

12.32½ hrs.

COMMITTEE ON PRIVATE MEMBERS' BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

EIGHTY-THIRD REPORT

Shri Krishnamoorthy Rao (Shimoga): Sir, I beg to present the Eighty-third Report of the Committee on Private Members' Bills and Resolutions.

12.33 hrs.

PUBLIC ACCOUNTS COMMITTEE  
FORTY-SIXTH REPORT

Shri Morarka (Jhunjhunu): Sir, I beg to present the Forty-sixth Report of the Public Accounts Committee on Audit Report (Civil) on Revenue Receipts, 1965 relating to Income-tax, Other Revenue Receipts and "General".

12.33½ hrs.

COMMITTEE ON PUBLIC UNDERTAKINGS

TWENTY-SECOND REPORT

Shri D. N. Tiwary (Gopalganj): Sir, I beg to present the Twenty-second Report of the Committee on Public Undertakings on Indian Drugs and Pharmaceuticals Limited.

12.33½ hrs.

STATEMENT RE. FOOD SITUATION  
IN WEST BENGAL

Mr. Speaker: Shri Subramaniam to make the statement.

The Minister of Food and Agriculture (Shri C. Subramaniam): Shall I lay it on the Table or shall I read it out?

Mr. Speaker: Is it a long one?

Shri C. Subramaniam: Yes, it is about five pages.

Mr. Speaker: It may be laid on the Table of the House. I will get it circulated.

[The statement was laid on the Table—Placed in Library. See No. LT-5923/66].

Shri S. M. Banerjee (Kanpur): We have got a copy.

Shri Indrajit Gupta (Calcutta South-West): We would like to put a few questions.

Mr. Speaker: I will allow a few questions.

Shri Indrajit Gupta: We had tabled a calling-attention notice.

Shri S. M. Banerjee: Our names are there.

Mr. Speaker: I have received the notice. I will allow them. Shri Yashpal Singh. . . Does he want to put a [Mr. Speaker]

Some hon. Members: We do not know what the statement is.

Mr. Speaker: When I said that it might be circulated, some hon. Members said that they had got the copies. What can I do?

Shri Indrajit Gupta: You can fix some time later on today, at 3 or 4 o'clock.

Mr. Speaker: I can put it down for tomorrow.

Dr. Ranen Sen (Calcutta East): Yes, that is better.

Mr. Speaker: All right; then I will put it down for tomorrow.

12.34 hrs.

DEMANDS FOR GRANTS—contd.

MINISTRY OF DEFENCE—contd.

Mr. Speaker: The House will now take up further discussion and voting on Demand Nos. 4 to 8 and 114 relating to the Ministry of Defence for which 8 hours have been allotted.

Hon. Members desirous of moving their cut motions may send slips to the Table within 15 minutes indicat-

[Mr. Speaker]

ing which of the cut motions they would like to move.

Shri Krishnapal Singh may continue his speech.

**Shri Krishnapal Singh (Jalesar):** Mr. Speaker, Sir, yesterday when the House rose for want of quorum, I was speaking on a very important point, namely, the establishment of combined headquarter for all the Services. When I said that having different headquarters for each of the Services might result in some delay whenever operations were taken in hand and whenever ground troops were in need of support from the Air Force, the hon. Minister shook his head. If by that I am to understand that there can be no delay, it is a very good sign. But having separate headquarters for each of the Services, in my opinion, would certainly lead to delay.

Recently, a very good book has appeared written by Lt. Col. Powers of the American Armed Forces and this is his opinion:

"Technological advances in weapons, equipment and communications have been unbelievably swift and complex and the era in which Army, Navy and the Air Force were separately employed is now long past. Instead (and this is not widely recognised) all military elements of U.S. power are now a part of a single integrated organisation for Defence, an organisation in which all U.S. forces are employed by unified and specified command."

The book is called "A Guide to National Defence" by Lt. Col. Powers. It is a very recent publication and he has really shown how at present the American defence is organised. Therefore, I repeat that it will be in the interest of efficiency and quick disposal of work if we have a single headquarter in which the staff is drawn from all the three Services. They should take up the job of collec-

tion and dissemination of information and also undertake combined planning. These days one could not conceive of any operation in which only one arm would be used. This is a very important suggestion and I hope that the Defence Minister will pay due attention to it.

Now, I come to the present situation. We just had a series of questions about the situation on the Pakistan border. We are all aware that ever since the Tashkent Agreement was signed, the attitude of Pakistan has been very clear. Therefore, as the Defence Minister says we should observe that Agreement, that does not seem to be a proper attitude. The Government used to say the same thing about the Kutch Agreement and we find now that it is almost forgotten. If Pakistan is not prepared to abide by the terms of the Tashkent Agreement, I do not see how we can abide by that Agreement.

Let me now say a few words about the recent operations against Pakistan. We have seen the valour and the courage of our troops with which they fought and the individual acts of gallantry performed by them, specially by the young officers of the Air Force, the armoured corps and some infantry units. They all have put a very good show. But to those who observed the operations from a distance, a few points do appear which need clarification. One of them is why was Pakistan allowed to take the initiative in Chhamb-Jaurian sector; why did we not have sufficient number of troops to meet such a well planned and such a large scale attack launched by Pakistan? Either our intelligence system had been defective or else something was wrong with our planning. It was the Air Force which came to our rescue; otherwise, it was a very dangerous move and we were certainly quite unprepared for it. I hope

in future operations the hon. Defence Minister will see that the initiative does not always pass on to the other side.

The second point is in regard to the large number of casualties. It was only a 20-days' fight and we had over 12,000 casualties—killed, wounded and missing. It does seem to be a very large number.

Another well-known authority, Mr. Sun-tzu, wrote a famous book in China between 400 and 500 B.C. He is regarded as a greater authority than the German writer, Clausewitz. Authors like Liddel Hart, one of the best known writers on military matters these days, says that Mr. Sun-tzu's book is a concentrated essence of wisdom; he considers it superior to Clausewitz's book on war. This little book "The Art of War", contains more information than what is given out in the twenty books which Liddel Hart has written. About strategy he says:

"He believed that the skilful strategist should be able to subdue the enemy army without engaging it, to take his cities without laying siege to them and to overthrow his State without blooding swords."

This may be an ideal which is not always capable of being achieved, but the number of casualties should be in proportion to the gains. In this particular case, a man like me, who only saw the fighting from a distance, feels that our troops suffered an unduly large number of casualties. I suppose the hon. Minister will be able to give us a clearer picture.

The third point, which is of great importance, is this. I have been able to know from a very reliable source that at least on one occasion there was fighting between two of our own formations; it is nothing very strange; it does happen; this thing has happened in the past also. It

shows that there was some defect in the orders and in our equipment. One particular thing to which I have been trying to draw the attention of this House since I came here is the infra red equipment. The infra red equipment is meant for night fighting. Even the Pakistani tank had the infra red equipment. I do not know why our Government have not been able to provide our troops with infra red equipment, (*Interruptions*)

Shri Brij Raj Singh—(Kota Jhalawar): We did very well even without them.

Shri Krishnapal Singh: For that performance our troops deserve credit and not Government. They did so well with inferior equipment, with inferior weapons and with inferior transport. The credit goes to the troops and not to the Government which has failed to supply them with proper equipment.

Shri J. B. Kripalani (Amroha): If we had the proper equipment, the casualties would have been less.

Shri Krishnapal Singh: That was the point I was going to make. If we had better equipment, if we had better weapons, the number of casualties would have been much less. Mr. Acharya Kripalani has helped me.

Shri J. B. Kripalani: I help everybody.

Shri Krishnapal Singh: Another point is this. I have read it in a little pamphlet brought out by the Public Relations Directorate that we had no intention to capture the Lahore Cantonment. The Lahore City should not have been touched. I do not see why Lahore Cantonment, which is a military target, should have been spared. There is a rumour—of course, I do not know what happened actually—that some of our troops crossed the Ichhogil Canal and were in a position to have a thrust into the Lahore Canton-

[Shri Krishnapal Singh]

ment. We are not aware of the exact situation, but if that is so, I would like to know why we spared that. It was showing mercy on the wrong occasion. I do not want to rake up the old thing. I do not mean to say that we should now dig up the whole thing which has, for the present, ended. But I would like to ask the hon. Defence Minister this question. If Pakistan had been in our position and if their troops had reached a point where our troops did or are reported to have reached, will they have spared such an important objective. Of course, that may not have been much of a material gain, but the moral gain, the moral effect of such a move, would have been tremendous and probably we would have been able to finish the war much easier than we did.

As regards the present position of China and Pakistan, it is certainly serious and as has been suggested by some people, it is time that we conveyed it to the power which has brought about the Tashkent agreement so that they know about their actions. Simply leaving it for them to observe and then take action would result in their feeling that probably we are satisfied and there is nothing to be done about it. A big power, one of the greatest powers of the world, is at present interested and has helped us and Pakistan to come to an agreement and there is no reason why we should not tell them clearly what is taking place.

As regards China, I have always held the view and I say it now also that it was a great mistake, one of the greatest blunders committed by us in the recent history, that we betrayed Tibet and we allowed China to enter Tibet and to capture all the strategic passes on that front. There is no doubt that so long as China occupies Tibet and is in possession of all the strategic passes, we will always have to face a danger. Unless we are able, somehow or other, to dislodge

China either by persuasion or by force, we will not be able to sit in peace. Therefore, it is time that we seriously started fulfilling the pledge that we took here in this House that we shall not sit at ease until we have regained our territory.

I will now come to a few other points. Regarding weapons and equipment, I have already said that the last operation against Pakistan showed that we had inferior weapons and inferior equipment. I have already mentioned about the infra-red equipment. I have gone through the report of the Ministry very carefully and although I find some pumps mentioned, some lathes mentioned and some mention of certain other articles which were not so necessary, I did not find any mention of the infra-red equipment, though Shri Krishna Menon who was the Minister when I raised that point a few years back gave a sort of assurance that our Army would be equipped with infra-red equipment which was so very necessary for night operations.

We are manufacturing a lot of things which strictly do not fall within the purview of defence requirements. One of them is the sporting 12-bore gun. The report says that we are trying to multiply our capacity to manufacture 12-bore ammunition and 12-bore gun several times. I fail to understand why we should be so keen on manufacturing the 12-bore guns and 12-bore ammunition, when we are still deficient in weapons which are necessary for the Armed Forces. The ammunition and sporting guns etc. can be left to the private sector as is done in other countries. Why should Government not have that much of confidence in their own citizens? I fail to understand this.

We are told in the report that the first frigate which is being constructed in collaboration with a British

firm will be completed by 1971. I suppose the first MIG will be ready almost about the same time. My fear is that by the time these MIGs and these frigates are manufactured they will probably become obsolete if not obsolete. We have now learnt that the big Powers are thinking in terms of Manned Orbit Laboratories for making observations and for securing intelligence for their Army. We are living in a world where astonishing things are happening, and still we are thinking about such things as a frigate being built by 1971. It is better to acquire some frigate and to start building something which would be new which when it is completed would fit in with the scheme of things in the world at that time.

As regards the MIGs, I read the other day that in America, they were thinking of manufacturing aeroplanes with a speed of about 2,500 odd miles per hour. If our MIGs when they are manufactured fail to reach such speeds and prove to be inferior, then there will hardly be any use of spending all the money and energy on their manufacture.

Another very important point relates to the Navy. At present, most of the Powers are concentrating their attention on the manufacture of submarines. I understand that Russia is trying to acquire a fleet of over 400 submarines.

**Shri Raghunath Singh (Varanasi):** 500.

**Shri Krishnapal Singh:** I think we have got only one borrowed from the British Navy.

**Shri Raghunath Singh:** For training purposes only.

**Shri Krishnapal Singh:** That too is only for training and not even for operational purposes. The present-day submarines can go up to a depth of about 6,000 to 7,000 feet probably, and after some time, they may be

capable of diving down to about 11,000 feet, and almost working at the bottom of the sea. Under these circumstances, do we think that our defences can be secured and we can expect our Navy to give protection to our shipping and to our coast-line?

12.55 hrs.

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

We have a huge coast-line, and, therefore, we have to do something in this regard.

In America I think they have organised a separate anti-submarine warfare department which has been put in the charge of an Admiral. I do not suppose that we have anything of that kind here. As my hon. friend Shri Raghunath Singh who is an expert on the Navy knows....

**Shri D. C. Sharma (Gurdaspur):** On merchant shipping.

**Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath (Hoshangabad):** On shipping.

**Shri Krishnapal Singh:** . . . we are at the bottom so far as the Navy is concerned, and it consists also of fleet of a very old type ships. I would suggest that something ought to be done to remedy these defects.

Now, I would like to say a few words as regards the acquisition of information. Our intelligence system appears to be still quite defective.

**Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath:** Unintelligent.

**Shri Krishnapal Singh:** My hon. friend Shri Kamath likes to call it unintelligent. But we should improve it, and we should have better equipment for monitoring, and for trying to catch enemy messages; and we should also have better trained personnel. We cannot employ manned orbit laboratories but we should

[Shri Krishnapal Singh]

certainly have better trained people and we should try to have better equipment. For, without getting proper information about the enemy, there cannot be proper planning. Therefore, this is the most important branch of our defence system and we should try and improve it.

I hope that the hon. Defence Minister's reply will contain certain assurances which are needed by the people, namely that we are going to improve our defences and improve them considerably and quickly.

**श्री रघुनाथ सिंह :** उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं सब से पहले उन 12,264 जवानों की श्रद्धांजलि अर्पित करता हूँ, ...

**श्री नी० श्रीकान्तन नायर (क्विलोन) :** श्रद्धांजलि देने हैं, पैसे नहीं देते हैं।

**श्री रघुनाथ सिंह :** ... उनका अभिनन्दन करता हूँ, जिन्होंने अपनी आहुति दी है, अपने रक्त से भारत माता का तर्पण किया है। मैं उन को विश्वास दिलाना चाहता हूँ कि यह पार्लियामेंट उन के बलिदान के प्रति जागरूक है और उन्होंने अपनी मातृभूमि को अपने जिस रक्त से श्रद्धांजलि दी है, वह रक्त व्यर्थ नहीं जायेगा।

सुरक्षा मंत्री जी स्वर्गीय प्रधान मंत्री जी के साथ ताशकंद गए थे, जहां ताशकंद समझौता हुआ। उस समझौते का हम स्वागत करते हैं, लेकिन जिस प्रकार से पाकिस्तान ने ताशकंद समझौते को टुकरा दिया है, वह उचित नहीं है। पाकिस्तान को मालम होना चाहिए कि इकतरफ़ा प्यार नहीं होता है—प्यार दोनों तरफ़ से होता है। पाकिस्तान भारतवर्ष की भावना को दिन-प्रति-दिन टुकराता जाता है, इस का परिणाम अच्छा नहीं हो सकता है। फिर भी मैं समझता हूँ कि ताशकंद समझौते के कारण जो शान्ति का एक रूप भारतवर्ष

ने विश्व के सम्मुख रखा है और जो समय हमें प्राप्त हुआ है, हमें भाशा है कि सुरक्षा मंत्री जी ने इस समय का उपयोग किया होगा और भारतवर्ष तथा भारतवर्ष की सेना को और भी सुदृढ़ किया होगा। हम भाशा करते हैं कि हम में जो दुर्बलता आई थी, जिन के कारण हम को छम्ब एरिया में पीछे हटना पड़ा, उस प्रकार की दुर्बलता की पुनरावृत्ति नहीं होगी और अगर पाकिस्तान कहीं भी, किसी भी भूखंड पर, किसी प्रकार का हमला करने का प्रयास करेगा, तो हमारी सेना इस योग्य होगी कि वह पाकिस्तान को उस का समुचित उत्तर दे सके।

राजा कृष्णपाल सिंह साहब ने अपनी भाषण में जवानों के प्रति अच्छे शब्दों का प्रयोग किया है।

**एक माननीय सदस्य :** वह राजा साहब नहीं हैं।

**श्री रघुनाथ सिंह :** हम उन जवानों के प्रति जागरूक हैं और उन के लिए जो कुछ भी हो सकेगा, वह हम करने के लिए तैयार हैं।

लेकिन एक बात पर हमें और ध्यान देना चाहिए कि पाकिस्तान की नीति क्या है। पिछले उन्नीस बरस में हम यह देखते आये हैं कि पाकिस्तान एक बात कहता है और फिर उसी को काटता है। इन उन्नीस बरसों में पाकिस्तान ने हिन्दुस्तान के साथ बहुत सी सन्धियां की हैं, एग््रीमेंट किये हैं, लेकिन उस ने किसी भी सन्धि या एग््रीमेंट पर ठीक तरह से काम नहीं किया। इस लिये हमें इस बारे में सावधान रहना चाहिए कि पाकिस्तान के कहने की एक बात होती है और काम करने की दूसरी बात होती है।

13 hrs.

