

Ministry orders a sanction of this line.

Not only that. If this new line is constructed, we will get a connection from Kanya Kumari, Nagercoil, and from there to Trivandrum; and thus the southern end of India which is cut off from the railway system will get an opportunity of railway connection. In my student days, I know, my college friends who were studying at Tirunelveli coming from Nagercoil had not seen trains. What they used to do is, they would purchase a two-anna ticket and go from Tirunelveli to Palamcottah, just to see the train and travel by train because they had not travelled by train. I want to emphasise this matter, because that is the condition even today. That is why I emphasise that this Tirunelveli-Kanyakumari line should be ordered immediately.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: We will continue this debate tomorrow. Now we have to take up the other business.

15.02 hrs.

MOTION RE. STATEMENT ON
ESTABLISHMENT OF NEW
ORDNANCE FACTORIES

Shri Ranga (Chittoor): Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, I move:

"That this House takes note of the statement made on the 20th November, 1964 by the Minister of Defence Production on the Factories."

Sir, it is my duty to warn the country that just as this Government has got us into the serious crisis and mess over food, there is every justification for fearing that we are likely to be landed in an equally serious situation so far as our defence preparations are concerned. It is well known how the former Defence Minister, Mr. Krishna Menon, had neglected the preparation of our country in regard to defences with the result that we came to grief on the Himalayan front when the Chinese invaded our country so

successfully. We did not want, the House did not want, a similar debacle to overtake the country, and therefore it was generous enough to offer all the money, to sanction all the money that the Government came forward to ask. And we are told now that for the next five years they are going to have a five-year plan to spend—to ask for, obtain and then spend—as much as five thousand crores of rupees, at one thousand crores on the average per annum, on our defence equipment.

But now what is the position? We find, according to their own admission, the radar equipment is coming in; but this equipment, they said in answer to a question on the 23rd, is expected to be in operation in the latter half of 1965. Therefore, for another six or seven months it would not be available for operation at all.

Then, coming to transmitter, long-distance transmitter, which they said they wanted very badly in order to strengthen our defence preparations and gain friends through the propaganda that we can carry on on this Chinese question, Government has made a mess, and has repeated it also. At that time, you remember, the Government of India reached an agreement with America. That was cancelled before the ink with which it was written had gone dry. Afterwards they said they were going to be in search of another transmitter, or another friend who would be willing to supply a transmitter. Only the other day the Minister concerned told us that it would take another one year and six months or two years before they could possibly get the transmitters that they have been negotiating for. We do not know wherefrom they are going to get them. They seem to think that they would be able to get them on rupee exchange. Good luck to them in that. But then, would they be able to get them, and would they be able to instal them soon enough? That is the question.

Coming to these ordnance factories themselves, and coming to the army recruitment also, we were assured by

[Shri Ranga]

the new Defence Minister that very soon the Government of India was going to recruit and organise six Himalayan mountain divisions. They said recently that they have recruited a sufficient number of people, but they are not yet trained. (*Inter-ruption*). For only three divisions. For the other three, I suppose they have to wait another two years. We do not know. They are yet to be trained, and they are yet to be equipped. How long it is going to take, we do not know.

On top of all these failures, here comes the additional failure and more strategic failure in regard to the promise they have themselves made to establish six ordnance factories in our country. On the 23rd November they told us that out of the six, two are not going to be taken up at all. And for what reasons? They say they have given some reasons. They may be found satisfactory by themselves, but I do not know whether the House could find itself satisfied with their reasons.

They wanted to have one factory for high explosives. Are we so fully equipped or supplied with high explosives that we do not need this additional factory?

Then there is also another one, that is the propellant factory, to propel other arms. They wanted to manufacture arms in this propellant factory. That also they are going to give up. And why? What is the justification for abandoning these two factories, we do not know. They have not given us.

And what are the reasons? Is it because they have not been able to find friends abroad to offer to us the necessary knowhow as well as the machinery and other equipment necessary in order to establish these two factories? Or is it because our own existing ordnance factories are producing all the arms that they wanted to produce from out of these

two that they find it no longer necessary to establish these two factories? We do not know, we would like to have information.

Then, in regard to the other four, three of them are supposed to be started in one particular area. *Maybe* Maharashtra; one alone goes to Tiru-Chirapalli. How does it happen? It is very funny with this Government that whenever a new Minister comes he first of all thinks, if he does not think of his uncle, nephews, brothers and social and other factors, he at least thinks of his own region. It happened in the case of iron and steel. It also happened in upsetting the plans that were made in regard to the creation of a new Zone so far as the Railways were concerned when one Minister was there, just because a new Minister came. Now it is also happening in regard to this particular matter. How is it that this Minister has suddenly fallen in love with this one particular area alone, I want to be assured. Is it not a fact that in most of these ordnance factories, one particular type of labour unions are prevailing and are recognised, and a large element among our ordnance labour or their leaders or workers—God alone knows where it is—are under the influence of political elements which cannot be accepted to be an entirely patriotic and swadeshi . . .

Shri S. M. Banerjee (Kanpur): I disagree. No federation is affiliated..

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Order, order.

Shri S. M. Banerjee: He creates a wrong impression. Mr. N. M. Joshi is the president.

Shri Ranga: Maybe my friend belongs to it. But as Chairman of the Public Accounts Committee I had the honour of going round inspecting many of these ordnance factories, and I came to know....

Shri C. K. Bhattacharyya (Rai-ganj): Why does Mr. Banerjee take it upon his head?

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: I have asked him to wait for his time.

Shri Ranga: I took it up on the floor of the House and I warned the Defence Ministry to be careful about it. Now, some of these ordnance factories are already there in Maharashtra. And in Maharashtra, you know, this particular trouble is very much in evidence—is very much, I do not mean to say that all the labour has gone under their influence, but some labour. Apart from various other reasons, this is another reason why the ordnance factories should be dispersed all over India.

In this particular area, they have already had a sufficient number of ordnance factories, and I do not see any reason why all these three ordnance factories should also come to be situated there.

Now, what is it that we are doing in regard to the ordnance factories? Why should we delay in the development of these ordnance factories, except for the one at Warangal? All the other factories such as the Engineering factory at Ambajhari, the Filling Factory at Chanda and the Small Arms Factory at Tiruchirapalli are to come into existence in another two years' time. When would they go into production, efficient, satisfactory and full production? God alone knows. We do not know what might happen during the next two years so far as our defence front is concerned. Is it not a fact that the Defence Minister as well as the Prime Minister have been going about saying again and again that the Chinese have mounted their armies on the Himalayan front, with ever larger equipment and in ever larger concentrations and more numerous concentrations, and the threat is growing? While that threat is growing in that fashion with all the new equipment, with all that training and their capacity also to stand there in that high altitude, we seem to be fiddling here.

Out of the six mountain divisions, only three are taking shape. Out of

the six ordnance factories, only one is coming into production, and it was said that in October it would come into production; the machinery and plant were obtained from the USA for it; in regard to all others, one has only to consult the astrologer or the *panchangam*. This Government is not in possession at all of the facts. Now, they might say that let us not discuss all these things because these strategic secrets would go abroad in that case and all outsiders would come to know how weak we are. I would like to know whether Government are going to take this House into confidence or not. They formed what was known as the national defence council. I would like to know when it was convened, whether it was consulted at all, whether it was made aware of all the full details, and whether it had accepted this attenuated programme. If they have not convened it, why did they not convene it? Even in regard to its constitution I am not satisfied, and I have said so many a time, because it is inadequately represented. It does not deserve to be called the national defence council. But even that national defence council has not been consulted and they did not agree to this.

Why is it that we are not able to start all these factories? It is because we did not get enough of equipment. Which is the friendly country from which we are unable to get it? Is it not a fact that the Defence Minister has gone round the whole world and to the capitals of various countries and then come back and told us that all those people are all flowing with milk and honey with all their love for us and so on? If that is so, where is the trouble now? We know what is happening in regard to the big factories; they are moving slowly in a tortoise-like manner. We do not know whether they would move at all. Is the trouble with the USSR or with the UK or with the USA? We know that if we are going to depend upon Soviet Russia for our defence

[Shri Ranga]

forces, it is going to be a dangerous thing, and at the same time, our Government want to depend upon them. I would like to know whether Government are able to get all the assistance that they wanted from the USSR and at reasonable rates?

And why is all this happening? It is because of the wrong foreign policy that Government have been following. They always talk of non-alignment and non-attachment and they want to have an equi-distant policy, with the result that we are equi-distant from everybody so far as aid, help and assistance are concerned, and we are in such a weak position. Who knows our defence secrets and defence strategy? It is certainly not Parliament and not even the informal consultative committee. It is Soviet Russia, and it is England and it is America which knows these things. Some time back these communist friends used to get angry because we used to have common manoeuvres with the UK forces, but now we seem to be having not only manoeuvres but also flirtation with all these three countries, and therefore, they know all the facts and the strength of our forces, and from them Pakistan gets them and China gets them. Can Government say that they do not get them? England is on the same friendly terms with China as we happen to be with England or with Russia. Is it not possible for the Chinese therefore to get all these secrets? All this is happening, and yet why is it that Parliament is not being taken into confidence at all in regard to this matter?

In conclusion, I would warn the Government once again that if they were to tarry in this fashion in preparing the country for defence, it is very likely that the new Defence Minister and this Government will have to meet with the same fate that the earlier Defence Minister had met with. The atom bomb has been exploded by China. We do not know

when she would be minded to throw it on us. But in the meanwhile, she has gained so much of strength and prestige, and correspondingly we have lost prestige. Let not Government deceive themselves thinking that all these African nations are our friends and, therefore, we need not be in such a hurry in regard to the transmitter. We have lost heavily already. We can make good this loss now only by equipping our forces. First of all, we have to organise them fully, equip them adequately and assure them of adequate supply of arms and equipment, and secondly, we must see that these ordnance factories are organised in such a manner in all their variety that it would be possible for Government to assure our defence forces of a regular, adequate and effective supply of the latest possible arms, and when they are needed, in sufficient quantities, with the necessary propellant machinery, with the necessary helicopter and other equipment that would be needed to help our people so that they will have timely aid and timely equipment on the Himalayan heights when the need arises.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Motion moved:

“That this House takes note of the statement made on the 20th November, 1964 by the Minister of Defence Production on the establishment of new Ordnance Factories.”

Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath (Hoshangabad): May I reiterate the request or demand made earlier—I think you were also here at that time—that in view of the importance of the subject for the country and the nation the time allotted for the debate may kindly be increased by at least one hour, if not two hours?

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: We shall increase the time allotted by one hour.

Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath: The Defence Minister may also be requested to be present.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Shri A. M. Thomas who is present here is also a Minister.

Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath: The senior Minister may also be requested to be present.

Shri D. C. Sharma (Gurdaspur): I have listened with rapt attention to the powerful speech that the leader of the Swatantra Party has made on this subject, but I must say very frankly, without hurting anybody, and with due regard to the leader of the Swatantra Party that his speech was much ado about nothing. I do not think he made a speech on the subject which was being discussed.

He talked about the mess over food, our debacle on the Himalayan front, about the transmitter which we were to get from the USA, and he talked about everything that could be discussed on the floor of this House, but I must submit very respectfully that those things did not throw any light on the motion which he had moved.

Before I come to the motion proper, I want to dispel some of the wrong notions which have been given vent to by the hon. Mover. Firstly he stated that we did not get a transmitter from the USA. If we did not get that transmitter from the USA which is a friendly country, a country which I respect, and a country, which is always ready to help us, that was because we were inspired by the notions of national prestige and national sovereignty. As regards having friends, I may tell you that we have so many friends in this world only because we are following a policy of non-alignment.

