

RE: STATEMENT BY MINISTER OF
HOME AFFAIRS

Mr. Speaker: The House will now take up the demands for grants.

Shri S. M. Banerjee: Sir, before that, may I request you to ask the Minister to make a statement about what happened in Rourkela?

Mr. Speaker: This was raised earlier and I have said that a statement is going to be made. I will ask him whether it can be made today.

11.18 hrs.

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

Mr. Speaker: The House will now take up further discussion and voting on the Demands for Grants under the control of the Ministry of Defence. Shri Kashi Ram Gupta will continue his speech.

श्री काशी राम गुप्त (अलवर) :
अध्यक्ष महोदय, कल में ए० एस्० सी० सेंटर, अलवर के बारे में कुछ उदाहरण दे कर यह बता रहा था कि यदि फौज में भी लापरवाही और अंधाधुंध तथा योजनारहित कार्य हुए, तो उस के नतीजे कभी भी अच्छे नहीं हो सकते हैं, चाहे हम उस पर कितना भी रुपया खर्च क्यों न करें। मैं अलवर का एक छोटा सा उदाहरण और देना चाहता हूँ।

वहाँ पर एक जुनियर एन० सी० सी० कैम्प खुला था। उस के समापन-समारोह के अवसर पर एक लैफ्टिनेंट-कर्नल साहब को आना था। ठीक पांच बजे जब हम वहाँ पहुँचे, तो वहाँ कुछ भी इन्तजाम नहीं था। मालूम हुआ कि राजस्थान के एक एयर-कामोडोर साहब आये हैं और वह सब काम को गड़बड़ कर गये हैं और उन को साथ ले गये हैं। वहाँ पर जो मेजर साहब काम कर रहे थे, जब उन से मालम किया गया, तो उन्होंने कहा कि हम किसी सभापति की तलाश

में हैं और हम ने किसी महिला को, किसी आफिसर की धर्म-पत्नी को, बुलाया है। उनके आने पर वहाँ की कार्यवाही इतनी उपेक्षा और गड़बड़ में हुई कि वे राष्ट्रीय गीत, "जन-गण-मन" को भी भूल गये। जब मैं ने इस के बारे में मेजर साहब को कहा, तो वह कहने लगे कि भाई, प्रजातंत्र के राज में तो ऐसा ही होगा। उनका इशाग इस तरह का था कि जिस तरह पाकिस्तान में अयूब साहब का राज्य है, वैसे ही फौजी शासन यहाँ भी होना चाहिए। यह मनोवृत्ति क्यों है? इसका खास कारण यह है कि प्रजातंत्रीय प्रणाली में जो कमज़ोरियाँ हैं, उन से लोग ऊब गये हैं। उनको ठीक करने की तरफ हमारा ध्यान नहीं जाता है।

इस बजट में लगभग सवा चार सौ करोड़ रुपये सामान इत्यादि पर खर्च होने जा रहा है। सामान को लेने की जो प्रणाली है, सप्लाईज लेने की जो प्रणाली है, वह भी वही प्रणाली है जोकि दूसरे मंत्रालयों में, दूसरे महकमों में चलती है। उसी प्रकार इस में भी भ्रष्टाचार चलता है। नतीजा यह होता है कि रुपया ठीक तरह से खर्च नहीं हो पाता है। यदि सुरक्षा मंत्री जी इसकी निष्पक्ष जांच करवायें तो उन को मालूम हो जायेगा कि करोड़ों रुपये की उस में बचत हो सकती है। करोड़ों रुपया बेकार और बुरी तरह से खर्च किया गया है जोकि बच सकता है। यह मैं अपने थोड़े से अनुभव के आधार पर कह रहा हूँ, एक छोटे से ए० एस्० सी० सेंटर पर जो खर्च में लापरवाही बरती गई है, उसको देख कर कह रहा हूँ।

शासन के कामों में दखल देने की प्रवृत्ति कांग्रेस के भीतर यहाँ तक बढ़ गई है कि फौज के आफिसर भी अब यह चहते हैं कि किसी नेता के जरिये से हमारी सिफारिश हो जाये। इस प्रकार के उदाहरण मेरे सामने आये हैं और इस बात को मैं गम्भीरता से आपके सामने रख रहा हूँ। यदि फौज के

[श्री काशी राम गुप्त]

अक्सर भी इस तरह से चलेंगे तो देश सुरक्षित नहीं रह सकता है ।

हमारे सुरक्षा मंत्री जी कहेंगे कि राजनीति की जो बातें हैं, उन से उनके मंत्रालय का कोई सम्बन्ध नहीं है, जो मांगें पेश की गई हैं, उन से इसका कोई सम्बन्ध नहीं है । मैं निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि उन से इसका सीधा सम्बन्ध है । वह न केवल एक मंत्री हैं, कैबिनेट रैंक के मंत्री हैं, बल्कि इसलिए भी उन से इसका सम्बन्ध है कि वह देश के एक महान नेता भी हैं ।

जो दूसरे प्रश्न हैं, उन में से एक बान में काश्मीर के बारे में कहना चाहता हूँ । इसके बारे में कुछ मने कल भी कहा था । लेकिन आज थोड़ा सा विस्तार में जा कर इस समस्या की मैं चर्चा करना चाहता हूँ । काश्मीर की स्थिति बड़ी भयंकर है । आज के अखबारों में पढ़ने को मिला है कि वहाँ पर प्लेबेसाइट फ्रंट ने अपनी मांगें पेश की हैं । देखना यह होगा कि प्लेबेसाइट फ्रंट के लोग कौन हैं । ये वही लोग हैं जो एक्शन कमेटी के मेम्बर थे जिन्होंने शास्त्री जी को आशवासन दिलाया था कि सरकार में रद्दोदल कर दो तो यह सारा काम ठीक हो जायेगा । आज हालत यह है कि नेशनल काँग्रेस के भीतर दो तीन दल बने हुए हैं । जिस प्रकार से १९४७ में कहीं देश में कांग्रेस नजर नहीं आती थी और चारों ओर सम्प्रदायवादी लोग ही नजर आते थे, उन्हीं का बालवाला था, वही ही वहाँ पर नेशनल काँग्रेस काश्मीर के भीतर नजर आज नहीं आती है । काश्मीर गवर्नमेंट तो जम्मू में बैठी हुई है, जन संघ भी उसका तमाशा देख रहा है और प्रदर्शन होते हैं काश्मीर में । सब योजनानुसार काम हो रहा है और पाकिस्तान के साथ सांठगांठ है । सिक्योरिटी कांसिल में पाकिस्तान प्रश्न को उठाता है और यहाँ मुजाहिदे होते हैं, जिस में जलूस आदि निकलते हैं, श्रीनगर

में जलूस निकलते हैं । इस स्थिति को जल्दी से जल्दी नहीं सम्भाला गया तो बहुत गम्भीर स्थिति बाद में जाकर पैदा हो जायेगी ।

इस सारी स्थिति का मूल कारण यह है कि काश्मीर की राजनीति हमारे प्रधान मंत्री की जब की राजनीति रही है । हमारे प्रधान मंत्री आज अस्वस्थ हैं । वहाँ जो भी कोई जाता है, वह राजनीति को समझ नहीं पाता है । और सोच नहीं पाता है कि किस प्रकार से वहाँ के मामले को सुलझाया जाये । मेरा निवेदन है कि इसका सुरक्षा से सीधा सम्बन्ध है । काश्मीर समस्या का तत्काल कोई हल नहीं निकाला गया, कोई मुस्तकिल हल नहीं सोचा गया तो कहीं ऐसा न हो कि लेने के देने पड़ जायें ।

माननीय सदस्य रघुनाथ सिंह जी बहुत समझदार आदमी हैं । लेकिन समझदार होते हुए भी एक बात उन्होंने ऐसी कही जोकि हमें बहुत ठीक नहीं लगी । उन्होंने मुसलमानों को सम्बोधित करते हुए कहा कि वे भी सम्भल कर चलें । मैं निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि किन मुसलमानों से वह अपनी बात कहना चाहते थे, क्या काश्मीर के मुसलमानों से कहना चाहते थे या दिल्ली वालों से कहना चाहते थे या मध्य प्रदेश वालों से कहना चाहते थे ? आखिर इसका मतलब क्या था ? इसका सीधा सा मतलब यह है कि जो भारत आये हुए हैं, सोलह लाख के करीब भारत में घूम रहे हैं, उनकी तरफ उनका इशारा था । हमारे रघुनाथ सिंह जी सत्ताधारी दल के एक सदस्य हैं, सरकार में उनका बड़ा इनफ्लुएंस है । इसलिए उनको सरकार को कहना चाहिये था, उस सरकार को कहना चाहिये था जिस ने मुल्क का बटवारा कराया और मुल्क के बटवारे की जिम्मेदारी इस सरकार की है, कि वह इस बारे में सब्त कार्रवाई करे । सरकार के आदमी होते हुए सरकारी पार्टी के आदमी होते हुए दूसरों पर

दोष वह डालें, यह शोभनीय नहीं है। मुसलमान वहां क्या करने वाले हैं, प्रश्न यह नहीं है। प्रश्न तो यह है कि काश्मीर में आज तक हम ने उनको क्या सिखाया है, आज तक काश्मीरियों को क्या सिखाया है। बड़े चाव से शास्त्री जी को यह कहा गया था कि काश्मीरियों का एक ही कहना है कि वे भारत के साथ रहने वाले हैं। जब ऐसी बात थी तो फिर प्लेवेसाइट फ्रंट कहां से आ गया ? वहां पर बाकायदा हमारे बक्शी गुलाम मुहम्मद की लाबी काम कर रही है, सादिक साहब की लाबी काम कर रही है और पाकिस्तान की लाबी काम कर रही है। हमारे विरोधी दलों के नेता भी वहां गये हैं। हमारे नाथपाई साहब गये हैं। भालूम नहीं उन्होंने वहां क्या क्या देखा। हमारे जन संघ के नेता भी जाते हैं। मैं विरोधी दलों के नेताओं से कहना चाहता हूँ कि यदि उन में कुछ हिम्मत है तो वे वहां जा कर स्थिति को देखें और कुछ करें। यह किसी एक दल का काम नहीं है, सारे देश का काम है। जिस प्रकार से स्थिति ठीक हो सकती है, उस तरह से इसको ठीक करने का प्रयत्न होना चाहिये।

असम और त्रिपुरा से पाकिस्तानियों को निकालना, उनको वहां न आने देना यह भी सुरक्षा से सम्बन्धित है। राजस्थान का जहां तक सम्बन्ध है, उसकी सीमा भी पाकिस्तान से लगी हुई है जहां हूण रहते हैं। वहां पर रोजाना पाकिस्तान के लोग आते हैं, हमारे लोगों से मिलते हैं। यह बात अखबारों में भी हम ने पढ़ी है। मेरा सुझाव है कि वहां पर होम गार्ड्स रखे जायें, जो गांव गांव में जायें जोकि केवल स्थानीय न हों, बल्कि दूसरे जो लोग भी हैं, उनको भी काफी तादाद में रखा जाये और वे गांवों में रहें ताकि उनकी हरकतों के बारे में अच्छी तरह से जानकारी ले सकें जो कि छिपे छिपे लोग आते हैं। वहां पर

बहुत जल्दी सड़कों का जाल भी बिछाया जाना चाहिये और जब तक ऐसा नहीं किया जाता है तब तक मामला ठीक नहीं होगा।

मैंने कल भी कहा था कि चीन और पाकिस्तान दोनों से हमारा मुकाबला है। इसके साथ साथ हमें यह भी सोचना चाहिये कि हमारा कोई मित्र आज दुनिया में नहीं है। सभी जवानी बात करने वाले हैं। हमारे रंगा साहब बार बार कहते हैं कि जो हमें मदद देना चाहते हैं, उन से क्यों हम मदद नहीं लेते हैं। मैं पूछना चाहता हूँ कि जो हम को जहर के रूप में मदद देना चाहते हैं, जिन का मदद देना हमारे लिए जहर साबित होता है, उन से हम मदद ले कर क्या करेंगे ? यह जरूरी है कि अंग्रेजों और अमरीका वालों से हम साफ तौर से कहें कि वे जो कुछ भी मदद हम को देना चाहते हैं उसका नतीजा हमारे लिये उलटा होता है और अगर वे इमानदारी से हमारी मदद करना चाहते हैं तो वे पाकिस्तान से कहें कि पाकिस्तान हमारे इलाके को खाली कर दे और फिर हम उससे फंसला कर लेंगे। लेकिन अमरीका और इंग्लैंड ऐसा नहीं करते हैं, इसके लिए वे तैयार नहीं हैं। रूस केवल एक मुल्क है जो काश्मीर के बारे में हमारी बात का समर्थन करता है, चीन के बारे में वह भी चुप रहता है। इस भयंकर स्थिति को ठीक करने के लिए अगर हमें कदम उठाना है तो हमारे लिए यह जरूरी है कि हम भीतरी कमजोरियों को दूर करें, भीतरी कमजोरियों को हटायें।

मैंने निवेदन किया था कि सब से बड़ी कमजोरी यह है कि हमारे यहां कोई ऐसा विरोधी दल नहीं बना है जो कांग्रेस से शासन को ले कर हकूमत की बागडोर सम्भाल सके। हमारी इस कमजोरी को हमारा मुल्क ही नहीं सारी दुनिया जानती है। हमारे विरोधी दल के लोग भी दस दस और बाराह बाराह गुप्स में बंटे हुए हैं। उसको ठीक करने के लिए मैंने कल एक सुझाव दिया था जिस को

[श्री काशी राम गुप्त]

आज फिर मैं दोहराना चाहता हूँ। हो सकता है कि मेरी बात को आज न माना जाये और कुछ अरसे के बाद मान लिया जाये, लेकिन उसको माना जरूर जायेगा। मेरा सुझाव यह है कि लोक सभा के चुनाव छः महीने पहले होने चाहिये और विधान सभाओं के चुनाव छः महीने बाद में होने चाहिये। तब शक्ति की अच्छी तरह से आजमाइश हो सकती है। जिस तरह से छः सौ रियासतें इकट्ठी हो गई थीं उसी प्रकार से ये दल अपने आप हालात को देखते हुए इकट्ठे हो जायेंगे।

मैं एक सुझाव यह देना चाहता हूँ कि देश के भीतर राजनीतिक चेतना को कायम करने के लिए धर्म निरपेक्षता पर दृढ़ता से अमल हमें करना चाहिये। इस प्रकार की बातें हमें नहीं करनी चाहिये जिस प्रकार से हमारे रघुनाथ सिंह जी ने की हैं। अगर धर्म निरपेक्षता से हम हट गये तो बया नतीजा होगा, इसको आप देखें। काश्मीर तो आपके हाथ से जायेगा ही लेकिन पाकिस्तान भी कहेगा कि मुसलमानों को हमारे हवाले करो और जमीन दो। दक्षिण में क्या हो रहा है। इसको भी आप देखें। डी० एम० के० कहता है कि हम अलग होना चाहते हैं। ऐसी स्थिति में भारत कहां रहेगा? भारत की सुरक्षा इस प्रकार से नहीं हो सकेगी। भारत की सुरक्षा के लिए धर्म निरपेक्षता का होना बहुत ही जरूरी है और इस पर हमें डटे रहना है। तुष्टीकरण भी नहीं होना चाहिये। मुसलमानों को नाजायज तोर से खुश करने की कोशिश करना, ईसाइयों को खुश करने की कोशिश करना भी ठीक नहीं होगा।

आप यह भी देखें कि पूर्वी पाकिस्तान से पाकिस्तान ने ईसाइयों को हमारी तरफ धकेला है, बुद्धिस्ट्स को यहां धकेला है। पाकिस्तान बड़ी भारी धाल चल रहा है।

ईसाइयों को उन्होंने उन एरियाज में धकेला है जहां पर पहले से ईसाई मौजूद हैं और उन से फिर पाकिस्तान कहलवाने की कोशिश करना चाहता है कि हमें भी स्वतंत्र करो जैसे नागालैंड को एक प्रकार से स्वतंत्र किया है। इस प्रकार की चालों को हमें समझना चाहिये। इनका हमारी सुरक्षा से बहुत सीधा सादा सम्बन्ध है।

हमें एक दस साल की योजना बनानी चाहिये जिस के भीतर हम कितने ही टैक्स लगायें, कुछ भी करें, लेकिन हमें इतना ताकत-वर बन जाना चाहिये कि दुश्मनों का मुकाबला अपनी शक्ति से कर सकें। वह तभी हो सकता है जब हम योजना बना कर अपना कृषि उत्पादन पूरी तरह से बढ़ा लें। हमारे कपड़ा उद्योग में जो आज फैशनपरस्ती के तरीके चल रहे हैं, रंग बिरंगी चीजें बनाई जा रही हैं, इन को खत्म करके केवल दो तीन तरह के सूती कपड़े बनाये जायें और उन्हीं को पहन कर लोग खुश रहें। उद्योगों में उन उद्योगों को प्राथमिकता दी जाये जो उद्योग देश की सुरक्षा से सम्बन्धित हों, उन को न दी जाये जो बाकी फैशनपरस्ती चलाते हैं।

जां जनसंख्या है इसको हम जरूर कंट्रोल करें। यह न हो कि मुसलमान तो चार चार शादियों के नाम पर घड़ाघड़ बच्चे बढ़ाते जायें और हिन्दू जो हैं, उनके बच्चों पर पाबन्दी कर दी जाये। फैमिली प्लानिंग का मैं पक्षपाती हूँ, यशपाल सिंह जी की तरह से इसका विरोधी नहीं हूँ।

ये जो सब समस्यायें हैं, ये सुरक्षा से जुड़ी हुई हैं। इन सब में एक बात की जरूरत है। जो हमारी विदेश नीति है, वह जिस प्रकार से

अध्यक्ष महोदय : विदेश नीति के बारे में फिर आप बोल लें।

श्री काशी राम गुप्त : मैं इतना ही अन्त में कहना चाहता हूँ कि सब को मिल करके सुरक्षा के प्रति अपनी जिम्मेदारी निभानी चाहिये ।

Shri Mahatab (Angul): Mr. Speaker, Sir, I think, this is the first time in the last many years that defence is being discussed in a quieter atmosphere and hon. Members from the Opposition are trying to make some constructive suggestions as to how to improve.....

Mr. Speaker: Will he kindly excuse me for a minute?

11.30 hrs.

RE. STATEMENT BY MINISTER OF HOME AFFAIRS

Mr. Speaker: I would like to know from the hon. Home Minister whether he can make a statement today. An enquiry was made and I had received many notices.

The Minister of State in the Ministry of Home Affairs (Shri Hathi): I fully appreciate the anxiety of the hon. Members of the House and really the Government would like to make a detailed statement. I am going to make a detailed statement on Monday giving the details of the incident, the steps that the Government has taken and intends to take. We shall make a full statement on Monday, I hope.

Shrimati Renu Chakravartty (Barackpore): I could not quite catch it. Is it going to be a comprehensive statement?

Mr. Speaker: Yes. He is trying to get the details and will make the statement on Monday.

DEMANDS FOR GRANTS—contd.

MINISTRY OF DEFENCE—contd.

Shri Mahatab (Angul): Sir, I was saying that perhaps it is for the first

time in the last many years that defence is being discussed in a quieter atmosphere and no motives are being attributed. Constructive suggestions are being offered, specially, as I heard the Deputy Leader of the Communist Party speaking yesterday. The Leader of the Swatantra Party also made some suggestions which deserve to be considered by the hon. Minister in charge of Defence. This atmosphere has encouraged me to put up some suggestions for consideration of the Government and also the House.

Shri Sham Lal Saraf (Jammu and Kashmir): Should they alone be heard or others also?

Shri Mahatab: They are to be heard better than we because we are in a democracy.

Mr. Speaker: Shri Saraf has already spoken.

Shri Sham Lal Saraf: I have come nearer to hear him.

Mr. Speaker: Now he has moved to the front bench.

Shri Mahatab: Since I know the hon. Defence Minister personally very well for the last many years and since I trust that he is a man very much on the ground, I would like to appeal to him specially to consider a few suggestions in order to build up the defence of the country on a permanent basis.

Up till now we had been trying to meet situations as they arose. When the Chinese invasion took place in 1962, on many occasions reference was made to our unpreparedness by the hon. Prime Minister and by others. You will also find that reference was made to the causes of this unpreparedness. It was pointed out at that time that one of the main causes was centuries of foreign rule which had made us unprepared as we were at that time. How did it happen? If we study the history of our unpreparedness, we will find that the damage which the British did to this country was referred to even by

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leaders of the non-violence movement, like, Mahatma Gandhi. The British demilitarised the country in such a manner that people completely forgot all about war and defence themselves. They made the country entirely armless. They introduced a severe type of Arms Act which at one time the Congress wanted to be repealed. I am talking of the old resolutions of the Congress. This Arms Act made the people so emasculate that they could not even think in terms of national defence.

Then, because of our tradition, namely, one particular caste or a few castes were entrusted with the task of warfare, the general population was not interested in the art of warfare. That was the tradition and in addition to that the British introduced this Arms Act. The result was that the country could not think in terms of defence.

This situation has to be corrected. Some steps were taken after the Chinese invasion towards correcting this situation, namely, the organisation of Home Guards, the expansion of the Territorial Army, the formation of the Frontier Guards, the expansion of the NCC and the ACC. All these steps were taken to correct the situation. Unless we have the general population ready for it, we cannot build up a good army. After all, the army will come out of the population. If the population and the army stand apart from each other, I do not think India can have a good army to preserve her security. So, all these organisations, Home-guards, Frontier-guards, the Territorial Army, the N.C.C. and A.C.C., all these subsidiary organisations, should come under Defence. I have some experience of the way in which the home-guards were organised. In fact, they were placed under police, I suppose, in the States and ultimately nothing much could be achieved so far as that organisation was concerned. The demand was made for the formation of frontier guards

in the frontiers. We hear of frontier raids almost every day, not only here in Parliament but also in papers. We hear of frontier raids every day in the east, in the north, in the west, everywhere, and we are not making any arrangement to meet that situation. That situation can be met only by the formation of frontier guards on a sound basis and the suggestion was seriously considered in 1962. But what has been done so far? We glibly talk of guerilla warfare. I do not think any warfare, any kind of warfare, can be conducted in a society devoted to a kind of negative attitude towards war. That is not possible. Therefore, our people should be acclimatised to the use of arms. Again, I know what I say will hit our conception of non-violence and all our notions about it. This morning I was going through what Gandhiji at one time said about these matters and I was surprised to find that all along he had been advocating against the Arms Act. He said, the way in which this had been introduced had made us really cowards, not non-violent. The Act itself has made us cowards. I have it from army authorities, I mean, experts on the army organisation of India and also of other countries, that a population of this type cannot build up a good army. In order to build up a good Army, a population must be well-conversant with the use of armaments.

Shri Bade (Khargone): There should be conscription.

Shri Mahatab: That is a different thing. We always think in terms of extremes, either non-violence or conscription. But there is a *via media*. Why not make the population conversant with the use of arms? That is very necessary for the purpose of building up the defence of the country.

Then, about the security of the country, when we talk of the security of the country, I am very sorry to say, in reply to some questions, the

Home Minister said that the security of the borders was the duty of the State Governments. I think that view has to be corrected. That system also should be changed. The security of the borders must be the responsibility of the Defence Ministry. It cannot be the responsibility of the State police. Various ways can be found out to do it. For instance, when the British were here, they organised the Assam Rifles in order to protect the borders there. Up till now, no such organisation has been built up to protect the borders. Yesterday, Shrimati Renu Chakravarty referred to the landing of Pakistan helicopters in West Bengal. In spite of everything done, how was it that the helicopters could land there? That is because we have no organisation in the rural areas. We have no widespread organisation anywhere. We cannot get information. You talk of police stations and it is expected that the police stations will send information higher up. What is this police station? In an extensive area, we have four or five constables and they are busy otherwise. They have no time to know that these things are happening. Perhaps, many of them cannot distinguish a helicopter from a regular plane. That being the situation, we cannot leave this matter to the State police.

So far as the Kashmir border is concerned, the reply from the Home Ministry was that the border was quite safe in the hands of the State police there. Knowing full well the conditions of the police in almost all the States, knowing the conditions of services there, should we leave it to the State Government? I think it will be wrong to do that. I suggest that the Defence Ministry should take over the security of the borders and that can be successfully done only if the Defence Ministry organises the home guards and frontier guards on a sound basis and not leave to the State Governments or to some of their minor departments to undertake this work. About frontier agencies, I do

not know what is happening now—these are supposed to be secret matters—but I have some knowledge that when the British were here they used to organise this kind of frontier defence forces by paying grants and rewards to the local people. They had an organisation in the former North-West Frontier Province and also in Tibet. The Khampa community used to organise defence amongst themselves. Although they were not regularly under the Army, they used to be looked after by the Army. Similar organisations should be built now.

That leads me on to the question of military intelligence. In those days, I had some connection with this. They used to call it 'Military Intelligence Bureau' or MIB. In those days, as a Congress leader, I used to have some connection with it. Whenever there used to be any movement and whenever the Army had to be called, the MIB officers used to go there and report on the political conditions of that place, and action used to be taken on their report. Nowadays, considering the way in which the Army is being called so easily and their services are placed at the disposal of the State Governments so easily, I do not know whether they submit any report about the conditions prevailing in the particular places where they are called.

I am now to choose between two possible alternatives. One is that they might be reporting. If that is so, then, I am sure that no action is being taken on those reports. The other possibility is that they are not reporting. I cannot choose between this and that. I shall leave it to Government to decide what to do, and to decide whether the Army should be utilised to shoot down unarmed people. I would request the hon. Minister to read some literature on this subject, and I think that he knows it that if an Army is engaged to shoot down unarmed people, ultimately the Army will be demoralised. The Army must be called upon to deal with armed crowds only and not to deal

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with unarmed people. If they are called upon frequently to deal with unarmed people, ultimately, the Army will be demoralised and we shall not have a good Army.

Another mistake that we committed was this. In the past, we the political people thought that the Army was a useless limb of the administration, and that the Army people could be better utilised for the construction of houses or for distribution of relief and so on. On one occasion, I dealt with this subject while I was in Bombay. Resentment was expressed then by some Army officers as to the manner in which their uselessness was referred to in this House and it was suggested that since they were without any work, therefore, some work should be given to them. So, a large number of contracts were given to the Army to build quarters here and there. If that is done, I think that the utility of the Army will be very much reduced, and the morale of the Army will also go down. The Army must be kept in its proper place for a particular purpose, and that purpose is to defend the country whenever a crisis comes. They should be kept ready always for the crisis, which should be deemed to be existing permanently.

The use of the Army for our internal security and for defence purposes is very much connected with the intelligence services. Both the wings must go together. Otherwise, I do not know how either the internal security or the border security can be effectively preserved.

I would again revert for a while to the question of lack of intelligence. How is it that the situation that arose in Calcutta could not be anticipated? As far as I could see, any critical observer, anybody who knows anything about intelligence or about the political situation could have anticipated that trouble in time, and perhaps the situation could have been forestalled. It is not a light matter to kill people,

to shoot down people; they may be innocent or they may be guilty; I do not know; but this kind of random should be avoided as far as possible, and that can be avoided only if the intelligence service is made efficient and not otherwise. Therefore, more stress should be laid on building up the army intelligence service.

At the same time, I would make a very humble submission to my hon. friends in this House to be very careful while putting questions about this report. We sometimes create a situation in which information is given out which ultimately damages our cause, instead of helping it. There is always a reluctance on the part of the Ministers to come out with information, but pressure is brought to bear from the other side to say something. In this conflict, sometimes, misleading information is given, or sometimes wrong information is given, and if the correct information is given, that goes against the interest of the country.

Shri Bade: The Opposition leaders are not taken into confidence.

Shri Mahatab: Confidence is a mutual affair. Confidence cannot be created only by one side. Anyway, this is the situation.

I was referring to the morale of the army. That also includes the relationship between the officers and the men. I know some of us, including my hon. friend, Shri Tyagi, had joined the old India Defence Force in the 1914-18 war. It was called IDF. In those days, we were taught the spirit of *esprit, de corps*, had to create a spirit of camaraderie among the men.

Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath (Hoshangabad): You were also there?

Shri Mahatab: Yes. I think, you must also have been there.

Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath: I was not; I was at school then.

Shri Mahatab: In those days, that was considered to be a great work for the youths to do. We should see if that spirit of camaraderie cannot be inculcated today. As far as I remember, there were certain rules also in that regard, saying for how many days or how many weeks the officers must live with the men. This was there to create a healthy atmosphere. I am very sorry to say that that atmosphere does not exist today. After all, the army is not what it was during the British regime. Our children, our friends and our relations are in the army. We hear many things from them. This information is not like any official information. It may be treated as derived from personal knowledge.

As I was saying, spirit of camaraderie does not exist today. A reason for this may be the attitude of the political leaders which is prevailing. The present political situation may be responsible for it, because too much politics is now entering every sphere of life. Army is not so immune from politics as it was before. That may be one of the factors. Another factor may be as I said, the disadvantages inherent in the democratic set-up. That is also possible. But whatever it be, I would request the hon. Minister personally to see that this spirit is engendered. Otherwise, discontent will grow to such an extent that ultimately the usefulness of the army and the discipline of the army will be seriously affected.

I have heard it from many high-ranking officers that the usual rules are not being enforced today, that is, the rules concerning the way in which the officers should behave towards the men.

Another thing is about the new areas where the army people are posted. They are not really new. I do not know why they are being said

so and concessions in the shape of allowances etc. are being given.

I would refer the hon. Minister to at least one book *While Memory Serves* written by Sir Francis Tucker. He was General of the Eastern Command. He was a General under Jawaharlal Uehru's Government also. He retired in 1950. In that, of course, he has criticised the Government. He has criticised the Indians very bitterly. But that is a different matter. There he has given an idea as to where our defect lies. We must study that from our point of view, know our defects and rectify them. No doubt, he is a very bad critic. He has referred to our conduct in Nagaland, our conduct so far as Tibet is concerned, how politics was entering the army, affecting army discipline. He has referred to all these matters in his book.

There are many other books also which give us an insight about these matters. They are to be rectified.

There again, we come face to face with one problem and that is this. Defence, if it is to be built on a sound basis, must go on systematically for some years on some precisely fixed lines. It cannot go on changing from year to year. It must be a definite line to be followed and to that not only the Government themselves or the party in power but the Opposition also must agree, to stick for some years. We cannot correct the mistakes committed by the British for so many centuries in one or two years. If we want to build up defence, a regular line has to be followed for some years, and then alone we can build up a defence of which we can be proud.

So far as the Indian army is concerned, it earned a very high reputation during the First and Second World Wars, but do you know what is said now? I am saying this with sorrow, with a sense of shame. It is now being said that the Indian army

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made a name under the British Generals, otherwise, they could not have made this name. Let us try to efface this slur as soon as possible, let us prove that the Indian army under Indian Generals are as good, or even better than the army elsewhere. That reputation has to be built. Sixty per cent of the efficiency of the army or more depends on the prestige it holds. That prestige has to be built up. Let us respect the army in every way, let us not talk lightly or criticise the defence arrangements in a manner which will affect the prestige of the army. Let us give them all respect, all help, and allow them to continue to work for some years systematically. That is my submission. I hope the hon. Minister will kindly consider this in the spirit in which I have expressed it.