साथ ही साथ आप देखेंगे कि जवानों की कुरबानी के कारण करीब 750 वर्ग मील भूमि पर भारतवर्ष का कब्जा हुआ था, जब कि पाकिस्तान 250 वर्ग मील भूमि पर कब्जा पा सके। फिर भी ताशकन्द के समझौते के अनुसार जीतने के बावजूद भी, एक जीती हुई फौज के बावजूद भी, हमने अपनी सहिष्णुता का परिचय दिया और हमने उस भूमि को छोड़ दिया। कारगिल का क्षेत्र, हाजीपीर का क्षेत्र और छम्ब एरिया का क्षेत्र जो हमारे लिये बहुत ही उपयोगी हैं। कारगिल का क्षेत्र अगर हमारे हाथ से निकल गया, तो लेह-श्रीनगर की सड़क समाप्त हो जायेगी, उस से हमारा सम्बन्ध टूट सकता है। कारगिल को हमने पहले लिया, फिर छोड़ा, फिर लिया, लेकिन फिर छोड़ दिया, इसी प्रकार से हाजी पीर और अन्य क्षेत्रों की बात है। लेकिन हमें यह भी सोचना चाहिये कि 1949 की रक्षा पंक्ति पर लाने की जो बात हुई, शायद यह ताशकन्द एग्रीमेंट में नहीं थी। हमारे सुरक्षा मंत्री ने एक कदम और बढ़ाया, बावजूद इस के कि सन् 1949 की युद्ध विराम रेखा तक लौटने का उस में कोई जिक्र नहीं था, लेकिन पाकिस्तान की भावनाओं को ठेस न लगे, हम शांति का प्रयास करें, लिहाजा हमारे सुरक्षा मंत्री ने 1947 की युद्ध विराम पंक्ति पर लौट आने की बात कही। हम ने जो सहिष्णुता दिखाई, हम ने जो उदारता का भाव दिखाया, उसको ठेस धाज लगी है कि चीन के राष्ट्रपति पाकिस्तान में गये। और जो बड़ी भारी परेड की गई, यह परेड किस के खिलाफ की गई? धाज जो चीन और पाकिस्तान का गठबन्धन हुआ, यह किस के खिलाफ हुआ है? धाज पाकिस्तान को 50 मीडियम साइज के यू० 59 टैंक चाइना ने दिये और 50 मिग एयरक्राफ्ट भी चाइना ने दिये, ये क्यों दिये गये? यह इस बात की खोज है, जैसा अभी सुरक्षा मंत्री ने काल-एटशन्सन नोटिस के समय कहा—हमारे

बेस्टन फंड पर पाकिस्तान की फौजों का कन्सेन्ट्रेशन हो रहा है। कोई हजं नहीं, अगर पाकिस्तान हमला करता है तो भारत के लोग फिर लड़ेंगे। पाकिस्तान का जवाब देंगे। लेकिन यह गठबन्धन जो चीन और पाकिस्तान का हुआ है, इससे केवल भारत को खतरा नहीं है, सारे एशिया की शांति को खतरा है। अमरीका को खतरा है, रूस को भी खतरा है, अमरीका, रूस या और दुनिया के देशों के लोग यह न समझें कि यह खतरा जो पैदा हुआ है, यह केवल हिन्दुस्तान के खिलाफ है, लेकिन अगर यह मनोवृत्ति, फासिस्ट मनोवृत्ति चलती रहेगी तो यह खतरा उनके खिलाफ भी पैदा हो सकता है। हम पाकिस्तान की मनोवृत्ति को समझते हैं, उनकी रण नीति को समझते हैं। पाकिस्तान यह समझता है कि हम उनके जाल में फंस रहे हैं, लेकिन मकड़ी भी जब जाल बनाती है तो समझती है कि वह नहीं फंसेगी, लेकिन जैसे मकड़ी अपने जाल में खुद फंस जाती है, उसी तरह से पाकिस्तान समझता है कि हिन्दुस्तान जाल में फंसेगा, हिन्दुस्तान जाल में नहीं फंसेगा, इस जाल में पाकिस्तान फंसेगा।

हमें इस बात का ख्याल रखना चाहिये कि सुरक्षा मंत्री में हमें विश्वास है और हमें देश में विश्वास है, लेकिन अगर नैपाल जैसा छोटा सा देश, या इजराइल जैसा छोटा सा देश, बहुत सी बातों में खिलाफ होते हुए भी अपने पैरों पर खड़ा हो सकता है, तो मैं नहीं समझता कि 45 करोड़ भारतीय जनता का इतना बड़ा देश, जिसके पास इतनी पंचसाला योजनाएँ हैं, जिसके पास अपनी बड़ी भारी फौज है, अपने पैरों पर क्यों न खड़ा हो। हम को दूरअन्देशी से काम लेना चाहिये। हमारी सुरक्षा की नीति, हमारी रण नीति अपनी होनी चाहिये। अगर हम किसी के मुखापेक्षी होंगे, चाहे वह रूस हो या अमरीका या कोई भी देश हो, अगर हम उसके पिछलग्गू होंगे तो हम में आगे चलने की शक्ति व भी नहीं आयेगी। इस लिये मैं कहना चाहता

[श्री रघुनाथ सिंह]

हू कि हमारी रण-नीति अपनी रण-नीति होनी चाहिये, हमारा कोशल अपना कोशल होना चाहिये, वह कोशल, वह रण-नीति दूसरे की कभी नहीं होनी चाहिये।

मैं नेफा के बारे में एक शब्द इस वास्ते कहना चाहता हूँ कि आज चाइना हमको घमकी दे रहा है। सम्भव है कि पाकिस्तान के साथ साथ चाइना भी हम पर हमला करे। हमारे सुरक्षा विभाग ने उधर बहुत भ्रष्टाचार किया है, उन्होंने वहाँ पर सेकेण्ड लाइन आफ डिफेंस तैयार किया है। वहाँ के लोगों का सहयोग सुरक्षा विभाग ने प्राप्त किया है। यह सहयोग जो चल रहा है, यह धीरे धीरे सुदृढ़ होना चाहिये और भ्रष्टाचार के लोग अगर वहाँ पर रहेंगे और वहाँ के लोगों से सम्पर्क स्थापित करेंगे तो हमें आशा है कि नेफा के लोग, नेफा के पहाड़ों पर रहने वाले लोग, हमारे हिन्दुस्तान की फौजों के साथ, हमारे हिन्दुस्तान के जवानों के साथ हिन्दुस्तान की रक्षा करने में किसी से, कहीं के लोगों से पीछे नहीं रहेंगे। हमें यह मालूम हुआ है कि नेफा के दूसरी तरफ चाइना अपने बांडर की तरफ पक्की इमारतें खड़ी कर रहा है और पक्की इमारतों के आधार पर वह चाहेगा कि नेफा वालों पर आक्रमण करे। लेकिन मैं चाइना को विश्वास दिलाना चाहता हूँ कि ईंट और पत्थर तोड़े जा सकते हैं, लेकिन मनुष्य का मनोबल तोड़ा नहीं जा सकता। नेफा के लोगों का मनोबल ऊँचा है और सुरक्षा विभाग ने जो ट्रेनिंग दी है, उनको सेकेण्ड लाइन आफ डिफेंस के रूप में वहाँ पर तैयार किया है, अगर चीन हमला करेगा तो चीन को भूँह की खानी पड़ेगी।

अब मैं अपने नेवी के विषय पर आता हूँ। अभी 26 नवम्बर, 1965 को पार्लियामेंट ने एक प्रस्ताव स्वीकार किया था, वह प्रस्ताव इस प्रकार है—

“That House is of opinion that steps be taken to develop and

modernise Indian Navy in order to make it effective.”

जब मैंने इस बजट को देखा, इस लम्बे पोथे को देखा तो मैंने समझा कि शायद इस में फाइनेंस मिनिस्टर साहब ने नेवी के वास्ते कुछ रुपया दिया होगा, लेकिन जब मैंने इस बजट को देखा तो मुझे घोर निराशा हुई। आप देखेंगे कि सन् 1965-66 के संसद् में जो अनुमान रखे गये थे, उस में 29 करोड़ 4 लाख रुपया नेवी के लिये रखा गया था। हिन्दुस्तान पर पाकिस्तान का हमला हुआ, ब्रह्मपुत्र नदी में हमारे करीब 100 जहाज रोक रखे गये, हमारे जो जहाज दूसरी जगहों पर जा रहे थे, पाकिस्तान ने उनको एरेस्ट कर लिया। बावजूद इन बातों के, बावजूद इस पार्लियामेंट के प्रस्ताव के कि नेवी को इफेक्टिव बनाया जाय, जब कि पार साल के बजट में 30 करोड़ रुपया था, इस साल केवल 31 करोड़ रुपया रखा गया है, यानी केवल एक करोड़ रुपया ज्यादा रखा गया है। मेरी समझ में नहीं आता कि फाइनेंस मिनिस्टर साहब के दिमाग में पार्लियामेंट का वह प्रस्ताव था या नहीं, उन्होंने पार्लियामेंट के उस प्रस्ताव को देखा या नहीं। उनका, चूँकि खुद वह बंगाल के रहने वाले हैं, शायद इसका ज्ञान नहीं है कि ईस्ट और वेस्ट पाकिस्तान के बीच में अगर कोई सम्पर्क रोका जा सकता है, ईस्ट और पाकिस्तान के बीच में अगर कोई चीज ठोकी जा सकती है, तो सिर्फ नेवी के द्वारा ठोकी जा सकती है, दूसरी चीज के द्वारा नहीं ठोकी जा सकती। इस वास्ते मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि नेवी को जो यह उपेक्षा की गई है, पार्लियामेंट के संकल्प के स्वीकार करने के पश्चात् भी, यह पार्लियामेंट की उपेक्षा है और पार्लियामेंट के सदस्य लोग ऐसी उपेक्षा के घादी नहीं हैं और मैं समझता हूँ कि फाइनेंस मिनिस्टर साहब फिर से इस बजट में जितने रुपये की नेवी को आवश्यकता है, उतना रुपया देने की कोशिश करेंगे।

हमारे सामने जो यह रिपोर्ट रखी गई है, यह 183 पन्ने की रिपोर्ट है, इस में नेवी के वास्ते सिर्फ 3 पेज हैं। इस से आप समझ सकते हैं कि डिफेंस मिनिस्टर साहब ने इस रिपोर्ट में नेवी की कितनी उपेक्षा की है। हमें अफसोस के साथ कहना पड़ता है कि हमारे साथ पाकिस्तान का जो युद्ध हुआ, उस में नेवी ने कोई काम नहीं किया। नेवी ने कोई ऐसा काम नहीं किया कि जिसके वास्ते हम को गर्व हो सके। अगर नेवी ने ऐसा काम किया होता, तो आज हमें गर्व होता। लेकिन हमें आशा है कि नेवी के जो नये चीफ-आफ-स्टाफ आये हैं, वह कुछ नये ढंग से कार्य करने की कोशिश करेंगे।

इस बजट को देखने के बाद रक्षा सेवाओं का जो अनुमान है, इस में मैंने देखा कि जहाज खरीदने के वास्ते सिर्फ एक करोड़ 58 लाख रुपया रखा गया है। लेकिन इस एक करोड़ 58 लाख रुपये से एक क्रूजर भी नहीं खरीद सकते, एक सब-मैरीन भी नहीं खरीद सकते। इससे कोई भी ऐसी चीज नहीं खरीद सकते, जो कि इफेक्टिव हो सके। मैं नहीं समझता कि किस दिमाग से यह नेवी का बजट बनाया गया है। आप इस बात को मानते हैं कि हिन्दुस्तान पर खतरा है। अगर चीन पाकिस्तान को मदद करेगा तो किस चीज से मदद करेगा? हवाई जहाज तो सीधे चले आवेंगे लेकिन वह अगर पाकिस्तान को टैक भेजेगा या रसद भेजेगा तो वह तो नेवी से ही भेजेगा। उस वक्त उसको इंटरसेप्ट करने के वास्ते आप के पास कौन सा हथियार मौजूद होगा? उस वक्त नेवी ही इस काम में आ सकती है। इस वास्ते मैं कहता हूँ कि नेवी की जो उपेक्षा की गयी है वह ठीक नहीं है। आप देखें कि सन् 1965-66 में 748 करोड़ का बजट था। उसमें से 24 करोड़ नेवी के वास्ते रखा गया। आज 822 करोड़ का बजट है उसमें नेवी के लिए सिर्फ 30 करोड़ रखा गया है। अर्थात् 74 करोड़

ज्यादा का इस साल सुरक्षा बजट बना, जिसमें नेवी का हिस्सा केवल एक करोड़ 89 लाख अर्थात् डेढ़ पर सेंट है। इस प्रकार आपने नेवी के लिए केवल डेढ़ पर सेंट अधिक रख कर नेवी की उपेक्षा की है। यह नेवी के प्रति यह उपेक्षा ठीक नहीं है।

आज चीन की नेवी में 1 लाख 24 हजार ट्रेंड लोग जिनमें 15 हजार अधिकारी हैं, और 28 हजार नाविक हैं। पाकिस्तान की नेवी में 8250 ट्रेंड आदमी हैं। इस प्रकार पाकिस्तान और चीन की शक्ति मिल कर 1 लाख 32 हजार 250 ट्रेंड परसोनेल की है। उसके सामने आपकी नेवी की शक्ति है 19,500 ट्रेंड परसोनेल। अब आप देखें कि किस प्रकार 19 हजार आदमी एक लाख 32 हजार आदमियों का सामना कर सकते हैं। अगर आपको नेवी का एक्सपैशन करना है तो ट्रेनिंग का प्रबन्ध आपको करना चाहिए, अगर आपको नेवी का एक्सपैशन करना है तो आपको शिपयार्ड बनाने चाहिए। आज चीन अपने रिपब्लिक शिपयार्ड में टारपीडो बोट्स बनाता है, कैंटन के शिपयार्ड में माइन स्वीपर बनाता है। और गन बोट्स बनाता है शंघाई के शिपयार्ड में। हमारे पास दो शिपयार्ड हैं। लेकिन हमने इंग्लैंड से एक फ्रिगेट के लिए समझौता किया है जिसका कील अब रखा गया है और वह जहाज तीन चार साल में बन कर तैयार होगा। आप शिपयार्ड नहीं बना रहे हैं, आपने इसके लिए बजट में रुपया नहीं रखा। अगर पाकिस्तान आप के ऊपर हमला कर दे तो आप कहाँ रहेंगे? आपने उस के लिए क्या प्रबन्ध किया है? आज हिन्दुस्तान आप से इस बात को जानना चाहता है। इसीलिए मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि नेवी के विषय में जो आपको उपेक्षा की भावना है वह ठीक नहीं है।

[श्री रघुनाथ सिंह]

