

Mr. Speaker: The question is:

"That in pursuance of the Ministry of Agriculture (now Food and Agriculture) Resolution No. F. 16-72/47-Policy, dated the 8th November, 1943, as amended to date, the Members of Lok Sabha do proceed to elect in such manner as the Speaker may direct, four Members from among themselves to serve as members of the National Food and Agriculture Organisation Liaison Committee for a period of three years."

The motion was adopted.

12.05 hrs.

DEMANDS FOR GRANTS—*contd.*
MINISTRY OF DEFENCE—*contd.*

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

Out of 8 hours allotted, 1 hour and 30 minutes have already been taken and 6 hours and 30 minutes remain.

Shri Bhagwat Jha Azad may now continue his speech.

Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath (Hoshangabad): Before the House resumes the discussion, may I renew the request I made last Saturday that the time allotted for the discussion of this Ministry's Demands for Grants might be increased from 8 hours to at least 10 hours, if not 12? You will recollect that the time allotted for the Demands of the Transport and Communications Ministry was increased with the consent of the House, and I am sure the House will agree to increase the time allotted for the discussion of the Demands of this Ministry as well.

Mr. Speaker: I have always one hour with me. That is my discretion. If the debate proceeds and I feel the necessity, I will consider it.

Shri Bhagwat Jha Azad (Bhagalpur): In the course of the three or four minutes that I had, I was stressing...

Mr. Speaker: He had 6 minutes. He should not be under the impression that he had taken less than that.

Shri Bhagwat Jha Azad: I am sorry.

In the few minutes that I had, I was stressing the fact that the morale and efficiency of our armed forces, as I have seen within the country and without, was up to the mark, and I was saying that we should equip our army to the best of our ability in the circumstances prevailing. Then I was saying that we were very much pained to know that a protest had been launched with Government when we proceeded with our efforts to obtain planes from the USSR. L said it was none of the business of any country to dictate policy to us.

Apart from the fact that I oppose it on this very principle, there are other reasons why we should go in for these 'planes from the USSR. To the best of my knowledge, these MIG 'planes are four times cheaper than the 'planes offered to us from other sources. We know that we not only want to go in for 10 or 20 pieces of these MIG 'planes, but want to set up a factory here to manufacture the same for our defence requirements, in collaboration with the USSR, as they are prepared to offer us technical know-how and other facilities for the purpose. Compared to these 'planes, the ones which are being offered to us by America are much more complicated and more costly—as I said, four times costlier. As regards payment, we have to pay America in terms of mighty dollars, but in the case of the MIG we need pay only in rupees or in some other way. Apart from these advantages in favour of the MIG, there is another important point if we purchase from America. Under American law, for the supply of any classified goods or articles, a

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team of experts should visit the country receiving the supply. If we buy 'planes from America, under this law a team of experts has to visit this country and inspect our defence organisation and examine our defence establishments in the country. I would like to know whether this country, Parliament, will allow them, whatever the American law may say, to examine our defence installations and defence apparatus. Also from past experience we know that each such expert from America costs us at least Rs. 8,000 per month, and we should consider whether we are going to incur this cost.

So considering all these things, it is to our advantage to go in for MIGs from the USSR. To the best of my knowledge, these 'planes are also easier to manufacture, apart from being cheaper. There is also another aspect. Are we going to accept this policy that America should make a present to the President of Pakistan supersonic fighters and then tell us, "Please accept matching ones from us? Shall we accept this principle? Every time the President of Pakistan visits the USA, he is presented with jet fighters, supersonic fighters. When we want to equip ourselves, not for aggressive purposes—everybody knows that we do not believe in arming ourselves; we believe in disarmament, our efforts have always been in that direction—but for defensive purposes when hostile forces are knocking at our doors, when Pakistan and China are threatening us, and when it is our duty to defend our motherland, this is what we are told. When we find that our neighbour is being supersonic fighters and when we want to equip our army, they say they would give us matching planes: If we accept them now and if they get the better ones the second time, then again they will come and say: please buy from us. Are we going to accept that position for our defence? The leader of the so-called free world dictates like this. I have supplied your neighbours these planes and I

am prepared to supply matching planes for your Defence. We were assured before that the American arms given to Pakistan would not be used against India and we know the worth of that assurance. Therefore, I beg of the Government on behalf of this country and this Parliament that they should go and purchase better and cheaper ones from anywhere in the world. The Defence Minister I think will take note of the resentment of this country and he has the approval of this Parliament to purchase such planes as are needed to equip our defence forces better.

Unfortunately, Sir, the comments in the American Press are linking this with the aid we are getting from them. Some of the Senators and other friends in America have said that they resent India purchasing arms from other countries. As the Prime Minister said yesterday, we do not accept aid from any country with strings. I think the American friends should understand the position better. It is not we who want to go in for any aggression. It is they who indirectly encouraged our neighbours to do such things. The evidence is very clear. Pakistan, it is known to everyday, is the aggressor in Kashmir. But till now the United States has never asked its friend to vacate that aggression. On the other hand, whenever we speak in the UN and other places about this aggression to be vacated, we are told our representative speaks in the U.N. in an aggressive way which does not please them. We cannot barter sovereignty like that.

We have always expressed our gratitude for the friendly aid that we have been getting but certainly we shall resent any such linking of the aid to this defence policy. Aid or no aid, we shall purchase arms for the defence of our country when we find that the hostile neighbours are there. The other day my hon. friend, Dr.

Ranen Sen said that China was no danger really but only Pakistan was the real danger. I do not know what authority he has to say so. When we see the long frontier of ours and the aggressive designs of China on that, we feel that China is a potential danger. There is no question of comparison between the two; both are equally hostile and we shall meet them, as the Defence Minister and the Prime Minister had said before, with all the power that we have. I am confident that the moment India resolves to act all these ridiculous scarecrows across our northern borders on the Chinese side will immediately disappear; they will melt away. When we are threatened by any aggression on our motherland the army and the air march that will be there will not be able to stand the onslaught from a democratic country; the army of the directors be it in Europe in the past or in China will never be able to withstand before a democratic country. I feel, therefore, that in the light of these two hostile neighbours, we are perfectly at liberty that we should have these things.

I will now refer to another point and that is about the relationship of labour in the Ministry of Defence. I know that not only we have to look up to better brigadiers and commanders but also to better jawans. I am happy that out of the sum of Rs. 11 crores that has been made available for pay and allowances, that has been put at the disposal of the Ministry, only Rs. 2 crores will go to the officers and Rs. 9 crores will go to the jawans. The other day, my hon. friend opposite said that labour relations in the Defence Ministry have been very bad. I think it is the other way. There are two federations. I have the privilege of being associated with one of them. I am glad that the Defence Ministry is not setting one federation against the other. It is trying to co-operate with the federations and trying to take all the advice from both the federations and thus the relationship of the federations with the Ministry is good.

We have found very recently that 80 per cent of the present staff, both in industrial and the non-industrial field, are going to be permanent, and that will result in 90 per cent of the present staff being permanent. Therefore it is a good sign. The storekeepers and store-men are also going to be promoted. The grade-structures have also been revised. But, with all this thing, I would only make one point to which I would like to draw the attention of the hon. Minister of Defence. That is, in the name of implementing the recommendations of the Pay Commission, it should not go to victimise the small percentage of supervisory staff who are there in the establishment. I have drawn his attention to this point, and I am happy he is looking into it. I hope that this supervisory staff who are going to be retrenched or dispensed with will not be sent away, and that whatever order has been issued will be withdrawn.

I will now refer to another point, namely, that our ordnance factories in the Defence Ministry are doing good work, as will be evident from the value of the goods that they have produced. We know that in 1956-57, these factories produced both for our services and for civilian use, Rs. 14 crores worth of goods. But in the current year, they have produced Rs. 40 crores worth of goods. It is thus two and a half times more. It is said that in the coming year they are going to increase it by Rs. 10 crores. That they are doing good work is also still more clear from another aspect. In regard to the purchase of stores, in 1959-60, Rs. 57 crores worth were from inside the country and Rs. 57 crores worth were from outside the country. But, at present, it is only Rs. 48 crores from outside and Rs. 97 crores—just double—from inside the country. Therefore, the previous ratio of 1:1—half and half—has now become 1:2. The purchase from internal sources has thus become double.

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

Shri Bhagwat Jha Azad: I would just like to make one point about audit. It is a good thing that audit should be there; there should be a strict vigilance, and the watchdogs should be there to see that the money is not squandered away. But there is one thing about which I am surprised. I went through the audit report on defence very hurriedly this morning. I find that sometimes some small points are taken and then they are highlighted. For instance, just for a small weapons in the army like Rocket Launcher", an order was placed in 1956-57. In 1958 the orders were issued for a modification. According to audit, it meant an instructuous expenditure of just Rs. 1.57 lakhs. But they have made a huge point about this. I would like to say that such things will have to be considered in the proper light.

In the end, I would like once again to congratulate the Army for the morale and efficiency that they have shown both inside and outside the country.

Shri Krishnapal Singh (Jalesar): Mr. Speaker, Sir, my object in saying a few words in this subject is not that I would like to create a war fever or that we ask the Government to declare war at once. My object simply is to prove that we are not at present prepared to meet the aggression which threatens us.

In the beginning of the last war—World War II—the commander-in-chief, I think it was Lord Rowlinson, was asked to send a contingent of the Indian Army overseas, and he refused to do it. He said to send ill-trained and ill-equipped soldiers to the theatre of war would be like leading sheep to slaughter. It is, therefore, that I emphasise on the need for not only increasing our armed forces, but on equipping them with the best of equipment and the best of arms. On several occasions, civilian governments have been accused of letting down the soldiers. I will read out a quotation from a well-known authority, who has made the point very clear. I

would like to draw the attention of the Defence Minister to what he has said. He says:

"Again and again, military men have seen themselves hurled into war by the ambitions, passions and blunders of Civilian Governments, almost wholly unformed as to the limits of their military potential and almost recklessly indifferent to the military requirements of the war they let loose."

It is therefore my object to emphasise on the Ministry of Defence that this should not be said about our present Government.

We have two potential unfriendly neighbours, one on the west and the second on the north. We have excellent fighting material. We can depend entirely on our soldiers to put in their best, provided we give them what they need. I say that we are not doing it. We have one of the best fighting material, if not the best, in the world. But what are we doing for it? I accuse the Defence Ministry of carelessness and not asserting themselves and not demanding more finances and more money during the last ten years or so, to increase the strength of our armed forces and for equipping them in a suitable manner. I think that is a charge which can be levelled legitimately against them and I hope in the shortest possible time they would try to remedy this defect.

Only yesterday we were criticising our Ambassador in America that he had said something which was not very complimentary to our Defence Ministry. I agree that he was rather indiscreet in what he said, but I would also say that there was quite a lot of truth in what he said. I hope that the present Defence Ministry will take every step to remedy this defect in the shortest possible time.

Another well-known authority, Field Marshal Montgomery, says:

"When great forces assemble for battle, it is obvious that the

armies must be properly equipped and supplied with the best possible weapons and equipment."

This is not only necessary for purposes of war; it is also necessary for keeping our civic institutions protected. It is the opinion of no less a man than Field Marshal Van Moltke, the well-known soldier of the First World War. He says:

"The army is the most outstanding institution in every country, for it alone makes possible the existence of all civic institutions."

It is not only for the sake of war but for the preservation of the civic institutions that we should strengthen our armed forces, we should see that our defence is strong. After all, what is the good of spending hundreds and hundreds of crores of rupees on planning, building this, building that, establishing factories and establishing steel plants if our borders are not secure, if we cannot defend ourselves from aggression? Whom are we building all these things for? Are we building all these for the benefit of the aggressor? Look at our dams, the huge dams which we have constructed. They will not be an asset the moment an aggressor comes across; they will be a liability. During the last war when Singapore was attacked by the Japanese one of the first thing which was bombarded was a big reservoir of water. We happened? The entire area was flooded with the result that the surrender came much too earlier than otherwise would have happened. Imagine Sir a situation in which an unfriendly neighbour is able to destroy one of our dams with the most modern weapon. What will happen. Take the case of our Bhakra Dam. The whole of the Punjab will be inundated, all work would be paralysed and there will be enormous loss of life and loss of property. Similar would be the case with any other dam. They would prove to be a great liability, rather than an asset.

Therefore, the first and foremost necessity is that our frontiers should be secure. We should not permit any country which is strong to commit aggression on us. We would be ready to protect ourselves against any aggression. That is what I want the Ministry of Defence to do. We should demand priority on our exchequer, in our purse, for purposes of defence. Every thing else should be of secondary importance. It is then that we may be able to build up our defence properly.

Now I would like to make a brief reference to our foreign policy, for the foreign policy is so closely inter-linked with the question of defence that one cannot be separated from the other. It is the foreign policy that creates problems, and it is the foreign policy which solves these problems. What is our foreign policy? Being a new Member, Sir, I am conscious that it is rather presumptuous on my part to criticise a department which is presided over by no less a man than our Prime Minister. But I feel that it is our duty to place the facts before this hon. House and before our own people.

What are we trying to do? Where is our foreign policy leading us to? Look back to Kashmir. What happens? There is aggression.

Mr. Speaker: This is a subject which is distinctly discussed and differently allocated. The hon. Minister would not be able to reply to those question of foreign policy that the hon. Member is now trying to raise.

Shri Krishnapal Singh: I will not refer to that. I will refer to Tibet. It is the betrayal of Tibet which has faced us with the problem in the North. It is now our relations with Nepal which are creating another problem. We had these two buffer States for centuries and no other power could have the courage of transgressing our borders without warning so long as we had these two countries as our

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buffer States. They could not have penetrated them. We have let down Tibet. Now we have given asylum to the Dalai Lama. What satisfaction..

Mr. Speaker: Order, Order. This reference could not be allowed.

Shri Krishnapal Singh: I bow to your ruling.

This is what the situation is. Before we assess our needs for defence we must examine what the problem is with which we are faced. As I have said before, on the West we have an unfriendly neighbour like Pakistan. We may have some satisfaction that after all Pakistan only spends about one-third of what we do on our defence. It is perhaps right that Pakistan's forces are only one-third of our own. We can have that satisfaction. But what is the condition elsewhere? I would like the House to picture before it the situation on the Northern border and to see what we are faced with.

China at present has 35 infantry divisions of regular army. She has, in addition, three airborne divisions, one armoured division with a total strength of 2 million of regular army. They have 125 million men and 75 million women in the militia. The Navy consists of 300 vessels of all sizes including 20 submarines and 60 sub-chasers. In the Air Force they have 2,000 to 3,000 frontline aircraft. They are said to possess the most modern weapons including nuclear weapons.

Compared to them what do we have? I read a statement the other day in one of the papers made by one of our hon. Minister that it is the present Government's policy that they do not want to possess nuclear weapons. I cannot for the life of me understand why a Government should refuse to have nuclear weapons. What is the trouble? I can understand that they should

make an effort to impress upon nations that they should not make use of nuclear weapons. While we have unfriendly neighbours and when other countries possess them, why should they refuse to have nuclear weapons? We have the example of Japan before us. If during the last War Japan had possessed nuclear weapons her two cities would not have been bombarded. She would not have been at the mercy of other nations which wrought so much disaster on Japan. This is what the position is.

Now, Sir, nuclear weapons are not only required for aggression; they are a great deterrent. It is a part of modern strategy. If you do not have them for massive retaliation or attack the very possession of those weapons is a great deterrent against a neighbour making use of them. Therefore, Sir, I cannot understand the attitude of the Government in saying that they will not have nuclear weapons, because they are dangerous weapons.

Well, Sir, no weapon is not dangerous. Conventional weapons are equally dangerous. Even Nadir Shah's armies which were equipped with old type of weapons. When they invaded our country laid desolate this city. So, even conventional weapons, or any weapon for the matter of that, can be dangerous. During the last war, as we know, all the industrial countries, England, Germany and others had only conventional weapons. So, I say that if we cannot manufacture them, we should beg, borrow—I will not say steal, because you may say it is unparliamentary.

Mr. Speaker: If we ask the Government to steal, then we shall have to help them!

Shri Krishnapal Singh: I am sure that occasion will never arise. We can obtain them. We can manufacture them. I think we have quite a number of nuclear scientists who probably, if not now, at least within a

few years, may be able to manufacture these weapons. In the meanwhile, let us acquire them and let us be well prepared.

The other thing which I would like to mention is about conventional weapons. Let us improve them. I have no doubt we still have quite a number of obsolete or obsolescent type of conventional weapons in our armed forces. I refer to the old 303 rifles in the infantry. Anybody who has seen it or actually used them must know that it is a very good weapon. But now it has become completely obsolete. We must have, as Mr. Patnaik pointed out in the last debate, a lighter and a more handy weapon. Photographs which have come show that even the Chinese soldiers on the borders are equipped with automatic rifles. There are probably of several types. If it can be manufactured here, well and good. If not, we must try and acquire a really light and handy automatic rifle for our infantry.

There has been a good deal of talk about having an infantry gun or an infantry mortar, a big mortar for the support of our infantry. I do not know whether that need has been fulfilled. If it has been, good. If not, it should certainly be supplied to our armed forces.

Then, a very important item of equipment—which I doubt whether we possess, of the modern type—is the infra-red equipment. As you know, Sir, and as hon. Members of the House know, most of the operations, most of the movements during a war are carried out in the dark, during the night. And therefore an infra-red equipment is used by the forces, so that they cannot be observed but they can see the route or see the enemy positions. This equipment was evolved in the last stages of the Second World War. It was a very poor type with a limited range. I understand now that a very good, modern equipment was used in its manoeuvres recently by the British Army. One of the most necessary things to possess is a modern infra-red equipment.

I would like to say one word more in connection with nuclear weapons, which I had omitted. It is just possible that they may not be used even if we possess them.

Mr. Speaker: The hon. Member should finish within two minutes.

Shri Krishnapal Singh: Sir, it is very difficult for me to finish within two minutes all that I have still got to say. However, I will be very brief.

As I was saying, these weapons may never be used. During the last war, every important country possessed gases and bacteriological weapons. But they were not used, simply because every country possessed them. Similarly, if nuclear weapons are possessed by most of the countries, the chances are that they will never be used. Any country would think twice before it uses them.

Since my time-limit is coming to a close, I will just say one word more about the development of the border areas. They are so backward. The communications are such that probably our forces find it very difficult to move. The other point about them is that they are industrially very backward, so that if the enemy or, may I say, an unfriendly neighbour wants to demoralise the population by propaganda, there is plenty of room for it. Therefore we should develop them, more specially the NEFA and the Assam areas, and also U.P., Bihar and other border areas. We should construct roads and railway lines and we should develop industries and improve the economic condition of those areas.

In the end I will only read out a short quotation by a very moderate politician, but perhaps the most experienced—excepting perhaps Dr. M. S. Aney—namely Pandit Hriday Nath Kunzru who, after the late Sivaswami Ayyar, has always been considered a specialist on matters of defence. I will just read out his words. He uttered them in the Rajya Sabha when last

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year's budget was under discussion. He said:

"Either we should be in a position to provide adequately for the security of our country or, if we believe fully in non-violence, we should be prepared to disband our Defence Forces."

And he was perfectly right. Either we should adequately and properly equip our forces, or we should save the poor tax-payer of the burden of possessing an ill-equipped, ill-trained and inadequate force.

Shri Balkrishna Wasnik (Gondia): Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, I congratulate the Defence Minister on doing well in this Ministry. There is progress all over, and the defence forces are better in the hands of our worthy Minister.

There has, of course, been a lot of criticism against him, but I think that there is no basis for whatever criticism that has been there against him. Some Members have spoken, and some Members might also be speaking in this debate afterwards, and I know that there will be very harsh criticism. This criticism has gone to this depth that even people in our services, like the Ambassadors of our nation in other countries, have also been speaking bitter and untrue things against our Defence Minister.

It is a fact that our Defence Minister, while speaking here or elsewhere, does not speak only to please some country or other. But he always places the facts which are there in a true and dispassionate way. If this displeases some country or displeases somebody, I think it is not proper.

Our foreign policy or our defence policy should be such that it should not be harmful to our country. And the policy that is put forward by our Government and our Defence Minister is such that it is only helpful and good for our country. There is a

lot of criticism all over and, as I have said, there is no basis for such a criticism and there is no ground for such a kind of criticism to come forward.

Some people here and there say that our Defence Minister is a pro-Communist. This view has also been expressed, and it is frequently expressed in the United States. I should say that the people who call our Defence Minister pro-Communist should have the strength or the courage to call the Prime Minister of our country pro-Communist; because our Defence Minister says nothing else but what our Prime Minister and what our Government wants him to say. Therefore, the persons who criticise our Defence Minister in this way should be bold enough and should have the courage to criticise the Prime Minister and the policy of his Government. But, as it is, they have no courage, they have no boldness like this. If they want to say this kind of a thing, they won't be able to stand in this nation with the strength that they want. Therefore, they only want to criticise this Minister or that Minister. Generally, they do not criticise the policy. They accept the foreign policy; they accept the defence policy; they accept every policy. They accept the Plan and everything that this Government does. But, then, to weaken this Government, to weaken the strength of the Prime Minister or this Government, they want to criticise this Minister or that Minister, these words or those speeches or something like that. I think this is not going to do anything worth the name for the defence of this country. As I have said, the Defence Minister has done well in this Ministry. He has also well in increasing indigenous capacity to meet the vital needs of our defence forces. Also he was done well in increasing the capacity of our Ordnance factories. He has also started the manufacture of many

military things as well as civil things. The capacity which he has shown in producing civil and military things cheaply, with economy, has irrigated the private sector enterprisers and therefore, the private sector people are the worst critics of our Defence Minister. For example, take the trucks that we have produced so economically. We would have had to pay more had these trucks been manufactured privately by the private sector enterprises. Because they are being manufactured by our defence forces, by our Ordnance factories, they are cheaper. Because our Defence Minister is able to make our Ordnance factories compete with the private sector enterprises, and make them more efficient, more organised and work better, criticism from the private sector people comes for him. Therefore, we should not misunderstand our Defence Minister in any way. This is what I would like to say.

One hon. Member referred to nuclear weapons. Our policy about nuclear weapons is very clear and I think it is the correct policy. Not only are we ourselves not manufacturing them and not possessing them, but we are also leading with those who possess these weapons that they should not use them and they should do away with all these weapons. That is our policy. This is the good thing for humanity. In these circumstances, it is not good for any Member of this House to plead that our defence forces should also have nuclear weapons. It is not a proper thing for India. We have been pleading for the disposal of these nuclear weapons. Nuclear energy, if it has at all to be used, should be used for peaceful purposes, for the welfare of humanity and not for the destruction of humanity. Any kind of manufacture or possession of these nuclear weapons will only mean that they will be used for destruction of humanity and not for welfare of humanity. Therefore, I oppose the view of an hon. Member opposite that

our defence forces should also possess nuclear weapons.

I would like to make a very humble suggestion. We talk of national integration. But, the regiments or brigades in our Army are named after castes or communists or regions like Sikh Regiment or Hahar Regiment or Mehr Regiment. These names should be done away with and they should be given better names. There will be no meaning in retaining these names any longer because that does not show anything. There are names of almost every community or every caste. It cannot be said that we give the name of a particular community to a Regiment or brigade and we please that community or something like that. It is not so. This should be done away with. It is better that we take early steps to change these names and give better names. Caste, communal or regional names should not be given to our defence forces. These names, as you know well, have been given by the Britishers. It is not proper for us to retain those names after 14 or 15 years of Independence, after the Britishers have gone away from this land of ours.

I would also request the politicians of this country to keep the defence forces away from politics. All over, we see that our politicians, leaders from all over India, in the Opposite benches in the benches on the Government side also, try to interfere with the defence forces in a political way. I would say that if we want to bring politics into our defence forces, that would only weaken our defence forces and not strengthen them. Whoever they are, whether they are Opposition Members or Congress Members, I would only plead that politics of any kind should be kept away from our defence forces.

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

Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath: Mr. Speaker, on an occasion like this,

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when times are out of joint, when the House is earnestly engaged in the task of devising ways and means for the security, defence and preservation of the integrity of our country, if I move the cut motions standing in my name, numbers 25, 28 and 52—No. 5: failure to effectively guard the land frontiers of India, and preserve inviolate India's territorial integrity; 28: failure to make the nation conscious of danger and prepared for defence and the last one, failure to control and eliminate wasteful expenditure—if I move these cut motions.....

Mr. Speaker: That creates a difficulty for me. Yesterday, it had been announced that hon. Members who wanted to move cut motions should give the numbers at the Table within fifteen minutes.

Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath: Unfortunately, I was not here. I was with you in your Chamber. I could not do so. Therefore the difficulty.

Mr. Speaker: I have to suffer. If the hon. Member was with me, I will allow him a special opportunity.

Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath: I am grateful to you for the indulgence.

Mr. Speaker: The same I shall have to extend to Shri Sarjoo Pandey whom I have refused.

Failure to effectively guard the land frontiers of India, and preserve inviolate India's territorial integrity

Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath: I beg to move:

"That the demand under the head Ministry of Defence be reduced to Re. 1." (5)

Failure to make the nation conscious of danger and prepared for defence

Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath: I beg to move:

"That the demand under the head Ministry of Defence be reduced by Rs. 100." (28)

Failure to control and eliminate wasteful expenditure

Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath: I beg to move:

"That the demand under the head Defence Capital Outlay be reduced by Rs. 1,00,00,000." (52)

Need to reduce the existing high disparity between the scales of pay of the jawan and officer

Shri Sarjoo Pandey: I beg to move:

"That the demand under the head Ministry of Defence be reduced by Rs. 100." (68).

Need to abolish the system of police verification at the time of enrolment

Shri Sarjoo Pandey: I beg to move:

"That the demand under the head Ministry of Defence be reduced by Rs. 100." (69)

Need for participation of army and air-force in developmental programmes included in the Plan

Shri Sarjoo Pandey: I beg to move:

"That the demand under the head Ministry of Defence be reduced by Rs. 100." (70)

Need to sanction yearly increase in the salary of Service personnel instead of sanctioning increase every five years

Shri Sarjoo Pandey: I beg to move:

"That the demand under the head Ministry of Defence be reduced by Rs. 100." (71)

Need to ensure civil employment after release

Shri Sarjoo Pandey: I beg to move:

"That the demand under the head Ministry of Defence be reduced by Rs. 100." (72)

Need to produce for civilian use goods in Ordnance factories

Shri Sarjoo Pandey: I beg to move:

"That the demand under the head Ministry of Defence be reduced by Rs. 100." (73)

Need to increase the salary of jawans

Shri Sarjoo Pandey: I beg to move:

"That the demand under the head Ministry of Defence be reduced by Rs. 100." (74)

Mr. Speaker: These cut motions also are before the House.

Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath: If I move the cut motions standing in my name and offer a few criticisms, I hope I will not be misunderstood as playing the role of a carping, captious, cantankerous critic. My sole object in doing so is to strengthen the hands of the Minister, his Ministry and the Defence forces so that in the troublous years ahead, we and they together will ensure the security of our country: not merely the security of our country, but see to it that the aggressors are expelled from the soil—both Pakistan and Kashmir aggressors. Whatever our differences may be....

Mr. Speaker: I could not follow: Pakistan and Kashmir?

Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath: I am sorry. Both Pakistani and Chinese aggressors.

Whatever our differences may be with the Treasury benches opposite on their policies and programmes on

other matters, in this matter of defence of our country we are at one with them. And let me take this opportunity of assuring the Defence Minister that he will have all our support and all the strength that we are capable of, provided that the task is pursued with zeal and vigour and there is no flagging of will and energy on his side. It has been very well said: "If the trumpet gives an uncertain sound, who shall prepare himself for the battle?". That is why we want Government not to vacillate, not to be fickle-minded, not to be changeful in their policies. Once that is asured, they can be equally assured, that we on this side of the House will not be found wanting.

13 hrs.

During the last few days, when I have watched the Defence Minister coming into the House down the gangway, very slowly but steadily, my mind has been filled at times with a little anxiety. I found him dragging one of his feet, maybe the right foot or the left foot. I am afraid his health is not what it should be. I wish him a speedy recovery. From what the papers say, I believe he is suffering from some sort of injury which he sustained in the fall in his house in the bath-room, and since then he has not been well. We are pained to learn of this, and we wish, and we hope and pray that he will have a speedy recovery, because in the years to come, these two monstrous clots in our nation's life-stream, the Pakistani aggressor and the Chinese aggressor will have to be removed; those monstrous clots in the nation's life-stream have to be removed, and for that task, he will have to prepare, and that is why I wish him a very speedy and complete recovery from his present indisposition and illness.

I have known the Defence Minister for the last, may I say, three decades or more, and I have cultivated over the years since I met him in London first,

[Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath]

a sort of affection for him. He has an acute intelligence, tremendous energy and a few endearing foibles, who among us has not got foibles? He has in an abundant measure the gift of the gab. But, unfortunately, as ill-luck would have it, our powerful neighbours, both not so powerful, but one powerful neighbour, namely China, and the other one, namely Pakistan, have the gift of the gab. That is the tragedy of the situation. He has the gift of the gab, and they have the gift of the gab.

Pakistan has been in occupation of a large chunk of Kashmir for the last fourteen or fifteen years. Every time, the Defence Minister, in his role externally, that is, when he goes out of India, does play the role very well of the External Affairs Minister in the United Nations; he has done very well; in the last UN General Assembly session, he has made a powerful defence a powerful statement of the case that we have got on Kashmir. Pakistan charges us with violation of the UN Resolution. I think that it is time that India told the United Nations and told Pakistan, if it is not possible for some technical grounds or technical reasons to withdraw the Kashmir case or Kashmir dispute from the Security Council's agenda, it is time that we told them, and it is time that we invited the attention of the Security Council, the UN General Assembly and also Pakistan, to the resolution of the United Nations Commission on India and Pakistan, dated January 5, 1949 and August 15, 1948. It was clearly laid down there that . . .

Mr. Speaker: I have heard a wisher in the form of a objection that this would relate foreign affairs.

Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath: He has in an appropriate manner, symbolised in himself or illustrated in himself these two in one, foreign affairs and defence.

Mr. Speaker: He may have, but at least today, we have to take only one aspect of it.

Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath: Very well. He has done it so well that I could not help referring to it. He has done so well that he is not only the energetic and indefatigable Defence Minister but equally indefatigable External Affairs Minister in the United Nations.

Mr. Speaker: Today, we should confine ourselves to only one of them.

Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath: All right. I shall bow down to your ruling.

Shri Tyagi (Dehra Dun): There is affinity; both are bachelors.

Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath: We the party to which I have the honour to belong condemned the US-Pakistan military act as soon as it was concluded. That changed the face of the problem, of Kashmir. I would not refer to that more than this.

It is in the fitness of things that to match the strength of the Pakistan Air Force as a consequence of the US Military Aid Pact, we should go in for similar powerful aircraft, from whichever country they could be obtained on the most advantageous terms. The recent fuss and publicity with regard to the Soviet MIG jet planes is something which I do not like; there has been so much of fuss and publicity which I do not like. There is no question that we are entitled and we are at liberty to obtain our defence equipment from whichever country we want on the most advantageous terms to the nation and to the country. There is no question of any country interfering in our rights with regard to that.

