined, is going to fall increasingly into chaos and confusion. What is this Minister, Shri Krishnamachari, purporting to co-ordinate? What is he going to co-ordinate? Is he going to tell Shri Chavan or his lesser colleague, Shri Raghuramaiah, to stop producing useless items like clothes, stop producing even jeeps and trucks and ask them to concentrate on weapons, concentrate on big or small arms? Is he going to say that even to Shri Raghuramaiah, the lesser Minister? They will cock snooks at him. Is he going to tell the Commerce

Minister, you do this in aid of defence? Is he going to tell his colleague the Steel Minister, you do this or do that? Of course, not. Even on paper the whole thing is in complete disarray. That is what I am afraid of. I am afraid that this money will be spent and there will be no semblance of planning, not even the semblance of disarray that we have from the Planning Commission. It will be all by the rule of thumb.

Can the Minister tell us what kind of priorities he is going to give to tanks? Is he going to concentrate on heavy tanks? Is he going to have light tanks so that we may be able to use them against the Chinese if and when they attack us again? What kind of MIG 21 are we going to have? I do not know. I have never entered into the political controversy, although I have my own suspicion that the decision was largely dominated by the political predilections of my friend's predecessor. This is a fact, we know, that the more sophisticated the defence weapons are, the shorter is their life span. What is the life span of the MIG 21? Probably it is obsolete already. When is it going to come off the assembly line? How much is it going to cost us? I want some answers to these. When it comes off the assembly line, several years from now, it will be completely obsolete.

I want to know this. What kind of co-ordination is Shri Krishnamachari going to secure from all his colleagues. Sir, the Prime Minister is not here. I feel very sorry for him sometimes. Probably, he does not want my sympathy, but I see that he is a lonely man. Probably he has not the time or even the inclination to consult his colleagues except one or two. What happens? I know, as a senior member in the lobby, with the exception of one or two, the Cabinet functions as, I call it as a cryptocracy. Each Minister has his own political other lobby. Each Minister today is indulging in aggrandisement of his own Ministry. In this context, by placing

Shri Krishnamachari in a kind of position where he is to ride about six horses is it going to produce a semblance of rationalisation of defence production? That is my fear. No arrangement of priorities will be there. There will be sheer waste. The next time we come here, the next time the Chinese attack us—I know the tails of the jawns are up and they will fight even in spite of any handicaps that may be placed on them at the political level—I am not sure . . .

Mr. Speaker: He has to conclude now.

Shri Frank Anthony: Sir, I will conclude by referring to two matters—I wanted to refer to many other matters. What is the Defence Minister doing? I will say this to him, that we have let him off a little lightly. But if he persists in not answering, if he persists in not dealing with the problem, I will not be friendly towards him as I have been today. At least I say this, that Shri Krishna Menon dealt with problems, he took decisions whether right or wrong. People talk about demoralisation in the army. But to what extent is the politician going to interfere with the soldier? It has been said, quite rightly, that war is too dangerous a game to be entrusted entirely to Generals but, in the context of our political conditioning, without any *rapport*, in military matters I would say that, in India at any rate, war is too dangerous a game to be entrusted entirely to politicians. Then what happens? Shri Krishna Menon who was a man with strong likes and dislikes demoralised the army, and I say that without qualification. He injected the most blatant politics into the army. He played ducks and drakes with the most senior ranks with the result that some of the best men went out. I do not know all but one case came to me in my professional capacity, and it was a case of a raw, sordid deal.

Mr. Speaker: He should conclude now.

Shri Frank Anthony: I will conclude in a minute. Some of them have left the country because they were given quite a raw sordid deal. And I would say this to the Minister, that I wish him well but with the hope . . .

Mr. Speaker: Though I have been ringing the bell, he has been getting permission from his right side.

Shri Frank Anthony: May I just say this? If he wishes us to extent to him a friendly reception, let him trust the House a little more.

Shri Joachim Alva: Mr. Speaker, Sir, at the outset, I would like to deal with two charming persons, one to my left the hon. Lady Member from my own ranks, and the other the gallant gentleman who spoke before me just now. But I shall not say anything about it straightway; I will come to it a little later. I shall deal with the points they raised in their speeches right in my speech, but not just now. Before that, I would like to extent a very hearty welcome to the new Defence Minister.

This is our first war or emergency cabinet, this is our first war, emergency budget of free and independent India, and this is also the first budget of the new Defence Minister. The new Defence Minister has come with a vigorous and dynamic programme from Bombay, where he was the Chief Minister of Maharashtra. As Chief Minister there he has shown himself to be very responsive to public opinion. Only the other day, in deference to the wishes of the Opposition here, he said that he was appointing a committee to inquire into the functioning of the defence forces in regard to the NEFA reverses. That was a very quick response indeed.

To those who have been harping all the time about leadership, leadership, leadership of the defence forces, I would like to give one or two personal details about the new Defence Minister. Yesterday, he sat for four

and a half hours in the House without stirring from his seat or uttering one word, though there were three changes in the chair and even I went out half a dozen times to drink a glass of water or take a cup of tea. This is the type of toughness which he has displayed right on this occasion, when I have seen other Ministers walking in and walking out when their subjects are being discussed.

Mr. Speaker: The chair has never entered into any competition, so far as toughness is concerned. He can mention members or even Ministers but not the chair.

Shri Joachim Alva: When the Congress Working Committee asked for the list of candidates who were to contest the elections to Parliament and the State Legislatures, the first unanimous list submitted to the Committee and which was not altered or tampered with in any way at the headquarters in New Delhi was from the State of Maharashtra under his leadership. I am mentioning all this because the Defence Minister has come in for a lot of criticism (*Interruptions*) I do not yield; I do not want to be interrupted. I did not interrupt when Shri Frank Anthony was speaking, though I keenly felt like interrupting him. These are the personal qualities of a leader.

Shri Chavan has agreed to set up a Committee to inquire into the reverses in NEFA. When the report of that Committee comes, let there be no witch-hunting in this House on the Defence Forces. Even if the army has failed in one direction or another in the past, let us not say things, or act in a way, which will create lack of confidence in the army. Let us also not set up the jawans against the officers or officers against the jawans. Because, they have to play a leading role as a security force against the Chinese aggression.

Shri Anthony talked of crisis and disaster. He has forgotten the historic parallel of Britain, France and all the

countries allied to them once standing at the feet of Hitler—Lord Simon, Lord Halifax and others, when Hitler was ready with plans for invasion of Britain. France, despite the Maginot Line, fell like pack of cards and for four years it could not raise its head. Shri Anthony, my distinguished friend, has forgotten that on a previous occasion America was not ready to fight the war. American ships were being sunk in the Atlantic by the U-Boats of Germany. It took five long years for the Allied Powers to rise in strength to hurl out the aggressor or catch up with the enemy on the Japanese front after the attack on Pearl Harbour took place. We have been in no less a predicament. India today has benefited by those examples. A great unity has been forged in our country. Who says we are defeated? If the Chinese have thrown into dust our age-old friendship, it is like pearls cast before swine. We are not morally condemned. China stands condemned at the bar of history. We today are determined to make ourselves strong and be ready.

I should also like to pay a tribute to all the jawans and the officers of the defence forces. Many of them have perished; many of them have died and many of them have gone away. There are many scars and battle marks in many families and homes of India today. We bow down our heads in respect to Brig. Hoshiar Singh and so many others whose names I do not know and we will not forget them. We pay a humble tribute to them and above all to the heroes of the Indian Air Force who did a very big job in airlifting food and still they are doing it. They are all the valiant sons of our land.

My contention is, unless we build a strong Indian Air Force, there will be no safety left for us. I have said in the House so often that we should make our Air Force larger and stronger than that of the seven neighbours—Pakistan, Iran, Afghanistan, China, Burma, Ceylon, UAR and Indonesia.

Unless we build the air force to that strength we shall have no strength to throw out the enemy.

I also have been pleading during the last several years for half a dozen aircraft factories on the eminent model of the Hindustan Aircraft so that we could render a good account in times of emergency. I raised this point with the hon. Prime Minister on the floor of the House last year and the hon. Prime Minister replied saying, we went for an agricultural base, we went for an industrial base. That base which we went in for has today throttled us, in a sense, that we are lacking in the wherewithals of fighting.

Mr. Churchill delivered a masterly minute to the British War Cabinet on the first anniversary of the second war and speaking of the air force, he said:

“The Navy can lose us the war, but only the Air Force can win it. Therefore, our supreme effort must be to gain overwhelming mastery in the air. The Fighters are our salvation, but the Bombers alone provide the means of victory.....”

Later, Field Marshal Montgomery who is now an enthusiastic admirer of Red China, whilst leading the North African campaign in the last war declared on December 27, 1943:

“First of all you must win the battle of the air. That must come before you start a single sea or land engagement. If you examine the conduct of my campaign, you will find that we never fought a land battle until the air battle was won.”

It is very clear that because Britain possessed the command of the air in the second war, Britain had less casualties in the second war, almost one-third Britain had in the first war. The casualties in the first war were 997,771 dead and in the second war were only 2,62,369 dead though the

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first war lasted for 4 years and 3 months and the second war lasted for 5 years and 8 months. All that was, as Mr. Churchill said, due to a miracle of deliverance and that deliverance came out of the Air Force. In the last war, out of 997 German, Italian and Japanese submarines sunk, no less than 429 were destroyed by the power of air action alone. These are the figures which we cannot ignore.

Again, Mr. Churchill had said:

"For good or for ill, air mastery is today the supreme expression of military power, and fleets and armies however vital and important must accept a subordinate rank."

Now, Sir, I have to make a few suggestions about our Air Force. I will take them broadly in two lines. The first is in regard to our fighters.

(1) The production of fighters should be forthwith undertaken on a more rapid pace.

(2) The defects in a large number of Folland Gnats should be rectified.

(3) In producing the Avro-748 delay has occurred and the public has been disappointed.

(4) The same should not be the story with the Kanpur II, reconnaissance plane.

(5) We have still to locate a place for putting up the Helicopter factory with French assistance.

(6) Why should the factory for the MIG 21 planes take the inordinate time of a year and half to go into full production?

(7) We should enquire if the UAR has already gone ahead of us in considerable production of MIG 21 planes or even a superior number in this category. Why should we lag behind?

Then, about super-sonic Vs. sub-sonic planes, there is a great deal of conflict. But unless we are armed

with enough super-sonic aircraft, there will be no teeth in our air aggression, sorry our air defence. These are a few suggestions of mine.

(1) The U.S. bias for Sub-sonic planes will not meet the national crisis of IAF's requirements.

(2) If our Sub-sonic jet fighters are equipped with Sidewinder missiles, there is no guarantee that they will be able to cope with the overwhelming number of Chinese fighters.

(3) Even if the Chinese continue to throw half the number of interceptors in battle, they are reported to have about 2000 such fighters, they will still out-number us. If the Russians have supplied them with infra-red missiles of the Sidewinder type, then the Chinese are up in quality also.

(4) In the Battle of Britain even the squadrons of Spitfires were able to beat back the superior German ME 109s and 110s. Even the slower Hurricane fighters massacred the German Bombers—the Darniers and Heinkels.

(5) India must have the Super-sonic F-104 Starfighters corresponding to the Spitfires of the Battle of Britain.

(6) F-104 fighters can surely tie up the Chinese MIG 15s, 17s, and 19s and even the MIG 21s.

(7) Therefore our sub-sonic Hunters, Gnats and Mysteres can face the Chinese Ilyushins.

(8) India must acquire a few well-knit squadrons of Super-sonic fighters to spear-head our attack against the Chinese and also to build up the force of Sidewinder equipped Sub-sonic jets.

Then, only, Sir, we shall be ready for battle and we will be able to render a good account, of ourselves.

Now, Sir, the hon. lady Member, Shrimati Sharda Mukerjee said that Bhutan, Sikkim and NEFA were liabilities round our neck. I quote

the word 'liabilities'. She mentioned the names of Bhutan, Sikkim and NEFA. Well, I can only say, these are not liabilities, but these are assets. Kashmir is our front line and these three are garlands round our neck and these three countries can be invaded and destroyed only on our dead bodies.

Shrimati Sharda Mukerjee (Ratnagiri): Sir, I would like to correct the hon. Member.... (Interruptions).

Shri Surendranath Dwivedi: Be charitable to a lady Member. (Interruptions).

Shrimati Sharda Mukerjee: I would like to....

Mr. Speaker: Order, order. She might resume her seat. (Interruptions).

Shrimati Sharda Mukerjee: I am sorry that there has been some misunderstanding. Of course, I have not got a copy of my speech with me. I am sorry if the hon. Member has misunderstood me. I said, defence liabilities which are rather different from country's liabilities. Defence liabilities mean defence responsibilities.

Shri Joachim Alva: Nothing is a liability. Everything is an asset. This kind of a speech will create lack of confidence in our neighbours. Our neighbours must know that we are ready to fling ourselves to a battle for their defence and deliverance. Unless the people of Nepal, Bhutan and Sikkim claim that we are with them, our faith in ourselves will be destroyed and we ourselves will go down.

Another thing she said was that an adventurer may come out of the defence forces and capture power and may put all of us in jail. The lady Member.... (Interruptions). The hon. Lady Member....

Shrimati Sharda Mukerjee rose—

Shri Joachim Alva: I am not yielding now.

Mr. Speaker: She might sit down.

Shrimati Sharda Mukerjee: He must quote from my speech if he wants to say....

Mr. Speaker: Order, order. I will give her an opportunity.

Shri Joachim Alva: The hon. Lady Member said,—it is reported, it is said, it is felt—that an adventurer might capture power and the result will be, all of us will be in jail. Whatever that be, the hon. Lady is the noble widow of a great officer. When he was in the Defence forces, did she know that such currents were there? Did she take any pains to report those things as coming events casting their shadow? Or is it only that she come to know of these after she became a Member of Parliament? I am saying this in all seriousness, we must not give any currency to such rumours. (Interruptions).

Some Hon. Members: Most objectionable.

An Hon. Member: She never said any such thing.

Mr. Speaker: Order, order; one Member at a time. Shri Surendranath Dwivedy. I could not follow exactly. Therefore that may be just related to me.

Shri Surendranath Dwivedy: He goes on saying that this Member was the wife of Air Marshal....

Shri Hem Barua (Gauhati): Noble widow.

Shri Surendranath Dwivedy: noble widow of an Air Marshal, she should know more about these things, she should not make such remarks. All these things the Member has said and that she should have checked them before she came here as to what was the position. (Interruption).

Shri Joachim Alva: I do not want lectures from the Members....

Mr. Speaker: Order, order. The hon. Member does not want any lectures. But, he has to maintain

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that good taste that ought to be maintained here.

Shri Joachim Alva: I have not made any un-chivalrous remark.

Mr. Speaker: It would be better if he turns his attention to the right.

Shri Joachim Alva: When they spoke, I did not interrupt. (*Interruption*).

In regard to the Defence Scientific organisations, we must act in the closest co-operation with the Atomic Energy Commission for plutonium production. Plutonium is very important to us. We do not know whether it is politically or humanly possible or legally possible at some time or other for us to produce a nuclear device by which we may be able to face the enemy. We must do everything to develop plutonium and atomic energy in our Scientific organisation in closest collaboration with the Atomic Energy Commission.

Many things are said about lack of confidence, lack of morale and what not about our defence forces. I shall end up my speech. (*Interruptions*).

Shri Surendranath Dwivedi: Nobody doubted the morale of the forces.

Shri Joachim Alva: I shall end up my speech by a reference....

Shri Surendranath Dwivedy: Even by indirect reference it should not be out from any Member of Parliament that there is lack of morale in the armed forces of the country.

Shri U. M. Trivedi (Mandsaur): Nobody has suggested like that.

Shri Raghunath Singh (Varanasi): I do not think any body has said that.

Shri Joachim Alva: Shri Frank Anthony also mentioned about fellow travellers. I do not know which fellow travellers he had in mind.

Mr. Speaker: A question was put to him, who was the Member who said that the morale of our Army was low.

Shri Joachim Alva: Nobody has said that.

Shri Hem Barua: This is a very irresponsible statement, I tell you.

Mr. Speaker: If nobody has said, why should he refer to it?

Shri Joachim Alva: When Members on the other side make any and every kind of speech, we keep our mouths shut. Here, we are disturbed any number of times....

Mr. Speaker: He has just now said that speeches have been made that the morale of the Army is low. It has been disputed and contested. The Member says now that no Member has said that. Why should that reference be made?

Shri Joachim Alva: I accept it.

Mr. Speaker: If he was prepared to accept it so soon, why should he have asserted it?

Shri Joachim Alva: How is it possible in the face of a barrage of interruptions, to catch up?

Mr. Speaker: He will now conclude.

Shri Joachim Alva: I am now ending my speech.

Shri Dasappa (Bangalore): May I submit, Sir, this should not go record? It may be expunged. Any reference to the moral of our troops or defence forces being low should not find a place in the record.

Mr. Speaker: The matter has been sufficient made clear. There is nothing that has to be expunged. It has been made clear. Why should it be expunged? Rather it remains the responsibility of the Member who made the speech.

Shri Joachim Alva: The Defence Minister should be stern about the losses and delays, that have been exposed in the Defence Audit Report for 1963. This Parliament is ready to grant any amount of money for the Defence forces. But, we do not want any money to be spent uselessly or to be spent in such a way that they

are called to account. We hope that when next time, the Defence Audit report is presented to us, there will be less instances of this type and under the new leadership and new officers, these losses and delays will not occur.

Mr. Speaker: Shri Brij Raj Singh.

Shrimati Sharda Mukerjee: May I say....

Mr. Speaker: Just a minute for personal explanation she wants to make.

Shrimati Sharda Mukerjee: I would like to submit very respectfully that Shri Alva has referred to certain things I said in my speech. I think if he wanted to do that, he should have referred to it and read out from the speech, because he may have understood something different from what I said. I do not have a copy of my speech with me. Therefore, I would like to explain to the House that what Mr. Alva is saying that I have said is not in my speech. It is a matter of misunderstanding. I submit this for your respectful consideration.

Mr. Speaker: Order, order. If any hon. Member stands up to give a personal explanation, he has to refer to the incorrect statement that has been made and the correct statement that was made. The hon. Lady Member does not remember what she said. Therefore, there is no question of personal explanation that I can see. She ought to make sure herself. When she does not recollect....

Shrimati Sharda Mukerjee: I have not got a copy of my speech with me.

Mr. Speaker: Therefore, what explanation can she give?

Shri Brij Raj Singh Kotah (Jhalawar): Sir, after hearing all the angry outbursts and tempers, I wish to pass on to some calmer element, namely the Air. I only wish to emphasise in my humble way the vital role of air-power which the country needs. It is

my wish and hope that we analyse this vital aspect and try to remedy all our deficiencies if at all they exist.

The first point which I want to impress is about the Transport command or the problem of air-lifting of our troops. Any student of military science and history will find that logistic mobility has always been the deciding factor in winning a war. Speedy movement, in this age particularly, has to be identified with air power. In other words, the modern army today no longer marches on its boots, much less by climbing on trees, but flies on its wings. The whole problem of our frontiers of Ladakh and N.E.F.A. hinges on this logistic mobility. We need not have to go far. We saw when the emergency arose, need was felt for more transport aircraft and in order to transport vital raw materials to the operational areas, we had to seek the aid of civil air lines, I.A.C. and other aircraft that were available. That showed that we were lacking in our transport capability. Therefore, I want to say that we must dig deep into this vital aspect and see where we lack and we must use more aircrafts which are suitable for such work. C-119 which is known as Fairchild Packet is a particularly good aircraft suited for our defence needs. For the air-lift of troops and vital supplies and precision dropping of supplies in the forward areas, we need this particular aircraft, and we need more of this type if not the C-130. The IAF, in the emergency, gave a very convincing demonstration even by flying out-dated aircraft like the Dakota DC-3. What I mean to say is that we need to go into this matter. I feel that there are two aspects of this problem.

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The first is the airlifting of supplies and troops to the forward areas, and the second is air-dropping of supplies and personnel on the operational front. For such staging we

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require two types of planes, because there are two different roles. For the first one we require larger planes which are able to carry a gross weight of anything from 50,000 to 100,000 lbs. and carry all the wide variety of military hardware from artillery to trucks, tanks etc. For the second one, we require a smaller and more manoeuvrable plane which can take off and land with a useful payload at high altitudes. For that, I am glad that our Government have taken a few of the De Havilland "Caribou" aircraft. This particular aircraft, from what little I know, is a highly specialised aircraft only suited for this particular work. I do not know the figures, but I am told that it costs a lot, and I am also told that it can carry a payload of as much as or perhaps more than what the Dakotas normally do. So, I would urge the Defence Minister to look into this important aspect and see that more of these Caribou aircraft are purchase for the Air Force so that our needs in the operational areas are met. This is what is also called in air terminology as the STOL, that is, Short Take-Off or Landing Plane. That is what we are after. So, I humbly suggest that we have more of these STOL planes to further our defence needs.

Coming to the next point, the establishment of a Transport Command is a costly process. The planes needed for the Transport Command cost millions of dollars, and I cannot work it out in terms of rupees. But I would say that we need go into only such proven type of aircraft as are proven throughout the world and which we can manufacture under licence in our factories here at a reasonably low cost, for, unless we can manufacture them at a low cost, the whole idea is lost.

I am particularly glad to say that our Avro-748 which has been produced at the Kanpur depot has made a good progress, though a little too slow. I would urge the Ministry to

see if we can manufacture this aircraft more quickly and to create more markets for it in our neighbouring Asian countries.

The other item for air defence is interceptors. This is a very vital need. We need fighters which are capable of protecting our heartland from the potential aggressor. By this I mean fighters which are day fighters and night fighters. We need both the types, and in the night fighter, the need for radar equipment and missiles is all the more important, for modern war is a very swift war, and it does not, I am afraid, tally with the old concept of World War II where you could knock down a plane with the Ack-Ack guns. Today, I do not suppose that the modern jets or at least the ones that the potential aggressor has can be effectively shot down by the anti-craft guns that we have.

It is a primary need to see that all our defence and industrial and economic sectors are well protected with these modern missiles. Of course, they cost money. But in the defence of the country we have to see that things are adequately put.

13.05 hrs.

[MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER *in the Chair*]

I am glad that the Ministry has taken into consideration the new Soviet MIG-21 jet fighter. I am told that it is a good fighter basically, but we would like to see that this thing come up more quickly and not in a trickle as it is doing at present.

I am glad that the HF-24 Mark II fighters prototype has also come out. There was some mention about the unavailability of engines to put it into the required March II speed, but I learn that we are making the necessary arrangements to see that we soon get the power plants to put our HF-24 into the required speed.

The other thing which to me is very essential is to have a warning system

against any possible intruder in our territorial skies. To have any warning, as everybody knows, in every sense, radar is necessary. You will remember that the RAF, in the Battle of Britain, though they had very few aircraft, were able to maul the Luftwaffe to such a degree that all threat from the daylight raids ceased to exist. How did they do it? They did it because they had developed a systematic and reliable control in radar. So, with those few fighters, they could muster in strength at any place they wanted because they had forewarning. I would suggest that we should go into this problem of radars for distant early warning, and we need to have a chain of them stretched across our Himalayan border, and we need them to keep a twenty-four-hour vigil.

Coming to the next point, I feel that for fighting in the hilly regions we need to train our Air Force in the close ground support role. For this role, I am quite sure, we do not need supersonic jets, because supersonic jets have a particular part to play, but for close ground support role in hilly and mountainous terrain such as the one where our troops fought and where they have had to keep guard, in a terrain which is notorious in the whole world, and which is one of the worst mountainous terrains that one can possibly imagine, the Air Force does not need high-speed fighters, but it needs a slower plane; and from the lessons of Korea and elsewhere we can safely do it with any propeller-driven plane possessing enough power to manoeuvre in and around the peaks and valleys and give the ground troops the support they need by firing rockets, guns etc.

So, I am sure that we shall look into this and also give the Air Force operational training in those areas, and not train them in deserts like Jodhpur, but train them in the hilly regions where the pilots and the boys who fly them get the knack of pin-point navigation, identification of targets and good flying capability.

I am very glad that the HAL is making engines for our fighters, and the factory is one of the best in the world, of its type. I congratulate the Ministry on making it such a good factory. The other day, there was a meeting of the Aeronautical Research Council, and our Prime Minister stressed the point of research in our aircraft design. I can only suggest,—I am nobody of an expert value, that—whatever research we do in aircraft designs, we must see that the aircraft produced in our country are effective, serviceable, reliable and of low cost.

In conclusion, I would only remind our military leadership of Wellington's famous saying. Wellington said: "I have spent all my life in trying to guess what was at the other side of the hill." That puts everything in a nutshell. We have to know what is going on at the other side of the hill, and if we could guess it, even if our information is wrong, we can know what the opponent feels, and, therefore, we can improve and try to see where our faults lie. I hope that we shall strive towards this. With this, I support the demands.

Shri K. C. Pant (Naini Tal): I have been listening very carefully since yesterday to the speeches delivered in this House. Even in normal times, the Demands of this Ministry attract a good deal of attention. This year, of course, the circumstances have been extraordinary and the attention has been all the more focussed, particularly as the entire structure of the Central Budget is in a way built around these Demands. In the words of the Finance Minister himself:

"The paramount consideration in farming the Budget for 1963-64 is the need to build up the defence potential of the nation".

The impact of the Chinese aggression is very much visible in these Demands, not only in the Demands for 1963-64 but in the revised estimates for 1962-63. As against an original estimate of

[Shri K. C. Pant]

Rs. 376 crores for 1962-63, the revised figure has gone up to Rs. 505 crores, the increase on revenue account being Rs. 108 crores and on capital account Rs. 20 crores.

Coming to 1963-64, we find that the defence budget has jumped up to Rs. 867 crores, Rs. 709 crores on revenue account and Rs. 158 crores on capital account. If we compare the figures of 1963-64 with the revised estimates of 1962-63, we find that the bulk of the increase in the general budget is accounted for by defence expenditure. For instance, out of an increase in the revenue budget from Rs. 1,522 crores to Rs. 1,852 crores, an increase of Rs. 330 crores, Rs. 257 crores are ear-marked for defence. This comes to 78 per cent. Similarly, on the capital side, defence accounts for 45 per cent of the increase in capital outlay. The actual increase is even more impressive, from Rs. 53 crores to Rs. 158 crores, which comes to an increase of 200 per cent.

The figures show that every attempt has been made to provide for the paramount claims of defence. In the course of a single year, the proportion of defence budget in the general budget has jumped from a little below 25 per cent in 1962-63 to nearly 40 per cent in 1963-64. In spite of this spurt, some people may feel that our budget is still a little modest as compared with those of the US, Russia etc. But in reality, it is a very big effort. While a rich country like the USA finds it possible to divert nearly 60 per cent of its annual budget to a head called Major National Security, a poor country like India has to strain every nerve in order to be able to divert even 40 per cent of its budget expenditure for non-productive defence purposes, ensuring at the same time that its economic growth is not impaired. Therefore, a very special responsibility devolves upon the Ministry to see that the funds allotted to it are well and wisely spent.

So far I have dealt with these Demands largely in statistical terms. But they are very much more than a bunch of statistics. They show that India not only recognises the gravity of the threat to her honour and integrity posed by China but is prepared to face this threat and to pay the price for freedom, however exacting it may be. The special merit of these Demands lies in the fact that they go to strengthen the feeling of self-reliance in the country.

Shri Indrajit Gupta referred to this aspect in considerable detail yesterday. I agree with him that no self-respecting country can sit back and pass on the burden of its defence to foreign powers, however friendly they may be. But by the same token, I hope he will agree with me that pre-occupation with self-reliance can be carried to extremes; when it starts interfering with preparations necessary for defending the country's freedom, it becomes self-defeating. There is hardly any country in the modern world which is entirely self-sufficient in the matter of defence. As technology advances, as weapons become more and more costly, interdependence increases and self-sufficiency, however desirable an ideal it may be, becomes more and more remote. So I do not think we should feel apologetic about taking necessary defence aid from friends.

As regards defence production, the accent in the budget and in the policy of the Government is rightly laid on producing modern defence equipment inside the country, as far as possible. It is trite to say that real strength ultimately lies in building up the indigenous productive capacity. The United States produced only 4,000 and odd aircraft in 1958, but in 1944 during the war, they produced something like a lakh of aircraft. They had the necessary potential; when they needed, they diverted it to war purposes.

Otherwise, they used it for other ends. I could give other instances. But I do not have the time. So I will not go into them.

Now, I come to the security of the border with which I am most intimately associated, that is, the border districts of UP. The people in the border districts live directly under the snout of the Chinese dragon. They are a brave people and they are not given to panic. But they would be less than human if they were not concerned or even apprehensive at the reports of the massing of Chinese troops just across the border, particularly in the middle sector—for example, in places like Taklakot—just about 4 miles across the border. I am sure the House appreciates and the Government understands the tension under which these people live. As though that were not bad enough, some arm-chair theoreticians add to their anxiety by raising a Hamlet-like question—to defend or not to defend the Himalayas? I submit this is not a valid question. It ignores the presence and existence of a large number of troops and civilians in the Himalayas. It betrays a kind of approach which is not only limited in the extreme but is fraught with danger. It seems some people have become so unnerved by the reverses in NEFA that they have come to look upon mountains as defence risks. I am surprised at this. It betrays again an alarmingly defeatist mentality. I sincerely hope that this defeatism is not shared by our military authorities. If the logistics problem is difficult for us in the Himalayas, it is immeasurably more difficult for the Chinese. I owe it to the people whom I have the privilege to represent in this House, to submit with firmness that it would be the height of folly to under-rate the importance, the urgency and the necessity of ensuring the defence of thickly-populated hill areas. Personally, I feel that hill areas lend themselves better to defence than the plains. But I will not argue this point. I realise that as things are, it is not

possible to make each and every point along the border impregnable to Chinese troops, particularly when they come in large numbers. But the same objective can be achieved indirectly if we make up our mind to strike at the Chinese supply lines in Tibet in case of further aggression on India. I realise, of course, that this may lead to very grave consequences, but I submit again that if the choice is between abandoning the Himalayas and striking back at enemy bases in Tibet it will be suicidal to vacillate.