Shri Solanki (Kaira): Big question.

Shri D. C. Sharma: The question comes from a person who does not know the meaning of non-alignment. What can I do? (*Interruption*). But I submit very respectfully that it is on account of our non-alignment that we have some of these persons also as our friends and some of those countries also as our friends, who are supposed to be inclined one way or the other which may not, to superficial observers, be conducive to our welfare. I therefore think that the transmitter deal which we gave up was done so rightly without hurting the feelings of any country and without riding rough-shod over the sentiments of any country. We did so in the interest of the sovereignty of our country. I think that was a good thing. Only the other day, we heard a statement from the Minister of Information and Broadcasting that she was going to make good that failure and instead of having one transmitter, we are going to have three. I am sure that these three transmitters will serve our country much more than one transmitter taken from any country would have done.

Another point I want to discuss before I come to the motion is this.

Shri Kapur Singh (Ludhiana): Don't trouble yourself.

Shri D. C. Sharma: I do not trouble myself. But the difficulty is that there are some persons over whose heads my speech will pass. Therefore, I think they need not be afraid of that.

I was submitting very respectfully that the National Defence Council was brought in. I know what their attitude was with regard to that Council. They were always talking of retired generals who were doing propaganda on behalf of some political party, that they should be taken into that Council, they should be brought in and they should be consulted so far as our strategy was concerned. I think this is a thing unheard of in any country in the world. This has not

[Shri D. C. Sharma]

been done by any defence department of any country in the world. It has never been done whenever any country has had to fight a war. As our late Prime Minister said, when Russia started fighting the last war, when UK started taking interest in any war, both the countries.....

Shri Krishnapal Singh (Jalesar): Was the hon. Member saying that generals are doing propoganda here on behalf of any party?

Shri D. C. Sharma: I did not refer to the hon. Member.

I was saying when Russia and UK were fighting their war, both of them had to send away some of their old generals and their place was taken by younger generals. This is the history of the second world war. It is to be found in Germany or any other country. But here are my friends, past-dominated, blind to the future, unrealistic, taking no account of what is happening in the world, saying that we should have more retired generals so that the National Defence Council could become a Council of old fossils, a Council of those persons who could not deliver the goods.

So, I say that when the National Defence Council had its place in the economy of our life when it was needed. Now we are having recourse to other instruments, other means, in order to step up the tempo of preparedness of our country. The National Defence Council was meant for a particular time and that time is past.

Now, I am sorry that anybody should have impeached our Defence Minister.

Shri Alvares (Panjim): Who has impeached him?

Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath: Attacked him.

Shri D. C. Sharma: Those ordnance factories are located not in obedience to the whims of a particular person; they are not located here and there

because a person comes from a particular State. Anyone who has studied the location of these industries, public sector industries, whether it is the steel industry or the ordnance factories or any other type of industries, will come to know that this is done after a great deal of preparation and field inquiry and that it is the technical and economic aspect of the matter that weighs much more than the personal predilections of any person. Therefore, to say that three factories are going to be located in one State and one is going to be located in another State is, I think, wide of the mark. We want a dispersal of factories all over India and there is such dispersal all over India. This is done not to satisfy the dreams of provincial aggrandizement, but it is done in order that the quantum of production should be the highest in that place. That is the yardstick with which we measure the location of our factories.

Now, I agree with Shri Ranga—he is a good friend of mine—about the Chinese having exploded an atom bomb. On the floor of this House, we have been told that the Chinese are building up their potential, war potential, on our borders, that they are trying to do all that kind of thing. I also know that they have exploded the bomb. But if anybody had studied the reactions to that explosion, which are to be found all over the world, he would have found one thing, that though the explosion of the bomb is a status symbol, a prestigious thing, the bomb in itself does not mean anything. You must have a delivery system also. It has been said by knowledgeable persons that the Chinese will have that delivery system in, as some say, twenty-years,—some say fifteen years, and some others say ten. This has to be realised. Of course, I do say that the Chinese bomb poses the greatest threat to us, but to think that the Chinese bomb is going to do all that to which the hon. Member referred is, I think, not justified either by scientific data or scientific knowledge.

As I look at the industrial map of this country, I find that the industrial production picture is very very encouraging. I can assure you that the quantum of our defence preparedness—I do not want to go into the past; I do not want to throw mud at any person—is going up higher and higher every day. It does not become the Minister to tell us how much we are doing today, how much we will do tomorrow. I think our factories which manufacture things needed by our army, factories which manufacture things for our navy and air force and factories which manufacture things which are related to border warfare, factories which produce ammunitions, trucks, tractors, aeroplanes and so on, are all in good health. They are not only keeping up the tempo, but I think their tempo is going up very very much every day.

15.30 hrs.

[DR. SAROJINI MAHISHI in the Chair]

Take the Hindustan Aircraft Limited or the Bharat Electronics. Can anybody say that these factories have not been geared to that pitch which is required by our defence requirements? Can anybody say that all these factories are not being worked in such a way that they are not going to be very potent and very active factors in bringing us nearer the goal of victory if there is any call to battle? I think our preparations are all-sided. Formerly, we took account only of the requirements of the army. Now we are navy-conscious, now we are air-force-conscious, now we are also conscious in other respects, and I believe that this thing is going on steadily. I can say without any chauvinism or without any exaggeration that if we are called upon to face a challenge now, India will be able to give a very good account of itself, and the Chinese will not be led to believe that the Indians are not able to give a good drubbing to them. I am sure we will give them a good drubbing.

It has been said that there are certain things which are not being done properly. The Soviet aid is there, the U.S. aid is there, the U.K. aid is there. Of course, there are some Members who want aid only from one country or the other. I am obliged to all these countries which give us aid. Though we welcome all this aid, I have no doubt that our ordnance factories, the Hindustan Aircraft Limited and other factories are working at their topmost pitch, and I am sure they will be able to give a good account of themselves. I believe that this thing is there.

Much has been said about secrets. Who knows the secrets of anybody? They say that the United Kingdom passes on our secrets to Pakistan, the U.S.A. passes on our secrets to some other country, the Soviet Union gives our secrets to other countries. I do not know from what source they get this information. I do not think that it is in the interests of any country to give away the secrets of any other country. Every country deals with the other countries in a kind of watertight compartment, and they do not want that the right hand should know what the left hand does.

Therefore, I believe that our defence preparations are going on. After all, our factories are not like toys which can be built up in two hours; arms and ammunitions are not like a child's baubles which can be done in an hour or two. It may take a year or two to build up a factory, but our country is defence-conscious, is Chinese aggression-conscious; our country is armed not only with weapons, but also armed so far as the spirit is concerned.

Something was said about some labour union. I believe that the work that the labour unions and the ordnance factories have been doing goes not only to their credit, but to our credit also, and I think to spoil it or throw any kind of doubt on the patriotism of any

[Shri D. C. Sharma]

India is wide of the mark. I think the workers have been doing very well.

So, I think on all the fronts we are very well prepared and our defence preparations are going ahead, and I think in another two or three years India will have such a defence complex that we shall be able to face China with great courage and we shall be able to give a good drubbing to it.

Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath: While the Communist Leviathan on the other side of the Himalayan border was, after the military subjugation of Tibet, busy arming itself to the teeth, modernising its army and equipment and weapons, our Government, lulled into comatose complacency by the pleasing opiates of *panchsheel* and the specious mantra of *Hindi Chini bhai bhai*.....

Shri Kapur Singh: Very well said.

Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath:..... neglected defence production. It is not my censure of the Government, but of President Radhakrishnan's.

After the national humiliation of the military debacle in NEFA and Ladakh, the President visited our forces in the forward areas, in the hospitals, and came back and told us that this debacle was the outcome of Government's credulity and negligence over a period of years.

Those five years were wasted years. During those wasted years, the Prime Minister, maladvised by his Man Friday, turned defence and ordnance factories into little factories for the manufacture of thermos flasks and coffee percolators and such other trinkets and bagatelle, and that led to the shameful debacle of NEFA and Ladakh. Our brave, gallant soldiers who have fought in various other fields in all parts of the world, were sent to the front ill-equipped, ill-shod, ill-weaponed and sacrificed to the Chinese communists.

Shortly after that, Parliament demanded unanimously that there

should be an enquiry into the whole matter, and a very experienced officer, a senior officer of the Armed forces, Maj. Gen. Henderson Brooks, enquired into the whole matter, but an expurgated, a doctored, a censored version of the report was laid on the Table of the House—an insult to the House. We demanded time and again that the entire report be laid on the Table of the House. Even now I demand that the report of Maj. Gen. Henderson Brooks, who has hit the nail on the head, who has told categorically who were responsible, and how they were responsible, how the ordnance factories were prestituted for other purposes, be laid on the Table of the House.

Shri Kapur Singh: Shame.

Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath: All this has been mentioned in that report, and if they have got the guts, if they have a sense of honour, a sense of shame, an awareness of disgrace, which they ought to have after the debacle, let them lay the report on the Table of the House. It is the least they should do as a *prayaschitta* for the crimes and blunders which they have perpetrated for five years, from 1957 to 1962.

Fortunately, at the time of the emergency, the President, as Supreme Commander of the Armed Forces, played key role, and the House, and the nation, is glad that the near-traitorous Defence Minister was dispensed with.

But, after that, what has been the mood of the present Government? I am sorry to say that it is again sinking into complacency. Here is what was given by the Minister of Defence Production on the 7th of this month in answer to a question by an hon. colleague of mine in the House. The wording used was: "After the emergency", these things are being done—I do not know if this was misprint or a slip of the pen or tongue, perhaps he

meant to say after the Proclamation of the Emergency—as if the Emergency is finished now. That was betrayed by a senior Member of the Congress Party some time ago when he said there was no emergency. He was not aware of any emergency. And that is the mood that has overtaken the Congress Party, the ruling party today, with what fearful consequences for the nation I shudder to think.

My hon. colleague, Shri Ranga, has rightly pinpointed the effects of this complacency. Two precious years, more than two precious years—the Emergency was proclaimed on 26th October, 1962, and today we are in December, 1964—have elapsed. The Prime Minister, Shri Jawaharlal Nehru, woke up in 1962, as he himself said,—these are not my words—the Prime Minister confessed that he had been living in a world of unreality; and the Chinese invasion, with the sacrifice of 2,000 gallant soldiers, young men who have left behind widowed women and orphaned children, was necessary to wake up the Prime Minister. Then the Government woke up and were pleased to sanction six ordnance factories for the manufacture of various arms needed for modern warfare. What is the progress? Two years have elapsed and only one factory has gone into production. Six factories were under consideration, four were sanctioned, two have been given up, for reasons best known to themselves; and God alone knows for what reasons the factories intended for the manufacture of explosives and propellants had been dropped. In respect of the three other factories only civilian works, construction work is in progress. One factory has gone into production. I charge the Government that they are still somnolent, if not moribund; they are complacent. The same complacency is overtaking us, which had overtaken the Government in 1957—62 and if they do not wake up, I do not know what fearful consequences will be in store for the people who will suffer for the crimes,

misdeemeanours and blunders of this Government. I am sorry to use strong words but these are hard times of desperate maladies that are eating into the vitals of the Government, and so they need desperate words also. I hope that this at least would wake them up and that they will see that these factories are constructed in the shortest possible time.

The other day, the hon. Minister of Information also the late Prime Minister's worthy daughter, said; two years will be required for the installation of the transmitter. I am not going into that now. For everything, we need two years and three years while other countries like China and others go and do it in six months.

Shri Kapur Singh: She came down to 18 months.

Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath: We are thankful for small mercies. I hope it will come down to 12 months later on: when they are prodded on by Parliament. Parliament should prod them and push them; only then they will act; otherwise, sweet sleep, comatose somnolence, complacency that is the bane of this Government . . . (*Interruptions.*)

An hon. Member: Even then they do not wake up.

Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath: I remember what serious times we are living in today. I was present at a luncheon given to our Defence Minister, Mr. Chavan, in London—I wish he were present here today—and I was also invited by the hosts, the Indian Press Association in London. He alarmed and shocked all those present by telling the audience the capability of the Chinese Armed Forces today. Knowing that, why this slow, snail-like pace and why this complacency? The Defence Minister told us in London—it was a public luncheon, it was reported in the British Press, I do not know whether the Indian papers reported that—

Shri Ranga: Much more here than there.

Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath: I will quote only one extract from his speech, one little item which he highlighted, one little aspect of the matter. He said: Chinese airforce is so developed today, is so well-equipped today that it is capable of 500 sorties a day on the Himalayan border. What are we doing? Some of the Press correspondents did not believe it; they repeated the question. Yes, he said, 500 sorties a day on the Himalayan border. Are we equal to the task?

The other day, I put the question about the mountain divisions and he said we were 'reasonably prepared'. What is the meaning of this 'reasonably prepared'? Shall we go to the Supreme Court to decide what is reasonable and unreasonable? You are a well versed lawyer, Chairman Madam, and you know what are the statements of Government in this House like. There have been umpteen statements here, perhaps more than one hundred statements made in the last two months and I will read only two or three extracts; there is no time. If I am given the time, I would have pilloried the Government much more effectively. A statement was made in answer to a question on Ishapur rifle factory on 2nd March, 1964 that its capacity today is only 2500 rifles per month. I do not know what its capacity formerly was or whether it has increased now. Then on 1-6-1964 there was another question; six projects were listed. Look how the public interest creeps into everything. Public means governmental interest it is not national interest. It is considered not to be in public interest to give the individual cost of each project. What is wrong with it? I do not know what has infected the mind of the Government, what malady, what malaise. You will find in foreign magazines like *Time* and other English magazines the cost and all these details. But Government hides them to

cover a multitude of sins, crimes and ignorance and their own unwillingness to take Parliament into confidence; they refuse to take Parliament into confidence. When China captured our gallant soldiers in Hot Springs, they refused to tell the nation, they have no confidence in the nation. That is why the nation has no confidence in them. That is the root of the matter.

The Minister of Defence Production in the Ministry of Defence (Shri A. M. Thomas): That is well-known from the results of the by-election.

Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath: We have also won by-elections do not worry. You are going to see in Kerala how you fare; you will be routed again.

Dr. M. S. Aney: (Nagpur): Success in Kerala election will not mean success over China.

Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath: May I tell the Government and the Minister of Defence Production that they are to defend the people against China who is our enemy and not merely win elections in Ernakulam.

Mr. Chairman: Let us restrict ourselves to the subject under consideration.

Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath: The subject is ordnance factories and defence production. I do not know whether you have got the hang of the matter. Ordnance factories means defence production. Defence against whom? Against the enemy.....

Mr. Chairman: Let the discussion not be diverted towards Kerala.

Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath: He mentioned the subject of elections. Why didn't you call him to order? I hope you will be fair to both sides of the House.

Mr. Chairman: I request the hon. Member to continue rather conclude.

Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath I am grateful to you for your indulgence. On the 7th of December only last week my hon. colleague asked for information whether defence production in the country during 1963-64 has nearly doubled, details of increased production, actual value of production in 1963-64, value of arms and equipment actually delivered to the Armed Forces. That was a very innocent question. The answer was: information will be collected and laid on the Table. They could not answer even whether the defence production had increased had doubled. Madam Chairman, this is *talmatol*, this procrastination even during the emergency. Madam Chairman, you send many questions; I have seen them, you send questions 10 days, 15 days or even one month ahead sometimes. Even then notice is not enough for them to collect information. What are they doing with the army of secretaries, deputy secretaries and under secretaries and all these? They are well-equipped here: they do not want to equip the Armed Forces equally well with the weapons. If the Armed Forces had as many kinds of weapons as they have got secretaries, deputy secretaries and under secretaries and all the other paraphernalia, retinue and pariwar, our Army will be better off.

I will conclude in two minutes, Madam Chairman. We have got a wonderful answer here they say that the cost of materials imported by ordnance factories during 1963-64 and 1964-65, upto 30th September, 1964 is 12.05 per cent of something. The percentage is given. The Minister goes on to say: the exact figures of the cost of imported materials cannot be given as they are not maintained separately. I do not know what rigm-rolle is all this that you can give only the percentage and not the cost. They will have to explain it to the House. How is the percentage calculated without the cost being known of the total? Then alone you can calculate the percentage. I do not know whether the Minister read through his

answer before he read it out to the House and tried to go into that mistake.

Mr. Chairman: I will request him to conclude now.

Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath: I will conclude. I would refer, before I conclude, to the statement made by the Defence Minister on the 20th of November, laid on the Table of the House. He says in this statement that the production in these factories which had been dropped, are such that there is little scope for conversion to civilian use in time of peace. Are we living in times of peace now? This completely nails, hits the nail on its head. The Minister of Defence Production and the Minister of Defence have no business to be there. The Defence Minister came into the House, came to Parliament, with an enormous fund of goodwill. You know what speeches he made in Maharashtra. He said, if I remember rightly, that he would not return to Satara, or his native town, unless and until he has driven out the Chinese from our sacred soil. I will remind him of that promise. The President advised him at a public meeting to have the courage to say 'no' to wrong proposals. I will advise him to have the courage to say 'yes' when wrong proposals are made to him. He must serve here.

If the Government says, "in times of peace," where is the emergency then? Let them revoke the emergency if they say "in times of peace." Then they will be honest to themselves. Let the President revoke the emergency. So I say this is not the time of peace; we are living in a time of emergency. China is massing its forces on our border. The other day, the Defence Minister said in a public meeting also that the Chinese build-up continues, a very alarming build-up continues. But they say we are living in times of peace. What is all this nonsense?

I hope the Defence Minister will wake up and see to it that this farce of running defence production in this manner, in this lackadaisical manner,

[Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath]

in this somnolent manner and in this moribund fashion will come to a close very soon and that arms will be produced and the armed forces will be equipped at no distant date, lest the worse befall us.

Shri S. M. Banerjee: Mr. Chairman, I congratulate the hon Member Shri Ranga for initiating this discussion at a time when we are confronted on two frontiers. We have to fight the armed might of the Chinese and, at the same time, we are preparing ourselves to fight Pakistan if they go on doing the same thing as they are doing at present. I do not want to say anything as to what he stated about trade unions in ordnance factories. I would only correct my respected friend Shri Ranga that there are two all-India organisations working in the ordnance factories, one headed by Shri S. M. Joshi whose sacrifices to the nation through the political movement are next to none, and the other headed by Dr. Malkote, who belongs to the INTUC. There should be no fear lurking in his mind that these organisations are headed by anti-national elements or those elements who sabotage the defence preparedness. I would only request him not to say a thing without knowing fully well, because the natural feeling may be created in the country about the labour organisation which is doing its best after the Chinese aggression.

I remember on the 20th October, 1962, we heard on the All India Radio that the Chinese had brutally attacked us; they had betrays our confidence; they had attacked us treacherously like cowards; immediately, from 21st October, 1962, the entire defence employees under the leadership of Shri S. M. Joshi and all others, rose like one man and they worked for 12 hours without taking overtime and they contributed one day's salary and they contributed in all Rs. 27 lakhs in one month. My hats off to those de-

fence employees who really geared up all the machinery in the ordnance factories which were almost kept to rust.

I remember that in 1956, when we on behalf of the defence employees' federation moved this House also through various Members and my hon. friend, the late-lamented Shri U. C. Patnaik that there should be more work in ordnance factories. A feeling was created in this House even by the late-lamented Prime Minister, Shri Jawaharlal Nehru, that after all these ordnance factories should not survive only with the hope of war. There was a note of caution from us. We said at a time of emergency, at a time of need, when we were surrounded—the signs were apparent to us and visible to us but they were not visible to this Government—and that the Chinese with their expansionist methods, expansionist programme, were bound to attack India. But mass retrenchment took place in 1956 in the name that there is no work in ordnance factories. The entire ordnance workers, all defence employees, whose total number was to the tune of four lakhs, was reduced to 2,63,000 and trained artisans were retrenched without any alternative jobs. That was the history of the ordnance factories, when Shri Tyagi was the Minister and Shri Katju was the Cabinet Minister in charge of defence.

What happened after that? There was pressure from all quarters and just after 1962, 20th October, the people realised that the ordnance factories have to produce more. More Civilian items were produced. I have no grouse against that, because there was a scheme for trigger production. It was said that if we cannot produce bombs or shells or small arms or rifles and if the machinery which we get under the lend-lease scheme from foreign countries during the last war were made to rust, we cannot switch them over to any production, whether defence or civilian, and that was neces-

sary that some items, whether civilian or other items, should be produced just to keep the skill alive. There is nothing bad in that. But what happened after that? Much has been said about the way in which these ordnance factories are working. As an ex-ordnance factory employee and having spent 17 years of my precious life in the ordnance factories as artisan and as supervisor, I have seen what those factories did and how they functioned in 1961 and how they started functioning after the Chinese invasion in 1962. I would only request my hon. friend Shri Ranga to visit these ordnance factories. Let him visit the ammunition factory at Kirkee and visit the small arms factory in Kanpur; let him go and see the gun carriage factory at Jabalpur and see how these trucks are made. Let him go to the machine-tool factory at Ambarnath which is said to be the mother factory, which is going to produce machine-tools for the manufacture of other tools, jigs and fixtures for the ordnance factories, for manufacturing other items. Let us not condemn the ordnance factories at an hour when we are confronted with attacks. When the Chinese are building up their arms, when they are massing their army on our borders, when the Pakistanis are doing their best to sabotage of our defence needs. Let us not condemn them; let us not condemn those who produce arms and are doing their best even today.

Dr. M. S. Aney: Let us not condemn each other.

Shri S. M. Banerjee: I did not say that Shri Ranga condemned them. But a feeling may be created, because we know that there is a feeling in this country. What is that feeling? I was surprised to read a statement said to have been issued by the Finance Minister on his return from abroad. That statement has not yet been demanded. The news appearing in the *National Herald* said that the Finance Minister on his return from foreign countries is said to have addressed a letter to the Prime Minister telling him that we are producing enough in

ordnance factories and that even the reserves are completed and there is a possibility that some employees may become surplus. It is also said in the news that the Prime Minister passed on that letter to the Defence Minister asking whether more recruitment should be done or no recruitment should be done or the services of these people who have been recruited should be terminated. I want to know why the Finance Minister should issue such a statement and whether a letter has ever been issued. If so, at a time when we have trained these persons, when 23,000 new hands have been recruited during this emergency to the ordnance factories and have been trained, today, they are confronted with retrenchment. In Avadi and in the parachute factory and in other factories they are confronted with retrenchment. I know the hon. Minister will immediately say that they are trying to absorb them in the new ordnance factories. It may be done but have we completed our work? Is there no defence order? What has happened to those orders? What has happened to those items which you promised to produce?