But in this particular transaction, I was pained that so much of fuss and publicity was created. There was one day a certain report in the press. The next day, the Defence Minister was pleased to say that he knew nothing about it except what had appeared in the papers. On the third day, there

was a news item that a Defence Ministry team was going to Soviet Russia to examine this deal, or whatever that may be. I do not know the inner workings of the Ministry. The one handicap that we suffer from on this side of the House is this cover or pretext which creates a miasma of national interest—if that is a wrong word, I am sorry; but national interest and security reasons are given always in order to conceal some information which we are after.

I shall not cite many instances, but one instance I shall cite, which, I think, was very striking. I asked what were the military installations, military bases, check-posts and other installations which had been built by China on the territory occupied by them. I could understand the Minister saying, not the Defence Minister but the Minister of State in the Ministry of External Affairs replying to this question on the 19th April and saying 'Whatever we have done, we cannot disclose'. That is quite understandable. But as for what China has built there, I do not know for what security reasons they cannot be disclosed to us. They are the enemy; that are the aggressor, and we ought to know and the nation ought to know what this enemy is doing there. We do not want to know what our Government are doing, obviously; and the House can appreciate that. But as for what the enemy has done there, we ought to know that. But the answer given was:

"It is obviously not advisable for security reasons to disclose such details as are in the possession of Government, regarding the military installations built by the Chinese in this area."

I do not know the logic. Perhaps, the Minister may be able to explain it better than myself, and I leave it at that.

With regard to this MIG deal, so many things are apparently going on in the Ministry. But I would like to ask only one question with regard to that. Is there any machinery inside the Ministry for processing such transactions? At once time, I believe, that the three Chief of Staff used to meet together and considered what equipment was needed for our Defence Forces. I do not know if that practice is still in vogue. I want to know whether finally this matter goes to the Defence Sub-Committee or the Defence Committee of the Cabinet. There used to be a Defence Committee; it may be in existence *de jure* today, but the House will bear with me, and you will forgive me, if I say, that that sub-committee is perhaps *de facto* defunct, and most of the decisions with regard to defence equipment and other matters are taken by the Defence Minister and the Prime Minister putting their heads together. It is all very well. I have no objection to that. I only want to know the position, whether the Defence sub-committee is functioning or not, and if it is functioning, what its functions and powers are, whether it goes into these matters or not. In this particular case, therefore . . .

The Minister of State in the Ministry of Defence (Shri Raghuramaiah): Since this matter is of some serious importance, I would like to point out that the Defence sub-committee of the Cabinet is functioning. There is no question of its being defunct.

Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath: I am glad to hear that. The House will be reassured on hearing that.

The Minister of Defence (Shri Krishna Menon): I may add that the Defence Committee of the Cabinet is the Cabinet for these purposes, and under our Constitution, certain sanctions by Government are necessary, and they always take it.

I did not want to interrupt the hon. Member, but I have done so because this is a fact on which the hon. Member may be quite unconsciously misleading the House and the world.

Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath: I could not hear what the Defence Minister said.

Mr. Speaker: The Defence Committee is the Cabinet itself.

Shri Krishna Menon: It is in effect, the Cabinet in itself for this purpose.

Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath: In fact or in Constitution.

Shri Krishna Menon: That is the constitutional position with regard to the Defence Committee of the Cabinet.

Mr. Speaker: Was there some Committee of the Cabinet?

Shri Krishna Menon: It is called the Defence Committee of the Cabinet. All matters referred to the Cabinet go to the Defence Committee of the Cabinet. It is the normal practice in most countries.

Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath: I am glad to have that assurance from the Defence Minister himself.

I would like to know what exactly are the points with regard to this particular transaction which is still supposed to be under consideration—some papers say it has been abandoned and some say it is under consideration. The Defence Minister told us yesterday that it is under consideration. Anyway, that is for us to decide, for the Government of India and the Parliament to decide the matter. I wanted to know the procedure with regard to the purchase of defence equipment, whether there is a set procedure, whether it goes to a Committee or whether it is examined by the three Chiefs of Staff together, and later what happens finally, whether the Defence Minister decides, or the Prime Minister decides or the Committee decides.

Having said that about the Pakistani aggressors, I am sure that we are perfectly competent, and our defence forces are perfectly able to meet the aggression from Pakistan, if and when it might come. I have no doubt on that point. But with regard to the

other aggressor, the Chinese aggressor, I am not so very sure. We on this side of the House questioned yesterday very strongly the propriety of our America making the statement that he did. Yet some of us do believe that what he said with regard to the strength of the Defence forces does contain an iota of truth. He might have used some strong words, words which were misplaced and inappropriate and thereby overstepped the bounds of diplomatic propriety. But I am afraid what he said did contain a little truth—about the strength of the Defence forces. I do not go into what he said regarding other matters.

China had given us ample notice of her intentions. I have reliable information—I do not know if it is completely reliable, but fairly reliable information—that when the Chinese forces, the so-called People's Liberation Army invaded Tibet in 1950, the major contingent or major part of the Chinese troops even then passed through Aksai Chin, because the other terrain was not good enough for the army to cross over. So a good part of the troops passed through Aksai Chin on their way to Western Tibet, the only good route, immediate route, which they could get at that time. Later, the Prime Minister made a statement you were here then, in which he resented and disliked the Chinese efforts to liberate Tibet; he asked—very rightly so—liberation from whom? In later years, however, the Government's stand shifted for reasons best known to themselves. And it is a matter for sadness that the Chinese Generals who were in charge of the Tibetan command were allowed to march in full military panoply from Calcutta—because the Peking-Lhasa route was not opened in those days—to Bagdogra and Kalimpong and then drive in state in jeeps to Nathu La to take charge of that occupied colony, the new vicious colonial imperialism of Communist China.

In this connection, it was amazing to hear from my hon. friend, Dr. Ranen Sen, that China poses no danger

to the security of India. 'Amazing' is a very mild word to use in this connection, and I am amazed at my own moderation. But it may be that they—the party which he represents—are still under the hangover or may be the fall-out of 1942 when what they thought was a people's war really turned out to be an imperialist war. And they must be sorry now, ashamed of it, that they did not take part in the national struggle for freedom, the life and death struggle, that Mahatma Gandhi and Netaji launched, in which everyone else in our country participated. That, I suppose, is the hallucination and delusion they are suffering from even today. I hope under the guidance of the able Defence Minister, who had the unique distinction a few months ago of being the only ruling party candidate to be openly, unabashedly supported by an Opposition party as a whole, I hope under his guidance—because he has now started talking as firmly against Chinese aggression as against Pakistani aggression—I hope under his guidance, his tutelege, they will also come on the right path, and they will have the right reaction to the Chinese aggression very soon.

Mr. Speaker: He was moderate a little earlier. But now he is leaving that moderation.

Shri Tyagi: He is sarcastic.

Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath: What is the immoderate part of it?

Mr. Speaker: 'Tutelege' is not the correct word to use.

Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath: It is very parliamentary.

May I also tell you that my right hon. friend, the Defence Minister, has been a tutor, once upon a time of geography at Adyar in Madras—many years ago?

Mr. Speaker: He was not referring to that.

Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath: He would not mind being called a tutor.

Mr. Speaker: He may not mind that. But really in the context in which it has been used, it has some offence.

Shri Hem Barua (Gauhati): 'Tutelege' denotes leadership.

Mr. Speaker: Under the tutelege of the Defence Minister, the Communists would do this and that and change their policy—that is the context.

Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath: My point is that they had the honour of supporting one and only ruling, Congress party candidate; He was openly supported by the Communists.

Shri Vasudevan Nair (Ambalapuzha): That is not correct.

Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath: That he might answer (*Interruptions*).

Shri Tyagi: As against other parties which had no principles, if they supported, what was the harm?

Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath: I do not say there was anything wrong. It is a matter of fact. I am not saying whether it was right or wrong.

Mr. Speaker: Order, order. He might proceed.

Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath: They might be right or wrong. It is a different matter. We are not going into the ethics of it.

An Hon. Member: Correct the records.

Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath: Now, the Chinese had given us ample notice. Today the latest piece of news is that they have closed down their Trade Agency in Kalimpong. It was a spy nest. I had seen it a few years ago. It was even then bad enough, but it must have steadily worsened in the last three years. So I am glad it has been closed down. I only wish we had forestalled it; I wish Government had

[Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath]

closed this Agency long ago. But Government did not move, and now they have closed it on their own.

My hon. friend, Shri Krishnapal Singh, referred to the strength of the Chinese Liberation Army and gave some figures. I think he under-estimated the strength and size of the Chinese People's Liberation Army.

Mr. Speaker: His time is up.

Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath: There was a lot of talk in between interruptions. Also, I am the only spokesman from my Party.

Mr. Speaker: They are part of the job.

Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath: Not exactly part. I crave your indulgence for some more time.

I would not go very deep into the Audit Report on the Defence Services. Before that, I would only like to say one word about what the Defence Minister said in a speech in New Delhi last week. He is reported to have said about the Chinese occupation of Indian territory, that 'the Chinese will go. I do not know how'. I hope he has been misreported, as has often happened in the past. But may I offer a few suggestions with regard to what has not been done and what might be done with regard to meeting the Chinese aggression? We have been dubbed as warmongers for having brought to the notice of Government this fact of Chinese aggression. None of us wants a war with China, none of us wants to go to war to China and launch large scale military action against China. But much could be done short of a military action or a military operation. That has not been done. All these years, for instance has there been any consistent, systematic and methodical pub-

licity in the country with regard to Chinese aggression, in the Indian languages? I have not come across a single pamphlet. It should have been done; it could have been done. During the last two years, when some of us on this side of the House were in public meetings talking to the people what it was all about our Congress friends, good friends, some of them very good friends, did not join us in this. Many of them declined to join us in this task of telling the people what the Chinese aggression meant and how it should be met and what is the danger. The greatest danger is this. It is not that China has a big army; that is true and that is bad enough. But the Prime Minister has often said that war begins in the minds of men. What is happening in China today? Within China the Chinese communists are propagating sedulously throughout their country, the biggest country in the world the theory of the inevitability of war; and one of their biggest leaders had the hardihood to say two years ago. "China is not afraid of nuclear war at all; we are 700 million people and if even 400 million people die in the nuclear war, we shall still be the biggest nation in the world." Is this socialism? Is this communism? God save us from such socialism and communism. It is pure, undiluted and unadulterated cynicism of the worst type.

An Hon. Member: Who said this? (Interruptions.)

Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath: I will tell you outside. With regard to China our friends from the Communist Party have the gumption to say that there is no danger from China. I hope that they will see reason very soon in this matter. I leave it at that.

Then, there has been a subject which has been agitating the public and the Press for sometime during the

last few days. That is with regard to the recent promotions in the Navy. I am not referring to names because names are more or less, I believe, taboo here.

Mr. Speaker: Yes, he cannot refer to the names here.

Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath: In this connection, I had written a letter to the Defence Minister because in the last year's debates which I have glanced through, I find that when Acharya Kripalani raised a similar matter in the House the Prime Minister and the Defence Minister were pleased to say that whatever information Acharya Kripalani would like to have, he was welcome to come to the Defence Minister's office and go through the files. Acharya Kripalani did not write to them and so nothing happened. But the hon. Defence Minister stated that one Member of Parliament wrote and they kept the files ready for him but he too never turned up. I wrote to him in the latter part of last week, Friday or Saturday, but I was not privileged to have an acknowledgement even, of that letter. I hope it has reached him and I would like to know what fate it has suffered during the last two or three days.

Mr. Speaker: He should try to conclude.

Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath: I shall finish in two or three minutes. The crux of the matter is this. My information is that the rules governing the promotions in the Navy are as follows: Promotion from lieutenant to Lt. Commander on eight years seniority; from Lt. commander to Commander—selection from the senior commanders; that is, seniority-com-merit formula; Commander to Captain selection from four years seniority from the Commanders; Captain to Rear Admiral selection; Rear Admiral to Vice Admiral—by seniority from amongst

the Rear Admirals. In this particular case which is under reference, I believe that the seniormost Rear Admiral has been superseded by another rear admiral who, even on grounds of merit, perhaps was not qualified to be promoted to that post.

Mr. Speaker: That should not be referred to here.

Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath: I have mentioned no names.

Mr. Speaker: But he is making a reference to a particular case and says that that men did not deserve to be promoted on merits. Are we to discuss and decide here in Parliament individual cases? If we discuss them, one of the hon. Members would refer to merits and the other to the demerits and we would be putting ourselves in a very awkward position.

Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath: Cannot these things be discussed at all?

Mr. Speaker: No, no. Individual cases cannot be taken up here nor can we discuss the merits and demerits of the officers concerned.

Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath: In that case, I will only ask the Minister if in the recent promotions these rules have been observed or not.

Mr. Speaker: Members of Parliament know the rule. The merits and demerits are considered by the department and the Minister concerned. We cannot discuss them here.

Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath: I leave it to your judgment.

Shri Raghuramaiah: Since it has been held that the merits of the individual officers should not be discussed here and since the hon. Member has just now said that a Rear Admiral was superseded and thus he had referred to a specific case, may I request that it be expunged.

Mr. Speaker: Normally I am not in favour of expunging anything; let

[Mr. Speaker]

the other generation know that it was not proper to say such things. They may know that it was brought up there and then the remarks of the Speaker will be there.

Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath: Let the House, know, Sir, whether the rules in force have been followed in this matter. There was one instance pointed out last year.

Shri Krishna Menon: May I say that the rules have been quoted in parts by hon. Members whenever it suits them?

Shri Surendranath Dwivedy (Kendrapara): He can give fuller details.

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

Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath: Just two minutes more because of so many interruptions. I am at a disadvantage here.

Mr. Speaker: When he invites interruptions, they have to be taken also. He has taken more than half an hour, now.

Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath: As you said, Sir, there is one hour at your disposal of which you may give me just five minutes.

Mr. Speaker: I do not have that one hour solely for Shri Kamath.

Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath: Just three minutes only, Sir. There has been one transaction and I have been trying to get some light on it. That is the wheat bran transaction. The Armed Forces get wheat bran for their dairies perhaps. Government supplies wheat to the roller flour mills at Rs. 14 per maund. This bran which is a by product of wheat flour is available in the market at Rs. 7 or Rs. 7.50 per maund. That bran is paid for by the Army Purchase Organisation in the Food Ministry, under some curious arrangement, at Rs. 12 to Rs. 13½ per maund. On every such ton purchased there is a loss of Rs. 100 to

the tax payer and to the national exchange. This question was raised by my hon. colleague Shri Dwivedy in the House about two or three weeks ago but the answer given was unsatisfactory. Therefore, I bring up this matter here and hope that the Defence Minister would look into this matter.

Before I close, I will say this. The other day I referred, that is on Wednesday, a week ago, I referred to the British Statesman Winston Churchill; the name seems to have provoked resentment. I quoted him not because we in any way, even in the least degree agree with his politics, but because he is one of the great masters of English prose in modern times. Today, I shall refer not to a foreigner, but to our own leaders and our own statesman. In this context of our military unpreparedness and the need for psychologically gearing up the nation for defence, I will only invite your attention, the attention of the hon. Minister and of this House to what Mahatma Gandhi himself said on this subject.

Mr. Speaker: My attention is drawn only towards the bell now.

Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath: I would just finish with a quotation. Mahatma Gandhi said—and it is very apposite in this context—

“I do believe that where there is a choice between cowardice and violence I would advice violence....I would rather have India resort to arms in order to defend her honour than that she should in a cowardly manner become or remain a helpless witness to her own dishonour. I would risk violence a thousand times rather than the emasculation of a whole race.”

And the last sentence is very significant. He said:

“I don't say, ‘eschew violence in your dealings with robbers or

with nations that may invade India."

The Prime Minister also said, or used to say, some years ago that "success often comes to those who dare and act. It seldom goes to the timid." When he went to America, some years ago, and while addressing the House of Representatives of the United States, he made a very pertinent observation. He said:

"Where freedom is menaced, or justice threatened, or where aggression takes place, we cannot and shall not be neutral."

I hope that Chinese aggression against India is not excluded from the word "aggression".

I hope the Government will take sufficient measures in the coming years militarily as well as diplomatically and otherwise, to meet the Chinese and Pakistani aggressors and expel them from our soil before the term of this Parliament is over, just as we expelled the Portuguese from our soil—Goa—last year in the term of last Parliament. I hope during the next five years of this Parliament, the aggressors will be expelled from our soil. (*Interruptions*).

Mr. Speaker: Order, order. He is becoming an aggressor now!

Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath: Not I

Mr. Speaker: I want to make one observation before I call upon the next speaker. I have already said that individual cases should not be mentioned here. Since then, I have seen an earlier ruling given last year also, and I find really one very fine argument given by the previous Speaker, my predecessor, and that is, if we were to allow every individual case to be discussed here, then there would be a regular lobbying. The members of the services shall be going to hon. Members of Parliament and then certainly it would not be to their advantage, and it would be rather to

their disadvantage. We will not be serving their cause or advancing their cause, but we will be harming them. Therefore, it becomes all the more necessary that such things are not taken up. **Shri Khadilkar.**

Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath: Sir, on a point of clarification. Will it not be within our competence or right to state the rules with regard to promotions and ask whether they have been observed or not?

Mr. Speaker: The rules are a different thing.

Shri Khadilkar (Khed): Mr. Speaker, Sir, I was really happy that my hon. friend Shri Kamath was not so much obsessed with the personality of the Defence Minister, and therefore, at least, at the end of his speech he referred to some defence problems somewhat causally. Unfortunately, in this House and outside in the country for the last some years, the Defence Minister is more discussed in season and out of season than the defence problems of this country. This is a very unhappy state of affairs.

All Hon. Member. He is now in the Congress Party.

Shri Khadilkar: I was saying this while I was sitting on that side also. I was going to quote an instance. But what I would like to suggest is that this practice should be given up for the sake of strengthening our defences. One point must be clearly borne in mind. As a student of public affairs I can say without fear of contradiction that the predecessors of our present Defence Minister were just holding the office 'in charge'. He is perhaps, the first Defence Minister—I mean the present Defence Minister—who, whatever be the other controversies he might have raised, is looking after the defence problems very seriously and very earnestly. Therefore, he deserves all credit for it.

Dr. M. S. Aney (Nagpur): Are you not discussing the Defence Minister now?

An Hon. Member: Censure.

Shri Khadilkar: I am not censuring. I am just saying that he is not just holding the portfolio, but that he is looking to all aspects of defence. I am coming to those points.

There was another point which was raised by my hon. friend, Shri Kamath: It is very unfortunate. Yesterday, a reference was made to the same question about promotions, by one of my hon. friends in the Communist party. Last year, if I mistake not, when the question of Mr. Thimayya's resignation was brought before the House, and when I was sitting in the Opposition, I pleaded with Acharya Kripalani I did not join with him on this issue—and said, "If you bring in the question of army personnel, promotion and all these matters before this House, a day will come not too late when this House will surrender its sovereignty ultimately to the army and that would be a sad day in the history of democracy in this country." I therefore did not join him on this issue. To take up such questions here will be very unfortunate, because, once you take up these issues without getting the full background, it will be very difficult to proceed. I understand the doors are open, and you could get information.

An Hon. Member: They are closed.

Shri Khadilkar. The Prime Minister's door is open.

Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath: I wrote to the Defence Minister, but there was no reply.

Shri Khadilkar: You must have a little patience. You are a yogi. I understand, because you practise yoga. The first principle of yoga is to be a little patient!

Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath: I am not that kind of yogi.

An Hon. Member: He is a bhogi!

13.34 hrs.

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

Shri Khadilkar: So far as I have been able to understand this promotion policy, etc., the point is that some sort of whispering talk goes on, and what happens in this country is this. Let us be very plain about it. Every time, if somebody is promoted, a regional patriotic attitude is taken up as against the basic multi-regional background.

I will give you an instance. Some people thought that one high army officer from my reason was by-passed and they made a representation to the Prime Minister. I declined to sign that representation. It was last year.

An Hon. Member: Why not?

Shri Khadilkar: Knowing fully well, I declined to sign it. I am proud of that act. If there is a little injustice, there are other ways to remove it or get satisfaction on a particular point. In this particular case, I have also made some enquiries, and I understand that.

Shri Surendranath Dwivedy: Can he refer to an individual case? A ruling has been given that such things should not be done.

Shri Khadilkar: Have I made such a reference? I am obeying the ruling.

Shri Bhagwat Jha Azad: He was mentioning the principle.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Order, order.

Shri Khadilkar: Yesterday, an hon. Member referred to it and I immediately got up and said, "It is wrong." Here also, if they go into the details, they will find that what has been

stated in the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* and in the letter which was quoted yesterday—there was a whisper in some sections of the House—is totally wrong. Beyond that, I do not want to disclose the facts of the case. I am not defending a particular act of the Defence Minister in this connection.

Coming to the Defence Ministry itself, let me, at the outset, say one thing. Our Defence Ministry deserves our congratulations for one thing. In the international organisation, namely, the United Nations, when their command was almost tottering in Congo, because of the diplomacy of the two blocs, it is certainly a matter of pride for our country and the army that we stood by the United Nations and kept that flag aloft and flying in the Congo. I feel that, if I have some vision of the future when more occasions will come to defend the sovereignty of a nation and maintain some order in the world, the United Nations command is going to expand, and I hope that because of our contribution, not in Congo but in other places as well, we will get an honoured place in the command in maintaining the world order and restraining the aggressors all round.

Then I turn to one more point so far as the Defence Ministry is concerned. They are going to establish a base for training officers from African tribes in Kamina. A big establishment is being organised. I would certainly plead that our officers with their high reputation—if they are requested, I am told they are requested to give training—they should be given the earliest opportunity, so that whatever good name we have earned there and our goodwill could be properly advanced further in the coming years.

Then, there is the question of the purchase of MIGs. A lot of discussion has taken place about that. Let me make it clear at the outset that in defence production in the present context of the world situation, you cannot keep politics altogether out.

India is wedded to a policy of non-alignment in a restricted sense. We are non-aligned so far as keeping away the cold war and the tensions is concerned. But so far as other matters are concerned, let us face facts. We are more aligned with the western bloc so far as purchase of arms and equipment is concerned. We are helplessly dependent on them. Let us face the fact.

The question before this country, after 15 years of freedom is, are we not going to become independent and shake off this dependence on the western bloc, so far as purchases are concerned? I am saying this because purchase means dependent in the long run. All the parts, spares and everything you are dependent on the country from which you make the purchase initially. Even now, with all the production effort that is being made on our side, still the major purchases are made from the western side. I am not disclosing a secret if I say that the western side today have not only given Jet fighters to Pakistan; they have given guided missiles as well. This is my information. If it is incorrect, let the Defence Minister contradict me. On the one side, Pakistan is being goaded to assume aggressive postures and on the other side, a big mighty neighbour of ours, who is in association with the Warsaw Pact, is posing another threat and has committed aggression as well. In such a context, when we are on the horns of a dilemma, is not the Defence Ministry free, is not India free, to take a stand where we will try to keep away from a certain amount of domination of one bloc, or certain alignment with one bloc, in the military field and try to carve out an independent path? I think this is the beginning. All talk of non-alignment, so far as the cold war is concerned, is very superficial. The basic thing is whether we are aligned in defence matters. Therefore, I think this is the beginning, that we are trying to take a new and independent path and assert-

[Shri Khadilkar]

ing that we can purchase also from the other side.

Gandhiji was quoted without context. I feel India should develop in this world a base of peace. If both the power blocs desire it, let them guarantee our territorial sovereignty mutually and then certainly our defence burden could be reduced. I am not happy that our defence burden is increasing every day. Therefore, so far as the purchase of MIGs is concerned, it is certainly desirable and certainly a beginning in the right direction and therefore, it should be completed. It is not a question of resentment; it is not in any sort of anger that we are doing it. We are forced by circumstances.

Dr. M. S. Aney: Who is to guarantee the territorial sovereignty of ours?

Shri Raghunath Singh (Varanasi): Our own strength is the guarantee; nobody else.

Shri Khadilkar: The base of our defence production should be extended. That would be the base of our sovereignty, so far as self-sufficiency of our army is concerned.

I would like that the producing wing of the army and the fighting wing of the army should be kept separate. Otherwise, there are likely to be certain undesirable consequences, because the fighting forces have to retire at a certain time and they will find cosy jobs on the other side. I would suggest that the Defence Ministry's budget should be split up so as to give a correct idea as to what is the defence production budget and what is the army fighting budget. That is very desirable. Though the charge is one, it should be properly bifurcated. That is more important.

Unfortunately, a reference was made to certain comments in the audit note. What is happening in this country is, those who serve on committees do not

taken into consideration the basic and the fundamental policies regarding development. When certain expenses are incurred, for instance on research programme, immediately the audit note says this expenditure is infructuous. They do not realise that you cannot build up defence production without research. Therefore, it is very unfortunate that such a remark should be passed in the audit note without taking into consideration the vital role of army defence production in the coming years. Unfortunately this has happened and therefore I have referred to it.

There are certain schools called Sainik schools which have been started recently. I find in this country as in the west, children of the upper strata dominating the Defence Academy, because they are trained for it. They have enough money. If our army is not to be manned by certain caste-ridden people from the upper strata of society, you should have more preparatory schools and take young boys even from the tribal areas. Today they have no access there. I know there is a defence caste system and that should be broken. Also, today's Sainik Schools are very elementary and they do not serve the purpose of recruiting ground for the Defence Academy in our country, from where the officers are trained. Therefore, I would appeal to the Defence Ministry that they should take some steps in this direction.

I would make a brief reference to the navy. If we look to the past history of India, what do we find? Except the Marattas, nobody looked to the navy in this country. They tried to develop it a little.

Shri A. V. Raghavan (Badagara): What about Kerala?

Shri M. K. Kumaran (Chirayinkil): We challenge his statement.

Shri Raghunath Singh: That 11th century. He is talking of 16th century.

Shri Khadilkar: So far as my reading of history goes, the Marattas had that vision. Unfortunately they were defeated. I am very happy Goa is liberated. You have got a good harbour and a naval base 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 merchant navy is concerned, we are entirely dependent. Today whatever purchases we make, they are obsolete ships and every time, we have to look to the West. Therefore, I would plead that the naval wing of the army should be further strengthened.

Then, in order to avoid all controversies, because defence matters cannot be discussed in detail at such a short time and the debates on Demands for Grants have become a ritual where you get a little time, you say a few mantras and the Ministers feel that they have done their job for one year and like school boys they leave the House in all jubilation saying that for one year they are free and they need not face the House, and in order to keep acquainted with the day to day developments, I feel that the time has come, because our defence expansion is taking place particularly in the sphere of production, when we should have a Standing Committee for Defence in this House where responsible Members of this House, the Defence Minister and the officers concerned would sit together, discuss the problems in secrecy, try to understand things and if there is any mistake correct it at the very beginning. In that way it would develop a better tradition. I have studied the institutions in other countries. I find there is usually a Defence Standing Committee associated with the Ministry of Defence. I would appeal to the Defence Minister that he should take this in this light and accept it.

Lastly, as I said in the beginning, we are sometimes too allergic to

personalities. When we discuss the General Budget some people are allergic to our Finance Minister. When we discuss the Defence Ministry's Demands, some people are allergic to the Defence Minister. Instead of bringing in the allergic attitude and bias it should be the objective view that should be taken, and that alone will benefit the country.

Shri Gajraj Singh Rao: Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, so far as the army is concerned, in spite of so many upheavals during these 14 or 15 years the army has been very loyal to the country. If you look to the other part of Asia, to South-East Asia and even northern parts of Asia, you will find that in those countries the army has gone over to politics and the troubles in those countries have been due to that. But in India, in spite of many difficulties, in spite of somewhat anomalous position, the army has been quite faithful and contented. The army has faced all those difficulties and it has been very loyal to the country. It has never created any difficulty for the country. If you see the history for the last 20 or 30 years you will find that in South-East Asia, in South-East Asiatic nations and even European nations, the army or at least a selection of the army has revolted and there has been trouble. Even the civil government there has changed due to that. But here the army has been most loyal to the nation.

But here I would only say that too much loyalty should not breed contempt. That should not be the ideal. We should as a nation look to the army as the army has always been looking to the nation. Some have pointed out that in the army there are divisions known as South-India army, North-India army and so on. The actual composition, I would submit, is another factor. It may be named Gorkha Rifles, Jat Regiment and so on. But see the actual working in the army. People from every part of the country have been working there with the fullest co-operation.

[Shri Gajraj Raj Singh]

Though these are old names, I would certainly congratulate them on the fact that they have been working very successfully and the question of language has not come in the way of their working or their co-operating with each other.

The second point that I would like to touch upon is that we may now frankly admit that the technical age has far advanced as far as the army is concerned. It is not the same as it was 50 or 100 years ago. Have we been able to equip our army or give their requirements for this technical era? Have we been able to get the best technicians for the army? Has there been sufficient impetus given to attract the best technicians to the army and its different branches? These are the points to be seen. It is not enough if you say that the same type of recruitment is there as it was 15 or 20 years back. What I say is, sufficient impetus should be given to attract the best technicians to the army. People join the army due to loyalty to the nation or due to pay and other conditions obtaining in the army. My point is that the conditions of service should be such as to attract the best of our technicians to the army. The conditions have so much changed that without being fully equipped technically we cannot make a successful army unit. It may be that out of too much loyalty the people in the army are not raising the question of pay etc., but I would submit that this question has to be considered. The army is deficient in certain aspects as far as the technical side is concerned. We should give encouragement and get more technical men in the army.

Now, it is an admitted fact that there are very big borders, may be by land or by sea, which have got to be adequately protected. It has been very well discussed here that two big enemies have come out, one in the north and the other in the west. Are they equipped by themselves? It is

an open secret that Western powers, the American powers or some other big powers have equipped the Pakistani forces out of all proportion even to their existence. It is also a misnomer to say that China is equipped by its own efforts. It has the backing of the Communist countries. It has not only got their sympathy, it is also equipped by them. When both these countries are in such a position, what is the condition of India? These two international power blocs are helping them. They are highly equipped with all the modern weapons. When they are aligned to these two countries, can we expect them to help us at the proper time. Can we be sure that they will come to our help at the proper time if there is a conflict with any one of these two countries? That is a serious question for our defence.

14 hrs.

With this advancing world real defence is an international issue and the connection with other nations is a vital factor. It is not a thing which can be localised or that two or three neighbouring countries would come into conflict. If there is to be any conflict as has been seen even during the last War of 1939—45, any combination could be set up. It is all a question of international pacts. Only two things are open to any nation, either pacts as Pakistan has entered into with the Western countries or the extreme goodwill of all sides. So, this is a question where we have to be very cautious.

Just a few days ago there was the question of our having some air force planes from the Russians. There was so much hue and cry over that and all other issues were over-shadowed by it. Our ideology has been that we are not going to align with any of the forces, either with the Communists or with the non-Communists. We are not going to combine with them. That is

an idea developed by us. But under these circumstances when two of the nations, China and Pakistan, are equipped in one case by one set of forces and in another case by another set of forces, how and on what are we to depend? That is the question.

I would submit that the biggest defence is self--confidence which should be created in our nation. Militarily also we should be equipped, whether it is the Western border of the Punjab or Gujarat or other borders adjoining Pakistan, either under the NNC or under the Territorial Army we should give perfect training in our areas. Similarly, on the border with China.