I should like to refer briefly to a matter which came up for discussion in the House of Commons recently. A report says that 4,600 out of 15,000 Gurkhas in the British Army are going to be retrenched in the course of the next three years. According to a Nepal weekly, this would mean a loss of Rs. 1.17 crores to Nepal annually. I do not think that Nepal would find it possible to provide employment for all these people immediately. So it would be a friendly gesture for India to offer to absorb all these people in the Indian Army as and when they become jobless. This would not only be to the mutual advantage of both countries, but it would save avoidable pain and dislocation to the Gurkhas and their families.

I should now like to offer a few specific suggestions for strengthening the defences of the border. The first suggestion relates to the need for organising a border militia in the middle sector. I know that normally this is a State subject, but this is not the time to quibble over agencies. We all know what a good job the Assam Rifles and the Kashmir Militia have done in their respective fronts. I would, therefore, suggest that a similar border militia should be organised in the middle sector also. If possible, local people may be asked to join this border militia in larger numbers, because the local people know the local hill tracks and other features and they would be a source of strength to the army.

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Apart from this, the border districts, many of them, are full of ex-Servicemen, and I do not see any reason why these ex-Servicemen should not be called upon to form the hard core of this militia. If necessary, even the expenditure meant for building up a second line of defence in the middle sector may be diverted to creating this border militia, because we must realise that fifteen days training in the Lok Sahayak Sena or the rifle camps may be all right in their own place, but they do not add materially to the feeling of security and self-confidence amongst people who live at a day's march from the Chinese. Only a well-equipped and confident army can make them feel secure.

I would also plead very briefly for the creation of specialised mountain divisions with their own equipment and training programmes. I will not dilate on it as there is no time.

In the end, I should like to tell the hon. Minister through you that not only the army, not only the defence services, but all of us look to him for a bold lead. He carries a heavy burden, but we may assure him that in carrying it he has the full confidence and support not only of the Members of this House but of the whole country. We wish him all success in his great endeavours.

श्री काशी राम गुप्त (अलवर): उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, हम इन प्रतिरक्षा मन्त्रालय की मांगों पर ऐसे समय पर विचार कर रहे हैं जब कि हमारी भूलों के परिणामस्वरूप हमारे हजारों जवानों का बलिदान हो चुका है। उन लोगों को केवल मौखिक श्रद्धांजलि अर्पित करने से काम नहीं चल सकता है। सही श्रद्धांजलि तभी अर्पित होगी जब हम सोचें कि कम से कम भविष्य में हम भूलें नहीं करेंगे और हम जवानों की रक्षा के लिये पूरी तरह से सोच विचार करके काम करेंगे।

आज यह मन्त्रालय इस स्थिति में है, मुझसे पहले इस सदन के कई माननीय सदस्यों ने भी इस बात की चर्चा की है, कि इस मन्त्रालय को इस सदन में विश्वास नहीं है और इसी-लिये यह सदन बहुत सी बातों से, जो कि इस सदन के सामने आनी चाहियें जिसमें कि सदन के सदस्य अपने सुझाव दे सकें, वंचित रखा जाता है। अंग्रेजों के जमाने में तो यह बात सही हो सकती थी किन्तु आज ऐसा बात करना हमारे देश के हितों के विरुद्ध है और इस सदन के मान व प्रतिष्ठा के विरुद्ध है। हम यह देखते हैं कि अनेक मन्त्रालय अपने अपने तरीकों से सदस्यों को अपने तरफ खींचते हैं, कोई फिल्म डिर्वजन की तरफ ले जाता है कोई जनरल भौसले की नेशनल डिसिप्लिन स्कीम दिखाने के लिये हम को ले जाता है, कोई कामर्स एण्ड इण्डस्ट्री के कारखाने दिखाने के लिये हम को ले जाता है, किन्तु हमारा प्रतिरक्षा मन्त्रालय इतना भी परवाह नहीं करता कि जो उसके सैनिक अभ्यास हमारी सेना में होते हैं जिसमें इन्फैन्ट्री या दूसरे लोग शामिल होते हैं, आर्टिलरी होती है, टैंक होते हैं, उनको दिखाने की कोई योजना बनाये ताकि हम समय पर जा कर अभ्यास देख सकें। आज हमारे देश में इस बात की आवश्यकता है कि हमारे प्रतिरक्षा के जो काम हो रहे हैं उनके अभ्यास मैदानों में किस प्रकार से होते हैं, पर्वतों में किस प्रकार से होते हैं, इन सब अभ्यासों की जानकारी सदन के सदस्यों को कराई जाय। वह जानकारी तभी कराई जा सकती है जब माननीय सदस्य वहां पहुंचें और उन सब कामों को देखेंगे ताकि उन्हें उन कठोरताओं का भी अनुभव हो जिन के बीच में रह कर हमारे जवानों को गुजरना पड़ता है।

इससे पहले कि मैं मूल बातों की तरफ जाऊं और बतलाऊं कि हमारी सैनिक तैयारियां भारतवर्ष में क्या-क्या हैं, उस पहलू की तरफ जाना चाहता हूं जिसकी बार-बार इस सदन में चर्चा होती है। आज एक रिवाज सा

बन गया है कि जब कोई सदस्य बोलता है तब वह अलाइनमेंट और नानअलाइनमेंट की बात करता है, वह तटस्थता या किसी संस्था या गुट में मिलने की बात करता है। किन्तु मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि वह बात अब पुरानी और निरर्थक सी हो गई है। इसमें कोई व्यावहारिक बात नहीं रह गई है। यह तो वैसी ही स्थिति बन गई है कि जैसे किसी ने जवानी में तो अपना विवाह करवाया नहीं और बुढ़ापे में कोई उसका विवाह करता नहीं। पहले अमरीका बार-बार प्रयत्न कर रहा था कि किसी प्रकार से भारत उनके अक्षर में आ जाय, उस समय हमने अपना हित मोच कर उसका साथ नहीं किया। उसके बाद उसने अपना हाथ पाकिस्तान पर रक्खा। जो दलील हम देते हैं कि अगर हम किसी गुट में जायेंगे तो यह शीत युद्ध हमारे सिर पर आ जायेगा, उस दलाल की पाकिस्तान ने परबाह नहीं की। उसमें रहस्य था। पाकिस्तान बना ही हिन्दुस्तान से नफरत करने के आधार पर है, और हम बार-बार यह बात भूल जाते हैं, इसलिये उसका एक ही काम रहा है कि भारत उनसे मजबूत न बने, वह कमजोर रहे और सारे काम पाकिस्तान इसी तरह के करता रहा। अमरीका बावजूद हमारे विरोध के उसकी मदद करता रहा।

कुछ लोग कहते हैं कि हम रूसी गुट में चले जायें। मैं निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि रूसी गुट में जाने का प्रश्न पैदा हो ही नहीं सकता क्योंकि रूस का गुट कम्युनिस्ट कण्ट्रॉल का गुट है। आज जो कम्युनिस्ट देश है उनका एक तरीका हो गया है कि उनका एक विरादरी है, उनमें कुछ काम हैं। जब तक हम उनको पूरा न करें, इंडिविजुअल प्रापर्टी (व्यक्तिगत सम्पत्ति) का सफाया न करें, इस प्रजातन्त्र को ताक में उठा कर न रखें, तब तक वह हमें अपनी विरादरी में लेने के लिये भी तैयार नहीं होते हैं। इसलिये उनमें साथ जाने का प्रश्न ही नहीं था। उनकी तो नाति रहा है कि जो देश प्रगतिशील हैं, जैसे कि भारत है, उनके तटस्थ रहने में ही वे प्रसन्न होते हैं।

आज स्थिति यह है कि न रूस चाहता है कि हम उसके साथ रहें और न अमरीका चाहता है कि हम उसके साथ रहें, लेकिन हम खाम-खाह के लिये गाँत गाँते रहते हैं कि अलाइनमेंट हो या नानअलाइनमेंट हो। कोई कहत नहीं कि हमारे साथ आओ और हम जबदस्ती उसकी बात करते हैं क्योंकि जो हमारे विचारों में राजनीतिक मतभेद हैं वे सामने आ जाते हैं। हमने एक ऐसी नींव बना ली है चलने के लिये, जिसकी अब आवश्यकता नहीं है। आज किस नीति का परिणाम हुआ कि एक तरफ चीन जो रूस के गुट में है और दूसरी तरफ पाकिस्तान जो कि ऐंग्लो अमरीकन गुट में है, दोनों साथी बन गये ? गुट वाले उनसे कुछ कहते नहीं। रूस ने एक पत्र लिख दिया चीन को कि आप जो समझौता कर रहे हैं पाकिस्तान से वह गलत है, अमरीका ने भी समझाया पाकिस्तान को, लेकिन वह भी लापरवाही कर गया। यह सब इस बात के प्रमाण है कि यह गुटबन्दी वगैरह के सोचने की जो बातें हैं वह खत्म कर दी गई हैं। आज प्रत्येक राष्ट्र अपना हित किस में है यह समझता है। सूझ बुझ के साथ ही या जल्दी के साथ ही, यह दूसरी बात है, किन्तु उसका दृष्टिकोण यह है। इसलिये जो पुरानी गुटबन्दी है उसमें हेर-फेर होने के आसार ही रहे हैं। जब हम इस दृष्टि से देखते हैं तो हम पाते हैं कि हम आज बहुत बुरी अवस्था में आ गये हैं। एक तरफ पाकिस्तान हमारा दुश्मन है और दूसरी तरफ चीन हमारा दुश्मन है। हमारे बहुत से साथी चीन की बात करने लगते हैं, बहुत से साथी पाकिस्तान की बात करने लग जाते हैं। लेकिन वास्तव में दोनों हमारे दुश्मन हैं। उन्होंने जो आपस में समझौता किया है उसका अक्षर हम पर क्या पड़ा है यह हमको देखना चाहिये। हमारे सरदार स्वर्ण सिंह जी बातचीत करने के लिये जा रहे हैं। अच्छा ही उनकी बातचीत सफल हो और हमारी विचार धारा को लोग गलत कह दें। लेकिन मैं समझता हूँ कि उसकी सफलता की बहुत कम संभावना है। जो

[श्री काशी राम गुप्त]

कुछ पाकिस्तानी करने जा रहे हैं, उसकी चर्चा अब्बावों में हो रही है और उसकी हरकतें ऐसी हैं जिनसे मालूम होता है कि समझौते के कोई आसार नहीं हैं। समझौता हो कैसे? अमरीका, जिसके गुट में वह है, खुल्लमखुल्ला यह कहने को तैयार नहीं कि पाकिस्तान अगर गड़बड़ करेगा तो हम हिन्दुस्तान का साथ दगे। और रूस चीन से, जो कि उसके गुट में है, यह खुल्लमखुल्ला कहने को तैयार नहीं है कि अगर चीन और पाकिस्तान गड़बड़ करेंगे तो वह (रूस) भारत का साथ देगा। तो फिर इस समस्या का हल कैसे हो? जो राजनीतिक उलझन पैदा हो गयी है वह कैसे पूरी हो? यह तभी ठीक हो सकती है जबकि हम रूस और अमरीका दोनों को यह बता सकें और उनके दिमाग में यह जमा सकें कि जो हमारा चीन से झगड़ा है वह सीमा का झगड़ा है और जब आप दोनों भी यह मानते हैं कि यह सीमा का झगड़ा है तो अगर हम और चीन लड़ते हैं तो आप अपने-अपने साथियों को मदद न करें, रूस चीन को मदद न करे और अमरीका पाकिस्तान को मदद न करे। यह बात स्पष्ट हो जानी चाहिये। यदि यह तै हो जाये तो फिर प्रश्न यह रह जाता है कि हम केवल अपनी शक्ति के आधार पर अपनी सीमा की समस्या को हल करेंगे चाहे इसमें कुछ देरी भले ही लग जाये।

८६७ करोड़ रुपया हमने सुरक्षा के लिये दिया है। रुपया तो और भी दिया जायेगा यदि आवश्यकता पड़ेगी। लेकिन यदि हमारी राजनीतिक स्थिति डांवाडोल रही और यदि हमारी सैनिक तैयारियाँ ऐसी ही रहें—जिसके बारे में मैं आगे बतनाऊंगा—तो चाहे हम देश का सारा ब्रजट भी सेना पर खर्च कर दें, उससे भी लाभ होने वाला नहीं है।

इस देश में दूसरी रक्षा पंक्ति की आवश्यकता है और वह तभी हो सकती है जब तक कि हमारी जो तीन चार कमजोरियाँ

हैं वे दूर हो जायें। जब तक वे दूर नहीं होंगी तब तक हमारी सुरक्षा नहीं हो सकती है। हमारी पहली कमजोरी तो यह है कि हमारे प्रजातंत्र में घुन लग गया है। आज प्रजातंत्र की दशा क्या है? यह बात किसी से छिपी नहीं है। रूनिंग पार्टी की क्या दशा है? किस प्रकार छोटी-छोटी बातों के लिये मिनिस्टर बयान देते रहते हैं। वे कहते हैं कि हमने कोई चन्दा नहीं लिया। जिस देश में हालत यह हो कि मिनिस्ट्रों के जारिये से चन्दा कराकर चुनाव लड़ें जायें उस देश में प्रजातंत्र की क्या हालत हो सकती है? आज अवस्था यह कि अगर कांग्रेस के खिलाफ कम्युनिस्ट चुनाव लड़ रहे हों और जम संघ वालों से कहा जाये कि तुम कांग्रेस की मदद करो तो वे वैसा करेंगे। अगर कहीं जन संघ वाले कांग्रेस के खिलाफ चुनाव लड़ रहे हों और कम्युनिस्टों को कहा जाय कि तुम कांग्रेस का साथ दो, तो वे कांग्रेस का साथ दगे। तो फिर कांग्रेस को रहना है। यदि ऐसा ही है तो विरोधी दलों की क्या आवश्यकता है। ये जो हमारे प्रजातंत्र में ऋटियाँ हैं इनको बदला जाना चाहिये।

एक माननीय सदस्य : जन संघ ने कहाँ कांग्रेस का साथ दिया।

श्री काशी राम गुप्त : जहाँ कांग्रेस का कम्युनिस्टों से मुकाबला हुआ वहाँ दिया। तो यह झगड़ा विचारधारा का है। जब तक इस तरीके में संशोधन नहीं होगा और जब तक इस बात की आवश्यकता महसूस नहीं की जायेगी कि इस देश में कम से कम पार्टियाँ हों, और उनकी विचारधारायें स्पष्ट हों और उन विचारधारामों के आधार पर चुनाव हो, तब तक प्रजातंत्र सफल नहीं हो सकता। और यह तभी संभव हो सकता है जब लोक-सभा के चुनाव बिल्कुल अलग से किये जायें और विधान सभामों के चुनाव अलग से किये जायें। अगर हमारे प्रजातंत्र का यह घुन दूर नहीं किया जायेगा तो हमारा वही हाल होगा जो

च्यांग काई शोक का हुआ था। उसको खूब अमरीका की मदद मिली, उसके पास खूब सेना थी, लेकिन फिर भी उसको मुंह की खानी पड़ी। इसलिये हमारे प्रतिरक्षा के कार्य को पूरा करने के लिये आवश्यक है कि हम अपने प्रजातंत्र को स्वस्थ बनायें और सफल बनायें।

हमको इस बात पर ध्यान देना चाहिये कि आज हमारी सैनिक दशा क्या है। हमको चीन से लड़ना है। चीन में क्रांति के बाद जो फौजी तैयारियां हुईं उनमें एक महत्वपूर्ण बात यह हुई कि वहां फौजी अफसरों और जवानों के रहन सहन के तरीकों में बहुत अन्तर नहीं रहा। इसके अतिरिक्त वहां की आर्थिक प्रणाली का भी फौज की उन्नति में बड़ा हाथ रहा है। हमारे यहां हम देखें तो फौजी अफसरों का रहन सहन आरामतलबी का है। गया है और कठोर जीवन बिताने में उनको कठिनाई का अनुभव होता है। आज फौजी अफसर दफ्तर में बैठता है और अगर पंखा न हो तो उसको शिकायत होती है। वह कार से कम में चलने में अपनी शान नहीं समझता। अंग्रेज के जमाने में करनल लोग साइकिलों पर चलते थे लेकिन क्या आज हमारे यहां के करनल साइकिल पर जाना पसन्द करेंगे? आज फौजी अफसर अपने बच्चों को अंग्रेजी के माध्यम से शिक्षा दिलवाते हैं हिन्दी के माध्यम से नहीं। मैं उस इलाके से आता हूँ जहां फौजी लोग बहुत हैं और मैं उस परिवार से आता हूँ जिसका फौज से संबंध रहा है। आज भी मेरे मित्र ब्रिगेडियर और बड़े बड़े अफसर हैं। मैं देखता हूँ कि वे मौखिक रूप से तो जवानों से बहुत अच्छा व्यवहार करते हैं लेकिन रहन सहन के मामले में उनसे बहुत दूर हैं यह खतरनाक स्थिति है इसको ठीक करने की आवश्यकता है। यह आवश्यक है कि फौजियों के जीवन में परिवर्तन आवे और उसका यही तरीका हो सकता है कि कठोर जीवन बितायें। यही काफी नहीं है कि दैनिक

परेड कर ली जाए। उससे कठोरता का अभ्यास नहीं हो सकता। उनको अपना जीवन ऐसा बनाना चाहिये कि वे कठोरता को सहन कर सकें। यह इस देश की सुरक्षा के लिये बहुत आवश्यक है।

हमको अपनी आर्थिक प्रणाली में भी परिवर्तन करना होगा। जब हम किसी दुश्मन का मुकाबला करते हैं तो हमको आर्थिक प्रणाली भी उसके उपयुक्त बनानी चाहिये। हमारे देश में प्रजातंत्र है, इसलिये हमारी आर्थिक प्रणाली निश्चित रूप से चीन की आर्थिक प्रणाली से भिन्न है। किन्तु हमारी आर्थिक प्रणाली में जो धुन लगे हैं उनको दूर करना हमारा काम है, और उन धुनों में सबसे बड़ा यह है कि आज हमारे यहां बाल विवाह धड़ाधड़ हो रहे हैं, बेरोजगार लोगों के विवाह हो रहे हैं। लड़का बी० ए० पास नहीं कर पाता और उसका विवाह कर दिया जाता है। नतीजा यह हो रहा है कि हमारी दशा शोचनीय होती जा रही है। देश गिरावट की तरफ जा रहा है, और इसका सुरक्षा से बहुत बड़ा सम्बन्ध है।

इसी प्रकार से हम रोज के जीवन में देखते हैं। इमरजेंसी डिकलेयर हो गयी है, लेकिन क्या हो रहा है? उसी प्रकार से शादी विवाह हो रहे हैं, उसी प्रकार से गुलछरें उड़ रहे हैं, वही तौर तरीके हैं और वही रहन सहन है। सब कुछ उसी प्रकार से हो रहा है। कहीं पर इमरजेंसी नहीं दिखायी देती। दुनिया में ऐसा इमरजेंसी के समय कहीं नहीं होता। इमरजेंसी के समय हमको अपना पेट काट कर भी देश की रक्षा के लिये धन जुटाना होगा। आज जनरल बजट के बारे में हम देखते हैं कि अमीर कहता है कि हम से धन मत लो। जन साधारण तो कहेगा ही हम से मत लो। कोई भी यह नहीं कहता कि जो टैक्स लगे हैं वे ठीक लगे हैं। मैं कहता हूँ कि यह दलगत

[श्री काशी राम गुप्त]

राजनीति का प्रश्न नहीं है। यह प्रश्न देश की सुरक्षा का है। उसके लिये जो धन चाहिये उसको देने में भी हम झगड़े करते हैं। इस तरह से हमारा काम चलने वाला नहीं है।

इसके प्रतिरिक्त, श्रीमान्, मैं आपका ध्यान ग्राडिट रिपोर्ट १९६३ की तरफ दिलाना चाहता हूँ। इस रिपोर्ट के अनुसार ५ करोड़ से अधिक रुपया तो ऐसे नुक्सानों का होगा जो कि १५ हजार से अधिक थे अथवा ५० हजार से अधिक के थे। इससे कम वालों का तो कोई अनुमान ही नहीं किया गया। इस रिपोर्ट के पेज १४ पर लिखा है :

"Delay in installation and commissioning of a plant: The indent for an extrusion press for the production of aluminium alloys at an ordnance factory was placed in February, 1952 and the last consignment of the main plant was received in April, 1954. Indents for the ancillary equipment and spares were, however, placed much later, between September 1955 and June 1957, and these were received at the factory between June 1957 and September, 1959. The construction of the building for housing the plant, which had been taken up in March, 1956, was completed only in May, 1960—the main building by January, 1958 and flooring, electric and water supply services and laying of crane gantry rails by May, 1960. The installation of the plant was completed in June, 1960 and it was commissioned in October, 1961."

जो कार्यक्रम सन् १९६२ में शुरू हुआ वह ६ वर्ष में जा कर पूरा हुआ है। अगर हमारी सुरक्षा का यही क्रम रहा और इसी कार्यक्रम पर हम चलना चाहते हैं तो इस देश की

सुरक्षा की आवश्यकता नहीं रहेगी और किसी देश को वह सुरक्षा सौंप देनी चाहिये।

आगे चल कर मैं अर्ज करूँ कि जो ट्रैक्टर्स बनने थे और जितनी उस में तादाद लिखी थी उस से एक चौथाई या एक तिहाई ही बन सके।

श्री इकबाल सिंह: टैंक बनवाइये न ? टैंकों की जरूरत है।

श्री काशी राम गुप्त: अभी श्री इकबाल सिंह जैसा कि कह रहे हैं कि ट्रैक्टर्स की नहीं टैंकों की जरूरत है तो मैं कहता हूँ कि आज टैंकों की देश को जरूरत है, मैं भी तो यही कह रहा हूँ कि जिसकी जरूरत नहीं बतला रहे हैं वह पूरे बने नहीं लेकिन जिसकी जरूरत है वह तो बन ही नहीं रहे हैं। इसलिये मैं ऐसा कह कर आप की बात की ही ताईद कर रहा हूँ।

फिर लीसेज के अलावा और इन सब बातों के अलावा मिलेटरी फार्म्स को देखें तो उसमें नुक्सान दिखता है। दूध चौगुना मंहगा होगया है और न मालूम क्या-क्या बातें हैं ? जितनी ब्रांचेज हैं उनको देखिये उनकी बाबत एक लम्बा चौड़ा चिट्ठा है और अगर उस सारे को मैं पढ़ने लगू तो बहुत समय लगेगा। वह तो सब के पास है। इसलिये ग्राडिट रिपोर्ट के ऊपर और अधिक न जाकर मैं मिनिस्ट्री आफ डिफेंस की सन् १९६२-६३ की रिपोर्ट के बारे में कुछ कहना चाहूंगा। कल साननीय सदस्या श्रीमती शारदा मुकर्जी ने भी उस की तरफ ध्यान दिलाया था। उस में एक जगह लिखा है कि फौरन लैंग्वेज के साथ साथ फौजियों को हिन्दुस्तानी भाषा भी सिखायी जायेगी। इस रिपोर्ट के पेज ४३ पर स्कूल और फौरन लैंग्वेज के हेड के नीचे यह लिखा हुआ है :—

"The School also conducts examinations for Service personnel in Hindustani. . . ."

जब हमारे देश की राष्ट्रभाषा हिन्दी स्वीकृत हो चुकी है तब मेरी समझ में नों आता कि यह हिन्दुस्तानी कहां बाकी रह गयी ? इसी तरह पंजाबी, मराठी, नेपाली, लुशायी, आसामी और तेलगू आदि भाषायें फौरन लैंग्वेज के साथ जुड़ी हुई हैं . . .

एक माननीय सदस्य : हिन्दुस्तान में जो रहे उसकी भाषा हिन्दुस्तानी है ।

श्री काशी राम गुप्त : तब वह हिन्दुस्तान इस वर्तमान भारत से कोई जुदा ही हिन्दुस्तान होगा ।

ऐसी बातें कहना और हिन्दी न लिख कर हिन्दुस्तानी लिख देना चाहिए करता है कि यह प्रतिरक्षा मंत्रालय आंख मूंद कर जो कुछ लिख दिया जाता है उसी को रिप्रोड्यूस कर देता है और यह देखने की परवाह नहीं करता है कि वह गलत है या दुरुस्त है । हिन्दुस्तानी शब्द न लिखा जाकर हिन्दी लिखा जाना चाहिए था ।

इस के अतिरिक्त श्री इकबाल सिंह जैसा कि अभी फरमा रहे थे कि हिन्दुस्तान ऐयरक्राफ्ट फैक्टरी बंगलोर में रेल कोचेज बनती है तो में निवेदन करूंगा कि वहां पर अब रेल कोचेज बनाने की आवश्यकता नहीं है बल्कि वहां पर जरूरी फौजी सामान बनाने की आवश्यकता है ।

मेरा निवेदन यह भी है कि आजकल जो इमरजेंसी कमिशन चल रहा है और उसमें टेकनिकल हैंड्स नहीं आ रहे हैं उसका एक खास कारण यह है कि लोगों को यह भरोसा नहीं है कि जो सरकार अभी भरती कर रही है वह स्थायी रहेगी । सरकार यह जो बराबर एलान कर रही है कि हां हम पूरी तैयारी रखेंगे और हम अपनी तैयारियों में कमी नहीं करेंगे लेकिन भरती होने वाले यह सोचते हैं कि कहीं ऐसा तो नहीं होगा कि साल दो साल में कोई आपस में

मुलह समझौता हो जाय और सरकार उस वक्त हमको निकाल बाहर करेगी । इसलिए मेरा यह निवेदन है कि इमरजेंसी कमिशन में जो आज कमी पड़ रही है उस कमी को पूरा करने के लिये प्रतिरक्षा मंत्रालय को साफ तौर से लोगों को यह बतलाना चाहिए कि भले ही टेकनिकल टर्म्स के लिहाज से तकनीकी परिभाषा में इमरजेंसी का अर्थ टेम्पोरेरी हो सकता है लेकिन अमली जीवन में हम जो अपनी प्रतिरक्षा शक्ति को बढ़ा रहे हैं उनको आगे चल कर बाहर नहीं निकाला जायेगा और उनको वापस नहीं किया जायेगा ।

मुझे इस बात की खुशी है कि उन्होंने उम्र को ३० वर्ष कर दिया है जिससे कि नौजवानों को यह महसूस हो सके कि वे काफी दिन तक वहां रह कर सेवा कर सकेंगे ।

नेफा और हिमालियन बोर्डर्स के बारे में अपनी सैन्य शक्ति में वृद्धि करने के बारे में बहुत से लोगों ने चर्चा की है । मेरा भी सुझाव है कि उधर भी विशेष रूप से प्रतिरक्षा मंत्रालय ध्यान दे और वहां पर मिलिशिया में और वृद्धि करने के अलावा वहां के लोगों को फौज में भरती करके उनको माउंटन वारफैर के लिए विशेष रूप से तैयार करना चाहिए ताकि वह समय पर उपयोगी सिद्ध हो सकें ।

बहुत से साथी कहते हैं कि हमारी प्रतिरक्षा की तैयारी एक प्लान के मुताबिक हो । श्री इंद्रजीत गुप्त ने कहा कि हमारी तैयारी का एक प्लान होना चाहिए । इसके लिए मैं यह निवेदन करूंगा कि यह कोई प्रोडक्शन प्लान नहीं है कि इसके कोई स्टैटिस्टिक्स तैयार हो सकें । यह प्लान तो इस आधार पर होगा कि हमारे चारों तरफ के मुल्कों का क्या रवैया है और हमारी प्रतिरक्षा को उनसे कहां तक खतरा है ?

[श्री काशी राम गुप्त]

उसका मुकाबला करने के लिए हम को शौट टर्म और लॉग टर्म प्लांस बनाने की आवश्यकता है और यह देखना होगा कि परिस्थिति में परिवर्तन के साथ साथ हम अपना परिवर्तन किस रूप में कर सकते हैं। इसलिए ऐसे प्लानों के लिए कोई स्थायित्व का प्लान इस प्रकार से नहीं आ सकता है। हमको तो यह देखना पड़ेगा कि हमें अपनी तीनों जल, थल और नभ सेनाओं में आज की अपनी प्रतिरक्षा की आवश्यकताओं को मद्देनजर रखते हुए क्या सुधार या तबदीली लानी आवश्यक है, किस तरह उसको बढ़ावा दे सकते हैं और किस प्रकार उसमें आज की आवश्यकताओं के अनुसार परिवर्तन किया जा सकता है। किस प्रकार से हम अपने जवानों के हौसले को बढ़ा सकते हैं ?