It has been said here that only 2,500 rifles are being produced. My information is that those 2,500 rifles are automatic rifles per month. I submit that this number should be increased. There is no doubt about the fact that the automatic rifles produced in the rifle factory at Ishapur with the help of other factories is the best rifle of its kind produced in this country compared to any foreign rifle; that has been mentioned by some foreign experts who have visited this country. I am proud of it. There is another item—sten-guns and bren-guns—and also small arms which are being produced in the small arms factory at Kanpur. I want that factory to be expanded. I shall not be sorry if instead of six new ordnance factories, only four come into existence and the present ordnance factories are expanded fully, though I sincerely feel that there should have been more than six new ordnance factories in

[Shri S. M. Banerjee]

our country to cater to our needs to move towards self-sufficiency in the matter of defence. We cannot depend on the Soviet Union or U.S.A. for ever. We may get some assistance from them, but we should be proud of our technical know-how and of our artisans. India can only be defended with Indian arms. We cannot depend solely on foreign countries. That was one of the recommendations made by the Baldev Singh Committee, the Kalyanwalla Committee and other committees, namely, that our ordnance factories should move towards self-sufficiency and the defence production should go up, and also that the conditions of the employees should be improved along with that.

16 hrs.

Another point has been raised about MIGs. I do not know what is happening. I wish we shall be able to produce MIGs in our country during the fourth Plan. But seeing the way in which it is proceeding, it is really a race between the hare and the tortoise. I do not know if ultimately the tortoise will win. But surely we should not move at the tortoise's pace.

Coming to the Avro-708 project in Kanpur, I am extremely happy that a new officer has been sent as the General Manager of the HAL there. I do not impute any motive to that officer. But is it a fact that that particular officer is an Electrical Engineer and not a Mechanical Engineer? If really the job is meant for a Mechanical Engineer, how is it that an Electrical Engineer has been sent there? I want to know whether there is any truth in it. We cannot experiment with Avro-708. The Tata Committee report was against Avro-708. The weight of that aircraft was increased by 500 lbs. and then the Tata Committee said it is not fit for high altitude flights. We counteracted that, because I know that Lockheed interest were working in India. They wanted their own aircraft to be manufactured instead of the Avro. But we in this House, from all sides, wanted that Avro-708

should be proceeded with. It has come and it has proved to be one of the best aircraft. But if this sort of criticism continues even in the manufacture of Avro, we shall not be able to produce Avro, but something else, if a wrong man is given a high place in the Avro-108 project.

There will be 23 ordnance factories with these four new factories. There should be proper co-ordination between them. The post of Controller General of Defence Production has been abolished and the person has been sent out. I do not mind; I do not hold any brief for any officer. But what is going to happen now? That has been bifurcated into two posts—inspection and production. Will they be controlled by one person—the Secretary for Defence Production or somebody else? There should be proper co-ordination between the DGOF, DME, DOS and the E-in-C, i.e. Engineer-in-Chief, so that every item produced in the army workshop could be utilised. The army workshops should not be merely confined to repair and maintenance work, but they should be geared up for production of arms and other vehicles.

We are producing tanks and other vehicles. When we were producing Shaktiman, leaflets were issued by Premier Automobiles, TELCO, and Birlas that our ordnance factories will not be able to produce it. When we produced it, they said, it cannot be put on the road. When it was put on the road, they said, it may be spoiled after two years. But today Shaktiman and Nishan have become that whatever he has said, he is trying try and I congratulate them.

I will say a few words about the employees also. I have full confidence in the Defence Ministry and in the Defence Minister, because I feel that whatever he has said, he is trying to fulfil it.

Shri Ranga: Question.

Shri S. M. Banerjee: My confidence is not political confidence; it is the confidence of an Indian citizen in a Defence Minister who wants that the Chinese should be beaten hollow. I still know we were not defeated by the Chinese; we were humiliated. Having full confidence in our jawans, if we had had better Generals and not traitors like Gen. Kaul and Gen. Pathania, we would have beaten them on the plains, if not on the hill areas. They may have the atom bomb....

Shri Ranga: The traitor was not the General, but the Minister.

Shri S. M. Banerjee: If you become the Defence Minister, do you think it will change suddenly? It will not.

Shri Ranga: It has changed. You are in love with the Defence Minister now!

Shri S. M. Banerjee: I may tell Mr. Ranga that when Mr. Goldwater was defeated, it has thrown cold water on many people. I do not want American Air umbrella. I do not want that we should depend only on USA. I want that India should be defended by the Indian people with Indian arms. That will be our true defence. Time will show that the same ill-clad, ill-fed workers in our ordnance factories will be able to manufacture the deadliest weapons, the most conventional automatic weapons in this country, if we do not condemn them. We must boost them up. I lend my wholehearted support to the Defence Ministry. If they behave well with the employees, we shall pay them back. The defence employees will never fight. If at all we fight, we shall fight only in self-defence for the fulfilment of our legitimate demands.

श्री शिव नारायण (बांसी) : सभ्यपति महोदय, हमारे मित्र ने यह रेजोल्यूशन इस हाउस में रख कर हम को डिफेंस के बारे में बोलने का अवसर दिया है।

आज हमारे पास हिन्दुस्तान का सब से बैस्ट आइमी डिफेंस मिनिस्टर है, जिस पर 1899 (Ai) LSD—7.

अभी अभी विरोधी दल के सदस्यों ने अपना कान्फिडेंस प्रकट किया है। डिफेंस मिनिस्टर की सब से बड़ी खूबी यह है कि उस को कम बोलना चाहिए। वह खूबी हमारे मौजूदा डिफेंस मिनिस्टर में है। माननीय सदस्य, श्री कामत और श्री रंगा, ने अपने विचार प्रकट किये हैं। वह बड़े प्रोफेसर हैं। मैं बड़े अदब के साथ उन से पूछना चाहता हूँ कि क्या उन्होंने इस स्टेटमेंट को सदा है। उन्होंने नहीं पढ़ा है। वे केवल हवा में किला मारते हैं।

जब हम इस हाउस में डिफेंस मिनिस्ट्री को डिस्कस करें, तो हम को उस में प्रोपेगंडा एलिमेंट नहीं लाना चाहिए। यह सीधी सी बात है। दूसरे विषयों पर हम जो चाहें कहें, लेकिन डिफेंस के सम्बन्ध में हम को कुछ संयम से काम लेना चाहिए। आज हमारे पास एक अच्छा डिफेंस मिनिस्टर है, जो कि काम्पिटेंट और फ्रिट है। वह सीक्रेसी आउट नहीं करता है। मुझे याद है कि जब जयपुर कांग्रेस में किसी ने पंडित जवाहरलाल से कोई सवाल पूछा था, तो उन्होंने कहा था, "यू बांट मि टु ओपन दि सीक्रेट्स आफ दि गवर्नमेंट टु यू" क्या माननीय सदस्य यह चाहते हैं कि आज हम अपने डिफेंस के सीक्रेट्स को आउट कर दें? उन्होंने कहा कि अमरीका और रशा आउट कर देते हैं। उन को किसी पर भी विश्वास नहीं है। उन को सिर्फ अपने पर विश्वास है—और किसी पर विश्वास नहीं है।

जैसा कि माननीय सदस्य, श्री बनर्जी, ने कहा है, हिन्दुस्तान का जो गरीब वर्कर आर्डिनेंस फ़ैक्टरीज में काम कर रहा है, उस ने काम किया है, त्याग किया है, अपनी मजदूरी की मांग नहीं की है और देश के नाम पर कुरबानी की है। आज आप जिन को बड़े आदमी समझते हैं, जो लोग अपने आप को बड़े समझते हैं, वे सब से ज्यादा खतरनाक हैं। डिफेंस में आप उन आदमियों को भरती करें, फौज में आप उन लोगों को भरती करें

[श्री शिव नारायण]

जो मजबूत हों, जिनके हाथ पैर मजबूत हों, जो काफी पैदल चल सकें, भारी भारी बोझें ढो सकें। कोमल अंग वालों को, खूबसूरत अंग वालों को भरती करने से किस तरह के खतरनाक नतीजे निकल सकते हैं यह नेफा के मोर्चे पर साबित हो चुका है। मैं बर्नार्डी साहब से इस बात में सहमत हूँ कि जनरल कौल जो कुछ नेफा में हुआ है, उसके लिये जिम्मेदार हैं। वह हमारे कमांडर थे। अगर उनकी जगह पर जनरल चौधरी होते तो यह दिन देखने को हमें न मिलता। वहाँ पर हम ने जो किलेबन्दी की थी, वह बहुत अच्छी थी लेकिन जनरल कौल ने सारा काम खराब कर दिया। जो जवान हमारे मारे गये हैं, जिन अमूल्य जानों से हमें हाथ धोना पड़ा है, उससे दिल को ठेस पहुँचती है, कसक होती है।

मैं बोर्डर डिस्ट्रिक्ट से आता हूँ। वहाँ पर नेपाल का बोर्डर लगता है। बोर्डर पर क्या कुछ होता है, वहाँ कैसी कंडिशन होती है, उनको मैं अच्छी तरह से जानता हूँ। वहाँ पर तैनात जवान पत्तों पर रहते हैं। हमारे दांडेकर जी भी बोर्डर एरिया से आते हैं। वह आई० सी० एस० हैं। वह बहुत काबिल हैं। कभी मैंने उनको डिफेंस पर बोलते हुए नहीं सुना है। शायद वह आज बोलें। गोंडा, बस्ती, गोरखपुर का सारे का सारा रेंज जो है, सारे का सारा ईस्टर्न यू० पी० जो है, यह बोर्डर पर है। इसके बारे में मैं आपको दो-तीन सुझाव देना चाहता हूँ। आप हमें सड़कें दे दें, वहाँ पर आप किले बन्दी कर दें, बोर्डर पर जो लोग रहते हैं उनको आप भरती करें। वे आदमी गुरीला वार में एक्सपर्ट हैं जिस की आप बात किया करते हैं। पहाड़ों पर जो लोग रहते हैं, उनको आप भरती करें। अल्मोड़ा के लोगों को आप भरती करें ताकि पहाड़ी इलाकों में लड़ने वाले लोग आप को मिल सकें। हम हिन्दुस्तानी गुलाम जब थे तब अंग्रेजों के लिए लड़े थे। आज जब हम आजाद हैं तो क्या अपने देश की खातिर

नहीं लड़ सकते हैं? हम मुल्क के नाम पर मर मिटने वाले हैं। वक्त आने पर इसका प्रदर्शन भी हम करके दिखा देंगे।

डिफेंस सर्विसिस में जो पोलिटिकल सफरज हैं वे भी काम कर रहे हैं। वहाँ पर उनके साथ अच्छा व्यवहार नहीं किया जाता है आपके अफसरों की तरफ से। कम से कम डिफेंस के मामले में किसी के साथ दुर्व्यवहार नहीं होना चाहिये। वहाँ पर पार्टिजन बेमिम पर काम नहीं होना चाहिये। वे भी जस्टिस चाहते हैं। वे भी इक्वल राइट्स मांगते हैं। वे भी देश की खातिर लड़े हैं, देश के नाम पर, स्वतंत्रता की खातिर लड़े हैं। उनके साथ भी इंसफ होना चाहिये।

जो फौज में भरती होते हैं स्वेच्छा में होते हैं, उनमें देश प्रेम की भावना है इस वास्ते होते हैं, उनको देश पर नाज़ है, इस वास्ते होते हैं, देश की स्वतंत्रता की रक्षा करना वे अपना परम कर्तव्य समझते हैं, इस वास्ते भरती होते हैं। ठीकरों की खातिर वे भरती नहीं होते हैं, पैसे की खातिर भरती नहीं होते हैं। आप का भी यह फर्ज है कि आप ईमानदारी से अच्छे अच्छे लोगों को फौज में भरती करें, जो डिजर्व करते हैं फौज में भरती होना, उनको भरती करें। डिफेंस फैक्ट्रीज़ कहां खुलती हैं कहां नहीं खुलती हैं, इसका कोई महत्व नहीं है। महत्व इस बात का है कि वे देश में ही खुलें। महत्व इस बात का है कि हम तैयार हों, पूरी तैयारी करें। हमें न अमरीका पर डिपेंड करना है और न रूस पर। कर बहिया बलि आपनी तजो पराई आस। दूसरों पर हमें डिफेंस के मामले में आश्रित नहीं होना चाहिये। फौज में भाई भतीजावाद नहीं चलना चाहिये।