Some suggestions have been made that we should have an inclination towards the Communist bloc. But is it a certainty that in case China intrudes further or becomes further aggressive the Communist countries would still help India or would they be helping to the extent that is visualised? In the case of Pakistan would the Western bloc be helping us? So, the question of all questions, is that there should be internal strength. Look to the whole history of India. Our downfall has ever been on the well-said proverb "घर का भेदी

लंका ढाये" What I am saying is a very old thing. Look to the whole history. Outer aggression has never been successful unless the Jaichands or somebody else have combined with them. Therefore the great national will should be created. That shall be the greatest defence for India.

How far have we been able to succeed in that? We feel ashamed even to call ourselves *Hindustani* in the common parlance. We would feel greatly elated to say, "I am a Bengali; or I am a Madras; or I am a Marathi." But I would say that if we just call ourselves *Hindustani*, this will be a great step towards the defence of the country. If we think and feel that we are *Hindustani*, that would be the greatest defence for the country. Past history is very clear. One can very well see how India, if ever, went down

to anybody. It was because of our internal weakness. By feeling ourselves Indians with that internal strength we can have a much bigger thing than the Indian Army under the existing circumstances. Of course, we cannot equip our Army equivalent to that of America or Russia within a very brief period of five or ten years. But if we have a certain ideology and with that ideology if we feel that we are Indians and *Hindustanis* certainly we would have gained a lot. I know that papers of one view or another exalt the Chinese or the Pakistani soldiers, but if we have proper national atmosphere and encouragement at home our soldiers or our army is far superior to those armies though they may be less equipped than them. I have no time to give instances of their work, but whether it is in Africa or in any other place, wherever they have been sent what is their record? I admit that the equipment is not to that extent to which that borrowed equipment is. But as the old saying is

मांगी हुए हथियारों से क्या कभी काम चला है।"

That also you can look into. We should be a source of encouragement. That we are a nation is the biggest ammunition that can be supplied to our armed forces, if we can give them this idea. That is lacking. I frankly admit here that by this criticism here and by creating so many States on the linguistic basis we have done harm enough. Though in our Army in name there may be a Maratha Regiment, Gujar Regiment or Rajput Regiment, they are truly national. They are not by communities.

Shri Birendra Bahadur Singh (Rajnandgaon): In the Rajput Regiment you will find others also.

Shri Gajraj Singh Rao: That is what I am submitting. I have been associated with the Army sufficiently long. Though they may have a Maratha Regiment or a Rajput Regiment, all people are there and that is a truly national set-up in the Army.

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

Shri Gajraj Singh Rao: I will take a minute more.

Then I would submit that in our factories and ammunition depots we should mobilise our forces and should try to produce what we want to beg from others. If it is surplus, the civilian population can be well fed with that. That can be easily done. There is the national will with the military people. The nation should exploit that and give them the fullest civilian support. Our Army has escaped those things from which other armies and nations are suffering. If we just make up that will and send them to other countries for proper higher technical training and other matters, certainly we will be successful.

श्री बाल्मीकी (खुर्जा) : उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं सदन के समुख ऋग्वेद के दो मंत्र रखना चाहता हूँ, जो कि सामरिक स्थिति पर प्रकाश डालते हैं :—

मन्द्रा कृणुष्वं धिय आ तनुष्वं नावमरित्रपरणीं
कृणुष्वम् ।
इष्टकृणुष्वमायुधारं कृणुष्वं प्राञ्चयज्ञं प्रणयता
सखायः ॥

राष्ट्र के नेताओं को वेद का उपदेश है कि हमारे राष्ट्र-नायक मित्रतायुक्त, एक समान ज्ञान वाले हों। वे ओजस्वी एवं सत्य और हितकर भाषण करें, ज्ञान-विज्ञान का प्रसार करें, यातायात और युद्ध के लिए भी सुन्दर और मजबूत जल-पोत बनायें। वे शत्रु से राष्ट्र की रक्षा का पूरा प्रबन्ध रखें। प्रत्येक मनुष्य भी अपनी आत्मरक्षा के साधनों से युक्त रहे। दृढ़ शस्त्रास्त्र तैयार रखें, जिस से समयानुसार शत्रु से देश की रक्षा की जा सके एवं शासन की सुव्यवस्था रह सके। वे धन, बल, विद्या, विज्ञानादि द्वारा देश को आगे बढ़ायें, कृषि और वाणिज्य २) अन्न की वृद्धि करें यज्ञ आदि सत्कर्मों से देश में वृद्धि करें एवं सब प्रकार से प्रजा का पालन करें।

एक दूसरे मंत्र में इस भाव को और बलपूर्वक प्रकट किया गया है :—

स्थिरा वः सन्त्वायुधः पराणुदे वीलू उत प्रतिष्कभे ।
यष्माकमस्तु नविषी पनीयसी मा मर्यस्य मायिनः ॥

वेद का देश के शासकों को उपदेश है कि तुम्हारे आग्नेय-शास्त्र आक्रमणकारी शत्रुओं को पराजित करने और उन से स्वराष्ट्र की रक्षा करने के लिए प्रशंसित और दृढ़ हों। सेना विशाल तथा प्रशंसनीय होवे, जिस से तुम सदा विजयी रहो। हम अन्यायी दुराचारी शत्रु पुरुषों की शक्ति को कदापि न बढ़ने दें। इस प्रकार अन्यायकारियों के बल की हानि तथा न्यायकारियों के बल की उन्नति में वृद्धि होवे।

इस मंत्रालय की मांग पर अपने विचार प्रकट करते हुए मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि जैसा कि हमारे वेद ने प्रकट किया है कि जो आक्रान्ता हैं, जो दूसरे देश हमारे राष्ट्र पर कदृष्टि रखते हैं, उन से राष्ट्र की रक्षा करने के लिए दृढ़तर कदम उठाए जाने चाहिए।

आज सारे संसार में यौद्धिक अशान्ति प्रतीत होती है और लड़ाई के बादल छाए हुए हैं। संसार में शान्ति कायम रखने के लिए हमारे देश ने जो प्रयत्न किये हैं, वे वास्तव में सराहनीय हैं और उन को सारा संसार जानता है। किसी विद्वान ने कहा है कि "पीस हैथ मोर विकटरी देन वार।" भारत ने इस बात को बहुत अच्छी तरह से जाहिर कर दिया है कि उसका संसार की शान्ति में विश्वास यद्यपि हमारे चारों ओर युद्ध के बादल मंडरा रहे हैं, हमारे पड़ोसी देशों, चीन और पाकिस्तान, से हमें खतरा पैदा हो गया है, फिर भी हमारा देश संसार में शान्ति बनाए रखने के लिए भरसक प्रयत्न कर रहा है।

आज हम देखते हैं कि आक्रान्ता चीन और भारत-विद्वेषी पाकिस्तान की आक्रमणकारी अनीतियों के कारण देश के सामने एक बड़ा भारी संकट पदा हो गया है। यदि हम ने उस

का सामना करना है, तो हमें अपनी रक्षानीति और रक्षा-व्यवस्था को बलशाली और दृढ़तर बनाना होगा और उस में एक भारी परिवर्तन करना होगा। इस बीच में इस मंत्रालय के द्वारा देश की रक्षा के लिए जो भी कार्य किये गए हैं, वे प्रशंसनीय हैं। चीन तथा पाकिस्तान हर प्रकार से हमारे देश को हानि पहुंचाना चाहते हैं, इस बात को देश का जन-जन और सारा संसार जानता है। इस लिए देश की रक्षा की दृष्टि से देश को मजबूत बनाने के लिए और बाह्य आक्रमण का हर तरह से मुकाबला करने के लिए हमें अपने सैन्य-बल को मजबूत बनाने की आवश्यकता है। सेना को आधुनिक हथियारों से सुसज्जित करना है। इस दिशा में जो प्रयत्न चल रहे हैं, लड़ाख नागा क्षेत्र और काश्मीर तथा सीमाओं में जो सुरक्षात्मक कार्यवाही चल रही है और दृढ़तर सुरक्षात्मक कदम उठाए जा रहे हैं, उन की प्रशंसा करनी होगी। लेकिन हमारा देश और देश का एक एक जन यह चाहता है कि चीन ने या पाकिस्तान ने हमारी जिस भूमि पर कब्जा किया है, उस के एक एक इंच को उन से आजाद कराया जाये और यह भारी उत्तरदायित्व इस मंत्रालय पर आता है।

आज सारा संसार हिंसा की तरफ जा रहा है, लेकिन हम अब भी अपनी अहिंसा और सत्य की नीति को नहीं छोड़ रहे हैं, लेकिन उस का मतलब यह नहीं है कि हम अपने देश को कमजोर बनायें या उस को गुलाम बना दें। बापू जी और भगवान बुद्ध ने कहा है कि यदि कोई अन्यायकारी, आक्रान्ता या अत्याचारी, या आततायी आक्रमण करता है, तो उस का मुकाबला करने के लिए हम को हर प्रकार से तैयार रहना चाहिए। इस लिए यह आवश्यक है कि देश की रक्षा के लिए हम उन आधुनिक आयाधों की व्यवस्था करें, जो कि इस सम्बन्ध में आवश्यक हों, चाहे किसी भी देश से खरीदे जायें। इस दिशा में हमें पीछे नहीं रहना है।

यद्यपि सरकार की नीतियों और इस

मंत्रालय के द्वारा किये गए सुरक्षात्मक कदमों के लिए हमारे रक्षा मंत्री को कृटिसाइज किया जाता है—संसार के महानतम देश उन को कृटिसाइज करते हैं—लेकिन यू०एन०ओ० में काश्मीर के प्रश्न पर और अन्य प्रश्नों पर हुए वाद-विवाद का जवाब जिस तरह से उन्होंने दिया है, वह भारी प्रशंसा की बात है। वहां पर उन्होंने भारत की दृढ़ता और निर्भयता पर आधारित नीति को प्रकट किया है।

अमरीका जैसे संसार के महानतम देश अपने हित के लिए और अपने फौजी ऋतु के हित के लिए दूसरे देशों को हथियार देते हैं—अमरीका ने पाकिस्तान और वियटनाम को शस्त्रास्त्र दिये हैं—लेकिन जब भारत अपनी सुरक्षा के लिए लड़ाकू हवाई जहाज रूस से खरीदने का विचार करता है, तो वे देश उस की आलोचना करते हैं। इस देश की गामरिक स्थिति को देखते हुए और इस की सुरक्षा को दृष्टि में रखते हुए यह आवश्यक है कि हमें जिन लड़ाकू हवाई जहाजों या अन्य हथियारों की आवश्यकता हो, उन उन्हें रूस या और किसी देश से खरीदें। यह नीति सब प्रकार से उचित है और सारा देश उस के साथ है।

गोआ का भारत में विलय हमारे इतिहास का एक स्वर्णिम पृष्ठ है। गोआ विहान में हमारे जवानों ने तथा जल, थल और वायु सैन्य-बल ने जो प्रशंसनीय कार्य किया, वह किसी प्रकार से नहीं भुलाया जा सकता है। उन का कार्य हर प्रकार से प्रशंसनीय है।

जैसा कि मैंने अभी कहा है, संसार में शान्ति बनाए रखने के लिए हमारा देश जो प्रयत्न कर रहा है, उस को सारा संसार जानता है। आज संसार की स्थिति सूखे घोंस के ढेर की सी है और अगर उस में कोई बिगारी नहीं लगाने देता है, तो वह भारत का ही प्रयत्न है। कांगो और वियटनाम आदि जिन देशों की स्वतंत्रता खतरे में है, वहां पर हमारे फौजी अधिकारियों और जवानों ने बहुत

[श्री बाल्मीकी]

प्रशंसनीय कार्य किया है। मैं सदन के सम्मुख यह बात रखना चाहता हूँ कि १५ मई १९६२ को जब हमारे जवान कांगो से वापस आ रहे थे, तो चीफ यूनाइटेड नेशन्स रिप्रेजेंटेटिव, जो कि कांगो में नियुक्त हैं, ने किस प्रकार उन की तारीफ़ की। अपने विदाई-सन्देश में उन्होंने कहा :—

“The incidents on which the units have played a part are historic and may some day be cited as unique instances of international collective effort to protect the sovereignty of a Nation emerging to independence under difficult circumstances and to ensure world peace.”

इससे साफ़ जाहिर है कि हमारा देश किसी को गुलाम नहीं बनाना चाहता है, लेकिन वह अपनी स्वतंत्रता को कायम रखने के लिए, अपनी सीमाओं की रक्षा करने के लिए, अपनी एक एक इंच जमीन की रक्षा करने के लिए हर वक्त तैयार रहता है, चाहे उस की सीमा का अतिक्रमण चीन की ओर से हो या पाकिस्तान की ओर से हो।

आज हमारे फ़ौजी नौजवान सारे देश की रक्षा के लिए चित्तचिल्लाती धूप में, बड़े जाड़े में और बर्फानी इलाकों में, काश्मीर और नागा प्रदेश में तथा हमारी सीमाओं पर राष्ट्र के प्रहरी बन कर खड़े हुए हैं। इस देश की सुरक्षा का उत्तरदायित्व उन पर है। हम समझते हैं कि देश की आजादी की रक्षा के लिए हमारे फ़ौजी नौजवान एक दीवार बन कर खड़े हैं। इस स्थिति में उन लोगों को अधिक से अधिक सुविधायें देना और संतुष्ट रखना अत्यन्त आवश्यक है और इस के लिए आवश्यक कदम उठाए जाने चाहिए। यही नहीं, उन के वेतन-क्रम भी सही ढंग से निश्चित किये जाने चाहिए।

जहां तक एक्स-सर्विसमैन का प्रश्न है, उन में से जो लोग रिटायर हो कर पेन्शन पर चले गए हैं, लेकिन जो अब भी बाइली फ़िट हैं,

शारीरिक दृष्टि से फ़िट हैं, उनको काम मिलना चाहिए। मैं माननीय मंत्री जी का ध्यान इस ओर आकर्षित करना चाहता हूँ कि उन को नौकरी देने और रहने तथा खेती के लिए जमीन देने का काम ज़रा धीमी और मन्द गति से चल रहा है। मैं चाहता हूँ कि वह इस ओर ध्यान दें और उन के लिए जहां भी नौकरी उपलब्ध की जा सके, उस की व्यवस्था करनी चाहिए। इस के अतिरिक्त नई तोड़ी गई जमीन पर भी उन को अधिकार मिलना चाहिए। मैं नहीं चाहता कि डिसक्रिमिनेशन की बात को मैं किसी तरह से यहां कहूँ। लेकिन इसको मैं बहुत महत्व की बात समझता हूँ और गौरव की बात समझता हूँ कि देश में अगर कहीं पर किसी प्रकार का कोई डिसक्रिमिनेशन नहीं बरता जाता है तो वह सेना में नहीं बरता जाता है, फिर चाहे वह वायु सेना हो, थल सेना हो या जल सेना हो कहीं पर भी किसी प्रकार का डिसक्रिमिनेशन नहीं है। मैं पिछले दस बारह सालों में बराबर लोगों से मिलता रहा हूँ। मैंने कई यूनियन्स को देखा है, फ़ौज की टुकड़ियों को देखा है। कहीं पर भी मैंने इस तरह की बात को नहीं पाया है। कुछ वर्ष पूर्व मैं पानांग का जहाज़ देखने के लिए गया था, थल एक्स-साइजिज को देखने के लिए गया था और गोदावरी जहाज़ के अन्दर मैं चार दिन रह कर आया हूँ। वहां पर अपनी जात बिरादरी वालों से या जो उच्चवर्गीय जाति के लोग थे, उन से भी और जिनका मैं पिछले काफी सालों से जानता था, उन से भी मैं जब कोई इस तरह का जाति सम्बन्धी प्रश्न किया तो उन्होंने एक ही जवाब मुझे दिया, **डॉट डिसटर्ब सर, डॉट डिसटर्ब सर**। यहां पर भी अगर किसी माननीय सदस्य की, इस सदन में जात बिरादरी पूछी जाती है तो बड़े फरक के साथ कहा जाता है कि मैं मिश्र हूँ, बाल्मीकी हूँ, रस्तोगी हूँ, यह हूँ वह हूँ। वहां पर कोई भी इस तरह की बात कहने वाला नहीं था और उन्होंने एक ही बात कही **डॉट डिसटर्ब सर**।

यह बड़े फ़क़ की बात है और इसकी जितनी तारीफ़ की जाए थोड़ी है ।

लेकिन मैं एक बात कहना चाहता हूँ । वह यह है कि जो एक्स-सर्विसमेन हैं, जो हरिजन हैं, जो अंग्र हैं, जो हैंडिकैप्ट हैं, उनकी ओर कम ध्यान दिया जा रहा है । मैं माननीय मंत्री जी से प्रार्थना करना चाहता हूँ कि उनकी ओर ज्यादा ध्यान दिया जाए । उनको आवास के लिए, जमीन देना और खेती करने के लिए जमीन देना बहुत आवश्यक है । इसका आपकी ओर से जल्दी से जल्दी प्रयत्न किया जाना चाहिये । मैं कुछ केसिस को जानता हूँ और ये उत्तर प्रदेश के और पंजाब के हैं । कुछ हरिजन एक्स-सर्विसमेनों को पांच पांच सौ रुपये दे करके कुछ पहाड़ी इलाकों में जहाँ नीतोड़ जमीन तैयार हुई है, या जो दूसरी जमीन है, वह दे कर बसाने का वादा किया गया था लेकिन आज तक उनको यह जमीन प्राप्त नहीं हुई है । जो अधिकारी इस काम को करते हैं, उनके सामने इस बात को मैंने रखा था । लेकिन अभी तक इस बारे में कुछ नहीं हो पाया है । मैं चाहता हूँ कि माननीय मंत्री जी इस ओर ध्यान दें ।

आज भी जब देश की गामरिक स्थिति भयंकर रूप धारण किए हुए है, संसार की स्थिति के लिहाज से और हमारे जो पड़ोसी देश हैं, चीज और पाकिस्तान, उनके लिहाज से, यह जरूरी हो जाता है कि हम अपनी फौजों को तैयार रखें और साथ ही साथ जो दूसरे एक्स-सर्विसमेन हैं, उनको भी चौबीसों घंटे तैयार रखें और उन को ही नहीं बल्कि सारे देश को तैयार रखें ताकि अगर कभी कोई खतरा उपस्थित हो तो उसका डटकर सामना किया जा सके । यदि कोई इस तरह की कटु षड़ी देश के सामने पैदा होती है, तो उसका मुकाबला करने के लिए हमें हमेशा प्राण-पण तैयार रहना होगा । इसके लिए यह आवश्यक है कि जो हमारे एक्स-सर्विसमेन हैं, उनको हम संतुष्ट करें, उनको जो सुविधाएं दी जानी चाहिये वे उनको मिले, उनके आवास के लिए, उनके

पुनर्वास के लिए, उनको जीवन की अन्य सुविधायें उपलब्ध करने के लिए, हम प्रयत्नशील हों । इस दृष्टि से चाहे उनकी नौकरी का प्रश्न हो या उनको जमीन देने का प्रश्न, उसको हल करने की ओर हमारा तत्काल ध्यान जाना चाहिये ।

अब एक और छोटे से प्रश्न की ओर मैं आपका ध्यान खींचना चाहता हूँ और वह प्रश्न कैटोनमेंट्स में भंगियों की स्थिति का है जिसे मामूली लोग अपनी भाषा में कम्पू कहते हैं । मैं समझता हूँ कि कैटोनमेंट्स में सफाई-पेशा लोगों की, भंगियों की हालत बहुत बेहतर नहीं है । मैं मानता हूँ कि जो भंगी म्यूनिसिपलिटिज़ में काम करते हैं या कारपोरेशन् में काम करते हैं, उनके मुकाबले में उनके लिए वहाँ कुछ काम हुआ है और उनके आवास के लिए, उनको रिहायश सुलभ करने के लिए और उनकी नौकरी का एक ढंग तय करने के लिए कुछ काम हुआ है । लेकिन आप देखें कि हमने सोशलिस्टिक पैटर्न आफ सोसाइटी की बात स्वीकार की है हमने और अपनी पंचवर्षीय योजनाओं में यह प्रकट भी किया है कि हम हर प्रकार की डिसपरिटिज़ को दूर कर रहे हैं, इकोनोमिक डिसपरिटिज़ को दूर कर रहे हैं, तनख्वाहों की डिसपरिटिज़ को दूर कर रहे हैं लेकिन आज देखने में यह आता है कि जो समाज के हित का दृष्टि से सब से जरूरी काम करता है, उसको तो सब से कम तनख्वाह दी जाती है और जो सब से मंदा काम करता है, वह काम करता है जो किसी महत्ता का नहीं होता है, उसको सब से ज्यादा तनख्वाह मिलती है । यह सही बात नहीं है और इस तरह असमानता की बात नहीं होनी चाहिये । जो स्वप्न गांधी जी देखा करते थे और जिस आदर्श समाज की स्थापना वह करना चाहते थे, क्या वह स्वप्न पूरा हुआ है और क्या यह आदर्श समाज हम स्थापित कर पाये हैं या स्थापित करने का प्रयत्न कर रहे हैं, वह विचारणीय है । हम देश में समाजवादी समाज की स्थापना करना चाहते हैं, और शासन को उसके अनुरूप ढालना चाहते हैं और इसके लिए

[श्री बाल्मीकी]

प्रयत्नशील भी हैं। लेकिन मैं आपका ध्यान कैटोनमेंट्स में काम करने वाले स्कर्वेजर्ज के पे स्केल की तरफ दिलाना चाहता हूँ कि वहाँ कितनी असमानता है मद्रास में उनका स्केल १८ रुपये से शुरू होता है, वेस्ट बंगाल में २० रुपये से शुरू होता है, उत्तर प्रदेश में २२ रुपये से, बिहार में २३ रुपये से, राजस्थान, मध्य प्रदेश मैसूर, और महाराष्ट्र के औरंगाबाद और कम्पटी में २५ रुपये से, आंध्र प्रदेश में २६ रुपये से, असम में २८ रुपये से, दिल्ली, पंजाब, बम्बई और महाराष्ट्र और केरल में ३० रुपये से शुरू होता है। ये जो वेतन-क्रम हैं इनको नेशनल इंडस्ट्रियल ट्रीब्युनल ने रखा था। मैं इन वेतन-क्रमों को बेहतर नहीं मानता हूँ। जब कि ये कैटोनमेंट्स भारत सरकार के उत्तरदायित्व में हैं, उसके अपने हाथ के अन्दर की बात है, मैं कहूँगा कि यहाँ पर तो कम से कम उनकी बेसिक पे ज्यादा होनी चाहिये और न्यूनतम वेतन कानून के अनुसार उनका वेतन निर्धारित होना चाहिये, वेतन क्रम की असमानता को दूर करना चाहिये। साथ ही साथ रिटायरमेंट होने के बाद की सुविधायें, उनको दी जानी चाहियें, वर्र्दी उनको दी जानी चाहिये। साथ ही जो अन्य काम में सुधार की सुविधायें हैं वे भी उनको प्राप्त होनी चाहिये।

सिर पर पखाना ढोने की जो लानत है, उसका भी खाल्ता होना चाहिये। **टू एबालिश द्री प्रेक्टिस आफ करींग नाइट सायल एज हैड जोइन्स** की तरफ हमारी सरकार का ध्यान गया है और डिफेंस मिनिस्ट्री का भी जहाँ तक कैटोनमेंट्स का ताल्लुक है, इस तरफ ध्यान जाना चाहिये। सिर पर पाखाना ढोने की जो असमानवीय प्रथा है, जो कुप्रथा है, इसका अन्त हम आजादी के चौदह वर्ष बाद भी नहीं कर पाये हैं, भंगियों के सिर पर से पाखाने का टोकरा हम नहीं उतार पाये हैं। आज भी भंगी बहनें और भाई अपने सिरों पर पाखाना ढोते हैं और इसको आप कैटोनमेंट्स में भी देख

सकते हैं। यह किसी तरह से भी शोभाजनक नहीं है। जब तक यह कुप्रथा खत्म नहीं होती है, कोई काम बेहतर नहीं हो सकता है। इसको खत्म किये बगैर समाजवादी ढाँचे की जो बात की जाती है, वह सही तौर पर नजर नहीं आ सकती है। समाजवादी समाज का एक प्रजातान्त्रिक निज़ाम जो हम देखना चाहते हैं, उसमें यह जरूरी है कि भंगियों के सिर पर से पाखाने का टोकरा उतारा जाए और जब तक ऐसा नहीं होता है, हमारी जो आशा है, वह पूरी नहीं हो सकती है। खास तौर पर कैटोनमेंट्स में इस कुप्रथा का तो अन्त कर ही दिया जाना चाहिये। रिसैप्टेकल टाइप आफ लैट्रिज, जो कोई बेहतर तो नहीं हैं, अधिक संख्या में दिखाई देता है। इस ओर परिवर्तन लाने का प्रयत्न करना चाहिये। इस कुप्रथा के अन्त के लिये ज्यादातर बेट टाइप की लैट्रिज बननी चाहियें। कुछ जगहों पर, जैसे जवलपुर है, वहाँ मैं नये प्रकार के लैन्स को देखा है। बड़ी सुन्दर वे बनी हैं। मैं चाहता हूँ कि उधर ध्यान दिया जाए भंगियों की स्थिति को सुधारने के लिए, जो कि बड़ी शोचनीय है, बड़ी भयंकर है, विशेष प्रयत्न किये जाने चाहिये। इस कुप्रथा की समाप्ति के लिये जो एक उत्तम व्यवस्था हो सकती है, जो एक आदर्श व्यवस्था हो सकती है, उसको कैटोनमेंट्स में स्थापित करके आप देश के सामने एक आदर्श स्थापित करें, यही मुझे निवेदन करना है।

श्री रघुनाथ सिंह : उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, पहले तो हम गोआ में जो नौ शक्ति के वीर बहादुर दिवगत हुए हैं, उनके प्रति श्रद्धांजलि अर्पित करते हैं। गोआ की वर्तमान कार्रवाई के बाद हमारी नैवी का एक नया अध्याय आरम्भ हुआ है। एक अध्याय जैसा अभी बताया गया है सरदार आंग्रे की अध्यक्षता में गोआ में आज से ढाई सौ वर्ष पहले अंतिम भारतीय नाविक युद्ध हुआ था और अब ढाई सौ वर्ष के बाद यह नाविक युद्ध हिन्दुस्तान में

हुआ है। इसमें हम को सफलता प्राप्त हुई है।

हमारे भाइयों ने चीन के विषय में बहुत कुछ कहा है मैं आपको बतलाना चाहता हूँ कि हमारी अवस्था अत्यन्त भयावह है, गौचनीय है हिन्दुस्तान के पास कुछ ३६ जहाज हैं, पाकिस्तान के पास २२ हैं और चीन के पास ६६१ हैं। थाईलैंड जो कि एक छोटा सा देश है, उस के पास ३८ हैं। हमारे मित्रों ने कहा है कि चीन की शक्ति आज इतनी अधिक है कि वह आपके अंदमान और निकोबार द्वीप ले सकता है और बड़ी आसानी से ले सकता है, और आप उसको ऐसा करने से रोक नहीं सकते हैं। चीन ने जो नेवल आर्मेमेंट किया है वह किस तरह से किया है और कितना किया है, इस तरफ आपका ध्यान जाना चाहिये। उसके पास मोटर टॉरपीडो १३६ हैं, लैंडिंग शिप ६४ हैं, सब-मैरीन २५ हैं जिनमें से १७ सब-मैरीन उन्हीं के खुर अपने यहां तैयार की हैं आपके पास क्या है? आपके पास ६६१ जहाजों के मुकाबले में सिर्फ ३६ जहाज हैं, एक भी सब-मैरीन नहीं है, एक भी टॉरपीडो-बोट नहीं है। ऐसी स्थिति में आप कैसे हिन्दुस्तान की रक्षा करने में समर्थ हो सकते हैं, और कैसे अदमन निकोबार एंड द्वीप समूह की रक्षा कर सकते हैं? चीन के पास लैंडिंग शिप ६४ हैं टॉरपीडो बोट्स १३६ हैं। इन सब का सामना करने के लिए आपके पास क्या है? यह एक महत्वपूर्ण प्रश्न है जिस पर आज हर हिन्दुस्तानी को विचार करना चाहिये।

मैं आपको यह बतलाना चाहता हूँ कि अगर हम नेवी की प्लानिंग नहीं कर सकते हैं, नेवी की तरकी नहीं कर सकते हैं तो हमारी सुरक्षा व्यवस्था खतरे में पड़ जाएगी। मैं परसेनल के सवाल को लेता हूँ। हिन्दुस्तान के पास १२०० आफिसर हैं और १२,००० रेटिग्स हैं। पाकिस्तान के पास ७०० आफिसर हैं और ७,००० रेटिग्स हैं। थाईलैंड जो कि एक छोटा सा देश है, उसके पास २,००० आफिसर हैं और १६,००० रेटिग्स हैं। इसका

मतलब यह आ कि पाकिस्तान के पास हमारे मुकाबले में कुल जमा ७०० पांच सौ आफिसर और पांच हजार रेटिग्स ही कम हैं। पाकिस्तान का जो कोस्ट है वह ६६५ मील है और आप का कोस्ट ३५३५ मील है। ६६५ मील कोस्ट के वास्ते उन्होंने अपने पास २२ जहाज रखे हैं और जो आप का तीन गुना कोस्ट ३५३५ मील का है उस के लिये आप के पास ३६ जहाज हैं। पाकिस्तान की नेवी हिन्दुस्तान की नेवी से ६० परसेन्ट है और हिन्दुस्तान की नेवी जो चीन की नेवी है उस की २० परसेन्ट है।

Shri Warior (Trichur): Is it right that we should give all these figures?

I do not know; I leave it to the hon. Member. Is it proper that we should divulge all these figures and all these things?

Shri Raghunath Singh: I challenge; I always challenge; this is correct.

Shri Warior: Not that. I leave it to his discretion whether it is good for us, advantageous to us.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Order, order; published data.

श्री सरजू पांडेय (रसड़ा) : आप अपनी मिलिटरी सीक्रेट्स को दुनिया को बतला कर अपने को बदनाम करते हैं। आप चाहें तो कहें, लेकिन मुझे यह प्राप्तर नहीं मालूम होता। यह हमारी सीक्रेट्स हैं।

श्री गहमरी (गाजीपुर) : जब यह तमाम चीजें पुस्तकों में निकल आई हैं तो उन को छिपाने से क्या फायदा?

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Order, order.

श्री रघुनाथ सिंह : यह पब्लिशड फैक्ट्स हैं। आप को क्यों पिच करता है जब मैं चाइना का नाम लेता हूँ?

Shri Sarjoo Pandey: Don't bother we are not pinched if you refer to China.

Shri Warrior: He may misunderstand that because he mentioned China; not that. In our own interest; that is all. We were only asking him.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Order, order; this discussion across the Benches is unparliamentary.

Shri Warrior: I am addressing you.