मैं संक्षेप में कुछ चुनावों की चर्चा करना चाहूंगा। आज यह स्थिति है जनमानस की कि हमारे जो फौजी जवान होते हैं जब वह यह देखते हैं कि सरकार कांग्रेस की है और चूंकि फौज का काम सरकार की मदद करनी है इसलिए वोट डालते वक्त वह एक ही बात जानते हैं कि मौजूदा सरकार की मदद की जाये और उधर ही उनका वोट पड़ता है। मेरा यह निवेदन है कि फौज को प्रजातंत्र का सही अर्थ समझाया जाय क्योंकि इस तरह की भ्रामक धारणा फौजियों के अंदर बनी रहने से ऐसी फौज प्रजातंत्र के लायक नहीं होती है। इसलिये उनको इस बात की उचित शिक्षा दीजाये ताकि वह सही तौर से प्रजातंत्र को मजबूत कर सकें।

अन्त में मेरा यह निवेदन है कि यह प्रतिरक्षा मंत्रालय जिस नौजवान के हाथ में आज आया है वह देश के एक सफल राजनीतिज्ञ है किन्तु इस के साथ यह जरूरी है कि वे यह देखें कि उनके चारों तरफ क्या होता है और उस का क्या असर यहां पर आता है। यहां पर यह देखा जाता है कि वायर

पुलिंग होती है और अपनी गलती को छिपाने के लिये किसी एक व्यक्ति को बलिदान करने की कोशिश की जाती है। जो कुछ एक मंत्री से गलती हुई है वह सारे कैबिनेट की जवाब्ट रिसर्पोसबिलिटी है और वह किसी एक व्यक्ति की गलती नहीं हुई है। इस का कारण यह है कि हमारी जो लोकसभा है उस का कम से कम प्रतिरक्षा के मामले में पूर्ण रूप से उपयोग नहीं किया गया। उनका विश्वास नहीं किया गया और उसका नतीजा यह हुआ जो कि आज हमारे सामने है।

बस एक मिनट में मैं समाप्त किये दे रहा हूं। आज अमरीका जो हम से बार-बार कह रहा है कि तटस्थ रहें उसका एक रहस्य है। वह यह जानता है कि पाकिस्तान उन का साथी है। अगर वह हमें अपने साथ लेने का प्रयत्न करता है तो पाकिस्तान जिसकी कि हम से कभी नहीं बनती उस का सिरदर्द कौन मोल ले ? इसलिए अमरीका की जो वर्तमान नीति है वह उनके अपने मतलब के लिए है। उसका मतलब यह है कि इस समय वह पाकिस्तान के हित को देखते हुए ही हमारी कोई बात पूरी करेंगे। यही कारण है कि अमरीका आज हम से कहता है कि आप तटस्थ ही रहें तो ठीक रहेगा। इसलिए मैं निवेदन करूंगा कि हमारे प्रतिरक्षा मंत्री महोदय यदि उन से बात करते हैं तो अमरीका और रूस इन दोनों से खुशी से बात करें लेकिन जरा स्पष्टता से करें कि अभी तो यह लड़ाई बौर्डर की लड़ाई कहलाती है लेकिन अगर कल को यह बौर्डर की लड़ाई पुल स्केल लड़ाई में, बड़ी लड़ाई में बदल जाये तो अमरीका और रूस यह दोनों देश उसके बारे में क्या रवैया अख्तियार करते हैं, अपने अपने गुटों के साथ रहते हैं या क्या करते हैं, उनकी साफ़ प्रतिक्रिया इस बारे में हमें मालूम हो जानी चाहिए और उसके आधार पर ही हमें अपनी नीति बदलनी या बनानी चाहिए। यही मेरा निवेदन है।

मैं अन्त में आप को धन्यवाद देता हूँ कि आपने मुझे इतना समय दिया ।

Shri D. N. Singh (Muzaffarpur): Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, at the very outset, I would like to pay my tribute to our brave jawans who died defending the sacred soil of India on the battle-field of Ladakh and in the thick jungles of NEFA. I would also like to pay my tribute to our gallant air force who have stood by the side of our army during the actual fighting and who dropped supplies in one of the most difficult battle fields of the world.

Again, I would also like to express my gratitude to those friendly countries who during the time of emergency rushed supplies, arms and equipment to our aid. I also welcome the decision of the Government to double the strength of the army and strengthen our navy and air force. But the effectiveness of our fighting forces does not depend so much on numbers alone but, in order that our fighting forces should give their best, they must be equipped with the weapons that are highly mobile and second to none in quality.

Then again, it is not only necessary that our army and air force should be well-generalised and well-equipped, but they should also be provided with conditions in which they could give their best for the defence of the country.

In this connection, I would like to quote a few lines from a very recent book that has been published, by the London Institute of Race Relations. It is entitled *Armed Forces in New States*. This is what Air Marshal Sir John Slessor, a very eminent soldier himself, and who has written the foreword to this book, had to say:

"New nations, even more than old, depend for their existence on the integrity of their armed forces; the most intelligent, experienced and well-meaning government may not survive if the army is corrupt."

Further on, he says:

"It is, however, worth reflecting that if the relations between a Government and its armed forces are to be all that we think they should be, the Government itself must be impartial, stable, honest and politically mature enough to deserve a high degree of disciplined loyalty."

I hope with our new and able Defence Minister, all these things would be achieved.

I do not want to go into the question of NEFA reverses. Government has already instituted an inquiry and I am quite sure those who are found guilty will be brought to book. But then the way our Army fought in Ladakh is sure to find an honoured place in the crowded gallery of the heroic deeds of Indian Army.

There is another point to which I would make a reference. There has been a lot of talk whether the Chinese are going to attack us again or not. Nobody knows what they are going to do. But the sharp and aggressive tone of recent Chinese notes, the aggressive concentration of Chinese forces all along our border, the feverish road and air field building activities in Tibet, the way the Chinese are treating and behaving with the Colombo powers and the unseemly haste with which Peking and Pindi concluded agreement are all indicative of the fact that it is just possible that they may be on the look-out for some excuse to launch a fresh attack against us, may be of a limited and restricted character. Here I would like to quote a few lines from another eminent person, Capt. Liddle Hart, regarding the tactics that the Chinese are likely to adopt in the neighbouring countries. This is what he says:

"The aggression might be at limited tempo—a gradual process of encroachment. It might be of limited depth but fast tempo—

[Shri D. N. Singh]

small bites quickly made, and as quickly followed by offers to negotiate. It might be of limited density—a multiple infiltration by particles so small that they form an intangible vapour.”

Shri Tyagi (Dehra Dun): Was it written after the Chinese attack?

Shri D. N. Singh: It was written before. All these tactics have been adopted against us in NEFA and they are sure to adopt these very tactics in future as well. I am also quite sure that in the event of a future attack, our army will not only stand the test but shatter the myth of the invincibility of the Chinese Army, because about the last World War, there is a very famous saying of Montgomery that “Rommel is a good General, but he repeats his tactics too often and that is where I am going to catch him.”

There is one more spect of our defence problem and that concerns Pakistan. The recent Pindi-Peking Axis that has developed also poses a serious problem and a threat to us. The Prime Minister of Kashmir has already said that he suspects that Pakistan and China have entered into a secret understanding against India. The other day, the Chief Minister of Punjab also said at Ambala—I quote—

“An attack from China is bound to come and when China attacks, Pakistan would not stay back as silent spectator.”

Here, Sir, I would like to quote an observation of Mr. Kingsley Martin published in the *New Statesman and Nation* of February 15, 1963:

“If the war between India and China recommences, Pakistan and India on present showing will be fighting on opposite sides.”

The Acting High Commissioner for Pakistan in U.K. wrote a long letter published in the *New Statesman and*

Nation of March 1, 1963 contradicting all the observations of Mr. Kingsley Martin except this. On the other hand, the other day in a speech delivered at a public meeting at Lyallpur, President Ayub Khan said—I quote—

“Unless India comes to her senses, she would be involved in serious conflict with her neighbours.”

The use of the word ‘neighbours’ is significant.

There was also a very significant and important interview given by Abbas and Qayum of Azad Kashmir to Mr. George Patterson and this interview has been published in the *China Quarterly* of October-December, 1962, and I quote:

“Abbas and Qayyum informed me that they have recruited 10,000 armed and trained fighters with a reservoir of 30,000 armed tribesmen across the borders. Their immediate plans are to launch a series of raids across the cease-fire line, and increase them when India replies with large-scale retaliations. The arms for this they have in small supply at present, but they hope that China will provide whatever is required, should the war continue.”

Then again, much has been said in American and British circles about the pact between Pakistan and China. In this respect I would like to quote a few lines from a book *Russo-Chinese Borderlands* by Mr. Douglas Jackson, published under the General Editorship of G. C. Pearsey, Geographer of the U.S. Department of State:

“Should the Chinese Communists gain control of the major mountain passes through the Karakoram Range connecting Sinkiang with Pakistan’s Gilgit Agency, a serious threat to Pakistan’s very existence as an independent State could develop.”

I hope the Government of the United States of America takes note of this warning that has been given by their own Geographer.

In view of all these things, what should be done? I am not a strategist myself. Such as a layman what I feel is that we should adopt a defence strategy for deterrence and for combat if deterrence fails. It should be made clear to the aggressors that in the event of any fresh aggression, large-scale infiltration or incursion, India will not hesitate to retaliate with full force at our disposal, with the weapons of our own choosing and on the places of our own choosing; and we will carry the war to its logical conclusion irrespective of the cost and the risk involved. Let there be no doubt that the Chinese will only attack when they are reasonably sure that they can get away with it comparatively as easily as they did last time.

Much has been said about the strength of the Chinese army and the quality of the Chinese army. In this connection, I would like to quote from O'Ballance's brilliant book 'The Red Army of China':

"A point to bear in mind is that the Chinese soldier has never successfully stood up to serious competition on the modern battle-field for any length of time. In the guerilla days, he always 'hit and ran', in the Civil War, he faced the cracking, crumbling Nationalist armies, and in Korea he was a selected 'volunteer'. He has always been mercurial on the battle-field. His morale did not stand up to pressure on several occasions in Korea. Nor can it walk very far, if at all. The military hierarchy is ageing, lives in the past and is guerilla warfare-minded."

The Chinese had some initial successes because we were not prepared and we were not fully armed. We did not expect that China would

be committing aggression against us. But once we are prepared, I have not even a shadow of doubt that in the event of any future confrontation our Army will not only stand the test but will avenge the NEFA reverses and will shatter the myth about the might of the Chinese Army.

We should remember that it is just possible the Chinese may try to disrupt our arms supply, etc., by sending their submarines in the Bay of Bengal. Therefore, it is very necessary that while strengthening our Army and Air Force we should not neglect our navy either. As the report goes, Chinese have near about 2 dozen long range submarines. So, we should strengthen the anti-submarine wing of our navy, so that we may prevent Chinese decoy raids in the Bay of Bengal. During the last war, the Japanese submarines came right up to the Bay of Bengal and they were patrolling. So, we cannot overlook that contingency either.

Lastly, I would like to wish our very able, young and energetic Defence Minister well. He is Yashwant as well as Balwant. Events have justified the first portion of his name for the day he arrived, Chinese announced their cease-fire and I am also sure in case of future conflict, the second portion of his name will also be justified.

14 hrs.

Shri A. V. Raghavan (Badagara): Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, let me pay my homage to the jawans and officers who fell fighting for the freedom and integrity of our country. Bravest of the brave, the flower of our youth, they proved magnificent against an enemy, perfidious alike in politics and cunningness in battle fields. At an altitude and terrain in which both minds and bodies were affected, our jawans fought in a manner worthy of their great traditions, and gave a foretaste of what was to come if the Chinese continued in their attack.

[Shri A. V. Raghavan]

Sir, I wonder whether the dimensions of the menace posed by an aggressive China are properly understood by us, I mean in the sense of total comprehension. In terms of defence logistics the menace is going to tax our energies and resources in a manner for which we as a nation had so far no precedent. Only those who have studied epic events, like the battle of Britain, the land battles in the heartlands of Russia can fully understand the nature of the colossal combinations of material resources, fighting capacity and morale that are required to successfully face ruthless and powerful adversaries.

In this context, I welcome all the aid that is given and being sought from all countries. We are indeed profoundly grateful for that. But borrowed capital, borrowed weapons are all productive and powerful only in the hands of a strong nation, strong men. This is a fundamental truth which we will forget only at our peril. If a nation unwilling to do its best borrows money or weapons from foreign countries, it will be like an unemployed man borrowing money from an usurious moneylender. It will end up only in bankruptcy or suicide.

The menace is colossal and we have to face it. So we have to evolve a defence oriented economy which, while putting the maximum accent on defence preparedness, also does not neglect other aspects of our plan and reconstruction over which so many of our dreams have been woven over all these years.

You know how prohibitively costly a few squadrons of jet fighters are. And, manufacturing them in thousands will require astronomical sums. But in the long run we have to manufacture them. A good beginning has

been made in this direction and we must go full speed ahead to make the country self-sufficient in the matter of defence requirements. Other people's umbrellas can always be taken back as all borrowed umbrellas are, and may be they may not available for a really rainy day. This poses an inexorable problem in logistics and economics which we have to analyse, study and absorb.

Now, Sir, as an ex-Serviceman I want to focus the attention of the Government to the service conditions of our jawans. In spite of all the sentimental affections we have for our jawans, the cold fact remains that in pay and pension scales the Indian soldier ranks almost the lowest in the world. Trained soldiers are placed in one or the other of eight groups A to H, each of which is in turn sub-divided into three or four classes. The majority of our soldiers are in what are called Groups F, G and H, on Rs. 55 a month. And, there is the incredible fact that throughout his career of 24 years the total increment in his substantial pay is only Rs. 5. Thousands and thousands of our soldiers retire without any promotion. We must also remember that a soldier enlisted in one group is not eligible for promotion in another group. Promotion in the same group is all dependent upon passing many rigid tests. There is no automatic promotion, because there is a quota and they have to wait endlessly. While promotion to an officer from the rank of a sub-lieutenant to a Lieutenant Colonel is fixed on the basis of time scale, a poor jawan gets an increment of Rs. 2½ after five years and another Rs. 2½ after he completes his tenth year. And, with that his increment ends. We are of course poor. But waiting for five years for an increment of Rs. 2½ is a human phenomenon that takes our breath away. There is an element of cruelty in it and our jawans deserve better treatment. An officer is enrolled on a pay of Rs. 400, and even if he does not

pass any test he gets his minimum increment of Rs. 30 every year. He gets his promotion from one rank to another till he reaches a pay scale of Rs. 1400. An officer thus gets 250 per cent increase in his substantial pay during the period of 24 years while for the same period a jawan gets only 9 per cent increase—i.e., Rs. 5. Sir, I have nothing against our brave, gallant and efficient officers. But this much of disparity in service conditions between jawans and officers is not conducive to morale apart from pure human considerations.

Again, in the matter of his pension scales it is the same story. The pension varies from Rs. 15 to Rs. 20 for soldiers in groups F, G and H depending upon the number of years in service.

A word about family pensions. The Family Pension Code says:

“Subject to the fulfilment of the prescribed conditions, the family of a JCO/other rank. Non-combatant (enrolled) to whom the new pension code applies and who dies on account of a wound, injury or illness the cause of which is attributable to or aggravated by military service are eligible for a family pension.”

The condition that wound, illness etc. the cause of which is attributable to or aggravated by military service had been very rigidly interpreted. There are instances where family pensions have been denied to the family of a soldier with 17 years service. In the normal course the soldier would have been entitled to a service pension if he was released after 15 years. The family of a soldier who died, while in service, in a military hospital, with 17 years service was denied family pension on the ground that his death was not attributable to or aggravated by military service. Hence I feel that the Pension Code requires drastic revision, and simplification.

Again, in the matter of providing family quarters to the jawans, the

Ministry has not done anything worthwhile. This problem has to be looked into and wherever it is not possible to provide family quarters they must be given separation allowance. Separation allowance at the rate of Rs. 50 per month is admissible to married officers when they are posted to units located in areas in India where families are not permitted to accompany them.

The condition of an ex-serviceman in our country is also miserable. Employment opportunities after release are far and few. This is the opportune moment for the Defence Minister to persuade all the State Governments and Central Ministries to reserve 25 per cent of the vacancies in favour of ex-servicemen.

Now, I want to invite the attention of the Defence Ministry to another vital topic. We are spending crores of rupees on defence industries and project. Several giant establishments and factories are being started in various States. But it is unfortunate that some States like Andhra and Kerala have been left out completely in this respect. Immediately eyebrows are raised—parochial demands. Please do not take it that way. In these matters, there is something like a total sense of participation. And, that is a fact only if people all over feel that they are active participants. They must feel and experience a sense of physical proximity to great activities. That has a psychological effect. It should not be dismissed lightly. I would, therefore, request the Defence Minister to consider this aspect and establish factories in areas where they do not exist now.

Another question is, NEFA and Ladakh have taught us a number of lessons. I am not going into all of them. We have certain problems of the Himalayan terrain, which probably no other country in the world has. I would like to know whether we are doing adequate research in this direction. We do not want our soldiers to suffer there. They have to fight the

[Shri A. V. Raghavan]

enemy, not nature. For this, massive help and co-operation is called for help and co-operation is called for from scientists and research workers.

Before I conclude, Sir, let me invite the attention of the Defence Minister to an important matter. Let there be one master in the Defence Ministry to whom officers and jawans can look to with a sense of loyalty, love and devotion. Too many of them springing up on diverse missions on diverse occasions may add aura to individuals but it is not conducive to morale. I would, therefore, request the Defence Minister to take firm action in this direction. Let me conclude, Sir, with a salute to the jawans on the lonely heights of the Himalayas, the sentinel of our freedom.

Shri Bhagwat Jha Azad (Bhagalpur): Mr. Deputy-Speaker, I pay my compliments to those brave jawans of our defence forces who are fighting at the ice-bergs, facing all sorts of difficulties, odds and hazards to defend our freedom, integrity and security at the borders. I take this opportunity also, though late, because this is my first opportunity to welcome our new Defence Minister.

Since his coming to the Ministry, we find that things are improving and Members are feeling satisfied. The report that has been presented to this House this year is also a good report. I strongly differ from the hon. Member to my left who spoke yesterday and said that this is a confused report and there is outrageous disregard of this House. I was surprised, even intrigued, how one could give expression to such feelings after seeing this report because, if one were to compare this report with the previous ones, one will surely find that this report gives in very clear terms information on our achievements, our defects and failures in the past, as well as an indication or pointer to

our future programme. After hearing that hon. Member I was reminded of a couplet. These days we find that whenever an ex-Minister speaks, he says always that this is a corrupt Government. Whenever a wife of a late Air-Marshal speaks, she says that the report is a most confusing one. If the son of an ex-Minister speaks, he also refers to matters in the same vein. So, I am reminded of a couplet which says:

“मंत्री के पावन पद की यह शान
नहीं दीखता दोष कहीं शासन में,
भूतपूर्व की यह पहचान,
कहता है सरकार बहुत पापी है

Therefore, I would like to say this much about these ex people. So long as the ex-Ministers, were in office or sons of ex-Ministers, or wives of ex-Air-Marshals were having their fathers or husbands in office, they did not see or find anything wrong with the working of the Government, but the moment they or their relatives had become ex they find that this is the most corrupt government that ever existed in this world. I only feel sorry for such members of this House. Of course, there are exceptions like Shri Sham Lal Saraf. He spoke very nicely and referred to the achievements of this Ministry. But he is an exception.

From this report we find that during the emergency our fighting forces have done well. I am aware of the fact that we have had reverses. Let us not hide them. But we have to find out why it came out to be like that. It is because of the fact that an aggressor has always the initial advantage. Secondly, there is a basic difference of approach between China and India. China has prepared herself as a military nation; whereas India did not. If that is a mistake, we have to accept that it is a mistake. It is a fact which has to be borne in mind. We do not believe in feeding our people with armaments and not food. Democracies, especially the one like ours,

do not believe in providing guns to the jawans to invade their neighbours. No democracy in the world has done it. Sir Winston Churchill, who was a great war-time leader, had the support and backing of the whole nation behind him during the world war, whereas in our country there are political parties which, in all meetings, give support for the first three minutes and afterwards try to belittle the national leadership of the country. Even in a country which is headed by a leader of the standing of Shri Jawaharlal Nehru, there is one section of the people, who have their own press, who want to scrap the Plan in the name of defence, who want to belittle the leadership, who want to demoralise the army, who want to demoralise the jawans. All the same, in spite of the existence of such a group of people in the country, the people at large and our army did very well in this emergency. I was saying a little while ago that Sir Winston Churchill had the unanimous support of two big nations one was the United States and the other a dictatorial country like USSR, for Stalin was behind him. Yet, in spite of all that, continuously for two years, Sir Winston Churchill had to explain to his people the reverses in Dunkirk. Our reverses in Sela Pass, or our defeat in Walong, are nowhere comparable to their reverses in Dunkirk or in Pearl Harbour. Of course, I am not trying to minimise the importance of our defeats, but what I am saying is that democracy never prepares for a war; it always believes in building a foundation. For the last fifteen years the Indian democracy, through three successive Five Year Plans, has built a solid foundation for economic development, which today serves us very well indeed. If we want to expand the production of our ordnance factories, here is the base. Even the tremendous production that we had during the last eight months and the preparations that are going on in this country are due to the base or foundation that we have prepared for our country on the economic front all these years. Though we did not provide for the guns, we provid-

ed for such things from which we can have more guns and more ordnance factories. Also, it is the spirit that is more important. It is not the weapon, but the army behind it that matters; it is not only the army but the country behind it that helps one win a war. I think this nation has prepared herself well during all these years by working continuously in the fields, factories and offices and now the Defence Ministry are producing goods which are so vital and essential for the defence of this country.

No doubt, we have to double our army, our fire power. We have to increase our air force also to a challenging strength so that it can meet the enemy from the northern frontier. But I would like to ask the Defence Minister to keep one thing clear in his mind, and that is that our defence preparations must be in tune with the policy laid down by this country, and that is the policy of non-alignment. We have seen over these years that this policy has stood the test of time. Therefore, while building this air force, let us not adopt a multi-coloured umbrella, either of the hue of United Kingdom or the hue of the United States. We welcome their help, but the umbrella must be our own, which we can unfurl at our own sweet will in times of emergency. Let that umbrella not have a distant switch control, an umbrella which will unfurl only when a button is pressed from another country. Let us not remain unprepared on that ground. Let the air strength of this country be built to the extent we can. There is no doubt that we welcome help and we are grateful to the nations which have come to our aid at the time of the emergency. Some friends are arguing "What is the harm? If, at the present juncture, we cannot build up our air force with our own resources, let there be an inter-locking of the air forces of the different countries. When the time comes, if a button is pressed here, you will find coming across the frontier, not from the

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Himalayan border but from the other side, air help coming for the defence of our country." Let that arrangement not be there. We must build up our own air force; it may be by loan or by getting help from a good friend. If we can get dakotas or supersonic fighters we should get them, but—it must be kept in mind—it must be in tune with our policy of non-alignment.

Then, we have been disturbed to see that a purchasing mission of the Chinese Government is roaming about in the United Kingdom. It has been said by some responsible men in England that because the United States is not trading with China, other countries are not doing it, it is a good opportunity for the United Kingdom to trade with China. This country is very much distressed over it and will strongly react if one partner of the Commonwealth stabs up in the back by trying to sell any aircraft to the Chinese purchasing mission which is in that country now. In case they sell any aircraft, this House is of the unanimous opinion that this act would be regarded as an act of unfriendliness by our Commonwealth partner.

Then I want to say a few words about the inquiry. We must learn a lesson from the past. Because of what we have seen in NEFA during the last invasion by the Chinese hordes it is true that we have to re-think about the whole thing and consider the terrain, the other circumstances, the weapons, what are wrong with the command and so on. But I would like to say one thing to the Defence Minister. Let him not stretch this inquiry to a point where tomorrow our defence efforts may be harmed or hampered. And it may be like this. It was so kind of the hon. Minister that a few days ago he gave a term of reference that this committee has been asked to investigate into. That must be looked into. Persons found guilty should be dealt with severely. What is wrong with our weapons and

all that, must also be looked into. But let not that inquiry be stressed too far that it may become a public inquiry, trials and all sort of things going on. That will demoralise the army. Therefore, the inquiry should be halted at that stage. We should look into the matter and examine it. But let not that be stressed to that extent.

Another thing that I want to say is this. In the present times, there is a cry a demand from the private industries that they are not being given a fair deal to share the defence effort. I want to know from the Defence Ministry or the Minister of State for Defence Production as to how far they are getting the co-operation of the private industry. Is it not a fact that they are not prepared to produce those things for which they do not see any need after the Emergency? Is it not a fact that in the name of the Emergency they want to import certain things from outside which need huge foreign exchange! If that be so, I would advise the Defence Minister to himself import that material worth of so much foreign exchange, and the cry of the private industry that they are not given a fair deal is absolutely baseless because arms and ammunitions cannot be allowed to put in the private sector. So far as cloth and blankets are concerned, to my knowledge I know, even there they are not prepared to share the responsibility of the Defence Minister.

With these words, I strongly commend the demands of the Defence Ministry. It is a good report, a report of good detail and a good achievement of our army in morale and strength and it will continue in future to be so.

Shri P. C. Borooah (Sibsagar): Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, while welcoming the advent of a young and energetic Minister of Defence in the person of Mr. Y. B. Chavan, I am happy to say that he will be able to bring up

our army, navy and air force to safeguard the independence of our mother land.

I associate myself with those hon. Members who have paid tribute to the Indian army personnel who by their heroic deeds and gallantry have held high the prestige of the Indian army. I also pay homage to those who have left us and given their lives in the battle. In spite of their being ill-equipped and at times even ill-fed and ill-clothed, they have undergone extreme hardships in one of the earth's most difficult terrain and yet they have been able to hold high the tradition of the Indian army and air force.

While we can ill-afford to say anything at length at this hour about our defence preparations, we will be failing in our duty if we do not take note of our deficiencies shortcomings and difficulties that we had to face in the recent past. It requires no expertise to say that we have failed at the defence front in so far as our preparedness is concerned. Foreign arms rushed to India by U.K. and other countries soon after the Chinese aggression did not reach our troops till after the cease-fire proposals. All these matters are going to be enquired into. That is a very good thing. But may I request that the scope of the inquiry be extended and enlarged, so that all aspects of our defence weakness can be taken into consideration and be suitably dealt with? It is heartening to find that tempo of our defence preparations is rising. There is not a single dissenting voice from any quarter against the proposed all-time high defence expenditure. This signifies the nation's determination to uphold the honour of the motherland.

About the defence ordnance factories' production, some of our friends are not satisfied with the progress. But may I say that the production in 1957-58 was Rs. 18 crores and in 1961-62 it is Rs 41½ crores and in 1962-63 it is estimated at Rs. 65 crores. The

productoin of more than 48 Pushpak aircraft, designing and development of the Krishak aircraft, progress made in the manufacture of Gnat crafts and launching on the scheme for the manufacture of Dart Engines for Avro 748 aircraft, speak high of the efforts the Ministry has made.

Faced with a potent aggressor like China, we cannot afford to take chances with our defence against another attack. We have yet to make a lot of effort, not only to harness all indigenous resources, but also to secure all possible assistance from any and every quarter available without any hesitation.

The recent Chinese aggression has proved beyond doubt that our policy of non-alignment is completely successful. While USA and other western powers rushed weapons and articles of defence requirements, Russia did not keep back. They put pressure on China and probably for that reason the Chinese had to come out with cease-fire proposals. While U. S.-Commonwealth high powered military and air missions have enquired into our defence requirements, on the other hand Russian experts are busy planning the establishment of MIG factory and also Yugoslavia is offering its equipment for mountain warfare. Does it not show that our policy of non-alignment is successful?

Any defence preparation would not be effective unless it is made with reference to the powers and potentialities our enemy is endowed with. China, it is said—it has already been stated by many—has about 2000 forward line jets in its air force, possesses the world's fourth strongest submarine fleet and has an army about five times bigger than that of India. To scare away such an enemy, we must have equally strong and matching force.

During the discussion on the demands for grants for the Department of Atomic Energy, we were told

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that China was a long way off in making the atom bombs and India, though ahead of China in the development of nuclear energy, has no intention to make nuclear weapons. I do not dispute any of these two things. But what I am worried about is the question as to how India would be able to defend itself against any nuclear attacks in case the Chinese at a future date decide to make that adventure. I fear, it may again amount to taking chances with incredible China, to assume that China would never be able to produce nuclear weapons or that it would not use the same against India. I, therefore, wish that the Defence Minister may consider the desirability of giving atomic orientation to our defence.

Having said so, I would now like to deal with some matters relating to the North Eastern Frontier Region. That region suffered a lot during the Chinese aggression. At one time, it looked as if it was a matter of days for the Chinese to over-run the whole of Assam. Rumours were afloat during those days that resistance would be offered only at the Bengal-Bihar border, leaving Assam to its fate. This apprehension has not completely faded away from the minds of the people there. It is mainly for two reasons. Firstly, while reports of hectic activities of concentration of troops, road building, construction of air bases etc. on the other side of our border being undertaken by the Chinese are pouring in we on our side have not seen any such activity. Secondly, there is practically no army in the entire NEFA region posted in readiness to meet any Chinese advance.

There are two reasons for this feeling and this apprehension that Assam may be left to its own fate. The people of Assam have witnessed during the Second World War, what a war-front is. The region was then humming with varied activities. Movements of troops, tanks, machine guns broke the silence of the region. Dense

forests were converted into landing grounds overnight. Those memories are still fresh in the minds of the people there. Compared to that, today's preparations fall far short. To allay such fears and restore confidence among them, I feel that high priority should be accorded to strengthen the defence of that frontier by posting more forces equipped with modern arms, developing the unused airfields and protecting the existing ones by anti-aircraft guns, etc.

The Report of the activities of the Ministry of Defence for 1962-63 refers to the flood relief work done by the army-men in Assam. The devastation caused by floods has been increasing year after year and has been eating the very roots of the economic life of that area. Whatever development is made in a year is set at nought by the floods the next year. Hence, no proper defence will be possible to be built up on that frontier unless this menace is effectively dealt with. I consider that this problem should be tackled as a part of the defence preparations.

Another weakness of that frontier is the dilapidated condition of the roads and bridges in that region. Strong roads and bridges are the prerequisites of a strong defence. During the Chinese incursion last year the military movements were paralysed when there was breakdown of a bridge over a certain small river. Numerous other similar bottlenecks were suffered which jeopardised the war effort at that time. Hence it is imperative that roads and bridges in that region are strengthened as an integral part of our defence preparations.

It is welcome that the Government have of late sanctioned the proposal of extending the broad-gauge line from Siliguri to Jogighopa. Development of strong railway communications in the frontier regions is essential for the movement of troops and equipment, and should be taken up as

a part of defence. It would have been in the fitness of things had this extension been taken up to a more centrally situated place like Gauhati, instead of up to Jogighopa. This appears to be very essential for our defence preparations.

The Assam Rifles has, of course, been mentioned by many of the preceding Speakers. The Assam Rifles and the Kashmir Militia should be made part and parcel of the Indian Army and their conditions of service brought in line with the rest of the army personnel. These people, with their thorough knowledge of the difficult terrain of the frontier areas, would be much more suited to man the posts there.

More and more people of the border areas, including Assam, Manipur and Tripura, who have knowledge of that difficult terrain and accustomed to the climatic conditions of the area, should be recruited and trained in guerilla warfare.

Sir, I thank you for the opportunity given to me.

Shri Krishnapal Singh (Jalesar): Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, in the beginning I would like to say a few words about the allotment of time to this Ministry. As you know, Sir, this Ministry is taking up over 30 per cent of the entire budget allotment, and yet the time allotted to this Ministry's budget demands is only about one-tenth of the entire time allotted for the Demands. I would therefore like to say that unless we are allowed sufficient time at this juncture, when our country is threatened, when the very existence of our country is threatened—and we are anxious to give all this money and to undergo any privation for the sake of strengthening our defence—unless we have sufficient time we cannot make our contributions in an effective manner. I therefore plead that we should get a little more time than has been allotted to us.

With these few preliminary remarks I crave your indulgence to permit me

to dispose of one or two points which were rather controversial but which are necessary from the point of view of the morale of the people.