श्री जगदेव सिंह सिद्धाती (अजमेर) :

आदरणीय अध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं यह निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि सेना का हमारे राष्ट्र में वही स्थान है जो कि हमारे शरीर में प्राणों का है। अगर प्राण बलिष्ठ है तो हमारा शरीर ठीक रहेगा। इसी भाँति अगर हमारी सेना सुदृढ़ है, सुव्यवस्थित है तो हमारे राष्ट्र के ऊपर कोई आपत्ति नहीं आ सकती है। इस नाते से मैं कुछ कसौटियाँ माननीय रक्षा मंत्री के सामने सुझाव के रूप में रखना चाहता हूँ कि वह देखें कि इन तमाम कसौटियों पर आप पूरे उतरते हैं या नहीं। पहली कसौटी वाली बात कोई मैं आज नहीं कह रहा हूँ बल्कि महाभारत काल में नारद मनि ने युधिष्ठिर से पूछा था :—

“राष्ट्र सुरक्षितं शत्रुभिर्न विलुप्यते”।

ये युधिष्ठिर, क्या तेरा राष्ट्र सुरक्षित है ? क्या शत्रु इस की नोच खोंच तो नहीं कर रहा है ? क्या शत्रु उधर, उधर से इस को उखाड़ पछाड़ कर छोटा तो नहीं कर रहा है ? जरा सोचिए, जो प्रश्न उस समय किया था ५००० वर्ष पहले क्या आज भी वही प्रश्न

हम अपने आप को उस अवस्था में रख कर नहीं कर सकते हैं ? यह प्रश्न क्या आज भी वैसा का वैसा ही नहीं खड़ा है ? हमें यह सोचना होगा कि हमारे राष्ट्र की सीमायें घटती ही जा रही हैं और बराबर घटती जा रही हैं, केवल मानसिक अवस्था ले आने से, केवल भाषण मात्र दे देने से राष्ट्र की रक्षा नहीं हो सकती है। इस के लिए हमारे सैनिक जो हैं वह दृढ़ हों। मझे यह कहने में बड़ा अभिमान है कि भारतीय सैनिक पूजा के योग्य हैं। भारतीय सैनिक आदर के योग्य हैं। वे अपने प्राणों को हथेली पर रख कर राष्ट्र की रक्षा करते हैं परन्तु राजनीतिक जो लोग हैं वह उसके मूल्य को नहीं समझते। मझे कहने में कोई आपत्ति नहीं कि जो बढ़िया कानूनदा होगा वह बढ़िया सिपाही नहीं हो सकता है। इसी तरह जो सिपाही होता है बढ़िया वह कानून की बहूत परवाह नहीं करता है।

अगर काश्मीर में उस समय सीज़ फायर नहीं किया जाता तो वह गमय आ जाता जब कि काश्मीर की समस्या हल हो गई होती लेकिन राजनीतिक लोगों ने बीच में पचड़ा डाला, हमारे सेनापति को रोका कि और आगे तुम बढ़ना बन्द कर दो। उसका परिणाम हमें भोगना पड़ रहा है और पाकिस्तान नाजायज़ तौर से हमारा काश्मीर का कुछ हिस्सा अभी भी दबाये बैठा है।

उधर ईस्ट पाकिस्तान के बारे में भी हम देख रहे हैं कि किस तरह से वहाँ से गैर-मुस्लिमों को निकाला जा रहा है। भारी तादाद में शरणार्थी उधर से भारत में आ रहे हैं और हमारे सामने उन मुसीबतजदा लोगों को बसाने की समस्या गम्भीर रूप में खड़ी है। कल इस सिलसिले में श्री रघुनाथ सिंह ने एक बात कही थी जिसको कि मैं हृदय से पसन्द करता हूँ। हमें केवल अपना रक्षात्मक भाग ही अदा नहीं करना है

बल्कि हमें आक्रमण करने की बात भी सोचनी चाहिये ।

श्री त्यागी (देहरादून) : वह वकील हैं ।

श्री जगदेव सिंह सिद्धान्ती शायद वकालत करते नहीं होंगे ।

एक माननीय सदस्य : छोड़ दी है ।

श्री जगदेव सिंह सिद्धान्ती : छोड़ दी, चलो अच्छा हुआ ।

हमें अपने राष्ट्र की सीमाओं की रक्षा के लिए जिन तरह से पाकिस्तानी लोग हमारे पशुओं को भगा कर ले जाते हैं, धन, धान्य लूट कर उधर ले जाते हैं और गांवों पर हमला कर के लोगों को मार डालते हैं और जिनको कि लेकर हमारी जनता में भय और आतंक फैल रहा है, उनकी इन हरकतों को रोकने के लिए हमें भी वही आक्रमणात्मक उपाय उनके साथ बरतने चाहिये । मैं कहता हूँ कि अगर हमारी आर से भी उसी तरह के उपाय उनके लिए बरते जायेंगे तो हमारी सीमाओं में उनका इन तरह से घुस आने, और लूट मार करने आदि के यह आक्रमण बंद हो जायेंगे ।

एक माननीय सदस्य : उनकी पीठ पर अग्नेज हैं ।

श्री जगदेव सिंह सिद्धान्ती : किसी की पीठ पर कोई नहीं होता । स्वयं अपने में हिम्मत व शक्ति होती चाहिये । पाकिस्तान की हान्लाकि हम से थोड़ी आबादी है लेकिन उसके द्वारा हम पर आक्रमण हो रहे हैं । इस लिए आबादी कम या ज्यादा होने की कोई बात नहीं, हिम्मत हाने या न हाने की बात है । राजस्थान में हम देखते हैं कि रेन के बड़े-बड़े ढेर पड़े रहते हैं, हवा का एक झोंका आता है और वह उन को उड़ा कर ले जाता है लेकिन एक छांटा सा पत्थर अपनी जगह पर पड़ा है, वह वैसे ही अपनी जगह पर पड़ा रहता है और उसे कोई हवा उखाड़ कर नहीं

ले जा सकती है । उस पत्थर के समान हमें सुदृढ़ होना चाहिये । सरकार के जितने भी मुहकमें हैं उन को यह मानना चाहिये कि हमारी सारी शक्ति इन के साथ है । सेना का सुदृढ़ किया जाना आज सबसे बड़ी आवश्यकता है । कुछ मुहकमे ऐसे हैं कि यदि इमरजेंसी के ढंग से इस बात को सोच लें और कुछ समय के लिए उनको हम बंद भी कर दें तो भी कुछ हानि नहीं है । लेकिन जहां तक अपनी सेनाओं की बात है उनका हथियार ज्यादा से ज्यादा मजबूत बनाना है । सुरक्षा के लिए और सेनाओं को सुदृढ़ करने के हेतु बजट में जितना भी अधिक खपरा रखा जा सके वह रखा जाय ।

हमें भविष्य में यह देखना होगा कि वह भूनें जो कि एक के बाद एक हम करते गये हैं उनको अब हम आगे से न दुहरायें । इस कारण हम से बर्मा गया, लंका गया और फ्रंटियर निकल गया । तिब्बत जिसे कि ऊपर हम को एक तरह का अधिकार था, बफर स्टेट कहिये या कुछ भी कहिये, उन के ऊपर हमारा अधिकार था वह भी हम ने भाई चारे में दे दिया ।

आज हम देखते हैं कि रोजाना पाकिस्तान के साथ एक न एक सवाल को लेकर समझौते होते हैं लेकिन पाकिस्तान उन समझौतों का पालन नहीं करता और उनके विपरीत आचरण करता है । पालन तब ही वह करेगा जब उसको मालूम होगा कि भारत इस चीज को चुपचाप बर्दाश्त नहीं करेगा । पाकिस्तान को तभी होश आयेगा जब उसे सरदार पटेल की भाषा में यह कहा जायगा कि अगर एक भी आदमी तुम ने वहां से इधर भेजा तो तुम्हें उन के बसाने के लिए भारत को भूमि देनी पड़ेगी । आज पूर्वी बंगाल से काफ़ी बड़ी तादाद में अभागे गैर-मुस्लिम शरणार्थी भारत में आ रहे हैं लेकिन हमारी ओर से इसके लिए यह नहीं कहा जाता है कि अगर इतने आदमी वहां से इधर तुम निकलन के लिये बाध्य कर रहे हो तो तुम्हें भारत को उनको

[श्री जगदेव सिंह सिद्धान्ती]

अपने यहां बसाने के लिये भूमि देनी पड़ेगी। भारत सरकार पाकिस्तान सरकार से ऐसा इसलिये नहीं कहती कि उसे अपने ऊपर विश्वास नहीं है। अगर हमें अपने ऊपर विश्वास हो कि हमारी सेना यह सारा काम काज कर सकती है तो हम भी यह आवाज लगा सकते हैं।

मैंने पहले आप के सामने एक यह जो परीक्षा की कसौटी बताई थी उसके ऊपर हमारा रक्षा मंत्रालय सोचे कि हमारा काम ठीक है या नहीं। यह कसौटी पर कसने का काम मैं उन्हीं पर छोड़ना हूँ कि वह फैसला करें कि वह उस पर ठीक उतरते हैं या नहीं उतरते हैं।

दूसरी चीज यह है जैसा कि इस रिपोर्ट में लिखा है कि हमारे राष्ट्र की रक्षा का भार सेना पर है। बात तो ठीक है लेकिन साथ ही उनके यह भी लिखते हैं कि हमारी रक्षा का जो भार है वह वैदेशिक नीति के आधार पर होगा, अर्थात् विदेश नीति जैसी हम बनायेंगे उस के ऊपर हमारे राष्ट्र की रक्षा और राष्ट्र की सीमायें हम निर्धारित करेंगे। कितना बड़ा तमाशा है? हमारा इतना बड़ा इलाका दबाया हुआ है और कहते हैं कि हम लड़ाई नहीं करेंगे। हम लाड़ाई से इसे हल नहीं करेंगे। ऐसी कौन सी बात होगयी जो कि शत्रु ने जिन इलाके को दबा लिया है बिना लड़ाई के वह हमें वापिस देदे ?

एक माननीय सदस्य : चर्चा काँतेगे।

श्री जगदेव सिंह सिद्धन्ती : आमतौर पर गावों के अन्दर हम आये दिन देखते हैं कि यदि एक की खेत की मेड़ दूसरे के खेत की तरफ जरा भी चली जाय तो बिना लड़ाई झगड़े के वह उसको नहीं देता है। अब यह तो इतना बड़ा क्षेत्र है, इतनी बड़ी चीजें हैं, बराबर उनको दिये जा रहे हैं। मालम होता है कि हमारा जो नेतृत्व है वह

सैनिक दृष्टि से नहीं सोचता। इस वैदेशिक नीति की भी जिसकी कि यह लोग तारीफ करते नहीं उधाते उसकी कामयाबी हम खूब देख चके हैं। अमरीका और ब्रिटेन ने क्या किया जिनके कि भरोसे पर हम यह समझते थे कि भारत की विदेश नीति बड़ी सफल है। भारत की नीति बड़ी तटस्थतावादी है और वह किसी के साथ नहीं जाता लेकिन जो हमारी किरकिरी हुई है वह सब पर आज जाहिर है। जिसकी अपनी खद की ताकत हो वह किसी के साथ न जाय तो चल सकता है क्योंकि जिसमें स्वयं अपना बाहुबल हो और जो मजबूती से अलग खड़ा हो उस का कोई क्या कर सकता है लेकिन जिसकी अपनी ताकत नहीं वह भी यह कहने लगे तो वह तो एक मखौल बन कर रह जाने वाला है। इस मिलसिले में तो गांव की एक छोटी सी मिसाल याद आ जाती है कि एक पति और पत्नी दोनों आपस में झगड़ रहे थे। चूंकि पत्नी जबरदस्त थी इसलिये वह अपने पति को पीटने लगी। पति को शर्म आई और इन डर से कि कहीं लोग यह न समझें कि मैं पत्नी से पिट रहा हूँ, अपनी इज्जत बचाने के लिये वह पत्नी से पिटते हुए भी यह कहता रहा कि हाँ तू ऐसे मानेगी, तू वैसे नहीं मानेगी, तू ऐसे मानेगी। ठीक वही हालत हमारी अपनी सरकार की इस मामले में है। वह कहती है कि हम यह विरोध-पत्र भेजेंगे, यह इनकवायरी करायेंगे तो मेरा भारत सरकार से कहना है कि इस तरीके से राष्ट्रों की रक्षा नहीं हुआ करती है।

दूसरी कसौटी थी, "यः रक्षन्ति अस्वप्नाः"—हमारे राष्ट्र के मजग प्रहरी, बहादुर, वीर, योद्धा सिपाही पूरी तरह जागरूक रह कर जिस की रक्षा करते हैं। क्या यह सरकार उन का जागरूक रहने का, उन का जागने का, मौका देती है? सरकार ने सेना में जा स्थिति पैदा की है, मैं उस का एक उदाहरण देना चाहता हूँ। मैं किसी का नाम नहीं लेना

चाहता हूँ, क्योंकि जब पिछली बार मैंने नाम ले लिया था, तो बहुत हो-हल्ला मचा था। लेकिन मैं यह कहने में नहीं चूकूंगा कि एक वीर बहादुर ने, जिस ने नेफा में बहुत बहादुरी दिखाई और जो तीन तरफ से चीन की सेनाओं को घेरे हुए था, कहा कि पीछे से सेना भेजो। यहां से टेलीफोन किया गया कि नहीं, तुम रिट्रीट करो, तुम लौट आओ। उस वीर बहादुर ने राष्ट्र-माता की रक्षा करने के लिए अपने प्राणों की आहुति दे दी। लेकिन उम के कमांडिंग आफिसर ने अपनी दुर्बलता को छिपाने के लिये यह कह दिया कि नहीं नहीं, इस का काम अच्छा नहीं था। मैं नहीं कह सकता हूँ कि यह बात ठीक है या नहीं, लेकिन मैंने सुना है कि एक ब्रिगेडियर का बलिदान होने पर भी, उस के शहद होने पर भी, उस का कंट्रोल किया गया। अगर याह बात सही है, तो इस से बढ़ कर सिपाही का निरादर कुछ नहीं हो सकता है।

12-00 hrs.

“अर्जिता अश्रुणां पृथिवीमहम्”। रक्षा मंत्रालय के अधिपति, सेनापति, बहादुर यह कहते हैं कि मैं अपने राष्ट्र में अधिष्ठित हूँ, मैं अजेय हूँ, मुझे कोई नहीं जित सकता है। सरकार को यह मौका देना चाहिये कि हमारे बहादुर सेनापति यह बात कह सकें। हमारे जितने सेनापति हैं, उन को इस बात का अवसर देना चाहिये कि वे अपने कमांड में सब काम मुचाह रूप से चलायें और उन में यह भावना आये। ऐसे सेनापति हैं।

मैंने पिछली बार भी यह कहा था कि हमारे मिलिटरी के जितने रिटायर्ड जनरल हैं, उन को इस काम पर लगाया जाय। मैं माननीय मंत्री जी का कोई व्यक्तिगत प्रपमान नहीं करता हूँ—व्यक्तिगत रूप से मैं उन का आदर करता हूँ, लेकिन मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि “यस्मिन् कुले त्वम् उत्पन्नः गजस्तत्र नहन्त्यते”। यह काम तो मिलिटरी जनरल

का है कि वह रक्षा मंत्री के पद पर बैठे। वह जानता है कि राष्ट्र की रक्षा कैसे हो सकती है। यह किसी व्यक्ति का निरादर नहीं है, बल्कि यह सही बात है कि मिलिटरी का एक जनरल यह जानता है कि कब नेफा की तरफ जाना है, कब काश्मीर की तरफ जाना है और पाकिस्तान के साथ कैसे व्यवहार करना है। वह ये सब बातें जानता है।

जहां तक मैं समझता हूँ—मेरा यह अनुमान है और सही अनुमान है—कि मेरा इलाका, मेरा निर्वाचन-क्षेत्र भारत भर में सब से ज्यादा सिपाही उपलब्ध करता है। वहां पर घर-घर में सिपाही हैं, सैनिक हैं, जो कि नेफा में भी हैं और लद्दाख में भी हैं। चुशूल का मोर्चा जा चुका था, लेकिन मेरे इलाके का एक बहादुर गया और उस ने चुशूल का मोर्चा बचा लिया। लेकिन बचाया कैसे? यहां से टेलीफोन जाता है कि हवाई-जहाज से सामान अमुक स्थान पर भेजो, लेकिन हवाई-जहाज का पायलट उस सामान को वहां न भेज कर चुशूल के मोर्चे पर भेज देता है। अगर टेलीफोन के आर्डर्स की परवाह की जाती, तो चुशूल भी चला जाता। मिलिटरी वालों को, सेनापति को, यह प्रधिकार होना चाहिये कि वह मोर्चे की स्थिति को देख कर निर्णय कर सकें।

फ्रांस में जाट रेजिमेंट नम्बर ६, लड़ रही थी। १९१८ की लड़ाई में मैं भी उस का एक सदस्य रहा हूँ। एक हजार आदमियों में से कुल ३६ आदमी बचे थे। वे लोग मरते गए, लेकिन उन्होंने जर्मनी का मोर्चा छीना। जो ३६ आदमी बचे, उन में जो सीनियर था, वह कमांडिंग आफिसर के रूप में आदेश जारी करता रहा। आज हमारे मिलिटरी आफिसर्स को आदेश नहीं जारी करने दिये जाते हैं। अब आदेश जारी होते हैं यहां से। क्या कभी टेलीफोनों से लड़ाई लड़ी जा सकती है?

“यो नो द्वेषत् भूमे रन्धय”--जो शत्रु हमारी भूमि से द्वेष करे, चाहे वाणी से और

[श्री जगदेव सिंह सिद्धास्त्री]

चाहे और क़िन्ना तरह से, ऐ मेरे राष्ट्र के बहादुर सिपाही, उन को पोस दे । हमें अपने सेनापतियों और वीर बहादुरों को यह इजाजत देनी चाहिये कि जहां उन को ऐसा मालूम पड़े कि राष्ट्र पर आपत्ति आ रही है, तो वे राष्ट्र के शत्रुओं को कुचल डालें, उन को मत छोड़ें । वहां पर राजनीति नहीं लाई जानी चाहिये । वहां पर राजनीति का कोई दखल नहीं है ।

कोई कह सकता है कि हमारे शत्रु बड़े चालाक हैं । तो चालाकों का भी उपाय बताया गया है । महर्षि व्यास कहते हैं : "मात्राचारां माभया बाधितव्यः"— जो कपटी है, जो छुना है, उस को कपट और छुन के द्वारा ही नष्ट कर देना चाहिये । उस के साथ भयमनसाहत कैसी ? हमारे भोले बाबा उन के साथ भयमानसाहत दिखाने लगे हैं । वे तो कपटी हैं और जो कपटी हैं, उन के साथ कपट और छुन का ही व्यवहार करना होगा । जो हमारे विरोधि हैं, उन का विश्वास कैसे ? उन के साथ कांफ़ेंस कैसी ? उन के साथ मिल-जुल कर काम करना कैसा ? जैसा कि कल माननीय सदस्य, श्री ग्युनाथ सिंह ने कहा, हमारे शत्रु एक ही वाणी को समझे हैं और वह वाणी है हथियार । अगर हथियारों से काम लिया जाएगा, तो यह समस्या हल हो जायगी ।

जहां तक भर्तों का सम्बन्ध है, आज भी कहा गया है कि सेना को भर्तों अधिक से अधिक होनी चाहिये । हमारे पास सेना है कितनी ? हमारी जो रिजर्व फ़ोर्स है, उस में भी एक कमी है । हम सैनिकों को लेते हैं और उन को दो, चार, दस महीने ट्रेनिंग दे कर छोड़ देते हैं । लेकिन उन को यह नहीं बताया जाता है कि तुम्हारा धंधा क्या है । जो हमारी सुरक्षित सेना है, उस को कोई काम दिया जाय, धंधा दिया जाय, जिस से समय पर वे हमारे काम आ सकें । पहले कालों में भी ऐसा होता रहा

है कि देहात और गांवों में जितने पहलवान होते थे, वे हथियार चलाते थे । जिस समय राष्ट्र पर आपत्ति आती थी, तो वे चढ दौड़ते थे । आज हम को इस प्रकार की सेना तैयार करनी चाहिये और ऐसे लोगों को प्रोत्साहन देना चाहिये । प्रत्येक उस व्यक्ति को, जो कि हथियार चलाना जानता है, हथियार दे देने चाहिये ।

माननीय अध्यक्ष महोदय, यह कितने तमाशे की बात है कि आज भी मध्य प्रदेश, राजस्थान और उत्तर प्रदेश में जो थोड़े मे डाकू हैं, यह सरकार उन को भी काबू नहीं कर सती है । वह इस समस्या को भी हल नहीं कर सती है और फिर वह कहती है कि हम पाकिस्तान को काबू करेंगे । पहले वह डाकूओं को तो काबू कर ले । आखिर सरकार उन को काबू क्यों नहीं कर सती है ? इसलिए कि उस की नीति स्पष्ट और सुदृढ़ नहीं है । उस की तरफ से अभी यह विचार प्रकट किया जाता है कि उन के लिए दंड हटा देना चाहिये । मैं कहना चाहता हूं कि दंड नहीं हटाना चाहिये । उन के साथ कोई रियायत नहीं करनी चाहिये । जहां भी शत्रु मिले, उस को कठोर दंड दिया जाय । कठोर दंड देने से ही वह काबू में आता है, शांति के उपायों से नहीं ।

इमर्जेंसी कमीशन के द्वारा तो आफ्रिसर्ज की नियुक्तियां की ही जा रही हैं, मेरा सुझाव है कि हमारे जितने जूनियर आफ्रिसर्ज हैं या सिपाही भी हैं, कम से कम सत्तर फीसदी कमीशन उन लोगों में से दिये जायें । जो लॉग डायरेक्ट रकूटमेंट से लिये जाते हैं, उन के लिये भी पांच साल तक सिपाही रहना लाजिमी हो । पांच साल तक वे सिपाहियों के साथ रहें सेना के साथ रहें और जब यह पता चल जाय कि वे आपत्तियों को झेल सकते हैं, तो उन को आफ्रिसर नियुक्त कर दिया जाय, उस से पहले नहीं ।

यह ठीक है कि मिलिटरी में जाति-पांति का कोई भेद नहीं होना चाहिये। लेकिन इस बात को भी आंखों से ओझल नहीं करना चाहिये कि जिन की पीढ़ी-दर-पीढ़ियां बराबर लड़ाई में लड़ती आई हैं, जो सेना में काम करते आए हैं, जिन की लड़ने की परम्परा रही है, वही सब से अच्छे सिपाही दे सकते हैं। लड़ाई में अहीरों की एक छोटी सी टुकड़ी ने कितना बलिदान किया, लेकिन उन बेचारों के नाम पर कोई रेजिमेंट नहीं बनाई जाती है। राज-पूतों, डोगरों और मराठों के नाम पर रेजिमेंट हैं, लेकिन जिन्होंने इतना बड़ा बलिदान कर के दिखाया है, उन के नाम पर भी रेजिमेंट होनी चाहिये। सेना में इस प्रकार का भेद-भाव नहीं होना चाहिये। मैंने सुना है कि जो ब्रिटिश जनरल यहां आए थे, उन्होंने कहा कि हमारी मिलिटरी इस लिये कमजोर हो गई है कि पहले आपस में यह प्रतिस्पर्धा थी कि मैं आगे बढ़ूँ, मैं आगे बढ़ूँ। लेकिन इस भिक्खर ने सब काम खराब कर दिया है।

सेना का अपमान नहीं होना चाहिये। विदेशों में हमारी सेना भेजना बन्द करना चाहिये।

हमारे जो गुप्त संकेत हैं, जो कि हवाई-जहाजों आदि के बारे में आते हैं वे ब्रिगेडियर जनरल से नीचे के किसी आदमी के पास नहीं होने चाहियें और किसी भी सिविलियन के पास तो वे होने ही नहीं चाहिये।

हमारे सुरक्षा-कारखानों और आइर्नस फ़ैक्टरियों में जामूसों के सम्बन्ध में बड़ी सावधानी होनी चाहिये। जामूसों को पता चल जाता है। कैसे पता चल जाता है? दो तीन मिनट आप उस से बात कीजिए। बात-चीत में उस के उच्चारण, उस के लबो-लहजों, उस के प्रोनेन्सीएशन से पता चल जायेगा कि वह जामूस है, वह भारतीय नहीं है। जो भीतरी शत्रु हैं, जो भारतीय हैं, उन के साथ

भी किसी प्रकार की रियायत नहीं की जानी चाहिये। उन को भी कुचला जाय, उन का भी अच्छी तरह से दमन किया जाय।

वीरचक्र उन्हीं लोगों को दिये जायें, जिन्होंने बहादुरी दिखायी है। मुझे यह कहने में संकोच नहीं है कि इस प्रकार के वीर बहादुर हैं, जिन्होंने सेना में बलिदान किया, परन्तु चूंकि उन की सिकांरिश नहीं आई, इस लिये वे बेचारे रह गए। श्री रजिन की सिकांरिश पहुंच गई, अनधिकारी होते हुए भी उन को वीरचक्र मिल गया। इस प्रकार का भेदभाव सेना में नहीं होना चाहिये।

सब से पहले मनोवृत्ति को बदलना पड़ेगा। हमारे मन में यह भावना होनी चाहिये कि हम राष्ट्र की रक्षा ही नहीं करेंगे, बल्कि हमारे राष्ट्र के जो टुकड़े हो चुके हैं घघर-उघर से जो छीने जा चुके हैं, उन को भी इकट्ठा करेंगे। "भ्लेच्छदेशस्त्वपरः" — कभी हमारी यह आवाज थी कि हमारा भारत देश केप्सयन सागर तक पहुंचता था। कभी वह पूर्व में इंडोनेशिया तक पहुंचता था। उत्तर की तो बात ही क्या है? महाभारत की लड़ाई में ये सब लोग आए थे। हम को यह यत्न करना चाहिये कि कम से कम जितना भाग आज बचा हुआ है, उस को दृढ़ करें और पाकिस्तान, चीन और अमरीका तथा ब्रिटेन आदि जो अक्सरवादी लोग हैं, उन को यह बता दें कि भारत की सेना अजये है, उस का सिपाही सुदृढ़ है। ये किसी बात पर समझौता नहीं करेंगे। केवल एक बात है कि राजनीतिक लोग जो हैं, वे कृपा करें, हमारे सपूतों को काम करने दें, हमारे सपूतों को काम करने दें और वे जिस वक्त बहादुरी के कारनामों करके आते हैं, उनकी पीठ थप-थपायें और कहें बहादुरो शाबास, तुम ने इलाका जीत लिया।

मैं आशा करता हूं कि मेरी इन बातों पर विचार किया जायगा। यदि ऐसा किया गया

[श्री जगदेव सिंह सिद्धान्ती]

तो राष्ट्र का भला होगा। इन शब्दों के साथ मैं आपको धन्यवाद देता हूँ।

Shri Brij Raj Singh-Kotah (Jhalawar). Mr. Speaker, Sir, I rise to support the Demands for Grants moved by the hon. Defence Minister, and I congratulate him for presenting the best report which I have so far seen in my few years in this Parliament. I hope that he shall continue to furnish better reports every year.

Sir, I am reminded to compare all such reports to a word which I picked up sometime ago. All such reports can be compared to a bikini. What it reveals is alluring, but what it conceals is vital. I leave it to hon. Members to imagine what has been concealed.

I shall in my brief speech concentrate on the vital aspect of air power as a bulwark in dealing with our neighbours who are known for their treacherous aggression and for their unscrupulous and perfidious dealings with India. I am glad that the Ministry in its report, on page 49, says much about modernisation of the air force. Though the shortfall has been of about Rs. 58 crores, I am particularly happy to note that the air force has spent over Rs. 10 crores over the demands of the last year. Sir, we have to erect a shield which neither depends on the east nor the west. We have to make a shield of air power on our own legs. We must have an air cover and for that we must buy things from wherever we can. We need an air force capable of protecting our land, our frontiers and our ground troops and which will clear out from our skies any intruder that comes. We should be mindful that we are dealing with China which is supposed to have the third most powerful air force in the whole world. India, when we refer to the air force of the world, is also known to have the most powerful air force in South East Asia. Basically, as far as we know, our air force has a tactical mission. We have not thought anything beyond tactics as far

as our air force goes. That means our demands are for interception and for detection. Sir, the principal reason why a nation maintains a military force is—and that is the basic factor in a nation's defence policy—for deterrence, because without deterrence, whatever one may say, life in this world does not exist as far as modern military science goes. Therefore, let us not make a mistake of realising that defence is the only principle on which our policy should be based. I would like to compare it to take the gallant old kshatriya kings who tried to rise and stem the tide of Muslim invasions in the medieval period. But they were without strategy and, therefore, they failed. I wish to point out that we need this basic idea in our planning and execution of hitting and striking back also whenever and if ever the need arises. We should be able to put a deterrent on the potential enemies and if they do try to come in we should have the power to hit them back in their own backyard.

I had pointed out in my last speech in the Lok Sabha on the Demands for Grants relating to this Ministry that whereas Tibet is within 20 minutes of flight from the industrial complex of our country in the east as well as in the middle part of India, if we have any idea of hitting back the potential aggressor, the industrial heart and economic complex of China lies about 2,500 miles away. So, the basic need is for the immediate detection and interception in case of a perfidious attack. The need was felt last time and it is mentioned in the report that we do realise and feel very strongly that there is need for Distant Early Warning system, as far as radar goes. We have a very long frontier from the eastern part to the western part, over 2,000 miles and the intruders can very easily come across and attack us. That was very clearly shown during the last exercises, namely, Exercise Shiksha. I am glad that the

Ministry has mentioned in the Report 'we are actively considering it and very soon it will be implemented'. I think we are going to have a chain of radar systems to warn us of this possibility.

Further, I wish to suggest that, apart from these early warning systems, we need also radar which is air-borne, for in particular terrains like in the Himalayas, however powerful the radars may be, they cannot look out over the ranges into the potential enemy bases. So, in this modern era we need a system which will give us immediate warning the moment anything takes off on the other side of the hills. For that, the only possibility is to have radar which is air-borne. I know this is a very costly suggestion, but for defence of any nation costs are not to be considered. I am sure the House will agree with me when I say that whatever the Defence Minister asks for the very survival of our nation, we are here to support him.

Sir, I was also one of those who was taken round to show the functioning of Exercise Shiksha. As far as I know, we were told that certain places still have land lines coming into the radar stations. I wish to suggest that delays do occur when there are land lines in the system of communication. So, we have to do away with land lines and replace it by micro-wave system so that no delay arises and there is instantaneous flashing of messages from the distant stations to the master radar control. In the modern days any lapse in this system is fatal because in 20 minutes time you have to guide your interceptors from the airfields back at the bases, up to the air, tell them where to go and give them the approximate or exact place of interception so that they are there to receive them. I do hope that this will be taken into consideration and better and more sophisticated radar will be introduced in our chain of defence system.

With the question of detection is connected the question of interception. I am glad that the report mentions that we do need supersonic planes. But I find that supersonics are not the only answer. From whatever little I know, the basic reply to the detection and interception is that we must have a plane which is an all-weather fighter plane. In other words, this plane must be able to operate by day or by night under all weather conditions, whether it is fair or foul, sunny or cloudy. It must be an all-weather plane, versatile, capable of attacking and supporting at supersonic speed. We have developed a very good fighter in HF 24 and we are going to manufacture the Russian MIG-21 too.

But both these weapons, however good they are, have so far not entered squadron service. It is the primary need that we must have something, either the MIG-21 or the HF-24, to join our Air Force squadron very soon. Right now we are in the transonic era whereas the world is going through even beyond Supersonic era. I know that we are a poor country and we cannot afford to go into all that. But the Report and the lessons learnt from the Exercise Shiksha point out that what we need very urgently is the immediate use of a supersonic fighter in squadron service.

Coupled with this we need guided missiles. I am glad that they are being manufactured or will be manufactured at Hyderabad with the MIG-21 weapon system.

Coming to the other need which was sorely pointed out and we learnt was that we do need a tactical fighter for close support of our ground troops particularly in the hilly terrain that we have to guard. This fighter need not be a supersonic plane, but it has to be able to operate at that very high altitude in that terrain, to go into and out of it amongst peaks and

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valleys and to give adequate ground support to our troops who may be hard-pressed as they were last time.

We need effective forward air control by radar and the plane should carry a good system so that it can be immediately guided on to where it is needed.

I am glad that we shall now be going into the manufacture of the Allouette and the MI-4 helicopters for there were no better angels of mercy as was depicted in the last emergency, than these humble planes which are known as eggbeaters or "choppers" or whatever you call them. We need more of these helicopters to give us more support, to take out the wounded and to fly in and out of the very, very forward areas.

Coming to the airlifting part of the Air Force which is also vital, I am glad that we have augmented our strength by a further supply of C-119 "Packets" and by the introduction of that very versatile aircraft, the "Caribou." These are doing very good work and I am sure that we shall look into this aspect also.

As far as heavy transports go, we are very thankful for the great and timely aid that the United States Squadrons gave us by their C-130s in the last emergency. They were operating till about the beginning of last year. But now we must have something more to supply, as far as that part goes. More An-12s have been added to our transport fleet and I hope that they will be added in a greater number.

I was thinking that there should be some sort of a small plane that could go right up to the forward areas. I have been told that there is a very nice plane, that is, the Pilatus Proter. I do not know whether the Air Force has considered it or not. It is a very compact aircraft and has a very good short take-off or landing performance. I hope, we shall look into this or into any other suitable plane for the defence needs.

Coming to the Kanpur Aircraft Depot, I find that we have been at it for a long time and though we are due to supply the Air Force as also the IAC with the Avro-748, the Report says that so far we have produced only four in these four or five years. I hope, the Ministry will look into this and see that we produce more of these aircraft not only to suit our domestic needs but also for Defence purposes, to add to the airlifting capacity of the Air Force.

The recent air accidents have been occurring as sort of a regular feature. I do not know how and why. We cannot afford to have them at these regular intervals. I do not know how many aircraft we have lost since the beginning of the last year; nor can the nation afford to lose such valuable lives as in the last tragic happening in Poonch when we lost five of our topranking senior officers both in the Air Force and in the Army. Although there is no person in this world who is irreplaceable, a nation cannot afford to lose such valuable officers and trained material at such frequent intervals. I would like to suggest that we should look into this matter more thoroughly and also into the matter disclosed by the hon. Defence Minister that there seems to be a Pak Radio Beacon operating across the border in Pakistan which seems to misdirect our planes as the latest Ilyushin tragedy pointed out. We really do not know whether it has crashed or whether it was hijacked, or what befall it, and another very important Army officer was abroad on that plane. I hope the Ministry will take this into consideration and see that these air tragedies, have to be probed into more thoroughly. Is there really something behind the whole thing or is it just a stroke of bad luck that has befallen us? I think all these points will be taken into consideration.

In conclusion, I wish to say that the Defence policy should always be a policy which is not rigid. It should always and for ever tread on new paths for tactics are ever changing and let us not forget that no nation can afford to stick to one policy throughout the age. We have to adapt and to see how the policy suits our particular needs of the particular time.

Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath: Mr. Speaker, Sir, it was refreshing to listen to the speech of my hon. friend Dr. Harekrishna Mahatab, a former Chief Minister, a former Governor, a former Deputy Leader of the Congress Party, which was in refreshing contrast to the usual run of speeches made by most Members on the opposite side. He pinpointed the defects or the draw-backs of military intelligence which admittedly was hardly intelligent at all till the Chinese invasion. There was no intelligence worth the name. There was only civil intelligence of some sort and the Minister said last time, some months ago, that it was being geared up. I hope it has been done and it is being done. I know it for a fact that at Bomdila or Sela there used to be a tea shop run by the Chinese and which was frequented by our Army officers before the Chinese invasion and I wonder what sort of information was passed on in the course of conversation by our Army officers, inadvertently through this Chinese tea shopwala to the Chinese Government, to the Chinese Army.

Dr. Mahatab referred to the Minister of Defence as a man who has his feet on the ground. It is true—quite true—and as I listened to him, I did a bit of verse on this I shall read it out:

Dr. Mahatab says the Minister of Defence, Is a man who has his feet on the ground, Let us ask him not to sit on the fence, But with might and mien to prepare for the round, Of stresses and strains, for things

are tense, And the answer to our needs must soon be found. Indeed, the Answer to our needs must soon be found. It is so because at a time when two hostile neighbours, unscrupulous, cunning and blood thirsty, are pursuing the evil designs, when the bitter national humiliation of 1962 still remains unassuaged and unavenged, when the poignant decimation of thousands of our brave and gallant jawans and officers brought about by the former Defence Minister's wanton betrayal is still a gaping wound in the hearts and minds of millions of patriotic citizens in our land, it is but natural, may inevitable, that the anxious, question is being asked everywhere: Is India well-defend? Has Government learnt lessons, the hard way, though it may have been? And are our Armed Forces now at least free from the debilitating pathogenic viruses of politicking, favouritism, groupism and cliquism that sapped their morale and their vitality for five long years?

The Defence Minister told us in September last, if I remember arights, the causes of the NEFA debacle, the shameful debacle of NEFA, and confessed that there were then no arms even for training, much less for defence, there was no proper orientation, there was no transport, there were no proper roads, there was no equipment, no intelligence, no leadership and no command. This was the tragic story behind the debacle in NEFA. I may add, however, that we had a very active, globe-trotting, or perhaps to be more accurate, a globe-flying Defence Minister who up to this day, I am sorry to say, has not thought it fit to even express his sincere regret for his criminal negligence. In most other countries, such a Minister would have been publicly arraigned. But in this unfortunate land that is Bharat, he was shielded by the Prime Minister himself, and he is now working like a beaver to sneak back into position and power in order to

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consummate his own plan, whatever that might be. But, I am confident that the stout patriotism of most of my colleagues in the Congress Party and of the patriots on this side of the House, including, I hope, the Communist Party to, will effectively scotch any such move.

In this context, it is an irony of fate that that able General, Mr. Henderson-Brookes who laid bare the monstrous caricature that the Army was at that time, during the Chinese invasion, has been, if I understand aright, if my information is correct..

Mr. Speaker: That would be objectionable.

Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath: It is in the papers.

Mr. Speaker: It may be there in the papers, but we cannot take up the cases of particular officers.

Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath: I am not taking up any particular case. I am only stating the fact. He has been forced to retire or resign. I am referring to this just to illustrate my point. We can ill afford to lose the services of experienced generals at this juncture. I would like to know whether it is true, as the press reports say, that he has been forced to resign or to retire.

Shri Ranga: Has he not reached his age of retirement?

Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath: Not only have several generals retired in the ordinary course after 1947, but a series of tragic accidents,—to which my hon. friend Shri Braj Raj Singh-Kotah, who has just concluded his speech has referred,—during the last Four months involving IAF aircraft have further depleted our defence services in the higher echelons.