आपने इस रिपोर्ट में "प्लान इन हैंड" शीर्षक के नीचे लिखा है कि आपने वेस्ट जर्मनी की मैन कम्पनी से समझौता किया है। पहले यही कम्पनी आपसे एक करोड़ 50 लाख रुपया चाहती थी। देश में डीजल एंजिन बनाने के लिए ताकि आपको ये इम्पोर्ट न करने हों। लेकिन आपने उम वक्त इमर्का परवाह नहीं की। आज इसी मैन कम्पनी से आप एग््रीमेंट करते हैं। डीजल इंजिन बनाने के वास्ते और ये डीजल एंजिन बनेंगे मन् 1968 में। जो भी चीजें हैं वे दूर की हैं। पास की नहीं हैं। मन् 1968 में आपके डीजल एंजिन बन कर तैयार होंगे, तब आपके डिजाइन बनेंगे, तब आप का कोई शिपयार्ड होगा और तब आपका जहाज पैदा होगा। न नौ मन तेल होगा और न राधा नाचेगी। यह अबस्था है।

आपने एक ड्राई डाक बनाने की बात कही है। मैं इस का स्वागत करता हूँ। अभी हिन्दुस्तान के पास कोई ड्राई डाक नहीं है। इस ड्राई डाक में 13 हजार टन के जहाज आ सकेंगे। इसके बन जाने से आप काफी फारिन एक्सचेंज भी बचा सकेंगे। आज ड्राई डाकिंग के लिए हिन्दुस्तान के जहाज सिगापुर, अदन, हैमबर्ग आदि जाते हैं। आपने यह स्तुत्य कार्य किया है। मैं आशा करता हूँ कि आप इस ड्राई डाक को जल्दी से जल्दी बना लेंगे। इससे आपको बहुत सुविधा भी होगी और आप काफी रुपया भी पैदा करेंगे।

आज दुनियां तेजी से आगे बढ़ रही है। हम को भी इस दिशा में प्रयास करना चाहिए। आप लोगों ने अखबारों में पढ़ा होगा कि यू० के० के नेवी के चीफ आफ स्टाफ ने इस्तेफा दे दिया। यू० के०

नेवी के मामले में अमरीका की नीति को अनुकरण करना चाहता था। लेकिन वहां के नेवी के चीफ आफ स्टाफ ने कहा कि यह चीज अच्छी नहीं है। गवर्नमेंट ने नहीं माना इसलिए चीफ आफ स्टाफ ने इस्तेफा दे दिया। इस बात से आप अनुमान लगा सकते हैं। आज अमरीका और यू० के० नेवी पर कितना भरोसा करते हैं, उस पर कितना जोर देते हैं। यहां तक कि मतभेद होने पर इस्तेफा देने की बात भी हो सकती है। लेकिन हमने हर बात में नेवी की उपेक्षा की है। क्यों वहां इस्तेफा देने की बात हुई? उसका कारण यह था कि आज बड़े-बड़े जहाजों का जमाना नहीं है। चीन शंघाई के शिपयार्ड में आज गन बोट और छोटे-छोटे विध्वंसक जहाज बना रहा है जिनकी रफ्तार 40 नाट तक है। आज हमें भी ऐसे जहाजों की आवश्यकता है, कनवेंशनल वैपन्स की आवश्यकता नहीं है। आज हमें अणु से चलने वाले सबमेरिन्स की आवश्यकता है, परमाणु से चलने वाले राकिटों और मिसाइल्स से सुसज्जित सबमेरिन्स की आवश्यकता है, क्योंकि आने वाला युद्ध हैलीकोप्टर और सबमेरिन पर आधारित होगा। इसलिये हैलीकाप्टर पर आधारित होगा कि उससे कहीं भी फौज को उतारा जा सकता है। सिपाहियों को पैराशूट से उतारने की जरूरत नहीं रहती। और सबमेरिन से आज तीन हजार मील की दूरी पर भी आप मिसाइल और राकेट से मार कर सकते हैं। आज सबमेरिन के कारण किसी लैंड बेस का महत्व नहीं रह गया है। आज आप सबमेरिन से मिसाइल चला कर दूर दूर तक हमला कर सकते हैं।

अभी राजा कृष्णपाल सिंह साहब ने अपने भाषण में कहा कि हमारे पास एक

भी सबमैरिन नहीं है। मैं अभी जैरुसलम पोस्ट अखबार पढ़ रहा था। उससे पता चलता है कि यू० के० इजराइल को दो लौंग रेंज सबमैरिन दे रहा है। आप देखें कि इंग्लैंड ने हमको सबमैरिन देने से इन्कार कर दिया लेकिन इजराइल को दे रहा है, उसे ऐसा करने में अरब राष्ट्रों की कोई परवाह नहीं है। वह उनको सबमैरिन देने को तैयार है लेकिन हिन्दुस्तान को देने को तैयार नहीं है। हमें यह विचार करना है कि इंग्लैंड और अमरीका के महारे हम कितनी दूर तक चल सकते हैं। हमको यह समझ लेना चाहिए कि चीन और पाकिस्तान के हमले के समय जिन देशों ने हमारी मदद की या जिन्होंने मदद करने का वायदा किया वे हमारे मित्र हैं। जो दुःख में हमारे मित्र हैं वे सर्वदा हमारे मित्र हैं और जो केवल सुख में हमारे मित्र हैं वे हमारे सर्वदा मित्र नहीं हैं यह हमें समझ लेना चाहिए। हमको जहाँ से सहायता मिल सकती है लेनी चाहिए।

आज दुनिया में कोई चीज सीक्रेट नहीं है। आज स्वीडन से जापान नवपोत खरीद रहा है। स्वीडन से जापान चालीस चालीस नाट की रफ्तार वाले छोटे जहाज खरीद रहा है। हमें भी केवल इंग्लैंड के भरोसे नहीं रहना चाहिए। इंग्लैंड से आपने समझौता किया दो तीन बरस हो गए। अभी आपके जहाज की कील रखी गयी है। और काफी समय बाद वह जहाज तैयार होगा। हमें दुनिया में जहाँ से जहाज और टैकनिकल नो हाउ मिल सके प्राप्त करना चाहिए, चाहे वह स्वीडन हो, इजराइल हो या अमरीका या जापान हो। अगर देश की सुरक्षा नहीं होगी तो हमारी आजादी का आधार क्या रहेगा? अभी पिछली लड़ाई में हिन्दुस्तान की रक्षा के लिए 12 हजार आदमियों ने रक्तदान किया है। हमारे दो हजार

से अधिक लोग वीरगति प्राप्त कर चुके हैं। उनकी आत्माएँ आज हमारी तरफ, इस पार्लियामेंट की तरफ देख रही हैं। हमको सोचना चाहिए कि जा देश की रक्षा के लिए दिवंगत हो गए, उनके प्रति हमारा आज क्या कर्तव्य है। उनके प्रति सब से बड़ी हमारी श्रद्धांजलि यही हो सकती है कि चीन या पाकिस्तान हम पर हमला करें तो पाकिस्तान को हम पेशावर तक खदेड़ दें और चीन को पीकिंग तक। ऐसा होगा तभी उन की आत्माओं को शान्ति मिलेगी।

अब मैं सुरक्षा कोष के बारे में कुछ कहना चाहता हूँ। मेरा सुझाव है कि सुरक्षा कोष केन्द्र द्वारा नियंत्रित होना चाहिए। बहुत से प्रान्तों में सुरक्षा कोष इकट्ठा किया गया, ट्रस्ट बना दिए गए, कहीं दो करोड़ का ट्रस्ट बनाया गया, कहीं बीस लाख का ट्रस्ट बना दिया गया और लोग जिस प्रकार चाहते हैं उस रूप का उपयोग कर रहे हैं। इस वास्ते हमारी केन्द्रीय सरकार से यह विनती है कि सुरक्षा कोष के वास्ते कोई केन्द्रीय आरगेनाइजेशन होना चाहिए। जहाँ जहाँ सुरक्षा कोष एकत्रित किया गया है वहाँ वहाँ उसका आडिटर जनरल द्वारा आडिट होना चाहिए। इसका आडिट होना आवश्यक है क्योंकि हमारे देश में ऐसे लोग मौजूद हैं, और हर देश में ऐसे लोग होते हैं, जो देश के नाम पर, रक्षा के नाम पर पैसा लेते हैं और उसे खा जाते हैं। ऐसे आदमियों को जब तक सजा नहीं होगी और ऐसे आदमियों से जब तक जनता की रक्षा नहीं की जाएगी, तब तक मैं नहीं समझता हूँ कि जनता में आत्म विश्वास की भावना पैदा की जा सकती है। जनता में आत्म विश्वास की भावना पैदा करना बहुत आवश्यक है। फिर युद्ध हुआ तो जनता आपकों पैसा नहीं देगी अगर आपने ऐसे आदमियों

[श्री रघुनाथ सिंह]

में उसकी रक्षा नहीं की। जनता आपको पैसा तभी देगी जब उसको विश्वास हो जाएगा कि उसके पैसे का ठीक तरह से उपयोग होता है, उसका पैसा ठीक तरह से खर्च होता है। मैं आशा करता हूँ कि सुरक्षा मंत्री इस पर ध्यान देंगे और एक केन्द्रीय संगठन बनायेंगे जिस के पास तमाम ये जो कोलैकशंस हैं, तमाम ये जो डिफेंस कोलैकशंस हैं आयेंगी और केन्द्र की अनुमति से ही उस में पैसा खर्च होगा। हर एक प्रदेश में अगर दो दो करोड़ या एक एक करोड़ के ट्रस्ट बन जायें और हर एक आदमी उन ट्रस्टों पर बैठ कर खर्च करने लग जाए तो रुपये का सदुपयोग नहीं हो सकता है। मैं आशा करता हूँ कि इस पर आप ध्यान देंगे।

**Shri Indrajit Gupta** (Calcutta South West): Six months ago the armed forces of this country passed through what might be called our first post-independence, major, large-scale operational testing, against an enemy moreover who was equipped with more sophisticated weapons than we had and weapons which had been supplied exclusively by western sources. It is a matter of the utmost satisfaction and pride to the entire country that these aggressive plans of Pakistan were foiled, and foiled with heavy losses too, and we are grateful to the jawans not only for the sacrifices they made, but for having resurrected—I use the word advisedly because I have in mind the 1962 experience of NEFA—the traditional heroism and the fighting capacity of the Indian jawan.

Shri Krishnapal Singh has referred to the heavy losses that our armed forces suffered. I may say that in one respect at any rate those heavy losses were abnormally so perhaps in the case of our officers, but the officers showed for the first time for

many years bold leadership and outstanding personal courage, and our airmen, if I may say so, rose to new heights. Moreover, a new bond was forged between the army and the people which, I think, is of the utmost significance for our country. I wish to pay tribute on behalf of my party to all those members of the armed services who played their part in this great trial and those who have fallen in order to re-establish the image of the jawan in the hearts of the people.

I say this because it is of very great concern to us that this image of the army as an army of the people, an army for the people, for the defence of the people, an army supported actively and enthusiastically by the people in the way we saw them being supported, it is essential that this image must be preserved and must not be destroyed or sullied in any way.

I am sorry I have now to strike a slightly discordant note because it is tragic that within six months of these heroic events, within six months of this Indo-Pak war, the same jawans who had faced the Patton tanks with such heroism, are being called upon to shoot down food demonstrators in West Bengal. I will not be satisfied if the Minister, when replying, takes resort to legalistic arguments. I know what the statutory powers given to the State Governments are to call in the help of the military and all that kind of thing. But we are in a new situation after the Indo-Pak war, and the more this army is used as a repressive weapon against the people, I say the very basic structure of democracy in this country will be endangered.

I am sure the Minister has taken note of a public statement made a few days ago by no less a person than a Member of the planning Commission, Dr. V. K. R. V. Rao, who publicly expressed his misgivings and said

that if the civil power in our country maintains itself by increasingly resorting to the help of the military, then perhaps the army itself at certain levels will begin to develop certain ideas of their own. We should learn something from the experience of other countries round about us.

This is a very dangerous thing. Moreover, it is not the army's job to defend an indefensible food policy of a particular Chief Minister. It is not the job of the army. That food policy has been proved to be indefensible by the concessions which are being made, which trickle out every day, in the talks that are going on in Calcutta. Is it the army's job to defend such an indefensible policy? I say that if a civil power in this country, a civil administration in a State, which has at its disposal 64 or 65 thousands policemen in that State, plus another three or four thousand armed policemen who have to be flown in by specially chartered planes from half a dozen States, if even after doing all this, such a civil administration is so isolated from the people that it cannot maintain itself except by calling in the jawans, it is better that such a civil administration and the ministry should quit. The jawans should not be brought in to do this dirty work. It is bad for the morale of the jawans themselves. Please remember this. They are sons of the peasants, they are sons of ordinary working people. They may have families who are also affected by food shortages and price rises and that kind of thing in their own respective villages. It is not good for their morale. Therefore, I would appeal to the Government to see to it that that image, that wonderful and proud image that has been built up during the months of August and September is not in any way denigrated or sullied by the wrong actions of the civil power which is the Government.

As far as the prospects of peace or war are concerned, I do not wish to

dilate much on this. The 1962 clash with China and last year's clashes with Pakistan have unfortunately resulted in a situation where peaceful solutions of our disputes with these two countries do not seem to be very much in the offing at the moment. Tashkent may or may not pave the way to stable good-neighbourly relations and the prospects do not seem to be very rosy just at the moment, and the India-China dispute on the border question continues deadlocked. Moreover, the element of collusion between China and Pakistan, which has been there for such a long time, has now been paraded much more publicly, much more blatantly, in Rawalpindi on the 23rd March in the parade which was held there to celebrate the Pakistani National Day. So, whether we like it or not, and however much we may wish—we do wish—that it would be possible to bring about a peaceful solution of our disputes with these neighbouring countries, nevertheless the time is not ripe for any sort of relaxation of our defence preparedness, despite also the fact that this imposes this crushing expenditure burden, upon our people.

But my point is: have we learnt the lessons of last September? This is the only subject on which I wish to develop my remarks.

We are adhering to our old defence plan, the 1964-69 plan of Rs. 5,000 crores. That is repeated again in the papers circulated to us, but I want to know, in the light of the recent and very harrowing experience that we went through, where is the review, where is the reappraisal, where is the assessment of the implementation of the plan in the current period? It is in this regard that I find the Ministry's report very unsatisfactory and disappointing. It deals with these matters, but very casually, very superficially, and it just repeats, as it were in a routine way, that there is need for developing our independent defence potential, increasing our ordnance production work and so on,

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which is already there and praiseworthy, I do not deny it. But there is no sense of urgency in the report; the pages of the report do not carry any sense of new urgency, and there is no assessment of the impact, for example, of the freezing of foreign aid, of the embargoes imposed on us by the United States and the United Kingdom. There is no assessment made of that, concretely. There is no sharing with us, with Parliament, of the real problems which have arisen in this post-September period the real difficulties and the implications of the drive for self-reliance which we know—as my hon. friend Shri Raghunath Singh has also correctly pointed out—that without self-reliance we will never be able to ensure the security of the country.

Rather I am sorry to say that running like a consistent thread through the pages of the report, there is still a sort of lurking, sneaking dependence on the hope that these United States and United Kingdom embargoes will be lifted. In one place, these embargoes are described in the words "they were rather unfair." When they gave the weapons and arms to Pakistan, they imposed embargoes on us which we thought "were rather unfair." This may be polite language, I do not know. But it has led again to the pathetic hope that these same external sources, these same friends—as stated by Shri Raghunath Singh also who have proved themselves to be false friends in the hour of our trial, the hope is still lurking that these same external sources will once again come to our aid. This outlook can have nothing in common with a determined drive for self-reliance. It is a negation of self-reliance; it is a negation of the harsh realities, whether we like it or not, politics apart; it is a negation of the harsh realities that the Chinese September war taught us, and still, if the Government of India or anybody else in this house dreams here that United States defence aid will be coming to

help us to contain China—the old, old mantram, contain China—and therefore, since the United States is interested, they will again resume defence aid to us, it is wrong. Please remember that on the 23rd March, when this parade took place in Rawalpindi, we saw for the first time the newly supplied Chinese jets and tanks on display side by side, cheek by jowl, with the United States equipment. This is a new sort of peaceful co-existence or collaboration! Please pay some attention to it. Many strange things are happening in this world nowadays.