The first one which I would like to mention is that it gives us great pleasure to find that those who had lost faith in the sword and placed faith in the broom-stick are now gradually trying to give up the broom-stick and are trying to find the sword. It is a very good sign and I hope that they will stick to this change.

Now, the other point which, I think, is somewhat controversial and which has already been raised by some of the Members is that we should seriously think whether we want to survive or whether we want again to enter into some sort of confusion. That, we should clearly place before ourselves. This talk about alignment or non-alignment is turning into a sort of discussion which may not lead us anywhere. What is necessary is to see how best we can defend ourselves. That is the only consideration at present which we should place before our minds.

I have heard some Members asking, the hon. Member who spoke here a short while ago asked: Why should we depend upon another country, why should we depend upon any other country, we should try and prepare ourselves; why should we try to have an umbrella from another country which may not open at the right moment? Very good spirit, ideal spirit. I am entirely with him so far as the theory goes. But what about the practice? We have got to see whether any time is available, whether in the short time at our disposal it is possible or practicable to construct sufficient aircraft, to train sufficient number of pilots, to manufacture other weapons and equipment, whether it is possible for us to manufacture everything that we need. In fact, those of us who were living at the time when the last war started will see the great diffe-

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rence between the preparations that were going on during the first phase of that war and what we are doing today. I recollect that wherever you went, whether you went to the bazar, whether you went to the cantonment, or whether you passed by a factory, you saw everybody busy, working for defence. There were darzis working everywhere. If there were not enough darzis in the town they were attracted to the cities where they were busy preparing tents, mosquito nets and other items of clothing. Other factories were busy. If you travel, be in the train, most of the passengers were in uniform. Do we see that now? I say that we have not been able to give that bias to the preparation for our defence which is necessary. Perhaps this may be the only opportunity which we have at our disposal. Therefore, we should not enter into these idle discussions. We must sit down and consider what is necessary, what is essential from the point of view of our defence and try to get that. If we can prepare it here, well and good. If we cannot, let us get it from somewhere and protect ourselves.

We know, there has been a lot of misunderstanding. Whatever aid we have been able to get is in spite of our attitude towards other nations and not on account of it. Therefore, we must adopt an attitude by which we will be able to make friends. When I was at school, we were taught a small Sanskrit verse which compared friendship with shadow. It meant that friendship with bad people is like the forenoon shadow. It is big in the beginning, but it diminishes gradually until it fades away. The shadow in the afternoon is like that, of friendship of a good man. It is small in the beginning, but gets bigger as time passes on. What have we been doing? Have we been making good friends? We have been making friends in a hurry, not thinking whether these friends will stand by our side in our time of need.

It is time now that we must distinguish between good friends and bad.

Dr. M. S. Aney (Nagpur): No bad friends.

Shri Krishnapal Singh: I wish we were in that happy position. We would be really happy. What we find is, not only friends, but our *bhai* has caused us trouble.

Shrimati Lakshmikanthamma (Khammam): How are we to know that friends will betray us?

Shri Krishnapal Singh: I would request the hon. Lady Member to have a little patience. Later on, I may say something to satisfy her.

Another point which I wish to raise may be somewhat controversial. I do not for a moment say that the amount of money which we are allotting to Defence is sufficient. Perhaps our needs are greater. We should, as opportunity arises, give them more money. But what I do not like is the manner in which these funds will be raised. Without having given thought to economising our expenditure, to cutting down our extravagance or waste which is universally known, which is notorious, we are trying to impose taxes on our people—people who are already heavily burdened, people who have not the capacity to pay. Every citizen of India under the present scheme will have to contribute more or less something to the exchequer. I do not say we should not. If we are able to cut down our expenditure and still need more money for Defence, Our people readily agree to the imposition of fresh taxes on our people. But, unless we have done that, it is too early to ask the people to carry any greater burden on their shoulders. Therefore, I submit most humbly, and I hope this House will agree with me, (*Bell rings*) I will sit down; I have not finished even one-tenth of what I have to say. If you think there is nothing worth attention,

I will not say any more. What I would like to suggest is that it is time before we impose these taxes, to appoint a really high-power Commission, presided over by an Ex-Finance Minister, a man who has not only knowledge of finance, but also experience of our administrative machinery to go into civil expenditure and to suggest economy. I am certain that we will be able to find more money merely by economising our expenditure than has been provided for in the present budget for Defence without imposing a penny of tax on anybody. This is what I have to suggest in this regard.

With your permission, I would like to say a few words about our defence. I have heard it said—because we are all laymen here—I have heard it said by people who are good soldiers that the best way to defend one's country is to attack. Just to lie down in your home waiting for the enemy to attack is demoralising. You probably get fed up. It is bad for the people who serve on the border. It is bad for everybody. Ultimately you have to prepare to attack the enemy and to fight in their country. That, I submit, is what we should plan.

I would like to suggest that the first thing that we should do is to draw up a National Programme of Defence. It has been suggested that we should have a three-year plan. I do not say that. We should have a programme for one year. When that plan is prepared, our defence budget should be based on that programme. Therefore, it is the first essential from my point of view.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: The hon. Member should wind up now.

Shri Krishnapal Singh: I shall touch upon one or two points only and I will crave your indulgence to let me finish them.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: There are many Members waiting.

Shri Krishnapal Singh: I know. . .

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: More Members waiting than have spoken.

Shri Krishnapal Singh: I shall leave other points and only confine my remarks to two points which I consider very important. The first is the question of our officers, which is of the greatest importance. These two things, I beg to submit, are our weaknesses we should guard against. Unfortunately, the events in the last few months have shown that the military leadership is not all that we require. What are the reasons? And what have we got to do? Well, a military leader must be of high morale. That is the first requirement. And how can he have it? He cannot have it if you try to supersede him, if you try to push him out of the Army: No officer, no really good officer would like to serve under those conditions. Therefore, what I say is that the question of supersession and promotion should be looked into; supersession should be the exception and not the rule. But, unfortunately that has not been so. I would say that the cases of those officers, especially senior officers, who have been superseded, should be gone into.

The other point which is equally important and perhaps more important is in regard to the senior officers who have retired. I have heard it said by somebody that we cannot re-employ them. I shall quote a classical example, the example of Field Marshal Von Hindenberg. During the First World War when things were going very wrong on the eastern front of Germany, and General Von Hindenberg had retired, a General who was very familiar with the terrain on which fighting was going on, Kaiser asked him whether he would like to take over the command on the eastern front.

Like an old soldier, before he replied to that telegram, he put on his

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uniform and put on his sword and replied 'I am ready, Your Majesty.' He went and turned the tide of the battle. So, if we really want to guard against all the things that have happened, we must not hesitate in re-employing some of the fine generals who have been retired prematurely.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: The hon. Member should conclude now.

Shri Krishnapal Singh: Well, Sir, I shall conclude.

Shri Balakrishnan (Koilpatti): We have been told that sometimes even the demons and the devils help the people. That was how King Vikramaditya was helped by a demon. So also, the devil of Chinese aggression has helped our country in several ways. First of all, the aggression has helped our country to realise the vital necessity of increasing our Defence Forces. The aggression has helped our country to have strong unity and solidarity. We know the incident of Dunkirk. The Dunkirk incident itself created a tempo and led to the determination of the British people to win the war, and they won the war. So also, we should take this aggression as a lesson and as a challenge and we should be determined to increase our Defence Forces, our Air Force and all other forces, and we must be determined to be united and to resist any aggression which comes from any direction.

I am happy to know that the defence budget has been nearly trebled, and I hope that this will be the best consolation to our tax-payers. Our tax-payers are very patriotic, and we know their patriotism. When China attacked our country, men and women, rich and poor, came forward to contribute their savings, their jewels, and sweets and blood to protect the country. Our jawans and our Army personnel are true heroes. We saw their heroism

in the battle-fields of Ladakh and NEFA.

It is true that there may have been some reverses. But as have already said, we must take the reverses as a challenge, and as a lesson to rectify or correct the future and make our Armed Forces strong. Our defence problem is enormous. Our country is a big country, having a very lengthy frontier of about 10,000 miles. So, a huge amount is needed for the defence purpose.

I think that if we compare our defence expenditure with that of other countries, our defence budget is not too much. Yesterday, an Opposition Member from the Communist Party, Shri Indrajit Gupta, quoted some figure about the defence expenditure. But, according to the UN survey, America, out of its total national income spends 9.8 per cent on defence, UK spends 6.5 per cent, France spends 6.2 per cent and China spends 4.4 per cent, but our defence expenditure comes to only 2.5 per cent of our total national income. Until the Chinese aggression started, our defence expenditure was only 2.5 per cent of the total national income. If at all our country did not spend more money on defence, that was because there was sufficient reason for that, namely that soon after Independence our country was faced with another emergency, namely to start a war against poverty and illiteracy, and our country was also fast developing industries and agriculture and other things. So, our Government thought it fit to give priority to all those development works, and, therefore, they did not spend money on defence. But, now the time has come, when the necessity has come to spend more money on defence.

I am glad that our Defence Minister Shri Y. B. Chavan has announced that our land force, our Air Force and our naval forces will be trebled or will be increased several times.

Regarding the Air Force, I would submit that our Air Force is very small when we compare it with the Air Forces of other countries. So, our Air Force will have to be developed several times more. I am told that even China possesses about 3000 planes. So, we should also increase our Air Force.

I was surprised to know that a private airline company had been entrusted with an important task; when actual fighting was taking place in the NEFA area, a private airline company had been entrusted with such an important task. I was sorry to know that our Defence Ministry could not themselves undertake such an important task as dropping arms and ammunitions from the air in that area.

Regarding Sainik schools, I think that there are only a very few Sainik schools in our country. I would like to ask our Defence Minister to start more Sainik schools in our country. At present, only the boys of the rich people could afford to go to the Sainik schools, I would submit that the poor boys also should be able to avail of these facilities, and that can be made possible only if we give them free boarding and free training. At present, the cost of training is too much. So, I request that some provision should be made in the budget to see that the poor boys also are given these facilities.

Regarding the Army, there was too much enthusiasm among our young people, among the patriotic young people. Hundreds and hundreds of our young men ran to the recruiting office to join the Army. But, unfortunately, many patriotic young people returned with disappointment, because the recruiting officers adopted a very strict rule or regulation in regard to the height and breadth of the chest. I say that it is not the height and the breadth of the chest that makes a hero, but it is the determination, and it is the boldness of the

individual which can make him a hero. So, I request the Defence Minister to see that opportunities are given to all those who come forward to join in the Army.

Regarding the Territorial Army, I would submit that it is only through the Territorial Army that we can provide more facilities to all those who want to join the Army. So, I request that more Territorial Army camps may be opened.

Regarding atomic weapons, I know the idea of Government, and I know the determination of our respected Prime Minister and he has often been saying that our country should not prepare atomic weapons, but I beg to draw the attention of Government to see what is going on in other countries. Every day, we are seeing in the newspapers that even small countries are trying to manufacture atomic weapons.

15 hrs.

We are seeing in the papers that some explosion by some country or the other is taking place. So I would request Government to consider why we should not also take up this question. There is a saying, an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth. So we should see that this matter is also considered by us.

There is one weapon which is very powerful, more powerful than atomic bombs. That is propaganda. Without propaganda, a war cannot be won. Winston Churchill changed the position in the last war to victory. He toured all over the country asking his people to contribute blood, tears and sweat. The British people gave him what he wanted to win the war, and they won the war. So I would request our Defence Ministry to tour all over the country and ask our people to contribute their best, make the unity stronger so that we are able to resist aggression from wherever it comes.

Shri Ravindra Varma (Thiruvella): Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, in supporting the Demands for Grants of the Defence Ministry, I first want to join hon. Members of the House who have paid the tribute of the House to the courage, determination, valour and patriotic devotion of the Indian armed personnel. I also join the hon. Members of the House who have conveyed the good wishes of the House and of the country to our new Defence Minister who is shouldering a tremendous responsibility at a critical time in the history of our country.

It has been pointed out that the budget provision for defence has been almost trebled this year. No one in the House or in the country will grudge voting gigantic grants to the Government for the purpose of defence. Defence is the primary duty of any government. Yet, I was surprised to hear in the course of the general debate on the Budget an hon. Member of the Swatantra Party say that 'the increase in defence expenditure has made it necessary to impose an additional burden' and ask why it is necessary for us to impose this burden when our friends, the USA, Britain and others are quite willing to supply this equipment and armament as aid. No one from this side of the House claims that this expenditure is adequate, if we have to meet the might of the Chinese army. We know very well that we will have to augment our resources. But we cannot subscribe to a theory of defence based on the belief that all that one has to do to defend one's country is to seek an ally who will accept the contractual obligation of defending one's country. We believe that there are certain duties and obligations cast on those who are free. One may not be self-sufficient in defence, but to neglect one's duty to give one's all in the defence of freedom is to be unworthy of freedom. It is a national dereliction of duty, and it takes a good deal of blind faith in the ethics of delinquency to argue that we should neglect this duty.

Sir, I agree with the hon. Members who have said that the ultimate test of our defence preparedness and the ability of our defence potential is our capacity to manufacture and equip our forces with the most modern weapons. The hon. Member for Calcutta South-West (Shri Indrajit Gupta) talked of self-reliance and sang its praise. I am all for self-reliance, but as the hon. Member for Naini Tal pointed out, self-reliance is not the same as self-sufficiency. One should trust oneself, one should have confidence in oneself, but self-reliance is not self-sufficiency. When one ignores the grave risk of depending on improvisation to meet the immediate—even imminent—danger and harps only on the basic and unexceptionable principles of long-range preparation, one is left to wonder whether this is a serious proposition calculated to strengthen the defences of one's country against an aggressor who is already on the soil of one's country. I, therefore, congratulate our Government on adopting the only policy that Government could have adopted, that of diversifying and accelerating defence production, and at the same time augmenting our resources with the maximum assistance that we can muster and marshal.

Sir, hon. Members who have preceded me have spoken of the necessity to increase the strength of our Army in terms of personnel, training equipment, logistics and strategy. It was also said here that the inquiry into the reverses in NEFA should consider our deficiencies on all these counts. I shall try not to deal with points that have been dealt with by other hon. Members, but I think I will be failing in my duty if I do not draw the attention of the House to the importance of a re-examination and reappraisal of our strategy. While it is for the Army—the General Staff—to decide the tactics of operation to be employed on the battlefield, questions of strategy depend largely on political appraisals and political

assessments, because the political implications of strategy have to be taken into account. I would only refer to a statement which was made by an ex-Defence Minister, now the hon. Member for Bombay City North, who two years ago, while speaking on the defence budget, said: 'We are not an offensive-defensive apparatus,' There is the usual shade of inscrutability attached to this epigram. I do not know if what the hon. Member meant by this was that we do not want to launch an offensive war against any other country. If this is so, it is an unexceptionable statement of what this country believes in. But if he meant by this that we will defend only when we are attacked, we will try to scrape up defence equipment after the offensive has been launched on our country, if it means that we will fight only where the enemy chooses that we should give battle, I am afraid it is a very dangerous, suicidal theory of defence.

I am no authority on strategy. But Mao Tse-tung is an accepted authority on strategy. He says:

"Active defence is also called offensive defence or defence by decisive engagements. Passive defence is also called exclusive or pure defence. As far as I know, there is no military textbook of any value, no military expert with any sense, in ancient or modern times, in China or elsewhere"—

I suppose that includes India—

"who is not opposed to passive defence, strategical or tactical. Only the greatest idiot or magalomaniac would cherish passive defence as a trump-card. However, such people do exist in the world and such things do take place".

He might as well have added: 'We can take advantage of the presence of such people'.

Speaking on the Resolution on the Emergency, I had occasion to draw the attention of the House to the importance of realising the nature of the revolutionary strategy that the Chinese follow. They have perfected their strategy during the civil war in China, the Sino-Japanese war, and later in limited wars like the war in Korea and other wars that they have waged. They have evolved a very effective combination of mobile warfare and positional warfare, of quick campaigns and protracted wars, of out-flanking and encirclement of the enemy, of concentration of massive force against a segment of the enemy—which is in transit and which is connected by tenuous lines of communication—of battles of annihilation and attrition. If I had the time, I would have again quoted Mao Tse-tung on mobile warfare, because this is a very important subject.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Let him quote and conclude.

Shri Ravindra Varma: He says.

"Mobile warfare or positional warfare? Our answer is mobile warfare. Generally speaking, however, there is usually a relatively fixed operational front in war. The only exception is the war waged by the Chinese Red Army.

"The strategy should be that of employing our main force in mobile warfare over an extended, shifting and indefinite front"—

mark you—

"a strategy depending for success on a high degree of mobility."

The conditions that Mao has described here are eminently applicable to our terrain. We have a long common frontier with China. It is mountainous territory, and the tactics adopted by the Chinese for attacks in the NEFA and Ladakh areas are precisely what have been presaged by Mao, Tse-tung in his writings.

[Shri Ravindra Varma]

How then shall we combat this strategy? Is it by a strategy of defensive defence to which the ex-Defence Minister referred? The whole strategy of attack seems to be one aimed at appropriating the monopoly of initiative, compelling the enemy or adversary to give battle at the time, at the place and under conditions chosen by China. Can there be a defence against this by defensive defence? Should we not come out with our own initiative? Should we not disrupt their mobility and increase our own mobility and manoeuvrability? How can we combat an army which believes in maintaining a long, fluid front by sticking to our trenches? Our army must have the liberty to hit back. Unless we take certain political decisions, unless we enable our army to divert and surprise the enemy, to disperse his concentrations to disrupt his logistics, communications and lines of supply, it will not be possible to fight him. (*Time Bell rings*).

Shri Surendranath Dwivedy: Now, your speech is disrupted.

Shri Ravindra Varma: I can face such disruption, even from hon. friends on the other side.

Shri Surendranath Dwivedy: I do not want to disrupt you.

Shri Ravindra Varma: Unless the enemy's lines of supply and communication are disrupted, it will not be possible for us to meet this menace. How can the lines of supply be disrupted? How can there be diversionary tactics? I do not want to enter into these questions, but these are questions which hinge upon a political decision, and unless that political decision is forthcoming from the Government, to expect our army to defend our country is to ask for the impossible. It is to lay them open to the evil effects of inadequate political foresight. It is to increase the area of vulnerability in our country. Whether it be the mountains or the plains, there can be no defence

against such an enemy unless our **army is equipped with a political decision to enter into diversionary attacks and to disrupt the lines of communications and supply of the enemy.**

For lack of time, I do not want to continue, but in concluding, I want once again to support the Demands for Grants, and to wish the Defence Minister and the country success in our heroic struggle against Chinese aggression.

Shri Nath Pai (Rajapur): An examination of what went wrong with our defence policies in the past reveals five glaring, crippling, paralyzing deficiencies and defects. The first among them was an unwarranted, unjustifiable, uncalled for ministerial interference in the day-to-day, daily work of the armed forces. The second was the creation of an atmosphere vitiated and poisoned by groupism, cliquism and favouritism, sapping at the vitals of the morale of the armed forces. The third was that everything connected with our defence forces was shrouded in a pall of mystification and secrecy. The fourth was that there was no over-all long-term strategy worth the name for the defence of this country. And the fifth was a cynical subordination of the needs and requirements of the defence of the country to political prejudices and pre-conceived theories on international affairs.

Now, I do not want to go into a post mortem or an autopsy of all that went wrong, because practically everything went wrong with the defence of this country. I would rather like to make a forward-looking effort in my analysis during the little time that I will have.

Nonetheless, we cannot face the future if we totally ignore the past, and that makes it imperative that we try to draw the necessary lessons and try to prevent falling in the same pitfalls, committing the same mistakes. It is in this spirit that I will

be taking a few of these points to which I referred.

The new Defence Minister, who rode into the Defence Ministry on the crest of a wave of popular goodwill and enthusiasm, has begun well. He has tried to remedy two at least of the five evils and deficiencies to which I made reference. There is a feeling, an impression, that there is no longer ministerial interference in the day-to-day work of the armed forces which tries to kill the initiative of both men and officers.

He has also succeeded in exercising the three-faced evil spirit of favouritism, groupism and cliquism—I would not say completely as yet, because one continues to hear some rumblings, some murmurs, but very largely, very substantially he has succeeded. No longer the threat hangs over the heads of competent, honest, upright officials of being shunted to some backyard, to some obscure post, of being retired prematurely, or being superseded and humiliated for having the courage of their conviction. Very patiently, and with consummate skill I should say, Shri Chavan has tried to re-knit the tattered, damaged fabric of the morale of our army.

Let us remember that the greatest factor in defence, the real armour plate which an army carries, is the morale of the army. So long as this armour, so long as this morale remains inviolate, unbroken, an army is unbeatable, unconquerable. Break this morale, pierce this morale, allow it to rust, and no Maginot line, no armaments can prevent the collapse of an army. Those who tinkered and tampered with the morale of the army were playing with the destiny of this country.

Whereas he has made a good beginning in these two, regarding the three other evils, I am afraid he will have to take all his courage in his hands and try to go ahead.

Let us take this pall of secrecy, this big frightening phras, "In the

interests of the security of the nation". Though some speakers have spoken about it, they have drawn attention to and castigated the absence of any information to the country, but they have not factually dealt with this document called the Report of the Defence Ministry. I shall briefly take up some choice gems from this document.

I should like to say that the Government never succeeded in decoying the enemy with regard to the defence plans of the country; they only succeeded in misleading this country. Behind this deceptive phrase "interests of security", internecine intrigue was growing rampant. The whole structure of the defence apparatus was scuttled and an incredible unpreparedness was hidden from the people. For all this, one umbrella was used. What was it?—defence security, interests of security. Time and again the House asked for the most elementary information, it was not given. The plea is made, and the Prime Minister repeats this plea, that this is a hang-over from the British times. What a shame! If it is a hangover, if 17 years after freedom you cannot throw it off, what credit do you claim? The British, naturally of course did not want to tell us how they were defending this country, because if we knew how they were defending, we would have known how to throw the British off. But is that the practice of the British in their own country?

15.19 hrs.

[SHRI THIRUMALA RAO in the Chair]

I have the latest report placed by the Rt. Hon. Peter Thorneycroft on the Table of the House of Commons. I should like the hon. Defence Minister to have a look at it. Here is a document any average Briton, any average Member of the Commons, can look at and get an over-all picture of what is happening regarding the defence of the country. Take the fire power of their Army. A stranger

[Shri Nath Pai]

like me knows that their armed forces will be depending in the years to come on "Abbot" howitzers, on the "Chieftain" tank, on the all purpose gun, 81 mm. field gun, I know what anti tank missile they have got from Italy, "Malkara". I also know that "Carl Gustaf", the anti-tank gun is the main gun that they have got from Sweden; it is there. Take any other thing in this report. We find them at page 17. All the details about the Navy are given for the world to know. The deployment is given. Take the Air Force. I know that it is the Vulcan, the Valiant and the Victor which will be the main plank of the British defence. But I do not know the A, B, C of the defence of my country. They take glory in this; they call it 'security interests of the country', whereas there they are giving page after page every single detail in the Army and the Navy. And what is this masterly document which our Defence Ministry presents? Is it worth their while to put such trash on the Table of this august House? I will now turn to some few pages because other Members referred to some. I will draw their attention to sustain what I say with regard to this document. Now, let us take page 12:

"During the year attendance and standard of training in Territorial Army Units continued to improve".

What a revealing statement!

"Naval Research Group continued to attend to several long-term research and development projects."

What comes, at what stage, out of this research? God alone knows.

"Officers continued to serve with credit on deputation abroad in various countries and under the United Nations... The programme for the manufacture of Gnat aircraft for the IAF continued during the year."

That is at page 25. As a rider to this continuation, one may verily add: that the Chinese continued to remain hostile; that the Government continued to guess how very hostile they are and the people continued to wonder how docile their Government is and how futile the whole thing is.

Mr. Chairman: You can continue your speech.

Shri Nath Pai: Mr. Chairman, there is another choice piece, a profound secret told to Parliament:

"The Indian Red Cross Society has donated a sum of Rs. 11,000 for the opening of a paediatric ward in INHS Asvini".

Is it not first-class information for the House? There are some other gems to come:

"On the 15th of August 1962, the Prime Minister unfurled the National Flag on the ramparts of the Red Fort. This was followed by the Prime Minister's speech, which was listened to by a vast concourse of people".

What a massive contribution to the defence of India! There are two gems, before I conclude and then I will take two or three other substantial points, Mr. Chairman.

"Half a dozen richly caparisoned elephants, with musicians mounted on some of them and playing the 'shehnai' brought the rear of the procession"... that is the Republic day. "Admission to the seated enclosures at Rajpath, between Janpath and Man Singh Road was by invitations... and seating arrangements... were this year decentralised."

It is a very great thing. Is this worth their while to waste tax-payer's money producing such monumental works like this report? I would like those who are concerned with the

Defence of this country, and Mr. Chavan in particular to see this...

Shrimati Lakshmikanthamma: Are these the only things that attracted Mr. Nath Pai's attention?

Shri Nath Pai: There is nothing else, Madam; I have studied it from A to Z. Mr. Chairman, I hope that something new will have to be begun. Like the Economic Survey which gives a detailed picture of the economic conditions from year to year, the country and the Parliament in particular will have to be given the details. I conclude this sorry chapter here, Mr. Chairman, by saying: there is no country in the world, no democracy in the world where the people and their sovereign Parliament are kept so systematically, so thoroughly and so completely in ignorance about their defence; and yet there is no country in the world about whose defence the rest of the world knows so much as India.

Mr. Chairman, I shall now turn to some other aspects of our Defence. I say that there was no strategy. On what do I base it? Here, I would like to say what was happening regarding the strategy and the subordination of political considerations. One wonders if this cancerous malignance has begun to say the vitals of our defence effort. I think Mr. Chavan is too popular for the test of some people. No sooner he came here than efforts were made to prune his wings. One does feel—I am going to substantiate it that the Defence Minister has been caged, cabined and cribbled. There was the vital aspect of the Colombo proposals. Is not the Defence Ministry concerned with this? Everybody was called when the delegation of the Colombo Powers were here. One absence was that of the Defence Minister... (*Interruptions.*)

Shri Hem Barua: Conspicuous absence.

Shri Nath Pai: In the past Defence was subordinated to External Affairs.

Today the time has come when we should try to see to it that development, external affairs and defence play in symphony. The old cacaphony and discordance must go. The stream must be integrated and if anything both development and external affairs must be subordinated to the requirements of the defence of our country and everything else will come after that.

I find here the reason as to what was wrong with strategy. May I quote? I never like to refer to people who are not in a position to defend. But I will say here what was going wrong with the defence of the country. Here was an enemy menacing the security of the country. Here were we completely ignoring the writing on the wall. Till 1960 the directive to the Armed Forces was pointing to a lesser adversary, as enemy No. 1. With the result that our training, our equipment, location and deployment of our forces which are so essential for acquainting our Armed Forces with the terrain in which they are supposed to give battle, get familiarised with the climatic conditions—they were completely wrong when the hour of trial came. When the hour of trial came, we found the Indian Army—a fine fighting unit, an Army about which Czar Alexander spoke: 'Ah, if only I could possess the Indian Army for a few years, three years, I could conquer the whole world'; that is what he has said; but what happened under the new dispensation in free India to this fine unit, this unit which in the difficult years of 1947, 1949 and 1950 when it was truncated and when it was cut into two halves gave such a magnificent performance first in the disturbances in Punjab, then in Junagarh and then in Hyderabad and then in Kashmir—this Army the first time it draws its sword in the defence of India was subjected today to the humiliation of a crushing blow of defeat. Why? Who is responsible for it? The simple reason is: there was no clothing; there were no shoes;

[Shri Nath Pai]

there was no ration; there were no arms; there was no ammunition; there was no transport; there was no communication; there was no command...
.... (Interruptions.)

Shri D. C. Sharma (Gurdaspur): This has been contradicted.

Shri Shashi Ranjan (Pupri): Do not exaggerate.... (Interruptions.)

Shri Nath Pai: Exaggeration? You are expressing your loyalty to the party; show some loyalty to the truth

An Hon. Member: We are loyal to the country.... (Interruptions.)

Shri Nath Pai: I know that will ensure your ticket only but that is not going to convince anybody here...
.... (Interruptions.)

Mr. Chairman: Order, order.

Shri Nath Pai: I am used to this kind of thing.... (Interruptions.)

The reason of this is there. Here is this wrong thing.

An Hon. Member: Please state facts
.... (Interruptions.)

Shri Nath Pai: I can afford to ignore him. Here is the Defence Minister pointedly laying down the grand strategy for the country. Look at the facts. Are these exaggerations? I hope you will not call them so. Here is what Shri Krishna Menon, former Defence Minister, told the United Nations:

"We have no reason to think that the Chinese are expansionist, belligerent or imperialist in any way. It is their desire to live in peace with their neighbour."

Shri D. C. Sharma: When did he say that?

Shri Nath Pai: He said it in the United Nations. You read the speeches. I am coming to that. You read sometimes something!

Shri D. C. Sharma: I have taught hundreds like you. (Interruptions.)

Mr. Chairman: Order order. Do not interrupt him too much, because the time allotted to him is coming to a close very soon.

Shri Nath Pai: I will claim your indulgence. I would not be speaking often. I am reading from the United Nations document. I am giving you paragraph by paragraph.. (Interruptions.) Further on, he said....

Shri D. C. Sharma: You have discovered all that after he had left.

Shri Nath Pai: I refuse to give in to this kind of deliberate interruption.

Mr. Chairman: Order, order.

Shri Nath Pai: He said:

"We have a 3,000 mile long frontier with China, and we have no army on that frontier. We have only some check-posts."

I leave it aside. These are the words. Now, here is the latest remark. It goes on day to day. He said:

"So far as we are aware, China poses no menace to the internal stability of any country. We are their neighbours and we know this. I want to say it presents no menace to the stability of any country, any more than any of the 81 nations represented in this Assembly."

Now, I shall give the date, for the sake of my hon. friend, Shri D. C. Sharma. This was on the 7th October, 1958, 13th session. The attack by the Chinese in Bara Hoti started in 1954. This was four years after! (Interruption.)

Mr. Chairman: Order, order. The hon. Member's time is up.