The report of the Defence Ministry, which I am glad to know is a bit more meaty, just a bit more, it could be still better, and there is scope for impro-

vement—than his predecessor's refers to this at page 55. It is rather disturbing to note that after inquiries were conducted into these accidents, an analysis of the results of the inquiries, showed that in about half the number of cases, the cause of the accident could not be established, and in other cases, it was due to pilot's error, technical failure, and other factors. Again, we find the word 'other factors'. I do not know what these other factors were.

I would, therefore, reiterate the demand that I made some days ago, I made it twice, I believe, for a parliamentary commission assisted by technical, military and aeronautical experts, domestic, and if necessary, foreign also, from friendly foreign countries to assist the commission, to have a thorough probe conducted into this matter because the IAF is of vital importance to the safety and security of the nation. I do not rule out in these cases Pakistani sabotage. That also must be inquired into. For all that a Parliamentary Commission, I believe, is very necessary.

The massive Chinese invasion the year before last witnessed a mighty resurgence of the people of our country which balvanised and even astonished a vacillating Government. The people, rich and poor, I am glad to say the poor more than the rich, gave whatever they had. This Parliament gave Government all the moneys and powers it asked for ungrudgingly. And the jawans, thousands of them, and our officers quite a large number of them, stained in crimson with their blood the white snow-capped ridges and hills of NEFA. But the Government has proved itself, in the last 14 months, a Government not dedicated, not determined and not disciplined— not dedicated to the solemn pledge which was adopted in this House at your instance, with acclamation, not dedicated to the implementation of that solemn pledge, the solemn vow that was taken here, to drive out the Chinese invaders from the sacred soil

of India. I charge the Government today with having proved false to that pledge.

The Defence Minister in his Report on the first page has rightly said—it is not his fault entirely; but he comes into the picture as Defence Minister:

“Defence Planning. . . is inevitably governed by the major planks of our foreign policy”.

Therefore, it is inevitable that when defence matters are discussed, we have, willy-nilly, to touch upon foreign policy matters also. They are inextricably interlinked, I can say, almost entangled. I charge the Government with this, that a base, mean, compromise peace with China is in the offing, and preparations are being made to effect a compromise, a peace of the grave, in Mahatma Gandhi's words, at the cost of our territory, at the cost of Indian territory. preparations are afoot to make such a peace with China. Witness the statement made by the Minister Without Portfolio some days ago and the statement made by the Prime Minister the other day that even if China is there at the conference table at the Bandung-type conference ‘we will attend it’. It is a shift in policy. Only a few days earlier, if I had heard him aright, he said that ‘we will not attend a conference where China is invited’. Now, this is a slide down the slippery slope to national perdition. I demand of the Government that they state clearly what their policy is. The Defence Minister will kindly clarify this policy. Are we prepared or not to fight China or not?

The other day in Jullundur or Ludhiana—I forget where—

An hon. Member: Jullundur.

Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath: in Jullundur—your State, Sir,—he made a very forthright and brave speech reminiscent of the brave speeches, heroic speeches, that he made on the eve of his coming to Delhi in 1962, at meetings in Bombay and Poona. He said in Bombay and Poona:

“I will not return home”——

If I remember aright—

“until I have driven out the Chinese invader from our sacred soil”.

At Jullundur, he went a step further and said—

‘We are strong enough to fight both China and Pakistan’.

That is to say to meet the joint menace of both China and Pakistan, I hope it is true, the bare truth, God's own truth. I want to tell the Defence Minister—he is a good friend of mine; I hope he reciprocates—I want to remind him of what President Radhakrishnan told him in a public meeting soon after he had taken over as Defence Minister. He told him:

“Have the courage to say No. Don't be a yes-man always”.

If this conspiracy is being hatched in the Treasury Benches by some of the Ministers, let he as the Defence Minister, true to the vow that he took in Bombay and Poona, true to the vow, that he took here, true to the traditions, shall I say, also of Maharashtra, those glorious traditions, have the courage to say ‘No. If this base peace with China is in the offing, I shall not be a party to it’. “I resigned and go.”

Shri Tyagi (Dehra Dun): My friend has not said anything about the conspiracy. What is the conspiracy that he is talking about? I cannot understand what the conspiracy is.

Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath: The image of India has been badly tarnished, and still remains tarnished, and I am afraid that the Government, unless they reorientate their policies, their programmes and steel their will, will not be able to reburish bright the image of Mother India which was so badly tarnished two years ago; and we, this Parliament, should summon the Government to this task, to this great task, this formidable task. But no task is attractive unless it is difficult—that makes the task more attractive—and I am sure the Defence Minister, the Minister without portfolio and the Prime Minister are still imbued with that spirit which took them forward during the struggle for freedom, and will wage this struggle to compel China and Pakistan to quit India, as they did twenty years ago. It is not difficult, not at all impossible, provided we trust and respect our friends, friendly foreign countries, and also beware of foes, of our enemies. Chanakya taught three thousand years ago that a powerful neighbour is a potential enemy. China is a powerful neighbour, but we, is our pathetic, sentimental effusion, raised the slogan of *Hindi Chini bhai Bhai*, a slogan which has been amended across the border to *Pindi Chini bhai bhai*—I am sure they will also be disillusioned after some time. Instead of following the maxim, which has been accepted, by even German military strategists like Clausewitz, did not attend to that, and today we are in this mess. We were in this mess, we are slowly trying to clear it up.

It is our bounden duty to accept the aid and assistance offered by all countries West East, North or South. No doctrinaire inhibitions should come in the way. We have got substantial assistance from the United States. United Kingdom, from the Commonwealth countries, USSR, and I believe from France and Germany also, and I suppose Yugoslavia. I understand that

when foreign Governments were sounded soon after the Chinese invasion, many countries including the Arab States and Israel, sided with us against China, and they were prepared to offer whatever assistance they could. I do not know what was done in this matter. If they had offered it, it ought to have been accepted. I understand, at least so far as Israel is concerned, that the assistance offered by them was summarily rejected, declined, with or without thanks, I do not know.

Shri Ranga: Is that so?

Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath: Here again, I am sorry to say that the Government has been inhibited not by what I may call Arabophilia, love of the Arabs—that is a good thing, we must love Arabs, Israelis and all the world, *vasudhaiva kutumbakam*—but, may I say by Arabophobia, fear of the Arabs, of the Arab States. What is the real attitude of the Arab States towards our Government today? The Arab press has raised a howl recently over the appointment of two officers, whom they call practising Jews and members of the Bombay Jewish Council, and has demanded an explanation from the Indian Government on their appointment. This is very strange. The officers are: Capt. Reginald Shering David in the Defence Planning Directorate, and Rear Admiral Benjamin Abraham Samson. This great Arab press tells all the Arab States that India Government has no business to appoint Jews even in its own country, people who are practising Jews according to it, and members of the Bombay Jewish Council. The Arab press, not the States.—the controlled press there might be the spokesman of the Governments—wants an explanation of the Indian Government. It is time for the Government to tell them, whoever it may be. Arabs or any one else, to mind their own business and not interfere in our in-

ternal affairs. An Islamic press cannot understand what a secular State is. In our secular States there are Hindus, Muslims, Sikhs, Christians, Jews, Parsis, Anglo-Indians,.....

An hon. Member: Buddhists

Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath:
Buddhists and Jains also, and it is nobody's business to poke his dirty nose in our affairs.

The Defence Ministry Reports sets forth the tasks of the Ministry at page 3 of the Report.

Dr. M. S. Aney (Nagpur): You can read it out.

Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath: I have not the time to read out the entire thing. It says: expansion and modernisation of the army, modernisation of the Air Force, creation of an adequate production base, improvement and organisation in the means of communication and transport, replacement of over-age ships of the Navy and making it a balanced force

The Navy I will take first because not much needs be said on that at present. The Defence Minister, if I heard him aright, told the House last year, some months ago, that the Chinese Navy has seacraft and submarines capable of operating in the Indian ocean and the Bay of Bengal. If that be so, is a major threat to our safety and security. What is being done to strengthen the Navy?

In this connection, I am told there is a wing, an organisational wing, a small wing, called the Directorate of Naval Stores, in the Defence Ministry. It has been doing good work, and it has saved a lot of foreign exchange during the last three or four years; more so, during the last year it has saved as much as Rs. 90 lakhs foreign exchange. It is high time that we stopped importing naval stores from the United Kingdom and saw to it

that we stopped up the production of naval stores in our country. This Naval stores organisation should be strengthened, so that at a very early date we can stop the import of all naval stores.

The whole strategy of defence has got to be reoriented. The Defence Minister is very well aware how Shivaji the Great formulated his own strategy, 300 years ago, and transformed the entire Sahayadri range of hills and ridges into an impregnable fortress, though he had no ample resources. And in modern times, Netaji fought in another way, without resources comparable to that of the enemy. What is needed is spirit, morale, and an impregnable will, a steel will, to resist the enemy.

I am told there is a Psychological Research Wing in the Defence Ministry, and that it deals mostly with the selection of officers and all that. I wish that this wing also does some work with regard to the promotion of proper relationship between the officers and the jawans.

I have said that the defence strategy should be reoriented by combining Shivaji's tactics of building fortresses on the hills and ridges with the modern Nahal system in Israel, a system evolved by them for their own defence, of settling *krishaks* or farmers on the borders and equipping them with arms. If not on the higher ranges, at least on the lower, from 5000 to 8000 feet in the Himalayas we can have such an arrangement, where thousands of farmers could be settled and provided with arms to fight the enemy. We can have conscription in the border areas and send farmers from other parts of India. Therefore, what I may call a 'project Himalaya' should be taken up by the Defence Ministry and all the details of that for defence must be worked out so that in a very few years the ridges of Himalayas, 5000—8000 feet

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will be like bee-hives, humming with human activity for farming and defence.

I will now refer to border roads, border communications. I am sorry to say that the Defence Minister in answer to a question in this House made a very disturbing, disconcerting statement that the target dates, for completion and the formation of the roads in the middle sector have not been achieved; they have been put off by a year or by six months to a year. I do not know why this delay has taken place because, I know it for a fact—whatever the competence of our engineers may be; I believe they are good engineers—that the Chinese have built roads from Nathula, on the other side, to Gyantse in Tibet 70-80 miles in about 13-14 months. Government should attend to this matter very expeditiously.

I would like to go on to another matter—audit report of the Defence Services. This perhaps refers to a period earlier than the Emergency but very near the Emergency. Many irregularities and instances of inefficiency are pointed out in this report; it is a hardy annual for all Ministries. I hope the Defence Minister will gird up his loins and not merely to fight the Chinese and the other enemy on the border, Pakistanis, but also to set right the Defence Ministry in every possible way.

In this Emergency, when we are so hard up for experienced officers, it is very necessary that the superannuation age for the defence officers should also be revised, just as on the civilian side they have raised it from 55 to 58. It is high time that the Defence Ministry also reconsidered this matter and raised the super-annuation age. They may say: if we find a very efficient officer, we give his annual extensions. But that is no satisfactory solution because when an officer gets one year's extension at a time, he has

no heart in the job. If he knows that he is going to be there for some years, he puts his heart into the job. I would therefore, request the Defence Minister to consider this matter favourably and raise the super-annuation age from 49-50 whatever it is today, by 3-4 years. Standards of living have gone up they have got a good environment, and I learn from the officers themselves that they are in much better health than before; they lead a much more active life and can serve the country even after the present super-annuation age.

One or two matters, Sir, and I have done. There is the question of the MIG factory which was promised by Russia, to be built by Russia in our country. Before I come to that, I will mention the Chinese Air Force. They have a fleet of 3000 planes, subsonic MIGs 17 and supersonic MIG 19s—not that all of them are on this side, on the Tibetan border. But recently a Chinese leader said that when they attacked India last time they followed the human sea tactics; for that our strength was 3 to India's 1; three Chinese to one Indian because they know, man to man, the Indian jawan is superior to the Chinese or any other jawan in the world. Now they have declared: next time we attack India, it will be in the proportion of 5 to 1. Therefore, let not Government sleep and be complacent, hoping that the Chinese will not attack again. The Chinese are preparing day and night and the attack will come soon, when the proportion is 5 to 1. But the budget figures of the Defence Ministry are not reassuring, they have surrendered as much as Rs. 50 crores. Their revised estimates are less by Rs. 40-50 crores than the budget estimates and I understand that up to the end of January, 1964, only Rs. 562 crores were spent, that is to say, nearly Rs. 300 crores of the last year's estimates were unspent till the end of January this year. I want to know how this happened, and why it happened and why preparations

were not seriously taken in hand. I demand the explanation of the Defence Minister as to why even after Parliament sanctioned whatever they wanted last year, there was a shortfall in expenditure of nearly Rs. 300 crores till the end of January. I would ask him to consider why, if there was going to be such a saving, the jawan's pay and pension could not have been revised upwards; they should be given a higher pay and when they retire, can retire with higher pensions. Why should it not be done?

About the relationship between the officers and the jawans, I support my colleagues who have spoken; there must be a change the relationship must be more fraternal. I remember Netaji, the greatest warrior statesman in modern Indian history, who even when he was President of Azad Hind, when he was the supreme commander of the Azad Hind Foj, often used to go and sit with the jawans and eat with them the same food. But I am told that here, in India, the same old system continues today. Even the slang English words, still continue to be used in the Army. This should not be allowed to continue in our Army any longer.

I am sorry, Sir, I have many more things to say but I have to race against time. I would only add that the policy about the ex-INA personnel has got to be radically realised. The INA personnel who were captured by the British and brought to India and put on trial, were categorised as whites, greys and blacks. Whites and greys were ultimately paid all their arrears of pay and allowances, but the blacks, whom the British considered as traitors to the very end were not the Britishers, before they left India, forfeited their pay and allowances and threw them on the streets. literally. Their arrears of pay are about a crore and odd Government made an *ex-gratia* payment of Rs. 30 lakhs some

six months back. The Shri late Bula-bhai Desai successfully argued before the Tribunal in the Red Fort that they were all patriots. Therefore, their arrears of pay and allowances should be paid before long.

One word more, I have done.

Mr. Speaker: I must remind the Groups that they ought to be careful because I have got the time calculated for every Group. Therefore, if they are not frugal in the first instance...

Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath: I am the only spokesman of my Group.

Mr. Speaker: But he had only 23 minutes and he has taken 30 minutes.

Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath: I was told that I could take not less than 30 minutes. I thought I could take 30—35 minutes.

Mr. Speaker: If anybody has told him like that, it is not correct:

Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath: The times are out of joint. I would only ask the Defence Minister—I am racing against time—to remember what Mahatma Gandhi tried to inculcate. He said:

"I do not say: 'eschew violence' in your dealings with robbers or with invaders of your country."

The Prime Minister said, when he was younger:

"Success often comes to those who dare and act; it seldom goes to the timid."

Lastly, I may remind the Defence Minister—

Mr. Speaker: I am going to call the next Member—

Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath: Just a few seconds. I may remind the Defence Minister of the old Maharatha

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war cry which inspired thousands of millions of people:

घरण नहि रण
मारीत मारीत मरण

That is to say, "No surrender; but fight. We will die, but we will also kill the enemy finally."

Mr. Speaker: Shri Rishang Keish-ing.

Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath: In 10 seconds I will finish.

Mr. Speaker: That will never end.

Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath: Just 10 seconds, I know not in this crisis what course others may take, but I am sure that every true patriot in this country—will spontaneously exclaim: "Give me liberty or give me death!"

13.00 hrs.

Shri Rishang Keishing (Outer Man'pur): Mr. Speaker, Sir, I also join my colleagues in congratulating the Defence Minister for submitting a very laudable and useful report. As one goes through it, one gets a good idea about the defence of the country the present and the future. A number of steps have been taken to improve and strengthen the defence of the country and commendable achievement has been made.

Sir, defence is an important subject for every country, but it is all the more important for a country like India which has got a land frontier of 15,000 kilometres and a coastline of 5,700 kilometres. Almost the entire land frontier of our country is with Pakistan and China. As the House and the country very well know, the attitude of these two countries is to hate and to destroy India. On the basis of this, they have formed their defence policy and foreign policy. We

know that these two countries invaded India and a great chunk of our country's territory is still under their occupation. We also know that in these two countries, there is a dictatorial system and any time any action can be taken by the rulers. Those rulers are unscrupulous and cunning, and as an example, it will be seen that they are entertaining the fugitives and absconders from India like dacoits, murderers, anti-national and anti-social elements in an extravagant and lavish manner. Sometimes we also read about such people being armed by the leaders of these countries in order to come to India and disrupt the peaceful conditions.

In formulating the defence of this country, I think all these factors have to be taken into account. Any time, on the entire frontier or in any part of it, there may be a big flare-up; we should be fully aware of this fact, and we should be fully prepared for any eventuality.

I am glad that the Defence Minister has taken a number of steps. For example, six mountain divisions have been added to the Indian army. Then, self-loading and semi-automatic rifles and standardised small arms of a single calibre have been manufactured in the country and the requirements of the army will soon be met. Then, mountain guns with a better range which can be easily transported have been manufactured. The manufacture of light and medium tank is also successfully taken up. In the matter of the manufacture of vehicles also, the House had been assured that within a reasonable time the armed forces will have transport vehicles which are reliable and operationally dependable on any point of time. In the matter of air force too, within the limited resources available, satisfactory progress has been made. The entire land frontier on the north will be covered with the radar system. The air transport has been greatly strengthened; the

manufacture of subsonic and supersonic planes in the country has made a good progress. Rs. 10 crores over and above the money provided has been expanded.

While all this work that has been done and achieved are to be appreciated, in view of the magnitude of the threat to the integrity and independence of the country, I am of opinion that whatever we have is not sufficient. I would, therefore, like to say that the Indian army should be strengthened by four or five more mountain divisions, because the threat is from two countries. It is not only from China. For China alone, perhaps four or five divisions of the Indian army, if there is a full-scale invasion, will have to be deployed. If Pakistan also simultaneously attacks India, we would require at least three or four divisions at a time to protect this country. So, we should not be content with the addition of six mountain divisions alone. We must have more. I hope the Defence Minister will take this aspect into consideration.

I am particularly happy that Scout Battalions have been formed in the northern region of the country. I feel strongly that these forces must be introduced in the entire Himalayan region, starting from Kashmir and ending with the Mizo district in the east. This entire region may be three-fourth or more of the 15,000 kilometres. This must be covered by the Scout Battalions. In Assam we have the Assam Rifles. I do not know whether the function of the Assam Rifles is the same as that of these Scout Battalions.

13.07 hrs.

[MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER in the Chair]

Whatever it is, I feel strongly that such forces are definitely and urgently required. These have many advantages. These forces are recruited from among the local people, and as

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such they have a thorough knowledge of the area, the People and the language. They can get easily the information about the movement and the whereabouts of the enemies. Therefore, they can act quickly and effectively, and they can win the confidence of the local people. This is what we need. More than that, these forces can give accurate information to the army, and if the army is to act upon the information supplied by such forces, I am sure the operations of the army will be very very successful.

I believe that the trouble we have on the frontier areas—Kashmir, Nagaland, Manipur and other areas—can be easily curbed by introducing such forces, that is, the Scout Battalions. I come from an area where military have been posted and the military operation is going on. I am sorry to say that there is lack of proper co-ordination and understanding between the army and the civil administration. Recently, before I came to Delhi, I visited some of these areas, and I was surprised to plans that the military officers posted in the area and the officers in charge of the civil administration are not in talking terms. I do not know how they are going to act and how they are going to work together to curb the activities of the anti-national elements who are very, very active in that area.

I believe that the formation of Scout Battalions in such areas will surely bridge the gulf between the civil administration and the civilians on the one side and the army on the other.

Specific mention has been made about Nagaland. The military has been sent to help the civil authority in restoring normal conditions there. The military have been sent to Manipur also. I have heard a lot of things which I do not like to disclose or to go into the records of the proceedings of the House. I have discussed this matter with the hon. Defence Minister and I am sure he will look into it.

[Shri Rishang Keishing]

But such things should not be allowed to happen, because without the help of the civil population, how is the army going to defend that area? If the civilians cooperate with the military, then only it can function effectively. But what is going on there is not that. The Minister was kind enough, in the course of my discussion with him, to ask me to bring to his notice if there is anything. We shall be bringing these things to his notice and I hope he will look into them.

As regards the operation in this area, I would suggest that the Minister may consider whether it will not be better that the operation against the anti-national elements in the area be left with forces like the Assam Rifles and Manipur Rifles. There are a large number of forces like the Central Reserve Police, the Malabar Special Police and other police forces from some other States. With all respect to these forces, I would say that they cannot be effective. It is not that they are bad fighters. It is not that they have not got that fighting experience. But they have a number of difficulties. They do not know the terrain; they do not understand the local language. Very often, they do not know who is our enemy and who is our friend. They cannot differentiate them. So, wherever these outside police forces go, they create more enemies than friends. The function of these forces should not be to create more enemies, but to make more friends. They should also see that by their action, the civil administration and the loyal people there are not put into difficulties. At present, it is just the opposite. The ruling Government find themselves in a very difficult position because of the wrong action of the security forces towards the civil population.

Another suggestion I want to make is, at present Assam Rifles is under the Ministry of External Affairs. I want the Minister to consider whether

this cannot be brought under the control of the Defence Ministry. In olden days, Assam Rifles used to win the confidence of the people and their services used to be admired. But today it is not so. The effectiveness and the efficiency of these forces have gone down very low. The reason mostly is, the officers posted there are not the type of officers required. Often bad and unwanted officers are posted to take the command of these Assam Rifles. That should not be so, because the work they have to perform is very delicate and difficult. Specialised officers should be deputed, so that these important forces can function effectively and efficiently as before.

Communications are very important. Without good communications in that area, military movement will be always difficult. This land frontier is the area where the question of the defence of the country has to be decided. If that is so, I want to know why the construction of roads should be slackened. There are no proper roads and the PWD are misusing the funds allotted for construction of roads. I want that only such officers who are inspired with nationalism and have a desire to work with missionary zeal should be sent there, so that the money allotted for construction of roads may be usefully spent. In the entire area and upto the international border, there should be a network of good motorable roads and railway lines should be extended.

I would request the Minister to see that corruption in the army is checked. Corruption is not confined to the civil administration and political parties alone. We have often heard about sale of arms and ammunition, petrol, rations and uniforms etc. such things should be checked and atleast the army should be allergic to corruption. I hope the Minister will see that the army maintains the highest degree of discipline, patriotism and valour.

Shrimati Sharda Mukerjee (Ratanagiri): Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, Defence is a complex Minister at any time and the Defence Minister has had to assume office at a most critical period. We are all aware of the difficulties he faces. I say this as a preliminary to my speech and in this context, my remarks, relate to the existing system a system which has been so long established that it does not yield easily to a change.

Clauswitz, the famous writer of warfare, has said that "blood is the price of victory". It is also the price of progress. A few die so that millions may live and live to enjoy a better life. It is, therefore, right that I should draw the attention of the House to the recent tragic air crashes, for clashes in four months since October last. In those crashes, we have lost some senior officers of the Army and the Air Force, who were admired and respected for their outstanding ability as also for their innate sense of integrity and justice, which made them leaders of the men they commanded. I mean Air Vice Marshal Pinto and Gen. Daulat Singh. There were others also—young men who went out on those flights, confident of reaching their destination, confident of returning to their families. It is to these men and many others like them that we owe a duty, a duty to ensure the future safety of our young men, so far as it is possible, taking into consideration the inevitable element of hazard that exists in the armed forces. Only thus can we deem to have paid our debt to them, a debt which will weigh heavy on our conscience if we are complacent and unwary of the possible causes of such accidents.

I hope you will bear with me if I venture to point some things in the Defence Ministry's report which cause me some uneasiness and doubt. I would like to make it clear at this point that it is not with the intention of gaining publicity or saving things which, to use the popular cliché, are "not in the public interest" but to

give confidence and assurance to the thousands who serve in our armed forces that Parliament can and does exercise the supreme power vested in it by our Constitution of examining and assessing the policies of Government when necessary; that Parliament safeguards their interest as keenly as the interest of any other citizen of India. I know, Sir, that it is often suggested that matters can be discussed in meetings rather than on the floor of the House. I agree with this idea when it concerns details of administration but not when it affects principles and policies.

With regard to air accidents, the Defence Ministry's Report states on page 55 that,

"the findings were that the accidents were due in descending order of frequency, to pilot error, technical failure and other factors".

And there the story ends. But does it end for the men who have served in the same group, or the command and in some cases for the whole service? Is it enough to say that we have had a committee of enquiry and that the findings of the enquiry are such and such?

There is a chain of events culminating in success or failure; in defeat or victory against existing odds. Each victory is a step forward; each defeat, a step backward. But whichever way it is, we must look for the basic cause, not the immediate cause which comes out in an enquiry. To keep one soldier equipped, to keep one pilot flying, hundreds have to be working in an organised, disciplined manner. Therefore, it is the duty of the Government to ensure that organisation and discipline of the highest degree exist at every level of our defence structure.

The Ministry of Defence has taken immense trouble to produce this comprehensive document of its activities and programmes. I am sure it will

[Shrimati Sharda Mukerjee]

act as an excellent guide to those who are unfamiliar with the working of the Defence Ministry and the Services. And, the 1964 Audit Report on the Defence Services pertaining to the year 1962-63 fills in accurately the missing details of the pattern of expenditure. If I may submit, this Audit Report does make one sit up. It is no compliment to the Government's operation of public funds. So, we want to know at least the primary break-down of the defence expenditure. This large allocation of about Rs. 700 crores, almost more than one-third of our annual national revenue, is made to a single Ministry, and yet Parliament is told that no details can be given of the manner in which it is spent. All we know is the amount allocated to each service. It makes one think—is it not in the public interest or is it not perhaps in the Ministry's interest to give the break-down? To quell such justifiable doubts the Minister might consider giving Parliament the basic facts for each service, such as, for instance, the percentage spent on the salaries, food, clothing, housing etc., of the forces; the percentage spent on pensions and the percentage spent on equipment.

There seems to be a net-work of committees at the topmost level which are concerned with the organisation of defence. One might almost call it "defence by committees". This, Sir, is the only workable system in a democratic country, but nowhere does the report explain how the coordination of these various committees is effected, or who is the decision maker. Who bears the ultimate responsibility? Who takes the rap for a major failure? We have had a bitter experience in the border reverses when the division of responsibility brought unfortunate results. With a rapidly expanding force, is it not essential to do some re-thinking on the organisational side?

Sir, it is in keeping with the essence of democracy that while the civil authority or the executive exer-

cises an overall control over the policies concerning defence, the execution of such policies is carried out by the services. The Service Chiefs therefore are entrusted with the execution of the government's policies. I would like to mention here, that the Service Chiefs bear a duty not only to their country and to the government in power but a responsibility to the men they command. Their authority within the service, and the respect they command will largely depend on the extent to which they can ensure a fair deal for their men. I will give an example of what I mean. In the matter of equipment, one has been only too well aware, that difference of opinion has existed in the type of equipment judged suitable for the respective service. This has been made known through press reports and in general talk. The question is not so much what decision is taken on the procurement of such equipment, but that there should be no doubt as to who takes the decision. When things do not work out right, the decision makers must bear the responsibility. The Service Chiefs are advisors to the Government and must at all times implement the policy of the Government. I had hoped to find in the Defence Report a tightening up of the top organisational structure, which is the key to policy implementation. I trust that the Defence Minister will give due consideration to this urgent problem, especially in the context of the difficult times we may have to face.

With regard to the organisation, planning of war, man power, supply etc., I find that the old system of divided responsibility still persists. Each service has these in its own headquarters. This is as it should be, but I hope the tie up does not stop at the Defence Ministry level but is carried on to the topmost committee, which is the Defence Committee of the Cabinet under the Chairmanship of the Prime Minister.

I think the Defence Minister would agree with me that the control machinery, in order to be effective, must be in the hands of the decision makers which, I assume, is the D.C.C. This Committee must be constantly aware of the working of these various branches of defence. In a time of crisis, it is not only important to take quick decisions, but to be sure that the decisions can be put into effect successfully. We have learnt the sad lesson, of how too many cooks can spoil the broth.

And, now I come to equipment. This is a matter which has been dealt with by other speakers before me and I shall not dwell too much on it. The only thing I would like to remark on the performance of the ordnance factories. These factories were established during the time of the British. In those days they met some of the needs of the army and, to the best of my knowledge, the needs of the Air Force and the Navy were met with imports from England. What is most astonishing is that this antiquated system is continuing still. I shall not refer in detail to the anomalies which have been brought out by the Audit Report on Defence. I have only a limited time at my disposal. The Audit Report mentions instances where the cost of manufacture in ordnance factories has been inordinately high compared to the cost of some articles in the open market. For instance, the cost of meat and milk safes manufactured in the ordnance factories from 1959 onwards was Rs. 184 each while the cost of procuring them from the trade was only Rs. 41. Similarly, the manufacture of camouflage nets which could be purchased from Supplies and Disposal Organisation for Rs. 29.71 each cost Rs. 80 to Rs. 89 in the ordnance factories and involved an overall extra cost of Rs. 40 lakhs. Other such examples can be given. The question is whether these common articles which can be procured in the open market should not be procured through sub-contracts rather than be

manufactured in the ordnance factories.

Perhaps the Defence Minister has given thought to effecting economies in the procurement and manufacture of defence supplies. But what I would like to know from the Defence Minister is that, in view of this report which refers to the year 1962-63, have any changes been made in the personnel who have been entrusted with the overall management of the defence production factories? Some of these factories, I understand, are managed by Defence Service Officers, not always technically qualified. In factories producing equipment, highly technical equipment, do the present performance standards justify the continuation of the existing management?

Now I come to the Department of Defence Research, Development and Inspection which also comes under the Defence Ministry. If this is to be an advisory body—I do not know if it is an advisory body—does it have the freedom to give independent advice or is it torn between complex loyalties to different branches of the Defence Ministry—for example, Service Headquarters and Defence Production? This is a very serious matter. Has this Department of Defence Research, Development and Inspection become incorporated in the bureaucratic system? Can it exercise or give an independent opinion? I would like a clarification from the Defence Minister.

There is also one other point. I would like to know how many of the officers working in this Branch are qualified with the background of mechanical and aeronautical engineering? What experience have they had? In the past we have suffered from inadequate supplies. This was one of the major defects of our NEFA operations. I understand that in other countries military supplies is a separate department. With our growing armed forces, with our growing requirements, I wonder if it would not be a good thing to make the military supplies Ministry a separate entity. I

[Shrimati Sharda Mukerjee]

only offer it as a suggestion for the consideration of the Ministry.

The last point about equipment is that it is encouraging to read from the report that the Defence Minister is giving thought to standardising the weapons and equipment used by the armed forces. While on the one hand the report mentions this, on the other hand, we are told that the Air Force uses a wide range of aircraft, some which are bought, some which are on loan and some which are gifts from various countries. Of course, we are grateful for the gifts and loans of these various aircrafts. But can you imagine what problems the pilots and technicians must have to face? It is difficult enough to convert a squadron to a new type of aircraft. The training of the ground staff, of technicians and the procurement of supplies are the real trouble. How many aircraft are there lying unused because of want of spares? How many spares are lying unused for want of aircraft?

As I have only very little time, I shall come to the last point.

Shri Nath Pai (Rajapur): I think the time for her could be extended because it is rarely that we get such fine contributions.

Shrimati Sharda Mukerjee: The orthodox pattern of war has been replaced by the new technique of aggression since the advent of the atom bomb and the hydrogen bomb and the development of nuclear, thermo-nuclear energy and new weapons like the guided missiles. World strategy today will not permit a total war; it dare not permit it. But limited wars—boundary incursions and breaches of territorial integrity—will continue in such areas where human greed and acquisitive desires of belligerent countries are allowed to operate. Therefore, let us not call this an emergency and start nervous tensions in the country. This is a situation we may have to live with for some

years. Our northern, western and eastern borders will not be free of vulnerability in the foreseeable future.

Our policy has always been one of preventing war and will always be so. Nevertheless, we must be in a position of making it unmistakably clear to the enemy that while we do not adopt war as an instrument of policy, we are prepared to fight if our territories are threatened that we will not shrink even from striking the first blow rather than submit to a bloodless defeat.

Therefore, our armed forces must be efficient and well-equipped, having the maximum mobility of action. So the Government may have to change its present policy of having a large army which is difficult to move in the terrain in which we have to operate and adopt a policy of having a stronger Air Force, equipped with modern aircraft, aids like the radar, air to air missiles etc., while irregular forces raised locally along our borders will play a valuable role in our defence strategy.

A modern Air Force cannot be sustained by our present economic and technical resources. That is evident. We shall have to rely on friendly countries for the supply of equipment and training of our personnel. But no nation today, not even the USA or the USSR, is strong enough to pursue an individual, independent strategy of its own. Therefore, to ensure our future safety, we shall need more than military sufficiency. We shall need to create an effective world opinion in our favour through our diplomatic channels and a confidence in our basic policies of democracy and world peace.

In continuation of this, I am rather surprised to read that standards have been relaxed to recruit sufficient personnel to the armed forces; that we

have given Emergency and Short Service Commissions. These young men are to form the very fabric of our armed forces. In the last resort, it is the man in the armed forces who determines the standard of proficiency. Weapons are there only to help him. Therefore, we should try to get the best type of young men recruited in the armed forces. And as there is little chance of the border situation improving in the near future, we should not recruit men on Short Service Commission.

I feel it is time the government reviewed the rates of pay, allowances and pensions of the armed forces. I am sure there will be an encouraging response to our recruitment efforts if these were revised to suit present day conditions.

In conclusion, I would like to say that a rapid expansion is necessarily hampered by organisational deficiencies. Our young men in the forces are excellent material—the best that you can find in the country—loyal, hard-working and brave. As I said earlier, it is our duty to see that they have a fair deal; that the Government machinery is employed to inspire the best in them. I trust that the Defence Minister will view the observations I have made with some consideration. With these words, I support the Demands for Grants relating to this Ministry.