I shall just quote a report on that parade from the Reuters Agency from Rawalpindi in which I wish to point out that the figures given there do not tally with the figures which were given in the Joint Press Conference by the Chiefs of Staff two or three days after the cease-fire. The Minister remembers that at the Joint Press Conference it was stated by the Chiefs of Staff that Pakistan began the war with 104 F-86 Sabres, 12 F-104 Star fighters and 24 B-57 bombers, which makes a total of 140. And the Chiefs of Staff stated that Pakistan had lost 73 of these planes, which, if my mathematics is correct, leaves only 67 of these three types of planes in Pakistan's possession at the end of the war. The Pindi report of Reuter says that in the fly-past on the 23rd March, there were 72 F-86 sabres, 10 F-104 Super Sabres and 19 B-57 bombers, which make a total of 101, compared with 67 on the basis of the Chiefs of Staff's figures. So, if these Reuters figures are correct, there can only be two alternatives: either our defence intelligence continues to be as totally unreliable as it always was, or, if the intelligence figures are correct, on the basis of which the Chiefs of Staff had made their statement, then, the only other alternative—and I think it is in my view much more likely—is that under the terms of aid—the aid terms—and military pacts in which Pakistan is a partner of the United States, while embargo on India continues, in the name of aid, during these subse-

quent periods also, they have been given new supplies and replacements by the United States of America. (Interruption) It may be directly, or through other partners of CENTO, NATO or SEATO, I do not know. But this build-up is going on. And today, we have this spectacle at Pindi of the new supplies of the United States planes and tanks being put on display side by side with the Chinese tanks and planes. The embargo against India is continuing. Replies to questions were given here in the last few days. The United Kingdom Government has announced the other day that the ban on commercial purchases of equipment has been lifted. I remember that in the last session we were told that about £7 million worth of orders from India was pending and has been frozen because of this commercial embargo. Now, we are told that this commercial embargo has been lifted, but a little probing will show, and has shown, I think—if the Minister will admit it—that the lifting of the embargo has not helped us very much because they will have to get licences and a discriminatory policy is being followed still in the matter of issuing licences, and therefore, the lifting of the embargo is being sabotaged in that way.

Then the United States' new theory of lethal and non-lethal supplies has suddenly been put out. We do not know exactly what the meaning of it is. I would just point out a recent report which has been sent from Washington by Mr. Inder Malhotra of the *Statesman* who has accompanied the Prime Minister's party there, quoting from *Washington Post* which, I think, is a quite well-known paper in the United States. What does this paper say? "The September war demonstrated the United States' grave mistake in being the exclusive supplier of arms to Pakistan." They do not want to be the exclusive supplier. After that, the *Post* adds: "It would not be in the interest of the USA or Pakistan if Pakistani dependence on

the USA was replaced by dependence on China." That means, they do not want to be exclusive suppliers; they do not want China also to be the exclusive suppliers. That is the meaning of it. The course recommended by this paper is, "resumption of supply of arms to Pakistan in due course on a limited basis consistent with the country's size and resources, as well as to reserve to itself the option of resuming military aid to India later on, should this become necessary as a consequence of Chinese military postures on India's borders." I think American policy is also taking on some sort of a new look, Sir, and we have to be very careful about it, and any kind of pathetic hope which still exists in the Ministry's mind that we will suddenly, perhaps after Shrimati Indira Gandhi returns from the USA, begin to get a flow of military supplies from there, should be dispelled as soon as possible. The truth of the matter is that self-reliance cannot co-exist with dependence on doubtful friends abroad. I do not say this only with reference to the post-September period. If I may just take one minute and remind the House, the United States and United Kingdom's record of dragging their feet, of holding up assistance to us—I do not use a stronger word like sabotage—pre-dates the Indo-Pakistan war. It is not a new development after September. May I just remind him that after the Chinese aggression of 1962 we were told that in the core of the Plan there was going to be the construction of six new ordnance factories. What has happened to them? The Ministry knows that for two of the key factories—for explosives and propellants—the sites were selected, one at Panvel and the other at Burla, but both these were given up. They have been given up on United States' expert advice; they told us: "Do not make these factories. It is better to import those propellants, to import those explosives." We know what condition our import potentialities are in. Secondly, another factory amongst this complex of six factories, the one at Ambajhari, for

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making ammunition and shells for the artillery and mortars, is held up till today. I can quote from a number of questions and answers on the floor of this House, dating from 1964—not now—which go to show that the Ambajhari project has been stalled and held up because the United States experts study, or something like that, has been promised since then and not completed upto today. Because the Ambajhari factory is not going into production, therefore, the closely allied and connected factory at Chanda which was to be built up with United Kingdom assistance—it is a filling factory for the shells—is also held up. Out of these six factories, four have gone clean like that! Who is responsible? We should know about that.

As regards the aircraft, the hon. Minister knows the question of expediting and accelerating the rate of production of HF-24 at Bangalore, as it is at present—Mach I—I am not talking about developing it into Mach II. For that acceleration also, collaboration with the United States was explored, but up to this day the promised capital equipment and the promised training facilities have not been given. The HF-24 production is held down because of that. As far as the development of that into Mach-II supersonic engine for HF-24 was concerned, we went around canvassing for assistance from U.K. for years together. It was never forthcoming. Subsequently we were told that we were exploring a project with the UAR, which was developing a supersonic engine with the help of German technicians. If they make a suitable engine and we make a suitable frame in Bangalore, the two can be combined. But there is not a word in the present report about that. We should be told whether it is being given up or not.

These are a few examples by which I wish to emphasise that if we go on hopefully looking westward even now,

we will be gambling with the security of our defence and the lives of our jawans. Some radical rethinking is required. That is all I want to appeal to the Government. We must break out of the old ways of thinking after the experience we have had. How can we break out? Some friends in the country and some cut motions too are advocating two solutions by way of new thinking. One is, hand over the defence production to the private sector; that will magically change the scene. The other is, all these standard conventional equipment and arms are of no use; we must now build our own atom bomb. These two things have been put forward, of course not by the government, but in different quarters in the country as a solution for the difficulties and problems facing us. With all the emphasis at my command, I want to refute both these arguments. They should be totally opposed. Here we are lamenting every day about the condition of our foreign exchange. Our import capacity is in a crisis. The country is dependent on crores of rupees worth of components and spares which we cannot get now. We cannot manufacture so many things because our industrial capacity is stalled in many places. Yet, some people talk glibly about the manufacture of atom bomb in this country! It will be a prohibitive financial burden on this country. It is not only a question of making the bomb, as some scientists had at some time estimated that it could be done within so many lakhs. If you have atomic weapons, you will have to have the means to deliver them, either by inter-continental ballistic missiles or by special types of planes. You cannot just make a bomb and send somebody in a Gnat to throw it. Certainly even if we manufacture the bomb, nobody can suggest that we can scrap all our conventional arms and weapons. We must keep both. But it is beyond the capacity of the country and it is sheer madness for anybody to advocate it. Besides that, the atom bomb is a prestige weapon, a symbol of an

offensive and aggressive nation. It is not a symbol of defence at all. It is something which is advocated always for getting in the first blow. If you cannot get in the first blow and the other fellow gets it in, there are grave doubts whether you will be in a position to launch a blow at all after that. Are we going suddenly to adopt a posture before the world of becoming an aggressive nation, not concerned primarily with the defence of our borders, but wanting brandish an atom bomb with which we can cow down other people? I submit we cannot go along that path at all. Besides, it would provide Pakistan a heaven-sent opportunity, if India started producing an atom bomb to either acquire nuclear weapons herself from China or USA or at least have bases in that country for stationing such weapons. I am totally against this.

As far as defence production is concerned, I think the policy we are following is a fairly sound one in the sense that there must be a coordination between the Public sector and private sector. I have no quarrel over that, because our resources are limited and they have to be harnessed to this task. But this coordination must be subject to four minimum conditions. Firstly, there must be the strictest control and inspection of standards imposed by the defence organisation on production, wherever it is. Secondly, there must be no relaxation or weakening of overall control by the State. Thirdly, the output of weapons proper must remain a State monopoly and that is in accordance with the terms of the Industrial Policy Resolution too. Fourthly, while there is capacity in the ordnance factories remaining idle, the production should not be farmed out to the private sector. The capacity of the ordnance factories must be utilised to the fullest extent before the private sector is called in to do any job.

I only want to outline some points in the end as to what I consider to be

some urgent tasks to which we should immediately devote attention. Firstly, stricter economy in defence expenditure. The audit report which we received only yesterday shows quite an unhappily state of affairs. There is one deal mentioned where over Rs. 2½ crores were lost on some infructuous deal to purchase from abroad and develop a certain aircraft engine at Hindustan Aircraft Limited, Bangalore. It proved to be a dud and we lost over Rs. 2½ crores on that single deal. We have to cut our coat according to our cloth. The audit report shows not only large wastage and loss, but what is more alarming, there are a lot of allocations for vital things which remain unspent.

Then there is this vehicle discard policy. I request the minister to devote some attention to this and consider whether this vehicle discard policy should be modified or not. The report says it has paid us good dividends. I would like to know how. We discarded thousands of vehicles on the basis of a certain standard laid down by so-called experts. But the next thing, when we were attacked in Punjab, we had to commandeer 6000 to 7000 civilian trucks. If they had not been available, I do not know what would have happened to military transport along the Punjab Border. I agree that vehicles which have become non-operational should be discarded. But in my view, a rigid standard has been laid down applicable to all types of terrain, whether it is NEFA or the flat plains of Punjab. Are we in a position to afford such a luxury now? The experience of Punjab has shown it. They could not have maintained their lines of communication even with military transport, if these civilian truck drivers had not been available. We know they played a glorious role.

So, economy has to be practised. But it is no use practising economy by retrenching a number of staff in the EME establishments. Secondly, the bottlenecks which I have already

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pointed out in the development of new ordnance factories will have to be removed somehow. I do not know how; I am not a technical man. But don't go on looking to the US or UK for it. Thirdly, stricter standardisation has to be brought about in our arms and equipment so that we can cut down drastically on the great variety of spares and components on which we are dependent now. Fourthly, we have to explore all possible alternative sources of supply and training facilities abroad, to which Mr. Raghunath Singh also referred. Fifthly, we have to increase the budget for defence research and development. Self-reliance has no meaning when you are spending just 1 per cent of your military budget on defence research and development. Is it a joke or what? Out of Rs. 800 crores which we spend on defence, we spend only Rs. 8 crores on defence research and development in the institutes that are there. How can we ever become self-reliant? This system of priorities has got to be changed.

There is no capacity in our country for manufacture of armour plate. Yet, we have set up a tank factory. It means we are dependent again on foreign sources for armour plate. Otherwise no tanks will come out of Avadi. So many steel plants are proposed to be put up, from Bokaro onwards—fifth, sixth and so on. Is it impossible in any of the steel plants to put up proper capacity for manufacture of armour plate, so that we know that our tanks need not look for supplies from abroad?

The Heavy Engineering Corporation complex at Ranchi is a new thing in this country with such types of heavy forgings and heavy casting facilities which have never been available to us before. I believe already the Government is perhaps looking in that direction. I believe that complex can be put to very good use for our defence purposes. We must break from this old pattern of integrating our whole defence pat-

tern with the UK and Commonwealth. It is a historical heritage of the past. We have to explore other possibilities now, apart from this.

In my view, if this great and paramount lesson of self-reliance is learnt,—that we must have a strong independent potential which enables us really to stand firmly on our own feet and to resist pressures from abroad wherever they may come from—then, I may say, this may well prove to be the single biggest victory that we won on the battlefield.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** Hon. Members may now move the cut motions to Demands for Grants relating to the Ministry of Defence, subject to their being otherwise admissible.

**Shri Yashpal Singh (Kairana):** I beg to move:

“That the demand under the head ‘Ministry of Defence’ be reduced by Rs. 100.”

[Need to improve the working of the Ordnance Factories. (1)]

“That the demand under the head ‘Ministry of Defence’ be reduced by Rs. 100.”

[Need to improve the working of the Praga Tools Limited, Secunderabad. (2)]

“That the demand under the head ‘Ministry of Defence’ be reduced by Rs. 100.”

[Need for proper rehabilitation of ex-Servicemen. (3)]

“That the demand under the head ‘Ministry of Defence’ be reduced by Rs. 100.”

[Need to rehabilitate ex-Servicemen all along the border. (4)]

“That the demand under the head ‘Ministry of Defence’ be reduced by Rs. 100.”

[Need for proper development of Indian Navy. (5)]

"That the demand under the head 'Ministry of Defence' be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Need to liberate areas now under occupation by Chinese. (6)]

**Shri Kishen Pattanayak** (Sambalpur): I beg to move:

"That the demand under the head 'Ministry of Defence' be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Need to do away with the criterion in regard to proficiency in English for promotion in the Defence Forces. (11)]

"That the demand under the head 'Ministry of Defence' be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Improperity of use of army in the work of maintaining internal peace and law and order. (12)]

"That the demand under the head 'Ministry of Defence' be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Need to bring about a uniformity in the pay-scales and other facilities within the Defence Forces. (13)]

"That the demand under the head 'Ministry of Defence' be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Necessity of general recruitment to strengthen the Defence Forces. (14)]

"That the demand under the head 'Ministry of Defence' be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Need to augment industrial production also for defence preparedness. (15)]

"That the demand under the head 'Ministry of Defence' be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Need to seek clarifications from the countries rendering armed assistance in respect of conditions for the use of these arms. (16)]

**Shri S. M. Banerjee** (Kanpur): I beg to move:

"That the demand under the head 'Ministry of Defence' be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Impending retrenchment in E.M.E. Station Workshops and Vehicle Depots. (17)]

"That the demand under the head 'Ministry of Defence' be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Need for revival of negotiating machinery for civilian employees in Defence. (18)]

"That the demand under the head 'Ministry of Defence' be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Need for setting up a wage board for the civilian defence employees. (19)]

"That the demand under the head 'Ministry of Defence' be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Need for removal of discrimination between industrial and non-industrial employees in the matter of their service conditions. (20)]

"That the demand under the head 'Ministry of Defence' be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Need for reinstatement of those Defence employees who were dismissed or removed from service during 1960 strike. (21)]

"That the demand under the head 'Ministry of Defence' be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Need for uniform wages and service conditions for H.A.L. employees. (22)]

"That the demand under the head 'Ministry of Defence' be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Shri S. M. Banerjee]

[Need for close coordination between Ordnance Factories, E.M.E. Workshops and Defence Research Laboratories. (23)]

"That the demand under the head 'Ministry of Defence' be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Need for setting up a Defence Production Board. (24)]

"That the demand under the head 'Ministry of Defence' be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Giving jobs to Private Sectors at the cost of Ordnance Factories. (25)]

"That the demand under the head 'Ministry of Defence' be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Failure to establish special alloy steel plant under Defence. (26)]

"That the demand under the head 'Ministry of Defence' be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Production of AVRO 748 in Kanpur. (27)]

"That the demand under the head 'Ministry of Defence' be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Need for extension of production Incentive Bonus to all workers engaged in production work. (28)]

**Shri Indrajit Gupta:** I beg to move:

"That the demand under the head 'Ministry of Defence' be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Impact on Defence Plan of U.S. and U.K. embargo. (29)]

"That the demand under the head 'Ministry of Defence' be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Continued supply of U.S. and Chinese arms to Pakistan. (30)]

"That the demand under the head 'Ministry of Defence' be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Measures for rehabilitation of disabled servicemen. (31)]

"That the demand under the head 'Ministry of Defence' be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Need for stricter economy in defence expenditure. (32)]

"That the demand under the head 'Ministry of Defence' be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Progress in construction of MIG manufacturing plants. (33)]

"That the demand under the head 'Ministry of Defence' be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Slow progress of AVRO-748 development. (34)]

"That the demand under the head 'Ministry of Defence' be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Bottlenecks in development of new ordnance factories. (35)]

"That the demand under the head 'Ministry of Defence' be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Fall in value of output of ordnance factories in 1965-66. (36)]

"That the demand under the head 'Ministry of Defence' be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Need to upgrade priority of Defence research and development work. (37)]

"That the demand under the head 'Ministry of Defence' be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Need to modify vehicle discard policy. (38)]

"That the demand under the head 'Ministry of Defence' be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Use of army against food demonstrators in West Bengal and Bihar. (39)]

"That the demand under the head 'Ministry of Defence' be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Need to compile an official history of the Indo-Pak. war. (40)]

"That the demand under the head 'Ministry of Defence' be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Need to erect memorial to Havildar Abdul Hamid in Assal Uttar. (41)]

"That the demand under the head 'Ministry of Defence' be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Recreational facilities for troops manning forward posts in remote areas. (42)]

"That the demand under the head 'Ministry of Defence' be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Replacement of losses suffered during Indo-Pak. hostilities. (43)]

"That the demand under the head 'Ministry of Defence' be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Need to provide alternative jobs for allegedly "surplus" EME workers. (44)]

"That the demand under the head 'Ministry of Defence' be reduced by Rs. 100."