Shri Nath Pai: Mr. Chairman, I must mention the latest thing that happened, for their benefit. Speaking on the occasion of the general session of the United Nations Assembly, 1961, he was asked a question. The De-

fence Minister, Shri Krishna Menon, was visiting the War College in New York. This was the question:

"Mr. Defence Minister, how do you propose to meet the threat from your northern borders, from China".

And here is the reply.

"Don't worry, I shall not drop a post-card to the Pentagon for help."

Shri Hem Barua: My good God there!

Some Hon. Members: Shame, shame.

Shri Hem Barua: Why a post-card? A fleet of cars started running to the American Embassy here!

Shri Nath Pai: Fate is a cruel revenger. It takes a cruel revenge on all of us. As Shri Hem Barua said, it is not only a post-card but fleets of delegations have rushed post-haste to the Pentagon. I do not like that such a thing became necessary. It ought to have been avoided and it could have been avoided if we followed the right policies.

Mr. Chairman: The hon. Member's time is up.

Shri Nath Pai: I know, but claim your indulgence for a little longer.

Mr. Chairman: You are a senior Member of your party. You should not put me in an embarrassing position.

Shri Nath Pai: I know. But I want to take some more time.

Shri Harish Chandra Mathur (Yalore): Let him proceed.

Shri Hem Barua: You are known for your kindness, Sir.

Shri Nath Pai: Mr. Chairman, I am thankful for the courtesy that men like Shri Mathur are extending to me.

I shall refer to a few more points before I conclude. I shall refer to the aid. I would like to say a few words about it. Very clever, very subtle innuendoes are dropped about the aid. The true purpose behind this is very cleverly, very adroitly hidden behind a barrage of very subtle, innocent-looking arguments, dressed with the veneer of patriotic sentiment, and for a good measure, the poor jawans were dragged in. I want to say this thing clearly about the aid. It is part of the sovereignty of a nation to take aid from wherever we think proper, necessary and desirable. It is not the make-up of a weapon that decides its efficacy. It is not the lable, "made in such and such a country" that decides the lethality that decides the effectiveness of an automatic weapon. It is the hand that holds and the heart that commands that hand that decides what is good and what is bad. Let the hand be Indian; let the heart be truly that of an Indian. Then, it does not matter where the arms are manufactured. Any arms will be Indian arms for the defence of India, provided they are in the hands of our patriots. Let us remind those who are very worried about it and who raise the false bogey that the arms manufactured in the United States valued at Rs. 1,700 crores have fallen in the hands of the Chinese: I do not know if they dumped them into the sea because they were made in the capitalist country. They used them at the time when the Americans were there in Korea. And the arms made in imperialist Britain and capitalist America were very effectively and very successfully used by the Russian army in fighting the Nazi hordes. We shall have to do it. Today, there has been a tendency, a dangerous tendency, Mr. Chairman; from one end of the pendulum we are going to the other. We had ignored the Chinese menace. Now, we are trying to over-estimate; we are unduly overawed by it. Let us remember that the Chinese high command is basically made of bullies. Why do I say it? Just to insult

[Shri Nath Pai]

them? Not in the least. Then, why do I say this? Look at the facts of history. If the Chinese army is so invincible, so almighty, so powerful, why do they not liberate Macao from the Portuguese? Why do they not liberate Matsu and Quemoy? Why do they not integrate Formosa and Hong Kong with the mainland of China? For the simple reason that they know the instantaneous retaliation that will come. But with India they could take any liberty.

Before I conclude, I will have to mention this. I had many points to say. But I do not want to try your patience, and you have mentioned about the time also. I wanted to say a lot about fire power, about our equipment, about our means of communication, about the necessity of filling the gap in our officer ranks, by calling some of our retired officials on a short term basis. They need not interfere with the current, general seniority of the officers. They can be called for a two-year or a three-year term for filling in the gap which is vital and with which we are confronted today.

I would like to talk of many other things. I would like to ask the Defence Minister, firstly, is the National Defence Council just a scream or is it a reality? Are any consultations and debates taking place and policies are evolved? Nobody referred to it, but it is a very vital point. Once again, if the right policies are not pursued, we will be told, "there was a National Defence Council, and everything was done in consultation and with approval."

With a few words on pensions, I shall conclude. A miserable pittance is doled out in the name of pensions to our soldiers, after a very hard, dedicated life in the armed forces spent in the cause of the country, with one

arm in the arm of death itself. I remember the story of a jamedar. His son was with me in prison in 1942. His young boy caught TB and after his release, there were no influential relatives and nothing could be done and the young boy died. A few days later, his father came to me and said:

"हम जानते नहीं कि हम क्या करेंगे । शोग सलाह देते हैं कि हम पाकिस्तान चले जायें ।"—मुसलमान था वह बेचारा—
"लेकिन कैसे जायें ? हम यहां पैदा हुए । यही हमारा वतन और देश है । मगर साहब, कुछ जमता नहीं है अभी ।"

I gave him a cup of tea and with tears in his eyes, he said:

"बहुत दिनों के बाद ऐसी चाय हमें मिल रही है । हम चोरी नहीं कर सकते । हम व्यापार नहीं कर सकते । हमें तो इस का ज्ञान नहीं था । हम ने तो सिर्फ नौकरी करना जाना है । अब हमारी यह हालत बन गई है ।"

Such a fate should not be allowed to happen to those who serve this land faithfully all their lives. There were such innumerable figures whom I have seen. You, Mr. Chairman, must also have seen such things in your constituency; they must have come to our meetings with their proud frames standing erect. The Government must try to see that this nation does something in this regard; this must be looked into.

Then, I would plead with those who are called upon by fate and are charged with the defence of this country to take this basic consideration into mind. It must be the main aim, the principal aim, the supreme aim of our military thinking, planning and of our strategy, of our strategy which must be uninhibited from political prejudices and from pre-conceived ideas. Our thinking must cease to exist and continue in the second World War era, as some of our officials continue to do

still; they have their share of the blame. The aim must be to build a strength which will be enough, Mr. Chairman, not only to defend India, but which will act as a deterrent to any adventurist aggressor. The strength must be of a magnitude that not only we will succeed in holding a future aggressor, but such that we shall pursue him and we shall punish him in the land from where he came. This is not being adventurist; this is being realistic.

Let us not forget one sad lesson of our history. Time and again an invader has come, taken us by surprise, inflicted a crushing blow on this country and gone back. Timur, Chengiz Khan, Mohammed Bin Kassim are all sad reminders of the same chapter. At the battle of Plassey a young British officer, who had no military training, inflicted a blow after having fought a battle in which only 17 British soldiers were killed and thus riveted the chain of slavery and subjugation on the feet of our Motherland. It must never happen again. Panipat and Plassey, Bomdila and Seka, must never again be repeated. Our political leadership and our military command must try to prove themselves worthy of our brave jawans and of this great nation.

Shri Basappa (Tiptur): Mr. Chairman, Sir, I have heard with attention the previous speaker, Mr. Nath Pai. I feel that Mr. Nath Pai is serving the cause of oratory rather than the cause of defence by his speech, while trying to set up one Ministry against another....

Shri Nath Pai: That is what your party is doing. We are only pointing it out.

Mr. Chairman: I wish to draw the attention of hon. Members to the fact that Congress Members are allotted only 10 minutes and so they cannot afford to be interrupted all the time.

Shri Nath Pai: That is why they should not be provocative.

Shri Basappa: We all say that nothing should be done to weaken the defence of this country, but by various speeches that I hear I feel we are serving more the enemy rather than this country. Therefore, when we have to give more encouragement to the defence of this country, we should call upon our Defence Minister to take a more dynamic approach in this matter, because the Chinese have not accepted the Colombo proposals and it has become all the more necessary that we should take up a more dynamic approach.

Our Prime Minister has often told us that this aggression must be undone. This is a matter of vital necessity not only for the Indian nation but also to the whole world. Even the other day, the great President of this country speaking in some place near Coimbatore said he was alarmed at the complacency is growing in this country over the defence. In these circumstances, it is a welcome feature that the Defence Minister has come forward with doubling the armed forces of this country, not only the army, but the air force and the navy also.

We have all seen that there is need for reorganising the defence of this country. It must be put on a proper line. Of course, I do not find any objection in Mr. Nath Pai drawing attention to certain facts. For example, there must be a unifying command and action. The Defence Minister must have the final voice in certain matters of recruitment and other matters connected with defence organisation. So, along this line, the defence has to be reorganised.

But the nation's strength does not consist only in the armed forces. Most of us are drawing attention to this aspect which is very very necessary. The defence has not only to depend upon the armed forces of this country, but on the whole population of this country, the character and morale of the people. Defence has to be developed on the home front, on the

[Shri Basappa]

military front, on the intelligence front and on the diplomatic front. The overall picture of the needs of this defence must be looked into carefully and organised properly to meet any aggression of this kind.

Some friends of the opposition are saying, times without number, why should we continue this emergency? When the Chinese are sitting tight on the Himalayan borders, I do not understand some of the opposition Members saying that the emergency should be given up. Some people take exception even to our budget being of such an enormous nature. But they are living in a different world altogether. They must come to realise the practical danger that is ahead of us. Even if 5 per cent. of our national income is devoted to this, it is not much at all.

In the matter of recruitment, more incentives should be given, because when the recruiting department goes round India, sometimes we hear that the people are not coming forward in large numbers. It is because the method of selection is defective. A new approach is necessary and new incentives are necessary. In Mysore, it is said that people would be given more service, if they serve in the army. If such incentives are given, more people will be forthcoming. I also understand that 80 per cent. of the people who appear for U.P.S.C. examinations for Commissioned Officers fail because of their lack of English knowledge. I think there is something very defective in this which should be rectified.

I hear also there is lot of discrimination in the matter of recruitment. This should be carefully looked into. It is going to jeopardise the interests of our country, if there is some discrimination, selecting some people in some part of the country and neglecting some other people in some other part because the recruiting rank does not belong to that particular part of

the country. Coming from Mysore, I am very sorry I have to make this remark.

More aerodromes have to be built and training of our pilots has to take place. In the matter of production, there should be qualitative and quantitative improvement in the ordnance factories. Unused capacity and sometimes capacity which is used not for military purposes should be diverted to military purposes. In this way, even the Audit Report gives us some idea as to how these trucks are manufactured or some other things are manufactured with no advantage at all. Even foreign exchange is not saved by this. This is what is reported in the Audit Report itself.

Sir, the terms of reference to the enquiry committee on the NEFA debacle should have a wider basis. If there are any persons found fault with—it is not merely a lesson to be learnt—they have to be dealt with strongly. Such things should not happen again in the future. If something has gone wrong, I do not see the reason why there should not be any court-martialing.

Many people have referred to the question of secrecy that is tried to be maintained here while at the same time the same secrets are being given out elsewhere. This should be condemned in the strongest terms.

Even in the matter of strategy, I would say that it is not merely a question of defending the country on one side when the enemies attack us, but that should be equally made up by an attack on some other side on our part also.

When we are talking of defence, people try to pull our legs this way and that. People criticise us by saying: "We want to develop militarily, but how can we develop when we want to establish socialism in this country?" So they want us to give

up socialism. I do not see any argument in that except that they want to see that their own way of thinking is established.

There are two extreme types of people in this country—the rightists and the leftists. One group attacks our non-alignment policy, on the one hand, and, on the other, when we want to take some foreign aid, the other group comes and says: "Why all this aid, why all this air umbrella". Nobody has talked of any air umbrella or air base. But they want to put in the mouth of those people in authority as if they are going about it in this way. The whole issue is confused by these two small sections of the people, and the people should not be misled by these two extreme types of people in this country.

In the ultimate analysis, it has been said by no less a person than Field Marshal Montgomery that a nation's strength does not consist in armed forces alone but in the character of the people of the nation. He says that a nation should have two things: one he calls religion and the other the educated elite. By "religion" he means steadfastly adhering to a principle, to go on with it and to have an independent line of thinking. He has something to say about the leadership also. "A leader is one", he says, "who can rally all the forces of the country for a common purpose". "Secondly", he says, "he must possess a character which will enthuse confidence in the leadership at all levels". A leader, according to him, must be able to dominate over the events and the events must not dominate him. A man of peace, who holds the leadership of this country, is capable of taking the nation in this war effort also. So let us hope that this man of peace will rise as the man of war to remove this aggression from this country. I am only appealing to the people of this country that they should have greater faith in the Prime Minister. He must co-ordinate all the efforts. He must have the final voice

in all matters. Then only he can liberate this country from the Chinese aggression and take this country forward.

Mr. Chairman: Shrimati Lakshmi-kanthamma....

Shri Virbhadra Singh (Mahasu): Sir, nobody has spoken from Himachal Pradesh so far.

Shri Sheo Narain (Bansi): Sir, I have been standing up from morning. Sir, nobody has spoken from Himachal Pradesh so far.

Mr. Chairman: I cannot argue with hon. Members over this matter. It is not fair.

Shrimati Lakshmi-kanthamma: Mr. Chairman, Sir, our friends in the Opposition have become wise after the event. There is no dearth of orators in this country. If only oratory and speeches would win war, then we would have certainly won it. Shri Nath Pai has quoted something from a U.N. document. There is an equally powerful document in our library, the old Debates. When Shri Kripalani was here in this House as the leader of the P.S.P. group, he has said how we should not spend so much money on defence because we are a peace-loving nation. He also mentioned China as a friend of ours—not here but somewhere else. I remember that very well. Shri Nath Pai has been saying something about unpreparedness today. Why did they not tell this all these years. I would only request them to refer back to the speeches of P.S.P. members and give them their value.

Some of the Members of the Opposition have worked up a situation of defeatism and frustration in this country. In spite of all these things, I am glad that our policy of non-alignment has been a success, our policies have been a success, our defence has been strengthening day by day and infusing confidence in the minds of our people and getting the

[Shrimati Lakshmikanthamma]

will of the people to fight the enemy. I am also glad that we are going to strengthen our army and that our defence production is quickly and quietly going to be geared up to the wartime pitch. It is said that what Britain could not achieve in 1941, two years after World War II, with all their technical advancement, we have been able to achieve. Therefore, when an occasion has arisen, we are now in a position to equip our army with enough of arms.

16 hrs.

It is also a matter of satisfaction that we are producing a sizeable quantity of automatic weapons and other weapons of warfare. The main cause for the achievement of this success is that the technical efficiency among our workers in the ordnance factories has been maintained. Secondly, our workers are second to none in efficiency. Thirdly, our workers as a whole have been roused to the great anger against the Chinese for their unprovoked aggression against our motherland. The workers are working day and night with great speed to teach a lesson to the aggressor. Even the U.S. Mission has been greatly impressed by the achievement in our defence establishment. The foreign missions now feel that the aid that they are giving to our country is going to be properly utilised for the purpose for which it has been given. Under our present plans, all the ordnance factories will be giving their maximum output by the end of June this year. We are also very grateful to our friends, either in this bloc or that bloc, we are grateful to U.S.A., we are grateful to England and we are very grateful to Canada, for the timely aid that they have given without attaching any condition. We are grateful to all of them for the unconditional aid that they have given us in times of difficulty. Even the world Communist opinion was on our side. No doubt, in the beginning Russia said that Chinese were their brothers, but it took them no time to realise

that that brother is uncontrollable Frankenstein who challenged even them. Therefore, they changed their opinion in our favour, and it is very evident from history. We know very well that Russia has been giving high priority to the establishment of a MIG factory in India. They are also supplying us our important requirements including technical assistance. In the same way, Czechoslovakia have offered to supply us mountain artillery. Yugoslavia have put their full weight on the side of India. Our policy of getting assistance from both the blocs is a phenomenon which can impress any thinking person, either in this country or outside.

It is always easy to be wise after the event. Several persons inside and outside Parliament have adopted the "Did I not tell you?" attitude and suggested that if only India had not believed the *bona fides* of the Chinese, the present catastrophe could have been averted. But, situated as we are in this country, I think the policy we had adopted was the only sensible and practical one, consistent with the fundamental principles and the inexorable compulsions of national security.

16.02 hrs.

[MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER *in the Chair*]

We could not, even if we wanted to, launch an over-ambitious programme of defence without affecting our development plans. In spite of this isolated instance of treachery, I am sure we can rely on the inherent goodness and friendliness of mankind. Mankind is not prepared for its total annihilation.

Then, even such of those countries which are giving us massive aid have never asked us to change the policy. When even those countries are not particular of this, I do not understand why Shri Ranga or some others should insist that we should throw ourselves into the Western bloc. When I hear their criticism I feel that there is some apprehension at the back of their minds. When we study the two pro-

fessors, Professor Galbraith and Professor Ranga, we feel that one is an enlightened professor and the other is a neurotic.

Many hon. Members have referred to the role played by our jawans during the emergency. It can be written in letters of gold. The entire country is prepared to bear any burden gladly in order to enable our jawans to drive out the aggressor. It is no doubt true that is a very high burden that we are placing on the people in order to increase our defence preparedness to meet an unprecedented circumstance but I am sure our people will gladly and willingly bear this burden in order to defend themselves and save their freedom.

Then I would like to say that complete control of military personnel by civilian authority is a prerequisite of democracy. I feel that in an enlightened democracy the jawans should also be enlightened. The traditions of the army of the imperialist era have to be replaced by proper traditions. One inspired person is worth scores of mercenaries, and that inspiration can come only from faith, consciousness and realisation. I am certain that this fresh thinking has become necessary at this stage.

Then, Shri. Chavan was saying some time back that the militant spirit is not the monopoly of one race. I feel that it is not the monopoly of one sex. The traditions of this country have proved that women are equally militant in their spirit.

An Hon. Member: At home.

Shrimati Lakshmikanthamma: Not only at home but also in the battle front. Therefore, if equal opportunities are to be given to both men and women, if women are expected to give an outlet to their military spirit, I think it is high time that they are permitted to join the army. I am prepared to do it myself, if I am allowed.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: The hon. Member must conclude now. There

are other members who are wanting to speak.

Shrimati Lakshmikanthamma: I lost time because there were some interruptions. Please give me two more minutes.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: I am sorry. She should wind up.

Shrimati Lakshmikanthamma: To my mind, the defence of this country should be looked upon as an integral part of the larger defence, namely, the defence of the ideals that we stand for i.e., the defence of democracy and freedom. It is only when we consider our defence from this stand point will it be possible to make all freedom-loving democratic nations of the world interested in India's freedom.

There is no justification for one nation to bother about the defence of another sovereign and independent nation because it invites the criticism of interference. Shri Ranga was asking yesterday whether Russia is prepared to fight China. I want to put a similar question to Ranga. Is America today prepared to fight China? He should realise that neither America, nor Russia, is today itching for indulging in a global adventure. That is why America wants India to be non-aligned so that India can get massive aid for her defence and not involve America in a direct commitment to fight China.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: The hon. Member should conclude just now.

Shrimati Lakshmikanthamma: I will finish in one minute. There is only one person who is itching for this world conflagration, and that is Mao Tse-tung. So, anyone who advocates India's entry into one of these blocs is unwittingly furthering the cause of Mao Tse-tung in the sense of making our border vulnerable to external aggression. Of course, we have to do all that is possible to keep ourselves in readiness to meet any eventuality.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: The hon. Member should stop there. Shri U. M. Trivedi,

Shri U. M. Trivedi: Mr. Deputy-Speaker, this is not the time for me to recapitulate all the wrongs that have been so well placed before the House by Shri Nath Pai and other members. It is no use crying over spilt milk. Those days are gone. But are we not going to put ourselves in a spirit to fight? Are we just going to have mere lectures and mere words and some big shows and then say that we are preparing ourselves to fight? Our army has been allotted an expenditure of Rs. 350 crores. Because we now need a good and strong army, therefore, we have increased the strength of the army. That does not mean that a strong navy is not necessary. But we are spending only Rs. 20 crores over the navy. For the air force we are spending only Rs. 87 crores. Why this disparity in expenditure? Nobody grudges, this country does not grudge, additional burdens for throwing back the Chinese. We have suffered a shameful defeat. Have we equipped ourselves to avenge that defeat? Are we preparing ourselves or merely saying that the aggressor has the advantage? If that is so, can we not also become the aggressors here and now and drive out the Chinese? How long are we going to tolerate this state of affairs?

Shri Nath Pai was telling that we are doing things in secrecy. I say secrecy is essential because we have fifth columnists in our country. We have not been able to check the fifth columnists inside the country. We are sorry that our Government have not risen to the occasion to do away with fifth columnists. No country is going to tolerate a position like this. Have we risen? No. We are just talking. We have not felt our way. We are one day thinking of MIGs being got from Russia and some other day we are thinking of getting some thing from others. We have not yet decided what we should have and what we are going to do with what we have. It is high time that we decided on our

course of action and give up this policy of defeatism entirely.

Sir, today's speech coming from the hon. Member on my right was also towards the exploitation of the sentiments of the soldiers, setting up the soldiers against the officers, setting up the soldiers against the country. This is not the time for making such speeches. It is high time that we made up our mind that we all must go and fight and fight the person who is now showing his teeth to us. Only those can win the war who say, "If you abuse me I give you a slap, and the moment you slap me I kill you". That must be spirit by which we can drive out the enemy. Otherwise not.

"शठ प्रति शठय कुर्यात्"। Why are we going to wait for them to attack us? We know that they are going to attack us. We are sitting tight and thinking. Let them attack us and then we would fight. Why have this defensive game? We are a big nation. We must arm ourselves fully. Even by a bite we can drive them out. What is this? It is a shame for us that Himalaya which was never conquered and which was never crossed has been crossed and we are lying at the feet of Himalaya to be crushed.

Have we not realised why the Chinese went ahead unilaterally in declaring cease-fire? Have we not analysed and studied the problems that are behind this? Are we going to wait for another autumn to come when the Chinese would invade us? We had a very sorry picture in Ladakh from 1954 onwards. We were hearing that these people are coming and coming in Ladakh, and in Ladakh we were only sending the Central reserve police, some police force and Jammu and Kashmir Militia to fight them. We never utilised the army in driving them out and we waited till 18,000 sq. miles were lost. The same story is repeated and I should say—I have used that word already—it is very shameful that we had to face the defeat. But these things are past. Today, what we should do is that we must decide once for all that we are

going to drive out the enemy. And what is required is one very honest man at the helm of affairs. What happened in England in 1739 when William Pitt came to power? Let us take a lesson from it. The whole of the Ministry was in the hands of the Duke of New Castle, that corrupt man, and he wanted to corrupt this young-man William Pitt when he raised his voice in the House of Commons. But he failed miserably to corrupt that one man and that one man, single man, moulded the character of England. Let our Defence Minister also—he is known for his honesty—rise to that occasion. This corruption must go, and unless and until this character is built up, our armies are not going to succeed. The army will succeed if the character is built, and the character of the man at the helm of affairs will decide the war that we are going to fight. This one single man who can infuse that enthusiasm and that character, he can have the whole army, the whole navy, the whole air force at his back. How long are we going to tolerate the corruption that exists—it has been brought to our notice—in the various departments of our armed forces?

Now, I will allude to one small picture of this department C.S.D., the Canteen Stores Department, as I call it the Corrupting Soldiers Department. Year after year for the last 15 years, I am watching it and reading the reports of the Public Accounts Committee, one after another. Corruption is rampant there. Who are the persons who are benefited? Those who are corrupt are benefited by it. The net result is that corruption is growing. We are ourselves undicing the morale of the people by this immoral method in which this Canteen Stores Department is working. We do not derive any benefit. A suggestion was made that this department which earns crores of rupees should pay at least income-tax. Even that income tax is not levied and they are allowed to take it,

We cast our eye on different pictures of the way the Army is working and how it is being worked. At one time, we are thinking of Bijoyanand Patnaik running to our rescue. At another time, we are thinking of some other chap running to our rescue. All the rescue is here. The rescue is here in his House. In this House you have the Minister, let him be the one man responsible for conducting the affairs of our defence and nobody else and none else is necessary for conducting the affairs of the defence of this country. We have always watched. We know that our present Defence Minister is new to the House. Probably his activities are not known to many. But, let us assume, as his name indicates, Yashwant, let him give *yash* to the country by driving out the Chinese. We are hoping for it. We are with you. We are one with you. I know that in many cases you have failed us and failed us miserably. At the same time, this is not the occasion of cursing you or abusing you. This is time when the country has risen as one man. We have solidly promised the Government that the whole House is standing as one man to drive out the enemy. Let us focus our attention on this. I can point out many things. It is enough that many of my friends have pointed out the other things that are there. This is not the time when you can hurl abuses upon me or I can hurl abuses against you. Enough of it. Enough of Mr. Alva's speeches and enough of the other speeches on this side that have been made. This is not time for us to waste our time in this. Let us make up our mind.

The defence of the country is in our hands; in our hands by becoming the aggressor not by becoming merely the watching dog, just when somebody comes, we will have a bark at him. No. That will not do. We will have to go ahead, go ahead, force the enemy to come across and beat him outright. That should be the policy. That policy should be followed. That ought to be the policy from now onwards.

[Shri U. M. Trivedi]

As I was looking at the Demands of the Defence Ministry, I was pretty glad. This is one thing admirable that has been done. No beating about the bush. A straightforward assertion of expenditure. But, why this report? This report is an ugly report. Nobody should read it. This is the report of some Ministry which must be carrying on some cultural dramatic performances. This report is not the report of the Defence Ministry. We all of us have felt it over and over again that what has been done on previous occasions during the last four years is not a good thing of which we can be proud. But, as I have said, it is not good for us just to go back upon it and find faults. What has happened has happened with our eyes open. We knew what things were being done. The hon. Lady Member who preceded me said that we in the Opposition did not point them out. Was it the duty of the Opposition only to point them out? What were the 376 doing? Why did you not point out?

Shrimati Lakshmikanthamma: We do not find fault with our policies.

Shri U. M. Trivedi: The defence of the country is in your hands: not in my hands. I am with you shoulder to shoulder. It is not the function of the opposition to point out. The Opposition may point out. You may give wrong figures to the opposition and the opposition may be mistaken by the wrong figures and wrong ideas given.

The question of defence is not for one party or the other to decide. The defence is of the country at large. It is this Parliament, this sovereign body which must decide what should be done. And once it has decided and once it has placed full confidence in you, it is no use now grumbling about it and murmuring about it and trying to find fault. Take courage in both your hands and march ahead, and march ahead to success. That is what we wish and what the country wishes.

Shri Virbhadra Singh: The Ministry of Defence has always been a very important Ministry of the Government of India. But in the context of the situation which we are faced with today, it has assumed even greater significance. When the Chinese invaded our territory, in October last year, it was an unexpected blow. We were not prepared for it. As a result, our Forces suffered a few reverses. It was no reflection on the valour or on the fighting capacity of our brave soldiers.

I am glad that under the stewardship of our new Defence Minister, the Defence Ministry has already taken some steps to modernise and strengthen our Army. As a result, I am happy to say that we are today in a much better position to face the enemy than we were ever before.

This year's budget as a whole has put an unprecedented burden on the people. But it is both inevitable and inescapable in view of the situation we are faced with. I am happy that the expenditure on defence has been increased to Rs. 867 crores including that on capital outlay. I do not know whether it will be sufficient to meet the requirements of defence. But should it be found insufficient, I am sure that this House will gladly vote more money by way of supplementary grants. Defence is a paramount need of the country, and no sacrifice can be too much or no effort can be too great to meet this challenge and to preserve the integrity and honour of our Motherland.

Now, I want to say a few words about military intelligence. Reference was made to this yesterday by Shri Indrajit Gupta in his speech and also today by Shri Frank Anthony. It is well known that defence is a comparative thing. Before we can defend ourselves or even before we can make effective plans to defend ourselves, we must know many things about our enemy; for example, we must know what his strength is; we

must know what his plans are; and we must know what weapons he has got. It is there that military intelligence comes in. It is absolutely necessary that our Armed Forces should have an intelligence service of their own. I am sorry that this is a thing which they do not possess at the moment. They had it previously, but it was amalgamated with the Intelligence Bureau which is under the Ministry of Home Affairs. There is still an officer in the Army Headquarters who is designated as the Director of Military Intelligence, but he has no organisation of his own, and he must depend upon the Director of the Intelligence Bureau. It is absolutely fatal that vital military intelligence is gathered by a civilian agency which is primarily meant to cater to civilian needs. The same is the case with air reconnaissance which is done by our Air Force is also channelised through the Director of the Intelligence Bureau. I would request the Defence Minister to see to it that these intelligence go directly to the Director of Military Intelligence. Also, the Director of Military Intelligence should have his own agency and his own organisation, no matter what it costs the exchequer, because intelligence is a very vital factor of defence, and we know it that to a very great extent, our debacle in NEFA and in Ladakh last year was primarily due to the lack of intelligence or due to insufficient intelligence.

Another point that I want to make is this that there should be greater co-ordination between the three wings of the Armed Forces or between the three Services, and co-ordination should be the main function of the Ministry of Defence. This can be achieved if they have the same set of officers to deal with the same subjects in the Army, Navy and Air Force. I also feel that the working of the Chiefs of Staff Committee requires to be improved. The Chief of Staff Committee consists of the Chiefs of Staff of the three services, and is presided over by one of them who happens to be the senior-most among them. The Defence

Minister is not a member of this Committee. It is the experience of the last world war that the Defence Minister should be actively associated with the working of the Chiefs of Staff Committee. We know that during the last world war, Sir Winston Churchill, who was the Prime Minister and Minister of Defence in England, appointed Major-General Lord Ismay as Staff Officer to attend on his behalf the meetings of the Chiefs of Staff Committee.

We are also faced with a very grave situation today and I see no reason why our Defence Minister should not also be actively associated with the working of the Chiefs of Staff Committee. I know that such a step may lead to some complications. For example, it may lead to inter-service jealousies; it may lead to a tendency on the part of the officer so appointed to act something like a super-Commander-in-Chief. But these are difficulties which can easily be surmounted provided everybody concerned is sincere in his effort. Also, if the officer who is appointed, is such who can lay down healthy conventions and precedents. I hope the Defence Minister will look into this matter.

As I said earlier, defence is comparative. We know who our enemies are. Therefore, now we must equip our troops to match the armaments possessed by our enemies namely, Pakistan and China. Therefore, our Defence Minister must take immediate steps to modernise and strengthen our armed forces and equip them with the latest weapons of war. I know it is our policy to manufacture weapons in our own country, as far as possible. But it will take time. Till such time as we are in a position to manufacture these weapons in India, we must make every effort to procure them from every possible country on terms advantageous to us. The Government should not hesitate for a moment to take military aid from friendly countries. We have taken tremendous economic aid from friendly

[Shri Virbhadra Singh]

countries which has in no way impaired our policy of non-alignment.