श्री लहरी सिंह (रोहतक) : उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, आज सारे देश की नज़रें हमारे डिफेंस की तरफ़ लगी हुई हैं और खास तौर पर जब कि चीन और पाकिस्तान दोनों हमारे दुश्मन हो चुके हैं। हमारा बौर्डर १५,००० किलोमीटर तक है और साथ में बौर्डर के ऊपर चीन ने अपनी तमाम फौजी तैयारियाँ, स्टोर्स-आर्म्स और ऐम्प्लीशन वगैरह की—मुकम्मल कर ली हैं। सारे बौर्डर के ऊपर उसने अपनी फौजें खड़ी करी हुई हैं और पूरी तरह बह-भड़ाई के लिए मुस्तैद हैं लेकिन हमारी गवर्नमेंट

और हमारे डिफेंस की तरफ़ से वही मध्यम रफ़्तार इस रिपोर्ट को पढ़ने से अपनाई जा रही मालूम देती है।

सिक्रीट वलंड वार जिस वक़्त हुई उसके बाद हर एक मुल्क ने, मामूली से मामूली मुल्क ने सैनिक दृष्टि से अपने को मजबूत बनाना शुरू कर दिया। फौजी ऐतबार से हर एक छोटे-बड़े मुल्क ने तैयारी की लेकिन हमारी सरकार गफलत की नींद में सोती रही। उसे यह खयाल तक भी नहीं आया कि कभी इस मुल्क के ऊपर कोई आपत्ति भी आ सकती है। यही नहीं बल्कि उन्होंने "पंचशील" का स्लोगन भी लगाया, पंचशील का नारा वह सारी दुनिया में लगाते घूमे। इनका खयाल था कि यह पंचशील का स्लोगन लगाने से चीन और सारे मुल्क हमारे काबू में आ जायेंगे। इस बारे में जो कटु अनुभव हमें हुआ है वह सब के सामने है। पंचशील का नारा संसार भर में लगा कर किसी को भी धोखा न दे सके अलबत्ता पंचशील का नारा लगा कर गवर्नमेंट ने अपने आप को अवश्य धोखा दिया और उसी का यह नतीजा है कि आज यह बुरी हालत हमें भोगनी पड़ी है। पिछली बात को तो आप छोड़ दीजिये कि क्या हुआ और क्या नहीं हुआ लेकिन अब आगे से सावधानी बतिये कि हम गफलत में न पड़ें। सुरक्षा की दृष्टि से अब कौसी तैयारी हो रही है वह इस रिपोर्ट को देखने से मालूम होता है कि आज के दिन भी हमारी कौसी तैयारी चल रही है। इस रिपोर्ट के २८वें सफ़े पर दिया हुआ है कि जितनी आफिसर्स को रिक्वायरमेंट्स थीं वह भी पूरी नहीं हुई हैं। आफिसर्स के अलावा आप के टेकनिकल आफिसर्स भी काफी तैयार नहीं हैं। मेडिकल आफिसर्स भी काफी तैयार नहीं हैं। हमारा इतना बड़ा मुल्क है, इतने यहां मिलेटरी कालिजेज और दूसरे कालिजेज हैं, इतने लगेड़े आदमी यहां के हैं लेकिन फौजी तैयारी

[श्री लहरी सिंह]

श्रीर आफिसर्स की स्ट्रेंथ बढ़ाने के बारे में हम रिपोर्ट में यह लिखा हुआ देखते हैं :—

“Since 1st October, 1962, sanctions were issued for raising 8,917 officers. As regards the main Arms and Services...The shortfall in the officer cadre is likely to be largely made up when 1,236 cadets who have been detailed for training in the October, 1963 courses in the two Officers' Training Schools...are commissioned by the middle of 1964.”

हमें आफिसर्स की बहुत जरूरत है। आज चीन जंग की तैयारी कर रहा है। पाकिस्तान हर वक्त छेड़खानी कर रहा है। लेकिन हमारे मुल्क की बदकिस्मती देखिये कि अभी हमारे आर्मी आफिसर्स भी कम्पलीट नहीं हैं। फिर भी हमारे मिनिस्टर और डिफेंस के लोग कहते हैं कि हम ने बड़ा काम किया है, हमें बहुत क्रेडिट मिलना चाहिए।

मैं यह मानता हूँ कि आर्मी आफिसर्स तैयार करना कोई आसान काम नहीं है—बड़ा मुश्किल है, लेकिन सरकार के काम और पालिसी में क्या खराबी है, क्या कमी है, क्या डिफिकल्ट है, वह मैं बताता हूँ।

आज-कल की वार कोई आदमियों की लड़ाई नहीं है। जिस मुल्क के इंजीनियर्स ज्यादा अच्छे होंगे, टेक्निकल आफिसर्स ज्यादा अच्छे होंगे, जिस की एयर फोर्स ज्यादा अच्छी और मजबूत होगी, उसका डिफेंस दुनिया में सब से अच्छा होगा। जहां तक टेक्निकल आफिसर्स का ताल्लुक है, इस रिपोर्ट में कहा गया है कि हमें १७९४ एडिशनल इंजीनियर्स की जरूरत थी। लेकिन मिले कितने? रिपोर्ट में कहा गया है कि मिले १४५। जहां टेक्निकल आफिसर्स की जरूरत हो हज़ारों की तादाद में और मिले सिर्फ १४५, जो यह बड़ी ख़तरनाक पोजीशन है। इसी तरह मेडिकल आफिसर्स भी पूरे नहीं हुए हैं।

आज चारों तरफ से खतरे की घटाएं घिरी हुई हैं। अन्देशा है कि किसी वक्त भी लड़ाई छिड़ सकती है, लेकिन हमारे डिफेंस का यह हाल है कि अभी हमारे टेक्निकल और मेडिकल आफिसर्स भी पूरे नहीं हैं। इस में कुसूर किस का है? सरकार का कुसूर यह है कि इस इमर्जेंसी के दौरान भी वह सोती रही और उस ने इस बारे में सही अदावाही नहीं लगाया। मैं चाहता हूँ कि कानून को बदल कर यह लाजिमी कर दिया जाये कि जो लोग इंजीनियरिंग कालेज से पास हों, पहले उन का फ़र्ज हो कि वे आर्मी में जायें। जो टेक्निकल कालेजिज हैं, वे पहले आर्मी की नोड्स को पूरा करें। इसी तरह मेडिकल कालेजिज भी पहले आर्मी की नीड्स को पूरा करें। लेकिन ऐसा नहीं किया गया है। सरकार की वही मध्यम रफतार चल रही है। पार्लियामेंट ने डिफेंस के लिए जो रुपया दिया, गवर्नमेंट ने कह दिया है कि हम उस में से ५९ करोड़ रुपये इस्तेमाल नहीं कर सके।

अगर हमारे देश में काफ़ी टेक्निकल आफिसर्स नहीं हैं, डाक्टर नहीं हैं, तो आज यू० एस० ए०, यू० के०, जापान, जर्मनी हम को मदद देने के लिए तैयार हैं। सरकार को उन की सर्विसिज लेनी चाहिए। लेकिन वह उन की सर्विसिज नहीं लेती है। अगर वह उन की सर्विसिज लेना चाहती है, तो फिर मालूम नहीं कि वे क्यों नहीं ली जाती हैं। आज हम देखते हैं कि प्राइवेट फ़र्मों को और स्टेट्स को टेक्नीशन, टेक्निकल आफिसर, मेडिकल आफिसर वगैरह मिल जाते हैं, तो फिर क्या वजह है कि सरकार को आर्मी के लिए आफिसर, टेक्निकल आफिसर और मेडिकल आफिसर नहीं मिल रहे हैं? इस के बावजूद सरकार की तरफ से कहा जाता है कि हम बहुत एफिशेंटली फ़ौज और डिफेंस को तैयार कर रहे हैं।

मैं बताना चाहता हूँ कि आफिसर्स के बारे में गवर्नमेंट की पालिसी में क्या खलती है।

अगर गवर्नमेंट इसी खलत पालिसी पर चलती रही, तो उस को आफिसरज की हमेशा कमी रहेगी और जब कभी इपर्जेंन्सी होगी, या इस तरह का कोई खतरा सामने आयेगा, तो हम को मुश्किलात का सामना करना पड़ेगा। सिर्फ यही काफी नहीं है कि आफिसरज को तीन चार महीने की ट्रेनिंग दे दी जाये। उन को ट्रेनिंग भी देनी है और हाँसला भी देना है। उसका तरीका सिर्फ यह है कि यह पालिसी अख्तियार की जाये कि साठ या सत्तर परसेंट आफिसरज धार्मी के जे० सी० ब्रोडर और जवानों में से लिये जायें। इसका नतीजा यह होगा कि कालेजों के वे तगड़े और मजबूत लड़के फौज में आयेंगे, जो कि एन० सी० सी० की ट्रेनिंग के चुके हैं, क्योंकि उन को मालूम होगा कि धार्मी में हमारे लिए रास्ते खुले हैं। इस तरह कंट्री की बेस्ट टेलन्ट्स फौज में आयेंगी। वे लड़के फौज में सिपाही के तौर पर काम करेंगे और वे वारफेयर के सब टेक्नीक्स से वाकिफ हो जायेंगे। इस का फायदा यह होगा कि जिस वक्त भी आफिसरज की कमी होगी, रातों-रात जे० सी० ब्रोडर को प्रोमोट कर के उस कमी को पूरा किया जा सकेगा।

गवर्नमेंट इमर्जेंन्सी कमीशन दे कर आफिसरज ले ले, वह डायरेक्ट रिक्लूटमेंट से ले ले, इधर-उधर से ले ले, लेकिन अगर उसने कंट्री की बेस्ट टेलन्ट्स को फौज में लेना है, तो वह ५० फ्रीसदी आफिसरज बाहर से ले और ६० परसेंट आफिसर जवानों और जे० सी० ब्रोडर में से ले। अगर गवर्नमेंट यह एलान कर दे, तो हर एक सूबे और हर एक यूनिवर्सिटी से तगड़े और मजबूत लड़के काफी तादाद में मिलिटरी में आयेंगे और आफिसरज की कमी नहीं होगी।

अगर आफिसरज न हों, या अगर आफिसरज की अन्धानक डेय हो जाती है और उनके सर्वाडिनेट्स काबिल न हों, तो फौज नहीं चल सकती है। काबिल, मजबूत और हीसले

वाले आफिसरज का होना फौज के लिये जरूरी है। एक अच्छे आफिसर के लिए सिर्फ यही काफी नहीं है कि वह अंग्रेजी पढ़ ले और अच्छे कपड़े पहने। जहाँ तक बन्दूक और तोप की दनदनाहट हो, हालात बदल रहे हों, वहाँ पर हिम्मत, अक्ल और हाँसले से काम करना जरूरी है। यह हाँसला फौज में रहने के बाद ही आ सकता है।

गवर्नमेंट इमर्जेंन्सी कमीशन दे कर और चार महीनों की ट्रेनिंग दे कर जो आफिसरज बना रही है, मैं उनको बुरा नहीं कहता, लेकिन अपनी फौज को मजबूत बनाने के लिए यह जरूरी है कि साठ परसेंट आफिसरज जवानों में से भर्ती किये जायें। अगर ऐसा नहीं किया गया, तो मैं समझता हूँ कि आफिसरज की कमी कभी पूरी नहीं होगी। अंग्रेज की पालिसी और थी। वह फारेनर था। वह अपने कंट्री में ट्रेनिंग देता था। सैकंड वर्ल्ड वार में उसको भी हिन्दूस्तान की ग्राम पब्लिक में से दसवीं पास लोगों को कैप्टन और लैफ्टनेंट बनाना पड़ा। जैसे भी वे लोग थे, इमर्जेंन्सी के उन दिनों में उसको उन्हें प्रोमोशन देना पड़ा। आज सिर्फ इमर्जेंन्सी ही नहीं है। आज हमको चीन और पाकिस्तान से खतरा है और इसलिए हमको कदम कदम पर आफिसर चाहिए। लेकिन सरकार इस सिलसिले में ढीली-ढाली पालिसी अख्तियार कर रही है। वह जिस शकल में इमर्जेंन्सी कमीशन दे कर डायरेक्ट रिक्लूटमेंट कर रही है, उससे उसको कामयाबी नहीं मिलेगी। १९४७ के बाद वह सोती रही, उसने काम नहीं किया। उस टेम्पोरेरी गैप को पूरा करने के लिए तो यह पालिसी ठीक है, लेकिन पर्मानेंट बेमिस पर अपनी फौज को मजबूत बनाने के लिए अगर इस पालिसी में चेंज नहीं किया गया, तो देश को बड़ी मुश्किल का सामना करना पड़ेगा।

जहाँ तक जवानों की भर्ती का ताल्लुक है, मैं यह नहीं कहता कि उस में कमी

[श्री लही सिंह]

और मजहब का सवाल उठाया जाये। मैं नहीं कहता कि उस में जात-विरादरी को देखा जाए। लेकिन मैं भ्रज कस्बा कि कम से कम इस वक्त इस बारे में तर्जुबं न किये जायें कि हम फ़ौज में हर एक को लेंगे। जिनके लड़के सर्दी-गर्मी में खेती करते हैं, जो रात के वक्त जंगलों में रहते हैं, जो शेर-चीतों का मुकाबला करते हैं, जो मामूली बात पर लाठी चला कर एक दूसरे को मार देते हैं कि तुम मेरे खेत में नहीं बढ़ सकते, सरकार जितनी भी भर्ती करना चाहे, उनके बच्चों में से कर ले। फ़ौज में उन लोगों को रखना चाहिए जिन की ट्रेडिशनल लड़ाई में हिस्सा लेने की रही है। आज राजपूतों पर हम को फ़ख है। उन्होंने हमेशा इस मुल्क को बचाया, बर्ना इस पर इतने हमले हुए कि यह खत्म हो जाता। इसी तरह मराठों, जाटों, सिखों और अहीरों की एसी ट्रेडिशनल हैं। मैं कौमों में नहीं पड़ता। मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि फ़िलहाल फ़ौज में तगड़े, मजबूत, जिनका पेशा मजबूती का है, उन लड़कों को रखा जाए। इम रिपोर्ट में यह कहा गया है कि हम फ़ौज के दरवाजे हर एक के लिए खोल देंगे। लेकिन मैं यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि आज जब कि हम ने चीन और पाकिस्तान से निवटना है, ऐसे तर्जुबं न किए जायें। जब पीम होगी, वक्त आयेगा, मुल्क उठ जायेगा, एन० सी० सी० की ट्रेनिंग से लड़कों में हीनला आ जायेगा, उस वक्त ऐसे तर्जुबं किये जा सकते हैं। लेकिन इस वक्त तो इस पालिसी को निर्फ मिविल सेविम में ही अख्यार किया जाये कि हम कौम और मजहब को नहीं देखेंगे। इम वक्त फ़ौज को ऐसे तगड़े और हीनले वाले लड़कों की जरूरत है, जो मोर्चे पर अपनी जान देने के लिए तैयार हों।

आफ़िमजं के बारे में हमने सरकार की कमजोरी देख ली है। हमारे आफ़िमजं पूरे नहीं हो रहे हैं। वैपंज का मसला भी बढ़ा

मुश्किल है। आज तमाम वर्ल्ड में रिसर्च हो रही है। अगर हमारी तोप और बन्दूक दुश्मन के मकाबिले में कम फ़ासिले तक मार करें, तो हमारे वैपंज का कोई फ़ायदा नहीं होगा। नेफ़ा में जो लड़ाई हुई, उसके बारे में बहुत से लोगों ने कहा कि क्या करें, उनके हथियार बहुत दूर तक मार करते थे, हमारे नखदीक पहुंचते थे, हमारे हथियार भारी थे, जिन को लड़ाई में उठाना मुश्किल था, जब कि दुश्मन के हथियार बहुत लाइट थे, जिसकी बजह से वे जल्दी जल्दी हम पर एटैक कर गए, बर्ना हालात दूसरे होते।

सरकार की तरफ से जो यह कहा जाता है कि हम राइफल बना रहे हैं, यह बना रहे हैं, वह बना रहे हैं मुझे उस पर हंसी आती है। जिस कट्टी की रिसर्च होगी, वही ज्यादा मजबूत होगा और रिसर्च वही कर सक्ता है, जिसके पास मीन्ज हों। आज रिसर्च में यू० एस० ए०, यू० के०, जर्मनी और जापान आगे हैं और वे हमारे साथ हैं। वे रिसर्च के बारे में हमारी मदद करते हैं, वे वैपंज के लिए हमारी हैल्प करते हैं। इसलिए सरकार को ऐसी पालिसी नहीं अख्यार करनी चाहिए कि वह बहुत पैसा लगा कर हथियार तैयार करे और दुश्मन उनसे भी तेज हथियार बना ले, जिससे हमारे वैपंज बेकार हो जायें। सरकार की तरफ से कहा जाता है कि हमारी आर्डनेंस फ़ैक्टरीज चल रहीं हैं, हिन्दुस्तान एयरक्राफ्ट फ़ैक्ट्री हवाई जहाज बना रही है, हमारे वर्कशाप काम कर रहे हैं। लेकिन मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि मौजूदा वर्ल्ड में लड़ाई इंजीनियरिंग, टैक्नीशज और एयर फ़ॉर्स की है। इसलिए यह जरूरी है कि गवर्नमेंट यू० एस० ए० या यू० के० से या और किसी कट्टी से, जो कि इस बारे में फ़ावर्ड है, समझौता करे ताकि वे रिसर्च और माइन वैपंज के मामले में हमको गाइड भी करें और हैल्प भी करे। उन से मिल कर हमको यहां पर प्लांट्स

लगाने पड़ेंगे। चूंकि गवर्नमेंट ऐसा नहीं कर रही है, इस से जाहिर होता है कि गवर्नमेंट सीयरस नहीं है। वह हमेशा न्यूट्रल पालिसी की दुहाई देती रहती है और कहती रहती है कि हम न्यूट्रल हैं। मैं समझता हूँ कि दुनिया में "न्यूट्रल" बड़े सिवाये हिजड़े के और किसी के लिए नहीं है। कुछ हिजड़े माच रहे थे। कमिश्नर कहने लगा, अंग्रेज कहने लगा कि ये कौन हैं तो उसको बताया गया कि ये न्यूट्रलिस्ट हैं। जब पूछा गया कि न्यूट्रलिज्म का क्या मतलब है तो बताया गया कि न मदद और न औरत। इस अर्थ में तो मैं इस शब्द का प्रयोग नहीं करता हूँ कि और न ही मैं यह चाहता हूँ कि कोई मिलिट्री एलाएंस कर लिया जाए। लेकिन दुनिया में जो डेमोक्रेटिक कंट्रीज हैं, जो हमारी मदद करना चाहती हैं, उस मदद को तो हमें स्वीकार करना चाहिये। यहां पार्लियामेंट में और पार्लियामेंट के बाहर भी इन चीज की बड़ी नुकताचीनी होती है। लेकिन आप देखें कि अनाज तो आप वहां से मंगा रहे हैं लेकिन जो वैपञ्च वे देना चाहते हैं उनको आप लेना नहीं चाहते हैं। उनके भी इंटिरेस्ट में है और वे सिसीयर हैं कि वे हमको वैपञ्च दें ताकि चीन वा हम सकलतापूर्वक मुकाबला कर सकें, उसको आगे बढ़ने न दें, कम्युनिज्म को बढ़ने न दें, उसको पैर जमाने न दें। इस तमाम चीज को सही तरीके से न सोच कर, रीयलिस्टिक तमाम चीज का व्यू न ले कर एक फर्जी तरीके से ही इस पर विचार किया जाता है, जो ठीक नहीं है। हमारे अपने जो एयरक्राफ्ट हैं, जो एयरक्राफ्ट फैक्ट्री है, जो हमारी आर्डनेंस फैक्ट्रीज हैं, उन्हीं पर हम यकीन कर रहे हैं.....

श्री इयामलाल सर्राफ : पाकिस्तान को और अधिक मिल रही है।

श्री लहरी सिंह : आपको थोड़े ही लड़ना है, लड़ना और मरना तो हमको है। आपको बड़ने के लिये नहीं जाना है।

रडार की बात को ही आप लें। हम थोड़ा सा बना रहे हैं। लेकिन अमरीका के हवाई जहाजों को आप देखें, सत्तर हजार की बुलन्दी पर वे जा सकते हैं, उड़ सकते हैं और दो हजार मील की रफ्तार से वे उड़ते हैं। उस तरह के हवाई जहाजों के सामने हमारे हवाई जहाज क्या काम कर सकते हैं। चीन की जो पोझिशन है, मैन के लिहाज से वर्ल्ड में उसका कोई मुकाबला नहीं कर सकता है। उसकी आर्मी की तादाद इतनी है कि दुनिया का कोई मुल्क उसका इसके बारे में मुकाबला नहीं कर सकता है। कोरिया की लड़ाई में इस चीज को देख लिया गया है। नेफा में दबा दबा कर उसने आदमी भेजे, इसको भी हम ने देख लिया है। यह कहा जाता है कि हवाई जहाजों के अन्दर उसका स्थान तीसरा है। लेकिन मैं तो कहता हूँ कि दूसरा ही उसका इस लिहाज से स्थान है। वह कहता तो यह है कि भारत पर हमला करना नहीं चाहता है, केवल सीमा के ऊपर ही युद्ध है। लेकिन उसकी पालिसी क्या है, इसको आपको देखना चाहिए। उसकी पालिसी यह है कि जैसे बर्मा उसके साथ हो गया है, वैसे ही हिन्दुस्तान में भी वह कम्युनिज्म को लाये। हिन्दुस्तान में अगर उसको अपना प्रभुत्व जमाने के लिए दरवाजा खुला मिल जाए तो वह सारे एशिया में, सारे साउथ ईस्ट एशिया में अपना प्रभुत्व जमा सकता है। वह चाहता है कि इन सभी देशों पर उसकी सुपरमैसी ही। वह उसकी यह मंशा नहीं है कि वह नेफा बोर्डर पर ही लड़े। यह वार्डर की लड़ाई का सवाल नहीं है। चीन के सामने सवाल यह है कि किस तरह से वह एशिया और साउथ ईस्ट एशिया पर मुहम्मल तौर पर काबू करे। इस वास्ते अंग्रेजों का इसमें इंटिरेस्ट है, अमरीका का भी इंटिरेस्ट है कि चीन आगे न बढ़े। जापान का भी इसी में इंटिरेस्ट है कि वह इधर न बढ़े। अगर इन हालात में ये देश हमारी मदद करना चाहते हैं तो क्या खराबी हमारी पालिसी, जो न्यूट्रलिस्टी की है, उस में पैदा होगी। अगर

[श्री लहरी सिंह]

आप सही माने में, सही शब्दों में इस चीज को देखें तो आपको इन मुल्कों से समझौता करके मदद लेनी चाहिए। आप यह न समझें कि भ्रगली जो लड़ाई चीन के साथ होगी, उसके मामूली नतीजे निकलेंगे। भ्रगली जो लड़ाई होगी, नेक्सट वार जो होगा, भ्रगली बार जब वह हम पर हमला करेगा तो हमारे यहां वह कम्युनिज्म ला कर छोड़ेगा। उसकी पालिसी यह है कि वह हिन्दुस्तान में एक पपेट गवर्न-मेंट बना दे, हिन्दुस्तान में अपना कदम जमाये। बर्मा उसके कब्जे में है। अगर हिन्दुस्तान को वह कब्जे में कर लेता है तो जो साउथ ईस्ट एशिया की कंट्रीज हैं, उन पर कब्जा पाना उसके लिए आसान हो जाएगा। वह एशिया में अपनी सुपरेमेसी चाहता है। जिस कंट्री की ऐसी इंटेंशंस हों, ऐसे इरादे हों उसका हम जो हमारे पास एयरक्राफ्ट हैं या जो दूसरे वैंपज हैं, उनसे कैसे मुकाबला कर सकते हैं। मैं नहीं समझता हूँ कि हमारी ओ फोर्सिस हैं हमारी जो फौजें हैं उनका कोई कसूर है। सारा कसूर गवर्नमेंट का है, लीडर्स का है। इन हालात में हमें सोचना होगा कि आया हम समझौता करें या न करें, समझौता करने में हमारे देश का हित निहित है या नहीं है। अगर हम ने यू० एस० ए० से, इंग्लैंड से, जापान से, जर्मनी से समझौता नहीं किया, इन देशों से हमने मदद नहीं ली तो वह दिन दूर नहीं है जब कि हमको नेफा वाली कहानी और भी बुरी शकल में बाद में सुनने को मिलेगी।

आर्मी के बाद एन० सी० सी० और टैरिटरियल आर्मी का नम्बर आता है। ये दोनों ही आर्मी को ताकत देने वाली हैं, ये दोनों ही सैकिंड लाइन आफ डिफेंस हैं। वक्त जरूरत ये रेग्युलर आर्मी की मदद कर सकती हैं। मुल्क के लिए इनकी आवश्यकता निर्विवाद है। एन० सी० सी० का जो कदम है, टैरिटरियल आर्मी का जो कदम उठाया गया है, ये मुल्क को बचा सकता है। फौज

में भरती आप इन में से कर सकते हैं, जितने आफिसर्स चाहें आपको यहां से मिल सकते हैं। लेकिन कितना आप इन पर खर्च कर रहे हैं, इसको आप देखें। रिपोर्ट में कहा गया है कि इस काम के लिए छः करोड़ के करीब खर्च करने के लिए साल में रखा गया है। लेकिन आप देखें कि टैरिटरियल आर्मी के अन्दर जितने लोग आप चाहते हैं क्यों नहीं आते हैं, जिस तादाद में लड़के लड़कियां आप चाहते हैं उस तादाद में वे क्यों नहीं आते हैं। इसका कारण मैं समझता हूँ कि टैरिटरियल आर्मी में लोगों को जो कंसेशन आपको देने चाहियें, जो एलाउंसिस आपको देने चाहियें, वे कंसेशंस और वे एलाउंसिस नहीं दिये जाते हैं। कोई एट्रैक्शन लोगों को लिए नहीं है। इसका नतीजा यह है कि जैसा रिपोर्ट में कहा गया है कि ७८ परसेंट जगह ही भरी हैं बाकी अब भी खाली पड़ी हैं। टैरिटरियल आर्मी के साथ साथ जो एन० सी० सी० का स्टेप उठाया गया है यह भी बहुत अच्छा स्टेप है। तमाम जो लड़के लड़कियां स्कूलों और कालेजों में जाते हैं, उनको ट्रेनिंग देने का कदम सही दिशा में एक कदम है। मुझे इनसे मिलने का इत्फाक हुआ है और जो अफसर ट्रेनिंग देते हैं, उन से भी मैं मिला हूँ। अफसर कहते हैं कि लड़के परवाह नहीं करते हैं। इसको आप देखें। इस तरह जो मकसद आपका है, वह पूरा नहीं हो रहा है। यह ठीक है कि अब उनको राइफल्स दे दी गई हैं, बन्दूकों का बन्दोबस्त कर दिया गया है, लेकिन जो ट्रेनिंग दी जा रही है वह सुपर-फिशल है, उनको इंटेंसिव ट्रेनिंग दी जानी चाहिये और उनको जल्दी से जल्दी तैयार किया जाना चाहिये। जब हमारे देश पर इतना भारी खतरा है और उस खतरे को देखते हुए जल्दी से जल्दी ट्रेनिंग न दी जाए तो कैसे देश का काम चल सकता है। वैंपज और आर्म्स का एन० सी० सी० के लिए अगर पूरा प्रबंध अभी तक नहीं हो सका है तो वह भी किया जाना चाहिये। साथ ही इस ट्रेनिंग में चेंज लाने

जहरत है। मामूली ट्रेनिंग देने से, बन्दूक या डंडा या राइफल उनके कंधों पर रख कर लैफ्ट राइट रैफ्ट राइट करगते जाने से काम नहीं चलेगा। यह दिल्कुन नाकाफी है। इससे बहुत आगे जा कर एन० सी० सी० वालों को आपको ट्रेनिंग देनी होगी, फर्दर जा कर ट्रेनिंग देनी होगी। अगर उनको पूरी ट्रेनिंग दी जाए तो कोई हमें फतह नहीं कर सकेगा। कितनी ही तादाद में लड़के लड़कियां सभी मजहबों के एथ्यूजिएस्टिक लड़के लड़कियां, देश पर मिटने वाले लड़के लड़कियां आपको मिल सकते हैं। वे कौम और देश की सेवा करने को तैयार हैं। लेकिन यह चीज निगनैक्टिड है। डिफेंस मिनिस्टर के दिमाग में बजट को पढ़ने से मालूम देता है, एन० सी० सी० के बारे में कुछ खास बातें करने का इरादा नहीं है, टैरिगोरियल आर्मी के प्रति कोई उत्साह नहीं है। छः करोड़ रुपया ही वह इस काम के लिए रख रहे हैं, उमके लिए रख रहे हैं जिसने फौज को सप्ली-मेंट करना है और मुल्क की हिफाजत करनी है और फौज के अन्दर जिसके आदमी जाने हैं जब जरूरत होगी। एन० सी० सी० एक रिक्लिंग ग्राउंड है जिससे आपको बहुत मदद मिल सकती है। जब इसका इतना अधिक महत्व है तो इसको केवल मात्र शो के लिए किया जाए, यह कहां तक उचित है। मैं चाहता हूं कि मिनिस्टर साहब एन० सी० सी० और टैरिगोरियल आर्मी की ट्रेनिंग पर अधिक से अधिक जोर दें ताकि यह ख्याल पैदा न हो कि जो आदमी मुल्क की डिफेंस के लिए जिम्मेदार हैं, वे अपनी जिम्मेदारी का निर्वाह अच्छी तरह से नहीं कर रहे हैं।

लिट्रेचर की बात अब मैं करना चाहता हूं। एन० सी० सी० वालों से मैंने पूछा कि क्या तुम्हारे पास कोई लिट्रेचर भी है या जमादार या सूबेदार जो तुम्हें ट्रेनिंग दे रहे हैं, वही तुम्हें मिलती है। लिट्रेचर बहुत ही कम उन को दिया जाता है, ऐसा मुझे पता चला। बहुत सी बातें हैं जिन के लिए

लिट्रेचर का दिया जाना आवश्यक है। उन के माइंड को मेक अप ठीक करने के लिये उनको लिट्रेचर नहीं दिया जाता है। मेरा सुझाव है कि उन को काफी लिट्रेचर दिया जाय और स्कूलों और कालेजों में अधिक लिट्रेचर भेजा जाय। टैरिगोरियल आर्मी और एन० सी० सी० के लिए जो एडवर्टाइज-मेंट होता है वह जितना होना चाहिये नहीं होता है। इसकी तरफ भी आपका ध्यान जाना चाहिये। कंसेशन और एलाउंसिस जितने उन को मिलने चाहिये नहीं मिलते हैं। यह मैं कोई नुकताचीनी के तौर पर बात नहीं कह रहा हूं। आप को चाहिये कि आप एन० सी० सी० को विजिट करें, बड़े से बड़े अफसर विजिट करें। जिस तरह की ट्रेनिंग दी जा रही है उस को जा कर आप को देखना चाहिये और सब हालात को मालूम करना चाहिये।

सी० आई० डी० आपकी कोई नहीं है। इंटेजीग्रेड कर्नल नहीं है। तिब्बत के पास आप का एम्बेसेडर था लेकिन आप को यह तक मालूम नहीं हुआ कि दूसरी तरफ क्या हो रहा है, उन को तैयारी कैसी है, कैसे उन के पास हथियार हैं किस तरह से वे कर रहे हैं। इसके बारे में, कतई कहीं कोई जिक्र नहीं है। किसी भी देश का फौज का टैक्नीक होना जरूरी है। एक टैक्नीक आर्मी का होना चाहिये। हिस्ट्री बताती है कि जब मुगल आए तो वार टैक्नीक जो उनकी थी, वह अलग थी और फ्लैक की तरफ से आ कर उन्होंने हमला किया और जीत लिया फिर चाहे हमारी फौजी ताकत ज्यादा ही क्यों न थी, अंग्रेज आए, उन की भी टैक्नीक अलग थी, सेला में हम ने देखा कि आमने सामने खड़े हो गए और पीछे से आ कर उन्होंने हमें घेर लिया। इस वास्ते टैक्नीक का होना भी जरूरी है। सेला में हमारी तादाद काफी थी लेकिन कुछ ऐसे जनरल्स को तरक्की दे दी गई जोकि अनडिजायरेबल थे और जिस के बारे में गलती नहीं होनी चाहिये थी। इसके खिलाफ क्या आर्मी चीफ

[श्री लहरी सिंह]

या नेवल चीफ या एयर चीफ ने इस्तीफा दिया ? तरबकी देते हुए जब फेवरिटिज्म हुआ, जो मुस्तहिक नहीं थे उन को तरबकी दे दी गई तो उसका नतीजा यह निकला कि हमारी जो कमान थी वह कमजोर हो गई। यह चीज नहीं होनी चाहिये। हिन्दुस्तान की फौज अंग्रेज के जमाने में दुनिया को फतह करती चली गई, उस वक्त उस का टैक्नीक मामूली था लेकिन औरों से अच्छा था। अंग्रेजों का उस वक्त टैक्नीक बहुत बढ़िया हुआ करता था लेकिन आज रशिया, यू० एस० ए०, जर्मनी आदि उस से आगे बढ़े हुए हैं। मैं चाहता हूँ कि उन देशों का खिटेचर मंगाया जाय, उन की किताबें मंगाई जायें और हमारे फौजी टैक्नीक को अच्छा किया जाये। सेला की लड़ाई मुंह दर मुंह थी, उस में हम इधर भी गैर हाजिर, उधर भी गैर हाजिर थे। आखिर वह ड्रामा खत्म हुआ। टैक्नीक के बगैर अकेले तादाद के बल पर लड़ाई नहीं लड़ी जा सकती है। माडर्न वैपंज के लिए भी समझौता जरूरी है। टैक्नीक के बारे में भी आप को किसी मुल्क के साथ समझौता करना चाहिये। इसकी भी बहुत भारी जरूरत है।

अब मैं वेलफेयर फंड के बारे में कुछ कहना चाहता हूँ। फौजी आदमी जो बेचारे मारे गए हैं, जिन की विडोज बैठी हुई हैं, बहनें बैठी हुई हैं शायद के लिए, उन के लिए भी कुछ होना चाहिये। मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि यह जो फंड है यह बिल्कुल ही नैगलिजिबल है। आप का जो यह फंड यह कई करोड़ रुपये का होना चाहिये। जहां जहां फौजी लोगों की जानें गई हैं और उन के बच्चे, औरतें और बेवायें हैं उन की रक्षा होनी चाहिये, उन की मदद की जानी चाहिये। इस तरह से नहीं होना चाहिये जैसेकि आज कल होता है कि कहीं पर एक साबुन की टिबकी दे दी, किसी को गरीब दे दी, किसी को कुछ और दे दिया। आज जरूरत है कि

उन के लिए वेलफेयर फंड को और बढ़ाया जाये। जो वेलफेयर फंड आज तक रहा है उस से काम नहीं चल सकता है। पहले जो आनरेरी मजिस्ट्रेटस हुआ करते थे वह रिटायर्ड मिलिटरी आफिसर्स होते थे, जितने सब रिजिट्रास होते थे वे मिलिटरी के रिटायर्ड आफिसर्स हुआ करते थे। लेकिन आज क्या हालत है, इस को देखिये। आजादी मिलने के बाद लोगों की भूख बढ़ गई है। जो कांग्रेस वर्क्स हैं वह चाहते हैं कि हर जगह पर उन लोगों को ही रख दिया जाये। आज वे चाहते हैं कि सब रिजिट्रार उन को बनाया जाये, आनरेरी मजिस्ट्रेट उन को बनाया जाये। जो चीज पहले अंग्रेजों के वक्त में मिलिटरी के रिटायर्ड आफिसर्स के लिये होती थी उस को कांग्रेस वालों ने आज हड़द कर लिया है। न उन को आज कोई पूछने वाला है न उन की कोई खास अहमियत है। जो थोड़ी बहुत चीज उन के लिए थी आनरेरी किस्म की, जिस से उन की थोड़ी इज्जत होती थी वह भी आज उन से छीनी जा रही है। उन के लिये आज सिर्फ लिप सिम्पैथी रह गई है कि हम लोग उन की बड़ी इज्जत करते हैं।

14 hrs.