[India-U.A.R. collaboration project for HF-24 supersonic engine. (45)]

"That the demand under the head 'Ministry of Defence' be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Roles of public and private sectors in Defence production. (46)]

"That the demand under the head 'Ministry of Defence' be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Need to boycott joint exercises and joint staff conferences of Commonwealth countries. (47)]

"That the demand under the head 'Ministry of Defence' be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Undesirability of sale of small arms to Malayasia or other committed countries. (48)]

"That the demand under the head 'Ministry of Defence' be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Urgency of standardisation of arms and equipment. (49)]

"That the demand under the head 'Ministry of Defence' be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Need to intensify self-reliance drive in defence preparations. (50)]

"That the demand under the head 'Ministry of Defence' be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Need to seek alternative sources of training facilities abroad. (51)]

"That the demand under the head 'Ministry of Defence' be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Need to extend welfare facilities for Jawans and their families. (52)]

**Shri Karni Singhji (Bikaner):** I beg to move:

"That the demand under the head 'Ministry of Defence' be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Need for the production of atom bomb. (54)]

"That the demand under the head 'Ministry of Defence' be reduced by Rs. 100."

[India's defence preparedness in view of breaches by Pakistan of the Tashkent Declaration and the existence of the Chinese threat. (55)]

"That the demand under the head 'Ministry of Defence' be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Shri Karni Singhji]

[Resumption of arms aid by U.S.A. and United Kingdom. (56)]

"That the demand under the head 'Defence Services, Effective—Army' be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Need for production of missiles and for production of cartridges for civilian use. (81)].

"That the demand under the head 'Defence Services, Effective—Air Force' be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Need for production of MIGs and spare parts for aeroplanes. (82)].

**Shri A. V. Raghavan** (Badagara):  
I beg to move:

"That the demand under the head 'Ministry of Defence' be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Need to provide loans to ex-servicemen to start some industry or business. (57)]

"That the demand under the head 'Ministry of Defence' be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Need to make available all vehicles which are surplus to Defence requirements to ex-service personnel at concessional rates. (58)]

"That the demand under the head 'Ministry of Defence' be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Need to appoint a pay commission to revise the pay scales of the armed service personnel. (59)].

"That the demand under the head 'Ministry of Defence' be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Need to enhance the pension scale of the armed service personnel. (60)]

"That the demand under the head 'Ministry of Defence' be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Need to provide adequate family quarters to the armed service personnel. (61)]

"That the demand under the head 'Ministry of Defence' be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Need to rehabilitate the persons discharged on medical grounds from the army. (62)]

"That the demand under the head 'Ministry of Defence' be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Need to increase the rate of ordinary family pension to dependants of army personnel. (63)]

"That the demand under the head 'Ministry of Defence' be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Need to merge the ration allowance with pay for purpose of deciding the rate of pension. (64)]

"That the demand under the head 'Ministry of Defence' be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Indiscriminate use of the army to quell civil disturbances in the country. (65)]

"That the demand under the head 'Ministry of Defence' be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Need to include an ex-serviceman in the Indian Soldiers' sailors' and Airmen's Board. (66)]

"That the demand under the head 'Ministry of Defence' be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Need to conduct a survey of unemployed ex-servicemen in the country. (67)]

"That the demand under the head 'Ministry of Defence' be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Need to start more Sainik School in the Country. (68)]

"That the demand under the head 'Ministry of Defence' be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Need to reserve seats for children of serving and discharged personnel in the professional colleges in the country. (69)]

"That the demand under the head 'Ministry of Defence' be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Need to expedite the payment to the States and Union territories under the special Fund for the reconstruction and rehabilitation of ex-servicemen. (70)]

"That the demand under the head 'Ministry of Defence' be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Need to write off the dues recoverable by the special Post War Reconstruction Fund committees in the various States. (71)]

"That the demand under the head 'Ministry of Defence' be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Need to provide funds for the construction of houses for serving and discharged army personnel. (72)]

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[Need to reserve posts in the public sector industries for discharged army personnel. (73)]

"That the demand under the head 'Ministry of Defence' be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Need to provide adequate funds for the WYNAD colonisation scheme for ex-servicemen in Kerala. (74)]

"That the demand under the head 'Ministry of Defence' be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Need to review to cases of serving Havildars who are denied promotions to the next rank for not passing a test in Hindi (75)]

"That the demand under the head 'Ministry of Defence' be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Need to provide commission ranks to men and to do away with the existing discrimination based on sex in the Military Nursing service (76)]

"That the demand under the head 'Ministry of Defence' be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Need to establish Ordnance Factories in States which have been neglected in the past. (77)]

"That the demand under the head 'Ministry of Defence' be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Need to provide separation allowances to Jawans as in the case of officers. (78)]

**Shri Manoharan** (Madras South):  
I beg to move:

"That the demand under the head 'Ministry of Defence' be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Threatened closure of the Avadi engineering store depot. (83)]

"That the demand under the head 'Ministry of Defence' be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Slow pace in setting up the Marine Diesel Engine Factory at Ennore. (84)]

"That the demand under the head 'Ministry of Defence' be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Proposed retrenchment of civilian in the Defence ordnance factories. (85)]

"That the demand under the head 'Ministry of Defence' be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Need to provide yearly increments in pay to Jawans as in the case of officers. (86)]

"That the demand under the head 'Ministry of Defence' be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Shri Manoharan]

[Need to improve the working condition of chowkidars in the various defence establishments. (87)]

"That the demand under the head 'Ministry of Defence' be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Lack of family accommodation for Jawans. (88)]

"That the demand under the head 'Ministry of Defence' be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Need to constitute a Parliamentary Committee to report on the pay scales of Jawans. (89)]

"That the demand under the head 'Ministry of Defence' be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Slow progress made in expanding the Navy. (90)]

"That the demand under the head 'Ministry of Defence' be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Need to enhance the amount of compensation to dependants of deceased armed service personnel. (91)]

"That the demand under the head 'Ministry of Defence' be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Lack of opportunities for promotion to the other ranks. (92)]

"That the demand under the head 'Ministry of Defence' be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Indiscriminate use of the army in putting down civil disturbances. (93)]

"That the demand under the head 'Ministry of Defence' be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Rigid enforcement of Hindi in matters of promotions of Jawans. (94)]

Shri Warior (Trichur): I beg to move:

"That the demand under the head 'Ministry of Defence' be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Need to provide loans to ex-service-men to start some industry or business (95)]

"That the demand under the head 'Ministry of Defence' be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Need to make available all vehicles which are surplus to Defence requirements to ex-service personnel at concessional rates. (96)]

"That the demand under the head 'Ministry of Defence' be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Need to appoint a pay commission to revise the pay scales of the armed service personnel. (97)]

"That the demand under the head 'Ministry of Defence' be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Need to enhance the pension scale of the armed service personnel. (98)]

"That the demand under the head 'Ministry of Defence' be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Need to provide adequate family quarters to the armed service personnel. (99)]

"That the demand under the head 'Ministry of Defence' be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Need to rehabilitate the persons discharged on medical grounds from the army. (100)]

"That the demand under the head 'Ministry of Defence' be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Need to increase the rate of ordinary family pension to dependants of army personnel. (101)]

"That the demand under the head 'Ministry of Defence' be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Need to merge the ration allowance with pay for purposes of deciding the rate of pension. (102)]

"That the demand under the head 'Ministry of Defence' be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Indiscriminate use of the army to quell civil disturbances in the country. (103)]

"That the demand under the head 'Ministry of Defence' be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Need to include an ex-serviceman in the Indian Soldiers', sailors' and Airmen's Board. (104)]

"That the demand under the head 'Ministry of Defence' be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Need to conduct a survey of unemployed ex-servicemen in the country. (105)]

"That the demand under the head 'Ministry of Defence' be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Need to start more Sainik School in the country. (106)]

"That the demand under the head 'Ministry of Defence' be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Need to reserve seats for children of serving and discharged personnel in the professional colleges in the country. (107)]

"That the demand under the head 'Ministry of Defence' be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Need to expedite the payment to the States and Union territories under the special Fund for the reconstruction and rehabilitation of ex-servicemen. (108)]

"That the demand under the head 'Ministry of Defence' be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Need to write off the dues recoverable by the special Post War Reconstruction Fund Committees in the various States. (109)]

"That the demand under the head 'Ministry of Defence' be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Need to provide funds for the construction of houses for serving and discharged army personnel. (110)]

"That the demand under the head 'Ministry of Defence' be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Need to reserve posts in the public sector industries for discharged army personnel. (111)].

"That the demand under the head 'Ministry of Defence' be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Need to provide adequate funds for the WYNAD colonisation scheme for ex-servicemen in Kerala. (112)].

"That the demand under the head 'Ministry of Defence' be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Need to review the cases of serving Havildars who are denied promotions to the next rank for not passing a test in Hindi. (113)]

"That the demand under the head 'Ministry of Defence' be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Shri Warrior]

[Need to provide commission ranks to men and to do away with the existing discrimination based on sex in the Military Nursing service. (114)]

"That the demand under the head 'Ministry of Defence' be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Need to establish Ordnance Factories in States which have been neglected in the past. (115)]

"That the demand under the head 'Ministry of Defence' be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Need to provide separation allowances to Jawans as in the case of officers. (116)]

"That the demand under the head 'Ministry of Defence' be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Need for more self-reliance in defence materials. (117)]

"That the demand under the head 'Ministry of Defence' be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Need to allot more funds for Research and Development of Defence. (118)]

"That the demand under the head 'Ministry of Defence' be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Need to use to full capacity the ordnance factories. (119)]

"That the demand under the head 'Ministry of Defence' be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Need for setting up of ordnance factories especially to cater to the needs of the Navy in Kerala. (120)]

"That the demand under the head 'Ministry of Defence' be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Urgency to expand the Research Laboratory at Cochin. (121)]

"That the demand under the head 'Ministry of Defence' be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Need to stop the use of armed forces against the people of India. (122)]

"That the demand under the head 'Ministry of Defence' be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Need to introduce weapon-training in N.C.C. (123)]

"That the demand under the head 'Ministry of Defence' be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Need to encourage flying in N.C.C. (124)]

"That the demand under the head 'Ministry of Defence' be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Need to take adequate measures to give land for cultivation to families of Jawans. (125)]

"That the demand under the head 'Ministry of Defence' be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Need to find adequate employment for reservists. (126)]

"That the demand under the head 'Ministry of Defence' be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Need to increase retaining fee of reservists. (127)]

"That the demand under the head 'Ministry of Defence' be reduced by Rs. 100."

[Need to revise D.A. of both military and civil employees in Defence. (128)]

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** These cut motions are now before the House.

**Dr. Melkote (Hyderabad):** Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, after the Tashkent Agreement we had felt a kind of lull come over the country, but the recent events in Pakistan is belying our hope that these two countries, India and Pakistan, will try at least now to live in peace. We felt that the crisis was over, but the crisis is on. Sometime about last year, about this time, in the month of April and May, I happened to be in England and it was just about that time that the Rann of Kutch was invaded by Pakistan. What was the picture that we saw there? The Labour Government with its meagre majority of two or three was feeling helpless and the Conservatives were almost dictating to the Government. India's name was in mud. Every paper criticised us and said that India could not stand up against a small country like Pakistan. One did not know to what extent Pakistan had been helped in this aggression both by the United Kingdom as well as by America. Sir, the things that we saw there and the things we read in the papers made us feel very very sorry for our own country.

When we came back, we saw to our surprise that Pakistan, in spite of the truce over the Rann of Kutch, in spite of their saying that there was going to be a kind of truce in the affairs of India and Pakistan, did not hesitate to take the initiative and attack us again in the month of June. I would like to pay a tribute to our people, to our jawans and to our officers of all ranks because they prepared themselves for the fight and gave a best account of themselves everywhere. It is a tribute to our Chief of the Army, General Chaudhury who has led us, first, at the time of Hyderabad, secondly, when we took charge of Goa and, this time, against Pakistan's nefarious activities. I would like to pay my tribute

to the Defence Minister and the late Prime Minister, Shri Lal Bahadur Shastri, for the valour that they inculcated in us and in our soldiers that today we are standing up with honour and dignity in the comity of nations. But let us not forget, as I said, that the crisis is not over. Let us not lull ourselves into a feeling that we are safe now and therefore the defence budget needs to be curtailed in order that the State may progress in other fields. That is the last thing that should be done.

We have a feeling that even this year the budget demands of the Defence Ministry are very very meagre. Particularly today, warfare means soldier and science. Both these go together. Without scientific technology and balanced advancement of scientific technology, the soldier will be able to do very little. If the soldier has got to be brave and strike heavily, he has to be supported by science. One of the hon. Members in the Opposition made out a point that towards scientific knowledge we are spending about 1 per cent. It is not 1 per cent, it is 0.1 per cent, I would like to point out. It is a very meagre sum as compared to many other countries. It is said that U.S.A. spends about 15 per cent over research out of the total expenditure on defence. In U.K. it is somewhere about 14 per cent and other countries follow suit. I think even Pakistan spends about 1 per cent and ours is just 0.1 per cent. It is, therefore, absolutely necessary the budgetary provision for defence should be enhanced and much more amount allotted for scientific and technological development if our soldier has got to give a good account of himself. In democracy, defence is important. If democratic conditions are to be maintained in our country, we should have a very strong defence. Therefore, even from that point of view we have got to go all out and help to see that the defence department is geared up to the highest traditions of valour and determination.