I would also request the Minister of Defence to take steps to strengthen our Air Force by procuring the latest aeroplanes required by our Air Force. I know that we have a plan to manufacture some aeroplanes of foreign design in our own country. I welcome this step. But I hope that the Ministry will see to it that only planes of the latest designs are manufactured in our country. It is no use manufacturing planes which are already obsolete or are likely to become obsolete by the time they are manufactured in this country.

I would like to add one more thing. During the Chinese invasion, every unit of Indian Army did an excellent job. It is also a fact that units comprising of the local and other hill people did exceptionally well. There is nothing surprising about it because, coming from the hills, the rigours of terrain and climate were no handicaps to them. They fought, as it were, on very familiar ground. Unfortunately, such troops were not there in sufficient strength to stem the tide of the Chinese aggression. I would request the hon. Defence Minister to increase the strength of such units and also raise more such units in the border areas of UP and Himachal Pradesh for the defence of the country in general and for the defence of the central sector in particular.

Before I sit down, I would like to say that the co-operation of the people, specially of those living in the border areas, is of vital importance in matters pertaining to the defence of the country. Government should create an atmosphere of confidence, happiness and contentment among the people. The economic edifice of the people of the border areas, specially of those living in the Kinnaur District of Himachal Pradesh, which I have the honour to represent in this House, rests on four pillars, namely, trade, agriculture, animal husbandry and handicrafts. The trade that these

people used to have with Tibet is now at a standstill. As a result, quite a number of them have been rendered unemployed and without any livelihood. The handicrafts have also ceased to be a source of livelihood as they were also dependent on this trade because the raw material came from Tibet. Also there are no more exports. Because of the recent restrictions put by the Forest Department on grazing etc., animal husbandry has also become more of a nuisance than a source of livelihood. Lastly, because of the shortage of arable land, agriculture is very restricted and does not give livelihood to all the people. This has created a great difficulty and placed the people in a predicament. I would request the Government to take immediate steps to rehabilitate them.

Before I conclude I would like to say that we the people of India have great hopes from the new Defence Minister. Apart from possessing many qualities of head and heart, he has also the unanimous support of the people. I hope that under his stewardship our armed forces grow from strength to strength and that they will act as effective guardian of our liberty and freedom.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: In order to give a chance to some more people, the House will sit till 6.30 if there is no objection.

Shri Surendra Pal Singh (Bulandshahr): While wholeheartedly supporting the Demands of the Ministry of Defence, I would like to make a few observations for whatever they are worth.

I welcome the decision of the Government to raise the strength of our armed forces which, under the present circumstances, was most essential, and I do not wish to say anything much about it except that it is a step in the right direction.

Then, I would like to say a few words about the requirement of Emergency Commission officers. The maximum age limit for these officers has been raised to 35 years. There is a

proposal to lower it down to 30. Even 30, in my opinion, is a little to high and I do not agree with that. The reason for that is this, that these officers of 30, I will not say 35 now, by the time they finish their training and have studied some specialised professional courses, they would have passed their prime, and they would have reached an age when mentally and physically, they would not be fit to withstand the rigours of mountain warfare, and to give proper lead to jawans I may be wrong, but this is my opinion. A man of the age of 30 and 35 loses the spirit of adventure, which is so very necessary for a junior officer to lead his men properly and successfully. I therefore request that the maximum age limit be reduced from 30 to 25.

Then I come to the most important question of defence production, because our biggest problem today is how to become self-sufficient in regard to our defence requirements. We are happy to learn that production in our ordnance factories has gone up considerably during the last two or three months. While efforts in that direction must continue, I would like the Government to make full use of the private sector industries for this purpose, so that the burden of defence production is evenly distributed on the public and private sector industries. Industries and factories which are best suited for particular jobs should be given those jobs. Our Ministry of Economic and Defence Co-ordination has been functioning for the last several months. I would like to ask the Government what part of our purely defence production has so far been off-loaded to the civil sector and with what result. Has the contribution made by the civil sector industries been commensurate with their potential productive capacity or not? If not, I do not see why some element of compulsion should not be used against these private sector industries to fulfil their part in the national struggle.

As regards the production programme in our own ordnance factories, as has already been pointed out by several hon. Members in the House, it is very important that we should fix proper priorities. First things must be done first. We must see that our energies and financial resources are not dissipated on things which are well outside the scope of our industrial and technical capacity. In my opinion at this stage we must concentrate only on manufacturing our full requirements of basic weapons for our armed forces such as LMG sten guns, automatic rifles, mortars, adequate quantities of small arms, ammunitions etc. As for tanks, mention has already been made by the hon. Members here. The tank that we are in the process of manufacturing at Avadi is a good tank in all features. I do not say it is obsolete or useless. But in my opinion this tank is rather heavy and cumbersome for use in the mountains of the north for that particular terrain we should manufacture a lighter and more easily manoeuvrable tank say between 5-10 tons in weight. I would therefore request the Government to think seriously about the manufacture of lighter tanks before they manufacture heavy tanks.

We have a programme for manufacture of anti aircraft guns. The conventional anti aircraft guns have now become obsolete or useless because of the fantastic speed of the modern aircraft. In this line what we need are the Gindra Missiles both ground to air and air-to-air, and as these missiles have proved successful all over the world. Since they are well within our scope of manufacture, I suggest that we should go in for the manufacture of missiles rather than anti-aircraft guns.

We have made sufficient advance in the field of aeronautics and we can go in for the manufacture of aircraft in a big way for our expanding Air Force. Our immediate need is for transport planes, reconnaissance planes and we are in a position to manufacture

[Shri Surendrapal Singh]

all these different types of planes. In regard to fighter planes, we should gradually give up manufacturing transonic and subsonic planes and we should concentrate on supersonic planes because that is the demand of the hour. The new HF 24 plane which has been produced by the HAL is a good plane in all its features. But its Orpheus 703 engines, which are not powerful enough to give enough speed which is so very essential. We hear that some experiments are now going on in this engine in order to improve its performance. This engine problem should be solved as early as possible so that large-scale production of this plane can be taken in hand.

In view of our very limited financial resources and in view of the present emergency when the time factor is very important, we should concentrate on manufacture only airframes and engines for the aircraft. We should not take into hand the manufacture of highly sophisticated armament and weapons for these aircraft. At this stage, we can import these things as we have been doing in the past. Things like radar or inter communication equipment which will have to be installed on our northern borders to give aid to our Mach II planes to operate effectively, will also have to be imported as that too can not be manufactured here at present.

A word about the Navy, Sir. I am fully in agreement with my hon. friend Shri Raghunath Singh. At the present stage of emergency we can not have an expansion of our Navy. But I would like to point out one thing. Barring a few ships, most of our ships are very old and they have past their age of utility. It is absolutely necessary that we should plan their replacement with newer ships. If that part of the work is neglected, it is possible that after a few years, when we turn our attention to our south or to the seas, we may find that our Navy is not there at all.

There is a second point which Shri Raghunath Singh has mentioned, that

is about submarines. The moment we are in a position to spend some money on naval expansion, submarines must have the first preference.

I have so many other suggestions to make, Sir but I have not got the time.

I would like to say a few words about the rehabilitation of our ex-servicemen. Some hon. Member here might think that it is a bit too early to think of that problem at this stage. I do not agree with that, because I really feel that if at this juncture, when our jawans and servicemen are fighting for the defence of the country, when they are laying down their lives, if we can convince them now that their welfare and the welfare of their families is always uppermost in our minds, that would be good. This is the time when we should boost up their morale. It is time that we started thinking on these lines, and started making schemes for the rehabilitation of our ex-servicemen.

Shri S. M. Banerjee (Kanpur): Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, I take this opportunity to pay my heart-felt homage to those jawans and officers who laid down their lives in the defence of our motherland. I also congratulate the Defence Ministry officials, the Ministers and the defence employees in general, on their strenuous work in this emergency and for making it a success. I know how the ordnance factories have stepped up production. Some hon. friends like Shri Frank Anthony, while speaking, said that defence production is in a chaotic state. I was surprised that a mature Parliamentarian of such a calibre such as Shri Frank Anthony, knowing fully well that defence production has gone up not only during the emergency but also after 1956, should say those words. How could he possibly say those words? In his opinion defence production is in a chaotic state. I do

not know whether his mind is in a chaotic state; otherwise, how could he have said so?

From the report of the Defence Ministry, I find that the value of production in the ordnance factories during 1961-62 amounted to Rs. 41.45 crores as against the target of Rs. 40 crores. It is expected that the value of production in the ordnance factories during the year 1962-63 would be substantially more. Speaking subject to correction, it is about Rs. 60 crores. I would request my hon. friend Shri Frank Anthony to visit certain ordnance factories. I have seen those ordnance factories since 1942 when I was an ordnance worker myself. I have served in the ordnance factories upto the year 1955 and I know that since 1957 the production has gone up. Instead of congratulating the ordnance factories' workers and the officers of the ordnance factories, the hon. Member made those remarks; such remarks are not going to do any good; they will only do harm and would affect the morale of those workers who are working there day and night in the interests of the country.

I was not here yesterday. I came to know that Shri Ranga also said something, and he was casting a doubt on the loyalty of the defence workers. I am the President of the All-India Defence Employees' Federation. I must say with courage and conviction that the employees in the defence establishments under the heroic leadership of Shri S. M. Joshi reacted immediately on 21st October, 1962. They contributed one days' wages and decided to work 24 hours a day in the larger interests of the country. If anybody writes the history of our emergency, of this naked Chinese aggression,—I am sure the chivalry of the jawans will be written in golden letters. This would also show the strenuous job done by the ordnance factory workers. I do not know how we could possibly

doubt their loyalty. They are all loyal and I am happy that in this report it has been mentioned clearly. Both the federations, the federation which is under us and the other federation which is affiliated to the INTUC, have lent their unconditional support during this emergency and I am happy that a few words have been mentioned in this report about it.

I must say something about our reverses. It is my opinion that the reverses in NEFA were not only due to our unpreparedness. After all, how did we face the Chinese invasion in Ladakh? How is it that the same jawans and same officers who boldly counteracted and foiled the attempts of the Chinese invasion in Chushul could have failed in NEFA? I think it is the generalship that has failed in NEFA. When an inquiry is going on, I do not know why two Generals have been allowed to retire peacefully and gracefully. I have a feeling that they should not be allowed to retire. After all, they were directly responsible. I do not want to divulge any secret in this House which may be used by our enemies against us. But investigations would reveal that one of the Generals was solely responsible for this. That is my opinion.

Shri K. C. Sharma: (Sardhana): When an enquiry is going on, why should he say all this?

Shri S. M. Banerjee: I have not mentioned the name. I say this because this has affected the morale of the armed forces. Had there been some mistake committed by an ordinary officer or jawan, he would have faced court-martial. But this gentleman has been allowed to go scot-free and with grace.

This enquiry must be a comprehensive one and I welcome it. Some hon. Members have demanded an enquiry into the working of defence production units and of the defence industry. I am all for it, but I will only demand that if this sort of enquiry

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is going to take place, it must take place for the period from 1952 to 1962. This should be the period of enquiry, because I have a feeling that in 1953, retrenchment took place without knowing full facts. They simply thought that when there is no war, no ordnance factory should work even 8 hours. What happened in 1953 and again in 1956? 9,000 defence employees who were trained technical personnel were retrenched. When we requested the Defence Ministry, they said, "We cannot work these ordnance factories merely in the hope of war". At that time, Dr. Mrs. Maitrayee Bose, who was the President of the Federation, who is now the President of INTUC today, my esteemed friend, Shri S. M. Joshi, myself and other leaders of the Federation begged of the Defence Ministry not to retrench these technically trained people. At that time we were also expecting something from across our borders. But we were laughed at and we were told that we were non-technical people. So, this retrenchment was ruthlessly carried out. The net result was there was unpreparedness in the ordnance factories. So, my request is, let there be an enquiry from 1952.

About defence production, I congratulate the Defence Ministry for running the ordnance factories so well. I have a feeling that the EME workshop, the station workshop, should also come under the Controller General of Defence Production. He should be in overall charge of defence production. I hope there would be perfect coordination between the ordnance factories. The technical development establishments, the ordnance depots, the ESD workshop and the EME workshop must all work in perfect coordination. That coordination only can bring better results in defence production.

I would also add that since the defence employees have assured their unconditional support to the present Defence Minister specially Mr. Raghu-

ramaiah, who is closely known to the defence employees, I would request him to consider whether the revival of the negotiating machinery at this hour is necessary. After the unfortunate strike of 1960 this machinery was withdrawn, since then the defence employees have always shown their unshakable loyalty towards the nation, I would request that opportunities should be given to ventilate their grievances through the negotiating machinery. After assuring him my unconditional support in all respects on behalf of the 2,63,000 employees, I request the new Defence Minister to consider whether the negotiating machinery should be started.

About the reinstatement of some of the defence employees who were unfortunately discharged or removed from service during the strike or, even before that, certain flimsy charges, I would request the hon. Defence Minister and the Minister of Defence Production to kindly consider whether their services could be utilised during the emergency. They have already written to the Defence Minister. They have given their unconditional support. They have regretted any action which they took in the past as a mistake. I request, Sir, that they should be taken in.

I have been told that the DMRL organisation is being shifted from Ishapur, West Bengal, to Hyderabad for expansion purposes. I would like to know what is the utility of it. Why is this particular organisation, where research and development is so much connected with the rifle factory and the steel factory in Ishapur, being shifted at this hour, when we do not want to spend more, from Ishapur to Hyderabad. If there are valid reasons I would welcome them. If this is simply the brain-wave of some officer and that is the reason why it is being shifted, I would request the hon. Minister to give more consideration to it, to have a proper enquiry

and investigation, before this is actually shifted.

I would welcome the establishment of new ordnance factories. But I would like to know from the hon. Minister what has happened to the special alloy steel plant which was to be established in Kanpur. I am not asking this from the angle of my electorate. There are four ordnance factories in Kanpur. I am sure this plant should be established there because that will co-ordinate the work of the steel plant, the small arms factory and the special alloy steel factory, and in a way Kanpur can be a full fledged unit for the manufacture of all items. Sir, Kanpur is not situated in a place adjacent to the border. It is a central place. Even the Britishers during the last World War shifted certain portions of factories from Ishapur. They were known as temporary projects Nos. 1, 2, 3 and so on. That is why temporary projects were shifted there.

With these words, Sir, I fully support the Demands for Grants relating to the Defence Ministry. It is said to be a "Victory Budget", and I am sure every Member will support it. Once again, Sir, I give him a no-strike assurance from the defence employees, but in return I would request for a negotiating machinery which I am sure he will gladly give.

Shri Iqbal Singh: Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, first of all, I congratulate the defence services, especially the defence forces of this country who have given a good account of themselves in the last winter whether in NEFA or in Ladakh. There were reverses, I admit. But every army has got reverses. There is no army in the world which has not got any reverses. But we have recovered from the initial reverses. Our people have recovered their morale and it is now on the high tone. I think, now under the leadership of the present Defence Minister they will give a good account of themselves if the situation

arises. With these words, Sir, I wholeheartedly support all the Demands of this Ministry.

Sir, every army has to fight with weapons. Much depends on what type of weapons they have got and what type of fight they can give. We have to modernise them now, but my difficulty is that our whole thinking is that of the second world war, though much has taken place since then in the type of weapons, their strategic and technical values and in other aspects. Now we have to consider what type of weapons we should have. Are we thinking about it?

As we have seen, it took about seven years to decide on automatic rifles. I think it was in 1954 that I took up this matter, but then I was told that it cannot be decided in the middle of the stream. Now, unfortunately, they had to change it suddenly and in the middle of the crisis. That is why I say that the present situation requires modernisation of weapons. We should have better type of automatic weapons. We should not think in the atmosphere of the second world war. We must get or produce better quality weapons, with improved striking power and velocity. In that context, we have also to look into the question what type of enemy we are fighting. What is the terrain and so on.

We find that in this House some hon. Members are placing emphasis on China while others in Pakistan. I feel that the right policy would be to place the correct emphasis on both. I feel that both are not good neighbours, so far as we are concerned, though nobody can say who will make trouble first. Now China and Pakistan want to have a trap so that India may fall into it. So they have come to some sort of agreement. Also, an atmosphere is being created that China is making too much preparation on her border with India. The result is that army concentrations are switched over or shifted from one

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border to another with the effect that there is a little gap on one side. Of course, I do not say that our Defence Minister, or the officers responsible for military movement etc. are not aware of the position. I only say that we have to put the proper emphasis on both, and not on one at the expense of the other.

So far as Pakistan is concerned, though I wish that we could have good relations with them, the manner in which Pakistan leadership is behaving we cannot place much trust on them. That is why I say that our strategy and weapons should be a co-ordinate of both the positions, instead of putting emphasis blindly on one border. The type of weapons that we must have if we have a war with Pakistan would be different from the type of weapons that we must have for waging a war with China. So also, the tactics and strategy would be different.

Then, the fundamental thing is that our personnel should have light equipment. They should be enabled to walk lightly and much faster. That must be the first criterion while selecting weapons.

As far as the armed forces are concerned, the jawans are the backbone of our army. Almost everything depends on what type of jawans we have. Of course, it is a fact that we have got the best material in the world, so far as jawans are concerned. But we have to train them better if they are to give a good account of themselves. Also, there are certain difficulties. If we make a comparison of what the jawans get in return for the arduous task which they have taken upon themselves, we will find that they are very poorly paid. Is it not just and proper that there should be improvement in their conditions of service during war time? But what we find is that there is no improvement in their condition even during the war. They do not even get proper

increments. Suppose, that is the position of other Governments on the civil side, what would be the position?

Then I come to the most highly experienced people of the Indian army, that is, the JCOs. But they are the most neglected lot in the army. I would say this way. Take the case of *Subedar* or Major. There are only three increments in his whole life. So also is the case with *Jamadar*. At least one thing we can do and that is that of the officers which we are going to take in the expansion of the new army, 50 per cent of them should come from the JCOs. It would be a good thing. They are most experienced and they have given a good account of themselves. Practically nobody can deny what type of leadership they have and what type of fighting capabilities they have and what type of people they are. There can be no denial and there can be no dispute about it. The only dispute is this that they are not given a proper share. Their difficulties should be appreciated. I hope the present dynamic Defence Minister would see that their difficulties are appreciated and whatever the difficulties they have got will be removed. At least 50 per cent of the JCOs should be made officers in the expansion of the new army.

17 hrs.

Then, I come to the question of giving facilities. At least, there should not be any difference between one and the other. When we give any facility, we should not say that this should be given to above colonels and not below colonels. There should be no such difference. The army is a sensitive organisation. We cannot ignore it. It may apply to some other departments, but it should not apply to the army. Whatever facilities are given to the army, they should be given on the composite basis. It is not just a creation of a difference between the one and the other. It is the

unity of the army that counts much. What type of leadership we have will depend on it.

Then, we should have more endurance tests because if the leadership, the officers cannot endure the climatic conditions, cannot endure the difficulties, cannot give the leadership which is required of them at the time of crisis, then there can be no victory. There can be no victory if the officers cannot give a good type of leadership. It is an admitted fact. What had Hitler said? I do not subscribe to his views, but still he has said good things. I would quote one thing:

"A pre-requisite of victory, however, is that the leadership must set an example of fanatical unity from above. There would be no failures if the leadership must set an example of financial unity from above. There would be no failure if the leaders always had the courage of the riflemen...."

Without the courage of the riflemen, there will be no victory.

An Hon. Member: But he failed very badly.

Shri Iqbal Singh: He failed. But still these are the principles. If we try to apply them, we can gain something. There can be no victory if our leaders, our officers, have no courage of the riflemen. Still he may fail, that is another thing. It was more the production of the American machinery that was responsible for his failure and also the machinery of the Germans.

I have to say one or two things more. I come from an area from where practically, I think, the highest number of recruits were taken in the Indian army. At the time of the recent recruitment, people have been rejected on flimsy grounds, that a particular candidate has got a wax in his ear and so on. This matter was taken up with the Citizens Civil De-

fence Council and also with the local military people. I wanted to mention this. Ferozepur district has practically given the maximum amount to the National Defence Fund. We propose to give the maximum number of recruits. We will do a little bit for our country, whatever is required of us.

The State of Punjab has given some facilities to the army men, to the officers and the jawans and their families. I hope the present Defence Minister would be persuasive enough to ask other States to follow what Punjab has done. What is given by one State may be given by the other States also. It is not a good thing. I think Punjab has given a good lead.

17.05 hrs.

[MR. SPEAKER in the Chair]

It is a good thing that they have done their duty. Why should the other States fail? The other States should also follow suit. Whatever facilities are given by Punjab to their officers and men should be given by the other States also. We people in the Punjab are highly thankful to the valuable help given by Rajasthan and Madhya Pradesh. They have given 1 lakh acres in Rajasthan and 1 lakh acres in Madhya Pradesh for the soldiers and other persons who are injured or disabled in the fighting. I think the other States should also follow. There are many States which have got a lot of lands. They should give not only to the people from Punjab, but to anybody who is serving in the Defence forces.

One last point. About six new factories are going to be established. I fear none will be in the Punjab. This is a most proper demand of the Punjab people. I think the present Defence Minister will consider that there should be at least one factory in the Punjab so that, we can also say that we have encouragement.

Mr. Speaker: The hon. Member should conclude. I am very hard up for time.

Shri Iqbal Singh: Whatever we have done and we are doing, the present Defence Minister, the Chiefs of Staff and others have seen. I have met most of the people in my constituency. Those who are on the border say, if the situation arises, you can see that we are much more battle-worthy. We hope we will be much more battle-worthy.

Mr. Speaker: Shri K. C. Sharma: I will request hon. Members to confine their remarks to 10 minutes.

Shri K. C. Sharma: Mr. Speaker, it is a sad day that we have to talk about a war between two great countries which in 1963 ought to have been great friends and should have opened an era of prosperity, freedom and peace for a large area or rather this Asiatic continent. Anyhow, we have to proceed to the characteristics of the modern war.

In this connection, I may point out that after Napoleon, boldness, strategy and loyalty of the soldier in a flash genuine can defeat a nation in a single blow. Energy and mobility is the criterion. Strategy, boldness and leadership counts in modern war much more than it ever counted from Caesar to Napoleon.

The second point is, defeat in a single battle is not the criterion or an indication of what the final result will be. What happened in Russia in 1812 and 1941? Two of the greatest geniuses the world ever produced in the matter of war were the leaders who led the massive attack against Russia. The question was, in a vast country, it is the unity, sentiment, patriotism and loyalty and morale of the people that counts much more than the weapons and bravery of the soldiers. A determined people in the heart of country are invincible.

The third thing is, in Sweden and Prussia, when war came, military strength was increased six-fold. In times of stress and strain of war, you can safely count upon the people to gather round you. Six-fold is the example that the people have shown. People have come to help their country in times of crisis if the leadership commands the confidence and loyalty. I beg to submit that in the last war 10 per cent of the population was engaged in the war activities, in industry and working for the soldiers on the front. So, if war comes, we have to recruit large masses of the people to meet the Chinese menace.

Now, there are two things to remember. Firstly, I say that a modern war is a crisis of history. Secondly, I would say that China with 700 million people with a charismatic leadership and a society which has been brought about in a modern shape looks on the world with confidence and with courage and is aggressive. There is no doubt that the Chinese people from 1911 to 1949 have been in war are fanatic. To them it is said 'These Indian States beyond the Himalayas were States of China; they were the domain of the people. Nehru calls you slaves; I shall make you the victors. Cross the Himalayas, and occupy those States, and they would be your land'. This is what is said to the Chinese soldier, particularly the Tibetans, and that is the reason why wave after wave has come down across the Himalayas.

Anyhow, we are facing them with united efforts, under a great leadership and with a determined people and with large resources. Yet, I beg to submit that a major war is such that only an economically matured country can sustain it. Neither China nor India are what may be called economically matured countries. I think that under these conditions, a major war between India and China is not a likely possibility. There might be trouble here and there, and there might be incursions, but a major

modern war is an impossibility for China to wage on the overland of the Indian sub-continent. I am supported by Hartmann who says that despite the advance of modern technology, certain wars are not feasible. For instance, the Americans could not fight in Korea and could not advance on the mainland of China. Russia can not go and fight the American on their land, nor can Britain fight in Tibet. In the same way, I am sure that China cannot fight in the overland on the sub-continent of India. It is an impossibility. They cannot succeed in the land. If they still take to war, it is due to immaturity of leadership and it is foolhardiness.

Now, the question arises as to what can happen. We saw what happened in Korea. In July, 1951, the Chinese came for peace talks with the United Nations. For two months there was no war. Then, after preparing, they again attacked. Again, on October, 1951, they again sat, and for 19 months, they went on negotiating. About what was going on during the negotiations, I may read out what an American General said. He said:

"It was also one of the deadliest wars of American history of citizen soldiers. Action during the 19 months of stalemate consisted chiefly of desperate encounters in the darkness of no-man's-land. Americans whose grandsires fought Indians were up against the same tactics of concealment, stealth and lethal surprise."

As regards the losses in the Korean war, he has stated:

"The losses in the Korean war were one million Chinese killed and wounded; Americans; 30,306.

Now, I may quote Clausewitz, who says:

"There is no human activity that stands in such constant and universal contact with chance as does war."

What war means with China, 'chance and gamble' fail to express.

My respectful submission with regard to this is that this cry of 'shame' and 'humiliation' about the reverses in NEFA has no meaning. It is what is called taking a childish view of life. In a modern war, one battle decides nothing. Another aspect of the question is that not even a Napoleon could withstand the Chinese massive attack on the heights of the Himalayas. In war, mountain defence is an impossible proposition. Here is what Clausewitz says on the point:

"A general who gets himself into disaster in an extended mountain position deserves to be court-martialed".

Neither in the Austrian succession nor in French revolution has any European General been successful in defending his country to victory in the mountains. It is an impossible proposition for the simple reason that you cannot maintain the supply. You cannot see the opponents, where they are hiding. You cannot have military formations.

Another point is this. A General has only one great quality, that is, boldness. This is the 'gold' in a General, in the leader of an army. This mettle is displayed only in undulated broken land. In mountains, the individual soldier is left to his resources and the General has very little say.

Mr. Speaker: His time is up.

Shri K. C. Sharma: May I have two minutes more?

Mr. Speaker: He can have one minute.

Shri K. C. Sharma: One more important point. I have to make. We have to prepare ourselves. That we could not prepare ourselves is not a discredit to the country because no

[Shri K. C. Sharma]

country in the world, against which aggression took place, has ever been found to be well-prepared for the war. Two great wars have shown it. The only thing is that you mobilise your economic resources, develop the strength of the country and keep up the morale of the people.

I beg to submit that so far as the Defence Ministry is concerned—I have been in quite close contact with it—the former Defence Minister created the modern Indian Army. He raised the morale of the forces and it is in good shape, he was the father of the soldier and friend of the officers. I pay my humble tribute to Shri Krishna Menon.

Mr. Speaker: Dr. M. S. Aney: I hope no Member would ask me to give him more than ten minutes.

Dr. M. S. Aney: When the time is up, I shall sit down.

I begin my speech with congratulations to Government on the response they have made to public opinion by making a change in the Minister of Defence. Public opinion against the Minister was there for one reason or another and was being expressed for a long time in various ways. But I am glad that when the proper time came, Government took the bold step and brought about the necessary change. Another matter for congratulation is that a young, energetic public man with a good record of public service to his credit and a still better record of good administration in a big State was brought in to fill up that place. I hope this transfusion of new blood into the body-politic of the Defence Ministry, which had become anaemic and unhealthy on account of long negligence of those who were in charge for a long time, will be of great use and we shall find that the new Defence Minister will be able to activate the machine and make it properly prepared for the great responsibility it has to discharge, to fight the enemy and to drive him out of

the country beyond the borders of India within a reasonable time.

The first thing the Government of India has to consider when it fights against China, or for the matter of that against any enemy at all, is the exact nature of the preparation of the enemy himself. My hon. friend Shri Raghunath Singh yesterday gave some valuable information. I am sure the Government of India must also have that information about the strength of the three wings of the defence forces of China. From the statement he has made it looks as if it is a very mighty military machine against which we have to carry on a fight. Knowing that, it should be the duty of the Government of India to see that within a reasonable time our army and our defence are so placed as to be able to combat with them successfully and drive them out from the territory which they have been in possession of illegally and forcibly for a long time.

This preparation is likely to take some time naturally. The Government of India has to consider this question from two points of view, the short-term and the long-term points of view. For a nation to be perfectly prepared according to modern standards might take a long time, and I am sure when we hear the views of Members here, it is the longer period that is, generally under their contemplation. But we must also be prepared to face an invasion that may be made by China within a short time, without giving notice to us. The news that has been coming out recently indicates that the Chinese forces are being mobilised somewhere in Tibet adjacent to the border line between China and India. If that is so, we do not know when they will think of making a move, or launching a second invasion of India. If we are not found prepared to face the enemy at that time and allow him to have an easy walk-over as he had in the first invasion, it would mean a great

disaster. I want the Government of India, and particularly the Defence Minister, to envisage this contingency and be prepared to see that we have got at least some friends to rely upon to give us the necessary help, to come to our rescue if such a contingency takes place. Probably the Government is taking precautions in that connection. I am not anxious that they should disclose the information now, but my point is this, that we must keep our relations with foreign friendly countries in such a way as to be able to persuade them to come to our help with the necessary weapons and the necessary trainers also for coaching our men to carry on the war in the borders. That is a necessity. Besides the grand effort they might be making by way of long-term preparation, short-term preparation also must be taken into consideration.

There are two questions. The first is: what is the period we shall take for our preparation? The second is: if such a contingency takes place, what is the remedy which we have got. These two questions must be present always before the Defence Ministry, and they should try to see that in the event of a second invasion, whether it be after three months or three years, we are not found wanting. The enemy should not have an easy walk-over, but they should learn that they have to face an army which is prepared to obstruct them at every point, to fight them for every inch. If the preparations is like that, I am sure the whole country will back them. One of the good results of the changes that had been brought about in the Government of India is the Budget itself. The change in the Ministry as well as the nature of the present Budget have given ample proof to the people that the Government of India is not idle but is in right earnest to prepare the nation for the sake of war.