मैं ज्यादा वक्त न लेते हुए उम्मीद करता हूँ कि आप एन० सी० सी० और टेरिटोरियल आर्मी को ठीक से तैयार करेंगे। मिनिस्टर साहब तो यहां हैं नहीं, शायद उन की चले भी नहीं। लीडर साहब को चाहिये कि अब वे अपनी आंखें खोल लें। अगर ऐसा न होगा तो यहां कम्युनिज्म जरूर आयेगा और बहुत रफ्तार से आयेगा। फौज तो शायद यहां कुछ न कर सके लेकिन कम्युनिज्म आयेगा और हमारी डिमाक्रेसी को खत्म कर देगा। जिस तरह से आज हमारे यहां तैयारी हो रही है उस से तो वह दिन मुझे दूर नहीं मालूम होता जबकि कम्युनिज्म आयेगा और बहुतां को हूँ

किया जायेगा, बहुतेको खत्म किया जायेगा और उस के बाद हिस्ट्री लिखी जायेगी कि हिन्दुस्तान में कम्यूनिज्म क्यों आया और कौन उस के लिए जिम्मेदार थे। आज जो आप के पंचशील के स्लोगन्स हैं कि "बो आर वड्ड टू टु पीस ऐंड नान एग्रेशन" और आप की निउद्रलिज्म आज खत्म हो रही है और हम एक ऐसी कैलेंडरी की तरफ जा रहे हैं कि अगर सही कदम नहीं उठाया, अगर एलान नहीं किया कि हम स्ट्रॉग नेगन्स से मिलिटरी प्रेपारेशन करना चाहते हैं, तो हमारा काम नहीं चल सकता।

श्री कछवाय (देवास) : हाउस में कोरम नहीं है। अगर ऐसे महत्वपूर्ण विषय पर यहाँ पर कोरम न हो तो कैसे काम चलेगा।

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: The quorum bell is being rung—

Now, there is quorum. Shri Bakar Ali Mirza.

Shri Bakar Ali Mirza (Warrangal): We have got a very big and detailed report from the Defence Ministry and it tells us how many mountain divisions are being formed, how many will be formed in future, how many aircraft have already been obtained and how many more are expected, the ammunition that is to be manufactured, when it will be ready and so on. We have got so much of detailed information that I wonder whether we have got similar information about China or even Pakistan.

My hon. friend who spoke earlier had said that this report did reveal something significant, but he hoped that it concealed something vital. He was discreet enough not to ask the Defence Minister what it was that he had concealed.

While saying this, I must also at the very outset say that this country and this House appreciate very greatly

the work of the Defence Minister. His greatest contribution has been to restore the confidence in the Armed Forces, which was shattered after the NEFA reverses. That really has been a very great contribution, because nowadays, in war, half the work is done by morale.

In regard to defence production also, I am happy to find that the production capacity has increased from Rs. 40 crores in 1961-62 to over Rs. 100 crores. It is a very sizable amount, and it is a standard which has been achieved in such a short time and of which any country can be proud. Especially in regard to the Ishapore Rifle, the great thing about it is that it is designed and manufactured entirely with local talent and local material. That is a very important thing because in war, the weapons that are introduced during the course of the war are much more important than a more powerful and effective weapon produced during peace-time. Take, for example, the tank in the First World War and the radar in the Second World War. They changed the course of the war. I am glad to find that the research wing of the Army has been able to produce a weapon which is superior even to the weapon produced in foreign countries, and that is a very creditable thing. As a token of appreciation, I suggest that the Ishapore Rifle should be named after the designer if there is only one person who has designed it.

Having said that, I must also say that this House and this Parliament and this country expect much more than this from the Defence Minister. When we were pressed for finance for our Plan, the House voted a large sum for the Defence Ministry, and I must say to the credit of the former Finance Minister Shri Morarji Desai, he spared no efforts for levying even unpopular taxes so that money could be provided to the Defence Ministry. There was no hesitation of any kind from that quarter, and there was no hesitation whatsoever from this House.

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Further, Shri Y. B. Chavan had the advantage that he was not surrounded by those political complexes which netted his predecessor. Also, he comes from the land of Shivaji, whereas Shri Krishna Menon comes from the land of Sankaracharya. So, he can take up a martial pose, and he could better serve material ends. Therefore, if we expect something more from our Defence Minister, I think we are justified.

When we read this report, we find some reference to shortfalls. One of the explanations given is that we expected the Chinese attack but that did not materialise and so the pace was slower, as if there are stages and different kinds of emergency. Another is that foreign aid was not available or did not reach us in time and so, we could not start a particular project. There are explanations for every situation. That is a thing on which this House cannot feel satisfied. Anyhow, let us leave it apart. Again, what about recruitment? Why should there be a slowing down in the pace of recruitment, especially of engineers? Nowadays, war is mechanised and engineers are vital. Hundreds or, I think, thousands of our engineers are working abroad. Why can't our Ministry ask for conscription of technical personnel? We cannot keep on playing with this matter, we cannot keep on advertising and expecting people to come. If they don't, they should be forced to come.

As regards air accidents—other Members have also referred to it—it is sad that in about 50 per cent of the cases, they cannot even be accounted for. It is by accident that we have come to know of the existence of a transmitter somewhere. What is our Intelligence doing? Are not all the messages that are sent out received and analysed? Is it not possible to trace the source? Is it not possible that this transmitter was responsible for all those accidents which you cannot account for? Because there is

nobody to report and it is in regions wherefrom no man returned? That is why if we feel a little concerned or disturbed, we have reasons enough for that feeling.

I would now like to say a few words about our army personnel. I have noticed in some quarters that if there is some stray incident or impropriety by certain persons of the armed personnel occasionally, once in a blue moon, it involves the whole army. Some members of my family have been in the army. I know what is life in the cantonment. In British days, it was drunken brawls, violence and all sorts of things. So many places were out of bounds. Today we are happy that nowhere in the world are there better behaved personnel than members of our armed forces. There may be some occasions where they may have exceeded the limit. That is bound to be. In the best organised families, accidents do happen. Therefore let us not in any way lower the prestige of our armed forces. They are patriotic, they are loyal, they are hard-working and earnest and they do not make any difference between caste and creed. They are the most wholly integrated force in the country. Let no man lower their status.

We in this House are grateful to them and we will always see that their welfare is first before us in every consideration. I am happy that there has been some increase in dearness allowance and pension benefits for them. Let the armed forces know that if they do not get more, it is not because the will is not there; it is because the capacity is not there. We are a poor country. There is a great deal of demands on our resources for building up the country, for building up the armed forces, for education and so on. Therefore, let them feel that our heart is with them. Our willingness to serve them is there, but our capacity is limited.

Coming to defence policy itself, there has been a great deal of demand that there should be increase in the

army, there should be increase in the navy, Shri Raghunath Singh also wanted even atomic weapons, and so on. All this is child's play. Everyone knows that today here or anywhere else in the world, war is an expensive affair. In this age of mechanisation, it is still more expensive. Having a land frontier of over 15,000 kms.,—and a coast line of 5,700 kms., undefended—naturally, if the demand is to be met even according to orthodox requirements, it will come to not only hundreds of crores, but thousands and thousands of crores. Can we afford it? If we cannot, how are we going to wage a war that we want to wage not only against China but also Pakistan? We should, therefore, devise some other weapons, some other alternative way of meeting the situation. What is that to be? I hope the House will agree that our finances are not limitless. Therefore, what are we to do?

Take a country where there are no arms, no sufficient arms, even for guerilla warfare. Take Algeria. The French Army was one of the best in the world. For years they sent men and money—to no effect. Take Viet Nam. American forces and millions of American dollars are being poured in, in a small country, a small area. Still it makes no dent, has no effect. Ours is a large country. It is not an insignificant thing. When American forces and French forces, when American money and French money, could not produce any sizeable effect, why do we think that China or Pakistan separately or together can produce any effect on India?

But for that one condition is necessary. We should think not only of the firing line, but also of what is happening behind the firing line. It is much more important for us, for a poor country, that this defence behind the trenches is much more secure, much more sound, much more powerful. For that, we have to create unity in this country so that we 450 million people may function as one unit, so

that no weapon in the world can pierce that wall of unity.

How to forge that unity? Not by platform speeches, nor by just lip-service to secularism. There must be a genuine desire, a genuine feeling that this country is ours. As long as that unity is there, we will do our utmost to defend it.

Take the history of the Maquis in France. They gave so much battle to the Germans even when the latter were there with so much arms. That was because the country was with them. Similarly we have to create such conditions of unity here also.

I heard Shri Raghunath Singh yesterday. He said it is no use merely taking up a posture of defence; you must take to offence. He quoted history for that. He said there should be atomic weapons at our disposal and then we must warn the Muslims that a brother here and a brother in Pakistan cannot be allowed. My hon. friend is General Secretary of the Congress Party. Perhaps the policy of the Congress has changed in the meanwhile. Brutus has said it, and Brutus is an honourable man.

On this question of brother against brother, a brother here and a brother there, may I remind him that when Stanley Baldwin was the Prime Minister of England, his son was charged with being a communist, and when Leopold Amery was Secretary of State for India in England, his son was hanged for being a traitor?

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: His time is up.

Shri Bakar Ali Mirza: I have just started. Similarly, if there was a Maulana Azad here, there was Kasim Razvi also, there is an Abdul Gaffar Khan on the other side in Pakistan. There are others who are baiting the Hindus. Gandhi and Godse were both Hindus. So it is not a question of community. It is a question of a person and his action.

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If somebody suggests that spying should be made a capital offence, with the death penalty, I agree whole-heartedly. Those who are found guilty should be hanged in the open place before the whole world. But do not make it difficult for people to live unitedly. Once you suspect people, how can there be trust? Do not make it difficult for the country to unite, to become one.

Having said this, I would like to make one or two submissions and then I will sit down. If you want to make the country feel as one, you have to create the conditions for unity. You must create conditions for that feeling of oneness. Why this difference between jawan and officer? This should not be there. In a poor country like ours, austerity and sacrifice are essential. In our life-blood asceticism runs as a stream. Why can we not all say that we will not live beyond our means? Not only in the administration, even at the political level. Take for example a Deputy Minister. What work has he got? Why should not his reward be related to performance. There is nothing personal in that. They are young, able and handsome. They are all my friends; but the fact remains that they have no power, no work, no responsibility. The only work they have got is to adjust themselves to a state of weightlessness. If they move from Deputy Minister to Minister of State, why should they demand greater comfort or higher salary? If we produce this condition in the country that there is no difference between man and man, and we all contribute in our own way to defence and development of our country, then I think we will be very near our goal. Similarly, if all the M.Ps. and M.L.As take simplicity as their vow, though they are only five or six thousand in the country, they can transform the whole country and produce so much wealth, so much

money, that our Defence Ministry will not know what to do with.

After NEFA, a feeling has been created that we have to be ashamed of ourselves. Many defeats have happened in other countries, but they have not made such a hue and cry as we have done. After all, they raided and went back, the battle was not continued, the war was not finished, and the war is still on. So, it is necessary that the morale of our armed forces should be restored. I do not see any reason why we should not march to the Macmahon Line. There is no bar. We are within our rights. Shri Ranga the other day wanted to establish this right. The right is there. We have to go, and if the Chinese advance, we will face the risk. When the Chinese advanced, England and America came like rockets to our help, but when we go and ask them for arms aid, they are reluctant because now they think that the Chinese threat has receded.

So, these are the few words I have to say. If we introduce simplicity in our lives and MPs and M. L. As, try to practise austerity, and if we decide once and for all to march to the Macmahon Line, that will restore the confidence in this country, and we will meet with success.

Shri Gajraj Singh Rao (Gurgaon): I thank you for giving me time to speak. We have to follow and correctly appreciate the defence position and the defence plans. Something of the past has been intermixed with what is at present and what is to be. Two most treacherous and unscrupulous enemies have joined together, and it has been admitted by everybody. How they have acted is well known history. We are pitched against them. We were a non-aligned nation, bending all our energies in the direction of peace. Further, our soldiers and officers were

not accustomed to the high altitude and climate at which this whole thing occurred, and we were caught unprepared. That is a plain proposition.

That does not mean that our army or our nation is not competent. How many could say then that China would act in such a treacherous manner and stab us in the back? Were not assurances given to us by certain countries that their supply of arms to Pakistan was for her defence and not offence? We, naturally, as an honest nation, believed them, and for the future we must be on our guard, but we should not go to the past, and lose all hope and think that we are nothing. I would certainly not say that.

An assurance has been given by the Defence Minister in unqualified and unequivocal terms that the army is in fullest preparation to meet any eventuality. Of course, he cannot be asked, nor can he say, about the deployment of forces etc. Is it expected that he should disclose such details here? Would he as Defence Minister disclose them? No. So, no adverse inference should be drawn from that.

One thing has been agitating the mind of the nation as a whole, and on that, the Prime Minister has said here in this House in so many words that we would not hesitate to cross the cease-fire line, if necessary, for defence.

We should be satisfied with these two assurances. Unless we were prepared, how can these assurances come? But I am sorry to say that some hon. Members have said that such assurances are given off and on, but that our actions are otherwise. Was such a thing conveyed ever before in so many words that we would cross the cease-fire line if necessary? I would certainly say that from the military point of view,

that is the correct decision. Sometimes offence is the best form of defence.

We should be thankful, and we have been thankful, to all our friends who came to our rescue and help when the Chinese treacherously attacked us year before last. There is a Persian saying:

*Dostan bashad ki girad daste dost
Dar pareshan halio darmandgi.*

They are our friends, and we as Indians, with our culture, are thankful to them, and we have been thanking them on the floor of this House, irrespective of their political views.

In the NEFA incident, only the negative side has been exaggerated, but what about the bravery of our brothers in the army at Chusul, of which any country can be proud? They were 200 to 300 persons, and they killed 1,800 of the enemy, and their declaration that they would not lunch at that place or take tea at that place fructified. From Chusul, not the hill, but from Leh there was a road. From Leh to Srinagar there was a road; and from Srinagar to Pathankot there was a road. We had no proper defences. And those three hundred heroes saved us. We must not only be thankful to them but we must pray to God that their deeds should always be with us. So, always indulging in a negative kind of talk would not contribute to the defence of the country, and should be avoided. We should be proud of their acts and their deeds. I can say from experience that our jawans are second to none. But here, unfortunately, we require a foreign dictionary to be consulted to see whether that statement is correct or not. When we see what the world says about our jawans in the Congo or Cyprus, if we are satisfied by what the foreign dictionary says about the deeds of our jawans, then that is a sufficient testimony. I would say one more thing here. At such big heights of fifteen

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thousand and sixteen thousand feet, in Chusul and in NEFA, our jawans had only ordinary summer clothing on. What they did and what they were able to do at that height without even proper clothing, is that not testimony enough to convince the honourable House what our jawans are and what their capabilities are?

Preparedness is another aspect. Mere strength of the army or mere arms are not sufficient. These are times when in such warlike actions, the nation's support is an essential element in this, I would say. If our jawans have this backing, what is said in this House and outside and what is the determination of the nation, that would be a biggest arm in the armoury of our army. From my personal experience I can say how our jawans feel when things are said in a desultory manner and in such a manner that disheartens them, that casts a shadow. If they hear a good word of cheer, their spirits rise high. So the nation's support is the real armoury which should be looked into, and I would submit to my hon. friend that that is the proper thing to do.

Now, Sir, some elements say—I do not doubt their *bona fides*—go left; some say, go right. We say—I do not represent anybody—go straight, because those who say 'go right' or 'go left' are not decided and they can say 'right about turn'. That should not be our fate. We are not going to do that. We are going to act in the spirit:

*Aan Man Basham Ki Roze Jang Bini
Pushte Man*

*In Man Am Kam Drmiyane Khak
O Khun Bini Sare.*

Our Jawans are those who say:

“हम स्पिरिट से लड़ेंगे, एक नेशन की स्पिरिट
मे हम कदम पीछे नहीं हटावेंगे। हमारी

जमीन में हमारा खून चला जाये, राइट
फ्रॉर लेफ्ट का फ्रॉर राइट अबाउट
टर्न चलो का फिलसफा मेरी नाकिस
अबल में नहीं आता।”

श्री त्यागी : यहां तो लेफ्ट अबाउट
टर्न हो रहा है।

श्री गजराज सिंह राव : लेफ्ट अबाउट
टर्न सही।

That is the thing. Now, two or three points I have to make. That is also from my personal experience. Less emphasis has been laid on technical recruitment. You would get better type of arms from outside, but the personnel you are not going to get from any country. Technically there should be a training first of all. And what is it that these multi-millionaires, the company people and others, are offering? The poor kisans and peasants are offering all their men, material and money. The men are coming forward, at least in my area, and what they did at Chusul is known to everybody. Every soldier is ready to die. But when we come to materials, those who talk so much say “Do not touch our material, that has to be kept safe, that must be kept reserved”. That does not help India's safety. As regards money also, you can see how much the peasants and kisans, the rural people, are offering to the National Defence Fund. Those very persons whose sons are fighting, or who are themselves fighting, are offering more to the National Defence Fund than those who talk so much and write so much in the press to show that they are the bigger patriots. So I would submit this about technical recruitment. There is an absolute need for it. People may say these are small things. I would say you would need them, and very soon. Start it at the earliest possible date, because technical recruitment is absolutely nil these days. I can say that.

The second thing is, I would appeal to the nation, through my friends and colleagues here, that it should cease to think in those terms that our soldiers are mercenaries. Our soldiers are volunteers. Do not talk in that spirit and in the past manner in which they were talked about. In the past they were treated like that. Do not think on those lines now. They are patriots. Are they not getting just sixty or seventy rupees? Is that not an honorarium? It is in fact less than an honorarium, when you bear in mind the conditions of their living. And certainly we should try for arms, for air force, navy, submarine, and all the other deficiencies should be made up so that we may be in complete accord with the hearts of our jawans—I won't say any lesser thing, because that is the highest. Let us equate him equally in that line.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: The hon. Member's time is up.

Shri Gajraj Singh Rao: I have to make two or three important points. For all these one and half months I have not spoken. I would bring to the notice of the hon. Minister that the amenities part of the soldiers and their families needs proper care-taking. I can quote one instance. While the Indian Soldiers Litigation Act is there that any suit, proceeding or any such thing shall be stayed, they can not go to the courts. So what is happening? Take, for instance, consolidation of holdings. The worst land is allotted to our soldiers. They don't have even an opportunity of being heard or given a certificate by the Commander. At least so much time should be given. If the soldier's wife or sister goes she is told "you are not the landowner". This is one instance. Similar is the position with regard to even distribution of relief. For instance, at the time of the flood it was said that that man is in service and his family is not to get the relief. That is the type of thing happening.

I would not dilate upon these things further.

They say that there are several amenities and they say "we have invented the Citizens' Council". I have been a member of the Citizens' Council in Punjab. If you see their record you will appreciate what I say that we should feel ashamed as to how much they have done by way of amenities to the soldiers or to their families. The previous Soldiers Board or Sailors Board or Airmen's Board did much better than the Citizens' Committee. Again, it may be said that this is a small matter, too small a matter for the big politicians and others to talk about. But I would most respectfully ask what would be the effect when it reaches them as to how the two bighas of land has been dealt with. If the soldier sees that the country is behind him, that all the people are safeguarding their rights, how much elated would he feel?

I would like to take only two more minutes, Sir. My hon. friend Shri Siddhanti said that the Ahirs who did so well at Chusul were not recognised. There is a political background since 1857. Orders are there; they had to fight against the Britishers and since then it was ordered that there should be no unit in their name. Either abolish them altogether; otherwise, those people are feeling much that they do not get any recognition either at the district level or at the State level. I am very thankful to you for giving me this time, Sir.

Dr. M. S. Aney: Sir, the question before the House is the Demands of the Defence Ministry. The Ministry has also supplied us with a report of its work during the previous year. Judged from this, since my hon. friend Shri Chavan assumed charge of the Ministry, they have done commendable work in improving defence arrangements. I will not talk point by point but generally I say that in the matter of recruitment and train-

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ing, in the matter of concessions to jawans, etc. things have been done with a view to make the country more defence-minded and make people confident of the strength of the defence arrangements made.

I want to make one point clear. We are preparing our defence arrangements not to fight an enemy who is to come; it is not as if we are not in a war; we are in the war itself but we are in a very peculiar position. The enemy has come and is in occupation of our land and territory, unilaterally declares a cease-fire and then proclaims to the whole world that he is ready to come to a settlement with the Indian Government. Then, there is not only one aggressive enemy with whom we have to fight. There was already some difference of opinion between India and Pakistan on Kashmir and it took an evil and undesirable turn in this period. Pakistan became an ally of China. They have concluded a treaty and Pakistan which is in illegal and forcible occupation of a certain portion of Kashmir gives away to China a part of that occupied Kashmir. Our duty, in these circumstances, is not to expect any further aggression from them. We took a pledge here that we shall not cease making efforts till we succeed in driving our enemies from the territory occupied by them. People look up to the preparations of the Defence Ministry from this point of view. If war begins tomorrow, if there is aggression on their part tomorrow, are we in a position to face them? The enemy is already in occupation of the territory and is creating an artificial situation. Let us understand the strategy that is being followed by him. He creates intensive bitterness between Pakistan and India. Pakistan is not only going to the UNO but has succeeded in creating a good deal of trouble in East Pakistan; there is an exodus of people coming here. Everyday almost, our cease-fire line in Kashmir is being violated. My hon. friend has to come out every third day with a statement and give some

explanation of what took place and what did not take place. These violations are now more frequent than before. It appears that they would be crossing the cease-fire line and we will have to cross the cease-fire line in order to defend ourselves and in that way they want that the whole thing may blaze up into a big fire when China with all its forces may carry on its further incursions. We have to be prepared to face that situation. In the present position, we do not fight. But in case such a situation, develops, will we get the same kind of willing co-operation or help which we happened to get at the beginning of this war, whether our relations with those friends of the United States and the United Kingdom are of the same cordiality and friendliness as they were then? As soon as they heard that China had invaded India and that India was in difficulties, they came to our rescue. Are they today in that position? Now the Kashmir issue has again been discussed in the UNO. In spite of our repeated assertions that there is no Kashmir issue any more, it was done. The position could not have been more lucidly explained in the UNO than has been done this time by our hon. friend Shri Chagla. In spite of that speech, the tendency on the part of the Pakistan authorities is to rake up that issue again and again and we may have to go there again after finishing our session or even before that and plead India's cause. They want to get the civilised world to their side so far as Kashmir is concerned; upto this time our diplomacy has not succeeded in carrying conviction with these countries that Pakistan is in illegal occupation. On that point a good deal has to be done. I have nothing to say about that as my hon. friend is in charge of Defence while this belongs properly to the External Affairs Ministry. But all these things work together and create a situation which ultimately will have to be faced and fought against by the Defence department. Therefore, I want to say

that the Ministry of External Affairs and the Ministry of Defence must work together in a co-ordinated way so that there is a better and more effective propaganda to enlighten the world as to what our real position is and how Pakistan is wrong in this matter, and how, at the same time, we are in need of getting as much help as possible from the foreign countries. To be ready for war does not merely mean that you have got a large army to fight, armed with some kind of weapons. You must have the latest weapons. Again, my question to the Defence Minister, Shri Chavan is, what is our preparation so far as the navy is concerned. What is our preparation so far as the Air Force is concerned? I am sure that if opportunity is taken to get modern weapons through negotiations which are on, that will be good, and we shall fight with those weapons. It is necessary to be in a position of certainty about getting the necessary help from some nations. That also is an important part of the work and that has to be managed obviously by some other Ministry. It is necessary for the successful prosecution of our defence activities.

As regards our preparation, I have got two or three points to make. I am sorry to find on certain pages of the report that the response from the educated classes has been poor so far as the technicians are concerned. Certain concessions were also announced; certain facilities were announced and they have been given. But the response of the educated classes is very poor. I believe some other steps should be taken to see that we shall not be wanting in the number of technicians. This is a time when the number of technicians should be sufficient so that the work can be properly carried on.

I find in another place also that the response is not as good as it should have been. I observe from page 27 of the report that, in regard to the recruitment of jawans, "to meet the

requirements of the additional Divisions sanctioned as well as to make up past deficiencies, the recruitment was undertaken on an intensive basis. The response from young men in the country to the recruitment drive was extremely good. By the end of 1963, we had achieved the targets, and hence the recruitment which was started on a bigger scale at the beginning of 1963 was gradually tapered down." Though the target for the time being may be enough, I am sure that we shall have to increase our target and get more men. So, there is no need for us to be complacent and our demands ought not to be slowed down. That is what I want to say.

Then at page 28 of the report, it has been mentioned that with the completion of the recruitment programme in the officer cadre, it has been decided that the two officers' training schools at Madras and Poona would be closed as emergency commissions would be discontinued. I think that when the recruitment was started, the Ministry was under the impression that things would be carried on rather slowly. But I believe the need is there and you cannot close the emergency commissions and stop the work of recruitment in that way. The time for action may suddenly come, may unexpectedly come, and we should not be found unprepared now as we found ourselves unprepared before. The nation looked upon us at one time with a certain sense of sympathy when we found ourselves unprepared, but now our position will be extremely bad if we are not prepared. A very great responsibility lies on the head of the Defence Minister; of course, it is not only his responsibility; it is the responsibility of the Ministry, and of the Government of India as a whole, and the efforts towards preparation must continue.

We must all be one in this respect, and that can be so only if the people, the Opposition and the Government work with one aim, as one man. If

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the world sees that the whole of India is behind this Government, and the Government and the people and the Opposition would form one solid block all together, then there is a chance of our getting aid and sympathy of the civilised world and those who are lukewarm today will become warmer towards us. We must, therefore, show that to the civilised world. Then we shall not be wanting to get the necessary help even from those countries which for the time being do not look at the question sympathetically. The only way of getting real response from the other people is by ourselves taking a brave step and a determined action.

I hope that the country will stand up to this test and we shall be in a position to fulfil the pledge that we had taken here, that we shall not rest content till we drive the enemy from our territories which are illegally occupied.

Shri Hem Raj (Kangra): Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, I am grateful to you that you have given me an opportunity to speak on the Demands for Grants under the defence budget. Yesterday, when Shri Ranga was speaking, he laid a grave charge against this Ministry to the effect that the mountain divisions which the Ministry has formed do not contain the people of the Himalayan regions. I think that he was mistaken. On the assumption of the portfolio of this Ministry by the present Minister, a greater confidence has been engendered in the people of the Himalayan regions. He is the first man to have raised two scout battalions for Punjab, Himachal Pradesh and Uttar Pradesh. At the same time, may I tell Shri Ranga, through you, Sir, that the Kumaon Regiment, the Dogra Regiment, the Garhwal Regiment and the Gurkha Regiment are regiments which are mostly manned by the hill people? I am afraid that the boot is rather on the other leg. When the hon. Member Shri Ranga wants that

there should be more of recruitment from the south, he must also see that there must be more comradeship between the south and the north, and if the north and the south work together even on the high altitudes, that will be for the betterment of the nation and for a greater integration of India, rather than simply saying that the Himalayan people alone should fight there. (*Interruption*).

Shri Ranga (Chittoor): So far as the mountain divisions are concerned, there alone I wanted preference to be given to the Himalayan people. With regard to the rest, I wanted that some more chance should be given to the southern people. That is all. (*Interruption*). Please do not try to put one against the other. You have misunderstood me.

Shri Hem Raj: I want more percentage. I will still request the authorities to give more percentage. He may increase the percentage to 50. That is another thing. I want more percentage in the mountain divisions; that is the point.

Shri Ranga: That is exactly what I wanted.

Shri Hem Raj: In the mountain divisions, the hon. Minister has given us very good percentage, and I should like to congratulate him for this achievement. The picture as it stands today is rather not very bright for us, because at the present moment the two enemies of ours are combined. Our border line both with West Pakistan, East Pakistan and China is a very long one. In that context, when the two enemies have combined when China has stationed 19 divisions in Tibet, out of which 13 have been deployed over the border areas touching India, our raising only 6 divisions does not appeal to me. We should not slow down the progress of recruitment in any case. I would request the Minister that instead of 6 at least 12 divisions should be raised. No doubt man to man, one Indian

jawan can match 10 of them, but when the question of number comes, if we want to match man-power with man-power, it is very necessary that we should also have a good number of our divisions on the borders.

15.00 hrs.

Both in the East Pakistan and West Pakistan border, every day we have raids and our property is being looted. Now the time has come when all these border areas should be vacated and cleared of all the Jai-chandis—the anti-national elements, the pro-Pakistani and pro-Chinese elements. Those areas which are vacated must be resettled with ex-soldiers. If we have patriotic elements or ex-soldiers on the border line, the need for military forces is lessened. So, I would request the Government that at a time when Chinese and Pakistanis are colluding between themselves to attack us all at once, it is very necessary that such anti-social elements which inhabit the border areas should be cleared out, so that our borders may be safe. Any amount of our intelligence will not work if you do not have a clear line on our border. So, I request that the border areas should be cleared of such anti-social elements.

Regarding mountain divisions, the report just says that everything is going according to the plan. I do not know what "according to the plan" means. It may mean that this will go on for years. But when we have declared an emergency, it must be on an emergency basis. Otherwise, it may take years and years to raise our mountain divisions. If we cannot get those areas vacated in the emergency period, I do not know when you will be able to vacate them. Under the ordinary law of the land, the Supreme Court will be there. So, you cannot get it done. During the emergency, you have got wide powers and you should use those powers to get those areas vacated for the security of India so that no unwanted persons may remain there.

Regarding the ground force, for mobility, air protection is very necessary. But I find from this illuminating report that the progress is not very fast. So, I request that the manufacture of AVRO-748 should be increased and expedited. Even in high altitudes, transport planes play a very vital part both for protection of the troops and for maintaining the supply lines. So, this matter should also be taken into consideration.

There is another point which has also been highlighted by certain other hon. Members. JCOs are acting as a bridge between the officers and the other ranks. I want that their position should be bettered. Regarding the percentage of their promotion to commissioned posts, formerly it was 10 per cent and it was raised during the emergency to 24 per cent. They are the persons who are always in the thick of the fight and they have shown a better account of themselves during the Chinese aggression. So, the percentage for commission in their case should be at least 40 per cent. I would even plead for raising it to 60 or 70 per cent, but to be on the safe side, I request that it should be raised to 40 per cent.

I was talking about the AVRO. No doubt our ordnance factories have done a good job in regard to defence production. They have given a very good account by giving Rs. 100 crores worth of production, which is being supplied to the armed personnel.

But still I have to point out reluctantly that out of the 6 ordnance factories, only about 2 we are at present confident; so far as the other four are concerned, we are not confident as to when they would be brought into operation. So, I want some information from the Minister as to whether any target can be fixed, at least during the emergency period, when we will be able to be self-sufficient for purposes of ammunitions and spare parts and other things.

The border roads wing is under the Ministry of Transport, but every

[Shri Hem Raj]

thing about them is discussed here in the Ministry of Defence. I do not understand why it should not be brought right under the Ministry of Defence.

I am glad that at least for the hill areas, the protection of portable compressors and aerial ropeways, which are very necessary, has been taken up in collaboration with certain Japanese firms.

Regarding disability pensions, at present it is given only for certain diseases, if 20 per cent of the disease is related to the war service. I want that anybody who is disabled while in service should be considered eligible for disability pension. It should not be confined to certain diseases and to a certain percentage.

So far as the Soldiers, Sailors and Airmen's Board is concerned, we had welfare officers. My colleague was just talking about Citizen's Council. I know about the working of the citizen councils. I am also a member of a citizen council. Except lecturing, nothing is done there. At least these welfare officers are doing a nice job. Formerly they were there, but now they are only twenty there in the Punjab. Looking to the heavy recruitment that is going on in the country, at least in the Punjab I want that their number should be increased.

So far as Dogras are concerned, we have got a reputation for bravery. They have done a nice job even during the recent Chinese aggression. Jammu and Kashmir, the Kangra District, Hoshiarpur District in Punjab and Himachal Pradesh, all are Dogra areas. This is a martial area. I have been requesting the Defence Minister that there should be a sainik school in this area. But so far my request has not been acceded to. I hope the Defence Minister would take it up either with the Government of Jammu and Kashmir or the Gov-

ernment of Himachal Pradesh—if the Punjab Government does not listen to him—and see that a sainik school is set up in the Dogra area.

Shri Inder J. Malhotra (Nominated—Jammu and Kashmir): It should be located in Jammu.

Shri Hem Raj: It can be in Jammu or in Himachal Pradesh. In either case the people of the Dogra area will benefit.

Then I come to the ex-INA personnel. An hon. Member opposite also mentioned about them. We have also got a sufficient number of our people belonging to the INA. Most of them are in the black category. I do not think by giving them this paltry grant of Rs. 30 lakhs they will be satisfied. Therefore, I also feel, along with other hon. Members, that their meagre emoluments, which will come only to about Rs. 1 crore, should be given to them.

I want to say a word about ex-servicemen. I want that the post-war reconstruction fund should be made permanent and the amount should be increased.

So far as recruitment from the Dogra areas is concerned, I have been telling the Defence Ministry that if people from that very area are posted for medical as well as for recruitment purposes, they will be able to get better recruits and more recruits.

Lastly, so far as the Academy at Dehra Dun is concerned, I want that the colours of the Dogra Regiment should also be laid there.

With these words, Sir, I support the Demands for Grants relating to the Ministry of Defence.

Shri M. L. Jadhav (Malegaon): Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, I rise to support the Demands for Grants relating to the Ministry of Defence that are under discussion before the House.

India is a nation which is wedded to peace and non-aggression. At the same time, when India is being invaded by Pakistan and China, India has to meet that aggression and protect her own territory. In the last Chinese aggression we had to face defeat as a result of which our army, the army that served and earned a good name under a foreign rule, had to suffer humiliation. In order to equip our army well, it is very necessary that the enquiry report on the NEFA debacle should be carefully gone into, and the mistakes or drawbacks that are pointed out as far as our army is concerned should be remedied. Our army deserve to be well equipped in the light of that report and our army should be strengthened.

15.15 hrs.

[MR. SPEAKER *in the Chair*]

Our army is physically fit, but it should be given proper equipment. That equipment is now being produced in our factories. Since the present Defence Minister took over charge of the Defence Ministry of India, I find that in the matter of recruitment there has been a very good progress. Also, in production of equipments and working in the factories there has been a considerable improvement in all respects.

In this light, I would like to say that when our army or our jawans have got the best of traditions it is very necessary that these jawans, who are the best soldiers, should have a confidence created in their minds that the needed equipments would be supplied to them to assist them in their task.

I feel that in the last NEFA affair our intelligence was lacking. We require a better type of intelligence. In this age when we see that the world is making progress and with the help of science new things are coming up, it is very necessary that we have to improve upon our past techniques and

our soldiers must have a nice intelligence, well equipped and better trained. In that respect, it is very necessary that we have to remedy our past mistakes and try to have a better intelligence to help our army.