श्री रघुनाथ सिंह : जहाँ तक हिन्दुस्तान की नेवी का सवाल है, आप सन् १९५७-५८ के बजट को देखिये । हम पूरे बजट का ३५ परसेन्ट डिफेन्स को देते थे । आज हम जो डिफेन्स को दे रहे हैं वह सिर्फ २४ परसेन्ट है । आप देखिये सन् १९५६ और १९५७ को । चीन का ऐग्रेसन हुआ । चीन धीरे धीरे हमारी जमीन को लेने लगा । लेकिन जैसे जैसे चीन हमारी जमीन को लेने लगा, हमारा डिफेन्स बजट सिकुड़ता चला गया और सिकुड़ते सिकुड़ते वह ३५ परसेन्ट से २४ परसेन्ट हो गया और हमारा सिविल एक्स्पेंडिचर ६५ परसेन्ट से ७६ परसेन्ट हो गया । मैं नहीं समझ पाता कि यह कैसी एकानामी है और यह कैसा डिफेन्स बजट है । जब कि हम देखते हैं कि पाकिस्तान एड लेने के बाद भी ८० परसेन्ट अपने डिफेन्स पर खर्च करता है । अब आप ब्रिटेन को देखिये । ब्रिटेन अपने बजट का २५ परसेन्ट डिफेन्स पर खर्च करता है और अगर अमरीका को आप देखें तो अमरीका अपने बजट का ५० परसेन्ट से ऊपर डिफेन्स पर खर्च करता है । लेकिन हमारे बजट का जो परसेन्टेज डिफेन्स पर खर्च होता है वह केवल २४ परसेन्ट है । मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि जो हमारा बजट है वह ठीक नहीं है और हम को अपने डिफेन्स पर ज्यादा खर्च करना चाहिये ।

सुरक्षा विभाग की जो रिपोर्ट छपी है उस में मैं ने देखा कि न्यूक्लियर वेपन्स और गाइडेड मिजाइल्स के वास्ते कुछ नहीं रखा गया है, जब कि इंग्लैंड अपने कुल बजट का १० परसेन्ट केवल न्यूक्लियर वेपन्स पर खर्च करता है । लेकिन हमारे यहाँ एक पैसा भी उस के लिये नहीं रखा गया है । मैं कहूँगा कि

आज जो सब से बड़ी आवश्यकता हमारी है वह यह है कि जिस प्रकार से न्यूक्लियर वेपन्स के ऊपर अमरीका और इंग्लैंड खर्च कर रहे हैं उसी प्रकार से हम भी करें ।

अब आप नेवी को लें । आप कहते हैं कि आप नेवी को बढ़ायेंगे । लेकिन नेवी के ऊपर आप कुल डिफेन्स बजट का ७ या ६ १/२ परसेन्ट खर्च करते हैं जबकि सन् १९६१-६२ में हम ने कुल डिफेन्स बजट का ७.९ परसेन्ट नेवी के ऊपर खर्च किया था । आज हम उसे नीचे करते करते ६ १/२ परसेन्ट पर लाये हैं । हम ने अपने बजट में दिखलाया है कि हम १९ करोड़ ६० नेवी पर खर्च करने जा रहे हैं । आप १६ करोड़ ६० खर्च करने नहीं जा रहे हैं बल्कि नेवी का जो बजट है उस को आप ने कम किया है । अगर हम अपने डिफेन्स बजट को देखें तो मालूम होता है कि हमारा बजट अनबैलेन्स है । आप इंग्लैंड के बजट को देखिये । इंग्लैंड में नेवी, आर्मी और एयरफोर्स में कुल ७ परसेन्ट का अन्तर पड़ता है । इस से ज्यादा अन्तर नहीं पड़ता है । आप के यहाँ क्या है ? आप के यहाँ करीब २२४ करोड़ ६० आर्मी पर है और १९ करोड़ ६० नेवी पर है । अमरीका या चाइना या इंग्लैंड आदि के बजट को लीजिये तो वहाँ कहीं पर भी आर्मी, नेवी और एयरफोर्स में ७ परसेन्ट से ज्यादा मार्जिन नहीं है । हिन्दुस्तान में ७ परसेन्ट के अन्तर की बात तो छोड़िये हम नेवी पर कुल डिफेन्स बजट का ६.५ परसेन्ट खर्च करने जा रहे हैं । इतना आप का बजट अनबैलेन्स है और आप चाहते हैं कि आप हिन्दुस्तान की रक्षा करें । मैं समझता हूँ कि इस से हिन्दुस्तान की रक्षा होनी कठिन है ।

इस के बाद आप इक्विपमेंट को लीजिये । इक्विपमेंट में आप ने रखा है १.७५ करोड़ ६० । मैं कहता हूँ कि इतने में तो आप एक क्रूजर भी नहीं खरीद सकते । अगर आप को एक क्रूजर चाहिये, या एक बैटलशिप चाहिये या एक डिस्टायर चाहिये और सोचिये कि

उस को १ करोड़ ७५ लाख ६० में खरीद लें तो यह नामुमकिन है। आप इस साल नेवी में क्या ऐडिशन करने जा रहे हैं? कुछ नहीं। आप के पास दो डाकयार्ड हैं। इन डाकयार्ड्स में से जो मजगांव का डाकयार्ड है उस के लिये आप ने ५० लाख ६० रखे हैं और गार्डन रीच का जो डाकयार्ड है उस के लिये आपने २५ लाख ६० रखे हैं। जब दुनिया में नेवी को इतनी तरक्की हो रही है और नेवल वारफेअर वहां से होने जा रहा है या होगा, उस समय आप नेवी पर सिर्फ इतना खर्च करने जा रहे हैं। इस से तो आप एक छोटा शिपयार्ड भी नहीं बना सकते। एक शिपयार्ड के लिये ४ करोड़ से लेकर ८ करोड़ ६० तक की आवश्यकता होती है। मैं आप से कहना चाहता हूं कि अगर आप को हिन्दुस्तान को डिफेंड करना है तो जो इस देश के दो शिपयार्ड हैं वहां सबमैरीन बननी चाहिये। हमें अपने घर में ही शिप्स बनाने चाहिये और और देश को न्यूक्लियर वार के लिये तैयार करना चाहिये। हम लोग पीसफुल हैं शांति में हम को विश्वास है, पंचशील में हमें विश्वास है, लेकिन न्यूक्लियर सबमैरीन्स हम बनायें तो कोई हर्ज नहीं। हम गाइडेड मिजाइल्स की सबमैरीन्स बनायें तो कोई नुकसान नहीं है। इस वास्ते जिन लोगों ने इस के समर्थन में कहा है मैं उन का समर्थन करता हूं और कहना चाहता हूं कि हम को न्यूक्लियर वेपन्स बनाने चाहिये।

सबमैरीन्स पर मैं क्यों जोर देता हूं? आप वर्ड्स वार द्वितीय को देखिये। २१ मिलियन जी० डब्ल्यू० टी० के जहाज डुबा दिये गये। उन में से १४ मिलियन टन के जहाज यू बोट्स के द्वारा डुबाये गये पूर्वी क्षेत्रों में ८.२ मिलियन टन के जहाजों में ५ मिलियन सबमैरीन्स के द्वारा डुबाये गये। इस तरह से आप देखेंगे कि जहां पर नैवल वारफेअर होता है उस में ६० परसेन्ट से ज्यादा जहाज सबमैरीन्स रखे गये हैं। आज हिन्दुस्तान के पास एक भी सबमैरीन नहीं है। लिहाजा मैं आप से कहना

चाहता हूं कि आप के पास जो दोनों डाकयार्ड हैं उन को आप ऐसा बनायें कि वहां पर नवल सबमैरीन तैयार हो सकें।

हमारे कुछ दोस्तों ने कामनवेल्थ एक्सर्साइज के बारे में कहा। आप के सामने दो चीजें हैं। सेन्टो और सिआटो। दोनों का पाकिस्तान सदस्य है। कामनवेल्थ एक्सर्साइज में आप जाते हैं। उस में पाकिस्तान भी भाग लेता है और आप भी भाग लेते हैं। ऐसी हालत में हमारे यहां सीक्रेसी कैसे रहेगी? जब कामनवेल्थ कंट्रीज को नेवी वहां जाती है और वहां पर एक्सर्साइज में हिस्सा लेती है, उन में पाकिस्तान भी हिस्सा लेता है और हिन्दुस्तान भी हिस्सा लेता है, तो उस में सीक्रेसी कैसे रहेगी? आप अपने को वहां पर ओपन करते हैं, न सिर्फ पाकिस्तान के सामने बल्कि जितनी कंट्रीज उस में हिस्सा लेती हैं उन के सामने भी।

साथ ही साथ आप देखिये कि कुछ महीने हुए अमरीका ने पाकिस्तान में गाइडेड मिजाइल्स और न्यूक्लियर वारफेअर की ट्रेनिंग दी है। एक तरफ तो अमरीका गाइडेड मिजाइल्स और न्यूक्लियर वारफेअर की ट्रेनिंग दे रहा है लेकिन दूसरी तरफ हम क्या कर रहे हैं? हाथ पर हाथ रखे हुए बैठे हैं। हमें इस बात से होशियार रहना चाहिये और इस बात की कोशिश करनी चाहिये कि जितनी हमारी एनर्जी है सब जहां तक न्यूक्लियर वारफेअर का सम्बन्ध है, उस की तरफ लगायें। यू० के० की जो डिफेंस रिपोर्ट सन् १९६१ की है उस में से मैं आप को एक लाइन पढ़ कर सुनाना चाहता हूं :

“Nor can we ignore the rising power of China.”

चाइना की शक्ति इतनी ज्यादा हो गयी है कि हम उसकी उपेक्षा नहीं कर सकते।

मैं जानता हूं कि पाकिस्तान की एअर फोर्स आज हम से ज्यादा सुपीरियर है निःसन्देह। इस बात को छिपाने से कोई फायदा नहीं है।

[श्री रघुनाथ सिंह]

इससे रक्षा का सम्बन्ध है इसलिए यह हमें स्पष्ट कहना चाहिए कि पाकिस्तान की एअर फोर्स हम से सुपीरियर है। पाकिस्तान को गाइडेड मिजाइल्स और न्यूक्लियर वैपस्न की ट्रेनिंग दी गयी है। हमको वैसे कोई ट्रेनिंग नहीं दी गयी है।

आज आप दुनिया के देशों के बजट देखें तो आपको मालूम होगा कि उनमें आर्मी से ज्यादा एअरफोर्स पर खर्च किया जाता है इस वास्ते कि एअर फोर्स से हम बम्बार्डमेंट कर सकते हैं। मैं आपको केवल यू० के० का उदाहरण देना चाहता हूँ। वहाँ आर्मी पर ५०६ मिलियन पाउंड खर्च किया जाता है तो एअर फोर्स पर ५२६ मिलियन पाउंड खर्च किया जाता है। दुनिया में, जैसा कि हमारे और भाइयों ने कहा, कन्वेंशनल वार का समय गया, अब तो वैज्ञानिक लड़ाई का जमाना है। जो विज्ञान में तरक्की करेगा उसी के हाथ में युद्धस्थल होगा और वही विजय प्राप्त करेगा। इसी लिए मैं कहता चाहता हूँ कि एअर फोर्स की हम ज्यादा तरक्की करें और रूस जो हमें एम० आइ० जी० एअर क्राफ्ट दे रहा है उन को हम लेना चाहिए। अमरीका की पालिसी क्या है? एक तरफ तो वह पाकिस्तान को नये किस्म के हवाई जहाज मुफ्त देता है और दूसरी तरफ हम से कहता है कि तुम इनके लिए रुपया दो। एक तरफ पाकिस्तान को फ्री डिलीवरी दी जाती है और हम से रुपया मांगा जाता है। हम उसे कैसे रुपया दे सकते हैं?

पाकिस्तान ने हमारी ३० हजार वर्ग मील भूमि पर नाजायज कब्जा कर रखा है, पाकिस्तान के साथ हमारा सीख फायर है, पाकिस्तान के साथ हमारी अभी कोई सन्धि नहीं है। जब तक पाकिस्तान के साथ हमारा सीख फायर है तब तक पाकिस्तान की फौजें काश्मीर में रहेंगी। जब तक अमरीका पाकिस्तान को सहायता देता है तो हम भी

स्वतंत्र हैं कि अपनी रक्षा के लिए दुनिया में जहाँ से भी हथियार मिल सकें उनको ल।

श्री यशपाल सिंह (कैराना) : उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, बहुत देर से डिफेंस के मुताल्लिक बहस सुन रहा हूँ और इस नतीजे पर पहुँचा हूँ कि भारत में मुकाबला करने के लिये जिस एटमासफियर की जरूरत है वह तैयार नहीं हो सका है। एक छोटा सा मिलिटरी आर-गेनाइजेशन इतनी बड़ी शक्ति से हमारी रक्षा नहीं कर सकता। जिम शत्रु के साथ हमारा मुकाबला है उस के पास १ करोड़ ६० लाख से ज्यादा फौज है। हमारी २५ लाख आर्मी उसके मुकाबले में खड़ी नहीं रह सकती।

दूसरे उस के साथ ऐसे मित्र हैं जो समय पड़ने पर उसे अच्छी से अच्छी इमदाद दे सकते हैं। आज हम इंटरनेशनल पालिटिक्स में मित्र विहीन खड़े हुए हैं। तटस्थता का यह अर्थ नहीं है कि हम अपने हाथ कटवा लें या मित्र विहीन खड़े हो जावें। तटस्थ का अर्थ क्या है? "तटस्थ" शब्द संस्कृत का है। तटस्थ का अर्थ है तट पर बैठा हुआ, तीर पर बैठा हुआ, उदासीन, जो लहरों से नहीं टकराता है, जो मौजों से टक्कर नहीं लेता है। जो तटस्थ है उसे कोई भी आ कर और धक्का दे कर समुद्र में डाल देगा। आज हम मित्र विहीन हैं। अभी देश के अन्दर वह शक्ति नहीं पैदा हो सकी है। आवश्यकता इस बात की है कि देश के अग्रमान जाग जायें और देश फौजी रक्षा के लिये तैयार हो जायें।

कोई यह खयाल न करे कि रूस ने हमारे लिये जो दो शब्द हमदर्दी के कह दिये उस में कुछ बनता है। कोई भी सोशलिस्टिक देश वक्त पड़ने पर हमारी मदद नहीं करेगा। चाणक्य ने जोकि सब से बड़ा पानीपटोशियन समझा जाता है कोटिल्य अर्थ शास्त्रकार म लिखा है—

सुतप्तमपि पानीयम्, शमयत्येव पावकम् ।
पानी को चाहे जिस डिग्री तक गर्म कीजिये,

ऊंची से ऊंची हीट पर गर्म कीजिये, लेकिन वह हमेशा आग को बुझावेगा ही। अगर हमारे प्रधान मंत्री हवा में उड़ रहे हों और आसमान में किले बना रहे हों और यह खयाल करते हों कि किसी ने दो लपज सिम्पथी के हमारे लिये कह दिये तो हमारी रक्षा हो जायेगी, यह असम्भव है। २५ लाख की आर्मी डेढ़ करोड़ की आर्मी का मुकाबला नहीं कर सकती। आज प्रत्येक भारतवासी को मिलिटरी ट्रेनिंग देनी होगी, सारे देश का सैनिकीकरण करना होगा। हर एक वालिग हथियार ले कर सीना निकाल कर जब चलेगा तब हम टक्कर ले सकते हैं। वरना हम लोग फेल हो जायेंगे।

देश की रक्षा ये लोग नहीं कर सकते। इस को कौन मान लेगा। मैं बहुत निर्भीकता और स्पष्टवादिता के साथ कहना चाहता हूँ कि आज जो हमारा मोस्ट प्रेशस ज्वल गिल-गित है वह पाकिस्तान के कब्जे में है, और मैं इस बात को भी छिपाता नहीं हूँ कि कैलाश और मानसरोवर चीन के कब्जे में हैं। चूँकि मैं हमदर्द हूँ, हिनैपी हूँ, इसलिये ऐसा कहता हूँ। मैं विरोधी नहीं हूँ। यह "विरोधी" या या "अपोजीशन" शब्द तो अंग्रेज़ों का दिया हुआ है, यह शब्द तो बैस्टन क्लचर ने आया है। तो हम विरोधी नहीं हैं। हम तो हिनैपी हैं। हमारे यहाँ कहा गया है :

पुरुषा बहवो राजन्, सतनं प्रियवादिनः,
अप्रियस्य तु पथ्यस्य ववता श्रोता च दुर्नभम्।

हम हिनैपी हैं। हम ने उन मूर्तियों में जो सामने बैठी हैं भारत भूमि के लिये ज्यादा कुर्बानियाँ की हैं। हम ने भारता भूमि के लिये ज्यादा त्याग और तपस्या की है और ज्यादा कुर्बानियाँ दी हैं। हम को यह खयाल नहीं करना चाहिये कि जब मौका आयेगा तो कोई देश हम को सहायता देगा। दुनिया में उजड़े हुए का, पिटे हुए का और कमजोर का कोई साथ नहीं देता। देश की रक्षा वह लोग करेंगे जिन्हें फौजी तालीम होगी, जिन्हें

सैनिक शिक्षा होगी। आज देश का बच्चा बच्चा रक्षा करना चाहता है, आज देश का बच्चा बच्चा तैयार है। जनता चाहती है कि रक्षा हो। लेकिन हमारी लीडरशिप फेल हो गई है। मुझे बड़े अफसोस के साथ कहना पड़ता है कि फिजो हमारी सेना के होते हुए भी निकल गया। मुझे फिजो का वयान पढ़ कर बड़ा अफसोस हुआ : उस का वयान बहुत लम्बा चौड़ा है मगर मैं उस की कुछ सतरे आप को पढ़ कर सुनाना चाहता हूँ। यह वयान नार्दन पत्रिका में इस प्रकार छपा है :

"Mr. Phizo said: 'The arrival of the delegation in East Pakistan after a journey of 500 miles across the territory occupied by the 40,000 Indian troops plus many thousands of Indian administrators, a journey of almost six weeks, proves again the strength of the Nagaland's wish for freedom from the Indian occupation or our country.'"

पांच सौ मील का सफर कर के डेढ़ सौ सिपाही हमारी चालीस हजार फौज की आँखों में धूल डाल कर पाकिस्तान पहुँच जाते हैं। उपाध्यक्ष महोदय मैं बड़ी स्पष्टता के साथ कह देना चाहता हूँ :

जिसे है फिक मरहम की उमे
दुश्मन समझने हैं,
इलाही खैर हो यह जखम
अच्छा हो नहीं सकता।

मैं कमजोर प्वाइंट सामने रखता हूँ। विंडोरोल भी सहन नहीं कर सकता था अगर किसी बेबा का भी राज्य होता तो वह इस को बरदाश्त नहीं कर सकती थी कि हमारी ४० हजार फौज के सामने से डेढ़ सौ नागा होस्टाइल्स दूसरे मुल्क में पहुँच जायें और वहाँ उन का जलूस निकाला जाये।

देश की रक्षा चरित्र से होगी, जब इंडी-वीजुअल कॅरेक्टर बनेगा तब देश की रक्षा होगी। देश की रक्षा वह करेंगे जिन की

[श्री यशपाल सिंह]

आखों में देश भक्ति का तेज होगा, जिनकी छाती में ब्रह्मचर्य का बल होगा, जिनके मन में भारत भूमि का अभिमान होगा। कौन मान लेगा कि आप देश की रक्षा करना चाहते हैं? जिस देश की १४ हजार मुरब्बा मील भूमि दुश्मन के कब्जे में है उस देश के सिनेमाघर एक घंटे के लिये भी बन्द नहीं होते, उस देश की शराबें एक मिनट के लिये भी बन्द नहीं होतीं, उस देश के कल्चरल प्रोग्राम एक दिन के लिये भी बन्द नहीं होते, उस देश का नाचना और गाना एक दिन के लिये भी बन्द नहीं किया गया। आप के दिल में कुछ है और जवान पर कुछ और है। क्यों नहीं सिनेमा बन्द किये जाते? क्यों नहीं शराबें बन्द की जातीं? यह जो दिल्ली में नृत्य कला भवन है और संगीत कला भवन है जिस में लाखों की होली हो चुकी है, इन के दरवाजों को बन्द कर के इन में मिलिटरी ट्रेनिंग स्कूल खोले जायें। तब देश की रक्षा होगी।

मैं बड़े अदब से यह अर्ज करना चाहता हूं कि रिवालवर और बन्दूक के लाइसेंस देने के बारे में जो पार्टी बरसरे इन्तदार है उस का यह रवैया है कि वह उस के वोट में वोट खरीदती है। इन्वेन्शन में सौदे किये जाते हैं कि तुम हम को पांच हजार वोट दिलवा दो तो मैं तुम्हें रिवालवर का लाइसेंस दिलवा दूंगा। यह एक आजाद मुल्क के लिये बहुत बड़ा कलंक है। मैं भी बदकिस्मती से या खुश किस्मती से उमी धड़े में था जिस में सामने की मूर्तियां हैं। हम ने बापू के चरणों में कराची में बैठ कर यह कसम खायी थी कि हिन्दुस्तान जब आजाद हो जायेगा तो उस का एक हर सच्चरित्र नागरिक हथियार रख सकेगा। लेकिन आज ऐसा नहीं हो रहा। एक एम० एल० ए० का लाइसेंस मंजूर नहीं किया गया। मैं उस एम० एल० ए० से खुद मिला। वह हरदोई के हैं। उन्होंने जिला मजिस्ट्रेट की खुशामद नहीं की। इसलिये उन की बन्दूक की दरखास्त खारिज कर दी गई और उन की

बन्दूक नहीं दी गई। आप देखें कि जो आदमी लाखों आदमियों का प्रतिनिधि है अगर वह सच्चरित्र नहीं होगा तो कौन सच्चरित्र होगा। यह चीज आज देखने की है। हम कहते हैं कि लाइसेंस फ्री किये जायें ताकि हर एक सच्चरित्र नागरिक हथियार रख सके, तभी देश की रक्षा होगी। भारत के प्रतिरक्षा मंत्री अच्छा बोल सकते हैं, अच्छा डिबेट कर सकते हैं और अच्छी बहस कर सकते हैं और आज के इस सैट अप में भारत के प्रधान मंत्री को एक वकील की जरूरत भी थी, एक राजनीतिज्ञ की जरूरत थी, लेकिन देश की रक्षा का मामला उन के बस का नहीं है। मिलिटरी जीनियम से भारत के प्रतिरक्षा मंत्री लाखों कोस दूर हैं। मिलिटरी जीनियम उन को छू तक नहीं गया है। इन पिछले १३ सालों में जितनी तबाही हुई है अगर किसी दूसरे मुल्क में ऐसी तबाही हुई होती तो वहां की जनता सरकार से इस्तीफा मांग लेती। आज हम कहते हैं कि हम तैयार नहीं हैं तो कब जा कर हम तैयार होंगे? आजादी मिले १४ साल हो गये। इन चौदह सालों में हम तैयार नहीं हो सके हैं और जैसी रस्तार हमारी है और आसार नजर आ रहे हैं उस से आगे भी जा कर तैयार नहीं होंगे। डिस्कशन और डिबेट से काम नहीं चल सकता है।

“कसीदे से न चलता है, न यह दोहे से चलता है, समझ लो खूब, कारे मलननत लोहे से चलता है।”

हमें बच्चे बच्चे के अन्दर यह भावना पैदा करनी होगी कि वह इस देश का मालिक है और इस देश की रक्षा कर सकता है। कांग्रेस सरकार की इंटिग्रेटी का तकाजा है कि तमाम पार्टियों को बुला कर, देश की तमाम पार्टियों की राउन्ड टेबुल कान्फ्रेंस कर के जिस में सोशलिस्ट्स बुलाये जायें, कम्युनिस्ट्स बुलाये जायें, स्वतंत्र पार्टी बुलाई जाये, प्रजासोशलिस्ट, रामराज्य परिषद्, हिन्दू महासभा आदि बुलाई जायें और जनसंघ वाले बुलाये जायें।

तमाम पार्टियों के प्रतिनिधियों को यह कहा जाये कि भारत की रक्षा का मामला, भारत-माता की सीमाओं का मामला पार्टी पालिटिक्स से ऊपर है। लेकिन चीजों को छिपा कर रखा जाता है। श्री राजगोपालाचार्य से जब बापू जी मशविरा करते थे तो उन राजगोपालाचार्य जी से प्रधान मंत्री महोदय क्यों मशविरा नहीं करते हैं? जाहिर है कि उन का अनुभव ज्यादा है, उन का तजुर्बा ज्यादा है और वह ज्यादा देश का हित कर सकते हैं। आज देश को कोआपरेशन की जरूरत है। देश के अंदर एक ऐसी भावना पैदा करने की जरूरत है कि यह भारत भूमि ४४ करोड़ नर नागरियों की मां है और ४४ करोड़ देशवासियों को इस की हिफाजत करनी पड़ेगी। किसी देश के ऊपर जो आप यह खयाल करते हो कि कोई देश आप का साथ देगा, आप मुगालते में हैं, कोई भी देश आप का साथ नहीं दे सकता है। वे आप से हमददी कर सकते हैं, लिप मिमैश्री कर सकते हैं लेकिन आप का साथ सक्रिय रूप में कोई भी अन्य मुल्क नहीं दे सकता है।

मुझे आप से अर्ज करना है कि आप भले ही गैलरीज का बंद कर दीजिये, कर्मचारियों को आने से रोक दीजिये और अफसरान को अंदर आने से रोक दीजिये लेकिन कम से कम हाउस के सामने यह जरूर रखिये कि आप क्या करने जा रहे हैं? किम तरीके से आप तैयारी करेंगे? हिमालय का बौर्डर कोई मामूली बौर्डर नहीं है और उस हिमालयन बौर्डर का इंतजाम और हिफाजत करना दुनिया का सबसे बड़ा मसला है और हमारे देश के लिये उस का बहुत महत्व है। लेकिन जब आप यह कहते हैं कि मैकमोहन लाइन को हम चीन और भारत की सीमा रेखा मानते हैं तो मुझे दाल में काला नजर आता है। यह मैकमोहन लाइन अंग्रेजों की बनाई हुई है। मैकमोहन लाइन उन अंग्रेज इम्पीरियलिस्ट्स की बनाई हुई है जिन्होंने कि हमें सदियों तक गुलामी की जंजीरों में जकड़े रखा। हमारी लाइन तो कैलाश और मानसरोवर हैं। गौरीशंकर और एवरेस्ट की

चोटी हमारी सीमा है। मैकमोहन लाइन को यदि हम स्वीकार कर लेते हैं तो इस का मतलब यह है कि दुश्मन हमारी छाती के ऊपर खड़ा हुआ है, हमें नीचे गिरा सकता है और जब चाहे संगसार कर सकता है। पत्थरों से हमें नीचे दबा सकता है। इसलिये मैकमोहन लाइन हमारी लाइन नहीं है। भारत की भौगोलिक लाइन या सीमा हिमालय की चोटी है और अगर इस हिमालय की रक्षा नहीं होती है तो भारत की भी रक्षा नहीं हो सकती है।

“हितम् मनोहारी च दुर्लभम् वचः”
मैं कोई ऐसी बात नहीं कहना चाहता जो कि लगे तो मीठी लेकिन उस में भारत की जनता का अहित निहित हो। दवा मीठी भी हो और फायदा भी करने वाली हो यह जरा मुश्किल है। मैं बिल्कुल स्पष्ट और सीधे शब्दों में कहना चाहता हूँ कि सारे राष्ट्र का राष्ट्रीयकरण कीजिये, कोटोजम और डालडा को बन्द कीजिये। जिन रगों में कोटोजम और डालडा बसा हुआ है उन में देशभक्ति नहीं रह सकती। उन रगों के अन्दर देश के खातिर लड़ने का माद्दा नहीं रह सकता है। देश के अंदर एक पवित्रता आयेगी, इंडिविजुएल करेक्टर से नेशनल करेक्टर बनेगा। अगर इनफरादी तौर से अखलाक ऊंचा नहीं होगा तब कौम का अखलाक ऊंचा नहीं हो सकता है। “अफराद से बनती है अक्वाम की तकदीर, हर फर्द है मिलत के मुकद्दर का सितारा।” हर एक आदमी में देशभक्ति देखनी होगी। आज देश के लिये सब से बड़ा घोर संकट है। यह इतना बड़ा संकट है कि इससे पहिले भारत भूमि ने यह संकट नहीं देखा था। जो लोग यह कहते हैं कि बातों से मसला हल कर लिया जाये यह वह लोग हैं जो कि ऐयर कंडीशंड हाल में बैठे रहते हैं और चाहते हैं कि उन के हलुबे मांडे, में और ऐशा आराम में कोई फर्क न आये। बातों से यह मसला हल नहीं हो सकता है। मसल मशहूर भी है कि लातों के भूत बातों से नहीं मानते। शक्ति से मसला हल होता है।
Not by parliamentary speeches nor majority votes are the mighty questions of age solved, but it is

[श्री यशपाल सिंह]

through a policy of blood and iron. यह बिस्मार्क ने लिखा है। हर एक इन्सान को हथियार रखना सीखना होगा, हर एक को मिलेटरी ट्रेनिंग हासिल करनी पड़ेगी। आज धर्मी का एग्जिस्टेंस खतरे में है, और जब धर्मी का अस्तित्व खतरे में है तो धर्म का पालन कौन करेगा ? धर्मी के एग्जिस्टेंस को बचाना पड़ेगा। वक्त आ गया है कि देश के अन्दर जो धर्मी है उस की रक्षा की जाये। उसके लिये देश माता की रक्षा की जाये। उसके बाद धर्म का पालन हो सकेगा और यह तभी हो सकेगा जब ४४ करोड़ इंसानों में, हर एक आर्गनाइजेशन में और हर एक हिन्दुस्तानी के मन में यह बात गूँज जायेगी कि देश हमारा है और इस की रक्षा हमें करनी है। यह काम आज से और अभी से शुरू करना होगा। सारे देश का नेशनलाइजेशन हो और यदि देश के अन्दर एक इस तरह का एंटमासफियर पैदा हो जायेगा तो देश का बच्चा-बच्चा अपने देश हितों की रक्षा के लिये कमर कस कर खड़ा हो जायेगा। हम ने देखा कि स्पार्टा के ऊपर जब संकट था तो स्पार्टा की सरकार को यह कानून बनाना पड़ा कि जो बच्चा पैदा हो उस को २४ घंटे छत के ऊपर डाल दिया जाये और अगर वह २४ घंटे की गर्मी सर्दी बर्दाश्त कर ले जाय तो तब तो उसे पाल लिया जाये वरना इतने कमजोर बच्चे का देश के लिये कोई उपयोग नहीं है। आज भी आप को इस तरीके का कोई न कोई कानून बनाना पड़ेगा। यह जो आप आवादी का रोना रोते हैं कि आवादी बढ़ती जा रही है तो मेरा कहना है कि आवादी का इलाज धर्मयुद्ध है। आवादी का इलाज सैल्फ कंट्रोल है। आवादी का इलाज बर्थ कंट्रोल नहीं हो सकता है। यह भारत भूमि जो कि गांधी और गौतम की भूमि है वहाँ बर्थ कंट्रोल एक दम अनुचित है। महात्मा गांधी कहते थे कि बर्थ कंट्रोल सब से बड़ा पाप है। परिवार नियोजन सब से बड़ा पाप है। उस गांधी के चेले बैठ कर करोड़ों रुपया परिवार नियोजन पर खर्च करते हैं, मैं साफ लफ्जों में कहता हूँ कि