भाई भतीजा भांजा, भांट भाड़ भुंहार। तुलसी इन छः भकारते सदा यहियो होशियार।।

इन से हम को होशियार रहना चाहिये। कम से कम डिफेंस में उन लोगों को ही भरती

किया जाना चाहिये जो पांच मील दौड़ सकें। उनको आप दौड़ा कर देख लें, फिर चाहे वे चमार के लड़के हों, ब्राह्मण के लड़के हों, या मुसलमान हों, उनको आपको भरती कर लेना चाहिये।

हमारी सरहदों पर दो दुश्मन खड़े हैं। एक तरफ चीन और दूसरी तरफ पाकिस्तान है। एक तरफ पाकिस्तान टकटकी लगाये बैठा है और दूसरी तरफ चीन बैठा है। हम गफलत की नीद न सोयें। हमें न अमरीका पर निर्भर करना है न रूस पर। हम सब कुछ अपना देश की खातिर कुरबान करने के लिए तैयार हैं। देश ने जब चीन ने हमला किया था, सब कुछ दाव पर लगा दिया था। चीन मुफ्त में नहीं वापिस चला गया। चीनी लाल जो यहां बसते हैं इन्होंने कहा कि चले आओ, ले लो हिन्दुस्तान को, हिन्दुस्तान में फूट है। लेकिन आप ने देख लिया कि जब उसने हमला किया तो सारा हिन्दुस्तान जब हरलाल जी के पीछे एक हो कर खड़ा हो गया, दीवार की भांति खड़ा हो गया। उसी का यह नतीजा है कि चीन दम दबा कर भाग गया। चीन हमला करने वाला नहीं है। उसका जो परपज था वह हल हो गया है। उसका परपज हम को ह्यमिलेट करना था। कुछ कम्युनिस्ट भाई चीन का राग अलापते हैं, उनको वह राग मुबारिक हो। हम जो सच्चे भारतवासी हैं, जो देशभक्त हैं वे देश की खातिर कुर्बान होंगे, गोलियां सहेंगे, अन्न पानी सब देश को देंगे, मरेंगे तो देश के लिए, जियेंगे तो देश के लिए।

प्रो० रंगा की जो तकरीर हुई उसको मैंने सुना। उनकी स्पीच वन साइडिड थी। मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि इस मामले में पार्टी का प्रचार नहीं होना चाहिये। हमारे कामत साहब ने जिस तरह से मखौल डिफेंस का उड़ाया है, उस तरह से नहीं उड़ाया जाना चाहिये। जहां तक देश की रक्षा का सवाल है, हम सब को एक हो जाना चाहिये, एक आवाज से

बोलना चाहिये। इस मामले में स्वतंत्र पार्टी, एस० एस० पी० और कांग्रेस में कोई भेदभाव मतभेद नहीं होना चाहिये। अकेली कांग्रेस देश की रक्षा की जिम्मेदार नहीं है। आप भी हैं, हम भी हैं, हर एक हिन्दुस्तानी है। अगर आवश्यकता पड़े तो हम में से हर एक को मर मिटने के लिए तैयार होना चाहिये। जहां तक हमारे घर का ताल्लुक है, घरें लू मारलों का ताल्लुक है आप पांच रहें और हम सौ रहें लेकिन जब दुश्मन का मुकाबला करने की बात हो तो हमें एक सौ पांच हो जाना चाहिये।

अश्वत्थामा हतो नरो वा कुंजरो वा

हम अपने इतिहास को देखें। इतिहास बताता है कि बारह सौ बरस तक हम गुलाम रहे हैं जिस में से दो सौ साल हम ने अंग्रेजों की गुलामी की है। आज भी दुश्मन हम पर पंजा मारना चाहते हैं। हमें होशियार रहना है। हमें देश को प्रोटेक्ट करना है। हम आपस में न लड़ें। देश के मस्तक को ऊंचा रखें। ऊंची बात करें। ऊंची बात करेंगे तो ऊंचे कहलायेंगे, छोटी बात करेंगे तो छोटे कहलायेंगे। यह सीधी सी बात है। फिर चाहे वह प्रो० रंगा हों या शिव नारायण हो।

मैं डिफेंस मिनिस्टर तथा डिफेंस डिपार्टमेंट से कहना चाहता हूँ वे सचेत रहें, सोयें नहीं। यह ठीक है कि हमारे पास बेस्ट डिफेंस मिनिस्टर हैं आज। लेकिन आज सोने का समय नहीं है। मैं इसको आवश्यक नहीं समझता हूँ कि हमारी जो पालिसी है, हमारी जो स्ट्रैटिज है, हमारे जो आर्मी सीक्रेट्स हैं, उन को सब के सामने खोल कर रख दिया जाये। उसकी हम दृग्गुणी बजाना नहीं चाहते हैं। हम हाउस टाप्स से यह नहीं कहना चाहते हैं, यह एनाउंस करना नहीं चाहते हैं कि हमारे प्लान क्या हैं। ऐसा हो भी नहीं सकता है।

यहां पर शक्तिमान ट्रक्स का जिक्र किया गया है। यह भी कहा गया है कि हमारे पास

[श्री शिव नारायण]

पच्चीस हजार आटोमेटिक राइफल हैं। इस सबको कहने की क्या जरूरत है। जरूरत तो तैयार रहने की है। हम अपने कंधों पर बंदूक सम्भाले रखें और अगर हम पर आक्रमण होता है तो चीन को और पाकिस्तान को बता दें कि हिन्दुस्तान में हिन्दुस्तानी रहते हैं जो आजादी की कद्र करना जानते हैं। उनको पता चल जाना चाहिये कि हम ईट का जवाब पत्थर से दे सकते हैं। हम कमजोर नहीं हैं। डिफेंस की बात बिल्कुल परिपक्व होनी चाहिये। इसके बारे में कोई डिफेंसिस नहीं होने चाहिये और न ही क्रिटिसिज्म होना चाहिये।

बोर्डर के लोगों पर आप भरोसा करें। बोर्डर एरियाज़ में सड़कें आप दें, उनको आप सर्विस में लें। वहां पर छोटे छोटे किले बनाइये ताकि जब अटैक हो तो हवाई जहाजों से आपको चीजें इत्यादि गिराने की आवश्यकता महसूस न हो। डिफेंस की खातिर जितने पैसों की आपको जरूरत है हम देने के लिए तैयार हैं।

अन्न की बड़ी समस्या आज हमारे सामने है। अपने फौजियों को खिलाने के लिए हमें अन्न चाहिये। मैं उस इलाके से आता हूँ जहाँ चावल खूब होता है। मैं आपको एक एश्योरेंस देना चाहता हूँ आप जितना चावल चाहें हम आपको दे सकते हैं। लेकिन जो हमारा बोर्डर है उसकी तरफ आप देखें। हमारा बोर्डर नेपाल के साथ लगता है। वहां से हमारा चावल बाहर जा रहा है। देश में आज भी ट्रेटर्ज हैं जिनसे हमको सावधान रहना है। यह चावल नेपाल जा कर चीन जाता है। इस तरह के कुकृत्य जो लोग करते हैं उनसे हमें सावधान रहना है। मैं बराबर कहता आ रहा हूँ और आज मैं रिपीट करता हूँ कि अन्न की आप प्री मूवमेंट कर दें, कोई दिक्कत नहीं होगी। अन्न की कमी नहीं है। बोर्डर पर आप बंदूकें लगा दें और अगर

कोई अन्न को बाहर ले कर जाये तो उसे गोली मार दें। बराबर हमारा चावल नेपाल के रास्ते, कलकत्ता के रास्ते चीन को तथा पाकिस्तान को जा रहा है। मैं आप को सचेत करना चाहता हूँ इस मामले में। अपोजीशन वाले यह न समझें कि वे ही सरकार की नुकताचीनी कर सकते हैं। कांग्रेस वाले भी क्रिटिसाइज कर सकते हैं, वे भी सरकार को हिला सकते हैं, उसको नोंद से जगा सकते हैं, सरकार को सही रास्ते पर ला सकते हैं।

अन्त में मैं इतना ही कहना चाहता हूँ कि हमारा डिफेंस मजबूत होगा तो दुनिया समझेगी कि हिन्दुस्तान में भी दम है। और वह वक्त पड़ने पर किसी भी संकट का मुकाबला कर सकता है, या वह भी ईट का जवाब पत्थर से देने की शक्ति रखता है।

Shri N. Dandeker (Gonda): Madam Chairman, I agree to some extent with my hon. friend who just spoke ahead of me. I agree we ought to take this debate out of the political field and as far as possible get it into a defence focus. That is really what we are all interested in quite irrespective of what particular party we happen to belong to. The only point on which I do not agree with him is that because it is a defence matter, therefore we must be restrained in our criticism, even where criticism is needed because of some grave mistakes which the Government may, in our opinion, have committed.

The first thing we ought to do is to get this defence debate into focus of the defence requirements of the country. In trying to get it into that focus, the first thing that occurs to my mind is to recall the invasion of this country by the Chinese, the surprise and the shock which it gave us, the agony and the humiliation of its end; and, particularly, the cold anger with which the whole country gradually began to learn of the causes of that awful catastrophe. Among

those causes,—there were many,—among those disclosed causes I should say, it has been admitted that our troops were badly armed and inadequately equipped. There can be no doubt about that. They were terribly badly equipped and terribly badly armed for a conflict of the kind with which they were faced.

But there were two other undisclosed causes which, to the best of my information, I shall presently mention—I say to the best of my information, because if the Minister thinks I am wrong, I will be glad to be corrected. I refer to two decisions that were taken before the Chinese invasion, two major decisions. One was not to manufacture automatic rifles in this country. I cannot characterise that decision as any thing else but criminal.

Shri A. M. Thomas: There has not been any such decision.

Shri N. Dandekar: Let me please finish. My information was that in this country a proto-type automatic rifle, perfectly operatable by our soldiers, had been developed and was capable of being manufactured on a large scale. That is a fact. That it was not, in fact, manufactured is also a fact. I infer from this that there was a decision not to manufacture it. But if the Minister says that there was no such decision. I presume that notwithstanding that we had the capacity and the capability of manufacturing an automatic rifle, we slept over it and took no decision either way.

The other was a committee appointed some years ago, before the Chinese invasion, to examine and report on our border defences. This Committee has made a very considerably detailed survey of our border defence requirements and among the many other recommendations it made it, also made recommendations about the border fortifi-

cations and other requirements *vis-a-vis* India-China border. But no action was taken upon this. Again, I have a feeling that the decision that was taken was that no action in this project was necessary. But if the Minister assures me that no such decision was taken, then at least I will say this that no decision was in fact taken either way. Now, Madam, I refer to those two decisions in this debate because what we have so far discussed and are discussing now is another major decision concerning the ordnance factories.

That is the distant focus. The near focus has already been referred to and I need not labour it here.

It has been admitted that the Chinese forces have been massed in strength in Tibet; and that they are also poised on our borders from the west to the east and also along the Sikkim and Bhutan borders. From all those that have been given to us about the extent of Chinese preparation on our borders I presume that the Government conclude, and so also I conclude, that the Chinese are poised for an attack against this country at any moment with considerable strength. It would not, therefore, be an excessive exercise of imagination to say that it would well be in the early spring next year, or what ever other time they may think as the right moment for starting an invasion against us.