As I have to finish in ten minutes, I shall touch only the last point. The amount that has been provided in

excess of the Revised Estimates for 1962-63 for defence services, effective, under demand No. 9 for capital outlay under demand No. 15 and for expenditure on emergency measures represent a total figure of Rs. 371.11 crores. For demand No. 9, they provide Rs. 265,29,31,000 and for demand No. 15 they provide Rs. 105,82,63,000. It is a big amount. But I want to tell my colleagues here frankly that though this is a big amount, it is only a small fraction of the total that we shall have to provide ultimately to prepare the country fully according to the modern conception of war. You may take it as the first instalment that we are making towards that expenditure which we shall have ultimately to bear. We must also remember that unless we make a supreme effort, it is not possible for the nation to prepare itself thoroughly so as to maintain the prestige and preserve the integrity.

It is not a matter of disgrace; one need not feel ashamed if one has to require assistance of other countries. Take the history of the two world wars. Even big nations like the United Kingdom and France had to rely upon the assistance of other countries and it is only when they came to their assistance, that war could be fought successfully.

One sentence and I shall finish. We shall have to get assistance from wherever we can. I do think that the new Minister in charge of Defence will not be doctrinaire and will not seek to serve a particular ideology but look to the practical point of view. Maharashtra has a reputation for being more practical than idealistic. If we do that, we shall not only preserve our integrity of our national territory but also the prestige of a great nation, the oldest cultured people of this planet.

Mr. Speaker: Shri Sheo Narain. Each Member who is called will conclude when the second bell rings.

श्री शिव नारायण : अध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं आपका बड़ा अनुगृहीत हूँ कि आपने डिफेंस की डिमांड पर मुझे बोलने का अवसर प्रदान किया है।

मान्यवर, मैं नेपाल के बाईर से आता हूँ। मैं सब से पहले अपने नए डिफेंस मिनिस्टर साहब को बधाई देना चाहता हूँ और आशा करता हूँ कि जितनी बातें आज इस हाउस में बताई गई हैं, उन पर आप कृपा करके अमल करेंगे। मैं निराशावादियों में से नहीं हूँ। मैं आशावादी हूँ। मैं आपको बतलाना चाहता हूँ कि हम उनकी सन्तान हैं जो राणा प्रताप के साथ हल्दीघाटी के मैदान में घास की रोटियाँ खा खा कर अकबर के मुकाबले में लड़े थे। मैं आपसे कहना चाहता हूँ :

चार बांस चौबीस गज अंगुल अष्ट प्रमाण ।
ता ऊपर मुल्तान है मत चुकै चौहान ॥

आज श्री चह्वाण से मेरी प्रार्थना है कि यह जो अपोजीशन यहां बैठा हुआ था वह सफर हो गया, वे सब लोग बातें कर के चले गये। वे निराशावादी की बात करते हैं, कहते कुछ हैं और करते कुछ हैं। लेकिन मैं आप को सचेत करना चाहता हूँ कि आप सर्वगुण सम्पन्न हैं, बम्बई छोड़ कर आप आये हैं।

One of the best Ministers of Hindustan has taken charge of defence today. I pray to him. I am glad Shri Nath Pai is here. I am sure he will listen to me. We have the best Defence Minister. I will give him an assurance. We will see China and others; we will see Pakistan.

अकेला पंजाब हमारा काफी है जो कि पाकिस्तान को देख सकता है। काश्मीर हमारा बहादुर है, काश्मीर के हमारे चीफ मिनिस्टर कमजोर नहीं हैं। मैं नेपाल बाईर पर रहता हूँ। मैं अपने डिफेंस मिनिस्टर से कहना चाहता हूँ कि हमारा बच्चा बच्चा आप के कन्धे से कन्धा मिला कर लड़ने के लिये तैयार है। लेकिन इस बाईर को आप

देखिये। अगर दो हजार आदमी इस बाईर की रक्षा नहीं कर सकते हैं दो दस हजार का इन्तजाम किया जाय। ट्रेनिंग दी जाय, सड़कें ठीक की जायें, मीन्स आफ कम्प्युनिवेशन ठीक की जाय।

“आपत् काल परखिये चारी,
धीरज, धर्म, मित्र अरु नारी”

हम लोग धीरज वाले हैं, धैर्य के साथ आप के साथ हैं और देश के साथ हैं। आप में देश का विश्वास है, पंडित नेहरू में देश का विश्वास है। सारी कौम उन के पीछे है। हाल में पंडित जी बम्बई गये थे, वहां इस का नमूना हम ने देखा। यहां पर अपोजीशन वाले इतना उत्पात मचाते हैं लेकिन बम्बई में हमारे प्राइम मिनिस्टर का बहुत जबर्दस्त रिसेप्शन हुआ, जो कि इस बात का सबूत है कि हमारे साथ कौन है। हमारे प्राइम मिनिस्टर ने अपोनली कहा कि हम ने गलती की, उन्होंने गलती को तसलीम किया, लेकिन घोषा नहीं दिया। सही बात कही। अगर गलत बात कोई इंग्लैंड में कहे, गलत बात कोई अमेरिका में कहे तो इस का क्या जवाब है। जो लूज टाक करते हैं उन को करने दीजिये। हाथी अपनी चाल जाते हैं और कुत्ते पों पों करते रहते हैं अगल बगल। आज हमारे पास एक गम्भीर डिफेंस मिनिस्टर है, मैं ऐय्योरेन्स देता हूँ कि हमारा मुल्क आगे है, पीछे नहीं है। हम ने बड़े बड़े रिवर्सेज देखे हैं। माननीय सदस्य ने पानीपत की बात कही, पलासी की बात वही, हम ने उन दोनों को देखा। मीर जाफर और मीर कासिम देश में मौजूद हैं। मैं अपने मिनिस्टर से अपाल करता हूँ कि देश भर में फिफथ कालम के लोग घूम रहे हैं, वे उन को पनपने न दें, आज इस बात का आवश्यकता है।

जिस दिन हमारे डिफेंस मिनिस्टर ने चांज लिया, दिल्ली के उस मैदान में मैं मौजूद था जब जनता ने ५१ हजार ६० की पैली दी और सोने की तलवार दी और यह बतलाया

कि उन में दिल्ली शहर की जनता का विश्वास है। जब वहां पर मिनिस्टर साहब की स्पीच हुई तो दिल्ली शहर की जनता ने हर महीने ५१ हजार ६० देने की बात कही। आज हमारे डिफेंस मिनिस्टर के पीछे सारी कौम है : हम बहादुर हैं, कमजोर नहीं हैं। मैं हरिजन हूँ, आप हरिजन फंड में जो भी देते हैं वह सब मैं डिफेंस फंड में दे दूंगा। इस में हमें कोई एतराज नहीं होगा। देश सुखी रहेगा तो हम भी बाद में सुखी हो सकते हैं। मैं निराशावादी नहीं हूँ, आशावादी हूँ।

मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि आप अच्छे अच्छे किस्म की ट्रेनिंग दें, नये आफिसर्स को ट्रेन करें। हर एक ने नेफा में जो कुछ हुआ उस की निन्दा की, लेकिन लड़ाख को बे भूल गये। हमारे श्री डी० सी० शर्मा ने कहा था कि लड़ाख में हमारे जवानों ने चीनियों के झुके छोड़ा दिये थे। जो भी हमारे जवान नेफा में मारे गये, उन में से एक एक ने तीस तीस चीनियों को मारा, मगर उन के छुरा सामने लगा, पीठ पीछे नहीं लगा। यह भारतीय कैरेक्टर है। हमारे देश का मोराल आज भी ऊंचा है, कल भी ऊंचा रहेगा और भूत काल में भी ऊंचा रहा है। हिन्दुस्तान आगे है, वह कमजोर नहीं है।

जो हमारी नानअलाइनमेंट की पालिसी है वह गलत नहीं है। भगवान बुद्ध ने हमें सत्य प्रहिंसा की चीज दी थी। गांधी जी ने भी दी। जवाहरलाल जी उस पर अमल कर रहे हैं। हम उन के पीछे चल रहे हैं और कौम उन के पीछे खड़ी है। हमारे दुश्मन ने जो हम पर हमला किया है उस के लिये जो कुछ यहाँ कहा गया वह ठीक है। उसने मित्र बन कर हमारे छुरा मारा है, मित्र ने हम पर हमला किया है। यह नया शिगूफा दुनियां में आया। जब यह नया ढंग आया है तो दुनियां में कौन चीन का विश्वास करेगा ? नेपोलियन को भी हम ने पढ़ा

है। हिटलर को भी पढ़ा है, लेकिन उस वरत ऐसा नक्शा नहीं था जैसा कि चीन ने आज दुनिया के सामने रक्खा है। यदि कोई नई चीज व एक व एक आ जाय, पंचशील पर दस्तखत कर के यहाँ से चीन चला जाय और फिर उस से उलट करके लगे तो क्या किया जाय ?

“विश्वास फलदायक”

विश्वास पर दुनियां टिकी हुई है। आज हम लोग आप के साथ हैं और कल आप की पीठ में छुरा भोंक दें तो इस में आप का क्या दोष है ? नेहरू जी का इसमें क्या दोष है, भारत का क्या दोष है ?

भारत की मिलिटरी बहुत अच्छी है, हमारे पास जो आफिसर हैं वे बहुत सुयोग्य हैं, यह गलत नहीं है। यह बात हम को इस समय मालूम हुई है। लेकिन इस से भी सुपीरियर पावर हमारे और आप के ऊपर है। सब कुछ भगवान की माया से होता है। जो भगवान है उस का भेद हम नहीं पा सकते। विलियम कैसर ने अमरीका से क्या कहा था जब वह ५२ राष्ट्रों के खिलाफ लड़ रहा था, लेकिन जब अमरीका के जहाज को इंग्लिश चैनल में डुबाया गया तो उस ने कहा कि अगर आखिरी जहाज डुबाया गया तो अमरीका वार डिक्लेअर कर देगा और विलियम कैसर ने उस का जवाब दे दिया। उस ने कहा कि मैं लड़ने को तैयार हूँ, खुदा मियां आ जायेंगे तो भी तैयार हूँ। लेकिन वह विलियम कैसर मिटा, नेपोलियन मिटा, हिटलर मिटा। हम वह गलत नहीं करना चाहते हैं। हमें धीरे धीरे आज हमारे नेता ले चल रहे हैं और अपने देश की रक्षा कर रहे हैं। हम ने हमला नहीं किया, लेकिन आगे के लिये हम को अपनी शक्ति पूरी करनी है।

हमारे कम्यूनिस्ट मित्रों ने जो कुछ कहा है मैं अपील करूंगा कि वे उस पर अमल भी करें। उन्होंने बहुत सुन्दर उपदेश दिया है

[श्री शिव नारायण]

लेकिन अगर सारे कम्युनिस्ट पार्टी के लोग उस पर झमल करें तो हम समझेंगे कि वे देश के शुभचिन्तक हैं। प्रोफेसर रंगा यहां नहीं हैं, लेकिन मैं उन से कहना चाहता हूँ कि उन को निराशावाद की बात नहीं करनी चाहिये। वह भावी मिनिस्ट्री में आने के चक्कर में हैं, लेकिन मैं उन को बतलाऊंगा कि वे यहां ऐसी चीजें न कहें जिस से दूसरे दिन आने वाले लोग वहां पर उन की नुक्ताचीनी करें।

मैं यहां पर यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि हमारे जवानों और आफिसर्स को जो विधवायें हैं उन के लिये आप पांच साल वाली या चार साल वाली पेंशें न दें, उन के लिये अजीवन प्रबन्ध करने की आवश्यकता है जिस में हमारे जवान यह समझ लें कि अगर वे रण में मारे जायेंगे तो उन के बच्चों का रक्षा होगी।

हमारे पूर्व एअर मार्शल साहब की श्रमती जी यहां नहीं हैं। उन्होंने कल जो कुछ कहा उस में मैं जाना नहीं चाहता हूँ लेकिन हम को ऐसी बात कहनी चाहिये जिस देश का भला हो। देश का कल्याण हो और जो देश आगे बढ़ रहा है वह कमजोर न हो जाय।

यहां पर हर एक किसान काम कर रहा है, हर एक मजदूर काम कर रहे हैं जो कि फैक्ट्रियों में हैं। लेकिन उन के ऊपर थोड़ी चैकिंग की जरूरत है। आप का जो मिलिटरी इंटेलिजेंस डिपार्टमेंट है उस को होम डिपार्टमेंट की इंटेलिजेंस से थोड़ा दूर रहना चाहिये आज सारे देश को आगे बढ़ना है। आज जो नौजवान हैं वह हमारी रक्षा कर रहे हैं लेकिन जो हमारे बुजुर्ग हैं उन को उन नौजवानों के सिर पर हाथ रखना पड़ेगा। आप के यहां इंसाफ की तराजू होनी चाहिये। मिलिटरी में आज भी तीन किस्म के मेसेज हैं। आज आई० एन० ए० की मिसाल हमारे सामने मौजूद है, सुभाष चन्द्र बोस की मिसाल

आप के सामने है। उन से आप को सबक लेना है। आज देश को एक सूत्र में बांधने की आवश्यकता है।

आज मिलिटरी आफिसर्स जो हैं हमारे उन लोगों में से कुछ ने कहा कि हम पाकिस्तान के अनुग्रहीत हैं कि वह हम से छुटपुट लड़ाई करते रहे जिस के कारण हम ने अपने जवानों को ट्रेनिंग दी है। हम ने जो भूल की है उस को हम तसलीम कर ल और ध्यान रखें कि "आगे सोची सदा सुखी"। हमें सोचना है और सोच कर आगे बढ़ना है। मैं अपने डिफेंस मिनिस्टर से अपील करूंगा कि आज डिफेंस के काम के लिये वे हमारे हरिजन बच्चों को भी लें वरना दस करोड़ आदमी आप के खिलाफ हो जायेंगे। हमें यह शिकायत मिली है कि आज हमारे बच्चों को नहीं लिया जाता है। मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि जो चिकने चिकने गाल वाले हैं वे काम करने वाले नहीं हैं क्यों कि आज तो हम को मजबूत आदमी चाहिये, पहलवान चाहिये जिस में अगर आप उन को दुकम दें कि तुम आगे चले जाओ तो वे चले जायें। आप उन से ट्रेच खुदवाइये, सड़क बनवाइये तो उस का नतीजा यह होगा कि हमारे आदमी ट्रेड हो जायेंगे और डिस्प्लेड ढंग से चलेंगे। वे भी आगे बढ़ कर आयेंगे। वे आप के देश के रक्षक हैं, भक्षक नहीं हैं।

इन शब्दों के साथ मैं इन अनुदानों का समर्थन करता हूँ।

श्री राजराम (Krishnagiri): Mr. Speaker, Sir, I join the hon. Members of this House in congratulating the armed forces on the commendable jobs they have performed during the time of the Chinese aggression. The policy of peace enunciated by this House has been fully carried out by our armed forces whenever they were sent abroad and they have proved themselves to be the best ambassadors of this country to the other nations of

the world. I am sure the security of this country is safe in their hands.

We have two frontiers. One is sea and the other is land. On this sea, the life-lines of India are concentrated. If India can control the sea, I mean the Indian Ocean and keep it as her own I think the security of the country in these three directions is safe. How is the sea frontier safeguarded? I am not an expert in it. But commonsense shows that we have to strengthen our navy. According to the report of the Defence Ministry, they are developing Bombay very well. There are so many ports in the south also, from Vishakhapatnam to Mangalore. So many ports have not yet been developed so far. Even in the Naval Dockyard Expansion scheme no progress is being made in ports like Madras, Tuticorin, Nagapatnam, Pondicherry and Mangalore. These are all good harbours and naval bases are there. So I plead that the naval establishment there should be further increased, because by naval expansion you strengthen in a way our merchant navy also.

So far as our merchant navy is concerned, we are entirely dependent. Today, whatever purchases we make they are all obsolete ships. Every time we have to look to the west. Therefore, I plead that the naval wing of the army should be further strengthened. The proposed project in Ennore near Madras for the manufacture of marine and industrial diesel engines is still under consideration. I request the Defence Minister to quicken the process and start the industry as soon as possible.

Sir, it may be true that we had certain setbacks in our recent effort to meet the Chinese aggression. We should learn a lesson. It is certain that we will have to strengthen our defence arrangements, step up production of military equipment, modernise the army and take such action

which a modern war may require. This preparation has both short-term and long-term aspects and have to be planned accordingly. Modern war is fought mainly by machines; it is not the physical strength of the army, its numerical strength, but it is the machines which mainly do the job. The military strength of a country is judged in the present day world, not by the standing army, but by number of aircraft, tanks, automatic weapons and all other equipment which science has been able to develop so far for war. The production of all types of strategic goods will require large capital outlay. In accelerating the process of economic growth also it is necessary to set up capital intensive industries. It is true that almost any defence industry can be put to the production of consumption or capital goods. A tank factory may be utilised for the production of tractor, trucks and some other machines which the country may need for its civil needs. So I want the Defence Minister to extend the defence production more and more so that a stage is reached when we will not have to depend on any external source for any of our requirements vital to the security and defence of our country.

Then I come to the important question of amenities for army personnel. The armed personnel are guarding the borders at heights ranging from 14,000 to 15,000 feet. I hope all the facilities are being provided for them in these desolate areas. When they are engaged in their work they must not have any worries. In the matter of civil administration of cantonments, efforts should be made to improve it without interfering with the work of the army as such.

Sir, I come to the other point. Now you have opened sainik schools in various places. Surely, in these schools that have come up, the idea is to train boys for the army who are keen on entering the army. This, the NCC and other training which is im-

[Shri Rajaram]

parted in public schools and various other schools will certainly infuse in our children, the army life and discipline.

I wish that the Government must come forward to open more Sainik Schools. In this connection, I would plead that the tuition fees which are prescribed for the Sainik schools should be reduced drastically. I know that a number of scholarships and so on are provided for children of poor families in these Sainik schools, but the general scale of fees and so on is extraordinarily high. If Sainik type of training can also be imparted in the public schools, they should also be roped in so that they also give this kind of Sainik training. In this connection I also like to suggest that military science must be introduced in all the universities.

Then I would like to come to another subject. The imposition of Hindi on servicemen is causing serious heart-burn. Promotions are withheld if they do not pass in the three basic examinations in Hindi. This runs contrary to the assurances given by our President and the Prime Minister. It has come to my notice that many non-Hindi speaking people have been handicapped because of this language issue in the army.

Mr. Speaker: The hon. Member should conclude.

Shri Rajaram: Sir, I am the only speaker from my group.

Mr. Speaker: He may be the only speaker, but I cannot give him more than ten minutes at this moment.

Shri Rajaram: I have not taken ten minutes yet.

Mr. Speaker: He can have two more minutes.

Shri Rajaram: Thank you.

Considering the importance of defence, Hindi is a minor affair. So, I would request the Defence Minister not to impose Hindi in a compulsory way in the army. I also request him to see that Hindi is not put as a hindrance, so far as promotion in the army is concerned.

Sir, on one side the Chinese have heavy concentration of troops along the Himalayan border. Their army is busy in extending and improving its network of roads in Tibet. On the other side, they are releasing 3,213 Indian prisoners of war. Who can guess what the dragon will do next? Anyhow, we must not be complacent in our defence preparation.

As far as our party, that is, DMK, is concerned, we are one with the view that the national emergency should continue as long as it is necessary; that is, until we have made up the leeway in our defence requirements and are confident of flinging back any military trespass into our territories. While supporting the continuance of emergency, we insist that it must not be used for the development or furthering the interests of the ruling party. We also insist that Government should set an example in austerity, economy and intensification of effort. We wish that the Government should demonstrate its earnestness to the people by putting down corruption with a heavy hand, because corruption is an incubus that can undermine the morale of the nation and thus affect the national emergency and defence effort.

Shri Gajraj Singh Rao (Gurgaon): Mr. Speaker, I thank you very much for giving me this opportunity to speak. I will first say that this is not such a basic thing on which there should be so much discussion because here it is not a question of our being the aggressor against any other country. In that contingency, of course, the question of policy should be gone

into as to with which nations we should combine, with which countries we should have alliance for the aggression and so on. Here it is only a question of defending the country against the aggressor and preparing for it by a defence budget. Since it is a question of defending the country, there could not be any limit set for the budget. If necessary, amounts earmarked for other departments should be diverted to defence and the whole of the energy of the nation should be channelled in that direction. I am sure, there is no difference of opinion between the parties, so far as this object is concerned.

Secondly, while we are seeking help from friendly countries for this purpose, our ultimate object is to be self-sufficient at the shortest possible time. With that aim of the Government also there can be no objection to anybody.

Now, Sir, of course the other parties, even our partymen, can insist that there should be proper implementation, proper spending of money without wasting anything. That can be the criterion. There has been the criticism that the budget is too heavy and that is self-contradictory as they say, "We want so much sea-line, so much Himalayan-line, so many submarines and aircraft and all that". Still they say it is an extravagant budget. How can they reconcile it? I do not know. I would again submit, in my view, that this money, taking the Emergency into account, taking the Chinese aggression into account of which too much has been talked about, is not even sufficient. It should be more. It is not a normal budget that everything should be said about it. This is an emergency budget. And, of course, it should be properly spent, spent for the purposes for which it is meant. We shall get help from any country available.

“दोस्तानां बाशद कि गीरद दस्ते दोस्त
दर परेशां हाली व दरमांदगी”

दोस्त वह होता है जो कि मुसीबत के वक्त काम आये। आज दोस्तों की आजमाइश करने का वक्त है।

Today we are raking up old things.

“गुञ्जित रसलवात आयन्दा ग्रहत्यात”

That is the saying. By raking up the old things, we cannot be anywhere.

I would then submit that the poor kisans and the middleclass people have come out with their full help? But what about the private sector, big industrialists and big capitalists? Have they come out with their full help? I would say that the country would have risen much higher if they had come out. Begger is no chooser. We have to beg even small things, boots, stockings, trucks and thousands other things. Can't our industries come out and help us in the emergency? Our friends who support them day in and day out say that this is national emergency. They should beseech them by saying that this is national emergency and that they should come out and help us, help the nation. This is a national cause, not anybody else's.

I would most respectfully submit that with the best of intentions there may have been criticisms. But may I know does this criticism help the nation? If in other countries these speeches are read, that China is so and so and we are absolutely nothing, we are nowhere and all that, would they carry any impression? What impression would they carry? I leave it to the House to think.

One thing more I want to say and that is that the negative aspect has been too much stressed in this House, that we are very very inferior, we are absolutely nothing, that Chinese are much bigger than the Himalaya and everything. I would only read one or two lines from the press reports. This is from the Tribune.

“We will have tea in Chushul on October 24”.

Then, further:

“This dream of the Chinese was shattered by the heroism and

[Shri Gajraj Singh Rao]

bravery of Indian troops who fought almost to the last man at Rezang La and Gurung Hill near Chusul...."

And also:

"Except six or seven men, a company of Ahirs perished at Rezang La, but not before inflicting heavy casualties on the invaders."

There were 800 to 900 casualties on the 18th December. And the foreign press reports also you can see. What deeds of heroism and that too by a small number of men were performed? No mention of that. We said, we lost in such numbers. I can assure you—I have association with military people for the last 35 years—that our soldiers are second to none and properly equipped, with the nation's goodwill and the goodwill of all parties, we can fight. This negative aspect, this negative approach should be given up. That is what I would submit. In any country, it is called quisling or fifth columnist activities that we are taking against our country, against our defence and say, we are absolutely nothing, we are nowhere. I would submit that it is this type of thing which has demoralising effect not only on the public, but on the Army itself. This is a type of talk which is not justified.

Now, they say, five year Plan or a two-year plan. In case of an emergency or war, is there any sense of a plan? Supposing they come on one side and we have to send all our aircraft, borrowed or ours or anything, we may spend a lot of money in one year or six months or two months, which may not be spent in the whole of even 2 or 3 years. Can there be a plan for such a thing? Is it a sensible thing to talk that there should be a plan? I would leave it at that. There can be no question of a plan. This is total preparation, total mobilisation, civil as well as military.

There are three types of people. We have got fifth columnists who are

“घर का भेदी लंका दाये” । आज तक जब भी कभी हिन्दुस्तान पर किसी ने हमला कर के कामयाबी हासिल की है तो घर के भेदी की सहायता से की है ।

Read between the lines of the first gentleman's speech and you would know what they are doing and what they want—that we should be enemies of all nations and we should have nobody as our friends. That is it

Second, profiteers and blackmarketeers. They have been saying,—I give credit—raise the army to the highest in the quickest possible time. Everything they would say. But, oh! yes; it is emergency, it is war, prices are soaring, everything is soaring. These are the second type. The third are pacifists or people with a defeatist mentality. They are also enemies of the nation: fifth columnists who are talking always of pacifism and defeatism. These are the three kinds of enemies.

They expect the Defence Minister to tell them where the Army is deployed, where the Air force is deployed. Would any responsible Defence Minister say that? This is Fifth column activity. I was not talking seriously. In today's papers you see in the Pakistan press, they have given out, our Armies are deployed like this, there should be co-ordination between the Home Ministry and the other Ministries, and they should co-operate. We should guard against these three types of enemies.

I have taken time. I have only one suggestion and that is with regard to food for our jawans. It is to the same standard which was so many years ago. Clothing and other things we have changed. Arms are being changed. They should be provided with amenities which are to be standards needed for the warfare in that area.

18 hrs.

Mr. Speaker: The hon. Member who has spoken should be given a cheer. He has sent his third son also to the Army. (Cheers.)

Shri Yashpal Singh (Kairana): We have already sacrificed.

Mr. Speaker: How many sons has the hon. Member got?

Shri Yashpal Singh: One.

Mr. Speaker: The hon. Member who has spoken has sent his third son also. Two are already there in the Army.

Shri Yashpal Singh: My son had been cut into three pieces.

Mr. Speaker: There might be many others like that.