At the same time, I feel that during the last Chinese aggression we did get some help from friendly countries. We cannot depend on this help all the time from whatever country it may be, whether it be from eastern or western countries or from USSR. We have to stand on our own legs. Therefore, I feel that our defence production should be on such a level that we shall be able to protect our frontiers from China and Pakistan. China and Pakistan are countries where one is ruled by a military dictator and the other by a Communist dictator. Even though we know that we are very friendly to the people of Pakistan and we are very friendly to the People of China, at the same time, the rulers there want to create trouble in our way. In that light, we have to defend our territory, and in doing that it is very necessary that the emergency should be there. It is not sufficient if it is there on paper only. This emergency should find a place in every respect, in recruitment, in our factories, in our fields and everywhere. The army marches on its stomach. It is very necessary that our economy also should be strengthened in that light. Unless and until we produce in our factories, we produce in our fields, we cannot be self-sufficient in our requirements. Therefore, I feel that instead of depending on foreign help, it is better that we depend on our own strength.

We see that our budgetary demand is going on increasing day by day. Our budgetary demand in 1960-61 was Rs. 282 crores. In 1961-62 it was Rs. 317 crores. In 1962-63 the budgetary demand was Rs. 380 crores but the actual was Rs. 478 crores. In 1963-64 it was Rs. 873 crores. Even with this increased expenditure, we have neglected this aspect. During the Chinese invasion it was felt that

[Shri M. L. Jadhav]

India has to prepare not only for its development but also for its defence. We have to prepare ourselves from that point of view. In that light, I would like to make some suggestions with regard to the second line of defence.

In the first place, I feel that the Lok Sahayak Sena camps in the border areas should be on an intensive scale. In the border area, more such camps should be opened and all able-bodied persons should be trained in drill, in handling rifles and some other light weapons so that they can have confidence that they will be able to protect themselves, they would be able to guard themselves, they would be able to repulse the raiders who often come from the Pakistan side. From that point of view, the Lok Sahayak Sena Camps should be increased in the border areas so that people may regain confidence.

Then, coming to the boys and girls, at the primary stage there is the national discipline scheme. At the secondary stage, there is ACC and NCC. While we can have national discipline scheme at the primary stage, why should we have both NCC and ACC at the secondary stage? I feel that we can do away with ACC, or merge it with NCC. Further, NCC and military training or physical training should be made compulsory subjects. As a second line of defence, all our boys and girls in the schools and colleges should be given training in NCC. At the college stage also NCC is there. But, in the secondary schools, very few pupils take advantage of the NCC. I feel that it should be made a compulsory subject so that our young men become better recruits at the time they enter the service.

Then, I will turn to defence production. Though one MIG factory is coming up in my constituency, Nasik, the progress is very slow. I am told that this factory is going to be had with Russian collaboration.

What type of collaboration are we going to have is not known. So, I would like to know the collaboration that we are going to have and the time within which this factory is going to produce the required aircraft. It is very necessary to be self-sufficient in our air power and we must have better type of planes. Therefore, we have to equip ourselves and see that this factory starts working as early as possible, especially after the Chinese invasion.

Coming to the accidents of aircrafts, I find from the report that in a number of cases the causes of the accident could not be traced or established. Why should it be so that even in major accidents the cause could not be traced? With the advance of science, we should be able to find out the causes of accidents; not only that, we should remedy the defects or causes responsible for such accidents. In some cases, it is human failure, while in others it is error in the machine. Since we have suffered much because of these accidents, we should try to avoid them as much as possible by remedying the defects.

Then, I come to the Soldiers, Sailors and Air Men's Board, which is in three tiers—at the levels of district, State and Union. It is doing some work only at the district level. A jawan who is working in the army should feel that this Board is functioning as his guardian in looking after the interests of his property. The Collector, who is the Chairman of the Board, seldom finds enough time to take any interest in work, which he should ordinarily take. So, only some paper work is done by this Board at all stages. I feel that all possible protection, all possible legal aid should be given to the soldiers through the Board and the work of the Board should be vitalised in such a way that the soldier who is working in the battle field, who is fighting for us, should feel that his

family and his property are safe in the hands of the Board and that the Board is doing all that is possible for him.

Coming to the Sainik Schools, I feel that only boys of people having good means now get admission to these schools. Even those boys who are poor yet intelligent and well-equipped should get admission to these schools. The position should not be such that only rich people could afford to send their boys to this school. The mere fact of poverty should not deprive children of poor people from getting admission to these schools if they are otherwise qualified, intelligent and physically fit. I feel that more such schools should be opened so that more and more boys could take advantage of these schools, and become better-trained people.

With these remarks, I support the demands for grants relating to this Ministry.

Shri A. V. Raghavan (Badagara): Mr. Speaker, Sir, as we debate in this House, our gallant soldiers continue to keep a sharp vigil all along our frontiers, many on the Himalayan heights, suffering incredible hardships and braving it all manfully, worthy of our highest traditions. As an ex-service man, my thoughts go to them, and with them a salute too.

Straightway, I want to invite your attention, Sir, to a matter which has been distressing me and to which I had invited the attention of the hon. Minister of Defence previously, and that is the distress and havoc that is being brought about to hundreds of our young men in Kerala, who seek a career in the army, in the name of police verification. Many young men, mostly just straight from the schools get recruited, undergo severe training for many weeks and then one fine morning they get a simple communication "your services are no longer required". Sir, you can well imagine the disappointment. Arbitrarily, an

army career is denied to him. Personal animosity, sheer callousness, plain jealousy or imagined political grievances—all these ingredients go into the situation, I mean in prompting mischief mongers in the villages in giving these colourable reports to the police. Most of the young men in villages who seek a career in the army are poor people. They cannot entertain the Police constable and they cannot satisfy him in any other manner. And so, goes the report, "He is a Communist". Hundreds of cases of genuine misunderstanding and miscarriage of justice have been brought to my notice. So, I am speaking with some feeling and conviction. The victim is not even given a fair opportunity to establish his innocence. Natural justice is denied to him. So, I suggest that whenever an adverse report is received from the Police the case may be referred to the State Soldiers', Sailors' and Airmen's Board. A more dispassionate attitude is possible in the Board. Let not the career of a young man in India depend upon the colourable report of a Police constable. Somehow the whole procedure goes counter to our concept of freedom so nobly enshrined in our sacred Constitution.

Let me now invite attention to another serious matter and that relates to the pension of soldiers. Whenever the question of the poor emoluments of the soldiers is raised, the Government comes out with an impressive list of perquisites enjoyed by the soldiers. None of the allowances and what are called perquisites come into the picture at the time of fixing the pension. The result is that after so many years of distinguished service and a certain standard of life he is thrown out with a pension ranging from Rs. 15 to Rs. 18. My contention is that while fixing the pension of a soldier, the basic pay alone should not be the criterion. Some of the allowances which he has enjoyed throughout his career and which he has considered almost as part of his pay should also be taken into consideration and the pension fixed accordingly.

[Shri A. V. Raghavan]

Ration allowance in lieu of free rations is admissible to Junior Commissioned Officers and Other Ranks during the period of leave and for other periods when rations are not drawn in kind at various rates ranging from Rs. 1.46 nP. to Rs. 3 per diem. So also children's education allowance is admissible ranging from Rs. 10 to Rs. 50 a month. At least these amounts should be taken into consideration in fixing his pension. The basic pay for purposes of fixing pension should be the emoluments drawn by a soldier while he is on leave. Today, the reality is that an ex-soldier's pension will hardly suffice even to purchase a week's ration for his family. You can hardly call that amount a pension.

Ever since the emergency our Army has expanded considerably. But the position of family quarters remains the same. There is no meaning in putting a family man in queue which in a period of time lengthens to six or seven years. Most of them would have just married after entering the Army. It is hard, to put it mildly, to make the soldier suffer the pangs of separation for six or seven years with all its unpleasant social and personal consequences. We should have a human attitude in these matters. Budgetary statements ought not to be the answer in handling problems like that.

Now let me take the case of promotions. Time alone takes care of the promotions of officers. But this is denied to soldiers. I have invited attention to this, but I consider it my duty to raise it again. The soldier's promotion depends upon difficult tests and added to it all a Hindi test also. The chances of promotion are very few and this is bound to have a demoralising effect in the long run. Can we not devise a system where able soldiers at least get a chance to come up without undue burden of tortuous regulations? As an ex-serviceman I urge that this deadening system of

thousands and thousands of young men starting and retiring as soldiers is changed at least to some extent.

Let me now turn your attention to a discrimination based purely on sex and as such unconstitutional. In the Auxiliary Nursing Service, women nurses are automatically granted officer grades while men working in the same capacity are denied these ranks. Why is there this discrimination? It causes a lot of heartburning and affects the morale of that particular service. Hence, this discrimination based on sex should be abolished, the earlier the better.

In recent years, particularly after the emergency, several defence production units have come up in the country. Not one of them has been located in Kerala. I am not speaking from a parochial angle, but there is something like a sense of national participation in these matters and I want these units to be dispersed region wise. There is a great national and psychological principle involved in this and it would not be to our good to neglect it. Besides, thousands of ex-service personnel of Kerala can find employment opportunities in these units.

The Indian Soldiers', Sailors' and Airmen's Board which is responsible for laying down the general policy with regard to matters affecting the families of ex-servicemen, as also those of serving and deceased personnel has recently been reconstituted. Not one representation has been given to ex-jawans whose interest the Board is charged to look after. The constitution of the Board provides representation of senior ex-service officers, but here too the Other Ranks have been treated as outcasts. This is not the way to implement the Bhuaneswar spirit.

Before the emergency 10 per cent of the annual vacancies for permanent regular commissions were reserved for Other Ranks within the age group

21 to 27 years provided they had passed the matriculation or equivalent examination. I am glad that this proportion has, since the emergency, been increased to 24 per cent of the permanent regular commissions granted each year. But considering the ratio of Other Ranks' and officers' cadres, will this enhanced quota benefit even .01 per cent of the jawans? Hence I suggest that this quota should be increased to 50 per cent and the age and other conditions should be further relaxed.

During the early days of the emergency the age limit for emergency commissions was relaxed and civilians with no experience were recruited who were up to 35 years of age. I am, therefore, of opinion that age relaxation in the case of jawans should be allowed up to 35 years for the reserved quota. If this suggestion is not accepted, a person with less experience stands a better chance to get commissioned rank.

Coming to the question of redressal of grievances of soldiers in a day to day sense, let me invite attention to the very unsatisfactory system existing at present. At a Durbar—that is what it is called in the Army—the Commanding Officer is supposed to listen to complaints and grievances. Soldiers are really reluctant to air their grievances at these Durbars. Instead of risking the displeasure of the Commanding Officer a soldier prefers to remain silent. I therefore suggest that a Welfare Officer should hear their complaints at a more human level and not in the forbidding atmosphere of the Durbar. This can be done only if the approach to this question is changed appreciably.

So far I had been drawing attention to grievances. Now let me end on a note of optimism. We are undoubtedly going ahead in various directions. Our Army is expanding. Defence production is going up. But the Ministry should bear in mind that the Army is a colossal human machine. The jawans

have their aspirations, their own little plans for the future. Improve the lot of the jawans and the morale of the Army goes up. Every year, add a little more to their emoluments. The nation will not grudge it. Let the hon. Minister bear this in mind and the people of this country will be behind him.

Shri Birendra Bahadur Singh (Itanandgaon): Sir, publicity is the most important thing in the administrative field and more so when it concerns defence. But I am very sorry to say that while going through this Report I find that under this picture—the page is not numbered—it says "Bayonet training in the snow". It is not bayonet training in the snow but it is only a rifle exercise. Similarly, in the photograph on the top which has the caption "Jawans on the vigil", we find that the jawan who is standing behind an officer is holding a .303 rifle. When we are in this atomic age, when we are asking for new kinds of weapons, at least the jawans when they are on the vigil should be armed with proper automatic guns. These are the pictures that are not only with us but are with everybody and they will see from this what kind of progress the Army Headquarters or the Ministry of Defence is making. I am very sorry to say this but I have got to say this. If publicity has to be made, it must be made very effectively; otherwise, there is no point in putting these pictures.

Then I come to another point about the composition of the ISSAB. I strongly feel that unless and until we can improve our Indian Sailors', Soldiers' and Airmen's Board our recruitment will be very haphazard. After all, it is not an officer who is in service gets the recruit. It is always an ex-army personnel. We should look up to the ex-army personnel, how they live, what pension they draw, what their family conditions are and it is they who go and speak at various recruiting centres because they have been very efficient

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officers themselves in the field of recruitment. But I feel in most of the places the I.S.S.B. is only *Nam Ke Vaste*. The Governor is there; the Secretaries are there. Always the work passes once in three months or four months. No one cares who the persons are in their States. There is no record of these ex-army personnel. They do not maintain proper records, what their salaries are, what their family members are, where they live and to what service they belong. I can give you an example. I was once touring in Chindwara district and there was an army personnel who was only a naik and the poor fellow had to go to the district board nearly a dozen times and yet not one of the officers of that district board had time to ask what his difficulties were. Not only that. For his pension he has been going there for several months and he has not received it. I can also give you examples of those officers who have been re-employed to serve in the various categories in the army. Many officers in NEFA have not been paid for months together. I have represented some of their cases to various Ministers, where they are employed. But if this state of affairs continues, I am very sorry to say that we shall not get the right type of men, right type of officers. It is all right you spend crores of rupees, but that is a different thing. But the basic thing is the recruitment of all types of officers. We have got to look after those ex-army personnel. I have got one suggestion to offer. In various places, we have got ex-army personnel, it may be at the district level, it may be at the tehsil level, it may be at the village level or anywhere else. It will be better if at the district level, wherever there are ex-army officers, they are also incorporated in these boards and then only they will be able to come in contact with other army personnel and will be able to put proper point to the district officer. They would be like a liaison officer. At present, only at the top level we have got the officer commanding at

some of the places where they could come and sit, where the Governor presides. But it is not so in the lower ranks.

About their salary and other things, they must be automatically granted when the month ends, whatever the salary may be. They should not wait for longer time because of some procedural things and other sort of things. These procedural and other things should cease to be there for this purpose. When a man is there, he should present the report at the end of the month and ask for salary and that should be given, or it should be delivered to the person concerned wherever he is. If he happens to be in the Revenue, the revenue inspector can do it or the better way is that there are panchayats and let them do it. Similarly in the Collector's office, there must be officers who understand about the military and other things to be associated with these boards. There again, you will be able to have the commissioners and all that. So right from the tehsildar's office upto the place where the Governor presides, we shall have some officers to look after the I.S.S.B.

Similarly, about recruitment, I am very sorry to say that it is haphazard and it is based on quota basis. I personally think that it will be better if it is done on provincial basis, not on quota basis. Say, for example, if it is from Bihar or Bengal or Maharashtra, it should be done regionwise, not on quota basis. As regards re-employment and welfare schemes of the ex-army personnel, before a person is demobilised, we must have our plan ready beforehand that so many persons are being demobilised and where to put them. What happens is that they are demobilised and they do not know where to go. But if we have proper plans for them, they will exactly know how much land is available for them, where they are to go and settle down, what are the cash contributions they will receive and all

that so that there will be no hardships and other difficulties.

Now, I come to another point, namely, the N.C.C. Here I would like to congratulate the Ministry and Maj. Gen. Virender Singh who has really done spade work in the N.C.C. But there are one or two lacunae. For instance, I feel that in some Universities, in some colleges, the N.C.C. is very popular but in some colleges the N.C.C. is not popular. We should make it a point to see why the N.C.C. is not popular there. I feel that sooner or later—and I am a strong believer in that—all the schemes whereby we train the youth should be rationalised and channelised through the N.C.C. There are different schemes everywhere. But if they are channelised through the N.C.C., it will be better and if this is done what will happen is, the boys will take interest in them. For instance, I know one or two places where there are other training schemes, physical training etc., where the boys devote more time than what they give to N.C.C. So, my personal request is that through the Ministry of Defence all the movements concerning the youth should be rationalised and channelised through the N.C.C. alone.

Then, I say, compulsory military training should be introduced from the age of 8 years. We must pick them when they are young. We pick them rather late. We have to build our army, an effective army, a disciplined and efficient army. Therefore, it is all the more necessary that we must pick them when they are young and it is necessary that from the age of 8 years the military training should be made compulsory till the age of 16 years and then only we will be in a position to get the right type of officers afterwards. I am not keen about these open competitive examinations. What happens in an open competitive examination is that a boy who may be of a height of only 4 ft. and 5 inches and who may not be medically fit, yet if he is an M.A. or a B.A., gets through.

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I suggest that if the military training is given from the beginning right from the age of 8 years, we will be able to pick them up well in time and we will have right type of officers in the future. In that way we can also inculcate in them physical fitness, effectiveness and morale, discipline and all such things from that age. We cannot do that at a very late stage.

About the Indian Territorial Force, I am very sorry to say that Madhya Pradesh, though it is a large province, has not been given an urban-cum-rural battalion. They have got one battalion in Nagpur which is I believe 118 I.T.F. We have got other engineering and electricity fields to be dealt with by I.T.F. But we must be given proper urban-cum-rural battalion for Madhya Pradesh just like we have got in other States. Similarly, as regards recruitment, at present in Madhya Pradesh the recruitment is haphazard and, therefore, the centres like Gwalior and Rewa which have been historical recruiting centres should be revived. Then, I have been told that jawans who are in the I.T.F. and who have been embodied for more than 5 years are being disembodied. I do not know how far this is correct. But if it is so, I do hope the Minister will kindly look into this. When we want to gear up the I.T.F. and at the time when the I.T.F. is supposed to be the second line of defence, when we are having so many *tamashas* going on in various States, this is what is happening. Only this morning, you must have read in the papers what has happened in Rourkela where regular troops have been deployed. It would have been better if the I.T.F. forces had been deployed rather than non-I.T.F. forces. On the contrary, the rumour is that I.T.F. is being demobilised or disembodied. It will be very harmful to the country at the present juncture.

Coming to the Navy, some time ago also I had mentioned this that we have been reading in the papers that Pakistan had gradually built up a very

[Shri Birendra Bahadur Singh]

good Army, and now she is concentrating on a very good Air Force and on a very good Navy. Indonesia is also concentrating on her Navy. While the expenditure on our Navy is quite large yet, our naval unit is inadequate. We have got a couple of frigates, a couple of destroyers and one obsolete aircraft carrier for training purposes. That is all right. But it is high time that we should go in for submarines. To use the same argument which the former Defence Minister had used namely that for the purpose of training, we had to go in for an aircraft carrier, I would also say that submarine training is also very necessary, and, therefore, for training purposes we should go in for submarines, so that our Navy will know about it. If we want to have a regular fleet of submarines after a couple of years, that is a different thing, but submarines should be acquired for the Navy as soon as possible.

From the speeches the other day I find that there have been savings in the defence budget, and I do not know why there should be such savings, and why we could not utilise these amounts for the purpose of having an effective Army, Navy and Air Force.

Then, I would say a word about the MIG aircraft. I had said something about this last year also. When I was told that the framework of the MIG would be done at one place and the assembling would be done at another place, one at Koraput and the other at Nasik, I had pointed out to the House, if you would remember Sir, that the distance between Nasik and Koraput was terrific, and there were no means of communications to Koraput and that the MIG's would not be ready till 1967-68 or 1969-70. If I might use a term that sportsmen who play cricket or tennis use, I was just bumped off. I was told that the roads would be ready to Koraput, and that the trains would be running right up to that place by the end of 1964, but there is nothing on the scene

there, and now I hear that Koraput has also been found to be a bad place and it is being shifted somewhere else. I personally think that it is entirely a waste of money.

First of all, there was a committee to look into the matter and I do not know whether the committee had ever gone to Koraput. Even supposing they had picked up Koraput as one of the nicest places, I have no objection, but when we decide to do a thing, we must make an earnest approach to it and see that there is no waste and that work is done effectively very soon. I doubt very much whether the MIG's would be ready, and if they would be ready, I would like to know when they would be ready. This is a point which the Ministry may like to examine and see how far they can deliver the MIG's as early as possible.

There is one other point that I would like to urge. I have been saying that for a long time, and that is that we must appreciate the services that the jawans and everybody else have been contributing. I have been saying that every now and then and I would like to reiterate it now, namely that when we can select artists, musicians, and *ganewallahs* and so many other varieties of people for the Rajya Sabha, I do not see any reason why we cannot give an opportunity to the Armed Forces. I do not mind whether the person is a General or a subedar or a jamedar or a havildar; whatever his rank may be, he may be selected for the Rajya Sabha, because surely these people do deserve a place there.

Shri S. M. Banerjee (Kanpur): 'Ganewallahs' is a very bad term. I may add that Maharajahs also may be there.

Shrimati Yashoda Reddy (Kurnool): They are abundant in the Lok Sabha.

Shri Birendra Bahadur Singh: It is high time that the Defence Ministry should see that at least some of these people are nominated to the Rajya Sabha.

श्रीमती सहोदरा बाई राय (दमोह) : अध्यक्ष महोदय, मुझे बोलने के लिए बुलाने में कौन सी कठिनाई है। मैं भी इस पर दो मिनट बोलना चाहूंगी।

अध्यक्ष महोदय : माननीय सदस्या ने मुझ को बोलना चाहने के लिए अभी पीने तीन बजे सिखा है।

श्रीमती सहोदरा बाई राय : अब उधर पाकिस्तान से लगती हुई हमारी बॉर्डर के इलाक़े में महिलाओं को तकलीफ़ है और यहां संसद में हम महिलाओं को बोलने में कठिनाई पेश आती है और हमें मौका नहीं दिया जाता है।

अध्यक्ष महोदय : डा० राम मनोहर लोहिया।

डा० राम मनोहर लोहिया (फर्रुखाबाद) : अध्यक्ष महोदय, पलंडस और अल-अमीन के मैदानों में जीतने वाली सेना और आज की सेना में कोई सम्बन्ध नहीं है। इन दोनों सेनाओं के बारे में एक स्वर में बातचीत करना और कहना कि तब की सेना बड़ी समर्थ थी और आज की कमजोर है कोई मतलब नहीं रखता। दोनों में कोई धारावाहिकता नहीं होनी चाहिये और न है कोई परम्परा। उस सेना के पीछे अंग्रेज राजा, रानी थे, अंग्रेजी कारखाने थे, अंग्रेज अफसर थे और गुलाम मुल्क का एक खास ढंग का अनुशासन था। आज की सेना में वह सब चीजें नहीं रह गयी हैं लेकिन उस का कंकाल पड़ा हुआ है और मुझे बहुत दर्द के साथ कहना पड़ता है कि जंजीर की एक कड़ी तो घिस गयी, अंग्रेजी राज्य तो गया लेकिन जिस तरह की पलटन को उन्होंने बनाया था उस एक कड़ी को छोड़ कर के बाकी जंजीर ज्यों की

त्यों करीब करीब बनी पड़ी हुई है। उस का एक बड़ा भारी प्रमाण मुझ को २६ जनवरी के समावर्तन समारोह में मिला जिस को कि यह लोग बीटिंग औफ रिट्रीट कहते हैं, और भी ऐसे होते होंगे लेकिन मैं तो सिर्फ एक इसी समावर्तन समारोह में अब की भर्तबा चला गया। गिरजे के घंटे बजे और ईसाई धर्म का एक गाना गाया गया। यह मैं पलटन के समारोह का जिक्र कर रहा हूँ। "ऐबाइड विद मी ओ लार्ड" का गाना गाया गया। कोई यह न समझे कि मैं चाहता हूँ कि मंदिर, गुरुद्वारे या मस्जिद के घंटे बजाये जायें और गाने गायें जायें लेकिन इतना मैं जरूर कहना चाहता हूँ कि इस से साफ़ साबित हो जाता है कि जो कोई दिमाग आज भारतीय पलटन के पीछे है उसमें शायद अफसर का कोई क्रमूर नहीं है पहले से मैं कहे देता हूँ। जो भी दिमाग राजनीतिक ढंग से इस पलटन के पीछे है वह इन पुरानी चीजों को चलाते जा रहा है यहां तक कि ऐसी मामूली सी बात जिसको कि फौरन ही दूर कर देना चाहिए था उसको भी अभी तक दूर नहीं किया गया है।

उसी तरीके से अगर आप पुराने हिन्दुस्तान की उस सेना की तरफ देखें कि वहां से हमारी हार शुरू होती है तो आज से हज़ार वर्ष पहले सन् १००८ में और अब में कोई विशेष अन्तर नहीं है। तब के वारे में कहा जाता है कि अनंगपाल का हाथी भाग गया इसलिए हमारी पलटन भाग गयी और इसलिए हमारी पलटन हार गयी वरना हम तो जीत चुके थे। अब भी करीब करीब वैसी ही बातें कही जाती हैं कि अबसीअ में हमारी सेना तादाद में कम थी या हमारे हथियार ठीक नहीं थे या हम पर धोखा हो गया, या हम ऊंचाई पर लड़ रहे जैसे चीनी कोई नीचाई पर लड़ रहे थे और शायद कुछ दिनों के बाद यह भी कहा जायगा कि जनरल कौल को जुकाम हो गया था। चाहे अनंगपाल का हाथी हो, चाहे किसी का जुकाम हो या

[डा० राम मनोहर लोहिया]

हथियारों की कमी रही हो, लेकिन यह सब ऊपर की चीजें हैं, चिन्ह हैं। रोग कहीं और है। आखिर अरुणगपाल के हाथी के फंस जाने से इतने बड़े देश की आजादी चली जाय तो वह केवल एक प्रतीक है। असली कारण को ढूँढना चाहिये और दूसरा मामला बहुत ही गड़बड़ रहा होगा जबकि एक अपनी छोटी सी चीज से इतने बड़े मुक्त की आजादी छिन जाती है तो वह अंदर का रोग क्या है इसे देखना चाहिये। ऊपर के फोड़े से संतोष नहीं कर लेना चाहिये।

इस संबंध में मैं आप का ध्यान एक और बात की तरफ खींचूंगा। अभी मैं एक किताब पढ़ रहा था हजार वर्ष के जमाने की। अरब इतिहासकारों ने एक बहुत बढ़िया बात लिखी है कि हिन्दुस्तान भर की औरतों ने अपने गहने देने शुरू कर दिये। मुझे तो ऐसा लगा कि यह तो शायद आज के जमाने की बात है। फिर भी हारे। आखिर गहनों में क्या रक्खा है। यह जो सारा युद्ध कोष का पैसा इकट्ठा हुआ है वह, मैं ने हिसाब लगाया है, मुश्किल से सेना का दस दिन का खर्च है। लेकिन उस पर तुल कितना मचा। यह ऊपर की बातों में उलझ जाने वाली चीजें होती हैं और असल में जो अन्दर का रोग होता है उस को ढूँढना एक और बात है। साफ है कि हम को दो चार दिन की बहादुरी की छटा तो आती है, लेकिन महीनों और सालों की पस्त हिम्मती की घटा सहनी पड़ती है।

16.00 hrs.

इसी तरह से जो हमारे सोचने के तरीके हैं, उन को देखिये। पश्मिनी को अभी भी बहुत से लोग हिन्दुस्तान का आदर्श मानते हैं, जबकि आज के जमाने में अगर मुझ को कोई आदर्श बतलाना हां तो वह रूपा की नटाली थी जोकि यूक्रेन में जर्मन सेनाओं के केन्द्र में जा कर नौकरानी बन कर वहाँ की इत्लायें भेज कर करीब ५० हजार जर्मन

सेना को मार डालने में अकेले कामयाब हुई थी। तो आदर्श कुछ बदलने होंगे। इसी सम्बन्ध में मैं थोड़ी सी बात श्री सराफ की कह दूँ, जिन की मैं इज्जत करता हूँ। उन्होंने ने मेरी बात कुछ इस ढंग से समझ ली, मुमकिन है कि मुझ से कोई गलत हुई हो, जैसेकि मैंने पूजा के खिलाफ कोई बात कह दी हो। ऐसी बात नहीं है। अगर कोई मोक्ष के लिए पूजा करे तो मझे कुछ नहीं कहना, लेकिन अगर लड़ाई जीतने के लिए, गद्दी पाने के लिये, खेती की पैदावार बढ़ाने के लिये, कोई यह समझे कि पूजा से सारा काम चल जायेगा तो इस के अलावा कि हमें उर्खोत्र की हार जैसी चीज का सामना करना पड़ेगा और कुछ हां नहीं पायेगा।

इसी तरह से इतिहास की एक और घटना की तरफ मैं आप का ध्यान दिलाऊँ, जिस का बिल्कुल आज जैसा नमूना है। तैमूर यहा आया। तब तक राजा फीरोज शाह वगैरह बन चके थे। तैमूर ने पहले से हिसाब लगा दिया था कि हिन्दुस्तान की पलटन में हाथी बड़ी खतरनाक चीज हुआ करती है। वर्षों पहले समरकन्द में हाथी नमाइश में रहते थे। इस के अलावा उस के पास इंजीनियरों की सेना थी, जासूसों की सेना थी जोकि हिन्दुस्तान की पलटन में घूम घूम कर के पता लगा लेते थे कि कहां क्या हां रहा है। नतीजा हुआ कि सुबह पहले जब हिन्दुस्तान की सेना के हाथी लोग आगे बढ़ने लगे, उस के पहले ही हजारों की नादाद में उस ने लोहे के पंजे बिछा दिये थे। हाथी चिपचाड़े और तैमूर की पलटन पर हमला करने के बजाय पीछे लौट आये। हिन्दुस्तान की सेना हार गई। उर्वसीग्रम में क्या हुआ, वह मैं खुद अपनी आंखों से देख कर आया हूँ। जहां उर्वसीग्रम में हिल्ल हैं, सब से नीचे की जमीन, जहां पर पहाड़ी शुरू होती हैं, उस से मुश्किल से दो या तीन हजार फीट की ऊंचाई पर, लड़ाई शुरू होने के

कुछ ही दिन पहले तक एक रंगीली थी । कुछ लोग कहते थे कि नेवालिन थी, कुछ लोग कहते थे कि चीनी थी । शायद आधी नेपालिन थी और आधी चीनी थी जो चाय बेचा करती थी । बड़ी रंगीली थी । मुझ से कहा गया, मुझ में खुद मुलाकात करने की तरदीद इतनी अच्छी नहीं, कि कैसी थी । पता चला कि एक तरफ यह चीनी जासूसी कहां से कहां पहुंच गई और दूसरी तरफ हमारी जासूसी । हमारे जासूस का मुझ को भर बताया गया । जं उर्वंसीग्रम में कुली लोग थे, ठीक उन्हीं के जैसा घर, शेरपा तिब्बती कुलियों का इस्तेमाल । जब मैं ने दर्याप्त किया कि कोई और जासूस भी हैं तो पता चला कि नहीं । सिर्फ वह जासूस जो माल ले जाया करते थे इधर उधर, वही इत्तला लाया करते थे । इस के पीछे एक बात है । हिन्दुस्तानियों को पिछले हजारों वर्षों में बहुत घमंड हो गया है अपने बारे में, अपनी सभ्यता और अपनी संस्कृति के बारे में, जो कुछ है नहीं । और उस घमंड के सबब से बाकी दुनिया को देखना नहीं चाहते कि कहां क्या हो रहा है, क्या क्या तरक्की हो रही है या कहां क्या क्या नये नये हथियार हैं, क्या क्या बातें होती हैं, जिम का नतीजा बाद में हमें भुगतना पड़ता है । इस जासूसी के काम के बारे में शाहद आप ने एक किस्सा सुना होगा कि जब किसी बड़े उमराव ने बादशाह को बतलाया कि उत्तर में सेनायें जमा हो रही हैं तो बादशाह ने कहा कि मालूम होता है तुम ने महल बड़ा ऊंचा कर लिया है जिस से कि बड़ी दूर दूर की देख लेते हो । एक अजीब तरह का घमंड हिन्दुस्तान के दिमाग में रहा करता है और यह घमंड ही कारण रहा है हमारी हार का ।

अब मैं आप से एक अर्ज करना चाहता हूं, पहले भी मैं ने चाहा था कि कोई जांच बिजलाई जाये, और जांच महकमे वाली नहीं, सरकार की अपनी नहीं, बल्कि इस लोक सभा की

तरफ से, जो कि सन् १९४७ से ले कर अब तक के सेना के संगठन के तरीकों का, उस के ढांचे का, उस के सांचे का पता लगाये और उस पर अपनी राय बतलाये कि क्या क्या चीज थी जो सन् १९४७ में पूरी जंजीर को तोड़ कर बननी चाहिये थी लेकिन ऐसा नहीं हुआ, खाली एक कड़ी घिस गई । इस सम्बन्ध में मैं आप को याद दिलाऊं कि मैं ने आसन्न परिपत्र का दो तीन दफे जिक्र किया, लेकिन सरकार की तरफ से उस का कोई जवाब नहीं दिया गया । मैं ने उर्वंसीग्रम की लड़ाई के तीन पात्रों का जिक्र किया कि वे कैसी घाल चलते रहे, लेकिन उस के बारे में भी कोई जवाब नहीं दिया गया । इन सब चीजों में जो बुनियादी खराब बात आ जाती है वह यह कि प्रतिरक्षा, विदेश नीति, पलटनी पैदावार या खेती कारखाने की पैदावार और मन, यह चीजें हैं तो अलग अलग लेकिन जब तक इन चीजों को जोड़ा नहीं जाता, उन में ताल मेल नहीं होता, तब तक काम नहीं चलता । मान लीजिये कि पलटनी नीति और विदेश नीति दोनों के अस्तित्व अलग अलग चलते रहें तब तो शायद सारा शरीर बिखर जायेगा और मेरा यह कहना है कि इस वक्त की हिन्दुस्तान की सरकार में, और उस के नतीजे के स्वरूप सारी जनता में, यही बात हो रही है । सब बिखरा हुआ है । पलटन, विदेश नीति, पैदावार और मन, मुगकिन नहीं है कि इन चीजों को आज जोड़ा जाये । जिस का नतीजा यह होता है कि कभी कोई खड़ा हो कर कहता है कि हम किसी हालत में नद्दाख में एक इंच भी पीछे नहीं हटेंगे, कोई खड़ा हो कर कहता है कि काश्मीर में एक इंच पीछे नहीं हटेंगे । कोई कहता है कि फीजो को मजा चखायेंगे । कोई कहता है कि उर्वंसीग्रम में चीनियों को अब की वार मुंह की खानी पड़ेगी । इस के अलावा कभी कभी लंका के या पूर्वी अफ्रीका के भारतीयों के बारे में चर्चा हो जाती है । एक जबदस्त घमंड हमारे अन्दर घुसा हुआ है । जिस के गिये कोई यथार्थ की बुनियाद है नहीं । इस तरह

[डा० राम मनोहर लोहिया]

की बहस से कभी कोई देश बना नहीं करता। हमारी विदेश नीति मायाजाल हो गई है, पलटन की नीति एक मायाजाल हो गई है, उस में याथाबंधादिता बिल्कुल रह नहीं गई है। उस का नमूना, अध्यक्ष महोदय, आप को भी कई दफे मिला होगा। कई दफे क्या हमेशा ही मिलता रहता है। यह सारी बातें ऐसे कह दी जाती हैं जैसे कि उन को कभी करना नहीं है। कभी तो इतनी लम्बी बातें कही जाती हैं कि उस में से नतीजा क्या निकलता है कि चलो राष्ट्र पंचायत में जा कर अपना हल निकाल लें। बात तो ऐसे कही जाती है मानी सारी दुनिया का सामना करना है, सारी दुनिया को बदलना है। लेकिन नतीजा हमेशा राष्ट्र पंचायत निकलता है।