On that kind of situation, what is it that we have got by way of preparedness on our side? As to that some important questions arise. I do not expect the Minister will give me more details, and I do not think it would be in the public interest to give me details; either but I would like to have some clear assurances, at least of a general character, whether, for instance, we have adequate number of fully seasoned divisions, trained and equipped for mountain warfare, now lined up along the northern

[Shri N. Dandekar]

borders. The Government have assured us that it is so. But when I come to the question of the extent to which they are adequately armed, equipped and supplied, the general inference that I have drawn from such information as I have is that though our mountain divisions now on our frontiers are well armed and well-equipped and supplied, their supplies and provisions would last them only for a month or, may be, six weeks. I am anxious to know whether they have, behind them, adequate reserves in terms of appropriately trained divisions, adequate reserves in terms of arms and ammunitions and all that sort of thing that goes to supply a fighting force on a war footing. I myself have no grave apprehensions in regard to our mountain divisions actually positioned on our borders; but I do entertain serious apprehensions as to the extent of their supplies, as to the extent to which reserve supplies of arms, ammunition, equipment etc. are readily available beyond the six weeks or so, for which they are at present provisioned and whether we have adequate stockpiles of them and the necessary transport to rush additional supplies to them in the event of a war breaking out.

Then, in so far as the training of our, what shall I say, non-combatant forces, like National Cadet Corps and Reservists, are concerned, those organisations are growing admirably fast, but I know they are not yet adequately equipped, and that not one of them has ever seen an automatic rifle, and that they are not trained to handle, even in groups, a machine gun or a sten gun or a bren gun or anything of that kind. I do think all this indicates a state of affairs,—that is what I say, a state of affairs in focus with the Chinese invasion in the background and our present preparations in the foreground,—a state of affairs in which I myself feel very considerably concerned as to our

capacity and our capability for meeting an invasion, which it is quite possible is imminent early in spring next year.

It is in that context that we have to view this problem of ordnance factories. I have been ridiculed for being panicky by the phrases I have used. But it is not a panic, it is just commonsense. I am not prepared to accept that this statement of mine is panicky; it is not anything more than just alert commonsense, drawing upon, firstly, what happened in 1962 and, secondly, drawing upon the facts as Government have given us about the massing of the forces by China in Tibet, about the lining up of Chinese forces on our borders, including Sikkim and Bhutan and, thirdly, judging by certain incidents on the border which were in fact the subject-matter of recent discussion in this House as regards the encroachments by Chinese soldiers into Sikkim or Bhutan or both.

I know that I have myself ridiculed the Government in other connections, in connection, for instance, with the Food Corporations Bill, when grandiloquent phrases like "occupying strategic positions", "keeping or holding commanding heights", engaging in "crash programmes on a war footing" and all that kind of terribly military talk and language was used. But when it comes to this question of arming, equipping and provisioning of our army, and the establishment of ordnance factories, I must confess that I do not notice any usage of such warlike phrases. They are conspicuous by their absence.

16.25 hrs.

[MR. SPEAKER in the Chair]

What are the facts? Early in 1964, apparently decisions were taken that we go ahead with only four Ordnance factories and drop two others. And

out of those four factories, in the year 1964, two years after the Chinese invasion, only one has gone into production and three are going to be set up,—one with the aid of the United States, another with the aid of the United Kingdom and the third on our own steam. When one reads the statement of the Minister it gives the impression that the conditions have somehow changed in 1964 as compared to those in 1962. Was it really a considered judgment that we do not really need six ordnance factories, and that we need only four? Or were there other circumstances that compelled them to abandon those two? If there are compelling circumstances that caused the Government to abandon those two factories, what were they and what could we do about them?

The two factories that have been abandoned were concerned with the manufacture of explosives and propellants. The statement of the Minister says that the capital cost would be Rs. 60 crores; and their foreign exchange component, included in that Rs. 60 crores, would be Rs. 21 crores. Then the statement goes on to say that the Government were unable to secure foreign assistance and they were unable to secure free foreign exchange. Then they go on to say they have, therefore, abandoned the project. It seems to be an astonishing kind of statement.

Shri A. M. Thomas: You may read the next sentence also.

Shri N. Dandekar: I am just going to read it. I am about to read it. Having abandoned the two factories on this utterly unconvincing ground, the statement goes on to make an incredible proposition:

"In the case of these factories, the investment output ration is also high."

Are we talking of investment? Are we talking of return on capital? Are

we talking of ratio of turnover to capital employed and of profit to capital? Are we talking of that whole lot of stuff that we properly take into account when we approach a problem from the economic point of view for a commercial and industrial project or are we talking of defence installations? In the case of factories of this type, the investment output ratio is bound to be high.

Then another prize piece in this remarkable statement:

"The products in these factories are such that there is little scope for conversion to civilian use during times of peace."

Who has asked about civilian use during times of peace? If we are to be adequately prepared in the matter of ordnance factories, it necessarily follows that our requirements have to be geared to a time of war with the result that in times of peace we shall necessarily have considerable idle capacity in such factories.

Shri A. M. Thomas: I am sorry, the hon. Member with all his experience is making such statements. I have mentioned in the statement that whatever has to be produced in the factory would have to be imported.

Shri N. Dandekar: I am coming to that. I am going to comment on that too. But I do not like the phoney reasons that are given here:

"The products in these factories are such that there is little scope for conversion to civilian use during times of peace."

We do not set up ordnance factories during times of peace for the sake of peace. Ordnance factories have to be geared to the requirements of active operations in war. Active operations consume a tremendous amount of ordnance material. Consequently, your factories during peace-time will necessarily have a considerable amount of idle capacity. The fact that you have idle capacity—that you have idle capacity in times of peace,

(Shri N. Dandekar)

in regard to certain factories that are there from where you cannot produce anything required for civilian use—is utterly irrelevant.

Then, the statement goes on to say:

“There are financial advantages particularly in foreign exchange in increasing the stock-piles of explosives and propellants rather than setting up capacity for their manufacture.”

I ask you: Are we going to fight this war,—presumably that is what we are preparing for,—on the basis of stockpiled propellants and explosives because financially they are cheaper?

Shri Kapur Singh: They do not want.

Shri N. Dandekar: I said, Sir, in the course of another speech of mine in this House that we do not seem to be at all reluctant when going in for enormous giant projects where the capital-output ratio is thrown to the winds, where the periods of gestation are disregarded, where the question whether the stuff that is manufactured will ever be required for civilian use is disregarded. We do not say in those cases, “No, no; let us not have that gigantic project, let us import and stockpile which is cheaper”. But here they say solemnly in regard to essential ordnance requirements for warfare, that is, explosives and propellants,—

“There are financial advantages particularly in foreign exchange in increasing the stock piles of explosives and propellants rather than setting up capacity for their manufacture.”

There is towards the end of the Minister's statement a bit of a “sop” for the benefit of the unintelligent. It says:

“A certain increase in the existing capacity for the production of explosives and propellants

is also being planned, but the increase determined is such that it can be more conveniently done by the modernisation of the existing factories or by the installation of new plant at the site of the existing factories. These proposals are under consideration.”

Am I to understand that when, after the Chinese invasion, after the subsequent tremendous investigations, after consultations with the Master General of Ordnance here and after consultations with the British and American colleagues that came over here, after the whole mass of discussions, it was decided that we needed at least six new ordnance factories, this is the kind of claptrap produced. Am I to believe what we are now told, that it represents adequate satisfaction of our defence needs?

Coming down to the real difficulties—I do not want to shirk them—what has happened apparently is that we are unable to get assistance in the matter of foreign exchange, something like Rs. 21 crores, either from the UK or from the USA.

Shri Ranga Why?

Shri N. Dandekar: Two questions arise. Are we laying down any conditions unacceptable to them; if so, what are they? I think, the House is entitled to know that. Or, secondly, is it that they are laying down certain conditions unacceptable to us; if so, what are they? I think, we ought to know that too. I am not prepared to take it in the light of the entire context immediately following upon the Chinese invasion of this country, that the alleged difficulty about securing assistance from the UK or the USA in connection with these factories has closed the problem. What are those difficulties? who make them? Who creates them? Are there no answers to these difficulties?

Once I heard a wisecrack in the Secretariat, when I was in the Secre-

tariat, concerning a particular man, namely, that he never found any solutions to difficulties but he always found difficulties for all solutions. That is the kind of business that goes on here.

Then, let me take it on another footing. Let me assume that there are valid reasons. If it is a case of our having imposed conditions which they will not accept, or their having imposed conditions which we are not willing to accept, assuming that as a valid position as it prevails, the next question I ask is: What is this insurmountable difficulty about producing Rs. 21 crores of free foreign exchange for establishing these two factories for the defence of this country, when we can spend uncountable crores of rupees on enormous projects of gigantic size, of which we have not yet seen the production in full? This is a project in the public sector. I do not want to criticize this, because it must necessarily be there. There are other projects also in the public sector. But when we have on the anvil this urgent defence project, is there no sense of priority about this, as to on what kind of project are we spending foreign exchange on what kind of project must we spend foreign exchange and where shall we cut it down? There is, I submit, considerable scope for giving the right priority answers on this, on whatever basis it might be.

Sir, I am not prepared and I hope this House is not prepared to accept that this sort of project ought to be thrown out for the want of Rs. 21 crores of foreign exchange, even if we do not want American and British assistance. On no political ground, but only on the defence ground, I do not think this House should be prepared for that. It should be our undivided opinion that we want and must have six ordnance factories, because that is what apparently our experts and the foreign experts have advised. I submit that this House should take very serious note of the Defence Minister's statement on the subject of why we have cut

down these two factories and express in no uncertain terms its view that we ought to get on with these two abandoned factories.

श्री श्रीकार लाल बरवा (कोटा) :
 अध्यक्ष महोदय, सदन के सामने इस समय जो नये आयुध कारखानों की स्थापना को ले कर चर्चा चल रही है उस पर मैं संक्षेप में अपने कुछ विचार प्रकट कर के अपने भाषण को समाप्त कर दूंगा ।

एक बात तो यह है कि अपनी प्रतिरक्षा की तैयारी के बारे में जब भी कोई एक प्रश्न पूछा गया, कई एक दफे वाद-विवाद भी हुआ, आध घंटे की भी चर्चा चलाई गई लेकिन उस का कोई ठोस परिणाम अभी तक नहीं निकला है सिवाय इस के कि हमारी सरकार आज तक हमें बराबर यह विश्वास दिलाती रही है कि सब कुछ हो रहा है। लेकिन क्या कुछ हो रहा है और किस परिणाम में हो रहा है और वह पर्याप्त है अथवा नहीं इस बारे में उस ने कोई जानकारी अभी तक नहीं दी है ।

अभी हमारे उधर के एक कांग्रेसी सदस्य मास्टर शिव नारायण ने कहा कि मैं मरने के वास्ते तैयार हूं। अब अगर मरने को ही तैयार हैं तो जमुना पड़ी है उसके लिए, लेकिन ऐसा कह कर डिफेंस को क्यों बदनाम करते हैं? उन्हें कहना तो यह चाहिए कि था हम दुश्मन को मारने के लिए तैयार हैं क्योंकि अभी भी हमें अपनी खोई भूमि को वापिस लेने के लिए चीन से लड़ना है। इसलिए हम मरने को तैयार हैं यह शब्द उन्हें कहना ही नहीं चाहिए था . . .