श्री भक्त दर्शन (गढ़वाल) : अध्यक्ष महोदय, प्रतिरक्षा मंत्रालय के बजट पर यह जो वार्षिक वाद-विवाद हो रहा है, इस में भाग लेते हुए मुझे बड़ी प्रसन्नता हो रही है ।

सब से पहिले मैं उन शहीदों के प्रति अपनी हादिक भावभरी श्रद्धांजलि अर्पित करना चाहता हूँ, जो कि इस लड़ाई में शहीद हुए हैं । इस के साथ ही जो बहादुर इस समय भी मोर्चे पर डट कर मुकाबला कर रहे हैं और असाधारण कठिनाइयों के बीच में भी डटे हुए हैं, उन को भी मैं अपनी बधाइयाँ और शुभकामनायें प्रेषित करता हूँ । साथ ही इस अवसर पर अपने नये रक्षा मंत्री महोदय का भी मैं अभिनन्दन करता हूँ, इस लिये नहीं कि मैं केवल एक रसम अदा कर रहा हूँ, बल्कि इस लिये लिये कि इस समय तक हमारे देश में जितने भी रक्षा प्रतिरक्षा मंत्री हुए थे, उन में से इस पद के लिये मैं उन सब से अधिक उपयुक्त मानता हूँ । जिस समय उन्होंने महाराष्ट्र से विदाई ली थी, उस समय

उन्होंने जो वाक्य कहा था, वह अभी तक मेरे कानों में गूँज रहा है । उन्होंने कहा था, "आज मैं राजनीति से संन्यास ले रहा हूँ" । उन्होंने घितभाषी होने, कम बोलने, और अधिक कार्य करने का एक बड़ा भारी ज्वलन्त उदाहरण पेश किया है और इस कारण इस सदन में चाहे मंत्रालय की बड़ी आलोचना की गई हो, लेकिन रक्षा मंत्री महोदय के बारे में सब सदस्यों ने प्रशंसात्मक बातें ही कही हैं ।

अध्यक्ष महोदय : लेकिन अब दस घंटे से माननीय सदस्य उन को मजबूर कर रहे हैं कि वह बहुत बोलें । वह तो कम बोलना चाहते हैं, लेकिन दस घंटे से जो बहस हो रही है, वह उन को ज्यादा बोलने के लिये मजबूर कर रही है ।

श्री भक्त दर्शन । मैं यही निवेदन कर रहा हूँ कि वह इतनी देरी से—कल से अभी तक—जिस धैर्य से इस वाद-विवाद को सुन रहे हैं । उस से भी सिद्ध होता है कि वह कितने धीरज के साथ देश के रक्षासाधनों को जुटाने में लगे हुए हैं ।

चूंकि मेरे पास बहुत कम समय है, इस लिये मैं दो तीन बातों की ओर ही इस सदन का ध्यान आकर्षित करना चाहता हूँ ।

श्रीमान, मैं इस सदन के उन सदस्यों में से रहा हूँ, जो अपनी प्रतिरक्षा की तैयारियों के सम्बन्ध में आलोचना करते रहे हैं । पिछले दिनों हम पर जो विपत्ति आई, उस के कारणों में जाने की मुझे कोई आवश्यकता नहीं है, लेकिन इस में सब सहमत होंगे कि हमारी ओर से कुछ गलतियाँ जरूर हुई हैं । पर अब मैं अपने अनुभव के आधार पर यह कहने का साहस करता हूँ कि इस बीच में हमारी हिमालयी सीमा पर जो तैयारियाँ की गई हैं, उन से संतोष का एक नया वातावरण पैदा हो गया है । मध्यवर्ती क्षेत्र के बारे में, जहाँ बड़ाहोती का वह इलाका है, जिस पर सब से पहले चीनियों ने १९५४ में हमला किया था,

[श्री भक्त दर्शन]

जिस का मैं इस सदन में प्रतिनिधित्व भी करता हूँ और जिस के बारे में समय समय पर मैं सदन का ध्यान आकर्षित करता रहा हूँ, मेरी यह शिकायत रही है कि उस की ओर पूरा ध्यान नहीं दिया गया है। लेकिन अब मैं बड़े संतोष के साथ कहना चाहता हूँ कि पिछले तीन चार महीनों में जो तैयारियाँ की जा रही हैं, उन से वहाँ की जनता का मनोबल, जो कि पहले ही ऊँचा था, और भी ऊँचा हो गया है। मैं यह तो नहीं कहता कि जो तैयारियाँ हैं, वे पर्याप्त हैं। तथ्य यह है अभी भी उन में और ज्यादा तेजी लाने की आवश्यकता है। इस भ्रवसर पर मैं केवल इतना ही कहना चाहता हूँ कि उस इलाके की जनता देश के रक्षा मंत्री जी और देश की सरकार को यह आश्वासन देना चाहती है, जैसा कि उत्तर प्रदेश के मुख्य मंत्री जी ने दिल्ली की एक आम सभा में घोषित किया था, कि जब तक गढ़वाल और कुमाऊँ का एक भी व्यक्ति जीवित है, तब तक चीनी सेनाएँ आगे नहीं बढ़ सकतीं। वहाँ की जनता हर प्रकार से लड़ने के लिए तैयार है, चाहे सेना उस की सहायता करे या न करे क्योंकि उन्हें तो अपने घरों की रक्षा करनी है। उस क्षेत्र में हजारों लाखों की संख्या में भूतपूर्व सैनिक रहते हैं, जिन्होंने प्रथम और द्वितीय विश्व-युद्धों में नामवरी हासिल की थी। वे स्वयं और उन की सन्तान संकट के समय कभी भी देश को छोड़ा नहीं देंगे।

श्रीमन्, लेकिन हम को उन की कठिनाइयों पर भी कुछ ध्यान देना होगा। अभी मुझ से पहले कुछ आदरणीय मित्रों ने एक दूसरी रक्षा-संकेत का सुझाव दिया है। इस सम्बन्ध में मैं विशेष तौर पर यह निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि हमारे भूतपूर्व सैनिकों को लड़ाई का बड़ा अनुभव है और वे पहले भी बड़े साहस का प्रदर्शन कर चुके हैं। इसलिए इस भ्रवसर पर उन की सेवाओं का सदुपयोग किया जाना चाहिए। उन में से कुछ को ज़रूर सेना में दोबारा बुला लिया गया है, जिस के लिए मुझे

बड़ा संतोष और प्रसन्नता है, लेकिन अभी भी उन में से हजारों व्यक्ति ऐसे हैं, जिन की कि बाहें फड़क रही हैं, जो चाहते हैं कि उन के हाथों में हथियार दिये जायें, ताकि वे अपने देश की रक्षा में हाथ बंटा सकें। अतः सरकार को उन की उन भावनाओं का आदर करना चाहिए और उन की सेवाओं का सदुपयोग किया जाना चाहिए।

श्रीमन्, इस सम्बन्ध में मैं माननीय रक्षा मंत्री महोदय का ध्यान एक बड़ी समस्या की ओर दिलाना चाहता हूँ। भूतपूर्व सैनिकों में एक बड़ा भारी वर्ग उन लोगों का है, जिन्होंने आजाद हिन्द फौज में कार्य किया था। लगभग बाइस हजार उन की संख्या है, जिन में से दो-छाई हजार तो मेरे निर्वाचन-क्षेत्र के ही निवासी हैं। उन में से दो तीन तो यहाँ माननीय मंत्री हैं, उन में से कुछ को बड़े बड़े पदों पर ले लिया गया है, उन को जगह जगह नौकरियों में खपा दिया गया है; गृह मंत्रालय ने पिछले दिनों एक आदेश निकाला कि राजनीतिक पीड़ितों को जो सुविधायें दी जाती हैं, वही सुविधायें उन को भी दी जायें। यह सब कुछ ठीक है, लेकिन एक कलंक का टीका उन के माथे पर अभी भी लगा हुआ है और वह यह है कि उन का बकाया हिसाब अभी तक उन को नहीं दिया गया है। करीब एक करोड़ रुपये का हिसाब बतलाया जाता है। वह अभी तक क्यों नहीं दिया जा रहा है—यह मेरी समझ में नहीं आता। मैं कई बार इस प्रश्न को इस सदन में उठा चुका हूँ। मैं माननीय रक्षा मंत्री जी से यह निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि वह इस समस्या पर नये सिरे से विचार करें।

इस मांग के विरुद्ध दो तर्क दिये जाते हैं। कहा जाता है कि समय बहुत हो गया है। मैं उदाहरण देना चाहता हूँ कि सन् १९३० में पेशावर-कांड हुआ था, जहाँ गढ़वाली सैनिकों ने हथियार चलाने से इन्कार कर दिया था और उन का कोर्ट मार्शल हुआ था।

१९५६ में अर्थात् २६ वर्ष बाद उन का हिसाब दिया गया था। इस का रिकार्ड मौजूद है। ये लोग १९४५ में डिस्पर्स किये गये थे और अभी १७ या १८ साल का ही समय हुआ है। इसलिए उन का हिसाब उन को दिया ही जाना चाहिए।

मुझे विश्वस्त सूत्र से यह बताया गया है कि दूसरा तर्क यह दिया जाता है कि आजाद हिन्द फौज के लिए देश में लाखों रुपये जमा हुए थे और वे उन को दिये जा चुके हैं। मैं आप को बताना चाहता हूँ कि जहाँ तक पेशावर-कांड का सम्बन्ध है, स्वर्गीय पंडित मोतीलाल नेहरू जी ने सारे देश को अपील की थी और "गढ़वाल दिवस" मनाया गया था तथा बहुत से रुपये उन की सहायता के लिए दिये गये थे। तब यह तर्क उन के विरुद्ध क्यों नहीं दिया गया? माननीय प्रधान मंत्री जी शायद इस बारे में कोई राय दे चुके हैं। पर माननीय रक्षा मंत्री जी से अनुरोध करूंगा कि वह इस प्रश्न पर गंभीरता से विचार करने की कृपा करें और शीघ्र अनुकूल निर्णय करें।

श्रीमन्, यहाँ पर बहुत से माननीय सदस्यों ने इस ओर माननीय रक्षा मंत्री जी का ध्यान दिलाया है कि नेफ्रा और अन्य क्षेत्रों में हमारी से बड़ी कमजोरी यह रही कि ऐसे सबों को वहाँ भेजा गया, जिन को ट्रेनिंग लोहीं थी, जो अभ्यस्त और ऐक्लिमेटाइड नहीं थे। इस बारे में कुछ विचार जिडनहुजा रहा है, यह प्रसन्नता की बात है याकन इस दिशा में मुझे संतोष नहीं है। इकबारे में सब से बड़ी दो आवश्यकतायें हैं। सए तो यह है कि जो लोग पहले से अभ्यस्त हैं, जो वहाँ रह चुके हैं, जो वहाँ की टैरेन को जानते हैं, ऐसे अधिक से अधिक लोगों को लिया जाये। शिकायतें आ रही हैं कि जो लोग भर्ती के दफ्तर में जाते हैं, उन को पूरी संख्या में नहीं लिया जा रहा है। अतः इस सम्बन्ध में खुला आदेश होना

चाहिए और अधिक उदारता से उन को लिया जाना चाहिए।

कुछ माननीय सदस्य ने भी इस संबंध में ध्यान दिलाया है—मुझे क्षमा करें—कि हमारे अनेक अफसरों में कुछ अभ्याशी का माद्दा, कुछ लखनवीपन, कुछ नज़ाकत आ गई है।

श्री यशपाल सिंह : अब नहीं है, पहले थी।

श्री भक्त बशान : मैं आप के सामने उदाहरण देना चाहता हूँ कि सेला के मोर्चे पर जब हमारे सैनिक पीछे हट रहे थे, तो उन्हें हमारे कुछ अफसरों को अपने कंधों पर लाना पड़ा अर्थात् उन की यह हालत गई थी कि वे चल भी नहीं सकते थे। मैं सब की बात नहीं करता। मैं किसी अफसर विशेष को दोष नहीं देता। पर इस का असली कारण यह है कि हम ने उन को आवश्यक ट्रेनिंग नहीं दी, तथा उन को इन परिस्थितियों का अभ्यस्त नहीं बनाया। मुझे बताया गया कि हमारे दुश्मन, चीन, के सैनिकों को एक एक दिन में तीस तीस मील पहाड़ों पर दौड़ाया जाता है और उन के अफसर आगे आगे चलते हैं। वे लोग बिना खाये-पीये अपने हाथ में सतू, चावल और चाय की बोतल लिए हुए दिन भर मार्च करते हैं। उन को इतनी कड़ी ट्रेनिंग दी जाती है अतः हमारे अफसरों और जवानों को भी इसी तरह की सख्त ट्रेनिंग की जरूरत है। उन को जरा कठोर बनाया जाना चाहिए और उन में जो कोमलपन और मुलायमियत आ गई है, उस को दूर करना चाहिए।

इमर्जेन्सी कमीशन के सम्बन्ध में कई शिकायतें की जा रही हैं। एक तो यह है कि जो पब्लिक स्कूल के लड़के अंग्रेजी में गिट पिट बोल सकते हैं, उन को एकदम भरती किया जाता है। यहाँ तक शिकायतें आ रही हैं—मैं इस बारे में कोई उदाहरण तो नहीं

[श्री भक्त दर्शन]

दे सकता—कि बड़े-बड़े लोगों की सिफारश पर प्रिलिमिनरी सिलेक्शन में लोग लिए जा रहे हैं। अतः मेरा सुझाव है कि जो लोग पहले फ़ीज में सैनिक रह चुके हैं, जो उस अग्नि-परीक्षा से निकल चुके हैं, उन में से जो क्वालिफ़ाइड हों, सब से पहले उन को लिया जाये। उस के बाद जो एन० सी० सी० और टैरीटोरियल आर्मी में कार्य कर चुके हैं, उन को लिया जाये और उस के बाद ओपन मार्केट से लोगों को लिया जाये।

अध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं अर्धित समय नहीं लेना चाहता। मैं आशा करता हूँ कि रक्षा मंत्री महोदय मेरे सुझावों पर विचार करेंगे।

Shri Rishang Keishing (Outer Manipur): As the House is aware, during the second world war there was fighting in the eastern frontier of our country. Though it was a fight between the Allied forces and the Japanese, to many of us it was a fight between two forces of India, one the British Indian Army and the other the Indian National Army under the leadership of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose.

The tribal people saw with their own eyes the fighting quality of the Indian armed forces. They built up their confidence and faith in the Indian nation through these people. Therefore, I can say with pride that the integration of these people i.e. their willingness to become nationals of India was quickened by the image of India they formed through the Indian fighting forces. That was one great effect of the second world war. Recently, after coming into contact with this nation and after living as citizens of the nation, we had a serious setback, as a result of our armed forces' reverses in NEFA. Let us not for a moment believe that the reverses have had no effect on the

tribal people. Their faith has been fatally shaken. The image of India which they formed in their mind has become blurred. No amount of propaganda, publicity or lectures will remove that.

In this connection, I would like to make a few suggestions. The tribal people are sturdy, courageous, war-like people. They do not believe in words. they believe in action. We have to prove to them in action that we are equally good, if not superior to the enemies who for some time occupied this area. To do this, the country must take immediate practical steps.

Firstly, we have to restore the faith of those people. We have to recruit the tribal people living in that area, who are acquainted with the terrain and who are living at 8,000 and 10,000 feet above the sea level, who can easily match the Chinese in the army. It is but proper that immediate action should be taken to recruit a large number of tribal young people to the Indian Army.

Secondly, we must create some frontier forces for these areas. There are already some forces like the Assam Rifles and the Manipur Rifles in existence. Where they are in existence, they should be strengthened, and where they are not in existence, as for instance in Nagaland, immediate steps should be taken to form such regiments or rifles.

Thirdly, I would like to suggest that local people should be armed. You may call it Home Guards or whatever you like. People living in the strategic frontier areas should be properly armed. With this they will have the self faith that they have not to look upon some other people for the protection of these areas, but they themselves have to do the job. That confidence they will have. If a large number of young people from the tribals are in the army, though the area is occupied by the enemy for

some time, they will believe that a day will come when their own young men in the army will surely come back and reoccupy those areas. We have to build up and instill that confidence into the minds of these people.

That is not enough. We must build a network of roads, bring our tanks and artillery into those areas. By seeing these things, the people there will think that they are really better than the Chinese.

Progress in road construction has been very poor. The Border Roads Organisation is there, but the work executed by it has been very expensive and money has not been properly utilised. Today in every State, for example in NEFA, Manipur, Nagaland and Assam, the State Governments are taking up road construction, but there is no co-ordination. For example there is hardly any road which goes through Nagaland to Manipur. Every State is building its own roads independently of the others. In times of need, these roads will not be very useful. So, I would like to suggest to the Defence Minister that steps should be taken to co-ordinate construction of roads in this area.

Another very depressing thing is this. The tribal people have got a large number of arms, mostly .12 bore and muzzle-loading guns, but I do not know what the ordnance factories are doing, they are lying idle, because no gunpowder, no cartridges are available. If gunpowder and cartridges are available at cheap rates and in abundance, they can, with these weapons, to some extent defend themselves. Up to this time we have not been able to do this.

We have started Home Guards, but they cannot be armed. Even the Manipur Rifles cannot be armed. They cannot be supplied with rifles. This is a very sad thing, and the tribal people are really discouraged. They ask: "If Government cannot produce gunpowder, cartridges and rifles, are you sure that India has been able to

manufacture aeroplanes?" Therefore, I would request the Defence Minister to take every steps to remove these doubts, and show them that we can do better and that we are mightier than the Chinese people, that the same old fighting forces which they saw with their own eyes during the Second World War are today in the Indian Army. We have to prove once again to the tribals.

Let us not for a moment think that recruitment means giving employment to unemployed persons. Today a large number of young chaps who do not have any aptitude for the army, who have no desire to fight, are found in the army. If such people are asked to lead our jawans, they will simply bring demoralisation to our jawans. Therefore, some strict standards should be adhered to in the matter of recruitment.

The Second Battalion of Assam Regiments was disbanded for some offence which they committed against their commander and many of them were put in jail. In October last I made a representation to the Prime Minister asking him to kindly release these people, who are mostly tribals of the frontier areas and to send them to the front. I do not know if any action has been taken on that. I again make this request to the hon. Defence Minister that they should be released from jail and sent to the front.

We often recruit officers who indulge in corruption. In the border areas we hear of petrols or arms sold out by our own Armed Forces or personnel belonging to the Armed Forces. This leads to a lot of discouragement among the local people and they ask: is the Indian Army so corrupt? I do not want to name any person but I also aware of these things. He should see that such corruption does not take place in the Armed Forces.

Lastly, I submit that the relationship between the civilians and the army personnel must be properly established. According to my infor

[Shri Rishang Keishing]

mation from the border people, the Chinese behaved excellently; there was no assault on the womenfolk. But there have been some cases in NEFA where women have been surrounded and teased by our jawans; there has been a case where a cow was killed by some local people and they were beaten up by jawans and a gentleman in serious condition is lying in hospital. Such reports are there. These things should be set right and proper relationship should be established.

It is good that we should not do anything that will demoralise our armed forces, or lower their morale. At the same time we should also expect our Armed Forces to show us some results. Why were the Naga hostiles who were coming from Burma not detected or arrested or stopped? In Manipur area, the local people informed our Army. When the hostiles passed through a particular place, where an army outpost was established they withdrew and they were allowed to pass. After they had passed the outpost, the Army came back. One brigade of Indian Army was lifted by air for that purpose and I do not know how much it cost them. So many aeroplanes were engaged. Our Armed Forces' operation against the Naga hostiles has not been a success. Such as the reverses that we suffered at the hands of the Chinese should not be allowed to be repeated.

Mr. Speaker: Shri Vishwa Nath Pandey may take five or six minutes.

श्री विश्वनाथ पाण्डेय (सलेमपुर) :
अध्यक्ष महोदय, कई माननीय सदस्यों ने प्रतिरक्षा मंत्रालय के सम्बन्ध में अपन विचार प्रकट किया है। इस देश के अन्तर जो सीमान्त प्रदेश आते हैं, उन की हमारे बहादुर भारतीय फौज ने, जवान सिपाहियों ने रक्षा की है, लद्दाख और नेफा के मोर्चे पर बड़ी बहादुरी के साथ राष्ट्र की रक्षा की है। जो बहादुरी उन्होंने ने वहाँ दिखाई

है, उस के कारण उन के नाम अमर हो गए हैं और इतिहास में स्वर्णक्षरों में लिखा जायेगा। भारतवर्ष के जवानों का इतिहास पुनीत है। इस देश में राणा प्रताप और शिवाजी हो चुके हैं।

प्रतिरक्षा मंत्रालय के सम्बन्ध में ही कहा जा सकता है कि गत वर्ष इस ने बड़ा ही प्रशंसनीय कार्य किया है। हमारे सैनिकों को नेफा के अन्दर कुछ इलाकों से हटना पड़ा, कुछ कमजोरी की वजह से या और किसी कारण से, तो उस का यह अर्थ नहीं हो सकता है कि उन्होंने ने वहाँ उत्तम कार्य नहीं किया है। जब कभी देश के अन्दर अकाल पड़ा, बाढ़ आये या रेलवे दुर्घटना हुई, हमारे सैनिकों ने वहाँ जा कर बड़ा प्रशंसनीय काम किया। देश के अन्दर ही नहीं, विदेशों में जा कर उन्होंने ने बड़ी प्रशंसा का काम किया है। अभी मातृभूमि का एक अंग, गोआ, डामन और ड्यू, जो पुर्तगाल के हाथ में था उस की भी जा कर उन्होंने ने रक्षा की और उसे भी भारत माता के साथ मिला दिया। परन्तु मुझे यह नहीं भूलना चाहिए, इस सदन को भी नहीं भूलना चाहिए कि चीनियों ने हिमालय के द्वारा आप के देश पर आक्रमण किया। हिमालय सिर्फ भारतवर्ष का भूखंड ही नहीं है बल्कि हमारे देश की संस्कृति, गरिमा और प्रतिष्ठा भी हिमालय से ही निकलती है। देश का खून और हड्डी हिमालय से बनी है। अगर हिमालय हिन्दुस्तान का नहीं है तो हिन्दुस्तान निर्जीव है। यह मंत्रालय उसी तरीके से है जैसे शरीर में प्राण होता है। रक्षा मंत्रालय किसी भी राष्ट्र के लिये वैसे ही होता है जैसे कि शरीर के लिये प्राण होता है। अगर हमारा रक्षा मंत्रालय सुदृढ़ न हो, मजबूत न हो, तो देश की रक्षा नहीं हो सकती है।

अभी हमारे माननीय सदस्य ने कहा कि इस मंत्रालय को आक्रमणकारी होना चाहिए।

यह बात सही है, लेकिन यह मंत्रालय आक्रमण-कारी तभी हो सकता है जब वह सुदृढ़ हो, ताकतवर हो। जब तक वह ताकतवर नहीं होगा तब तक कुछ नहीं हो सकता है। जिस किसी विदेश से सहायता मिले उसे हम को लेना चाहिये, लेकिन जब तक देश स्वतः मजबूत नहीं होता है तब तक देश की रक्षा नहीं हो सकती। अभी आप ने देखा कि क्यूबा में क्या हुआ। छुइचेव का रशिया मजबूत है इस में कोई शक नहीं, लेकिन अमरीका भी मजबूत है, और अमरीका की मजबूती के कारण रशिया क्यूबा से हट गया।

आज भारतवर्ष की जो स्थल सीमा है वह कई हजार मील है तथा समुद्री सीमा भी कई हजार मील है। इसलिये आवश्यक है कि वायु सेना, स्थल सेना और नौ सेना, तीनों की तरक्की होनी चाहिये। लेकिन कोई भी देश, चाहे उस के अन्दर कितनी ही नौ सेना हो, कितनी ही वायुसेना हो, कितनी ही स्थल सेना हो, अपनी रक्षा नहीं कर सकता है जब तक देश के अन्दर लोगों का मनोबल ऊंचा न हो। मनोबल तब ऊंचा हो सकता है जब देश के अन्दर जागृति हो। हिन्दुस्तान में ४४ करोड़ आदमी बसते हैं, उन सब का कर्तव्य है कि वे मिल कर देश की रक्षा करें। मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि हमारा जो रक्षा मंत्रालय है, देश उस के साथ है। लेकिन एक चीज मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि चाइना की रण नीति ऐसी है कि उस ने रण स्थल के अन्दर अपने जवानों को झोंक दिया, सारी जनशक्ति लगा दी। वे तब तक लड़ते रहते हैं जब तक कि दुश्मन के गोले खत्म न हो जायें। ऐसी स्थिति में आप का कर्तव्य हो जाता है कि आप के पास इतना सामान हो कि उन के जितने भी सैनिक आयें आप उन को मार भगायें, आप के पास इतनी स्थल सेना होनी चाहिये कि उन की फौजों का आप मुकाबला कर सकें। अगर उन के पास २५ लाख फौज हो तो आप के पास ६० लाख होनी चाहिये,

अगर उन के पास १ करोड़ फौज हो तो आप के पास २ करोड़ होनी चाहिये। इसी तरह से विजय आप की हो सकती है। विजय आप की होगी, इस में कोई शक नहीं है। जब यहां हमारे च्वहाण साहब पधारे हुए हैं जो कि जसवंत हैं, बलवन्त हैं और छत्रपति शिवाजी के अनुगामी हैं तब विजय आप के हाथ में अवश्य है। लेकिन यह विजय तभी होगी जब जनता का मनोबल ऊंचा हो।

इस के साथ साथ एक चीज मैं और भी कहना चाहता हूँ कि :

“भूखे भजन न होय गोपाला”

यह एक देहाती कहावत है। जो आप के सैनिक नेफा और लहाख के मोर्चे पर १६,००० और १८,००० फीट की ऊंचाई पर लड़ रहे हैं, बर्फ और जाड़े में लड़ रहे हैं, अपना घर छोड़ कर अपनी जानों की बाजी लगा कर लड़ रहे हैं, उन की मुख सुविधा का ध्यान रखा जाना चाहिये। यदि वे उस स्थल पर रह कर अपने घरों की तरफ देखें कि उन के बच्चे कैसे रहेंगे, वे शिक्षा पा सकेंगे या नहीं, तो हमारा काम ठीक से नहीं हो सकता है। इसलिये आवश्यक है कि उन के बच्चों के पढ़ने का आप इन्तजाम करें, और जो सैनिक सेवा से मुक्त हों उन के लिये आप काम दें।

अन्त में मैं यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि इस देश का इतिहास यह बतलाता है कि जब भी इस देश की पराजय हुई तो यहां के लोगों के कारण ही हुई। यहां के पंचमांगियों के कारण पराजय हुई। यहां पर जयचन्दों का काम नहीं है और जयचन्दों पर हम को विशेष ध्यान रखने की आवश्यकता है। आप का गुल्तचर विभाग इतना मजबूत होना चाहिये, इतना ताकतवर होना चाहिये जिस से आप इन पंचमांगियों से बच सकें।

इन शब्दों के साथ जो अनुदान हमारे प्रतिरक्षा मंत्रालय के द्वारा सदन के सामने रखा गया है, उन का मैं अनुमोदन करता हूँ।

अध्यक्ष महोदय : अब श्री हेम राज भी दो चार मिनट में कुछ बोल लें ।

श्री हेमराज (कांगड़ा) : अध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं आप से माफी चाहता हूँ । मैं दो चार मिनट के लिये बाहर गया हुआ था इसलिये जब मेरा नाम पुकारा गया तो मैं यहाँ पर खड़ा नहीं हो सका ।

आज जो डिस्कशन हुआ है उस में जहाँ मैं मंत्रालय को बधाई देता हूँ वहाँ च्वहाण साहब को भी इस लिये बधाई देता हूँ कि जिस समय नेफा में हमारी रिवर्सेज हुई उस के बाद उन की नियुक्ति हुई तो मुल्क के अन्दर एक विश्वास पैदा हुआ कि हमारी हार नहीं हो सकती । यह मैं कोई गलत बात नहीं कह रहा हूँ । जहाँ यह हुआ वहाँ उसी के साथ साथ जवानों के अन्दर भी यह चीज पैदा हो गई कि उन के सिर पर एक ऐसे आदमी ने हाथ रक्खा है जो उन को जीत की तरफ ले जायेगा ।

यह ठीक है कि, जिस तरह से मुझ से पहले बोलने वाले माननीय सदस्य ने कहा है, चाइना जो है उसने पन्द्रह सालों में तैयारी की, दूसरी तरफ पाकिस्तान है उसने दस सालों में तैयारी की । एक ने सामान लिया रशिया से और दूसरे ने सामान लिया है अमरीका से । यह ठीक है कि इन दोनों सीमाओं के पार जो लोग हैं उनकी जो तैयारी है उसको देखते हुये हमें उनका मुकाबला करना है । इसके लिये हमने जो भी लक्ष्य इस समय रक्खा है, उसको हमें पूरा करना है । यह ठीक है कि उनको पूरा करने के लिये आपने छः डिवीजन कायम करने की बात सोची है । लेकिन मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि यदि उनकी फौज २५ लाख की है तो कम से कम दूसरी बड़ी लड़ाई से पहले जो हमारी फौज थी उतना तो उसका नम्बर हो जाना चाहिये ताकि हम किसी तरह से चीन का मुकाबला कर सकें ।

आज मुझ से पहले जो वक्ता बोले हैं उन्होंने सोल्जर्स की जो कंडिशन है उन के

बारे में कुछ सजेसन दिये हैं । मैं भी दो तीन सजेसन देना चाहता हूँ, उनके लिये ज्यादा वक्त नहीं लूंगा । पहली बात तो यह है कि आप के जो फौज का कंसट्रेशन है वे पठानकोट में हैं । पठानकोट एक तरफ से पाकिस्तान से लगता है । माउनटेनियरिंग बारफेअर और जंगल बारफेअर जो हैं उसके लिये आपका डिस्पसल नहीं है । इस बारे में मुझे यह कहना है कि जो जम्मू से लेकर कांगड़ा हिमाचल तक डोगरा एरिया है उसके किनारे किनारे धीलाधार है । उसकी ऊंचाई १० हजार से १५ हजार फीट तक है । उसके साथ ही मेन रोड है जो कि पठानकोट से कुल्लू तक चलता है । मैं चाहता हूँ कि इसका डिस्पसल करें । माउनटेनियरिंग की ट्रेनिंग के लिये वह सब से बेहतरीन इलाका साबित हो सकता है और आपकी छावनियाँ अलहिलाल तक बन सकती हैं, ट्रेनिंग सेंटर्स बन सकते हैं पलमपुर में और बैजनाथ में । योल कैम्प जो है..... (Interruptions) आप को लड़ाई नहीं लड़नी है, लड़ाई तो डोगरों को लड़नी है । यह मैं इस वास्ते कह रहा हूँ कि जो डोगरा लोग हैं उन की जो अपनी फाइटिंग क्वालिटीज हैं वह सारे देश में पूरी तरह से रोशन हैं मैं समझता हूँ कि डोगरा एरियाज में एक या दो सैनिक स्कूल होने चाहियें । आप के यहाँ जो डोगरा फौज में हैं उन की तादाद लाखों तक जाती है । मैं चाहता हूँ कि उनके बच्चों के लिये वहाँ पर सैनिक स्कूल हो जायें और मिलिटरी कालेज हो जायें । यह जो लोग हैं अगर वहाँ पर उनकी लोकल मिलीशिया बन जाय तो उससे आपको और फायदा हो सकेगा । हमारे घर घराट जो हैं वे उन के किनारे पड़ते हैं । हमारे घर घराट जो हैं हमें उनकी हिफाजत करनी है । अगर वहाँ पर लोकल मिलीशिया बन जायेगी तो आप की सरहद महफूज होती चली जायेगी । मैं अर्ज करना चाहता हूँ कि उस इलाके में इन दोनों चीजों की तरफ जरूर ख्याल किया जाय । वहाँ मिलिटरी कालेज बनाइये, ट्रेनिंग स्कूल

कायम कीजिये, मैनिंक स्कूल कायम कीजिये । जो हमारे बहुत से फौजी भाई हैं वह इस तरह के सजेसनस भी दे चुके हैं । यहाँ पर श्री इकबाल सिद्द ने भी दिये हैं ।

जो आपके जे० सी० प्रोज हैं और एन० सी० प्रोज हैं उनका हमेशा ताल मेल अपने उपर के आफिसर्स से होता है और प्रो० ब्रासं जवान होते हैं उनसे ताल मेल भी होता है । अंग्रेजी के जमाने में उनका ताल मेल पूरा चलता था लेकिन वह ताल मेल आज टूट पड़ा है । चूँकि उन की ट्रेनिंग लड़ाई के लिये हो चुकी है इसलिये उनमें से इमरजेंसी कमिशन के लिये आदमी लिये जाने चाहियें । और सारी पोस्ट्स में से ५० फी सदी, या मैं तो कहूँगा कि ७५ फी सदी तक पोस्ट्स उनके लिये होनी चाहियें क्योंकि वे अच्छे आफिसर्स होंगे और ट्रेड होंगे । वे लड़ाई के लिये पहले से तैयार हैं । मेरे भाई श्री भक्त बर्शन जी ने इस संबंध में जो कहा कि आफिसर्स आराम तलब हो गये हैं उसको मैं नहीं मानता हूँ कि ऐसी कोई चीज हो सकती है । इन् लिये मैं मानता हूँ कि उनके लिये परसेंटेज ज्यादा बढ़ा कर ५० परसेंट भी आगे ले जाना चाहिये ताकि आपके लिये बेहतरान अफसर मिल जायें ।

जहाँ तक ताल्लुक है एनक्वायरी का, मैं चाहता हूँ कि एनक्वायरी होनी चाहिये और उसका जो नतीजा हो उसके मुताबिक जिन अफसरों ने खराबी की हो उनके खिलाफ एक्शन लेना चाहिये ताकि बाकी लोगों में डिस्प्लिन रह सके । मैं यह नहीं कहता कि जरूर ही किसी के खिलाफ एक्शन लिया जाये । लेकिन जिनको गिल्टी पाया जाये उनके खिलाफ एक्शन लेने से आगे डिस्प्लिन कायम रहेगा और लोगों में जोश कायम रहेगा ।

इन शब्दों के साथ मैं अध्यक्ष महोदय आपको धन्यवाद देता हूँ कि बाबजूद मेरी गलती के आपने मुझे मौका दिया । इन डिमांड्स को सपोर्ट करता हूँ ।

अध्यक्ष महोदय : आपको चाँस न देता तो डोगरे कैस रिप्रेजेंट होते ।

The Minister would reply on Monday. The debate is otherwise concluded. The House stands adjourned to meet again on Monday.

18.31 hrs.

The Lok Sabha then adjourned till Eleven of the Clock on Monday, April 8, 1963|Chaitra 18, 1885 (Saka).