यह परिवार नियोजन नहीं बल्कि व्यभिचार नियोजन है। हमें तो वह शिक्षा देनी होगी जो कि महात्मा गांधी की शिक्षा थी। फौर दि सेक आफ ए चाइल्ड ओनली। सिर्फ औलाद पैदा करने के लिये गृहस्थ किया जाये।

गौतम, विवेकानन्द और रामी दयानन्द की "केवल संतानोत्पत्ति के लिए गृहस्थ" की शिक्षा देनी पड़ेगी। उस शिक्षा से हमारा भारत मुखी हो सकेगा। आज हमारे सामने यह मसला है। इस बढ़ती हुई पापुलेशन का इलाज धर्मयुद्ध है। अगर आज दो करोड़ आदमी इधर, उधर हिमालय की तरफ बढ़ जायें तो उन चीनी अफीमचियों की क्या हिम्मत है कि वह हमारे सामने ठहर सकें। हमारे एक एक शख्स ने जाकर इन पहाड़ों को फतह किया है। हमारा दादा हरिसिंह नलवा केवल थोड़े से घुड़सवार ले कर गया था और कबायलियों की तमाम ताकत को खत्म कर के आया था। "आज तक भी रोते हैं जब बच्चे उन पठानों के, तो अम्मा कहती सोजा, सोजा आये गयो नलवा"। आज तक हमारी यह धाक है। हमने कुर्बानियाँ दी हैं। कोई कारण नहीं है कि हम इस देश के लिये अपना सर्वस्व अर्पण न कर सकें। देश का बच्चा, बच्चा आज आजादी की रक्षा करने को तैयार है। हर एक की भुजा फड़क रही है। हर एक की छाती के अन्दर जोश है। अगर काँद तैयार नहीं है तो दो मूर्तियाँ तैयार नहीं हैं। एक तो प्रतिरक्षा मंत्री और दूसरे उनके मोह में फंसे हुए प्रधान मंत्री। इन दो मूर्तियों के अलावा सब भारतवासी तैयार हैं और चाहते हैं कि इस देश की रक्षा की जाये। यह काम तभी होगा जब सैनिकीकरण होगा, मिलिटराइजेशन होगा। यह काम तभी होगा जब भारत के प्रत्येक नागरिक को आगे बढ़ने का मौका दिया जायेगा।

आज जरूरत इस बात की है कि हथियारों पर से यह लाइसेंस की पाबन्दी हटा ली जाये।

स्कूल और कालिजों में हर एक बच्चे को फौजी तालीम अनिवार्य रूप से दी जाये। हर एक बालिग आदमी के लिये फौजी तालीम का इतिजाम हो। नाऊ और नैवर का सवाल है। इसे या तो आज किया जायेगा वरना यह कभी नहीं हो सकता है। यह मोस्ट क्रिटिकल प्वाइंट है। इस से अधिक यो संकट का काल कभी भारत भूमि के ऊपर नहीं आया है। इसे हम एयर कंडीशंड हाल में बैठे कर तय नहीं कर सकते हैं। सूरियां आजायेगी तो हम लोग आगे नहीं बढ़ सकेंगे। मैं बड़े घदब के साथ कहना चाहता हूं कि गमियों में हमारी फौज आगे बढ़ सकती है। गमियों में हमारे रक्षा मंत्री आगे जा कर देख सकते हैं। और हम भी जा कर मोर्चे के ऊपर देख सकते हैं। जब सूरियां आयेगी तो हमारे कोमल तन, और नाजुक मिजाज प्रतिरक्षा मंत्री के पैर और ज्यादा सूज जायेंगे, अभी उन के पैरों पर वरम है और लकड़ी ले कर चलना पड़ता है तब तो यह और भी ज्यादा सूज जायेंगे, और उन पर और ज्यादा वरम आ जायेगा। बिग इज द बेस्ट टाइम फौर डिफेंस। इस से बढ़ कर उपयुक्त समय दूसरा नहीं आ सकता है।

मैं आप के द्वारा इस हाउस से कहना चाहता हूं कि धर्म, भारतीयता और हमारी संस्कृति की रक्षा के लिये ४४ करोड़ इमान मिल कर भारतमाता की रक्षा करें। जिन लोगों ने भारतमाता को आजाद कराने के लिये अपना खून दिया आज हम उन का नाम तक नहीं लेते हैं। बादशाह खां सरहदी गांधी खान अब्दुल गफ्फार खां का आज हम नाम नहीं लेते हैं। नेताजी सुभाष चन्द्र बोस को हम भुला बैठे हैं। जिस दिन इस सेंट्रल हाल में नेता जी की तरवार हमारे जिस दिन खान अब्दुल गफ्फार खां की सेंट्रल हाल में तरवार होगी, उस दिन हमारा सेंट्रल हाल उचित तौर पर सजा हुआ माना जायेगा। देश के अन्दर इन देश भक्तों की मूर्तियां स्थापित की जायें। अगर हम इन देश भक्तों को जिन्होंने ने कि

आजादा की खातिर अपने प्राणों की कुर्बानी दी उन को भूला देंगे, उन शहीदों की याद हम नहीं करेंगे, जिन्होंने ने कि अपना खून दिया, तो हमारी संस्कृति जिन्दा नहीं रह सकती है; आज धर्म का अस्तित्व खतरे में है। धर्म की कौन कहे ? इस लिये सब से पहला कदम यह होना चाहिये कि सब मिल कर इस धर्म की रक्षा करें और भारतमाता को बचायें।

Shrimati Jyotsna Chanda (Cachar):

I rise to support the Demands of the Defence Ministry and to oppose the cut motions moved by the Opposition.

15 hrs.

Our country is a vast one. For its defence, for its security and integrity, our Government must be more alert. Regarding this, I like to make a few observations. Sir, I come from a State which is passing through all sorts of problems. On the one side Chinese and on the other side Pakistan are trying to do all sorts of mischiefs. Naga trouble is continuing for the last few years. Infiltration is still going on in my State. Most Members of this House are quite aware of the fact of successful escape of the armed Naga gangs to East Pakistan. It is a serious affair. We talk of national integrity. Following the capture of two automobiles and temporary kidnapping of all the seved occupants of the vehicles by armed gangs of Naga hostiles operating on the Silchar-Halfong road, it became known on the frank admission of the hostiles themselves that they were going to Pakistan. Even newspapers carried this report on 29th April, 1962. Referring to this report, the hon. Prime Minister was kind enough to assure the Parliament that the security forces and the police had been alerted for intercepting the hostile gangs.

Naturally the news of the successful escape of the armed Naga gangs to East Pakistan through Cachar on the morning of May 1, 1962 caused

[Shrimati Jyotsna Chanda]

regret and anguish. During my recent visit to Cachar, I came across certain facts and allegations concerning the happenings which cannot be ignored, particularly unimpeachable evidence behind the queer fact that the army officers operating in the locality refused to give credence to definite reports of Naga deprecations brought by three tribal residents of Bombaizao village which was raided and looted by armed Naga hostiles and who were compelled to allow two of their young men to accompany the hostiles as porters. They approached the army camp of Kalaincherra with information that the armed Naga hostiles were still camping in their locality on their way to Pakistan. This was on 30th April. Instead of acting according to information supplied by the tribal residents, so far as my information goes, the army officer in charge of Kalaincherra camp allegedly disbelieved the informants. He took them to Digorkhal camp where the Lt. Colonel of the 16th Madras Regiment was camping then. Curiously enough the Lt. Colonel also refused to attach much importance to the information brought by the tribal villagers. Moreover, there are strong reasons to think that the army officers did not allow the tribal informants to meet the officer in-charge of the civil police station of Katigora police station who came to Digorkhal camp to contact the tribal villagers.

If the army authorities had not whiled away their time by refusing to take action on the basis of valuable information provided by the tribal informants on 30th April forenoon, the Naga hostiles could have been successfully prevented from escaping into East Pakistan. Besides, the army authorities reasonable for co-ordination and direction of security arrangements in the locality did not take steps to strengthen and reinforce the border security force outposts on the Pakistan border. Sir, this is not in tune with the assurance given by our hon. Prime Minister. This regretful

happening in this background calls for high level investigation to find out the causes and reasons of laxity and delinquency demonstrated by the army authorities so that such delinquency bordering on sedition may be avoided in future. It may not be out of place to mention here that in 1956 the Naga hostiles were intending to escape through the same route to Pakistan but they failed to do so for the then intelligence branches both of Centre and the State had co-ordination and co-operation with the army authorities who were alerted and all precautionary measures were taken up.

Sir, before I conclude, I draw the attention of the Defence Ministry that there are regiments in the name of Punjab, Madras, Maharashtra and Rajasthan and so on but there is no regiment in the name of Bengal. May I request the Government to have a Bengal Regiment.

Shri Birendra Bahadur Singh: Is there no regiment called Bengal Sappers and Miners?....(Interruptions).

Shrimati Jyotsna Chanda: There is an Assam regiment. I do not want to say that it must be community-wise. A regiment is composed of all communities and so far as my information goes there is no such regiment in the name of Bengal. I do not agree with the view put forward by one of my colleagues on my side that all these names should be withdrawn. All the regiments are composed of all the communities and so the Bengal regiment may also be composed of all the communities. So, I request the hon. Minister to have another regiment in the name of Bengal. With these words, I thank you, Sir.

Shri Tridib Kumar Chaudhuri (Berhampur): Mr. Deputy Speaker, yesterday and today a number of speakers referred to the mooted MIG deal with the Soviet Union because a lot of hullabaloo has been raised by

reason of the fact that the representatives of certain western powers who have become alarmed at this proposal have seen our Prime Minister and the other responsible Ministers have made their reactions known to this proposal. So far as our right to purchase arms and weapons from whatever quarter is concerned, that was never in question. It was almost a year back that the Defence Minister himself, when the question of purchase of military transport planes was concerned, said that we had every right to purchase weapons from whatever quarters we like and where we think best. The day before yesterday the question of purchase of AN 12 transport planes from the Soviet Union was raised during the question hour. He replied quite rightly that the purchase of aircraft was dependent upon our requirements, its performance, availability of foreign exchange, advice from our experts and the condition of our Air Force needs and so on. In the Press as also on the floor of this House this question has however served as a convenient smokescreen to hide the sorry reality of the state of our defence. It is not that only just now Government has come to know that Pakistan has secured this F 104 American jet fighters.

It is nearly one year and a half ago that the United States Government made a gift of a squadron of F-104 fighter aircraft to Pakistan and from that moment the superiority of Pakistan's air force over our air force was never in doubt. It is pertinent to ask in this context what our Defence Department and particularly the Defence Ministry was doing all these one and a half years ago. If they are free to purchase supersonic jet fighters from the Soviet Union or any other country today, they were equally free to purchase them a year and a half back. But they sat tight. Perhaps it would not be correct to say that they sat tight: they took a heroic resolve. Instead of purchasing the supersonic jets outright from some

foreign source, they took the resolve of manufacturing our own jet fighters. They obtained the services of a German expert, Dr. Tank, and started arrangements to manufacture HF-24. So far as the design and other things are concerned, I am a layman and I have nothing to say about them in regard to HF-24. But the Hindustan Aircraft or the Defence Department—they mean the same thing—entered into an agreement with Bristol-Siddley group of aero-engine makers for powering his plane. The aero-engine makers however equipped this plane not with a supersonic engine but with a subsonic engine and it made a successful test flight last year. But, after that, the whole plan, it seems, has gone phut, because the Bristol-Siddley group informed our Defence Department that they are not in a position to undertake the supersonic variety of that particular engine the Orpheus engine—because it would be very costly for them and our orders were not sufficiently large and so on. So at that time the whole plan was put in cold storage. None knows what happened to that.

Only now our Government seems to have woke up to the fact that we have no supersonic jet fighters. The complement of our air force is as follows: I found it in the *Armed Services Annual*. It consists of bombers, Vampires, Liberators, fighters, Convoires, Toofanis, Mysteres, Herons and Gnats. Then the reconnaissance planes are the Liberators and Canberas. In regard to the communications and transport planes, the same old Dakotas are there. The only modern things are the Ilyushine and some others, including Viscounts and so on.

But what has happened to our plan manufacturing our own supersonic jet fighters and why are we not going ahead? After all, it is common knowledge, and everybody would agree that it takes time to manufacture such things ourselves, for an under-

[Shri Tridib Kumar Chaudhuri]

developed country like ours, with our insufficient skill and technique and other things. But then why did we take so much time in considering that we have to purchase these things outright from abroad, so that we can match Pakistan's strength? One and a half year's time is not a very small period, and the Defence Ministry owes an explanation on two points: firstly, what has happened to our plans of manufacturing super-sonic fighters HF-24 ourselves and what is the position with regard to the supply of engines which we hoped to get from the Bristol-Siddlev group—Orpheus whatever it is. Secondly, what is the position with regard to any deal—I do not mind whether it is the Soviet Union or any other country—and why have we allowed so much time to elapse? I do not see any valid explanation for that.

The hon. lady Member who spoke before me referred to another matter, and that is the question of border security. She had a sorry tale to recount—how our army officers literally slept while 200 armed Nagas crossed over our own territory—150 miles or so—and then escaped into Pakistan before their very eyes so to say. A lot of encomiums has been paid to the Defence Ministry and to the Defence Department and our armed forces. But there, you see how our borders are guarded!

I would refer to another border question. Of course, there, the position is not so serious. But it is serious from another point of view. I am referring to our border with East Pakistan, particularly with East Bengal. Time and again, in this House, we have raised the question of security of that border—the West Bengal-East Pakistan border—and we do not know as yet what is the exact arrangement with regard to the protection of that border. So far as my information goes, that is guarded by the West Bengal police, and even the

West Bengal Government do not maintain a regular border security force. They have a volunteer force—the West Bengal National Volunteer Force—from which they recruit border guards for the border security force on a temporary basis and it is only these people who are there to guard the border. All sorts of trouble, daily pinpricks, kidnapping, etc., take place on this border and I understand that the West Bengal Government has also written to the Union Government about the costs to be borne with regard to the security arrangements of this border.

I would suggest that the Government should seriously consider that if at least some regular border militia under the army could not be put there so that the border protection could be put on a more secure and adequate footing.

Then I would come to another matter which is rather delicate, namely, the state of political morale of our armed forces, particularly as was displayed in Goa. I do not know who it was who suggested the name for our operations in Goa. It was a right thing to send our army there and take over Goa. I have no quarrel with that. The Army thought that they were undertaking a very big military operation and so they named that operation as Operation Vijay, that is Operation Conquest. But I would have liked it if they had named the operation as Operation Vimochan, that is, Operation Liberation. Anyway, now the military is giving over the administration of Goa and it is being taken over by the civil authorities. I think some of the unpleasant experiences of the Goan people with regard to our army would now be a thing of the past.

But this is a matter which needs to be looked into very seriously. One of the top-most editor and journalist in the country of a popular illus-

trated magazine, the *Illustrated Weekly of India* went there himself to see how things were after the liberation. This is what he has written in his paper. If it were written by some ordinary correspondent I would not give any serious consideration to it. I would only request the Defence Department officials to go through that whole article and to find out what actually was the state of affairs there and who was responsible for some of the unfortunate happenings that took place there. I would read only one line from that article of that editor. He said that "it is they—he meant the Goan people—who were fond of using the term 'liberation', but our soldiers and officials seemed to prefer the term 'occupation'. The result was that it has left a memory of unhappiness, which hope would be a thing of the past.

This aspect of the thing needs enquiry. We went into Goa to liberate our own people, who are of our own flesh and blood. We did not go there to conquer that small pocket of foreign colony. We went there to liberate our own people and somehow or other, the way some of our army personnel behaved has left a very bad memory. I hope that aspect of the matter will be looked into carefully. I absolutely agree that the right thing has been done so far as the liberation of Goa is concerned. I also agree that this was a fine piece of military operation. The speed of the operation was exemplary and it is a very good thing that was done. But the only thing is, so far as army discipline and the treatment of some of our own people by some of the army personnel is concerned, that needs to be enquired into, and I hope that such things would not recur again.

श्री रंजय सिंह (मुसाफिरखाना) :
उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं आप को धन्यवाद देता हूँ कि आज लगभग ३० वर्षों के उपरान्त पुनः

इस माननीय सदन में आप ने मुझे अपने विचार व्यक्त करने का अवसर दिया है। यह जो रक्षा का प्रश्न है उसपर अनेक प्रकार से अनेक प्रतिष्ठित महानुभावों के विचार सुनने को मिले। मुझे बहुत कुछ कहना था परन्तु मैं समझता हूँ कि बहुत सी बातें कही जा चुकी हैं। फिर भी कुछ न कुछ निवेदन करना है मैं अपना कर्तव्य समझता हूँ।

सेना के सम्बन्ध में अभी यहाँ बहुत सी बातें कही गयीं। मैं भी समझता हूँ कि सेना के लिये जितना भी प्रोत्साहन दिया जाय, देश के लिये हितकर होगा। सेना के सम्बन्ध में मैं समझता हूँ कि सैनिक सब से अधिक आदर के पात्र हैं क्योंकि वे अपने प्राणों को हथेली में ले कर देश की रक्षा के लिये देश में ही नहीं, विदेशों में भी जाने के लिये तैयार रहते हैं, और इस प्रकार भारत का गौरव बढ़ाते हैं। जहाँ पर अशान्ति होती है वहाँ वे शान्ति की स्थापना करते हैं। हमारे देश के सैनिकों ने जो जो महान् कार्य इस बीच में किये हैं उन के लिये मैं समझता हूँ कि यह विभाग बधाई का पात्र है, और मैं अपने माननीय प्रतिरक्षा मंत्री जी को बधाई देता हूँ कि उन्होंने केवल गोआ में ही नहीं, और और स्थानों पर भी, विदेशों में भी, जहाँ जहाँ भारतीय सेनायें भेजने का प्रश्न आया अपने सैनिकों को भेज कर शान्ति की रक्षा, में सहायता की।

बहुत सज्जन इस में भी आक्षेप करते हैं कि हमारे सिपाही जो हैं वे तो हैं, लेकिन सेना की वृद्धि बहुत उत्तम वस्तु नहीं है। वे समझते हैं कि सेना की वृद्धि में हिंसा का भाव आता है। लेकिन हिंसा का प्रश्न या अहिंसाका प्रश्न सेना की वृद्धि में नहीं आता। मैं समझता हूँ कि हम लोग अहिंसा को मानने वाले हैं। मुझे स्मरण है कि इसी स्थान पर, इस माननीय सदन में १५ फरवरी, सन् १९२९ को माननीय डा० मुंज के प्रस्ताव का हमारे नेता पंडित मोतीलाल नेहरू और पंडित मदनमोहन मालवी तथा अन्य गण्यमान्य नेताओं ने समर्थन किया था कि यहाँ सैनिक शिक्षा, मिनिट्री

[श्री रणजय सिंह]

ट्रेनिंग दी जाये। यह प्रस्ताव तब के विरोधी दल का था। तत्कालीन सरकार ने उस का विरोध किया था। उस समय हम लोगों की यह चुटकी ली जाती थी कि यह लोग अहिंसा-त्मक बनते हैं और अपने आपको अहिंसावादी कहकर भी मिलिटरी ट्रेनिंग या सैनिक शिक्षा पर बल दे रहे हैं। जब वे लोग यह कहते हैं कि देश में सैनिक शिक्षा होनी चाहिये तो यह उनकी अहिंसा कैसे रही? ऐसी ऐसी बातें कही गयी थीं। उस दिन अर्थात् १५ फरवरी, को अपने भाषण में अहिंसा की परिभाषा करते हुए मैंने कहा था कि यदि अहिंसा धर्म की रक्षा के लिये हमें हथियार उठाने होते हैं तो वह हिंसा के लिये नहीं है, अहिंसा के लिये है। हम अहिंसा का प्रसार संसार भर में चाहते हैं। हमारे महान नेता महात्मा गांधी ने जब अंग्रेजों के सामने नान-वायलेन्स का प्रश्न उठाया था। तो उन्होंने कहा कि नानवायोलेंस होनी ही चाहिये। लेकिन इस से यह सिद्ध नहीं होता है कि हमें सेना की आवश्यकता नहीं है। अहिंसा के सम्बन्ध में हम को सेना की बात नहीं उठानी चाहिये। यह बात भ्रम पैदा करती है। यह बात सही है कि हमें सेना की आवश्यकता है। हमारे जैसे आध्यात्मिक देश की आशा, शान्तिदूत और शान्ति के सर्वोपरि कर्णधार हमारे प्रधान मंत्री हैं, जो संसार में शान्ति की स्थापना करना चाहते हैं। तो हमारे देशमें ऐसी सेना की आवश्यकता है कि संसार के कोने कोने में जहां कहीं अशान्ति हो और संयुक्त राष्ट्र संघ आदि की ओर से विचार किया जाय कि वहां शांति की स्थापना करना है और वहां सेना भेजनी है, वहां यहां से सेना जाया करे, वहां शान्ति की स्थापना करे और वहां से हिंसा के तांडव नृत्य को दूर कर के अहिंसा की रक्षा करे। इस प्रकार से अहिंसा की स्थापना के लिये हमें सेना की आवश्यकता है, हिंसा के लिये सेना की आवश्यकता नहीं है।

आज हमारे पड़ोस में या संसार में

जहां कहीं भी हम देखें अधिकतर युद्ध की बातें होती हैं और अशान्ति हो रही है। आज जिन बड़े बड़े शस्त्रास्त्रों का निर्माण हो रहा है इस दृष्टि से नहीं हो रहा कि संसार में शान्ति की स्थापना की जाये अपितु अन्य फौजों पर आधिपत्य जमाने के लिये संसार में भयंकर शस्त्रास्त्रों का निर्माण हो रहा है। ऐसी स्थिति में इस बात की आवश्यकता है, जैसी कि कई हमारे माननीय मित्रों ने कहा और मैं उन का समर्थन करता हूं, कि हमारे देश में जो हमारी सेना हो वह आधुनिक शस्त्रास्त्रों से सुसज्जित हो, लेकिन उस का उद्देश्य जो है वह यह है कि हम अशान्ति के लिये नहीं, हम हिंसा के लिये नहीं अपितु अहिंसा के लिये, शान्ति के लिये अपनी सेना रखते हैं। हम अपनी सेना को इतना सुसज्जित रखें कि कोई भी हमारी सेना पर उगली न उठा सके और ऐसी धृष्टता न कर सके कि हमारी सेना को निर्बल समझे, वह जहां चाहे बढ़ता चला जाये और अधिकार जमाने का साहस करे। आज हमारे यहां जो कुछ हो रहा है वह शान्ति के लिये ही प्रयत्न हो रहा है, नहीं तो कोई बड़ी बात नहीं थी कि हमारी सेनायें अभी चढ़ाई कर के बात को बात में काश्मीर को बिल्कुल मुक्त कर लें। और जो चीन वाले हैं, उनसे भी लड़ाई छेड़ सकते हैं इस में कोई कठिनाई नहीं है। हमारी सेना सुसज्जित है, लेकिन फिर भी आवश्यकता है कि उसे और भी सुसज्जित किया जाय और उस को और भी शक्ति बढ़ाई जाये। यह सेना केवल शत्रुओं से लड़ने के लिये ही नहीं है। शान्ति के समय भी यह हमारे यहां काम करती है जिस काम को अन्य विभाग नहीं कर सकते। मैं अपने सैनिकों को बधाई देता हूं कि उन्होंने संसार में गौरव का स्थान प्राप्त किया है। देश में भी रोहतक में लखनऊ में और दूसरी जगहों पर बाढ़ के समय सैनिकों ने बड़ा काम किया। वह इतने साबन सम्पन्न हैं कि वे इस तरह के काम कर सकते हैं जिन को और लोग नहीं कर सकते। हमारे भाई

कहा कि सेना का महत्व बहुत है । हम भी मानते हैं कि हमारे पास आधुनिकतम हथियार रहें लेकिन हमारी सेना किसी को दबाने के लिये नहीं है ।

विद्या विवादाय धनधनदाय, शक्तिः परेषाम
परिपोडनाय,
खललय साधोः विपरीत भेतत्, ज्ञानाय, दानाय
च रक्षणाय ।

यानी विद्या विवाद के लिये है, धन धनधन करने के लिये है, और शक्ति दूसरों को परेशान करने के लिये है यह उन के लिये सत्य है जिन के विचार खलों के होते हैं । लेकिन जिन के विचार अच्छे हैं उन को विद्या ज्ञान के लिये है, धन दान के लिये है और शक्ति दूसरों की रक्षा के लिये है । तो हमारे देश की यही परम्परा रही है । हमारे देश का इसी लिये संसार में गौरव रहा है कि हमारी यह परम्परा रही है और इसी कारण आज हमारी सेना ने संसार में गौरव का स्थान प्राप्त किया है ।

मेरा सुझाव है कि हमारे सैनिकों को शुद्ध भोजन मिलना चाहिये । आजकल शुद्ध यी नहीं मिलता । शुद्ध दूध नहीं मिलता । उन के लिये शुद्ध खाद्य पदार्थों का प्रबन्ध किया जाये । शुद्ध भोजन से उन का स्वास्थ्य अच्छा होगा और उन के विचार भी अच्छे होंगे ।

सेना में अनुशासन बहुत अच्छा है जो कि अन्य लोगों के लिये अनुकरणीय है । हमारी सेना हमारे लिये आदर्श है । उन को पूरा प्रोत्साहन मिलना चाहिये । सोलजर्स बोर्ड के काम पर पूरा ध्यान देना चाहिये । हमारे सैनिक अपने काम से निवृत्त हो कर ग्रामों में जब जाते हैं तो बड़े लाभदायक सिद्ध होते हैं । तो मेरा कहना है कि हमारी सेना का काम केवल लड़ाई करना ही नहीं है बल्कि मुल्क की सेवा का करना भी है । उन्होंने जो हमारे देश में स्थान स्थान पर सेवायें की हैं वे और लोगों द्वारा नहीं हो सकतीं ।

हमारी सेना के बारे में यहां पर

अनेक माननीय सदस्यों ने अपने विचार प्रक किये हैं ।

युक्तियुक्त पुमादेयम्, वचनम् बालकादपि

यानी जो युक्तियुक्त बात हो वह बालक की भी मान लेनी चाहिये । इस के अनुसार जो भी भाषण हुए हैं, उन पर विचार किया जाय और जो बातें ठीक हों उन पर पूरा ध्यान दिया जाये ।

हमारी सेना के सम्बन्ध में जो डिमांड है उस का तो मैं समर्थन करता ही हूं । मैं तो समझता हूं, जैसा कि श्री रघुनाथ सिंह जी ने अपने ओजस्वी भाषण में कहा हमें अपनी सेना की शक्ति और बढ़ानी चाहिये और हवाई जहाज आदि सामान उस के लिये मंगाना चाहिये । मैं उन का समर्थक हूं । उन्होंने जो बातें बतलाई हैं वे आंकड़े देख कर बतलायी हैं । हमारी सेना की जितनी शक्ति बढ़ेगी उतनी ही संसार में शान्ति की स्थापना होगी । हमारी सेना रक्षा के लिये है और अहिंसा के सिद्धान्त पर चलने वाली है । हम किसी का राज्य नहीं लेना चाहते । हम तो चाहते हैं कि जो संसार में आज गड़बड़ी है उस को दूर करने में हमारी सेना महायुक्त सिद्ध हो ।

हमारी सेना बहुत अच्छी है और इसमें अनुशासन की भावना भी काफी है । यद्यपि मैं समझता हूं कि हमारी सेना इस प्रकार की बातों से दूर है, लेकिन फिर भी मेरा सुझाव है कि हमको यह प्रयत्न करना चाहिये कि सेना पर कम्यूनिज्म और कम्प्यूनिज्म का प्रभाव न पड़े । मैं चाहता हूं कि सेना की उन्नति के लिये जो कुछ किया जा सकता है किया जाए ताकि उसकी दिन दूनी और रात चौगुनी उन्नति हो । हमारी सेना शक्तिशाली होगी तो देश की सेवा अधिक अच्छी तरह कर सकेगी और संसार में शान्ति स्थापना भी कर सकेगी । उस अवस्था में संसार समझेगा कि यह देश फिर अपने

[श्री रणजय]

पुराने गौरव को प्राप्त हो गया है जब कि इसके लिए कहा जाता था :

एतद्देश प्रभूतस्य समाशादय जन्मनः,
स्व स्व चरित्रम् शिक्षेरन् पृथिव्याम् सर्व-
मानवः ।

यहां लोग बाहर से आकर शिक्षा ग्रहण करते थे । इसी प्रकार फिर देश का गौरव का स्थान प्राप्त होगा हमारी सेना आज भी संसार में शान्ति स्थापना का काम कर रही है और अधिक शक्तिशाली होगी तो और भी गौरवपूर्ण स्थान प्राप्त करेगी । आज जो संसार में शस्त्रों की होड़ चल रही है उसका कारण लोगों की विचारधारा का ठीक न होना है । इसलिए हमको ध्यान रखना चाहिए कि हमारे सैनिकों की विचारधारा ठीक रहे । हमारे सैनिक कभी भी अन्य लोगों की अपेक्षा अच्छी विचारधारा रखते हैं । इस दिशा में उनको और भी प्रगति करनी चाहिए ।

अनेक माननीय सदस्यों ने बहुत सी बातें कही हैं, अगर मैं उनका जवाब दू तो उसमें बहुत समय लग जाएगा और अभी बहुत से माननीय सदस्य बोलना चाहते हैं । इसलिए मैं अधिक समय नहीं लेना चाहता । अन्त में मैं यही प्रार्थना करूंगा कि जो हमारे सैनिक हैं उनकी शक्ति को बढ़ाया जाए और उनको उत्साहित किया जाए ताकि वे देश की और संसार की सेवा कर सकें ।

अन्त में मैं रक्षा मंत्री जी को धन्यवाद देता हूं कि वह इतना काम कर रहे हैं और मैं आशा करता हूं कि सैनिकों की ओर और अधिक ध्यान दिया जाएगा । ऐसा करने से लाभ ही होगा और यदि ऐसा होगा तो हमारी दुनिया के लिए भी लाभदायक सिद्ध होगी ।

Shri Sham Lal Saraf (Jammu and Kashmir): Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, there are a few pre-requisites for running a secure, safe and strong Government more particularly when

the country is in development on a planned scale. These are, more particularly, internal security, respect for law and order, strength enough to defend our borders and to meet aggression from any foreign country. Keeping all these three things before me, I find that all these three apply as far as our defence forces are concerned. I will try to more realistic rather than idealistic in placing my view points on some of the aspects pertaining to our defence forces before this House.

While supporting the Demands for Grants relating to our defence forces, I would submit that today I am very happy to find that after centuries of subjugation the country is free for the last 15 years. The first reaction I find—a very strong reaction—is that the old distinction of martial and non-martial race has disappeared, and today any every Indian citizens is free and is welcome to join the forces provided he can fit in and he can be selected on the basis of bodily fitness, education etc.

Talking about the behaviour of our Indian Army personnel who were serving the Britishers, I find a world of difference today. Not only today but immediately after we got free, the difference in the behaviour of our Army personnel was remarkable. None of the hon. Members of this House will forget and, I hope, they remember that only three months after we won freedom the Kashmir trouble appeared on the scene. For months together the then Maharaja of Kashmir vacillated and did not take a decision with regard to the accession of that State for reasons best known to him which later aggravated the situation there because of the unprovoked aggression and raids from Pakistan. On behalf of the people and on behalf of the sovereign ruler of that State at that time we beseeched the Government for assessment of Jammu and Kashmir State to the Dominion of India. All the preliminaries were gone through and the

first thing that our Army did was that they flew up to Srinagar. Sir, through you, I would today pay my sincerest homage and full tributes from the inner recess of my heart to our entire Army personnel right from the sepoy up to the General who behaved in an exemplary manner when they reached Srinagar on the afternoon of the 26th October, 1947 when only three or four hours were left and the entire coup on the part of Pakistan would have been a *fait accompli* as far as the State of Jammu and Kashmir was concerned.