श्री शिव नारायण : अध्यक्ष महोदय, मैंने कहा था कि मरने, मारने के लिए हम तैयार हैं, ईंट का जवाब पत्थर से देने के लिए तैयार हैं ।

श्री श्रीकार लाल बेरवा : उचित यह होगा कि वे यह मरने वाली बात न कह कर दुश्मन को मारने की बात कहे होते। उन के इस तरह मरने के लिए कहने का देश पर अच्छा प्रभाव नहीं पड़ने वाला है।

दूसरी बात यह है कि अभी थोड़े दिन पहले जब चीन ने एटम बम का परीक्षण किया वह हमारे देश के लिए एक चुनौती की बात है। ऐसा कर के उस ने लड़ाई का बिगुल जैसा बजा दिया है। लेकिन हम ने इन पिछले दो, तीन सालों के अन्दर जो तैयारियाँ की हैं वह इतनी पर्याप्त प्रतीत नहीं होतीं कि हम आक्रमणकारी को अपने वहाँ से खदेड़ सकें। लेकिन इस का यह मतलब नहीं है कि हम उसका मुकाबला नहीं करेंगे, मुकाबला तो खूब डट कर किया जायगा। लेकिन मेरा तो कहना सिर्फ यह है कि जो साधन और तैयारी सरकार ने की है वह जरा कुछ बाहर तो आनी चाहिए, थोड़े से साधन बाहर अवश्य आये हैं, ज्यादा जानकारी दी जाय ताकि और देशों को भी पता चलेगा कि हिन्दुस्तान भी अपने वहाँ बड़ी तैयारी कर रहा है। अगर कोई पड़ोसी राष्ट्र हमारी कमजोरी के कारण या पूरी तरह तैयारी न कर पाने के कारण भुलावे में आकर हम पर बुरी निगाह डाले और इस तरह की हमारी सीमाओं पर छुटपुट कार्यवाहियाँ करे तो हम उसकी उन शरारतों का जवाब पूरी तरह से दे सकें। लेकिन अगर हम उनको ईंट का जवाब पत्थर से न दे सकें तो इसका एक खराब असर हमारे अन्य मित्र राष्ट्रों पर भी पड़ सकता है।

जहाँ तक फैक्ट्रियों के बारे में बात है जितनी भी फैक्ट्रियाँ चल रही हैं, ठीक हैं लेकिन उन में जो साम्यवादी और वामवादी पड़े हुए हैं उन में से हमें बहुत ही सतर्क रहना चाहिये। आज अगर हम देखें तो पायेंगे कि इन दो, चार महीनों के अन्दर कई हमारे कारखाने बंद हो गये हैं और जिसके कि कारण लाखों और करोड़ों रुपयों का

नुकसान हो गया है। इन वामपंथियों और साम्यवादियों से बड़ा सावधान रहने की ज़रूरत है, क्योंकि अगर कभी चीन ने हम पर हमला किया तो हो सकता है कि वह उस समय इन फैक्ट्रियों में काम करे। बन्द कर दें और देश के साथ गद्दारी करें और उस हालत में हमें बहुत नुकसान हो जायगा। आज जो हम उन पर विश्वास किये बैठे हुए हैं वह विश्वास हमारा निरर्थक चला जायगा। इसलिये मेरा सुझाव है कि जितनी भी कोशिश हो सके इन वामवादियों और साम्यवादियों को आयुध कारखानों से निकालने की कोशिश करिये।

आज जितने भी हम इस तरह के काम शुरू करते हैं वह विदेशों से सहायता लेकर शुरू करते हैं और विदेशों में हमें जो इन कामों के लिए सहायता मिलती है वह किसी न किसी शर्त पर ही दी जाती है। अगर कोई इंकार करता है तो फिर हम उसे मजबूर करते हैं कि वह हमारी सहायता करे भले ही कोई शर्त क्यों न लगा दे। मेरा कहना है कि आखिर यह विदेशों की सहायता के लिए हम कब तक मुंह फँलाये रहेंगे? इसलिए मेरा यह सुझाव है यह जो एक, दो या चार, पांच फैक्ट्रीज चलाई जायें इनके बारे में हमारा आत्मनिर्भर होना बहुत ज़रूरी है क्योंकि आत्मनिर्भर होने से हम किसी बंधन में नहीं आ सकते हैं। अब आज होता यह है कि अमरीका यदि हमें कुछ सहायता देता है तो वह यह शर्त लगा देता है कि हम उन शस्त्र व अस्त्रों का पाकिस्तान के विरुद्ध प्रयोग नहीं करेंगे। अब अगर पाकिस्तान हम पर हमला करेगा तो क्या हम हाथ पर हाथ धर कर बैठ जायेंगे?

इसी तरह रूस ने कहा कि पहले हमारे लिए चीन है बाद में हिन्दुस्तान है और इसलिये हमारे शस्त्र-अस्त्रों का प्रयोग चीन के विरुद्ध न किया जाय। अब इस तरह से तो मदद मिली न मिली बेकार

हो जाती है। इसलिये बेहतर यह होगा कि हम किसी के सहारे पर न रह कर खुद जितनी जल्दी आत्मनिर्भर हो सकें, बनने का प्रयास करें। तिब्बत में चाइना की सेना पड़ी हुई है और हमें सारी बातें पता हैं कि उसकी इतनी इतनी सेनायें वहां पर पड़ी हुई हैं। इधर पाकिस्तान गुरिल्ला युद्ध की तैयारी कर रहा है। ये दोनों कभी भी हमको धोखा देने वाले हैं और वे धोखा देंगे, क्योंकि उन्होंने हम को अन्टी-मीटम दे दिया है।

मान लीजिए कि हम एटम बम न भी बनायें, तो हमको चीन का मुकाबला करने के लिए पूरी तैयारियां करनी चाहियें। और फिर एटम बम क्यों न बनाया जाये? ठीक है, हमारे पास विदेशी मुद्रा नहीं है, लेकिन ये एटामिक रिएक्टर क्यों खड़े किये हुए हैं और क्यों उन पर करोड़ों रुपये खर्च किये जा रहे हैं?

जब हम एक विदेशी सरकार से लड़े थे और पूज्य बापू जी के पास या हमारी जनता के पास कुछ भी नहीं था, तो हम ने हाथ जोड़ कर तटस्थता की नीति अपनाई थी। लेकिन आज देश हमारा है। आज हम तटस्थता की नीति पर कायम नहीं रह सकते हैं। अगर हम उस नीति पर कायम रहते तो हमको विदेशों के आगे हाथ पसारने की जरूरत नहीं थी। आज यह नीति नहीं चल सकती है। हमें आत्म-निर्भर होना चाहिये, लेकिन इसमें भी लज्जा की कोई बात नहीं है कि हम किसी का सहारा लेकर, कुछ शर्तों पर हथियार ले कर अपनी रक्षा की तैयारी करें।

जहां तक एटम बम न बनाने की बात है, मैं आप को एक उदाहरण देना चाहता हूं। एक सांप को महादेव जी ने कहा कि अगर बिल में रह कर तुम्हारा पेट नहीं भरता है, तो तुम गांव में जाकर पेट भर लिया करो, लेकिन किसी को काटना नहीं। जब वह

सांप गांव में गया, तो बच्चे उसकी पूछ पकड़ कर खींचने लगे और उस को परेशान कर दिया। वह शाम को महादेव जी के पास आया और बोला कि बच्चे मुझे चारों तरफ ले कर फिरने लगे और उन्होंने मुझे परेशान कर दिया। महादेव जी ने कहा कि मैं ने तुम्हें काटने के लिए मना किया था, फुंकारने के लिए तो मना नहीं किया था, अगर तुम फुंकारोगे, तो बच्चे तुम्हारे पास नहीं आयेंगे। दूसरे दिन सबेरे जब सांप गांव में गया, तो बच्चों के आने पर उसने फुंकार दिया, जिससे डर के बच्चे भाग गये।

इसी प्रकार सरकार तटस्थता की नीति पर कायम रहे और अणु बम को प्रयोग में न लाये, लेकिन वह अणु बम बना कर दूसरे राष्ट्रों के सामने खड़ा कर दें। ताकि हमारे शत्रुओं में डर पैदा हो। आज हम तटस्थता की नीति ले कर बैठे हुए हैं, हाथ पर हाथ रख कर बैठे हुए हैं और उधर चीन चालीस हजार वर्ग मील तक ले भी चुका है और अब फिर तिब्बत के बार्डर पर पड़ा हुआ है। उसकी मंशा क्या है? उसकी मंशा तो यह है कि हम हिन्दुस्तान को हड़प जायें, क्योंकि उसने यह सोच रखा है कि हिन्दुस्तान तो कुछ कर नहीं सकता, वह तो विदेशों के आगे हाथ पसार रहा है और हाथ पसारने वाला देश क्या करेगा। मैं यह निवेदन करना चाहता हूं कि चीन के दिल में जो भ्रम है, उसको किसी न किसी प्रकार से निकाल देना चाहिये, चाहे विदेशी मदद से और चाहे देश के साधनों में कटौती करके, लेकिन एटम बम को बनाना बहुत जरूरी है।

अभी एक माननीय सदस्य ने कहा कि हमारी आर्डिनेंस फैक्ट्रियों में ट्रैक्टर बनाए गए हैं। ब्रिटिश गवर्नमेंट ने जो फ़ैक्ट्रियां छोड़ी थीं, पहले हम उनमें रेफ्रिजरेटर और सिनेमा की मशीनें बनाते रहे। ईश्वर की दया से अब हम कुछ राइफल बनाने लगे हैं। वह तो ठीक है, लेकिन हमारे देश में शिथि-

[श्री श्रीकार लाल बेरवा]

लता तो आ गई। लाखों रुपया खर्च कर के हमने लोगों को जो राइफल की ट्रेनिंग दी थी, उसको वे सब के सब भूल गए। तीन साल में तो यह होना चाहिए था कि देश का हर नागरिक सैनिक बन जाता, लेकिन हमारी स्थिति तो यह है कि जब कुछ हो-हल्ला होता है, तो हममें थोड़ी देर के लिए चैतन्य आ जाता है। जैसे कबड्डी के खेल में कोई पाला देने गया, तो सारे साथी खड़े हो जाते हैं और जब वह वापस गया, तो फिर सब ठंडे ही पड़ जाते हैं। इस तरह कबड्डी का खेल नहीं खेलना चाहिए। चूंकि हमको अपने महान् राष्ट्र की रक्षा करनी है, इसलिए हमारे लिए एटम बम बनाना बहुत जरूरी है।

पनडुव्वी के लिए भी हम हाथ पसारें बैठे हुए हैं और मिग विमान के लिए भी हमने हाथ पसारे हुए हैं। हर एक चीज के लिए हम विदेशों पर निर्भर हैं। आखिर हमारे पास कौन से साधन हैं, जिनसे हम अपनी रक्षा करेंगे, जिनसे हम अपने शत्रुओं से लड़ सकेंगे? आज की लड़ाई राइफल और बन्दूक की लड़ाई नहीं रह गई है। जब चीन ने अणु परीक्षण किया है, तो उसका मुकाबला करने के लिए हमें भी एटम बम तैयार करने की दिशा में आगे बढ़ना चाहिए।

हमने देखा है कि कोटा में जो अणु का बिजलीघर खोला गया है, उसकी कुछ प्रगति नहीं हुई है। दो चार आफिसर इधर-उधर फिरते हैं, सरवे करते हैं, लेकिन कुछ काम नहीं हुआ है। अगर चार साल में वहां कुछ प्राडक्शन हो जाता, तो चीन को भी पता चल जाता कि हिन्दुस्तान भी कुछ तैयारी कर रहा है, लेकिन हमारी तैयारी तो निल है। मेरा सुझाव है कि इस शिथिलता को दूर करके जाग्रति लाई जाये। यह नहीं कि जब चाइना ने हमला किया तो कुछ ट्रेनिंग दे दी और बाद में उसको बन्द कर दिया, कुछ होम गार्ड्स में भर्ती कर दी।