जैसाकि मेरा इरादा है, मैं खानी आप को वाक्या बनलाऊं। कीन है उस का नाम मैं छोड़ देता हूँ। हाल ही में पृथ्वी में विस्फोट हुआ। इट से कोई कह देता है कि इस में पाकिस्तान का हाथ रहा होगा। क्या नतीजा इस का होता है। लंग तो उकस गये न। लेकिन इस का परिणाम क्या निकला। इस का प्रतिफल क्या है। इस विस्फोट के अन्दर पाकिस्तान का हाथ है। लेकिन आखिर इस का प्रतिफल क्या है। यह कहीं कुछ नहीं है। इसी तरह से कोई साहब कह देते हैं कि गान्धीबन्दी की रेखा के पार हम लंग जायेंगे। यह सब बातें कही नहीं जाती, यह सब बातें की जाती हैं। कोई बुद्धिमान आदमी इस तरह की बात कह नहीं करता है। इसी तरह से कोई साहब कह देते हैं कि टेलिवोट इतना बड़ा आदमी नहीं कि उस से बात की जाती। यह सब बातें कहने की नहीं हुआ करतीं। इसी तरह से कोई साहब कह देते हैं कि अब तो जमाना आ गया है जब हमें अणु हथियार बनाने चाहियें और खरीदने चाहियें। किस दुनिया में यह लंग रहते हैं। अणु हथियार खरीदें। जैसे अणु हथियार

बाजार में बिकते रहते हैं, बनारस के चीक में या कचौरी गली में। अणु हथियार इस तरह से नहीं बना करते। इस के अलावा जहां तक बनाने की बात है, यह बनायेंगे अणु हथियार। अभी सूरज का चूल्हा तो पहले बना लें, उस के बाद अणु हथियार बनायेंगे। यह एक जबर्दस्त पलटन नीति है और विदेश नीति में मायाजाल अपने देश में चल रहा है। मैं तो आप से अर्ज करूंगा कि आप इस में यथार्थवादिता लाइये। किसी तरह से भी हां बना विपत्ति के सामने हम खड़े हुए हैं। मैं दिन रात देखता हूँ, मैं अपने मन का उभार कैसे आप के सामने रखूँ, जैसे कि हम पूरे के पूरे एक विपत्ति की तरफ चलते चले जा रहे हैं, न जाने कब कोई चीज हो जायेगी और फिर कोई सम्भालने लायक चीज नहीं रहेगी।

उकस तो हम गए। और शायद मैं ने भी उकसाया है थोड़ा बहुत। एक दिन आप के ही सभापतित्व में पूर्वी बंगाल के हिन्दुओं की तकलीफ बता कर कि वहां दो हजार गांव जला दिये गये, शायद मैं ने भी आग में एक लकड़ी डाली थी, लेकिन मैं उस के साथ साथ नीति भी बता दिया करता हूँ। लेकिन अगर यहां सिर्फ इन बातों की चर्चा ही होती रहेगी तो क्या नतीजा निकलेगा। हम सीमाओं की रक्षा क्या कर सकेंगे, जब कि हम अपने नागरिकों की सुरक्षा ही नहीं कर सकते चाहे वे हिन्दू हों, या मुसलमान हों या ईसाई हों, इस से मेरा कोई मतलब नहीं है। जब किसी देश की व्यवस्था और कानून घिस जाते हैं तो वह अपनी सीमाओं की रक्षा नहीं कर सकता।

रण नीति और विदेश नीति के बारे में आप ने देखा होगा कि इस में हम विदेशों का सहाय ले लेते हैं, चाहे वह आंग्ल अमरीकी सहाय हो या सोवियत सहाय हो। कल की बहस में एक तीसरा सहाय हमारे सामने आया, अफे शियाई सहाय। यह तो लूले की

लकड़ी का सहारा लेने जैसा होगा। इस लकड़ी को तो हम जितनी अल्दी फाँदें उतना अच्छा। यह देश तो हमारी ही तरह लुले हैं। हम उन से बात चीत करें, दोस्ती करें, लेकिन उन के सहारे की तरफ न जायें। और इस के अलावा जब यह पाकिस्तान का सवाल आता है तो यह कह देते हैं कि हमारे लिए जैसा हिन्दुस्तान और वैसा पाकिस्तान। तो इन का सहारा हमारे काम नहीं आ सकता।

अब मैं आंग्ल अमरीकी और सोवियत सहारों के बारे में अजं करूंगा कि इन में से सदा किसी एक पर निर्भर रहना गलत है। और यह हमारे लिए बड़े दुर्भाग्य की बात हुई है कि देश की आत्मा टूट चुकी है। हम देखते हैं कि देश में कुछ लोग हैं जो केवल आंग्ल अमरीकी सहारे पर निर्भर रहना चाहते हैं, तो कुछ दूसरे लोग हैं जो कि केवल सोवियत सहारे पर निर्भर रहना चाहते हैं। मैं जोरदार शब्दों में कहना चाहूंगा कि हमारी रण नीति और विदेश नीति में इतना लोच होना चाहिये कि जरूरत पड़ने पर हम देश की सुरक्षा के लिए जहां से भी हम को सहायता मिल सकती है वहां से ले लें। हम को अपने दिमाग की किसी एक गूट से नहीं बांध देना चाहिए। और साथ साथ हमें अपनी खुद की ताकत भी बढ़ानी चाहिए। जो चाहिए वैसा हमारे अन्दर मन नहीं है। पिछले १७ बरस से चालाकी से काम चलाया जा रहा है, ऐसी चालाकी जो कि दुनिया के किसी राजनीतिज्ञ ने नहीं दिखायी। लेकिन उस के पीछे कोई ताकत नहीं थी, कोई सिद्धान्त नहीं था। अब वह चालाकी आगे नहीं चल सकेगी। मैं बड़े अदब से कहना चाहूंगा कि १७ बरस तक यह चालाकी चलायी गयी और किसी कदर दुनिया में हमें इज्जत भी मिली। लेकिन अब वह जमाना खत्म हो गया है। अब तो वह जमाना है कि सारी नीतियों का ताल मेल मिलाते हुए हिन्दुस्तान को एक दिशा में ले जाना होगा।

अब मैं सेना के संगठन के बारे में कुछ कहना चाहता हूँ। मैं जानता नहीं कि सेना में ब्रिगेडियर के पद के कितने अफसर हैं। कई बार मैं ने पूछने की कोशिश की लेकिन जनहित का जवाब दे कर नहीं बताया गया। लेकिन मेरा अन्दाजा है कि दो सौ के करीब होंगे। मैं जानना चाहता हूँ कि इन में कितने सिपाही से ऊंचे हुए हैं और कितने लैफ्टिनेंट से ऊंचे हुए हैं। यह सवाल मैं माननीय रक्षा मंत्री से करना चाहता हूँ। और वह अगर इन की तादाद न बताये तो कम से कम इन का अनुपात ही बता दें तो पता चल जाएगा कि सिपाही से कितने ब्रिगेडियर हुए हैं और लैफ्टिनेंट से कितने हुए हैं। मैं कहना चाहूंगा कि कम से कम ७५ प्रतिशत ब्रिगेडियर सिपाहियों से होने चाहिये और २५ प्रतिशत लैफ्टिनेंट से। लेकिन अगर आप इस को बहुत क्रान्तिकारी समझें तो कम से कम पचास पचास फी सदी दोनों में से कर दीजिये। तब भी अच्छा रहेगा।

इसी तरह से मैं एक और बात कहना चाहता हूँ। यह है भरती के बारे में। जहां भरती हो रही है वहां से मुझे हिन्दुस्तान के लोगों के शरीर के बारे में इतला मिली है। मुझे अन्तर्राष्ट्रीय मामलों के जानने वालों ने बताया है कि युरोप में वालिग लोगों में सौ में से पचास या ६० लोग ऐसे हैं जो बन्दूक सम्भाल सकते हैं। मैं चलाने की बात नहीं कहता। मेरा मतलब उन लोगों से है जो बन्दूक को संभाल सकते हैं। चीन में ऐसे लोग २० फी सैकड़ा हैं लेकिन हमारे यहां सौ में तीन ही ऐसे हैं जो बन्दूक संभाल सकते हैं। अगर यह स्थिति है तो ये हिन्दुस्तान की सरकार को कहना चाहता हूँ कि हिन्दुस्तान के लोगों में शक्ति पैदा करें, उन को भोजन दें। भोजन के बिना पलटन क्या कर सकती है।

मेरे पास बहुत से आदमियों की चिट्ठयां आती रहती हैं; वे समझते हैं कि शायद मैं

[डा० राम मनोहर लोहिया]

कुछ कर सकता हूँ। लेकिन मैं क्या कर सकता हूँ। न तो सरकार में मेरा जोर है और न सरकार से मेरा सम्बन्ध है। लेकिन लोग फिर भी मुझे चिट्ठियाँ भेज देते हैं। न जाने क्यों उन को यह गलतफहमी है कि मैं उन की बात को आप की अदालत में अर्ज कर दूंगा और उन का काम हो जाएगा। इसलिए मुझे उन की बातें यहां कहनी पड़ती हैं। पलटन में बायल हो जाने पर हरजाना दिया जाता है, लेकिन बहुत से सिपाहियों को हरजाना नहीं देते और उन को मजदूर बना कर हरजाना देते हैं।

इसी तरह से बड़े अफसर सिपाहियों में बेगार लिया करते हैं। इसी तरह से कुछ जगह भरती करने के लिए भी फीस लेने लगे हैं। यह फीस कानूनी और गैर कानूनी कहां तक है इस का अन्दाजा लगाना होगा। इसी तरह से सिपाहियों और अफसरों को कपड़ा भत्ता दिया जाता है, वह सिपाहियों को पांच रुपया और अफसरों को ५० रुपया दिया जाता है। इसी तरह से युद्ध क्षेत्र में अफसरों और सिपाहियों का राशन अलग अलग होता है। अफसरों को खास तरह का राशन मिलता है। उन को आस्ट्रेलिया से आया हुआ पिसा हुआ दूध दिया जाता है। इस दूध के मैंने वहां हजारों डिब्बे पड़े देखे। लेकिन सिपाही को केवल दाल रोटी मिलती है। इस में भी परिवर्तन करने की जरूरत है। मैं यह नहीं कहता कि इस में क्रांतिकारी परिवर्तन कर दिया जाए और वह हमेशा के लिए हो। लेकिन कम से कम युद्ध के मैदान में तो सिपाही और अफसर के राशन में थोड़ी बहुत समानता होनी चाहिये। इस में परिवर्तन नहीं हो रहा है।

यहां पर जो मंत्रालय की रपट दी गयी है उस से मालुम होता है कि ३५० विवाहित

अफसरों के लिए डेढ़ करोड़ रुपये की लागत से मकान बनाए जाने वाले हैं, यानी एक एक पर करीब ५० हजार पड़ेगा। इतना रुपया इस वक्त मकानों पर खर्च न कर के पलटन के और कामों में लगाया जाए और इन लोगों के लिए सस्ते बेरक बना कर दिए जाएं। इस से लोगों के मन पर भी अच्छा प्रभाव पड़ेगा।

इस के बाद मैं यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि जो लोग लड़ाई में मारे जा चुके हैं उन के बच्चे की पढ़ाई के बारे में बड़ी शिकायतें हैं। इन के बच्चों की अच्छी पढ़ाई लिखाई नहीं हो पाती। मेरा सुझाव है कि ऐसी व्यवस्था की जाये कि जो लोग लड़ाई के मैदान में लड़ते हुए काम आये उन के बच्चों की पढ़ाई लिखाई की जम्मेदारी सरकार अपने ऊपर ले ले।

एक रिस्चं डायरेक्टरेट सेना के लिए बना हुआ है। मुझे इत्तिला मिली है कि पिछले काफी दिनों से डाइरेक्टर साहब ही नदारद हैं। जब उस केन्द्र का संचालक ही गायब होगा तो उस का काम कैसे चलेगा? जो आदमी खोज करने के लिए जम्मेदार है जब वही गायब रहेगा तो सेना के लिए क्या खोज हो सकेगी।

यह भी मुझे इत्तिला मिली है कि स्कूलों और कालिजों में जो चन्दा फौज के लिए किया जाता है वह पूरी तरह जमा नहीं होता। एक साहब ने मुझे बताया कि एक कालिज का चन्दा इसलिए जमा नहीं किया गया कि वहां के लोगों ने सोचा कि आठ महीने बाद मंत्री जो आवेंगे उन को फिर पैसा देना पड़ेगा। और यह शिकायत किसी एक जगह की नहीं है। ऐसा कई जगहों पर हो रहा है।

नाटक और नाच वगैरह कर के जो पैसा जमा किया जाता है वह भी पूरी तरह जमा नहीं किया जाता।

एन० सी० सी० के बच्चों को जो भत्ता मिलता है रोज हाजिरी का, उस को भी कुछ लोग दबा लेते हैं और हजम कर जाते हैं। यहां तक चीजें देश में हो रही हैं। ऐसे लोगों के खिलाफ सख्त कार्यवाही करनी चाहिए। मैं उन लोगों में तो नहीं हूँ जो कि ऐसे लोगों के लिए फांसी की सजा मांगते हैं। मैं फांसी की सजा को निहायत खराब समझता हूँ। और इस सिलसिले में मैं प्रधान मंत्री की थोड़ी सीमित तारीफ करना चाहता हूँ, इस को पूरी तारीफ न समझा जाए। यहां अक्सर कहा जाता है कि फलां फलां आदमी को फांसी पर लटका दो। ऐसा कहने की आदत प्रधान मंत्री ही ने आज से १८ या १९ साल पहले डाली थी। लेकिन यहां लोक सभा में मैंने देखा है कि वह हिचकते हैं फांसी वाले मामले में। मैं फांसी की सजा के किसी कानून को पसन्द नहीं करता। कम से कम लोक सभा के किसी सदस्य को फांसी की सजा की बात नहीं करनी चाहिए।

अध्यक्ष महोदय : अब आप खत्म करें।

डा० राम मनोहर लोहिया : अब मैं पल्डी जल्दी आनी बात कहे देता हूँ।

अध्यक्ष महोदय : अब आप एक मिनट में खत्म करें।

डा० राम मनोहर लोहिया : राष्ट्रपति के भाषण में कहा गया था पेंशन के बारे में। पलटन की हालत को सुधारने के लिए पेंशन की बात कही गयी थी। मैंने चाहा था कि हमारी पलटन के अफसर और सिपाहियों का बलवा होता पेंशन वगैरह के लिए नहीं, बल्कि मन के लिए, क्योंकि सेना मन से चलती है।

एक बात और कह कर खत्म किए देता हूँ। आज एक तरफ तो लोग हथियार एकत्र कर रहे हैं और दूसरी तरफ हथियार खत्म होने वाले हैं। क्योंकि अगर हथियार

खत्म नहीं हुए तो बीस तीस साल में यह दुनिया खत्म हो जायेगी। तो रक्षा मंत्रालय से बात करते समय हम इस चीज को भी ध्यान में रखें। यह कैसे होगा ? अब एक बात तो यह है कि हम को जीवन का अधिकार है। लेकिन वह जीवन के अधिकार का अंग बन गया है। कत्ल के कर्तव्य के बिना आज किसी राज्य की सुरक्षा नहीं रह सकती है और मैं यहां यह कहना चाहूंगा कि अगर हम अन्याय के प्रतिकार को भी जीवन का अंग बना लें तो शायद कत्ल करने के कर्तव्य को हमें छोड़ देने का अवसर मिले।

श्रीमती यशोदा रेड्डी : डा० लोहिया से मेरी एक प्रार्थना है कि अगर कभी कभी वह अंग्रेजी में भी बोल दिया करें तो ठीक रहेगा ताकि हम लोग भी उन की बातों को समझ सकें।

एक माननीय सदस्य : माननीय सदस्या इतनी हिन्दी समझ लेती हैं।

डा० राम मनोहर लोहिया : अध्यक्ष महोदय, अगर आप इजाजत दें तो एक वाक्य में श्रीमती यशोदा रेड्डी ने अभी जो कहा है उस के बारे में कह दूँ।

अध्यक्ष महोदय : नहीं और कुछ माननीय सदस्य अब न कहें।

श्री राम मनोहर लोहिया : आप की इच्छा। वैसे मैं श्रीमती यशोदा रेड्डी को इतना मानता हूँ

अध्यक्ष महोदय : दोनों साहब बाहर चले जायें और वहां जा कर बात कर लें।

Shri Liladhar Kotoki (Nowgon):
Mr. Speaker, Sir, I rise to support the demands of the Ministry of Defence. At the the outset, I pay my homage to the officers and men who laid down their lives during the Chinese aggression and also to these officers and men of the armed forces and of the Border

[Shri Liladhar Kotoki]

Police and Security Forces, and the policemen and civilians, who were killed during the series of raids of Pakistani raiders, both armed civilians and armed forces on the borders.

In this connection, I would draw the attention of the hon. Minister to pages 103-104 of the Annual Report of the Ministry and I would only say that the pensions and other measures that are sought to be given appear to me to be very meagre. I would humbly suggest that the existing rules should be re-examined and adequate provision should be made for at least the families of those martyrs who lay down their lives for the defence of the country.

I welcome the Report which gives a very clear picture about the policy and the objectives which the Ministry has laid before itself for the coming years. I particularly welcome the assurance that has been given to this House and the country that the mistakes committed during the last Chinese invasion are being corrected. From the Report I find that various measures are being proposed in that direction. I am hoping that the Directorate of Planning that was set up in August, 1963 has already made its assessment and that action is being taken in the right direction. The Report itself says that the situation today is more serious than it was when the Emergency was declared, and that is due to the unholy alliance between Pakistan and China. Therefore, we should be more careful about these two enemies and all measures that are necessary should be expedited irrespective of costs.

Coming to the Kashmir question, I would request the Defence Minister to take up the matter with the Ministry of External Affairs and to consider whether the time has not come when we should tell the Security Council that they should force Pakistan to abide by the cease-fire line proposals within a specified time—and that time I leave to the Government to

decide—failing which we should take police action to recover our territory under illegal occupation of Pakistan.

Coming to the Eastern sector to which I belong, I have got a number of suggestions to make. During the last emergency, the threat on this sector was from the Chinese invaders. But now, the Eastern Region is under threat from China and Pakistan as well.

This House has discussed a number of times the question of the large number of illegal infiltrants from Pakistan. Although, technically it may be a subject for the Home Ministry to deal with, it is, I believe, intimately connected with Defence. Unless we can guard the entire border, if we allow the illegal infiltrants to come in it will be very difficult to defend any major aggression by Pakistan. I would request the Defence Ministry to enquire whether some of these infiltrants have been carrying arms and ammunitions like the hostile Nagas. This is a matter which should be looked into very seriously both by the Home Ministry and by the Defence Ministry.

The other problem is that somehow the hostile Nagas find it so easy to cross over to Pakistan sometime through North Cachar Hills and sometimes via Manipur and come back as they like with lots of arms and ammunition and then create trouble not only within the Naga Hills, but also in the neighbouring areas in Assam. I do not know at what stage the Defence Ministry or the defence authorities can check these hostile activities. Therefore, I suggest that the Home Ministry and the Defence Ministry must confer and plan in an integrated manner so as to prevent all this trouble in the eastern sector once for all.

So far as the Indo-Pakistan border is concerned, I would submit that the border on our side should be cleared to a certain depth, which the authorities think to be necessary and

border roads should be constructed for easy deployment of the armed personnel, so that no more raids can be committed by the Pakistani intruders there. Then again, I have urged in this House time and again that even for defence, apart from development, the question of transport must be given the highest priority. You will recall that during the last emergency, the river route between Calcutta and Assam was closed, because those steamers were mostly manned by the Pakistani crew. That may happen again when China or Pakistan attacks us. Therefore, it was a wise decision of the Government to extend the broad gauge railway line from Siliguri to Joghghopa. I do hope that this line will be expedited from the point of view of both defence and development.

I want to make another submission. Because of the geographical position and the strategic situation of the eastern sector, a full-fledged command should be created for the eastern region with headquarters at a suitable place. There will be no dearth of such suitable places. But I will lay down only one criterion for selecting such a place. It must be accessible by air, by road, by rail and if possible by river. Now we have the headquarters at a place where there is only one line of communication. I urged this point during the discussions on Defence Demands last year. I seriously urge the hon. Defence Minister to give careful thought to this problem. By 'full fledged and full equipped command' I mean that there should be at least supply of the equipments that the defence services need so that they can stand any probable dislocation in the transport system with the rest of India.

Sir, regarding infiltration I want to clear one misunderstanding that is going round the country. Unfortunately, these infiltrants in Assam are mostly Muslims from East Ben-

gal. There are a large number of East Bengal Muslims to have settled in various parts of Assam during the last 50 or 60 years. Therefore, the Pakistani infiltrants who just came after partition, whether they came with passports or without them, once they are inside it becomes very difficult to distinguish one from the other. That is the problem. When we raise this issue of infiltrants, some of our friends belonging to the minority community take us amiss. As was urged in this House, whoever is a foreigner and wherever he is in our country, whether he is in Assam or elsewhere, must be dealt with under the Act. He may belong to any community. I am glad to read in the papers that Shri Nanda who is already in Assam studying all these problems has given an assurance through the Press that he will expedite the detection and deportation of infiltrants. That will be a step towards the internal security which will be very vital for the defence of the eastern sector.

I will not take any more time of the House. With these submissions, I support the Demands for Grants of this Ministry.

Shri Frank Anthony (Nominated-Anglo-Indians): Mr. Speaker, Sir, first of all, I would like to pay a tribute to the Defence Minister for having attempted to give us some information in his Ministry's report. I feel that it is a very welcome break from the reactionary practice of the past where we were denied even the most elementary knowledge about facts which were probably known to any potential aggressor.

Sir, I have felt for a long time that one of the inherent weaknesses in our dealing with the defence budget is that because of historical reasons there has been no rapport between the politicians and the defence services. In fact, and I say this without meaning any disrespect, there is no military sense or knowledge of military affairs among the

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politician class. And, this also I say with a great deal of respect, the rather purposeless consultative committees of Parliament—I had opposed these consultative committees—do not help to remedy that position. No real information is made available, with the result that there can be no meaningful discussions in these consultative committees.

I should have thought, and I underline this suggestion, that at least during this emergency Government should have set up a standing committee on Defence. If they did not trust certain Members of this House, they could have been kept out. They should have set up a standing committee on Defence, associated with it those whom they can trust and taken them into their confidence, so that we can make meaningful appreciation of the kind of reorganisation that the Government is endeavouring in its defence efforts. Sir, as it is today, it would be true to say that Parliament has no real knowledge of what Government is attempting to do with regard to defence re-organisation. We get knowledge from other sources, but from the Government we get no real authentic information with the result that we are obliged to take on trust what the Government tells us. And it is only when some kind of attack is mounted against this country that Government's policy, Government's programmes, Government's claims are tested in the crucible of reality and so far, I may say with great respect, they have been found not only pathetically but disastrously wanting. When I say this, I am not pointing a finger at the Defence Minister but I have a feeling that the whole Government machinery is going back to its old complacency, lethargy, a sort of pose of infallibility. There does not seem to be any sense of urgency, any sense of emergency in the Government today. The only sort of reminder that we

have that there was an attack by the Chinese is the Defence of India Act and Rules.

In his report the Defence Minister has told us that defence policy is governed inevitably by the major planks of foreign policy. He has spelt out these major policies as being peace and non-aggression—absolutely unexceptionable—and he has also referred to the basic policy of non-alignment. Now, I do not want to be misunderstood. I do not want to ask the Government—because I know nothing will happen—to change this policy of non-alignment, but at least let the Defence Minister appreciate the realities that flow from this policy, of the peculiar unreal twist that we have given to it, consequences that are not only expansive but consequences that have been and will continue to be dangerous.

Anybody who today talks of collective defence and collective security is immediately stigmatised as a heretic. But what I notice is this, that we have given this unreal, superstitious twist to non-alignment. We have forgotten that we are living in a nuclear age. We have forgotten that weapons are being refined, sophisticated with such bewildering rapidity that what is modern today is obsolete tomorrow, or at least in the next year, with the result that we have, stemming from government policies or things purporting to be policies which are, with great respect, not only unreal but dangerous for the country. I say this with great respect that any suggestion that India can achieve within 30 or 50 years self-sufficiency in defence is not only an illusion but it is a dangerous illusion. There are only two countries today which have the capacity and perhaps the resources to achieve self-sufficiency in defence, and I do not have to name them. China is making violent bid to achieve some kind of comparative self-sufficiency, but even China, whatever she may do will

never be able to emulate a modern power either in equipment or in techniques.

Let us be realistic enough to realise—and that is my quarrel—that in equating non-alignment with isolation we are not only placing burdens, crippling burden, on the country, but we are making the country face disastrous, dangerous consequences.

And I will say this, though we know it let us face up to it. We are facing today, one of our preoccupations is, Pakistan, militant, fanatical, hatefilled. Let us also understand, let us appreciate—I do not want to plead a change of our policy—but because Pakistan is a member of the CENTO and SEATO, Pakistan has got a military edge over us in certain military equipment and, what is more, Pakistan will continue to have that edge over us, merely because she is in CENTO and SEATO. We may dislike it. We may try to point out with a great deal of justification that Pakistan's membership of these military alliances merely a device in order to get military equipment, that in a crisis Pakistan will be the most unreliable of allies, demonstrated by the fact that today she is prepared to enter cynically, unscrupulously into an *entente* with an equally unscrupulous nation; but we cannot help this; let us realise this. As Mr. Khrushhev has pointed out, for him the difference between China and India is the difference between an ally and a friend. That is the difference—between an ally and a friend. I do not say that America, Britain and the Commonwealth countries will not be friendly with us. Of course, they will be friendly with us; and they will be friendly with us for two very good reasons: because of our commitment to democracy and because of the geo-political significance of India to the survival of democracy, at least in Asia. Remember this, that in the final analysis when it comes to the question of aid, when it comes to the quantum

of aid, when it comes to the quality of aid, and when it comes to the question of a share in the knowledge of research in defence production, they will always give preference to Pakistan the ally, than India the friend. Remember that; that is one of the realities we have to face. And remember this also—this is another face and we saw it—as long as Pakistan the ally, shouts loudly enough, none of your friends will give you real power, they will never give you sophisticated weapons. We asked for supersonic planes during the Chinese aggression. Pakistan had already got those supersonic plane. But what they have given to Pakistan the ally, they denied to India the friend. And also remember this, the other facet of the medal, that stemming from this peculiar twisted interpretation of non-alignment—I quarrel with that interpretation—stemming from that, from our non-aligned neighbours, our so-called non-aligned friends, we could not even expect lip support; remember that also, I am pointing out these realities to the Minister because we tend sometimes to behave somewhat like hysterical adolescents when we do not get what we want. As I said we tend to speak off-key and get unbalanced. These are realities and let us face up to them. But we do not seem to appreciate the realities of international life today.

I say this, as I have said earlier, that self-sufficiency in defence for India is not only idle but it is a dangerous dream for at least 30 to 50 years.

Shri Ranga: Are they talking about it now?

Shri Frank Anthony: They seem to be attempting to achieve it.

Shri Ranga: Only the Communist friends; Government is not so foolish.

Shri Frank Anthony: I will say this to the Minister. What little he vouchsafed to us from the result of

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the NEFA Enquiry Committee Report showed one thing, and I will deal with it here, that it was basic, major defect, right from the top downwards. In his report he has told us that he has appointed several new committees. I hope some of them will produce results, but I feel this, that basically there is no real re-organisation, that the Defence Minister lacks the will to co-ordinate, to induce the minimum of unified defence command, and I say this with some knowledge because I was a member for several years in the National Defence Council Defence Consultative Committee and so on. The pattern we are pursuing is a 50 or 100 years old pattern.

Shri Ranga: British.

Shri Frank Anthony: British or say any other 'ish'. These old patterns tend to become institutionalised—I am talking of human nature—they tend to grow into vested interests. There tends to be resistance—I know it; it is natural—in the different branches of the armed forces to any alleged encroachment on their autonomy. What has happened in Britain? For sixty years they fought this institutionalised prejudice, these age-old prejudices. After sixty years of fighting this fanatical resistance to the long overdue re-organisation in their own armed forces, they have just produced a new pattern. Because of that resistance, the Defence Minister has not been able to produce any real re-organisation. In Britain they have tried to follow to a certain extent the unified command of the Pentagon pattern. I was reading some time ago an article that even the Chinese are following the re-organisation pattern set by the Pentagon in America.

What I feel is that re-organisation is necessary right from the top. The Defence Minister has told us that there is re-organisation. I have grave doubts because I do not know whether he is going to give us the necessary information. He has told us that there is a Defence Committee of the

Cabinet. I would ask him to tell me who are the members of this Defence Committee of the Cabinet.

I am told that the Cabinet seldom meets. That is what the members of the Cabinet themselves have told me, I do not know. But how often does this Defence Committee of the Cabinet meet? What are its powers? What are its functions? Does it take any policy decisions or is it just another debating society, something like our Consultative Committees of Parliament? My hon. friend, the Minister there, is frowning at my reference to his Consultative Committee.

There is this increasing multiplicity of committees and I am afraid of it. I am afraid of it because we have had the old sorry story of complete lack of integration in the armed forces with the consequence that some of the most critical plans have gone astray. I feel that the real danger is that because of the multiplicity of committees you will get this tendency to separation, to growing disintegration, to insistence on autonomy by each body and of each one wanting to crow on his own little dunghill. That is a very real danger.

What was the pattern before? It was—experts and counter-experts; ministers and counter-ministers. Plans and projects were going by what test? They were going by that of persons, of personalities and, worst of all, by the colour of the personal politics of certain ministers.

Mr. Speaker: I am getting jealous because he is giving all his attention to Ministers.

Shri Frank Anthony: I thought perhaps we had to impress them a little more. I will speak through you to him.

I feel—and I make this suggestion with respect but with emphasis—that there must be much greater integra-

tion between the three wings of the Services without any unnecessary encroachment on their separate identities.

The hon. Minister has told us that he has got his Chiefs of Staff Committee. As soon as I saw this reference I said, "Here is underlined the policy of drift in the Defence Ministry". Here you pinpoint your lack of will to reorganise. Who presides over this Chiefs of Staff Committee? It is the oldest member, probably the seniormost member. He may be the oldest but he may equally be the dull-est and the most incompetent. Is that the person you choose, because he merely happens to be the oldest, to be the Chairman of your Chiefs of Staff Committee?

What have they done in Britain and other countries? The Head or the Chairman of the Chiefs of Staff Committee is carefully chosen. He is the Supreme Commander; he is known as the Chief of Defence Staff. He is in over all operational command. He takes the ultimate decisions. He resolves the differences. I want to know whether this amorphous Chiefs of Staff Committee with the oldest member, perhaps a Naval officer, being in charge when we were attacked by the Chinese is in overall operational command. I want to know as to who is in overall operational command of this Chiefs of Staff Committee. Who resolves their differences? How are their differences of opinion relayed to the Defence Committee of the Cabinet; or, do they not have any difference of opinion? They may be vegetarians, but I hope they are not vegetables. I can understand that there is this tendency in this country to conform. Everybody behave like some kind of a convenient vegetable, conforming to some common pattern. But, as I said, I hope that does not happen with your Chiefs of Staff. I say that in the context of our potential enemies the Chairman of your Chiefs of Staff Committee should be an Army man. He should be an Army man.

I say this also, so far as Army is concerned, there must be some reorganisation. We are fortunate that we have in our present Chief of Army Staff a man who has the reputation of being an excellent soldier and a leader of men. But we had not been so fortunate in the past. Some of them had projected a first-class image but some of them—I say this without pointing any specific finger—also projected an image of having become Chiefs of Staff or reached equivalent positions by having lived long enough and some of them by having a little political pull too.

Why not have the pattern followed by most countries, that of having an army council, where the Chief of the Army Staff works in council with his Principal Staff Officers? I do not think that happens here. In the Report the hon. Defence Minister has only said that the Principal Staff Officers—the Deputy Chief, the Adjutant General, the Quartermaster General etc., all these people—merely assist. It is not good enough. Assisting is not good enough. What I feel we should have is a council acting jointly and taking joint decisions. If that had happened during the NEFA debacle, that debacle would not have happened. Taking joint decisions mean that you eliminate the danger of your top man being weak, being indecisive and being incompetent, and that is precisely what happened in the NEFA debacle. Let us face it: your top man was weak, he was indecisive, he was incompetent, and you had no Army Council acting jointly in order to remedy that position. I say this, the time is long overdue when you should have an Army Council acting jointly.

In the matter of research, the Minister has told us—he has given us figures—that we have 25 research laboratories, 2 training establishments and 3 field research stations. I am not quarrelling with the number. I remember reading a well-informed article by a military commentator—he has been round these places—saying, he has seen some of the research:

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work being done in other countries, and his unfortunate conclusion was this that so far as some countries are concerned, we have ten times their number of laboratories but we are doing one-tenth the amount of research work. He said, there is no spirit, no drive, in your whole research organisation. I just do not understand it. Is this also a projection of this peculiar interpretation of non-alignment? The most advanced countries in the world, Britain, Germany, Japan, do not go in for the impossible expensive process of trying to do research on their own. I want to know whether we collaborate in research. Why do the Communists want you to live in isolation? It is because they know that it is impossible for us to function without collective security. They know that it is impossible for us to have meaningful research without some kind of collaboration. That is why they want deliberately to isolate us. That is why they want to keep us in isolation. That is why they want to make us the ready target for any potential Communist aggressor. That is the whole purpose, and it is only, as I said, a dangerous visionary or a deliberate saboteur will tell us to carry on in this policy of isolation.

Shrimati Renu Chakravartty (Barrackpore): What is the military pact that we are going to join?

Shri Frank Anthony: No military pact.

Shrimati Renu Chakravartty: What else?

Shri Ranga: We want allies now.

Shrimati Renu Chakravartty: That you are not able to get.

Shri Frank Anthony: As I was saying, what I notice is this. I saw no reference to the Atomic Energy Commission. I want a reply to this. Is Dr. Bhabha, the Chairman—I think, he is the Chairman—associated with

your Research Committee and, if not I want to know why: Is it once again the reflection of the policy of non-alignment or is it the reflection of the policy that under no circumstance are we going to develop nuclear weapons? I want to know that because the country has the right to know it. If that is your policy, I say that we are going to be faced in the not distant future with grave disastrous consequences. What is going to happen? Let us have no illusion about what China is doing. China today has stepped up her atomic research activity. I read somewhere that as far back as 1955, with Russian assistance—they talk as if China and Russia are not allies....

Shrimati Renu Chakravartty: Of course, they are allies.