At the moment I may not speak about their fighting capacity but what I want to place before this House is that I have known our Indian Army personnel at very near quarters before 1947. I was wonderstruck to find the human behaviour and the patriotic fervour that was displayed by our Army personnel in Kashmir right from the day they were posted to that State. I must say, as my hon. friends know, in Kashmir we had not to fight only in the way as wars are fought. I would say it was a political fight also. You had to fight on a political basis too. Believe me, I myself witnessed our sepoys and jawans behave. How wonderfully they were behaving with the general people of that State, more particularly after the raiders had not only plundered, looted and killed people indiscriminately but ransacked and took away every thing they could lay their hands on. Our people there were really starving and I have seen not at one place but at a number of places and on a number of occasions our Army personnel really cutting down their rations and offering those rations to the famished and half-fed people of those areas and thus saving their lives.

As far as the general behaviour towards womenfolk, men and everybody there was concerned, it was exemplary. What a metamorphosis only within two or three months? I know what it was before three months when the Britisher were there. When

he was away what a change in the Army? I can safely say that the movement that had developed in the country led by Gandhiji hardly left a single soul unaffected. That we actually saw how it was practised as far as the operations in Kashmir were concerned. Therefore I would say that the physical, political, moral and spiritual progress that the country has made has been all round progress, more particularly when we see the Army is exemplary and is really praiseworthy.

I have been travelling all over the country for decades now. I know it personally that people complained in different provinces from different areas that they did not get opportunities to go into the Army. Though I will not dwell on this point, I can safely say that today there is hardly an area or a section of the people for whom opportunities to enter into the Army are not open. This is another point which we need take notice of. I am very happy at this. I must congratulate our Defence Ministry that in such a short time they have created this atmosphere in the country that people can talk about the Army with some confidence, praise and respect.

We talk a lot and we have been hearing a lot about national integration. I must honestly say that if we have to watch specimens of national integration we should go to some of our Army units. There is no difference there between high and low, between a man of this faith and that faith, between a man of this caste and that caste. We must learn a lesson from our Army personnel. This is more so from the time we are free. Therefore here in this august House I pay my highest compliments to our organisers of the Army, to our leaders and the entire Army personnel who have shown exemplary behaviour all round as far as matters concerning them are concerned.

Today I get an opportunity of paying my homage to those martyrs like

[Shri Tridib Kumar Chaudhuri]

Brigadier Usman, Colonel Roy, Major Sharma and Captain Zadoo, etc. When they arrived in Srinagar, not knowing the place, with no arrangements for their transport, not knowing the topography of the area how they straightaway ran to the front when the enemy was only two miles away? I know how they lost their precious lives. Many more young jawans whom I cannot mention by name have sacrificed their precious lives. They have not only saved the honour of the country but have also shown to the world that when people are in trouble, when there is unprovoked aggression from a country or from a neighbour, whoever he may be, India has got the moral strength to help all those people and save them.

As far as the Jammu and Kashmir State is concerned, for ages it has been a part of India. Because of certain circumstances that had preceded that incident it is really worth mentioning how Government of India took a brave decision at that time. By taking that decision our leaders have really made history unforgettable for times to come.

As far as our Defence forces are concerned, from our past history we know it and perhaps I am correct when I say that the Indian Army has never invaded any country outside our home. What happened in the past was that our preachers, our monks and our *sanyasis* did leave their homeland and conquered on the moral and spiritual plane. The everlasting effects of that are even today discernible in a number of other countries. But as far as our Army is concerned, today for the first time in the history of the world India has gone out to win peace and not to join in war or anything of that kind. I must say with full sense of responsibility that our Army has not only won peace and has helped in maintaining peace but has raised morale and confidence of the peace-loving people of the world.

Persons do count. Influence of persons does count. Today one of our

hon. friends, Shri Kamath, while speaking made certain reference to our hon. Defence Minister. I will remind him—unfortunately he is not here—that at the time of speaking on the Budget he had just quoted one sentence. He said:

“Socialism minus democracy is equal to Communism.”

That is what he had said. The hon. Member of the Proja Socialist Party should be well aware of the fact that the Congress candidate for one of the constituencies of Bombay was Shri Krishna Menon and it is a matter of common knowledge how the people of Bombay showed their confidence in him. If my hon. friend is a believer in democracy he must have the courage and honesty to admit the defeat of his party. As far as persons are concerned, persons do make a lot. By their particular behaviour, by a particular way of working, they can certainly make environs which are for good or for bad. For instance, I have for some time past been closely watching that our Defence Minister has created a sense of confidence among our armed forces. I can say this with a full sense of responsibility. I have seldom got an opportunity of discussing matter with him, but I know fully well what sort of confidence he has created in the army. I would certainly endorse his statement and the statement of other leaders that in case of any trouble arising on our borders, our armed forces will face it squarely. I am absolutely sure about it.

I would now like to refer to a few matters, which perhaps may be engaging the attention of the Defence Ministry. We should have all round training facilities for officers of all ranks in an up-to-date manner. I hope this is being done. Next comes the question of equipment. The efficiency of an army nowadays depends upon its equipment. Our Minister must be bold enough to ask for funds with a view to seeing that we manufacture our own equipment. This applies with

plies with equal force to our Navy and Air Force. An hon. Member who spoke before me said something about our army. I do not know how far it is correct, but it is absolutely necessary that we should have an up-to-date Navy and I am sure the Defence Ministry will pay attention to this. In this connection particular attention should be paid to our Stores Depots and ordnance factories.

Then I come to the important question of amenities for army personnel. You know, Sir, that in the State from which I come the armed personnel are guarding our borders at heights ranging from 14,000 feet to 15,000 feet. Very often they have to ford rivers and rivulets and ravines. I hope all amenities are being provided to them in these desolate areas. In places where the terrain is difficult, transfers should take place at a lesser period than is usually being done. Attempts should also be made to post people recruited to the army from one area to work in other areas turn by turn. 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.

I must in the end congratulate the Defence Minister for having started for the first time a housing programme for the army and the way in which these housing projects have been completed is a feather in the cap of the Defence Ministry.

Shri P. C. Borooah (Sibsagar): Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, in rising to support the demands of the Ministry of Defence I should at the outset congratulate our Defence Minister for the very able manner he has been conducting the affair of the defence of our country. The activities of the Ministry are manifold; it has achieved some remarkable things during the year for which it deserves our congratulations. I hope the Ministry's achievements will evoke more laurels in the year to come.

Much has been said already by the various speakers and I would like to

confine my remarks to the State of Assam which has come to the forefront so far as defence is concerned. Sir, on the north there is the Chinese aggression. From the South and West there is Pakistani infiltration with threats of all kinds showered on India by Pakistan, coupled with the disruptive activities of the Naga hostiles both inside and outside our country. Thus Assam has come to the forefront and the people of that State got to be very much concerned with the activities of this Ministry.

Of the 9,000 miles of the frontiers which India has to maintain about one-third goes to the account of Assam alone. Imagine the map of India and see the position of Assam. It just bulges out of the whole of India keeping only a small stretch of land of about 40 miles through which she has to keep all her connections with the rest of the country and the Capital. As such, Assam lies in the forefront so far as defence is concerned. I feel therefore, that at least one-third of the expenses and the attention of the Department of Defence should go to the lot of Assam. A headquarters,—a full-fledged military headquarters should be established there with all its paraphernalia, including artillery and air force, so that it can look after the defence of our frontiers quickly without waiting for equipment from outside.

It is reported that the Chinese are strengthening their posts in and around Longju; only fifteen miles from Longju is the Tibetan plateau. They have established their military stations and have constructed roads and bridges. I am sure this must have been known to the Defence Department very well. I need not take the time of the House by repeating the violations Chinese have committed on our border or the incursions made into our territory.

But in spite of all this, when we take up the matter of the Chinese relationship with us, we should consider it dispassionately and in a realistic manner. Whatever decision we take

[Shri P. C. Borooah]

in this matter must be guided by our main objective, the adherence to the policy of non-alignment, the greatest gift India has given to the world. It is not an idealistic policy. It is a feasible and also a practicable proposition so far as the present context is concerned, and also in the foreseeable future.

16 hrs.

But that does not mean that we should be less vigilant in regard to our border affairs. Protection of our frontiers is our national duty and it should be discharged ceaselessly. I would like to stress that the question of border violation should be split up into two parts: firstly, the immediate steps that are required to be taken for meeting the challenge of the Chinese aggression and, secondly, the long-term arrangements that should be made for protection of our borders as a whole.

So far as the immediate steps are concerned, we are sorry that the Chinese have shown no inclination towards acceptance of our proposal of their withdrawing from the areas of our territory which they have incurred. They have to withdraw from the areas which are considered as disputed. Until they do that it would be very difficult to deal with the situation. But even then we have got to do something. We can take the initiative in the matter and we should be completely non-co-operating with the Chinese and we should not renew the trade agreement with Tibet which is going to expire in the course of the next two days, and meanwhile remain firm and prepared for the worst that may happen in the immediate future.

India is a peace-loving country, and it is known very well to the Chinese. But they should also know that it is a land of patriots who would not hesitate to lay down their lives for the safety of their country.

So far as the long-term arrangements are concerned, I would like to say that an efficient machinery should be set up to keep contact with the border areas, and communications to and from the borders must be improved, roads and bridges should be constructed, railways right up to the foot-hills should be extended, airfields and airstrips should be opened, military forces should be armed with modern weapons, Territorial Army, NCC and ACC units should be enlarged, proper facilities for developing the economy of the people living in the border areas should be offered and, last but not the least, strict vigilance should be kept on those having extra-territorial allegiance and we should comb out those who want to break our national solidarity.

I also feel that we are a bit too much repeating that we are the originators of *Panchsheel*, that we are wedded to non-violence and that we will not go to war, etc. These things were telling very often. Who in the world does not know today that we are against war? Yes, we are opposed to war, above all with a country like China with whom we had friendly relationship for the last two thousand years. But too much repetition of our being wedded to *Panchsheel* and all that, I am afraid might be misconstrued by others as our cowardice. I would like to state also that the Chinese are a great nation of 600 million as against India of 400 million. They have got a three million armed force against half a million of ours—of course, I stand to be corrected. But, in these days of scientific warfare and nuclear weapons, mere supremacy in number will not count much. If, in going to defend our borders, we are to get involved in war, we must not fall back though we know very well that war with China and India will not be confined to India and China alone, it will be a global war. What the effects of a global war would be, I need not dilate. It will be destruction of man-

kind. But, then, it will give birth to a new world. Then where is the fear? If we all die, we will all die together. That dying would be dying for truth, dying for non-violence, dying for Panch Sheel.

In regard to Pakistan, I do not want to repeat what has been said before. I think, if we can satisfactorily solve the Chinese question, it will not be difficult to solve the Pakistan question also. But, I am afraid if it would not be too late to wait till then, because of infiltration of Pakistanis into Assam which is said to be going on quite fast. It is said that Quade-Azam Jinnah had in his dream Assam to be in Pakistan. Although I do not want to say anything about that, I feel concerned at the news of infiltration which is going on there. I suggest that the security of our Pakistan, frontiers be given to the Army absolutely. Let it not be in the hands of civil police. Our Army should take up the guarding of the frontiers so far as Pakistan is concerned.

With these words, I conclude my speech supporting the demands of the Ministry and I thank you very much for giving me this opportunity to speak these few words.

श्री अचल सिंह (आगरा) : उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, जो डिमांड्स रक्षा मंत्री जी की तरफ से पेश की गई हैं, मैं उनका हृदय से समर्थन करता हूँ।

रक्षा मंत्रालय का महकमा बहुत आवश्यक महकमा है। हमारे देश को आजाद हुए मुश्किल से पन्द्रह वर्ष का अर्धा हुआ है। जैसे ही हमारा देश आजाद हुआ, वैसे ही पाकिस्तान ने काश्मीर पर हमला बोल दिया। उस वक्त हालत बड़ी नाजुक थी। लेकिन हमारे तजुर्बेकार और पे ट्रिंशट कमांडर और मंत्री गये थे उन्होंने फौरन हवाई जहाजों के जरिए से फौजों को काश्मीर में उतारा और पाकिस्तानी हमलावरों से देश को रक्षा की। जिस मुस्तैदी और बहादुरी के

साथ वहां पर उन्होंने अपने करतब दिखाये, उनकी जितनी प्रशंसा की जाए कम है। इसके फलस्वरूप उनको पाकिस्तान फौजों को पीछे हटना पड़ा। इसमें कोई शक नहीं है कि अगर सीज फायर उस वक्त न हुआ होता तो जो हमारा काश्मीर का हिस्सा पाकिस्तान के पास आज है वह भी वापस ले लिया गया होता। लेकिन यू० एन० ओ० की वजह से वह चीज नहीं हो सकी और जो काश्मीर का हिस्सा पाकिस्तान के कब्जे में आ गया था वह अब भी उसी के कब्जे में चला आ रहा है। वह हिस्सा हमारा है और हमें मिल कर रहेगा। पाकिस्तान यू० एन० ओ० में तरह तरह की बातें अपने नुमाइंदे जफरुल्ला खां की मार्फत रख रहा है। लेकिन बड़ी खुशी की बात है कि अभी जो सुरक्षा परिषद की बैठक हुई थी उसमें जब यह मसला पेश हुआ तो बड़ी योग्यता और बड़ी समझदारी के साथ हमारे रक्षा मंत्री जी ने मामले को पेश किया जिसके फलस्वरूप जफरुल्ला की सब दलीलें बेकार हो गईं। और उन्होंने बतला दिया कि पाकिस्तान वाले जफरुल्ला खां फुजूल की बातें करते हैं, उस में कोई सार नहीं है, जैसा कि हमारा क्लेम है, और वे "उल्टा चोर कोतवाल को डांटे" वाली कहावत पेश कर रहे हैं। हमारी जो फौजें हैं उन्होंने बड़ी बहादुरी का काम दिखाया। सिर्फ इसी मौके पर नहीं, इसके बाद हैदराबाद को चन्द घंटों में फनेह किया। उसी तरीके से गोआ, डामन और ड्यू, जो कि १२ या १४ वर्षों से काफी गड़बड़ी में पड़े हुए थे, उनको हमारी डिफेंस फोर्स ने अपनी हिम्मत और मुस्तैदी के साथ चन्द घंटों में फनेह किया। हमारी फौजें न सिर्फ इस वक्त बल्कि पुराने समय से बड़ी बहादुरी और दिलेर सावित होनी रही हैं। अंग्रेजों को ऊंचा उठाने में पहली लड़ाई में और दूसरी लड़ाई में, हमारी फौजों ने बहुत हिम्मत दिखा और नाम पैद किया। अंग्रेजों ने हमारी भारतवर्ष की फौजों द्वारा अपने इंग्लैंड और यूरोप की रक्षा की। उसमें हमारे बहादुर

[श्री अचल सिंह]

जवानों ने जिस वीरता से काम किया, साहस से काम किया, उस से तमाम दुनिया में लोग हमारे जवानों की तारीफ करते हैं ।

इसके अलावा जब कभी देश पर कोई संकट आता है, बाढ़ें आती हैं, या कोई मुसीबत आती है, तो फौरन हमारे जवानों से रक्षा मंत्रालय के द्वारा कहा जाता है, और वे पहुंच कर संकट को दूर करते हैं । जब कभी सिविल लाइफ में बदउन्वानी होती है या गड़बड़ होती है तो फौरन मिलिटरी को बुलाया जाता है और वे बड़ी होशियारी से स्थिति को ठीक करते हैं ।

इसके अलावा हमारे रक्षा मंत्रालय ने और भी बड़े बड़े काम किये हैं । उन्होंने बहुत से कारखाने खोले हैं । हवाई जहाज, ट्रैक्टर, ट्रक्स और बिजली के सामान के लिये बंगलौर में जो कारखाने चल रहे हैं उनमें बड़ी निर्भक्ता, हिम्मत और बहुत ही अच्छी तरह से काम होता है । जयह काम फैक्ट्रीज का है, लेकिन जिस ढंग से जिरा चीज को रक्षा मंत्रालय ने अपने हाथ में लिया है वह प्रशंसा के योग्य है । आज कई प्रकार के हवाई जहाज बने हैं, ट्रैक्टर बने हैं, ट्रक्स बने हैं जिससे जो हमारी लाखों रुपया विदेशों को जाता था वह बच गया ।

इस वक्त जब कि देश के सामने चीन का और पाकिस्तान का हमला हो रहा है, या उनका बदउन्वानियां हो रही हैं, उनका मुकाबला करने के लिये हमारी फौजों को मुस्तैद और संगठित होना चाहिये । जैसा कि हमारे प्रधान मंत्री जी ने बतलाया, हम किसी सूरत में दूसरों से कम नहीं हैं, हम तैयार हैं कि हम किसी हमलावर को अपने देश की तरफ नजर उठा कर न देखने दें । अगर कोई देखेगा तो हम उसका जवाब देंगे । इसलिये हमारी फौजों को और भी मजबूत होना चाहिये ।

एन० सी० सी० की जो ट्रेनिंग चल रही है हमारे कालेजों और स्कूलों में, उस के द्वारा हम लाखों नौजवानों, बालकों और बालिकाओं को ट्रेनिंग दे रहे हैं, और उन्होंने काफी उन्नति की है । जिन लोगों ने ट्रेनिंग पाई है उन की तादाद १४, १५ लाख तक है, लेकिन मैं कहूंगा कि डिफेंस और रक्षा की ट्रेनिंग, एन० सी० सी० की ट्रेनिंग तमाम स्कूलों और कालेजों में कम्पलसरी होनी चाहिये । सिर्फ रक्षा के वास्ते ही नहीं, बल्कि डिमिप्लिन के वास्ते भी यह जरूरी है । जिन युवकों और युवतियों को यह ट्रेनिंग मिलती है वे काफी डिमिप्लिन्ड हो जाते हैं और उनमें अपने देश के प्रति प्रेम व हमदर्दी हो जाती है । वे अपने कर्तव्य को समझते हैं और जानते हैं कि उस कर्तव्य को मितम तरह से पूरा करना है । इसलिये मैं फिर कहना चाहता हूं कि यह ट्रेनिंग तमाम स्कूलों और कालेजों में कम्पलसरी कर दी जाय ताकि अगर कभी कोई मौका आये तो हमारा देश तैयार रहे । हम लोग इसको सेक्रेट लाइन आफ डिफेंस कहते हैं । अगर इन लोगों को ट्रेनिंग दी जाये तो उन में से ही हम लोगों को फौजों में भरती कर सकते हैं । उनको इसकी ट्रेनिंग दी जाए और जरूरत पड़े तो वे तैयार मिलें और अपने देश के बचाव, रक्षा के लिये वे हमेशा मुस्तैद रहें ।

यहां पर एक प्रश्न मैं रखना चाहता हूं कैंटोन्मेंट बोर्ड्स का । कैंटोन्मेंट बोर्ड्स में अभी तक मैजिस्ट्री नामिनेटेड मेम्बर्स की है । एलेक्टेड मेम्बर्स की वहां पर माइना-रिट्री है । मैं चाहता हूं कि इस पर विचार किया जाय । दूसरे कैंटोन्मेंट्स में अभी तक बहुत सी जमीनें पड़ी हैं । उनके बारे में अब तक कोई निश्चय नहीं किया गया है । एक एक बंगलै के पीछे १०, १२, १५ एकड़ जमीनें खाली पड़ी हुई हैं । उनमें काफी मकानात बन सकते हैं और डिफेंस डिपार्टमेंट को उनसे काफी आमदनी हो सकती है ।

साथ ही काफी लोग वहां पर बस भी सकते हैं। इस देश में जब आज ऐकोमोडेशन की इतनी कमी है, तो इस तरह से वह किसी हद तक दूर हो सकती है। मैं चाहूंगा कि कैंटोन्मेंट्स में जो जमीनें खाली पड़ी हुई हैं उनके बारे में मंत्री जी कोई बात सोचें। पिछले समय में जब श्री महावीर त्यागी मिनिस्टर थे तब उन्होंने इस विषय पर कुछ अपने विचार जार्ज किये थे। लेकिन बाद में उन विचारों को स्थगित कर दिया गया। मैं चाहूंगा कि उन बातों पर फिर गौर किया जाय।

हमारे रक्षा विभाग की तरफ मे अक्सर नुमायशें होती हैं। इन नुमायशों का होना बहुत आवश्यक है ताकि देश की जनता को मालूम हो कि हमारे डिफेंस डिपार्टमेंट ने क्या प्रगति की है और क्या कमियां हैं और वे किस तरह से पूरी हो सकती हैं। अभी दिल्ली में इंस्टीट्यू फेयर हुआ था। हमारा रक्षा विभाग डैमेस्कस में भी शामिल हुआ नुमाइश में, सिगापुर में भी शामिल हुआ और कलकत्ते में भी शामिल हुआ। इस तरह की नुमाइशें होना से डिफेंस के लोगों की बड़ी हिम्मत-अफजाई होती है, और उससे उनका फायदा होता है।

मैं ज्यादा समय नहीं लूंगा। सिर्फ यह कहूंगा कि जो हमारी आर्म्ड फोर्स हैं उनकी हिम्मत अफजाई करनी चाहिये और हर तरह से उनको सम्मानित करना चाहिये क्योंकि देश की रक्षा उनके ही हाथ में है। इस वक़्त चाइना और पाकिस्तान का मामला हमारे सामने है। वह हर तरह से अग्रेसर होते जाते हैं और हमारे लिये काफी परेशानी पैदा करते जाते हैं। अगर हमारे हिन्दुस्तान की फौजें बिल्कुल मुकम्मिल हों, तैयार हों, तो कोई बजह नहीं है कि वे उनका मुकाबला न कर सकें। इसके लिये मैं कहूंगा कि उनको ज्यादा से ज्यादा तरबियत दी जाय, हिम्मत अफजाई की जाय, जिससे वे अपने देश की रक्षा कर सकें, उस को सुरक्षित रख सकें।

Shri Rishang Keishing (Outer Manipur): I join hon. Members of this House in congratulating the armed forces on the commendable jobs they have performed within and outside the country. The policy of peace enunciated by this hon. House has been fully carried out by our armed forces whenever they were sent abroad, and they have proved themselves the best ambassadors of this country to the other nations of the world. Sir, we all know that these brave sons and daughters of India will sacrifice even their lives for the security of this country and I am sure that the security of this country is safe in their hands. I am also quite sure that they will not spare any pain or leave no stone unturned in order to safeguard and protect this hard won independence of the country. While dealing with the question of defence we have to take some facts into account.

We have two frontiers—firstly there is sea, in the south, east and west. On this sea the life lines of India are concentrated. If India can control this sea, I mean the Indian Ocean and keep it as her own, I think the security of India in these three directions is safe. How is the sea frontier to be safeguarded? I am not an expert in it. But commonsense shows that we have to strengthen our Navy and I am sure the Government will take necessary action in that regard. Recently we acquired one aircraft carrier Vikram and that has been hailed by the people of this country as a step towards modernising the Navy of the country. But that is not enough. I understand that we are still far behind the modernisation of our Navy. We have to think of atomic submarines and atomic warships. We may not be able to do such things immediately but we should think in that line. It is no use saying that ours is a neutral country and nobody will attack us. We must fully protect this sea frontier.

The other is the land frontier. Right from Ladakh down to Lushai

[Shri Rishang Keishing]

Hills we have a long area of the land frontier. Before independence, India had a natural boundary in the north in the Himalayas and there was less danger from that side. With the emergence of Pakistan, we have to share our natural boundary with Pakistan.

So, we must see that frontiers on north east and west are sufficiently strengthened and necessary steps are taken for the protection of this area. In relation to this, let us examine our relations with the neighbouring countries, especially Pakistan and China. Yesterday, we have been assured by some of our communist Members that we need not expect any danger from China. I think potentially China is more dangerous than Pakistan. Pakistan can make noise and go on talking about invading India just because America and some western powers are backing her. Because of that only she is talking loudly. Otherwise, she will remain quiet. Judging from the strength of manpower and also other resources, India is superior and can easily defeat Pakistan.

16.25 hrs.

[MR. SPEAKER in the Chair]

But so far as China is concerned, they have a greater population and they have got a good fighting force, moreover there is a dictatorial rule, and whatever the ruling group says, the rest of the people have to carry it out as they have no other way out. Some of our areas have already been grabbed by them. A big chunk of land in our territory in NEFA and Ladakh is already under the occupation of China.

We have also to understand that China has a policy of expansionism. She is determined to assert or to establish her supremacy over the entire continent of Asia. With that end in view, her first intention is to defeat India which is here nearest contestant or which is considered as her nearest rival. The rest of the neighbouring countries—Pakistan, Burma—Nepal, and Malaya, are small and

weaker ones from the point of view of military strength. So, she does not care for these small nations, and as long as India remains as her rival she cannot grab those small countries also. Therefore, she has made India as her target and we have to take this into account while shaping our defence policy.

Taking also the international situation into account as it exist, we cannot but strengthen our defence forces. There are people talking about peace. The big leaders of America or the Anglo-American group and the Russian group are talking about peace. Sometimes they talked about stopping the nuclear tests. One day, Russia would explode a nuclear bomb and America will accuse her and ask her to stop explosion. The next day, the USA would explode a nuclear bomb and then Russia will accuse her and ask her to stop did it. That way, they are accusing each other. Even while they talk about peace, they carry on the armament race and military build-ups. So, this talk of peace has no meaning. In the same way, we have had enough bitter experience from China. It was only two or three years back that China offered her friendship to India, with the call for Chini-Hindi Bhai Bhai. We accepted the offer and the call and that slogan echoed and re-echoed in every corner of this country. But now what happens? Chini-Hindi Bhai Bhai has become Chini-Hindi Bye Bye! Now, there is no more talk about Hindi-Chini Bhai Bhai. We have to take these things into account in dealing with the international situation. Let us not sit idle; let us not be complacent. We have to reinforce and strengthen our armed forces.

I now wish to make a few observations about our frontier. Fortunately or unfortunately, these frontier areas have been inhabited by different types of people who do not resemble the rest of the people living in the Gangetic plain and the Deccan area.

They have a different culture and their facial and other features are different from those of the rest of India. Here, a problem exists. I was glad to hear from the hon. Member from Jammu and Kashmir a good account of the behaviour of our armed forces. I believe they must have behaved well there. But here, in the frontier areas to which I am referring, I have to give a picture different from that has been said by the hon. Member from Jammu and Kashmir. There is military operation going on for the last eight years in Nagaland and in Manipur. My criticism may be taken as a sort of suggestion for correction. Our armed forces have not done well there. Their behaviour cannot be above criticism their affairs dealing with the people, may be, because they have not learnt about the people, their culture, the geographical position there, etc. in their schools. They do not find out who is their friend and who is their enemy. They took everybody as their enemy and in this operation. Who suffered? The enemies escaped, went into the Jungle took shelter under the trees and rocks and then started sniping at the army people. The army people started harassing the loyal people in retaliation.

In many places, they did not show any respect to the religion of the tribals. Wherever they went, they were offered youth clubs and school buildings for their rest in the night, but they refused. They thought that churches and places of worship were the cleanest places and forcibly stayed there. At some places they used them as cook-sheds and burnt down the building. We have drawn the attention of the civil authorities a number of times to stop this thing. It does not mean that we cannot rebuild it, but it will take time and energy to rebuild.

Sometimes in the church, empty bottles of rum were found. This is a very serious matter. The tribals are very orthodox, whether Christians or non-Christians, as far as their religion

is concerned. I do not blame those people. Rather I blame the Government and the authorities. Why were not the jawans taught about the people in these areas? The authorities should know that there are such people belonging to tribes like Nagas, Mizos, Kukis, Khasis, etc. They must be taught about the culture and behavior of these people and they should behave like them. Everything should be taught beforehand. It is the fault of the Government that the jawans have not been taught these things and they behave unsatisfactorily.

One thing we have to understand is this. I may not be there and you may not go there. The present officers or jawans may not be there, but the strategic border will be there for ever as long as the world remains. I hope the army always will be there. The present army may not be there; but the future army will be there and there will be always contacts between the tribals, the civil population there and the army. Continuous contact will be there. It is high time therefore that our armed forces should be fully informed about the way of life, the customs and manners of the tribal people there, so that they may know that there are such people who do not look like the people in other parts of the country. For that, I suggest that some books should be compiled. Our officers are highly educated. Let them write some books about the life of these tribal people, so that our armed forces may be taught about it.

Another point is, our officers—civil and military—should try to bring about good understanding with the local people there. Instead of trying for this, they adopt the attitude of suspicion. This, again, makes the working of the armed forces difficult. I think this is one of the main reasons why our armed forces have not been able to tackle the border problem there up to this time. This needs to be corrected.

There is also the question of jungle warfare. For all time to come this has got to be practised. Our armed forces

[Shri Rishang Keishing]

have had a little hit of training in that area recently in the operation against the lawless element. Here also, I may be permitted to point out, that their action has not come up to the expectation. They have not done well. This is a very important technique of warfare and the danger to the country whether it is coming from the side of China or Pakistan has to be dealt with by employing this technique. Therefore, to defend this area our military must have adequate training in jungle warfare.

Another point I want to mention is about the necessity for having armed constabulary. Military alone will not be able to tackle the problem. We may have to raise some armed constabularies. The Assam Rifles must be strengthened. Some more battalions must be added to it. They can play a wonderful role between the army and the civilian population and in strengthening the security of the country in that area. I would also suggest that while strengthening these Assam Rifles and the Manipur Rifles by some more battalions, the local people should be given preference for serving in these battalions.

There is one more small point I would like to suggest. Hitherto, in our army, our army officers are all selected from high caste and aristocratic families and our jawans are all from poor families. That way there are two divisions in the army: one of aristocratic families and the other of poor families. Again, there are people who can talk English fluently and those who can talk only Urdu or Hindustani. The existence of such classes should be removed. As there are a large number of people coming from the poorer sections of our society, the training for officers should be open more to the people belonging to the poorer classes. English should not be made a criteria for selection of officers. I think the time has come for this country to do away with English and the language with which the majority of the jawans are well conversant should be made the criteria for selection.

As far as promotion in the army is concerned, I do not want that politics should be allowed to enter here. This should be the last department where politics should enter. I have no quarrel with promoting some hon. Members to the rank of Ministers or Deputy Ministers on political grounds, but never on political consideration as far as promotion in the army is concerned. Discipline, team spirit and high morals should be preserved in the army and without that army cannot function. To do this, politics should be avoided and if that is avoided, the army is safe. But if that is not done, we can also expect a coup in the same way as it has happened in other countries round about us.

Lastly, I would also like to refer to the Audit Report. Somebody was saying, "Oh! we have to waste something and then we will learn". But the wastage that I have jotted down is not for learning. Delay in the disposal of land and buildings has cost the country over Rs. 10 lakhs. 130 tractors not utilised have cost Rs. 1.20 crores. 4,972 wired glasses completely broken have cost Rs. 1.20 lakhs. That way a lot of wastage is there in the Army and it has got to be stopped.