एक बार मैं ने गाड़ी में कुछ जवानों और ब्रिगेडियर वगैरह से बातचीत की। उन्होंने कहा कि नेफ़ा और लद्दाख में नये नये लड़के कमांडर और ब्रिगेडियर बना कर भेज दिये गए थे। वे बेचारे वैसे ही बिल्ली की मीत मर गए। यह ठीक नहीं है। जो सिपाही अपने घुटने तुड़ा तुड़ा कर काम सीखता है, उसको इस पद पर लाना चाहिए, क्योंकि उसको सब पता होता है कि सिपाही किस तरह से ट्रेनिंग पा कर ऊपर बढ़ता है। लेकिन सरकार ने ऐसा न करके नये नये बच्चों को मरवा दिया, जो कि बेचारे अनजान थे।

उन लोगों में अपनी तन्स्वाह के बारे में बहुत निराशा है। उनको आज से सौ साल पहले की तन्स्वाह दी जाती है। करना तो यह चाहिए कि अगर किसी और जगह सौ रुपये मिलते हों, तो हिन्दुस्तान में उन को 110 रुपये दिये जायें, ताकि उनका दिल बड़े और वे अच्छा काम कर सकें।

मैं ने कोटा, राजस्थान में देखा है कि कुछ सिपाही ट्रेनिंग के लिए आए और उनको खेती के काम में लगा दिया। वहां पर पंद्रह बीस बीघे जमीन ले ली गई और उनको खेती के काम में फंसा दिया गया। उन्होंने यह भी शिकायत की हमको मारते कूटते हैं। मैं कमांडर साहब के पास गया और उन को कहा कि रंगरूट शिकायत करते हैं कि हम को मारते हैं और आखिर यह खेती करने के लिए किसने कहा है। उन्होंने कहा कि हम इनको ट्रेनिंग दे कर छः महीने के पीरियड में बुरे-भले की जांच कर लेते हैं और इसके बाद कस कर परेख लेते हैं। मैं ने कहा कि बात तो ठीक है, लेकिन इनको खेती के काम में फंसाने की क्या जरूरत है।

श्री श्यामलाल सराफ (जम्मू तथा काश्मीर) : क्या खेती का काम बुरा है ?

श्री श्रीकार लाल बेरवा : बहुत बढ़िया है, लेकिन क्या लड़ाई में हल चाना पड़ेगा? वहां तो राइफल चाना पड़ेगी। जिस काम के लिए वे मैट्रिक और बी० ए० पास करते हैं और मिलिटरी में भर्ती होते हैं, उनको वह काम सिखाया जाये। अगर उन्होंने खेती ही करनी थी, तो वे अपने गांवों में ही अच्छे थे, जहां वे अपने घर की जमीन में खेती करते।

मेरा कहने का तात्पर्य यह है कि हमें इस प्रकार की ट्रेनिंग देनी चाहिए कि देश का हर एक नागरिक चाइना से लड़ने के लिए तैयार हो सके। और खाली हाथों से तो लड़ाई नहीं होगी। लड़ाई के लिए सामान भी होना चाहिए। जवानों ने मुझे बताया कि बार्डर पर जहां हमको खड़ा कर दिया गया, वहां हम जाड़े के मारे पत्थर बन कर ठिठुर गए, क्योंकि हमारे पास ओढ़ने का सामान न था—है तो बहुत कुछ लेकिन हम को इतनी सदां लगी कि हम बिल्कुल ठिठुर गए और इस लिए जब चौबीस घंटे के बाद दुश्मन ने हमला किया, तो हम कुछ न कर भेके इस तरह दा हज़ार जवान वहां पर वैसे ही मारे गए। मैं यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि जब हम अपने जवानों को लड़ने के लिए भेजें, तो उन का सब साधन दे कर भेजें। उनको ऐसे तो नहीं कहना चाहिए कि नदी में कूद जाओ। यह बहुत बुरी बात है। अगर देश की रक्षा करनी है, तो अपने सैनिकों के लिए अच्छे-अच्छे साधन जुटाए जाने चाहिए।

हमारी आर्डिनेंस फ़ैक्टरियों में जो जयचन्द बैठे हैं, उनको सबसे पहले निकालने का कोशिश करनी चाहिए, नहीं तो यह होगा कि एक तरफ़ हम लड़ाई की तैयारी करेंगे और दूसरी तरफ़ ये हमको मारने के लिए तैयार हो जायेंगे, सामान पटक देंगे और हम उनके मुंह दखते रह जायेंगे। जो उनके लड़ने बने हुए हैं, वे उस वक्त कुछ भी नहीं कह सकते। विसाम्यवादी वामवादी बन कर अपना पीछा छुड़ा लेंगे। इस वक्त वे चुनचाप बैठे

हैं और फिर हमारे दुश्मन हो जायेंगे। अगर सरकार इन साम्यवादियों और वामवादियों से पीछा छुड़ायेगी, तो हम समझेंगे कि हमारे देश में रक्षा के लिए तैयारी को जा रही है।

Shri Nambiar (Tirucherapalli): Mr. Speaker, Sir, I am also one of those who feel very strongly for the improvement and the hastening of these projects which we are already considering and there is no justification to give up these two projects as I could understand from the facts presented to the House. But at the same time I must say that the discussion on the projects of the ordnance factories should not go to the extent of creating a panic in the country that there is going to be another war or another attack in the next spring etc. I do not want to share his views on that point. In any country, even in the days of emergency, when people have to stand up and fight, the people or those persons who are in the helm of affairs generally do not speak in terms of panic-mongering or saying that another attack is coming in another week and so on. The creating of this sort of an atmosphere in a given situation is not very good. It is easy to create a war psychosis but it is very difficult to fight it. The moment we say that this war psychosis is a bad thing, they will say "these people are anti-national, etc." The previous speaker talked about rightist and leftist, all with a sting and with a venom in his tongue about the Communist Party. He must understand that these tactics of attacking another party and talking like a hero, as if he is going to defend the whole country, all these things are outmoded and very old. History has seen that such prattlers have not succeeded in the past. So let us not indulge in such prattling. Every one here is keen to defend the country. Everyone, be he an independent, communist or non-communist, will never allow an inch of our land to be given up, whatever be the label with which one comes. Let us not try politics here as my friend on my right said

[Shri Nambiar]

that this is not an issue on politics, it is an issue for national defence. Everyone is agreed on that. Let us put our heads together. If you think that by showing to the world outside that we are divided, we will gain more, do so. Or if you think that by attacking somebody, or by attacking the workers, you will gain... (*Interruption*). They are saying that there should be greater defence production, and at the same time they are attacking the workers who are doing the production.

An hon. Member: Nobody attacked the workers.

Shri Nambiar: My predecessor, Mr. Ranga, had his venom on the workers.

Shri Ranga: I did not do so. Please do not use wrong words.

Shri Nambiar: I may be excused by the leader on the right side. But workers are also hearing us. Parliament is a very important forum to speak to the country. They hear and they also understand what we speak. When they did not do any harm to the country in the moment of the crisis and stood up in the defence of the country and contributed their mite, you must give them a good word rather than saying that they are black-legs, and there are always black legs, find them out and so on. In the name of defence what they want to do is to tighten the security measures and see that even the right person is put to difficulties. I am against any such move.

I thought that this discussion would be a narrow one. I am directly connected with it, because one of the six factories coming up is in my constituency, Tiruchirapalli, namely, the small arms factory. Much is said about it, but nothing has come so far. From my constituency I went and visited the area. It is a very important place where this industry is coming up. It is a big industrial complex— heavy electricals is there, regional engineering college has already come up, and the next is the small

arms factory. So far, what has been done is that they have taken some land and the land acquisition process is going on with evictions taking place. More than that, nothing has so far happened.

So, this sort of snail's pace activity with regard to defence production is wrong. Every opportunity is there to get this factory into production, because the small arms factory does not require much of a foreign-exchange component and every other possible material is available there. Government need not have taken so much time even to start the construction of the factory. And in the south, I am proud that in Avadi we are producing tanks and we are going to produce small arms also in Tiruchirapalli. We are also pleased that the Government have allotted certain factories to these areas. I do not agree with Prof. Ranga that these factories are allotted to certain regions for certain consideration. What consideration is there for us to get it? For Madras we did not have a Defence Minister....

Shri Ranga: In one State alone, three.

Shri Nambiar: The present Minister of Defence is not from Madras. The thing is...

Shri Ranga: Why is it that three are going to be started in Maharashtra, one State alone? That is the point I raised.

Mr. Speaker: Order, order.

Shri Nambiar: If the pressure is to get one more for Madras, I shall join hands with Prof. Ranga! I shall then be happy. Tiruchirapalli is chosen not because of its being in Madras...

Shri Ranga: I did not say about that.

Shri Nambiar: ... but because of its particular benefit to the production, because of the area, nearness of water, labour availability, railway centre and so many other factors. But if there

are political considerations about the location of other factories in other areas, I am sorry, I plead ignorance. If Prof. Ranga would help us, if he could get more for our side, I shall be happy.

I am sorry that everything is delayed, in connection with the construction of the factory. If we proceed at this pace, leave alone immediate danger from any part—panicky I am not but—I am worried about the defence of our country, whether there is going to be an immediate war or not. Our country, this sub-continent of forty-five crores, must have the necessary potential to defend itself from whatever quarter the danger may come. Therefore, in that perspective I think there must be a little more awareness and vigour on the part of the Defence Ministry with regard to defence production. ❖

Shrimati Akkamma Devi (Nilgiris):
 Mr. Speaker, at the outset I thank you for giving me this opportunity to speak.

Just as my hon. friend who spoke before me submitted, I agree with him that our hon. Minister of Defence Production is from Kerala and not from Madras State. Even some time back, when the Food Corporation Bill was being discussed here, some Members on this side as well as on the opposition side said that because our Minister is from Madras, the headquarters of the Corporation was situated in Madras. This is entirely wrong. The situation of the place is taken into consideration and not because the Minister is from that particular State. But here, again, the Minister is from Kerala and not from Madras.

I welcome the Minister's statement about the setting up of new ordnance factories. But at the same time let us remember that we have to improve and expand the existing ordnance factories before launching upon setting up new ordnance factories.

My friend from the opposition, Mr. Banerjee, when he spoke, mentioned about the other ordnance factories like Jabalpur, Kanpur, Ishopore and so on; but he entirely forgot to mention the ordnance factory in my constituency where we manufacture cordite. Cordite is most important for our jawans. He spoke about automatic rifles. But what can our jawans do with rifles or guns if they don't have cordite? Therefore, I wish to say something about the ordnance factory at Aravankadu.

When the Chinese, the ungrateful Chinese, attacked our sacred soil and when our late Prime Minister made an appeal to the workers, not only in the battlefield but in the fields and factories also, our workers in all our ordnance factories worked round the clock; not only the employers but the employees, everybody co-operated and rendered unstinted assistance and brought about the maximum production. Recently this particular ordnance factory was given the shield for the best performance. Therefore, we must always remember this factory where there is close co-operation between the employers and the workers; and even our hon. Minister, when he visited this factory recently, he said the workers are not only workers but masters of this factory. Therefore, the question about these workers must be carefully considered, with reference to incentives to them.

As this is a Central Government institution we have workers from all over the country, not only from the north, but from the east, west and south. These workers come from different places, and this is a hilly area where the climate is cold. They have to be provided with housing facilities. Not only in this factory, wherever we have ordnance factories I would request the hon. Minister of Defence Production and also the Defence Minister to see that these workers are provided with proper housing facilities. Only a very few have those facilities. There are about five thousand workers in this factory, but I do not think even one-fourth are provided