[Dr. Melkote]

In saying some of these things I would like to bring to your notice that whereas the soldier in the front is the man who strikes, the ordinary worker behind him is equally important. For every soldier in the front there are at least 8 to 10 people working behind the lines, manufacturing things and supplying them to him so that he gets these things in time and of proper standard. I do not know why immediately after the Tashkent Agreement in a number of places workers who have put in—these are permanent workers—15, 20 and 25 years of service received notices of retrenchment. These are not casual workers. There are casual workers also who have put in 20 years of service. Nowhere in any other department do you find a person who is not made permanent after three years. Yet there are persons here who have put in 20 years of service but who still do not get pensionary benefits. Ordinary civilians get it. But here, in this department, there are people who started on a particular salary on a particular day 20 years back, they have received no increments whatsoever, no permanency, no pensionary benefits, they are still drawing the same salary they used to get at the time of entry into service. There is something radically wrong somewhere. How can these workers do their very best? Some of these workers, during all these times of crisis, at the time of the police action in Hyderabad, at the time of Goa affair and during the recent Pakistan aggression, they have worked round the clock continuously for 24 hours. Many of the workers have for over two or three years since the Chinese aggression, they have been putting in over anything from 10 to 14 hours every day. It is these workers, who have done all these things, who know the technique, who are technically skilled, who cannot be obtained easily, who are being retrenched and notices of retrenchment have been given to them. I do not know why this is being done. We made it clear at the last Labour Con-

ference that this should not happen; we were promised that this would not happen. But now the reply is given that since many of these vehicles have been outmoded and therefore they are removed, and the manufacture of vehicles, would be given over to private agencies that retrenchment has become necessary. I do not see why these very people who have had the experience cannot be made over to the private agencies to be absorbed by them, so that their service is not affected, and subsequently, if they are needed, re-absorbed back again in the department. There should be some sort of collaboration between the private and public sector. The private sector is given all kinds of help by the Government. The private sector cannot by themselves maintain and run an industry without Government help. We give them all kinds of help. In spite of all that why are we not dictating to them what they should do in the national interest. This is a matter which needs the closest attention of the Government. I hope none of these workers who have received notices of retrenchment would be sent out. Along with the jawans who fought in the front, these workers also have sacrificed their all. Some have gone to the front and laid down their lives. The workers in the field of Transport and Railways and Posts and Telegraphs services have earned encomiums during this period of crisis. Our Defence workers, though they are not the jawans fighting in the battle-field, have also sacrificed their lives in the service of the country and earned encomiums for their patriotism. After rendering 15, 20 years of service, if they are now retrenched, it will be a severe blow to them. These people are trained workers. There are many areas where their services could be utilised. Already there is stagnation at particular levels for them. There are no further opportunities for them to improve their status. Housing condition is extremely bad. Food is extremely scarce to obtain today. These workers in the Deence are also

transferred from place to place and within their meagre salary and with no further opportunities to improve their status they are to maintain two families—one family at one place for the sake of their children's education and the other where they are transferred. In the new place houses are also not available easily. In making the transfers, I would request that the Defence Ministry should be extremely careful and sympathetic. When we make representations to the Defence Minister and his Deputy and also to the Officers, they are extremely sympathetic, but in spite of this transfers are taking place. I can understand the importance of Defence needs and why such transfers should take place. But I would appeal to the Defence Minister and his Officers that a little more sympathy should be extended to these people in the matter of transfer. The transfers could be obviated to the extent possible, or adequate facilities should be given to them in the form of housing facilities, extra rations, etc. in the places where they are transferred.

14 hrs.

Sir, I had the occasion and opportunity of visiting some Ordnance Factories in England last year and also in some other places. I must bring to your notice that most of these Ordnance Factories are not run by the Defence Department at all. They are private factories. They are under strict control of the Defence Department but in the hands of private agencies. No military personnel are working there. I went into the question of labour problem and asked them whether they could strike. They said that they could do that and for that a particular clause is also there. But they don't resort to strikes in national interest. What is the average pay scale of the worker there? In England any worker, whether he is a sweeper or a person who white-washes the walls, gets not less than Rs. 1000 per month. It is about 1500 rupees per month in Germany. In most of our Ordnance Factories we

have got highly sophisticated machinery purchased from various parts of the world, which were made available manufactured in the year 1962, 1963, 1964, 1965 and we are purchasing machinery manufactured in 1966 also. Yet our salary is about the lowest in the world. The raw material is cheap and we have the best machinery available in the world. Still the production is said not upto the mark. I would like to ask—are the workers malingering or is there something wrong with the management itself? I have been repeatedly telling that the workers who are malingering should be dismissed, especially the workers in the defence sector, because any such thing is unpatriotic. We would support such idea. But the fact is that the Indian worker is capable and has shown the capacity of coming to the level of workers in other developed countries and the Indian worker is also quite intelligent. He has also proved that he can work round the clock and produce three or four times more in times of need. In spite of this, if the production has not gone up, then there is something essentially wrong with the Management. Would the Defence Minister look into this question why such a situation continues to prevail in our Ordnance Factories? When the worker is producing three or four times more, if only he could get Rs. 700 or Rs. 800 more to his income, naturally he will be enthused to sustain the tempo of his work. The Defence Ministry must look into this and find out why the production lags behind, why it is not upto the mark and whether the worker is getting the much needed incentives to step up his capacity, etc. It is stated every now and then that production both in the private and public sectors is not upto the mark. I would not like to blame any particular sector in this thing. I would like the Defence Ministry to set up a Committee to go into these things in detail. We on the side of workers are prepared to give our fullest co-operation. If sufficient incentives are given to the workers with the sophisticated machinery we have

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there will be more production in times of need.

I would like to say something about the co-operatives. These are being misused by unions belonging to different federations for their own benefits, particularly in the labour section of the Defence Department, unless the worker becomes a member of a particular Union, he is not allowed to make use of the co-operatives. The Defence Department should look into this question and see that when the people who are members of the co-operatives and who become also members of the Executive start misusing these facilities they should be transferred. I should be the first person to press this request. This is a matter of great importance to us, I would request the Defence Minister to look into this question also.

I would like to plead with the Members of this House that the Defence Budget is very small and it should be enlarged and also much more money should be spent on defence research.

**Shrimati Sharda Mukerjee** (Ratnagiri): Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, when I was listening to the speeches of the hon. Members it struck me that while we have paid tributes to our Armed Forces, we have also shown some undue enthusiasm for continuing, or rather accelerating, if I may say so, the war policy. Sir, while war has never been and is not the instrument of policy of this Government and the Congress Party, nevertheless, our recent achievement of successful retaliation of the Pakistani Forces on our western borders has established that we can and shall resist any enemy attempt to violate our territorial integrity or to threaten our vital interests and that we shall fight and fight with all the courage and determination at our command rather than submit to a bloodless defeat.

I would like to join in the tributes paid by the other hon. Members to those young men of the Army and the Air Force who during the short period of 3 weeks staked their lives to uphold the honour and dignity of their motherland and also to the thousands of our countrymen in Punjab, Jammu and Rajasthan many of whom became the victims of Pakistani bombing and shelling and whose homes and farms were destroyed and desolated. Sir, as we have paid the price with the loss of young lives and of property, so has Pakistan.

The famous Clausewitzian saying that "Blood is the price of victory" has no longer much meaning in the context of the scope and pattern of contemporary warfare today. War has never settled any basic issues, which have to be solved by Conferences and negotiations and an attempt to understand each other's problems and difficulties has to be made so that people may live in an atmosphere of peace and security.

But there is a vast difference between obligatory negotiations to avoid war because a country is too weak militarily and otherwise to safeguard its own interests and its territories, from negotiating from a position of strength to prevent war. Our policy should always be to prevent war from a position of strength.

The present situation of a militant attitude of Pakistan in spite of the Tashkent Agreement and of China, is likely to continue and, while our industrial, economic and military planning should be so arranged as to equip the country and the people for the contingency of a possible enemy aggression, we must remember that it must be done with a well thought-out organisation and with discipline which can create a confidence in the people. Together with this is also the equally important need to create a world opinion in our favour. Isolationism, independent policies and national strategies are things of the

past. Even the U.S.A. and U.S.S.R. could not afford to pursue these policies.

With regard to the problem of defence, it has to be tackled on three fronts. The primary front is the military front, and this is of little concern to Parliament. It must be left essentially to military strategists and experts. The other two fronts, domestic and international, are matters which are well within the purview of parliamentary rights.

With regard to the domestic front I am going to limit my observations mainly to the viewpoint of the economic viability of our defence efforts and defence planning. The Ministry of Defence Demands on Revenue and Capital account come to approximately Rs. 970 crores and account for approximately one-fourth of the Government's total annual expenditure. This is the maximum that this country can afford now or in the foreseeable future, in view of the more urgent needs of the country and the people, our social and economic development programmes and the most important immediate need of feeding our people. Our food imports alone last year cost us Rs. 300 crores; this year it may be twice as much. Therefore, what we must remember is, that while defence is important, we cannot afford to spend more than what we are spending now. In regard to this we must see that the strictest economy combined with efficiency of organisation are achieved in our defence effort.

Moreover, in respect of manpower strength, we do not know whether the target that the Defence Minister had mentioned a year or so ago about the manpower in the army of 10 lakhs, has been achieved or not. There is no reference to this in the Report. Perhaps it is not in the public interest to disclose this. But I would at least like to find out what is the ratio between the operational and non-operational strength of manpower

and what is the ratio between the combatant and non-combatant portion in the manpower strength of the army.

No country can afford to have a large standing army, whatever be its resources, to meet a situation of emergency. When we look at the figures for the United Kingdom for 1965, we find that their manpower target is 1,80,000 while their reserve force comes to 1,65,000. What do we find in our Report? We find that our territorial force is about 43,000. Even if one assumes that the target as mentioned by the Defence Minister of 10 lakhs has been achieved, I would consider that for the size of this country and for our defence commitment this territorial force of 43,000 is really rather inadequate.

What is the pattern prevailing of recruitment among the jawans? The pattern which was prevailing a year or two ago was this, and I do not know whether there has been any change since then, because there is no mention of it in the annual report. A jawan is recruited for 15 years. For 7 years he is on active duty. After that if there is no promotion for him, for eight years he is on reserve list, getting a pittance of Rs. 10 per month. During these 8 years he is recalled for duty for about two months at a time, three times. Of course, there is a lack of employment in the country and recruitment is done from very very poor and backward districts, one of which I represent. Employment opportunities being limited in these areas, people come and join the army in large numbers.

With regard to the reserve force I would like to make one suggestion. There are civilian pilots, merchant marine-men and scientists. All these people can be put on the reserve list. They can be given training for six months or a year, or if that is not possible, even for a lesser period and then put on the reserve list. With regard to infantry, gunners, artillery men, engineers and doctors, the same kind of reserve force can be created

[Shrimati Sharda Mukerjee]

in the country. To your army of 10 lakhs people you can have another reserve of 10 lakhs to 15 lakhs and these people can be called out for duty at any time when an emergency arises for the country.

The second point regarding economic viability concerns equipments and weapons. We know that our resources being limited—the technical resources, industrial base and economic resources—all these being limited, we can only undertake the sort of military operations which are possible under these limitations. We cannot at this stage, nor in the foreseeable future as far as I can see, think of the possibility of being able to manage on self-reliance. This is a thing which we have to admit. Our commitments being what they are, our resources being what they are, we cannot at the moment, or in the next 5 or 10 years, think of being self-reliant. We must have foreign assistance. In this Report and also in the Demands for Grants we are told that we are spending Rs. 900 crores on defence requirements. We do not know what portion of that Rs. 900 crores or Rs. 1,000 crores is going to be in foreign exchange for import of equipments for the armed forces. Secondly, if we are getting any assistance from foreign countries, what type of assistance is it, what is the quantum of it and what are the conditions which we have to fulfil? It is very important in regard to our policy both in the country and in our international policy.

Moreover, there is certainly a need for adapting the less sophisticated weapons for utilisation in our forces. During the confrontation with China in 1962 we had the experience of our men having to carry automatic rifles which were very heavy. They had to climb up to high altitudes. So, they could carry only a certain amount of ammunition. The automatic rifle gets fired 50 rounds in 10 minutes. When they reached the high altitude, as they could carry only very

little ammunition and as there was nobody else to carry ammunition for them, they were out of ammunition very soon.

Therefore, having regard to the conditions, the terrain and the people who are to use the equipment, I think, it is very important that we should have an assessment made of the sort of equipment which can be used and whether the sophisticated equipment that is being used in other countries is really necessary for us.

Take a fast aircraft, for instance. It is very nice to have a very fast, supersonic aircraft, but you need to have facilities for air-to-air fuelling etc. Have you got the facilities, have you got the radar and all the sophisticated equipment? Have you got the support with which this sophisticated machinery and equipment etc. can be operated?

With regard to the ordnance depots and the public sector undertakings that we have got, I would like to make only a brief reference because the Audit Report and the Public Accounts Committee's Report have gone into it very fully; I need hardly add to it. One thing that I would like to stress is that our requirements for defence aviation or for the Navy are so limited that it does not justify our going in for different types of aircraft, ships and so on. We can have a Ministry of Aviation, as they have in England, which deals with the entire supply of aviation, civil or military.

In the same manner, with regard to the supply of ships—repair and maintenance of ships and aircraft—we can have one combined organisation, whether it be under the Defence Ministry or under any other ministry. For heaven's sake, let us have one combined organisation which deals with both. Take the Air Force, which has three types of aircraft—the bomber aircraft, the transport aircraft and

the fighter aircraft. The fighter aircraft is possibly confined only to the Air Force, but as far as the bomber aircraft or the transport aircraft is concerned, it can be utilised in civil aviation or in military aviation with suitable modifications. Therefore, I suggest that the Ministry should look into this and with regard to aviation and shipping there should be one organisation which deals with both civil and military requirements and there can be modifications made to suit civil and military needs.

I notice that the Hindustan Aeronautics Limited, which has an authorised capital of Rs. 50 crores and a subscribed capital of Rs. 38 crores, has its head office in Delhi, the operational office in Bombay and its factories located, I find, in five different places. It has the HAL in Bangalore; it has a factory at Kanpur which is supposed to be manufacturing the Avro-748s for the last ten years; then there is for the MIGs, the airframe factory in Nasik, the engine factory in Koraput and the electronics factory in Hyderabad. And what do we have at the end of all this? With this Rs. 38 crore investment and this big empire spread all over the country, what have we produced? We have produced some Gnats and we are proud of them; we do not know what percentage of Gnats are produced here or how many have been produced. We have no information on that. The Avro-748s were a write-off and have already been a failure. The HF-24 which is supposed to have an Orpheus engine and which should by now have been a supersonic aircraft has not come off. Yes, it flies; but if you drive a Rolls Royce car with a small little engine, it amounts to the same thing. It is supposed to be a supersonic aircraft; it is supposed to fly at a certain speed. What have we got? For nine years we have been trying to fit an engine into this. This sort of thing shows that there is considerable room for reassessment, re-organisation and certainly for a cutting down on the defence expenditure as far as defence production is concerned.

It is very important that there must be adequate dovetailing, integrating and co-ordinating of civilian and defence efforts. The Army, the Air Force and the Navy can no longer fight a war on their own. It has to be integrated with civilian effort, although this may not be possible to the extent that it is done, for instance, in Germany. In Germany there was a tractor, the Unimog; the same tractor could be used as a tank. The same company, the Mercedes Benz company, made the Panther tanks when Goering was the General. This sort of thing can be done here. You cannot put the defence force into a watertight compartment; certainly economically we cannot afford to do it. We must have a dual system, an integrated and a dovetailing system so that the economic, industrial and manpower resources could be used effectively.

Finally, I want to say that the Ministry of Defence, which constitutes a vast and anomalous empire—I do not have anything against it—but for heaven's sake, let it at least be made into different departments which are better co-ordinated. One does not know what the other person is doing, there seems to be very little co-ordination. In these days when specialisation, concentration of effort and co-ordination have become the pattern of thinking and working, what do we find? We find there is this vast accumulation of a diffused and anomalous assortment of activities taking shelter under one ministry, the Ministry of Defence. That is why you have all this overspending. There is no cost-effectiveness at all.

In conclusion, I would like to say that in keeping with our national objectives, our defence strategy has necessarily to be a part of our overall strategy of peace and this can only be ensured if we see to it that we are strong enough to discourage any outside aggression. In this strategy of peace, what we need is a well equipped and efficient defence force which

[Shrimati Sharda Mukerjee]

has a vital role to play. But their efficiency and morale have to be sustained by and integrated with the effort of the people and the country as a whole. Towards this end we must strive. Therefore it is not, as has been mentioned in the Defence Report, that we want defence preparedness. This phrase, unfortunately, has become rather commonplace these days and is mentioned quite prominently in the report. May I suggest that instead of "defence preparedness", which suggests an element of hostility, militancy, caesarism, we might think of having something like "defence efficiency" or "effective defence strategy".

With these words, I support the Demands.

**Shri A. V. Raghavan:** Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, the heroism and courage shown by our officers and men of the Army will go down as a glorious chapter in the history of our army. I pay my tribute to the gallant deeds shown by our jawans during the recent Indo-Pakistan conflict. As an ex-serviceman, I pay my homage to the countless number of soldiers who laid down their lives to safeguard the sovereignty and the territorial integrity of our country.