Shri Frank Anthony: They were allies, they are allies and they will continue to be allies. As far back as 1955, with Russian assistance, China had set up 36 nuclear research stations, and as far back as 1958, she had her first atomic reactor. I think one of their people made the claim that this year they were going to explode the first atomic or nuclear bomb. Maybe, they explode it. It does not mean that they will have nuclear weapons in usable quantities in the immediate future. But let us remember this that China breathing down on her backs, China concentrating on military production in spite of her recognised industrial backwardness and in spite of her leaps backward instead of forward, is today self-sufficient in small arms production. China is producing her own tanks. From what I could gather from the report, the Minister has told us—I have got the exact words—that we are in the process of developing the production of medium tanks. It looks as though we are not even producing any medium tanks. So, I say, let us have no illusion about what China is up to. China is out to isolate us. China is out to garrotte us and China will use

not only subversion and sabotage but she will use war as an instrument of her policy. Every modern army is equipped with what are known as conventional nuclear warheads used under the most ordinary circumstances. And I say this. The country has the right to know it. Because of the policy of our deliberately falling behind in equipping our army with ordinary small arms, with automatic weapons, what is it that the country has faced? It faced disaster, it faced humiliation, from which it is going to take us many decades to recover. I want to know whether because of some policy you are going to face us in the next ten or fifteen years with the same prospect of disaster and humiliation.

It has not been possible from the report to get an adequate picture of production. But we are still at the small arms stage, very much at the small arms stage. I was glad to hear of some attempt at standardisation, but even there, according to the report, we have to await the American Plant and it will take us at least one year to begin to produce 7.62 mm. ammunition. I was very glad to see the reference to the Ishapore semi-automatic rifle and I think that we ought to congratulate those who designed it. From what I have read about it, I believe that it is entirely Indian-designed, and that it is one of the finest semi-automatic weapons that has ever been produced anywhere in the world. But I want to know this too. I do not know why the hon. Minister does not give us the figures.

In *The Hindustan Times* dated the 14th November, 1963 I saw an account that the Ishapore rifle, that is, the semi-automatic rifle, would be produced to the extent of 2500 a month by the end of 1964. The hon. Minister says—he chooses his words very well, and it is very well for a person who has not English as his mother-tongue—that within the next twelve months, we are going to double the

production. So, I do not know whether the production will be doubled in Decembtr, 1964 or whether it is likely to be doubled from January, 1964. But assuming that it is going to be doubled from January, 1964, it means according to the information given in *The Hindustan Times* that you are only producing 5,000 semi-automatic weapons. That is not a very spectacular figure. It means that predominantly your Army will still be a bolt-action-rifle Army.

If there is one thing that the Chinese have taught us, it is this. They taught us that they have infinitely superior fire-power. And here I join issue with the Prime Minister. The spirit is good enough, but I read a statement by the Prime Minister, it does not matter what weapons we have, we can fight with lathis. I say, 'No'. Why this dangerous illusion? You cannot fight with lathis. Today, physical courage is no substitute for overwhelming superiority in fire-power, and that was what happened to us largely in NEFA.

I would refer to the position in regard to the Air Force now. I have been a little distressed at the rather dishevelled appearance of the Air Force. I have not got a complete list of the different planes that we are using, but it is a real miscellany; we have got in AN-12, Gnat, Caribou, Packet aircraft, then Avro-748, then Mi-4 helicopters, and the hoped-for HF-24 and also the MIG. Then, there was the Allouttee which my hon. friend had quite rightly probably boosted. But would not this present us with a problem? Would not this bewildering variety of planes present us with a corresponding problem of lack of standardisation, difficulties in replacements, difficulties in training and difficulties in co-ordinating our air defence? It is bound to, and that is where I criticise the Defence Ministry.

According to a report in *The Hindustan Times* of the 14th August, 1963, the Tata Committee is said to have recommended to Government the

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scrapping of the MIG and the Avro-748 project. That was the report or the alleged report. They were said to have recommended to Government that they should concentrate on the HF-24 and the Canadian Caribou. I believe that Government have rejected it. I am not surprised that they have rejected it, because the rejection was bound to be there. It was a political decision. How can the Government condemn the previous Defence Minister? And how could they scrap his pet schemes the Avro-748 project on which the country has wasted already crores of rupees? The political decision was taken, and the Tata Committee's recommendations were rejected.

But I want to have some information from the hon. Minister on one point. What is the truth in this controversy about the HF-24? I read somewhere that the Orpheus engine that they were going to put in was inadequate and it would barely give the speed of sound, and it would be very inferior to the Chinese MIG because I think they have got MIG-19, and it would be only half as fast as the American Pakistani Star fighter.

Then I saw another story that they are going to have a Mach 2 engine. Then I saw another story that it was prohibitively expensive for us. I saw another story that we were going to have a modification of the MIG 21 engine, and another story that that was found completely unsuitable.

17.00 hrs.

I want to know what all this means in terms of money, in terms of delay, in terms, above all, of the performance of this hoped-for HF 24. Why is Government dragging its feet? Already, you have taken a decision, a political decision, not a decision based on military considerations, about the MIG. But why is it dragging its feet. In August 1962, the agreement was signed. Now you tell us, two years after that, that now we are going to

erect, whatever they are, the factories. You tell us—two years from now we will have the first plane off the assembly line. I do not believe it, because of the story of HF 24. Eight years ago, agreement was entered into with a British firm. Eight years after, we do not know when the first HF 24 will come off the assembly line. I say that this by any standards does not represent any sense of urgency in the Government.

I say this in conclusion. I wish the Defence Minister well. I say this also. If the Government deems it and wants to use any of us, certainly we, with the little we know as Members of this House, are prepared to give our maximum help. But I would venture to say this also with respect that the country will not tolerate another NEFA. I do not believe the country will tolerate a continuance of a policy of pacifism masquerading as non-alignment, of pacifism of 'peace at any price' which has tarnished our image beyond recognition in the world.

Shri Krishnapal Singh (Jalesar): Before I come to the main points of my speech, I would like to endorse the suggestion made by Shri Birendra Bahadur Singh for the nomination of two or three senior military officers to the Rajya Sabha. We cannot in this matter draw a parallel from some of the other democratic countries like England and America which have conscription, where every citizen has had some experience of service in one or the other of the armed forces. Therefore, I think it is a very good suggestion and it should be acted upon.

The next point I would make is about the situation in regard to the task of the defence forces. The Report itself admits that the situation is very serious. We all know it. But what are we doing in order to face that situation? I have collected some figures. In the beginning of the last war, India was spending 42 per cent

of her revenues on defence. As the war progressed, this rose to 72.6 per cent. This was in addition to the contribution of the British Government and their commitment for our overseas expenditure.

Now, what have we been doing? In 1956-57 we were spending 20.6 per cent, in 1960-61, it came down to 15.5 per cent and in 1961-62, it came down to 15.4 per cent. Even now, after two years of preparations, our expenditure is only 29.5 per cent of our total expenditure. The United States, which is not engaged in any active operations like us, is spending 40.77 per cent on defence.

Therefore, either we should take up defence seriously, or not take it up at all. By seriously I mean that we should give up slogans like 'development is defence.' and not continue to waste money over most of these useless schemes. This sort of slogan is absurd when we are faced with this threat on three sides at least. We should give it up and try to spend every available penny on defence.

We have an army of over 50,000 young men who are engaged in the Planning Department at various stages. I can show the House that half of the time they do not know what to do; they are either sitting at home or wasting their time. These men could be used in the armed forces, and all that money saved. Eighty per cent of the money devoted to planning and this development business is, in my opinion, being wasted, and it should be saved. All this work which is being done by the Planning Department can be done by the other departments as it used to be done. It is unnecessary duplication, and money should be saved from the civil side for the development of defence if we mean to take it up seriously.

One word I would like to say about the treatment of minorities by Pakistan which has been rightly agitating our minds for the last few days. A

similar situation arose in Czechoslovakia in 1938. Three hundred Sudetan Germans were massacred in that country. Hitler threatened to invade Czechoslovakia, and Chamberlain had to fly to Berlin in order to persuade Hitler from taking that step. Hitler said he did not care whether there would be a world war or not, and the result was that Czechoslovakia was partitioned. Are we in a position to say any thing of that sort to Pakistan? We are not, because we have not got the strength. The first essential for anybody to adopt an independent foreign policy or a strong attitude is that he should have strength, strength generally first and strength at decisive points. Unless we are able to build that, it is no use our claiming that we are going to do this or that. I do not think we will be able to do very much.

I would like to say a few words about equipment and arms. We have had some very good additions to our armoury by way of automatic rifles, the heavy mortar and the light mountain gun. They are very good additions, and I hope that there will be more. But there is only one thing I would like to say with regard to these weapons, that we should not aim at collecting a sort of museum. As it is, we have various types of arms. I understand that one of the former Secretaries of the Ministry of Defence himself, in delivering a speech in Bombay, said that we had about 40 different types of aeroplanes and it was a problem to maintain them. We do not want to have varieties of arms. We shall stick to one pattern as far as possible, so that maintenance and the problem of spare parts and replacement is within our means.

As regards the mountain divisions, I will only say this much. Although it is a very welcome step, training in mountain warfare and acclimatising our troops to high altitudes should not be confined to these three divisions. Any portion of the army may

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be required to furnish reinforcements. So, we should not exclusively say that we set aside a few formations to work in higher altitudes and that the rest of the army will fight only in the plains. Our Army had been fighting in high altitudes; it has been fighting in the North Western Frontier; in Greece and in Italy and acquitted itself well. Even the average Indian is accustomed to high altitudes; every year hundreds of thousands of our people go to high altitudes for the sake of pilgrimage; it is nothing very new. With a little effort, I suppose most of our troops can be accustomed in high altitudes. Therefore, we should not keep these mountain divisions, exclusively for fighting in the higher altitudes.

I will say a few words about the morale. It is extremely important after all salaries and allowances are not the only things which could make a soldier fight; it is the way in which you treat a soldier. We have to give him the position which he used to hold in society before. I would relate an incident which was related to me by my own tutor, Col. B. L. Cole, of the 13th Rajputana Rifles. He went on a shooting expedition and he took an orderly with him; for some fault he slapped that orderly. The orderly went back to the unit and reported the matter to the commanding officer. Lieut Cole's, as he was known in those days, leave was cancelled; he was called back to the unit and the next morning after he arrived, the whole unit was assembled and he was made to apologise to that sepoy, his orderly. I wonder if our sepoys at present have that position, whether any commanding officer at present will have the courage of compelling an officer to apologise. There is also the question of treatment by civilians. It is only the other day that a subedar, a responsible officer in the Army and sometimes it is he who has to command a company, came with tears in his eyes to the meeting of the District

Soldiers and Sailors and Airmen's Board and said that his house had fallen in the last floods but the Block Development Officer could not give him cement but that the BDO had given them to his friends. That is the way in which our people are treated. Previously, uniforms used to be looked upon with respect. Now, of course, he has to knock about all over the place and nobody takes any notice of him: we must reinstate our jawan, our army men in their former position.

I would also like to suggest that these DSSA boards in every district should have a military vice president, maybe JCO or a retired army officer. The collectors are *ex-officio* presidents but they have not got enough time nor do they all take interest.

I should like to say a few words about the missing personnel and our casualties. It affects the morale greatly if we could not supply prompt information to the relatives of the people. I have seen two letters written to a Member of Parliament by the relatives of two of the officers who had been reported missing. They are extremely bitter. They have written to this Member of Parliament complaining that Government has not done anything in trying to get information about their sons. This impression should not be created. If we are not able to get information about the missing personnel or our casualties, we should ask the Red Cross to secure information.

I would just say a word about recruitment. A lot has already been said about it. I would only say that we should try and get the real, hardy type of people, who are adventurous, and not people who want to join the army for the sake of salaries and allowances. That used to be the great asset of the old army. Now, of course, times have changed, and we are not getting that type of people, and I am prepared to endorse the remarks of

other Members that we should have a larger proportion from the ranks recruited to the armed forces.

The only other thing of importance is the system of promotion. I do not think the system of selection to the rank of Lt.-Col. and the higher officers has been satisfactory. Quite a large number of Generals have had to leave because they were superseded; Generals who could have continued to be an asset to the army, who would be an asset to any army. They left the army because of our faulty system of promotion and favouritism. I hope particular attention would be paid by the Defence Minister to this matter.

Mr. Speaker: Shri U. M. Trivedi. He may have seven minutes.

Shri U. M. Trivedi (Mandsaur): Mr. Speaker, Sir, I thank you for this consideration. I would not take much time of the House. I would first point out how wasteful expenditure has been noticed in our reports. We have found out that there have been 81 unauthorised lifts; we have found out heavy losses due to piecemeal construction of houses for JCOs. That brings the loss to the tune of about a lakh of rupees. We have found out that cement to the extent of 1,400 tons has been misappropriated at one place alone. We have found out that misappropriation of rations has resulted in a loss of about Rs. 5 lakhs. We have also noted that a supplementary grant of Rs. 8 crores for the Air Force was found unnecessary. Why was this amount taken at all? The damage to an aircraft resulted in a loss of Rs. 24,000 at one place, and a loss of Rs. 42,000 in another place; and the officers concerned were penalised to an extent of Rs. 150 and Rs. 200 respectively. Why these officers were penalised for the loss of Rs. 42,000 and Rs. 24,000 passes my comprehension. These poor people must have suffered. Some of us, when we were students, must have broken some instruments one way or the other, and if our professors had jumped upon us to get them replaced, how could we have studied?

These losses did take place owing to accidents; and if such accidents did take place, why was Rs. 150 demanded for the loss of Rs. 42,000? Why not write off, and why show this meanness of trying to recover Rs. 150 by way of penalty! I cannot understand.

At one place, there was the loss of a Hunter aircraft and it was Rs. 15 lakhs. Yet the authorities who enquired into it proceeded to recover Rs. 1,200 from the officer, who was killed the very next day; This callousness on our part should cease.

We have found out that at one place 1669 vehicles were not looked after with the net result that the 1,669 vehicles became useless. At another place, in another depot, 779 vehicles became useless. And we had a total loss of all these vehicles. Why were they not disposed of in time? Are there people with no imagination in the whole administration that they can dispose of them as they like and no account is being kept of all these things? The net result is that the whole country suffers. These could have been used for civilian purposes and they could have been transferred to civilian purposes, and the money could have been realised.

All this has resulted in a loss of Rs. 1 crore over 1,669 vehicles and about Rs. 70 lakhs over 779 vehicles. Things were sold at concessional rates. All these things are causing losses due to the lack of imagination on the part of our administrators.

One very glaring thing which has come to my notice and which I cannot refrain from bringing to the notice of the House is this. It is a very important point for the whole Government and for the whole Parliament to consider. How is it that there is absolutely no appropriation and no demand regarding the Canteen Store Department? The Canteen Store Department has got a stock in warehouses estimated at a value of Rs. 2 crores. From where did they get this Rs. 2 crores? Where did they draw this capital of Rs. 48 lakhs? How did they operate

[Shri U. M. Trivedi]

it? The Government officers operate it, but because the hon. Minister has signed on it, I will hold the Minister responsible for it. I may have very great regard for him, for his bravery and other things, but I am very sorry to bring this to his notice. How could he have signed these accounts, when he does not find it in the estimates of the whole of this Defence Ministry? Their profits amount to Rs. 56 lakhs. Why has not income-tax been paid on it? How does this appropriation take place? Is it a statutory body? I find it is not a statutory body, because at page 112 of the Defence estimates, all the undertakings are given. The undertakings are 8 in number, but I do not find this name anywhere. At another place, there are other departments—military farms and other departments—for which money is spent. There also this is not mentioned. Where is this mysterious thing—the Canteen Store Department—which gives orders for lakhs and lakhs of rupees of goods to be supplied to it to meet the necessities of the various military personnel? That was one reason why I requested you for an opportunity to bring it to the notice of this House. It is a state of affairs which is against the very provision of the Constitution that no money can be spent out of the Consolidated Fund of India without the knowledge of this House. This money is being spent and no mention is made in the Defence estimates. Nowhere it is mentioned. Here sits the Chairman of the Public Accounts Committee who will look into these accounts. This has been published and certified by the Auditor-General also. But I have seen no note by the Auditor-General about the Canteen Store Department not being mentioned in the Defence estimates.

I would say one more thing. Our army and our whole military force has no doubt been strengthened and I would like to say a few words in praise of the progress that has been made during the last one year. But the progress which we have achieved is not sufficient. We

should not be content till we have a strong army posted on the border, sufficient in strength to meet the menace that is facing us by the collusion of the two bellicose enemies of ours. We cannot just say in a spirit of bravado that we will all fight. But there must be enough strength in our army that at least one of our enemies will never be able to raise its head again.

Mr. Speaker: Let us hear the soldier now—Shri Yashpal Singh.

श्री यशपाल सिंह (कैराना) : अध्यक्ष महोदय, माननीय चव्हाण साहब अगर आठ साल पहले इस कुर्सी के ऊपर होते तो हिन्दुस्तान को यह दिन देखना न पड़ता। मुझे उनकी देशभक्ति के ऊपर और उनके चरित्र के ऊपर इतना विश्वास है कि मुझे यह यकीन है कि अगर यह व्यक्ति आज से सात साल या आठ साल पहले यहां का डिफेंस मिनिस्टर रहा होता तो हिन्दुस्तान को यह दुर्भाग्य का दिन न देखना पड़ता। लेकिन चव्हाण साहब को उस वक्त बुलाया गया जैसे कि कि कहीं दूध बिखर गया हो, बर्तन टूट गया हो और जबकि बिल्कुल बेवसीं हो उस वक्त उन्हें बुलाया गया। अब दुबारा काम करने के लिए सारे राष्ट्र को तैयार करना पड़ेगा। इस देश के उत्थान के लिए अकेले मिलेटरी या सरकार के काम करने से यह काम चलने वाला नहीं है। न अकेले सरकार काम कर सकती है और न ही अकेले मिलेटरी काम कर सकती है। इस देश के उत्थान के लिए और पराजय को विजय में बदलने के लिए सारे मुल्क को काम करना होगा। सारे राष्ट्र के इंसानों में यह भावना भरनी होगी कि ४४ करोड़ इस देश के रहने वाले दरअसल इस देश के रक्षक हैं और उनमें से हर एक देश की आजादी की रक्षा करने वाला सोलजर है। अगर ४४ करोड़ में से एक भी कोई दुखी है, एक भी गैर मुतमईन है, एक भी खायफ या एक भी भूखा या कंगाल है तो यह देश न तो अपनी रक्षा कर सकेगा और न ही देश के अन्दर राष्ट्रवाद पैदा हो सकेगा। इन पिछले सत्तरह

सालों में जो गलत ट्रेनिंग दी गई है वह ट्रेनिंग दूर की जाय कि युद्ध से विनाश होता है इस गलत ट्रेनिंग को सबसे पहले दूर किया जाय । मैं आपके द्वारा माननीय चव्हाण साहब से यह निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि युद्ध से विनाश नहीं होता है क्योंकि अगर युद्ध से विनाश होता तो स्वयं नैानन्द गोविन्द माधवमकुन्द आनन्दकन्द केशव श्री कृष्णचन्द्र भगवान् गीता में यह हुक्म न देते :—

“सुखिनः क्षत्रियः पार्थ लभन्त यद्ध मीदृशम् ।”

जिन जातियों का मुकद्दर जगता है, तर्कदीर बलन्द होती है वह ही धर्म युद्ध में कूदती है । अगर युद्ध से तबाही होती तो जर्मनी में जहां युद्ध के कारण राख की ढेरी पड़ी हुई थी उसके बाद आज वहां जो सोने और चांदी के ढेर लगे हुए हैं वे न लगे हुए होते । जर्मनी के अन्दर खून की दरिया बही थी वही जर्मनी आज इस स्थिति में है कि हमको कर्ज दे रहा है । अगर युद्ध से तबाही हुई होती तो आज चीन हमारी ३५००० मरब्बा मील जर्मन पर हमला करके उसको अपने कब्जे में न रखे होता । इसलिए युद्ध से विनाश नहीं होता है । युद्ध से निर्माण होता है । जो कौमें लड़ती है वही दुनिया में फनेहयाब और कामयाब होती है । जो लड़ती नहीं है वह रस्टड हो जाती है, जंगमालूदा और बेकार हो जाती है । इसलिए यह खयाल छोड़ दिया जाय ।

दूसरी बात यह ध्यान रखने की है कि यह देश उठेगा तो दो बातों से उठेगा ? या तो हुब्बलवतनी हो या खौफे खुदा हो । या तो भगवान् का डर हो या फिर उनमें देशभक्ति हो । जब तक यह दोनों चीजें न हों यह देश नहीं उठ सकता है । यह देश का दुर्भाग्य ही है कि न तो यहां हुब्बलवतनी पैदा हुई और न ही खौफे खुदा पैदा हुआ । यहां पर खाली मर्दमपरस्ती पैदा हुई है । मानव पूजा पैदा हुई । मैं वरशिप पैदा हुई । जिस समय जरूरत इस बात की थी कि इस देश में यह नारा लगाया जाता कि भारतमाता की जड़ों को

मजबूत करो, हिमालय की चट्टानों को मजबूत करो और कौम की डिस्प्लन को मजबूत करो उस वक्त यह नारा लगाया गया कि पंडित नेहरू के हाथ मजबूत करो । प्रधान मन्त्री के हाथ मजबूत करो । अब यह मर्दमपरस्ती थी, यह मानव पूजा थी । यह मैं वरशिप थी जिनकी कि गलत पालिसी की वजह से, जिनकी कि कमजोरी और बुजदिली की वजह से हम लोग अपने देश का ३५००० मरब्बा मील इलाका चीन को दिये बैठे हैं । उन्हीं के लिए यह नारा लगाया गया कि प्रधान मन्त्री के हाथ मजबूत करो । जरूरत इस बात की है कि इस मैं वरशिप को खत्म किया जाय और मर्दमपरस्ती को दूर करके हमें भारत के बच्चे बच्चे को देश की आजादी की हिफाजत करने के लिए फाइटर बनाना होगा । इस देश के बच्चे बच्चे को हमें फौजी ट्रेनिंग देनी होगी कि वह इस देश देश की रक्षा करे । अगर जिस तरीके से आज तक काम चलता रहा है उसी तरीके से आगे भी आपने चलने दिया तो आप हरगिज कामयाबी हासिल नहीं कर सकते । आपको इसके लिए सोने, जागने के घंटे बदलने पड़ेगे । इसके लिए आपको अपनी खुराक बदलनी पड़ेगी और पोशाक बदलनी पड़ेगी । इस देश के लिए आपको अपनी शिकिंग बदलनी पड़ेगी ।

माननीय मिनिस्टर सत्य नारायण सिंह यहां इस अवसर पर सदन में मौजूद नहीं हैं । वह अगर होते तो मैं यह बात कुछ अच्छे तरीके से कह सकता था लेकिन चूंकि ज्वाण्ट रिसर्पोसिबिलटी है इसलिए उस कहे देता हूँ और मुझे उम्मीद है कि उन तक मेरी यह बात पहुंचा दी जायेगी । हमें देश को तैयार करने के लिए अपने आल इंडिया रेडियो के ढांचे को बदलना पड़ेगा । उसके ऐटमोसफियर को बदलना पड़ेगा । मैं रेडियो खोल कर इस खयाल से बैठा था कि मुझे शायद कोई दशमेशजी महाराज की रोटी बेंटी और चांटी के राखन हार की कोई युद्धलीला सुनने को मिलेगी, शायद आल इंडिया रेडियो से

[श्री यशपाल सिंह]

कोई वार अभिमन्यु की लीला सुनाई जायेगी, शायद कोई चितौड़ का साका सुनाया जायगा। लेकिन यकीन मानिये कि मैंने जो उसे खोला और जो कुछ मेरे कानों ने सुना उसको सुन कर मेरे कान नापाक हो गये, अपवित्र हो गये जबकि मैं ने यह सुना "जाने किस की जीत है, जाने किस की हार है।" भारत के ऐटर्नी-जनरल में शक पैदा होता है या शंका होती है कि चीन के साथ मिलो भगत है जो आज तक सरकार को पता नहीं है कि चीन जीत रहा है या हिन्दुस्तान जीत रहा है।

"दुरंगी छोड़ कर एक रंग हो जा, सरासर मोंस हो या संग हो जा।" आज देश को आपने एक चौराहे पर खड़ा कर दिया है और आपकी रफ्तार अब तक की इतनी मन्द रही है कि कामयाबी के रास्ते पर चलने के लिए आपको अपनी मौजूदा रफ्तार सौ गुनी बढ़ानी पड़ेगी। अगर आपने सौ गुनी अपनी रफ्तार नहीं बढ़ायी तो फिर आपको मात खानी पड़ेगी और जिस पराजय को हमने देखा है उस पराजय को हम फिर देखेंगे।

मैं इस वज़ारत को रिपोर्ट के पेज २८ से पढ़ना चाहता हूँ जिसमें लिखा हुआ है :—

"According to the revised assessment, 1794 additional engineers are required. Against this requirement, only 145 graduate engineers are undergoing pre-commission training."

जहाँ १७९४ इंजीनियर्स की जरूरत थी वहाँ अभी तक केवल १४५ ही भरती हुए हैं। अब हमें अपनी यह रफ्तार बढ़ानी पड़ेगी। देश के बच्चे बच्चे को फीजी ट्रेनिंग देनी पड़ेगी। जो आर्म्स और इंडिया ऐक्ट है वह अंग्रेजों का बनाया हुआ है जो कि इस देश को सदा गुलाम बना कर रखना चाहते थे। हम अंग्रेजों की राजनीतिक दासता से अवश्य आज़ाद हो गये हैं लेकिन मानसिक गुलामी अभी तक हम में क़ायम है। जो अंग्रेज की बोली है उसको

छोड़ दीजिये। तोंते को अगर वह पिजड़े के बाहर आना चाहता है तो उसे मालिक की बोली छोड़ देनी चाहिए। अंग्रेज ने आपको मैकमोहन लाइन दी थी। अंग्रेज की दी हुई मैकमोहन लाइन का मतलब पराजय है। मैकमोहन लाइन डिफिण्ट है यह हमारी शिकस्त है। मैकमोहन लाइन को मानने का मतलब यह है कि कैलाश का मालिक चीन रहे। मैकमोहन लाइन मानने का अर्थ है कि मानसरोवर चीन का है। मैकमोहन लाइन के माने यह है कि हिमालय के बेशतरीन हिस्से का मालिक चीन रहे और हिन्दुस्तान नीचे खड़ा रहे। हमारा दुश्मन छत पर रहे और हम नीचे खड़े रहें। दुश्मन अब जो चाहे हमें पाषाणों से बांध कर, पाषाणों से दबा कर खत्म कर दे, अब जो चाहे हमें संगसार कर दे। मिनिस्टर साहब को इसका जवाब देना पड़ेगा। देश तब बचेगा जब वह मैकमोहन लाइन से इंकार करेंगे। यह क्या तमाशा है कि दो देश लड़ रहे हैं, दो राष्ट्र लड़ रहे हैं, बड़े बड़े देश लड़ रहे हैं, चीन और हिन्दुस्तान का झगड़ा है, दो शेरों को टक्कर है और फँसला करने के लिये लोमड़ियां बुलाई जाती हैं। फँसला करने के लिये छोटे-छोटे देश, खरगोश जैसे देश बुलाये जाते हैं। अगर हम अपनी किस्मत का फँसला खुद नहीं कर सकते हैं, अगर हम खुद अपने पैरों पर खड़े नहीं हो सकते, तो चाहे कोलम्बो प्रपोज़िक्स हों चाहे काई ऐफ़ो एशियन स्टेप हो, वह हमारी रक्षा नहीं कर सकते। जिन कोलम्बो प्रपोज़िक्स को चाहना ने ठुकरा दिया और यह कह दिया कि इन कोलम्बो प्रपोज़िक्स को चीन की सरजमिन पर न रक्खो, वह सड़ चुके हैं, वह गल चुके हैं, उनमें कीड़े पड़ चुके हैं, उस मरे हुए सांप को गले में डाल कर सरकार जिन्या रहना चाहती है। आज सरकार इस बात की है कि इस सारे देश को फीज की तालीम दी जाये और देश के ४४ करोड़ इन्सानों के रहन सहन का, खान पान का इन्तजाम किया जाये। किस चीज को लेकर प्राप कहते हैं कि सेल्फ सफिशिएन्सी हो रही

है ? ३८ लाख टन हम आये साल लूज करते हैं । बढ़ना चाहिये ७० लाख टन प्रतिवर्ष और हम लूज कर रहे हैं ३८ लाख टन । आज एक चीज का चलन नहीं है इस हाउस के अन्दर कहने का । जिसका कहना मुनना शुरू नहीं किया गया उसे मैं साफ कर दूँ । उस बात के पहले न तो आपका डिफेन्स हो सकता है और न डेवेलपमेंट हो सकता है । जिसको कहने का रिवाज नहीं है, चलन नहीं है, वह बात यह है कि जिस तरह से आदमी का पेट बड़ा किया जा सकता है, जिस तरह से आदमी का वजन बढ़ाया जा सकता है, उस तरह से आख नहीं बढ़ाई जा सकती । कुदरत ने जैसी आख दी है वैसी ही रहेगी । उसी तरह से बाजरे की जमीन बढ़ाई जा सकती है, मकई की जमीन बढ़ाई जा सकती है, फाडर की जमीन बढ़ाई जा सकती है, लेकिन गेहूँ की खास जमीन मखसूस होती है । वह जमीन आपने पाकिस्तान के हवाले की हुई है ।

आज पाकिस्तान की जनता हमारे साथ मिलना चाहती है, आज पाकिस्तान की जनता रियूनियन चाहती है, लेकिन बीच में ५ फी सदी ऐसे लोग बैठे हुए हैं जिनका अपना इंटरेस्ट है । वह उनको मिलने नहीं देना चाहते । अमरीका के अन्दर गेहूँ पैदा होता है, पाकिस्तान के अन्दर गेहूँ पैदा होता है । रूस ने लाखों करोड़ों कोशिशें कर लीं, अरबों रुपये बहा दिये, लेकिन रूस बीस साल में भी अपने गेहूँ का इन्तजाम नहीं कर सका । हमारे गेहूँ का इन्तजाम तब होगा जब ९५ फी सदी जनता जो हम से मिलना चाहती है उसको मिलाए का इन्तजाम किया जाये । जिन के अन्दर हालत यह है कि बाप यहां है तो बेटा वहां है, मर्द यहां है तो औरत वहां है, जो एक दूसरे के लिये तड़प तड़प कर मर रहे हैं, और ५ फी सदी हुकमरा हैं, जो उनको मिलने नहीं देना चाहते । पाकिस्तान और हिन्दुस्तान की यूनियन के बगैर न गेहूँ का मसला हल हो सकता है न डिफेन्स का मसला हल हो सकता है, न हिन्दुस्तान की बेती का मसला हल हो

सकता है और रन राष्ट्रवाद ही पैदा हो सकता है । मैं बावशाह खां का साथी हूँ, मैं उनके साथ जेल में रहा हूँ । बादशाह खान सच्चा देशभक्त हैं । सरहद्दी गांधी अब्दुल गफ्फार खां, जिसको भुजायें घुटनों से नीचे आती हैं, जिसने आज तक एक बार भी झूठ नहीं बोला है, जो हर रोज अपने देश भारत माता को पूजता है और २९ साल से जेल में इसलिये बन्द है कि उसने हमारी आजादी के लिये लड़ाई की । उम बादशाह खां के साथ ६२ लाख आदमी हैं जो कैदी जैसा जीवन बिता रहे हैं । अगर उसकी देशभक्ति की कद्र करनी है तो यह दोनों मुल्क मिल कर एक हों और जो पांच फी सदी अफ-मर हैं, जो कि हम को मिलने नहीं देना चाहते, जो हुक्काम हम को मिलने नहीं देना चाहते, उनको हटाया जाये और हिन्दुस्तान के अन्दर प्रेम का वायुमण्डल पैदा किया जाये ।

यह हमारे लिये बड़े शर्म की बात है, जैसा कि कल श्री रघुनाथ सिंह ने कहा, हमारे लिये डूब मरने की बात है, कि एक साल में पाकिस्तान ने हमारी मां और बहनों के साथ ६१५ रप किये, उनके साथ रप के अत्याचार किये । अगर आप इस देश की हिस्ट्री उठा कर देखें तो एक द्रोपदी के चोर हरण के ऊपर १८ असीहिणी सेना जल कर राख हो गई थी, करोड़ों हमारे यहां के लोग जल कर राख हो गये थे । इस देश को रक्षा तभी हो सकती है जबकि हिन्दुस्तान के अन्दर रियूनियन पैदा हो और ५ फीस दी जो ऐसे लोग हैं जो कि हिन्दुस्तान को मिलने नहीं देना चाहते उनको बीच में से हटाया जाये । हमारे लिये यह शर्म की बात है कि हम पाकिस्तान का बास भी बांका न कर सके और हमारी आंखों के सामने हमारे मुसलमान भाइयों को कत्ल किया जाये, हमारी आंखों के सामने उनको ज़िबह किया जाये । आपको ४४ करोड़ इन्सानों की सेफ्टी की गारंटी देनी होगी । जिन लोगों ने हमारे कांस्टिट्यूशन को अपना कांस्टिट्यूशन समझा है उनकी रक्षा एक-एक मिनट हम लोग करने वाले हैं । हिन्दुस्तान की

[श्री यशपाल सिंह]

रक्षा तब होगी जब यह जहनियत बदल जायेगी और हिन्दुस्तान को युद्ध के लिये तैयार किया जायेगा ।

Mr. Speaker: The hon. Defence Minister.

Shri J. P. Jyotishi (Sagar): Sir, I want to draw your attention to a remark by the hon. Member there.

The Minister of Defence (Shri Y. B. Chavan): Sir, I would like to take more time and therefore I would require your permission to speak on Monday.

Mr. Speaker: He might begin and speak for two or three seconds.

Shri J. P. Jyotishi: Before that, I want to draw your attention to....

Shri Y. B. Chavan: Mr. Speaker, Sir. . . .

Shri Shinkre rose—

Mr. Speaker: I am sorry I have not been able to accommodate him. I have already accommodated one unattached Member.

Shri Shinkre: I cannot be penalised for over-taking of the time by so many Members.

Mr. Speaker: He does not belong to any Party. I have already accommo-

dated one unattached Member. That is my difficulty. I will give him time on the Finance Bill.

Shri J. P. Jyotishi: I was just referring to the remark by my hon. friend there. I think it is unparliamentary. He said that it is a fight between the two.

दो शेरों के बीच में लड़ाई है और लोमड़ियां बीच में समझौता करा रही हैं ।

अध्यक्ष महोदय : अनपार्लियामेंटरी तो नहीं है लेकिन इसका इस्तेमाल नहीं होना चाहिये ।

Shri J. P. Jyotishi: It is below the dignity of the House.

अध्यक्ष महोदय : किसी दूसरे मुल्क के लिये ऐसा कहना ठीक नहीं है, उचित नहीं है ।

Shri Y. B. Chavan: Mr. Speaker, Sir, I am grateful for the constructive way in which the hon. Members have tried to discuss the Defence demands for grants which are under consideration.

Mr. Speaker: He might continue on Monday.

17.37 hrs.

The Lok Sabha then adjourned till Eleven of the clock on Monday, March 23, 1964/Chaitra 3, 1886 (Saka).