Mr. Speaker: Shri Birendra Bahadur Shah.

Shri Manabendra Shah: rose—

Mr. Speaker: I rather thought of the other gentleman.

Shri Hem Barua: Sir, on a point of order. Just now Shri Rishang Keishing made a reference to a possible Army coup in this country. I wonder whether a reference like that should be made in the democratic institution which is the Parliament.

Mr. Speaker: Why not? He was only warning our people that if they do not do such-and-such a thing there might be a coup. I do not think there is any harm in giving that warning. Shri Manabendra Shah.

Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath: None of us wants a coup.

Shri Hem Barua: We do not want it.

Mr. Speaker: He also does not want it. That is why he said that.

Shri Manabendra Shah (Tehri Garhwal): Sir, the hon. Member who was just now speaking could not touch upon the Audit Report, the financial propriety and extravagance that has been found in the Defence expenditure fully. There is no doubt that audit objections and observations play a very important role and therefore we have to take due notice of them.

In the very beginning of the Audit Report for the Defence Services, 1962, it is observed:

"Despite the assurance the position has shown some deterioration during the year."

A close study of the Audit Report will reveal that lapses are generally as follows. Firstly, over-provisioning of Budget every year; secondly, delay in giving explanations of audit objections; thirdly, infructuous expenditure on manufacturing of equipment; fourthly abnormal delays in disposal of surplus stocks and unnecessary expenditure on its watch and ward arrangements; fifthly, de-hiring of unused land; and sixthly, manufacturing of civil items by ordnance factories without any planning in regard to their marketability and delay in production of items of defence.

But surely the Defence Ministry does not derive any pleasure by such criticism. Surely, the Defence Ministry is not entirely manned by irresponsible and inefficient personnel! Therefore I would put it in a different manner. I would rather say: Have the Audit authorities ever cared to go into the details of the matter? Have they ever been able to appreciate really the difficulties facing the Defence planning because there are many things like changes in Government policies and planning, procurement position from abroad, rapid changes in the supply position both from indigenous sources and sources abroad

and changes in the order of priority from the point of view of military strategy. These are some of the important fundamental points which have always to be borne in mind where expenditure on defence is concerned. Therefore, I believe that the solution lies not in criticising one another but in really appreciating the position by each other. I would, therefore, like to suggest that a committee should be formed comprising of officers from the Defence Ministry, Defence Headquarters, Finance Ministry and the Audit, and, I should think, even some hon. Members of Parliament should be associated with it who could go into the whole aspect of Defence planning and could evolve some fundamental norms compatible with Defence Planning and financial propriety. If this sort of committee is appointed, I think many of the objections that the auditors have this time and even in the past made would probably be solved. The second matter which is agitating the minds of some of us is regarding the proposed purchase of planes from Russia. On principle, Sir, we have a right to purchase what we like and from where we want, and there should be no objection either from the United Kingdom or the United States, or any of us within India also as to where we should buy. In fact, I would even go to the extent of asking: is UK prepared not to finance China? They are giving aid to China; they are trading with China. Similarly, the USA is giving aid to Pakistan. We are not in good terms with Pakistan and China. Why should they not stop their aid to those countries? Why should they expect us not to trade with that country with which they do not see eye to eye? Therefore, on principle, I support the move that we should buy planes from Russia, if we consider them suitable, if we find them cheaper than American planes, if we think that the kind of thing they are giving is much better than what America can give. Certainly we should go ahead and buy the planes.

But I would still like to say that there are certain fundamental points

[Shri Manbendra Shah]

that we have to bear in mind before we go in for this. Firstly, have we taken enough precautions to see that all the secret equipments that have been given to us by America or the United Kingdom will be safeguarded and will not be divulged to the Russians? Have we taken enough precautions to see that the Russians who come here will not do subversive activities? Have we taken enough precautions to see that the Russians will not utilise the rupees that they will get for these planes to our disadvantage or in carrying on subversive activities? Have we taken sufficient safeguards to see that whatever secret equipment that the Russians give us will be secret; or will they also be divulged to the Chinese by the Russians? These are some of the fundamental points that we must bear in mind before we go in for planes from Russia. Otherwise, on principle, I have no objection these planes being bought from Russia.

Now I would like to come to the question of ordnance factories. It is a matter of great relief to me that the Ministry of Defence is taking interest in seeing that ordnance factories are fully utilised and they do not remain idle. In fact, the value of production has gone up from Rs. 29 crores to Rs. 36 crores, as is shown in the Ministry of Defence's Report for 1961-62 (page 36). But I would like to draw the attention of the hon. Minister to one Ordnance Factory at Raipur. That is an ordnance factory which unfortunately is not fully occupied. It stays idle because it has to do work on contract basis. In fact, even the housing condition of labour there is not satisfactory. In fact, they have no proper electrification. Therefore, I would request the Minister to see, when he is trying to see that most of the ordnance factories are fully occupied, at least that we are not left without employment. I hope that he will be able to find some satisfactory solution for the Raipur Ordnance Factory.

I now come to the question of Avro 748, the demonstration of which we saw a year back. The demonstration was quite creditable. But in the report that has been given to us there is a mention of a most disappointing nature. It is mentioned there that "the Avro 748 aircraft built at the Aircraft Manufacturing Depot, Kanpur, made its first successful test flight in November 1961." In the whole of this book there are only two lines mentioned about Avro. Demand for an aircraft of this type, we are told, is considerable, probably both in defence as well as on the civil side. We are told that Dakotas are now obsolete. We are told that even spare parts for Dakotas are not available now, and yet there is no mention in this Report as to what is the future plan of the Avro. Or is this Avro the only one plane that they are going to present to this country? Or is it that others are going to be brought into production? I was under the impression, and I think the whole House was under the impression that this type of plane is going to come into production as soon as possible. But there is no mention of this in the report. I would therefore request the hon. Minister to throw some light on this.

I would again like to come back to my chronic observations, as I might say, about the Lok Sahayak Sena. I have again and again been saying that the Lok Sahayak Sena is a useless thing and should be absolutely scrapped. But I feel some of the Members may object to it. But I hope at least the Ministry will endorse my stand. We know that there are many things that we want for defence. We know that Pakistan is doing considerable development of Chittagong. We know that we require a lot of planes. We know that we require a lot of other arms, etc. Yet we are using quite a heavy amount of money on the Lok Sahayak Sena which can very well be utilised in one of these projects either fully or partially. Last year's expenditure for this item was

Rs. 60 lakhs, and now it is Rs. 67 lakhs. They have increased the amount for the Lok Sahayak Sena. In fact I should have thought that it should be reduced, but Government have increased it.

I would like to draw attention—which did last year also—to the question of how far it is advisable to have the Finance Section, which is entirely under the jurisdiction or administration of the Finance Ministry, included in the Budget of the Defence Ministry. This gives us not a correct picture, but an incorrect picture. I would, therefore, again draw the attention of the hon. Minister to the fact that this item should either be shown separately or should go, as in the case of the other Ministries in the Finance Ministry's budget. And to that extent the amount of money that we can get should be utilised for the improvement of our defence. I do not see why only in the case of Defence we have to provide also for the Finance Section or for the Finance Ministry.

Another important thing that I saw was that the Punjab Government is starting, at Manali, a Himalayan Mountaineering Institute. We know we have got such a big, wide frontier of hills. And we also know that the Himalayan Mountaineering Institute has been doing very good work. I do not see why the Central Government cannot persuade other State Governments like U.P. to also start some mountaineering training schools in their States also. I would therefore request the hon. Minister to kindly move in this matter.

Lastly, I would like to draw the attention of the hon. Minister to the question of D.A. to the ex-servicemen. In this respect Government must be considering about it. But I fear that the case of those ex-soldiers who belonged to the ex-State forces may, again, be treated in a step-motherly way. They were in the State Forces. They probably were getting pensions from the ex-States. But now they are the responsibility of the

Government. The pension are being paid by the Government, and therefore if any decision about D. A. is taken they should also be included.

Sir, I thank you for giving me this opportunity to speak.

श्री हेम राज (कांगड़ा) अध्यक्ष
महोदय, मैं आपका बड़ा आभारी हूँ कि आपने मुझे बोलने का मौका दिया है।

मैं रक्षा मंत्रालय की जो डिमांड्स हैं, उनको स्पॉर्ट करने के लिए खड़ा हुआ हूँ। मैं रक्षा मंत्रालय और रक्षा मंत्री जी को उन बयानात के लिए वधाई देना चाहता हूँ जिन में उन्होंने निहायत वाज्य तौर पर कह दिया है कि भारतवर्ष किसी सूरत में भी चीन या पाकिस्तान के पास जो इलाके उसके हैं, उनको नहीं रहने देगा, उनको वापिस लेगा। हमारी फौज चाहे कम हो, चाहे हमारी जल और वायु सेना कम हो, लेकिन उनके जो कारनाम हैं, वे मुन्हरे हल्फ में लिखे जायेंगे। इन तीनों शाखाओं में से जिस किसी शाखा को जहाँ कहीं भी भेजा गया है, उसने निहायत ही अच्छा काम किया है। चाहे उसका लड़ाई के लिए गोश्रा में भेजा गया हो या किसी दुसरे काम के लिए भेजा गया हो, जो कारनामे उसके रहे है, वे एक नुमाया इमियत रखते हैं। हमारी सेना का पोंस मिशन पर भी भेजा गया है, कांगा में और लाओस में, वहाँ पर भी उसने अपने आप का उन्हीं हालात के मुताबिक तबदील कर लिया और इस तरीके से वहाँ पर बरताव किया कि दुनिया वाह वाह करके रह गई। अगर गवर्नमेंट को सिविल साइड में फौज की जरूरत पड़ती है, सिविल आयोरी की मदद करने के लिए फौज की जरूरत महसूस होती है, तो उसमें भी वह अपने आप को एडाप्ट उन हालात के मुताबिक कर लेता है जोकि बहुत ही प्रशंसा की बात है।

लेकिन इसके साथ ही साथ मैं अर्ज

[श्री हेम राज]

करना चाहता हूँ कि आज महज हमारा काम फौज ही से नहीं चल सकता है। यह ठीक है कि हमारी फौज काफी है और कर्तव्य-परायण भी है। लेकिन अगर हम इसको बर्ताना चाहें पैसा दे कर, तो सारे का सारा बजट भी अगर उस पर खर्च कर दिया जाए, तो भी वह काफी नहीं हो सकता है। मैंने माननीय सदस्यों के भाषण सुने हैं। मेरे से पहले गालिवन सहारनपुर के माननीय सदस्य बोल रहे थे और उनका भाषण सुन कर मैं ऐसा सोच रहा था कि शायद वह गर्मी के दिनों में कहीं सैर करने के लिए पहाड़ों पर जा रहे हैं या फिर कोई इलैकशन स्पीच कर रहे हैं। मुझे ऐसा लग रहा था कि जैसे वह गर्मी के दिनों में सैर करने के लिए चले और तीन महीने में तिव्वत को और चीन को भी फतह करके वापिस आ गए। गालिवन उन्हें पता नहीं है कि क्या क्या मुश्किलें हैं। अगर वह मेरे साथ १८,००० फुट की बुलन्दी पर चलें और उनका बरफ से हो कर गुजरना पड़े तो शायद उनका दम फूल कर रह जाएगा। मैं अर्ज करना चाहता हूँ कि यह कोई ऐसी चीज नहीं है कि यहाँ से उड़े, वहाँ पर पहुँच गए और फतह करके चले आए। उसके लिए तैयारी की जरूरत है और तैयारी भी सिर्फ फौज की ही नहीं बल्कि और कई चीजों की। चाहे उपज की जरूरत हो, चाहे सामान की जरूरत हो, चाहे और चीजों की जरूरत हो, उनका पूरा होना बहुत आवश्यक है और इनके पूरा हुए बिना कुछ काम नहीं हो सकता है। सब से ज्यादा जरूरत अच्छी सड़कों की पड़ती है। जहाँ तक सड़कों का ताल्लुक है, हमारी हालत क्या है? आज हालत ऐसी नहीं है कि सड़कें बन कर तैयार हो गई हैं। सड़कों की आज भी बड़ी कमी है। बिना सड़कों के कैसे हम कह सकते हैं कि एक दम हमला कर दिया जाए।

जहाँ तक बोर्डर रोड का ताल्लुक

है, मैं नहीं जानता हूँ कि किस मंत्रालय को इसके लिए मैं जिम्मेदार हराऊँ। बोर्डर रोड की रोड का जहाँ तक ताल्लुक है एक बोर्ड है जिसके अध्यक्ष तो हमारे प्राइम मिनिस्टर साहब हैं और अपाध्यक्ष शायद हमारे डिफेंस मिनिस्टर हैं और उसका बजट चलता है डिपार्टमेंट ऑफ कम्युनिकेशन मिनिस्ट्री में। इसके अलावा आइबल एरियाज की सड़कों का जहाँ तक ताल्लुक है, उनका काम शायद होम मिनिस्ट्री के तहत होता है। कम इसके लिए जिम्मेदार ठहराया जा सकता है, यह मैं नहीं जानता हूँ। नार्थ की जा सरहद है और वहाँ पर जो सड़कें बननी हैं, उस काम की आज आपने पी० डब्ल्यू० डी० के हवाले किया हुआ है। जरूरत इस बात की है कि वहाँ की जो सड़कें हैं, उनकी बनाने की जिम्मेदारी बांडर रोडिंग मिलिट्री के सुपुर्द कर दे और अगर ऐसा नहीं करना है और पी० डब्ल्यू० डी० से ही यह काम करवाना है तो वह जो जो मद्रिम रफ़्तार से चलेगा, उसी बेडवे पर के में चलेगा, जिस तरह से चला करता है और आपका काम नहीं बन सकेगा।

मैं अर्ज किया है महज फौज से ही आपका काम नहीं चल सकता है। हम चाहे जितनी शक्ति इस पर लगा दें, चाहे सारे का सारा बजट लगा दें, तो भी हमारा काम बनने वाला नहीं है। मैं समझता हूँ कि सेकिड लाइन आफ डिफेंस निहायत जरूरी है। जो इस दिशा में प्रगति हुई है, चाहे वह टैरीटोरियल आर्मी हो, चाहे नेशनल केडेट फोर हो, चाहे आर्गिलरी केडेट फोर हो और चाहे लोक सहायक सेना हो, बहुत कम हुई है। अभी मेरे टेहरी गढ़वाल के भाई बोल रहे थे। मैं उनसे कहना चाहता हूँ कि लोक सहायक सेना के लिये ६६ लाख रुपया रखा है करोड़ नहीं। मैं समझता हूँ कि यह

जरूरी है। यह कि वारडर ऐरिया में हर एक को ट्रेनिंग दी जानी चाहिये। वहां के लोगों की हम आपस में बातचीत नहीं समझ सकते। मेरे यहां जो इस्पति का इलाका है वहां के लोगों की बातचीत मैं नहीं समझ सकता और वे लोग मेरी बात नहीं समझ सकते। तो जैसा हमारे भाई रिशांग केशांग ने कहा, मैं भी कहता हूं कि जो जवान उन इलाकों में भेजे जायें उनको वहां के लोगों की जवान सिखायी जाय और वहां के लोगों के रहन सहन के तरीकों की ट्रेनिंग दी जाये। हमारे भाई रिशांग केशांग ईस्ट से आते हैं और मैं वेस्ट से आता हूं लेकिन दोनों तरफ हालत एक ही जैसी है। मेरा तो ख्याल है कि इन इलाकों को सारे लोगों को ट्रेनिंग दी जाये ताकि किसी वक्त जरूरत आ पड़े तो आप उनको इस्तेमाल कर सकें।

आपने कहा कि एन सी सी में सात लाख कालिज के लड़के दाखिल हो सकते हैं लेकिन आपने इन्तिजाम ४ लाख के लिये ही किया है। इसी तरह से जो आपका जूनियर डिबीजन हैं उनके लिये ३० लाख एलिजिबल विद्यार्थी हैं लेकिन आपने इन्तिजाम १४ लाख के लिये ही किया है यानी ५० पर सेंट के लिये मैं समझता हूं कि इनमें ज्यादा से ज्यादा नौजवानों को लेना चाहिये ताकि उनमें डि-सिप्लिन आये। आप देखते हैं कि जिन कालिजों में एन सी सी और आई सी सी गयी है उनमें डि-सिप्लिन ज्यादा हो गया है और वहां हड़ताल नहीं होती। तो मैं अर्ज करना चाहता हूं कि आप ज्यादा से ज्यादा यंग मैन को इनमें दाखिल होने दें। आप कहते हैं कि हम इसके लिये कांस्टीट्यूशन नहीं बदल सकते। तो मरा कहना है कि जो यंग मैन खुद आना चाहते हैं उनको तो दाखिल किया जाये ताकि यह आपकी सेकिड लाइन आप डिफेंस बन सकें।

यहां पर चर्चा चल रही थी कि फौज में जाति पांती की बात न रहे। जहां तक मुझे

मालूम है, आपने एयरफोर्स में तो वह क्लाज निकाल दिया जिसमें क्लास बतलाया जाता था और जिस में कास्ट आ जाती थी और गालिबन यह चीज नेवी में से भी निकाल दी गयी है लेकिन फौज में अभी कायम है। आपके रेजीमेंटों के नाम जातियों पर पड़े हैं। आज आप जब नेशनल इंडीग्रेशन चाहते हैं तब तो आपको इन रेजीमेंटों के नाम नेशनल हीरोज जैसे शिवाजी या राणा प्रताप आदि के नामों पर रखने चाहिये क्योंकि ऐसा करने से नेशनल इंडीग्रेशन में मदद मिलेगी। मुझे उम्मीद है कि इस तरफ ध्यान दिया जायेगा।

आपका डिफेंस प्रोडक्शन बढ़ा है और हड़तालें भी नहीं हो रही हैं और कम से कम दिन जाया हुये हैं। और जो स्पेयर मैशिनरी थी वह भी काम में आने लगी है। इस बारे में मैं यह अर्ज करना चाहता हूं कि आप गजेटेड आफिसर्स को काम सीखने के लिये बाहर भेजते हैं। अगर उनके साथ साथ आप उन यंग मैन को भी बाहर भेजें जो कि एफ एस सी या बी एस सी पास करके आते हैं ताकि वे भी बाहर जा कर हुनर सीख सकें और यहां आकर बेहतरीन चीजें बना सकें।

आपका जो सीलजर्स, सेलर्स एंड एंड एग्ग्र-मैन्स बोर्ड है उसके अन्दर जो एक्स सरविस मैन हैं और जो सिविलियन हैं उनकी सरविस की परमानेन्सी का सवाल बहुत देर से चल रहा है। परसों सवाल के जवाब में आपने कहा था कि उनकी सरविस को परमानेंट करने का मामला जेर गौर है। मैं समझता हूं कि यह काम जल्दी होना चाहिये। मैं एक बात यह अर्ज करना चाहता हूं कि इनकी सरविस उस दिन से काउंट की जानी चाहिये जिस दिन से ये लोग इस बोर्ड में आये हैं।

लैंड्स और केन्टोनमेंट्स के बारे में आपने फेसला किया है कि चाहे वह आपकी जमीन हो, या स्कूल हों या अस्पताल हों उनको आप न तो स्टेट गवर्नमेंट को देंगे

[श्री हेम राज]

और न वेचेंगे। जो आपका कांस्टीट्यूशन है उसके मुताबिक इन एरियाज की प्राइमरी शिक्षा की जिम्मेदारी तो आपने ली है लेकिन उससे आगे की शिक्षा की जिम्मेदारी आप नहीं लेना चाहते। आप कहते हैं कि आपके पास उसके लिये रुपया नहीं है। मैं तो कहता हूँ कि ज्यादा से ज्यादा पया फौज पर खर्च होना चाहिये। तो आप कन्टोनमेंट एरियाज में सिर्फ प्राइमरी शिक्षा देते हैं और हायर सेकेंडरी शिक्षा नहीं देते। अब आप देखें कि पंजाब में मिडिल तक तो हाल में शिक्षा मुफ्त कर दी गयी है और लड़कियों के लिये दसवीं क्लास तक शिक्षा मुफ्त है। आपने कन्टोनमेंट स्कूल ले रखे हैं उनमें यह नहीं है। न तो आप उन स्कूलों को स्टेट गवर्नमेंट को देते हैं और न खुद यह इन्तिजाम करते हैं। योलखास एक गन्टोनमेंट स्कूल का ऐसा मामला आपके सामने आया था। उसको आपने मंजूर नहीं किया और टन डाउन कर दिया हालांकि स्टेट गवर्नमेंट उसको लेने को तयार है। मैं समझता हूँ कि इस फंडेशन पर नजरसानी करनी चाहिये और मुस्तलिफ जगहों के हालात के मुताबिक फंडेशन किया जाये।

जो एक्स सरविस मैन हैं उनके रिहबिलिटेशन का सवाल है। आपकी रिपोर्ट से पता चलता है कि आपने कुछ इंस्ट्रक्शन जारी किये हैं। इन लोगों की तादाद लाखों तक पहुँच गयी है। लेकिन आपके फिगर बतलाते हैं कि आपने ६१५० को सन् १९६१ तक में गवर्नमेंट सरविस में एम्प्लायमेंट दिलवाई है और ७३६ को प्रिवेट कारखानों में। पता नहीं इस रफ्तार से यह काम कब पूरा हो सकेगा।

जो आदमी सन् १९५० में पेंशन चले गए हैं उनके पेंशन के सवाल आपके सामने हैं। आपने कहा था कि उनको १ अप्रैल सन् १९५८ से पेंशन मिलने लगेगी। कुछ को मिलने लगी है और बहुत सारों को नहीं मिली है। बहुतों का फंडेशन नहीं हुआ

है। बहुत से केसेज रेस्टोरेशन आफ पेंशन और एल टी के पड़े हुए हैं उनका आज तक फंडेशन नहीं हो रहा है। न उनका पेमेंट हो रहा है। इनका फंडेशन जल्द होना चाहिए। ये लोग आपके गांव गांव में प्रचारक का काम करते हैं। हमने देखा कि अभी पिछले चुनावों में से जिनको पैसा मिल गया था वे तो सरकार के गुन गाते थे और जिनको नहीं मिला था वे कुछ सरकार के खिमाफ प्रचार करते थे। मैं अर्ज करना चाहता हूँ कि इसके मुताबिक खास तौर पर ध्यान देना चाहिए।

एक और चीज चल रही है। कुछ आर्मी के आदमी थे जिनकी सन् १९४२ में आपने आर्मी आरडनैन्स में वाच एंड वाई में भेज दिया था। उनके पेंशन के केसेज चला रहे हैं जिनका आज तक फंडेशन नहीं हुआ है। बहुत पुराने केस हो गये हैं। ये लोग आर्मी में थे और अपनी मर्जी से नहीं गये, आपने उनको भेजा था। तो उनकी तरफ ध्यान दें और उनके जो पेंशन के केसेज हैं उनको निपटाया जाये।

इसी तरह से एम ई एस का जो परसोनल है, उनमें जो लोग मुपरएन्युएट हो कर जात हैं

अध्यक्ष महोदय : मेम्बर साहब तकीर करत हों तो उनकी तवज्जह आफिशियल वाक्स की तरफ न हो कर मेरी तरफ होनी चाहिये।

श्री हेम राज : मेरी तवज्जह तो आपकी तरफ है। नजर कभी उनकी तरफ हो जाी है।

अध्यक्ष महोदय : नजर भी मेरी ही तरफ रखिय।

श्री हेम राज : तो मैं एम०ई०एल० परसोनल के बारे में कह रहा था कि जी

लोग इनमें से सुपरएन्युएट होकर जाते हैं उनके पेंशन, ग्रन्पुइटी और प्रावीडेंट फंड के मामले जल्द फैसले होने चाहिये। इनमें बहुत देरी होती है। इस तरफ ध्यान देना चाहिये।

एक और बात अर्ज कर दू जो कि पहाड़ी इलाक़ों से ताल्लुक रखती है। मैं भी इसी इलाक़ों का रहने वाला हूँ। मेरे यहां के बहुत से डोगरे जवान आपकी फौज में हैं लेकिन उनमें ज्यादातर सिपाही ही हैं। शायद उनको आफिसर क्लास मयस्सर नहीं होता है। आपने हर जगह सैनिक स्कूल खोले हैं लेकिन मेरा इलाका सूना है, आपने शायद पंजाब में खोले हैं। तो अर्ज करना चाहता हूँ कि आपने हमारे यहां मनाली में माउंटनियरिंग का जो स्कूल खोला है उसके साथ साथ वहां सैनिक स्कूल भी खोला जाये ताकि जहां आप एक जगह से आफिगर तैयार करें वहां दूसरी तरफ माउंटनियर्स तैयार करें। दोनों चीजें साथ साथ चले तो अच्छा है। यह मैं आपके ऊपर छोड़ता हूँ कि आप इस सैनिक स्कूल को चाहे मनाली में कायम करें या धर्मशाला में या पालमपुर में। मैं समझता हूँ कि अगर आप यह काम करेंगे तो जहां हमारे नौजवानों ने फौज में भरती होकर शानदार काम किया है वहां आफिमर्म क्लाम में भी उनको जाने का मौका मिल सकेगा और वह आफिसर्स बनने के काबिल हो सकेंगे।

अध्यक्ष महोदय : अब माननीय सदस्य अपना भाषण समाप्त करें।

श्री हेम राज : बस एक और छोटी सी अर्ज करके मैं अपनी सीट पर बैठ जाऊंगा। आपने हमारे नौजवानों के लिये यह ठीक है कि एक नौगोंग में स्कूल खोला है। जूनियर कमिंड आफिसर्स को एक मौका दिया है लेकिन एक स्कूल इसके लिये नाकाफी है। वहां पहले ६० लिये जाते थे अब १५० ट्रेनीज लिये

जायेंगे लेकिन वह भी नाकाफी है। उनके लिये और ज्यादा मौका मयस्सर करना चाहिये और उसके लिये और अधिक स्कूल आपको खोलने चाहियें ताकि उनकी तादाद बढ़ सके और उनको ज्यादा मौका मिल सके। इन शब्दों के साथ मैं डिफेंस मिनिस्ट्री की डिमांड्स को सपोर्ट करता हूँ और आपको धन्यवाद देता हूँ कि आपने मुझे बोलने का मौका दिया।

श्री जगदेब सिंह सिध्वन्ती (झज्जर) : अध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं प्रतिरक्षा मंत्रालय के बजट अनुदानों के सम्बन्ध में बोलते हुये कुछ मुझाव ही सदन के समक्ष प्रस्तुत करना चाहता हूँ।

प्रतिरक्षा मंत्री महोदय ने जो बजट उपस्थित किया है मैं समझता हूँ कि जितने पैसों की मांग है उसको केवल थोड़ा ही न बढ़ा कर दुगना बढ़ा दिया जाये। लेकिन कुछ बातें हैं जिनकी कि ओर मैं मंत्री महोदय का ध्यान दिलाना चाहता हूँ। सेना का राष्ट्र में वही स्थान है जो कि हमारे शरीर में प्राण का होता है। अगर प्राण नहीं है तो शरीर मुर्दा है। इसी तरीके से अगर सेना हमारी सज्जित नहीं है और मुदृढ़ नहीं है तो राष्ट्र के नाश में कोई संदेह नहीं रह जाता है। इस लिये सेना को मुदृढ़ बनाना चाहिये। चूंकि मैं सैनिक परिवार से सम्बन्ध रखता हूँ इस नाते मुझे इन बातों का अनुभव है।

यूरोप का जो प्रथम महायुद्ध हुआ था उस में मैं एक सिपाही था और दो साल मैं ओवरसीज भी रहा हूँ। इस लिये मैं सब बातों को जानता हूँ। एक सिपाही को आप मान दीजिये। अब सिपाही को यदि आप मान दते हैं तो राष्ट्र के लिये अपना प्राण वह देने के लिये तैयार रहता है। मैं यह कहने में कोई संकोच नहीं करता कि राष्ट्र की रक्षा तभी हो सकती है जब कि हमारे केन्द्रीय मंत्रिमंडल में कोई रिटायर्ड जनरल हो। इतना ही नहीं बल्कि हमारी जो स्टेट गवर्नमेंट्स हैं उन के

[श्री हेम राज]

मंत्रिमंडलों में भी कोई न कोई रिटायर्ड मिलेटरी का अफसर जरूर होना चाहिये जिससे कि वह एक्सपर्ट सलाह मशविरा दे सके। यह अत्यंत आवश्यक है।

राजनीतिक भाई, मुझे यह कहने के लिए क्षमा करें कि उन में साहस कम होता है लेकिन मिलेटरी वाला भाई साहसी होता है। कश्मीर में युद्ध विराम समझौता करने का यदि हमारे राजनीतिक नेता मिलेटरी के जिम्मेदार अधिकारी को आदेश नहीं देते तो एक दिन के अन्दर हमारे जवानों ने हमलावरों का कश्मीर भूमि से बाहर खदेड़ दिया होता और साथी समस्या तभी हल हो गई होती और कश्मीर जैसा कोई प्रश्न हल होने का रह ही नहीं जाता। इसलिए आवश्यकता है कि अपने फौजी जवानों को प्रोत्साहन दिया जाये। साथ में यह भी है कि उन के बान बच्चों की देख भाल आदि के लिये पूरा ध्यान दिया जाय। अब हमारे वह फौजी जवान लड़खे के पहाड़ पर बैठे हैं या नागालैण्ड में बैठे हैं, रोते उनके यहां कहीं चक्रवर्ती का झण्डा होता है तो कभी अदालत का मामला आ जाता है और उन बेचारों की मुनवाई नहीं हो पाती है इसलिये यह आवश्यक है कि उधर ध्यान दिया जाय।

साथ ही सैनिक शिक्षा स्कूल व कालिजों में ही अनिवार्य न हो अपितु प्रत्येक व्यक्ति को सैनिक शिक्षा दी जाय। सैनिक प्रशिक्षण हर एक भारतवासी को दिया जाये। सर्विसेज में उसी समय किसी को लिया जाय जबकि कम से कम एक वर्ष के लिये उसने मिलेटरी के अन्दर जाकर ट्रेनिंग ले ली हो। इससे अनुशासन भी बनेगा और दृढ़ता भी आयेगी और अपने राष्ट्र की खातिर वह सारा कामकाज लग्न से और दृढ़ता से करेगा।

यह स्वागत योग्य बात है कि वैज्ञानिक लोग यूरोपियन वैज्ञानिकों के ढंग की खोज कर रहे हैं। लेकिन मैं उनको बतलाना चाहता हूं कि वे इसके लिये अपने घर की ओर भी देखें।

यहां भी सब कुछ है। अब एक मिनट के लिये मैं महाभारत की एक घटना सुनाता हूं। जिस समय युधिष्ठिर घबड़ा कि यह सामने भीष्म जैसा बहादुर व्यक्ति कैसे मरेगा तो अर्जुन ने कहा था :—

“सर्वानि मामान् हव्याम् निमवादिनि।”