Sir, as an ex-serviceman I am much concerned about the service conditions of our jawans. Most of our soldiers in the Indian Army get less than Rs. 100 as their pay packet and I have to bring to the notice of the House and the Minister unsatisfactory pay and increment conditions of our soldiers.

Sir, the minimum pay of an ordinary soldier is Rs. 55 and there are thousands and thousands of soldiers in the Army who retire on the same time-scale of pay and they are not given sufficient amount of increment. I invite your attention to p. 144 of the Report which says:

"Increment of pay for men's service is admissible to Other

Ranks excluding ICOs but including Non-Commissioned Officers at the rate of Rs. 2.50 per mensem after 5 years man's service and a further Rs. 2.50 per mensem after 10 years man's service. Further increment at the rate of Rs. 2.50 per mensem is admissible to personnel below NCO rank after 15 and 20 years man's service."

The normal period of service of a jawan is from 15 to 20 years. During this period, the maximum increment that the jawan is entitled to get is only Rs. 10 and if you take the average it comes to 50 paise per month because a jawan is entitled to get only Rs. 2.50 per mensem after he performs service for a period of five years. At the same time, the Ministry has got a bias for officers. They start on a pay-scale of Rs. 400. Normally, an officer retires when he attains the rank of a Major and a Major, when he retires, gets Rs. 550 by way of pension. A soldier who is enrolled on a pay-scale of Rs. 55 or Rs. 57 gets only Rs. 17 by way of pension after completing twenty years of service. It is the most deplorable condition of service and I feel strongly about it and I request the Defence Minister to see to it that something is done to raise the emoluments of soldiers who are safeguarding the borders of our country.

Then, I invite your attention to another thing. It looks as if an ordinary jawan in the Army has no family. There is an allowance which is known as separation allowance for the officers. The officer is given at the rate of Rs. 50 per mensem by way of separation allowance because he is obliged to serve at the place where he cannot take his family. Are we to understand that an ordinary jawan has no family? Does he not feel the pangs of separation from his family? Why should officers be given Rs. 50 by way of separation allowance and not a single paise is given to an ordinary jawan on whom the responsibility of safeguarding the country

lies? Therefore, I want the Defence Ministry to consider the disparity in the pay-scales of officers and jawans and I request that a pay commission be appointed to study the conditions of service of officers and jawans and to suggest ways and means of increasing the emoluments for jawans.

Now, I want to invite the attention of the House to the low pension scale of the Army. As I said earlier, after 20 years of service, a jawan gets only Rs. 17 by way of pension. No doubt, recently, another sum of Rs. 5 was provided, making a total of Rs. 22. The amount of Rs. 22 is only 25 per cent of his pay which he draws at the time of enrolment in the Army. At the same time, an officer who draws Rs. 400 at the time of enrolment gets Rs. 550 by way of pension, that is, Rs. 150 more than what he was drawing at the time he joined the Army. That is why I request the Minister to fix the pension at the minimum rate of Rs. 50 and the bias that is so far being extended to the officers may also be extended to ordinary jawans.

There is an acute scarcity of residential accommodation in the Army. I am told that this scarcity continues not only for the jawans but also for the officers. We find many instances in the Audit Report where lakhs and lakhs of rupees have been squandered by the officers. If only that amount was spent on providing residential accommodation, more than 20,000 hutments could have been constructed for providing accommodation to the jawans. I invite your attention to p. 14 of the Audit Report on the Defence Services. Para 24 says:

*"Extra expenditure in local purchase of foodstuffs—During the period October, 1964 to March, 1965, the Officer Commanding of a supply depot made heavy local purchases of tinned foodstuffs at a cost of Rs. 2.62 lakhs. The rates at which they were obtained were 50 to 100 per cent higher*

than the rates at which such stores are sold by the Canteen Stores Department. The extra expenditure thus incurred was Rs. 1.13 lakhs.

The Ministry have intimated in January, 1966 that a Court of Enquiry is being held and the Officer-in-charge, supply depot has been placed under suspension".

Then, I read Para 25 which says:

*"Extra expenditure in purchase of fresh vegetables and fruits—Fresh supplies of vegetables and fruits in Bengal area were arranged till 1963-64 through contracts concluded on the basis of competitive tenders. For supply of these items during 1964-65 Government issued a sanction on 31 March, 1964 authorising conclusion of a negotiated contract with a Cooperative Society sponsored by the State Government. Accordingly, rates for supplies to be made during 1964-65 were negotiated with the Society by a Board of Officers and a contract was concluded with them on 31 March, 1964 for Rs. 66.76 lakhs. A month and a half before the conclusion of this contract, on 18 February, 1964, open tenders had been invited for the same items. On the basis of the lowest rates obtained the contract concluded with the Society for the year 1964-65 was found to be costlier by Rs. 14.10 lakhs. For the year 1965-66 also, a contract has been concluded with the same Society at rates which are about seven per cent higher than those at which the earlier contract was concluded."*

I do not know why this contract was given to this Society incurring thereby an expenditure of Rs. 14.10 lakhs. It looks suspicious, especially when only a month and a half before, the lowest tender was received and that was not accepted and the contract was given to this Society, that some important person in the Society must

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have been interested in seeing that the contract is given to the Society. Otherwise, there is no reason why the Ministry should prefer a Cooperative Society of Bengal and waste Rs. 14.10 lakhs.

Again, there are certain cases where jawans are denied promotions because they are not able to pass tests in Hindi. I know of many Havildars who have not been promoted to the next higher rank because they have not passed the test in Hindi. Most of these persons are from South India and, therefore, I request the Minister to see that at least in respect of the persons who are coming from non-Hindi-speaking areas, the condition of passing the test should be made less rigid and they should be given more opportunities of promotions.

I want to invite your attention to the discrimination based on sex that is practised in the Military Nursing Service. Normally, on commission, men are given only one star. But the appointment of women is to the cadre of a Lieutenant. There are thousands and thousands of men-folk who are working as male nurses and they are denied the opportunity of promotion. They are not given the commissioned rank. I am told, the male nurses are doing 90 per cent of the job in hospitals and the Lieutenants are only sitting and commanding these male nurses. I want the Defence Minister to look into their case and to see that the discrimination based on sex is eliminated as early as possible.

I am happy to learn that the Ministry has started a fund for the rehabilitation of ex-servicemen. I am glad that a sum of Rs. 5 crores has been provided from the National Defence Fund for starting this fund. I find from the Report that some allotment has been made to two States, namely, Uttar Pradesh and Rajasthan and their portion has been paid to them. I do not know why other States have not been paid their due from this Fund and I request

that early steps may be taken to see that this fund is given to those States so that they may start welfare measures which are so very needed for rehabilitating ex-servicemen.

Lastly I have to invite the attention of the House to the absence of an ex-serviceman on the Indian Soldiers', Sailors' and Airmen's Board. This Board is constituted to see that some sort of help is rendered to ex-servicemen and to their families. Not a single ex-serviceman has been nominated by the Defence Ministry to serve on this Board. I do not know how a Board which does not consist of any ex-serviceman can ventilate the grievances of ex-servicemen. Therefore, I request that the hon. Minister may take urgent steps to see that one ex-serviceman is nominated to serve on this Board.

**Shri Brij Raj Singh-Kotah:** I rise to support the demands of the Defence Ministry.

At the outset I would like to pay my humble tribute to all the gallant men of the Armed Forces who laid down their lives in the cause of our motherland and rid the country of the shame that we suffered in 1962. I would also like to pay my homage to our late beloved Prime Minister Shri Lal Bahadur Shastri and my tributes to the Defence Minister for having taken courage and given the only lead which this country needed in those grim hours of early September.

I would also like to thank Mr. Mao-Tse-Tung for what he did in 1962 because had it not been for that perfidious attack on India, I do not think India would have been in a position to face up to the challenge that was thrown by Pakistan last summer.

I now also air my own personal views on what I consider a logical step for India to take. Faced as we are with a hostile China on the east—expansionist and subversive—and

with its ally, Pakistan, on the west, it is time that we really started thinking as to what we should do and how we should proceed in our Defence policy. In a recent statement made sometime ago, even our Defence Minister admitted that they have now got missile carrying submarines. Besides this, we read sometime ago that not only have they got atomic weapons but now they are also launching to make the intermediate range—ballistic missiles, which means that, within 1967, the whole of our hinterland within 500 miles of the Tibetan border, which is our economic base producing most of our Defence equipment, will be under the everhanging cloud of nuclear destruction. Even the Americans have agreed that, by 1970, China will have a missile by which even European cities and New York and San Francisco will be covered. What does all this mean? This means that we have to look where we have to go. I have said it last time and I repeat it again that the only thing which these two powers respect is 'force met by force'. Of course, we have developed the conventional force and we are doing our utmost in that direction. But as we are faced with a nuclear threat also, the policy of the Government should be that we get a guarantee from both Russia and America or either of the two to safeguard our frontiers and our skies and failing that, there is no other option left—and I do not see any—except to make our own deterrent as far as nuclear weapons go. I know Mr. Indrajit Gupta has already called it madness and he would call me a mad man . . .

**An hon. Member:** He did not call you so.

**Shri Brij Raj Singh-Kotah:** I said that he would call me.

Only last September, within a short period after the Ceasefire, a lot of MPs, as many as a hundred joined—and if the time had been more, I can say that there would have been not less than 200 to 300 MPs in this House

who would have joined—this cause that India must possess and develop its own independent nuclear deterrent. I remember Mr. Indrajit Gupta said, "you cannot cow down China with just self-reliance . . ."

**Shri Indrajit Gupta:** Did I say that?

**The Minister of Defence (Shri Y. B. Chavan):** He did not say that.

**Shri Brij Raj Singh-Kotah:** He said something to that effect. When we have a nuclear threat from China which has a potential missile, how do you expect India to rise up to it without any guarantee forthcoming from either of these two big nuclear powers?

**Shri Sham Lal Saraf (Jammu and Kashmir):** Mr. Indrajit Gupta said that if India manufactured or procured atom bomb, then Pakistan would get them from China.

**Shri Brij Raj Singh-Kotah:** Then how do you expect us to counteract that unless we get a guarantee from either of these powers? Neither Russia nor America is willing.

**Shri Indrajit Gupta:** What I said was . . .

**Shri Brij Raj Singh-Kotah:** There was something to that effect. I will look into the records.

I say that it has been proved in the last conflict that only strength is respected in international affairs. We were coeving like a dove for the last eighteen years, but when we showed that we also had the appearance and performance of a falcon, they respected us. It means that the old Sanskrit sloka "यत्प्रजाया वसुधरा" still holds good and will always hold good as long as this world lasts.

I will now say that, to develop all these, the primary concern of the Defence should be to make an absolutely first class Air Force. I know we

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have a 45 squadron plan, but so far we have been woefully short not only in squadrons but also in the planes. It was shown very clearly during the raids on Jodhpur which went on night after night—it was in my part of the State—that not only did we suffer from lack of radar and enough powerful radar but also we suffered, as I have been saying, from lack of an all-weather fighter aircraft. Had we got this all-weather fighter aircraft, the two hundred and odd bombs that fell on Jodhpur would never have occurred. Our Air Force, with all these deficiencies, has done very well. The Gnat fighter which we undertook to produce and which the NATO countries, in their wisdom, refused to undertake, has proven that it was a jolly good fighter led by excellent material in human terms and made a mash out of the so-called invincible F-86 and F-104 planes. We fought with them on our own terms; rather the enemy had to fight on our own terms and that is why we succeeded. Had we been up in the high altitude, perhaps the "Side winders" would have been more effective, but since the aerial battles took place at very low altitudes, i.e., below 3,000 ft., all those highly sophisticated, infra red, heat seeking missiles failed and it was only the man behind the machine that proved to be the ultimate. As the Chinese soldier, Sun Tzu said:

"Weapons are important factors but NOT decisive. It is man's directing intelligence that counts most; man emerges as the decisive factor in war."

This was proved so far as both the tanks as well as the aeroplanes went.

I would also like to draw the attention of the Ministry of Defence to the fact that we must have a better co-ordination, as far as the anti-aircraft guns and their deployment in emergency is concerned. From what little I have known, when the Kanjarkot or rather the Kutch agreement was

signed, after the cessation of hostilities in Kutch, all our defence preparations were again slackened as usual, and the battalions or the batteries of the anti-aircraft guns went to their respective dispersal points, whereas I think it would have been in the fitness of things to keep them where they were needed; and when the necessity arose in August and September last, they were not there, as they should have been in time. That was proven in Jodhpur. I think it was only towards the end of that conflict that a battery of anti-aircraft guns went there, and even then they were not fully settled down. At the same time, where they were placed and they had the batteries in time and they already were in order, they gave an excellent account of themselves, and even the foreign press has acknowledged that our anti-aircraft guns guided by radar took a heavy toll of the Pakistani Air Force.

I would also like to say that I do not know why the British are so cross with us. In fact, they should be very pleased, because in the whole wide world, this was the only theatre of operations where arms manufactured by Britain could conflict with arms given by the U.S.A. and it was shown that not only the Centurion, which at least is not supposed to be as good as the Patton tanks, but also the Gnats and the Hunters took their toll of the much-vaunted American F-86 and F-104 and the so-called mighty M-47 and M-48 Patton tanks.

I would like to draw the attention of the hon. Minister as far as our border in Rajasthan goes, because this was proved to our great dismay and disappointment that we were absolutely unprepared on our border. I know that and I have seen the files that the RAC or the Rajasthan Armed Constabulary has been crying to be well equipped with better personnel and better equipment and with more machine-guns, mortars and transportation per battalion as compared to their enemy side, known as the Sinit

Rangers, but so far, at least till the hostilities were on, nothing took place. I also know that with what little they had, they have given the best account that any armed police could give in this country. I suggest that it is high time that the RAC should be put under the direct operational command of the Army with the proper complement of weapons, transportation and communication systems.

I would also like to stress one other point. During the operations, at the tail end, the civil population of the Rajasthan border areas were issued arms by the Government to safeguard themselves and to keep the morale high. But lately those arms have been withdrawn. I see no reason why they should be withdrawn. It has created an absolutely adverse effect on the minds of those people. I was there immediately after the cease-fire and they told me, as they told several other Members of Parliament who visited that place, that 'Either you do not issue us any arms, because with these arms we are in a position to take on the intruders and earn their animosity, or once you issue us these arms, please see that they are there with us for times to come; if one of us does something wrong,—as is made out that if you give us arms, we shall turn Jacobites—the law is there, and you can catch him by the scruff of the neck and hang him, but do not take away our arms', and they pleaded 'Once you have issued us these arms, with these arms we take on to the intruder; if we have no arms, we shall be still worse off'. I do not see why Government in their wisdom have withdrawn these arms so soon after the cease-fire.

**An hon. Member:** What about the Camel Corps?

**Shri Brij Raj Singh-Kotah:** The Camel Corps is there but it needs more camels and more men.

I have something to say as far as the aircraft production of this coun-

try goes. As some hon. Member pointed out before me, we have no mention in the report about the fate of that long engagement between the Egyptian power plant and our Indian air-frame. The honeymoon was never there, either the engagement is broken off or if it is there, I would suggest to the hon. Minister that the two should be correctly put together.

**Shri Indrajit Gupta:** Consummated.

**Shri Brij Raj Singh-Kotah:** Consummation will be after that. But if it is not forthcoming, then I suggest that other channels and means must be probed. We cannot rely on one particular country. There are other countries which produce so many excellent qualities of armaments; we can try Sweden; we can try Switzerland, and we can try Japan and try any other place to make this HF-24 into the plane which it is meant to be. We cannot have a plane which is supposed to be Mach-II but still flying in a subsonic era.

Another suggestion that I wish to make is that the Kanpur Depot has been woefully inadequate in producing the Avros. It is a rule of thumb that if you plough in one rupee you get back one rupee in return in aircraft manufacture. It seems that enough money is not going in and that is why this adverse production is there, which should not have been there.