मेरे भाई युधिष्ठिर क्यों घबड़ाते हो। आप सोच कर खालने में जितनी देर खगेगा उतनी देर में मैं गारे बाढ़ों का डेर कर दूंगा अर्थात् नष्ट कर दूंगा। अर्जुन के पाम पाश-पतास्र था जिसके कि बल पर उस ने ऐसा कहा था। पशुति कहते हैं विद्युत् की बिजली की। कहने का तात्पर्य यह है कि इस प्रकार के अर्माव अस्त्र प्राचीन काल में हमारे लोगों के पाम होते थे। आप इन के बारे में अपने प्राचीन संस्कृत ग्रन्थों में खोज करायें तो आपको ऐसे अद्भुत अस्त्र मिल सकते हैं जिससे कि यूनियन वैज्ञानिकों के घर में हमें देखने की आवश्यकता नहीं रहेगी। इसलिये मैं सुझाव दूंगा कि मिलेटरी के काम के लिए और इस प्रकार की खोज के लिये संस्कृत के पंडितों का अवश्य स्थान दिया जाये। मुझे आशा और विश्वास है कि वह पुराने समय के बारे में खोज करने के कार्य में विशेष सहायता दे सकेंगे।

सेना जहां बाहर के शत्रुओं से हमारी रक्षा करती है वहां ऐसे अराजक तत्वों से जो कि हमारे देश के भीतर ही बैठे हुए हैं, ऐसे देश और समाज विरोधी तत्वों से भी सेना के द्वारा ही पूर्ण रक्षा की जा सकती है।

अब स्पष्ट चीज है कि इसके लिये हमें सेना अधिक रखनी पड़ेगी और उस पर होने वाले खर्च में भी अधिकता करनी पड़ेगी और मैं न कहना भी है कि सैनिक खर्च दुगुना कर दिया जाय। अब इसके लिये कहा जायेगा कि पैसा कहाँ से आये ? मेरा सुझाव है कि इसके लिये जितने भी यह सिनेमाओं के अंदर गन्दे और

अश्वील स्त्री, पुरुष के चलचित्र दिखलाये जाते हैं उन को तुरन्त बन्द कर दिया जाये । इसके साथ ही विदेशों से जितनी माज, श्रंगार की चीजें आती हैं उन को तुरन्त बन्द कर दिया जाये । वह सब वैसा लेकर मिलेटरी के काम में दे दिया जाये ।

इसी तरह से नाच, गाने के नाम पर सांस्कृतिक मण्डल विदेशों का भेजे जाते हैं उनको रोक दिया जाय और वह सब वैसा मिलेटरी को दे दिया जाये । इस तरह की कितनी ही चीजें हैं जिनको कि अगर बन्द कर दिया जाय तो कोई हर्जा न होगा वरन् उनका बन्द होना हितप्रद ही होगा । आज आवश्यकता इस बात की है कि हमारे आचार, विचार बहुत ऊँचे हों और फौज के अन्दर उच्च कोटि के आचारवान राष्ट्रभक्तों के व्याख्यान कराये जायें जो कि हमारी सेना को मुदई बना सकें और राष्ट्र के प्रति अनुशासन और भक्ति का भाव रखने का पूर्ण शिक्षण दे सकें ।

मेरा यह स्वभाव नहीं है कि मैं अधिक समय तक बोलूँ । बस मैं एक बात कह कर अपना भाषण समाप्त करूँगा ।

“आराध्ने राजन्यः शूर इष्टव्यो
अतिव्याधी महारथो जायताम् ।”

हमारे राष्ट्र के अन्दर शूरेवीर सैनिक हों । हमारे सिपाही कैसे होने चाहिए ? “अतिव्याधी रोगी न हों—सिपाही रोगी नहीं होने चाहिए ।” “महारथः” चतुरंगिणी जो सेना है—क्या आकाश, क्या भूमि, क्या जल और क्या जल के नीचे, चारों प्रकार की सेना संचालन विधि में निपुण हों। “इष्टव्यः”—जो निशाने में अचूक हों । जो केवल शस्त्र, अस्त्र को ही नहीं बल्कि सब बातों को जानने वाले हों ।

हमें तो अपने फौजी जवानों पर गर्व है । कश्मीर में जब शत्रु घूम आया था तो लेफ्टिनेंट महाराजसिंह कश्मीर के पहाड की चोटी पर मशीनगन लेकर चले गये थे, ६ हजार फीट की ऊँचाई पर चले गये और अपना वलिदान दे

दिया । ऐसे बहादुरों के द्वारा ही भारत की रक्षा हो सकती है । आराम गाड़ियों और एयर कंडी शन्ड बंगलों में रहने वाले राजनीतिक लोग जो कि चर्चा मात्र करते हैं राज्य उनके द्वारा नहीं बचाया जायेगा । राष्ट्र तो बचेगा सिपाही से । इसलिए मैंने आप से बार बार निवेदन किया कि सिपाही का आप मान दीजिये । सिपाही क्या चाहता है ? इज्जत चाहता है अब अगर उसको मान भी नहीं दिया जायगा, धन तो आप देंगे नहीं तो उसमें उधर जाने की प्रवृत्ति कम होगी और उगवा उन्माद क्षीण हो जायगा ।

मैं यह नहीं कहता कि एक विशेष वर्ग वाले ही सैनिक बन सकते हैं ; सभी लोग सैनिक बन सकते हैं । परन्तु यह जरूर है कि जो लोग परम्परा से पीढ़ी दर पीढ़ी से फौज के अन्दर रहने चले आये हैं, राष्ट्र की जिन्होंने रक्षा की है उनसे सिपाही जल्दी तैयार हो जाते हैं । जिन लोगों ने समय समय पर भारत की रक्षा के लिये अपने प्राणों का वलिदान दिया है उनके अन्दर यह क्षात्र ओज स्वाभाविक रूप से उत्पन्न होता है और वह जल्दी काम कर सकते हैं । जब मिलेटरी का बाजा बजता है मारू बाजा बजता है तो सिपाही हालांकि उसकी कमर पर साढ़े २२ मेर का बोझा लदा हुआ है लेकिन वह दौड़ पड़ता है और उस बोझ को धारण किये २८, २८ मील पैदल मार्च करता हुआ चला जाता है । अब उसमें एक देशभक्ति की भावना होती है, राष्ट्र की सेवा करने और रक्षा करने का भाव रहता है । इस नाते मैं यह प्रार्थना करूँगा कि आप सिपाहियों को प्रोत्साहन दें और मान दें । मैं अपने व्यक्तिगत अनुभव के आधार पर ऐसा कह रहा हूँ और वह इसलिए कि मेरा मारा क्षेत्र मिलेटरी का है । घर घर में ऐसे परिवार हैं । उनकी आरंभ पूरा ध्यान दिया जाये । उनसे भारत की रक्षा इधर भी होगी और उधर भी होगी—चारों तरफ उनसे रक्षा होगी । इसलिए जितना भी सहयोग इस सम्बन्ध में माननीय मन्त्री दे सकते हैं, इधर उधर जो रक्का

[श्री जगदेव सिंह सिद्धांती]

खर्च किया जा रहा है, उसका बचाना चाहिए।

कल मैं एक जगह गया था वहाँ मैंने देखा कि बाजे बज रहे हैं—चीं चीं, पूं पूं पूं।

(*Interruptions*) उनसे क्या होगा ?

हमने सन्तरोक्त नहीं करना है।

प्रधक्षमहोदय : माननीय सदस्ययुक्तों !
परहों वे बाजे बजाने लग गए (*Interruptions*)

श्री जगदेव सिंह सिद्धांती : उम पैसों को बचाया जाना चाहिये अगर बाजे बजें तो मिनिटरी का बाजा बजे—डम डम म

यह कह कर मैं अपने वक्तव्य को समाप्त करना हूँ और अन्त में मैं प्रार्थना करूँगा कि मिनिटरी का डम बजाया जावे और सारी सैनिक उम को दी जाये। केन्द्रीय मन्त्रिमण्डल में श्री और राज्यों के मन्त्रिमण्डलों में भी मिनिटरी का एक एक सदस्य अवश्य भेद है।

Shri Birendra Bahadur Singh: Sir, I am very glad to note that the Defence Ministry demands, totalling Rs. 376 crores, especially the grants for the items of army and navy, are considerably larger than last year. I shall be failing in my duty if I do not say a few words about the jawans who are fighting in the different theatres of war. I have been hearing some of the speeches and I can say this that the Indian army is second to none. Wherever they may be, in whatever position they may be, they will always discharge their duties and they will not fail to keep up the banner of the country.

Of course, so far as equipments are concerned, the army does not march on an empty stomach. I should like to say with all the emphasis at my command—I am not a coiner of sweet words neither do I indulge in platitudes—but I must say this that ever since our Defence Minister has taken over charge, every year something or other is happening and progress is being made. The question is,

where is the money? Today everyone shouts that we must do this or that. Firstly there is the question of money and secondly we do not want what is called 'an attacking force'. If we are going to have an army from the point of view of an attacking force, it is very easy. We can easily raise a big army like the Chinese, Americans or Russians. But we have to build so many plants; we have to build up our own economic conditions; we have to build so many schools, roads, hospitals, etc. Unless and until we improve upon them, if our economic conditions are bad, do you think our army can march? So, we have to see the conditions first.

We do not want our army to be like raiders. If we order our army, they can certainly march and take any place, but we have to bear in mind the expense. Today we have to do so many other things. So, gradually we have to spend money. If we go in for more taxation, there is going to be a shout. If we say we are going to spend only on the army, then the attack will be, is India trying to be absolutely military minded? If we are convinced, let us today stop other things, and let us prepare ourselves. I would like to ask, an ex-army man, how many of the Members would be prepared to get about 100 or 125 recruits each? Let them bring it and we will completely change and revolutionise our budget. But would that be beneficial to us? That is the point we have to consider. I do not say we should not have sufficient army. We have got sufficient army. We can manage our defence. The modern warfare will go on for three or four days only. It will not go on for weeks together. Take the case of Laos. What has happened in Laos?

When the troops moved from the north, the American forces came and took over the charge. Therefore, countries like us who are trying to

build up our economic conditions must also bear in mind that if there is going to be a war the effects will be very bad. Take the case of Pakistan. What will happen? It is not going to be a Pakistan-India issue. I doubt it very much. It is bound to be a global war. Pakistan knows it. We also know. They are also prepared. They also feel the same way. They are naturally trying to do so many other things. I can understand that. But today, at this juncture, no one in his heart of hears is prepared to have a real war. It cannot be limited to one or two countries. It must result in a global war, where it will not be only one country fighting against another country but several countries coming together and fighting. That point must not be lost sight of.

Now, about the question of equipment many hon. Members have spoken. We must get our equipment subject to the resources at our disposal. Only the other day there has been a lot of talk about the equipment for our Air Force. When the Ministry realised that Pakistan had supersonic jet planes and that our relation with Pakistan is quite different, naturally they had to negotiate for planes. We are trying to get planes. It is for the Ministry to decide where to get them and how to get them.

The position is this. At present there are three kinds of planes before us. I do not want to take the political aspects of the question because that has been dealt with in detail. Yesterday there was a discussion and the hon. Defence Minister also give a reply. The planes that are before us are: the American Super Sabre Jets F. 104. G, the British PI-Lightnings and the French Mirage III. The cost of all these three planes is almost twice as much as that of the MIG planes. Secondly, the western manufacturers—France and others—want two or three years to deliver the

goods. We cannot wait for two or three years. We want our Air Force to have these supersonic planes as early as possible. Thirdly, the western suppliers always insist on, what is called, dollar or sterling payments. As far as the USSR is concerned, they say: 'if you wants planes take it, we do not insist upon you; but if you think they are all right, go ahead with it and we are also prepared to deliver the goods immediately and accept rupee payment'. These points the Defence Minister would certainly consider. He will consider as to which one is better in our interest. But I do not understand why so much of *tamasha* or so much of *hullabaloo* is being done by the UK and USA diplomats. They say that they are giving us aid. They give aid to so many other countries. There is no doubt about it. But why should they mix up this issue and say like a school master to his school boys that if we do not behave well they will do this and do that. This sort of behaviour on the part of UK and USA diplomats, I personally feel, is very improper.

I would certainly ask the hon. Minister of Defence to strike the deal as early as possible in the interest of the country. We are not only being challenged, we in trouble not only from one side but from all the corners. The more we delay it, the more this kind of discussion and this type of diplomacy will go on. Make a decision quickly and get the planes as early as possible.

The other thing we need on this north-east area is helicopters. They are very essential to drop supplies etc. We must give the highest priority to this. I hope the hon. Defence Minister will kindly see to this.

I come to other point. One of the very good news that I got from the reports was the opening of schools. As a matter of fact, if you remember, some months ago, I think it was

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just before the elections, a Resolution was brought by my hon. friend, Dr. Ram Subhag Singh, now a Minister of State, that there must be compulsory military training from a certain age. Of course, then our hon. Minister of State, the then Deputy Minister, Shri Raghuramaiah, had replied to the debate and said that it was not necessary. But nevertheless I feel very happy that although that is not in the picture military training has been started. That is a great thing.

They have opened Sainik Schools in various places. Recently two more have been added, one in my State, in Rewa, and another somewhere in the Punjab. Surely, in these schools that have come up the idea is to train boys for the Army who are keen on Army. This and NCC and other training which is imparted in the public schools and various other schools will certainly infuse in our children the Army life and discipline. I am glad a number of Sainik Schools are being opened. I would certainly ask the Ministry of Defence not to ignore the public schools so far as this is concerned. If Sainik type of training can also be imparted in those public schools, they should also be roped in so that they also give this kind of Sainik training.

Then I really feel that something ought to be done for the retired Army jawans and personnel. They are all right on the top level but on the State level they are not giving them that pat or appreciation. We have got the sailors', soldiers' and other boards. Many times I have seen that when they go for their pension at times they are treated even worse than a *kotwal*, so much so that they come away from that place. This must be brought at some higher level. The Ministry of Defence, Government of India, must move the State Governments that this subject should be looked after by some Minister, these boards should be placed under some

Minister, the Home Minister or some other Minister who must see to these things. After all, as some hon. speakers have just now said, our steady recruitment lies mostly on the retired personnel. If they are not being looked after well, they will say, "We cannot do anything in the future. This is our lot. God bless you." This kind of thing demoralises our forces. Therefore as far as possible something ought to be done to ameliorate their condition.

I will take one incident. I wonder if you know that last time when the UK Prime Minister had come here he went up to one of the places here and came across an old jawan who happened to be in the the Grenadiers. The Prime Minister of the UK also belonged to the Grenadiers. He suddenly saw the uniform and the badges of the regiment and he was so glad that he shook hands with that man. That man was actually puffed up. That is something which the jawan wants and retired Army people want.

I will give you one case. You do not allow us to take names of individuals, but I can refer to it by the title. I speak of your own Marshal. He has got the uniform and badges that were there in the pre-independence days. Why can he not get the uniform of the present day personnel? He is an ex-Army man. **These** little things pay a lot.

There is a house which was to be made in Pachmarhi. The foundation stone was laid by the former President. I know that up till now that building is not ready. The foundation stone was laid four or five years ago for the ex-Army men's home. This sort of thing must stop.

Yesterday, my hon. friend, Shri Sharma, criticised the Territorial Army very badly. I was rather surprised at it. When we are sending our forces to Congo and other

places, their place is taken by the Territorial Army. My hon. friend Mr. Saraf a few minutes back said that during days of trouble in Kashmir the Territorial Army did yeoman service in that State. I am sorry Mr. Sharma should have made such a sweeping statement. I would suggest that the Territorial Army should be brought on regular lines; they would rather feel more puffed up then.

But I would certainly say that there is a colossal waste of money on Lok Sahayak Sena. I think the amount budgeted for this is about Rs. 80 lakhs. If this money is spent over the Territorial Army or over the NCC, it will be a good thing. They come only once a year for training; the next year do not. In Madhya Pradesh most of the people that were caught as dacoits, knew how to fight the police like an army man and one or two belonged to Lok Sahayak Sena. I suggest that they should be incorporated in the proper Territorial Army and for the youth we have got the NCC. But this Lok Sahayak Sena has not helped anybody, and I consider it is complete waste of money. Let this money be utilised for other purposes.

Then, Sir, we have these Flag Days when money is collected for the families of armed men. I cannot off-hand tell the amount, but it is a pretty good sum. That money is given to the widows and dependents of armed men. Such people when they ask for money have to apply through the district officers, who in turn write, to somebody else and then the matter comes up here and orders are passed. Some of them get about Rs. 150 to 200, but for this they have to wait for six to eight months. Some of them who are poor are in great financial difficulty. The best course is that they should be asked to register their names and every year after the collections are made they should be remitted the amount due to them on the lines of

pension.

I now come to a very minor point. I do not know whether it would be proper for me to say this or not. We have here the Queen Victoria Mess where armed force officers are staying. Conditions there are really shocking. We are having so many buildings in Delhi. I certainly agree that we have got this Bhavan and that Bhavan and so many other Bhavans. But I feel very very sorry that the condition in which our armed personnel is staying in this Mess is something shocking. It is high time that Government saw to it that they have some suitable place to stay.

Then I come to a point which I have been repeating everytime. In the Rajya Sabha we have got practically every kind of representation. I was hoping that something would crop up. It is necessary that in the Rajya Sabha there must be nomination, and if necessary...

Mr. Speaker: Why should he discuss it here; he shall have to approach some other authorities for this.

Shri Birendra Bahadur Singh: I am only making a proposal that there must be representation from the army personnel—a jawan or an ex-officer—as a member nominated to the Rajya Sabha, just as we have representation for cultural and other activities. It is only a question of our recognising them as somebody in our body politic.

Then Sir,...

Mr. Speaker: That should suffice.

Shri A. V. Raghavan: Mr. Speaker, Sir, may I take this very first opportunity to congratulate the Defence Minister for liberating Goa? The Portuguese got their first foot-hold in my constituency in Kerala. And it is indeed one of the pleasantest ironies of fate that this great and historic operation that liquidated the last

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vestige of Portuguese imperialism from our sub-continent was master-minded and presided over by a distinguished son of Kerala.

And I have to congratulate him equally strongly on another count too, and that is for the great and progressive steps that he is taking towards self-sufficiency in Defence requirements. To any one familiar with the logistics of Defence, the far-reaching nature of these steps is self-evident. Sovereignty ceases to have any meaning if in a crucial sector like this we have to depend on foreign sources. For a nation of limited resources this is an uphill task. It requires not only vision but also extraordinary skill in planning priorities and executing the same with vigour. The growth of the public sector in Defence production is one of the most inspiring chapters of our post-independence era. And I want the Defence Minister to extend this activity 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. Let me also add that this defence sector of our industries will also be a mighty source of strength and sustenance to our other public sector undertakings.

Our thanks are also due to the Army for the timely assistance rendered to the civil authorities in the matter of famine relief, flood relief, extinguishing fires and also for the help rendered to the Railway authorities at the time of serious railway accidents.

Now, Sir, as an ex-serviceman I want to place some facts before you. Needless to say our Jawans are some of the finest of men. Their courage and gallantry are known the world over. In all the delicate international missions entrusted to them they have brought us unexcelled glory. And so they deserve the best from us.

The problem of unemployment after release is one of the major issues

facing our Jawans. After fifteen years of service he comes out of the Army with a very meagre pension. The average age of discharge of a soldier is thirty, an age when demands of family life make their appearance in right earnest. But as conditions stand today, civil employment is virtually barred to him at that age. The Government, especially after taking the best part of his life, has got the moral responsibility to see that he is not unemployed for the rest of his life. May I suggest that a good percentage, preferably 25 per cent, of the vacancies that arise in the Centre and in the States be reserved for the ex-Army-men? Something will have to be done in this direction. Except the State of Rajasthan, no other State has reserved any vacancies. I may also add that the very legitimate fear of unemployment early in life is one of the most important factors inhibiting the flow of the best men into the Army.

Another important matter I want to bring to the notice of the Defence Minister. A very large number of our Defence personnel are being discharged on the basis of verification reports received from the police. This is a matter of very serious concern. At times, they are discharged even on the basis of anonymous communications received from political parties. With the growth of democracy a certain measure of partisanship in social life has become inevitable. And when enquiries are made, it is very easy for politically interested parties to give adverse reports to the police on individuals. And action is taken on such colourable reports, without any chance being given to the servicemen to explain their stand. Under a democratic Constitution, this is a very serious infringement of the fundamental rights and liberties. I want the Defence Minister to look into specific cases without any delay and redress grievances.

In the matter of educational facilities to the children of servicemen, our

State Governments are adopting a very unsympathetic and un-imaginative attitude. If the children of non-gazetted officers and political sufferers can get educational concessions, one cannot understand why similar facilities should not be extended to the children of servicemen? I want the Centre to persuade the State Governments to extend these facilities to the children of our Army personnel.

There are a few other matters to which I want to make a brief reference. The service conditions of the employees of the State Soldiers' Sailors' and Airmen's Boards and the District Soldiers' and Airmen's Boards are, indeed, pitiable. They have been constituted as early as 1919. They are still run on an annual *ad hoc* basis. The necessity of making these departments permanent was recommended as early as 1959. Nothing has been done so far.

The imposition of Hindi on servicemen is also causing serious heartburn. Promotions are withheld if they do not pass in the three basic examinations in Hindi. This runs contrary to the assurances given by our Reverend President. Let me not be misunderstood. I am not opposed to the teaching of Hindi or more and more jawans learning Hindi. What I am opposed to is the compulsory introduction of Hindi for the purpose of promotion.

Again, the annual increment for a jawan is only 50 naya paise. He has to wait for five years to get the accumulated increment of Rs. 2.50 n.P. Really, should a jawan's increment be 50 naya paise only? Of course, statistics can be produced to confound this issue. Our jawans certainly deserve a better deal. I understand, all representations made in this behalf have fallen on deaf ears. There is the question of parity of pay between defence clerks and civilian clerks. No one can say that a defence clerk works, less. In fact, the contrary is the case. Yet, his pay is below that

of a civilian clerk, and his chances of promotion are much less.

Regarding ex-servicemen, I have to bring one important point to the notice of the Defence Minister. Today, out of the total Defence expenditure, only Rs. 40 lakhs are allotted for the welfare of ex-servicemen. This comes to about .01 per cent. of our Defence expenditure. This is what is really preventing the execution of any major scheme of rehabilitation. In a previous context, I was pleading for the reservation of 25 per cent of vacancies in the Centre and States for ex-servicemen. If, for various reasons, that proposal is not considered feasible, may I suggest the allocation of at least 5 per cent of our Defence expenditure for rehabilitation of our ex-servicemen? I want the Defence Minister to look into the matter seriously.

Now, let me stress an issue which has a broader connotation in our overall defence picture. Is there not an imbalance between the three main wings of our defence structure? I am having in mind the Navy. Considering the long coastline of our country and the problems inherent in such a situation, in these days of total warfare, is our Navy sufficiently big and adequate for our defence purposes? Of course, a big Navy is not created overnight. But, a consciousness in this direction has to be reflected in our Defence expenditure. It is there that I find signs of inadequate comprehension of the problem. Only a very small percentage of our Defence expenditure is allotted to the Navy. I want the Defence Minister to turn his energetic attention to this problem and I have confidence that results will be forthcoming.

Before I close, let me also draw your attention to two more issues which have a vital bearing on current problems. We hear so much these days about national integration. Has the thought ever struck us that the greatest instrument of national integration is our Army even as it is today? A more conscious effort can be made to make it a formidable force of in-

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tegration, the rock foundation on which the unity and integrity of our country can be secured for all time to come. A conscious effort in this direction can begin from the time a citizen is recruited in the Army, Navy or Air Force. I am not having in mind a rigid indoctrination programme. It is the enlightened officer corps that will have to carry this out more or less as an unwritten code of conduct, as an ideological directive, albeit binding.

Again, let the regional imbalances be removed from the Army. You know, Sir, that the theory of the martial races is now well high exploded. Let us now give correct and reasonable representation to every State, and to every part of India. The Army requires varieties of skills and aptitudes, and these are scattered all over India. In this too, there should be a conscious direction; it should not be left to chance. No region should be neglected. In fact, there is so valid reason for it. Let us not give even a shadow of suspicion in this regard. It will be fraught with grave consequences.

Our jawans constitute our first line of defence. We are passing through a momentous period in our nation's history. Let us do everything that is possible to make the lives of our jawans happier and more contented. And above, all, let them also have a vision of a happier future, a more purposeful future worthy of the sacrifices that they had been called upon to offer in the cause of the nation.

Shrimati Sarojini Mahishi (Dharwar North): I am extremely thankful to you for giving me this opportunity to speak a few words on the Demands of the Ministry of Defence.

India is a country having its own heritage. I may say that India is also a county of warriors.

When I heard a remark of one of the Opposition Members the other

day in connection with the demand made by our Defence Minister in the Security Council and his criticism of the political conduct of Pakistan, I very much appreciated the remark, especially coming as it did from the Opposition Benches. That shows that during times of emergency, there is no such distinction as Opposition Benches or as the Ruling Party. We rise as one single unity; we rise as one whole nation. That was what Dharma, the eldest of the Pandavas preached; he said that 'Whenever there is any danger from a foreigner or from a third party, we are all united, and we are 105 brothers, but whenever there arises a clash between ourselves, we are five and they are 100.' He said:

परे : परिभवे प्राप्ते वयं पंचांतरम् शतम् ✓

As I said earlier, India is a country of warriors, indeed. Whenever one village deprived another village of its cattle and challenged that village for warfare, the village which was deprived of its cattle took the challenge and went in for the battle, and really offered its lives on the battlefield. As the sloka says:

जितेन लभ्यते लक्ष्मीः मृतेन कपि सुपांगना,
क्षणविध्वंसिनि कार्यं, का चिन्ता मरणे रणे ✓

It means: 'Why should we care so much for this mortal body which is going to perish in a moment? If we conquer, we shall surely achieve prosperity; if we do not conquer but die, we shall attain heavenly bliss.' That was the attitude that was cultivated by the Indian people, and I feel that that was the principle and that was the spirit which actuated our people to fight with the British people.

India is a country which fought such a great Empire of the British people who specially boasted of their own achievements and who were saying that the sun would never set in

the British Empire; India confronted such a great empire and own freedom for herself.

At the time when India was under the British, she had no Army of its own; the problems of defence never arose then, because we were a slavish country, and it was the British Empire which cared for the defence of India. But, today we have got our own problems, because we are a free country. We have got our problems of defending our country from within and from without. That is to say, there are so many problems that are arising within, such as the different border problems and other things as a result of which chaotic conditions may arise in our country; then, there are certain units which threaten the Union Government that they would like to secede from the Union and so on. There is also the aggression on our borders, which has to be met. So, our Defence Forces should always try to keep up the unity of the country, and to see that our borders are defended.

India is surrounded on three sides by the sea, by the Indian Ocean, by the Bay of Bengal and the Arabian Sea. On the north, the north-east and the north-west frontier, it is the biggest mountain, Himalayas, which is there. I hope the House will permit me to quote a stanza from Kalidasa's Kumarasambhava, the very first verse, where he says that the Himalayas has been like the yard-stick to measure the countries of the world. The sloka runs thus:

अस्त्युत्तरस्यां विशि देवतात्मा ✓

हिमालयो नाम भूगर्भाधिपतिः ।

पूर्वा परी वारिनिधीवगाह्य

स्थितः पृथिव्या इव मानदंडः ॥

That is, just like a yardstick to measure the countries of the world. Of course, to be true, the Himalayas can swear to guard us. Now of course, on account of having created a nation within the premises of our own country, that is, Pakistan, and

on account of having allowed others by a policy of lenience to enter our country, we find there are certain insurrections on the north-western and north-eastern frontiers. We do not wish to attack others. At the same time, we should see that we shall not be attacked by others also. Therefore, forgiveness exhibited by a weak person is not forgiveness at all. Forgiveness shown by a strong person is what is creditable, what Mahatma Gandhi taught and what is important. Gandhiji always said that a weak person has got no right to forgive others.

Therefore, we must collect our strength and see that no enemy attacks us. We find that in some cases we commit offence not only by omitting to do certain things but also by doing certain things which we ought not to have done. In this case, we shall have to collect our strength and see that no injury is done to our rights also. We have got the right to protect our borders. I am sure our defence forces will rise to the occasion and see that our borders are maintained intact. We do not wish to add to our territory. At the same time, we do not also wish to lose our territory. Of course, as I said, our defence forces—the army, navy and air force—would rise to the occasion whenever there is a threat to our security. They did rise to the occasion in the case of Goa. They liberated Goa. They liberated the people of Goa who were under foreign rule for four centuries even though racially and culturally their affinities were with India. Our defence forces ought to be congratulated on the unique victory which they achieved in driving out the Portuguese forces within a few hours. It was a matter of hours for our defence forces, not of months or years.

Therefore, our people can do anything and everything provided they wake up. That is the difficulty with us. We do not wake up in time.

Shri Surendranath Dwivedy: That is for the policymakers.

Shrimati Sarojini Mahishi: Let us be up and doing. Let us rise to the occasion. Our defence forces should not only be provided with up-to-date equipment, but at the same time there must be training also given to our people. Our people are a sort of warrior class. Here I may quote a stanza from a composition of Sumitranandan Pantji :

मुझे तोड़ कर उस पथ पर फेंक दो वनमाली ।

मातृ भूमि पर शीश चढ़ाने जिस पथ पर जावे
वीर अनेक ।

Every flower in India was saying that it should be thrown on that dust where passed warriors to fight for their country. This was the spirit and this is what we need. Whether a man was trained or untrained in the special military art, he was willing and ready to offer his life for the sake of the country. Training will add to his efficiency and strength and military preparedness.

Here I have a little self-interest. Military schools have been established in every part of India except Mysore. Rani Kittur Chennamma confronted the British people in 1830. Even prior to the war of independence in 1857, she faced the British people and Thackery was killed and to his memory, we find a tomb in Dharwar district. Therefore, the people of Mysore desire that something should be done in memory of Kittur Chennamma. I hope that a military school in the palatial building which she had occupied will be opened and full justice will be done to the great cause for which she fought.

Then I want to bring another matter to the notice of the hon. Defence Minister. I do not know whether it is right on my part to mention this. A soldier, airman or navy person, whoever he may be, is ready to offer his life for the sake of the country at any moment, whenever the country calls him.

18 hrs.

Why should he work under a double jeopardy? He is liable to the punishment of a military court as well as the civil court. If he obeys the order of his superior he will be tried by a criminal court and if he does not obey the order of the superior, he will be tried by the court martial. That was in England to a certain extent and we have followed some of their principles. Even though we have got a presidential form of Government after the model of the American Constitution as also a Cabinet form of Government after the model of the English practice, we have a *via media* which is in between and we have reformed many of these principles and have accepted them in a modified form. Therefore, I do not know why the soldiers should work under a double jeopardy. So, I want to know whether this particular law relating to the soldiers can be modified and I request the hon. Defence Minister to look into it.

Shri Krishna Menon: Mr. Speaker, Sir, this House has debated the defence estimates for the past seven hours and it covered a very wide field. While it is not for me to say, I would like to recall that some of these observations and criticisms pertain to other fields. Though I am not entirely not familiar with those things, partly on account of the limitations of time and since they have been covered by the Government in other parts of the Budget debate, I will not deal with them.

Mr. Speaker: He may continue tomorrow.

18.02 hrs.

Lok Sabha then adjourned till Eleven of the Clock on Thursday, March 31, 1962/Jyaishta 10, 1884 (Saka).