I would suggest that we should go in with the Siddley Group and get the "Caribou" aircraft also produced under licence in the Kanpur Depot.

Lastly, I would request the hon. Minister to look into the naval side as far as the carrier force goes. It is well known that carriers are now things of the obsolete past. Even the U.K. has rejected them and the only country which has them is the U.S.A. but that is a different story.

We have, with our foreign policy, no purpose for a carrier force in mind.

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They are only used when you are either lending troops or withdrawing troops under sophisticated enemy opposition. Instead of the carrier force and the woefully little and obsolete air force which it carries, the naval air arm, that money which is spent every minute on that carrier and that much of the capital outlay could be used in getting better long-range land-based naval reconnaissance plane to have surveillance over our seas, and more helicopters which could operate from other units besides the carriers from our Navy and do anti-submarine work.

**श्री हुकम चन्द कछवाय (देवास) :**

उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, रक्षा मन्त्रालय की मांगों पर बोलते हुए, सबसे पहले मैं यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि हमारे जवानों ने पाकिस्तान के आक्रमण के समय जो कार्य किया, वह बड़ा सराहनीय है। मैं उनका धन्यवाद करता हूँ और उनके प्रति अपनी श्रद्धांजलि अर्पित करता हूँ।

आज सेना की जो स्थिति है, यदि आज हम संसार की तरफ देखें तो ऐसा मालूम होता है, कि हमारे पास जो सेना आज है, वह काफी कम मात्रा में है। हमें सेना को बढ़ाना चाहिये। इसके साथ साथ यह देखा गया है कि सेना में भरती होने का जो तरीका अपनाया जाता है, वह बड़े भ्रजीब ढंग का है। हमारा कहना यह है कि सेना में ऐसे व्यक्तियों को भरती किया जाय जो लड़ाकू जाति के हों, जो लड़ना जानते हों, जिनका जन्म लड़ाई में हुआ हो या जिन्होंने किसी का सिर फोड़ा हो या किसी का खून देखा हो, या अपना सिर फुड़वाया हो, ऐसे लोगों को भरती करना चाहिये। मैंने देखा है कि 1962 में जब आक्रमण हुआ तब कुछ ऐसे लड़कों को फौज में भरती कर लिया गया था जिनके माता पिता नहीं चाहते थे कि उनके लड़के भरती हों। वे आए और उन्होंने कहा हमारा लड़का भरती हो गया है, यह बहुत गलत बात है,

हम तो लड़ते ही नहीं हैं और इसको निकाल दो फौज में से। ऐसे लड़कों को क्यों भरती किया जाता है, यह मेरी समझ में नहीं आता है। ऐसे लोगों को आपको भरती नहीं करना चाहिये। ऐसी बहुत सी जातियाँ हैं जैसे भील मिलाले आदिवासी हैं जो कि लड़ने में सिद्ध-हस्त हैं। उनका धंधा ही लड़ना है। वे अच्छे शिकारी भी हैं। उनको ज्यादा से ज्यादा तादाद में आपको फौज में भरती करना चाहिये। आज हमारे पास आठ लाख की सेना है। मैं समझता हूँ कि इससे आपका काम नहीं चल सकता है। हम दुनिया के दूसरे देशों को देखें कि वे कितना आगे बढ़ चुके हैं और उनके पास कितनी संख्या में सैनिक हैं। उनके पास इससे कहीं ज्यादा संख्या में सैनिक हैं। मैं समझता हूँ कि हमारे पास भी कम से कम बीस लाख की सेना होनी चाहिये।

15 hrs.

हमको यह भी देखना चाहिये कि हमारे पास किस प्रकार के हथियार हैं और हमें उन हथियारों की दूसरे देशों के पास जो हथियार हैं, उनसे तुलना करनी चाहिये। ऐसा अगर हमने किया तो हमें पता चलेगा कि हम दुनिया के कई देशों से बहुत पीछे हैं। हमारे पास आधुनिक हथियार बहुत ही कम मात्रा में हैं। हमें अपनी सेना को आधुनिकतम हथियारों से सुमज्जित करना चाहिये। जो हथियार हमें चाहिये उनका हमें देश में निर्माण करने का प्रबन्ध करना चाहिये। जब तक हम खुद निर्माण करने की स्थिति में नहीं पहुंचते हैं तब तक हमें जहाँ कहीं से भी हथियार मिलें और जिस कीमत पर भी मिलें हमें उनको ले लेना चाहिये।

हमने देखा है कि जब संकटकालीन स्थिति थी उस समय देग का जनता ने दिल खोल कर आपको पैसा दिया। वह पैसा जनता ने आपको इसलिए दिया है कि देश पर जो संकट आया है और हमारे ऊपर शत्रु ने जो आक्रमण किया है, उसका हम मुकाबला

कर सकें। उस समय सारा देश लड़ने के लिए तैयार था। हर नागरिक लड़ना चाहता था देश की आजादी की रक्षा के लिए। जो अपने जवान पुत्र दे सकते थे उन्होंने अपने जवान पुत्र फौज को दिये और जो पैसा दे सकते थे उन्होंने हथियारों आदि के लिए आपको पैसे दिये, सोना दिया। लेकिन आप देखें कि उस रक्षा कोष का आज किस तरह से प्रांतों में उपयोग किया जा रहा है। इसकी अधिक चर्चा में करना नहीं चाहता हूँ। लेकिन मैं इतना अवश्य कहना चाहता हूँ कि यह देखा गया है कि राजनीतिक नेता उस सुरक्षा कोष का उपयोग अपने चुनाव क्षेत्रों में अपने निज के प्रचार के लिए तथा दूसरे कामों के लिए, अपनी पार्टी के प्रचार के लिए कर रहे हैं। मैं समझता हूँ कि यह बहुत अनुचित बात है। सारा सुरक्षा कोष में जो धन जमा हुआ है वह केन्द्र के पास आना चाहिये, केन्द्र के अधीन वह होना चाहिये। जगह जगह ये जो ट्रस्ट बनाये गये हैं, यह बिल्कुल गलत काम किया गया है। इस पैसे को खर्च करने के लिए इस तरह के ट्रस्ट नहीं बनने चाहिये। इस कोष का सीधा सम्बन्ध केन्द्र से होना चाहिये।

जहां तक हो सके आधुनिक हथियारों का निर्माण करने के लिये हम उस पैसे का उपयोग करें। हमारी जनता ने जो पैसा हमें रक्षा कोष के लिए दिया है, उसका ज्यादा से ज्यादा मात्रा में हथियार निर्माण करने के काम में हमें चाहिये कि हम उपयोग करें।

पिछली बार लड़ाई जब हुई थी और उसमें हवाई जहाजों की जो लड़ाई हुई थी उसमें हमने देखा है कि कितने कम हमारे पास लड़ाकू टैंक जहाज थे। बहुत कम संख्या में हमारे पास लड़ाकू हवाई जहाज थे। हमारे पास अधिक संख्या में इन हवाई जहाजों का होना बहुत आवश्यक है। हमें खुद लड़ाकू हवाई जहाजों का निर्माण करना चाहिये। हो सकता है कि कुछ समय के लिए हम ऐसा न कर सकते हों, आज हम ऐसा करने की

स्थिति में न हों लेकिन हमें प्रयत्न यही करना चाहिये कि जितने आज हम बना सकते हों, उतने आज बनायें और शेष के लिए हम अपने प्रयत्न जारी रखें। इस बीच में जरूरत हो तो हम बाहर से भी मंगायें। शायद सरकार ने हवाई जहाज बनाना प्रारम्भ भी कर दिया है। जो पुर्जे हैं उनको भी हम बाहर से जितनी ज्यादा मात्रा में मंगा सकते हों हमें दिल खोल कर मंगाने चाहिये।

जो देश शक्तिशाली होता है, जो देश अपने पैरों पर खड़ा होता है वही देश दुनिया के देशों के सामने शान्तिप्रियता की बात कर सकता है, वही देश शान्ति से रह सकता है। हमारे सामने अमरीका का तथा रूस का उदाहरण है। अमरीका और रूस दोनों हथियारों के मामले में शक्तिशाली देश हैं और ये दोनों देश एक दूसरे पर हमला करने की बात भी नहीं सोच सकते हैं। वे अपना सारा जीवन शान्ति से बिताने की स्थिति में हैं। इसी तरह से जब हम शक्तिशाली होंगे तो हमारी तरफ भी चाहे हमारा कोई पड़ोसी देश हो या कोई और देश हो, कभी निगाह उठा कर नहीं देख सकेगा। हम वास्ते हमारे लिए शक्तिशाली होना बहुत जरूरी है। हम सबसे पहले शक्तिशाली हों। सबसे पहला ध्यान हमारा इस और जाना चाहिये।

हमारे देश में जो अच्छे अच्छे वैज्ञानिक हैं उनकी दशा बहुत खराब है, बहुत बिगड़ी हुई है। हम इस बात को मानते हैं कि वे दूसरे देशों के वैज्ञानिकों से पीछे होंगे। लेकिन हम इस बात को भी नहीं भूल सकते हैं कि वे प्रतिभाशाली वैज्ञानिक हैं और हमें उनको प्रोत्साहन देना चाहिये। वे बड़े बड़े आविष्कार करके आपको दिखा सकते हैं। इस वैज्ञानिक युग में अच्छी अच्छी चीजों का निर्माण करके वे आपको दे सकते हैं। लेकिन मुश्किल यह है कि आज तक हम यह मान कर चलते आए हैं कि हमें लड़ाई नहीं करनी है, हम शान्ति प्रिय हैं और हमें हथियारों आदि पर भरोसा नहीं करना है। रडार आदि

### [श्री हुकम चन्द्र कच्छवाय]

जो आधुनिक उपकरण हैं, उनको हम अपने देश में तैयार नहीं कर पाये हैं इसका प्रमुख कारण यही है कि हमने हमेशा शान्ति, शान्ति की रट लगाई है। आप कितना ही मोचें कि कि आप लड़ाई नहीं करेंगे, शान्ति से सब मामले निबटारेंगे लेकिन ऐसे देश भी इस संसार में हैं जो शान्ति से आपको रहने देना नहीं चाहते हैं और न रहने देंगे। दुनिया के देश चाहते हैं कि अगर विश्व युद्ध हो तो वह भारत में हो। वे इस देश को उजाड़ना चाहते हैं। आप देखें कि उन्होंने इस विश्व युद्ध के लिए हमारे देश को ही क्यों चुना है। इसका कारण यह है कि कई देशों से हमारे देश की सीमायें मिलती हैं और यही कारण है कि हमारे देश को ही विश्वयुद्ध का भड़का बनाना चाहते हैं। इस सम्भावना को टालने के लिए हमें सबसे पहले यह करना होगा कि हम अपने देश को शक्तिशाली बनायें। शान्ति, शान्ति का नारा लगाते रहने से कोई बात सिद्ध नहीं होती है, जो हमारा उद्देश्य है वह पूरा नहीं होता है। हम शान्ति का नारा बेशक लगाते रहें और इतने सालों से हम शान्ति शान्ति करते भी आ रहे हैं लेकिन फिर भी हमारी बात किसी ने नहीं मानी और हम शान्ति से नहीं रह पाए। हमको लड़ाई करने के लिए बाध्य किया गया और आक्रमण का मुकाबला करने के लिए हथियार उठाने पड़े हैं और हथियारों की सहायता से ही हमने शत्रु को हराया है, उसको पीछे खदेड़ा है, उसके दांत खट्टे किए हैं। आगे भी हमको अगर हम पर आक्रमण हो तो उसका मुकाबला करने के लिए तैयार रहना चाहिए। हमें अपनी तैयारियों में किसी प्रकार की ढील नहीं आने देनी चाहिये।

इस मन्त्रालय को जितने भी पैसे की आवश्यकता होगी, उसको हम देने के लिए तैयार हैं, देश की जनता देने के लिए तैयार है। परन्तु इस पैसे का उपयोग इस मन्त्रालय

द्वारा सही ढंग से किया जाना चाहिये। आडिट रिपोर्ट में गोलमाल के बहुत से आंकड़े दिये गये हैं। कई लाख रुपये का सामान ऐसा फालतू पड़ा हुआ है जिसका कोई उपयोग नहीं हो रहा है। अच्छी अच्छी जीपें होती हैं, चलने वाली होती हैं, उन्हें खराब करार दे दिया जाता है और बेच दिया जाता है। उनकी फिर से मुरम्मत करके काम में लाने की बात को नहीं सोचा जाता है। थोड़ा खर्च करके रिपेयर हो सकती है और उनको पुनः काम में लाया जा सकता है। लेकिन इस बात को नहीं सोचा जाता है। एक बार अगर कह दिया जाता है कि खराब हैं तो वह खराब हो जाती है। कितनी उसमें खराबी है और कितना खर्च करने से उन जीप्स को चलाया जा सकता है, काम में लाया जा सकता है, इसको न तो देखा जाता है और न ही इस ओर कोई ध्यान दिया जाता है। ऐसा नहीं होना चाहिये।

हमारे पास जो सबसे बड़ी कमी है वह गुरिल्ला सैनिकों की है। इस क्षेत्र में हम बहुत पीछे हैं। हमारे पास भी काफी संख्या में गुरिल्ला सैनिक होने चाहियें। गुरिल्ला युद्ध में हमें उनको प्रशिक्षण देना चाहिये ताकि समय आने पर हम भी अपने पड़ोसी देश में उनको भेज सकें, जिन के साथ हमारी ठनी हो या जो हम को शान्ति से नहीं रहने देना चाहते हैं हम भी उनके देशों में गुरिल्ला सैनिकों को पहुंचा कर उनके घर में उनको पहुंचा उनको परेशान कर सकें। मैं चाहता हूँ कि इस क्षेत्र में भी हमें आगे कदम बढ़ाना चाहिये।

हमने देखा है कि जो गोलियां शत्रु को मारने के लिए हमने काम में लाई थीं, जो शत्रु को मारने में काम में लाई जाती हैं, शत्रु को हराने में, उसको पीछे धकेलने में काम में लाई जाती है और जब पाकिस्तान के साथ लड़ाई हुई थी उस समय उन गोलियों ने

शत्रु सीने छेदे थे, वही गोलियां लड़ाई बन्द होने के बाद मध्य प्रदेश के अन्दर बस्तर के महाराजा के सीने में छेदी गई हैं। एक गोली नहीं आठ आठ गोलियां उनके सीने में परोई गई हैं। क्या कारण है कि आपने ऐसे देशभक्त को मारा है। ऐसे व्यक्ति को मारना जो कि भोली भाली जनता का अच्छा ज्ञान देता हो और शासन को हर प्रकार की मदद देता रहा हो कलई गलत था। ये गोलियां ऐसे आदमी को मारने में काम नहीं लाई जानी चाहिये थीं। ये गोलियां इस काम के लिए नहीं थीं। आप देखें कि इन गोलियों का उपयोग किस ढंग से होना चाहिये। लोगों ने तो मांगा था चावल लेकिन उनको आपने गोलियां दीं। इस तरह की भूल होना ठीक नहीं है। यह प्रजातन्त्र के माथे पर कलंक है।

हमें इस बात पर भी विचार करना चाहिये कि देश के अन्दर लोग लड़ने के लिए भी और शान्ति के लिए भी तैयार हों। दोनों शक्तियां हमारे देश में बराबर बराबर कायम होनी चाहियें। सेना की शक्ति भी हमारे देश में हो और शान्ति की शक्ति भी हमारे देश में हो। ज्यादा से ज्यादा सैनिक हम तैयार करें, ज्यादा से ज्यादा लड़ाकू लोग हम तैयार करें। यदि हमने ऐसा किया तभी दुनिया को यह पता चलेगा कि भारत अपने पैरों पर खड़ा हो गया है और भारत को हराना कोई आसान काम नहीं है। इससे पाम भी अच्छे हथियार हैं और इसने उनको अपनी मेहनत से बनाया है। कहीं से कोई भी हथियार आप लें लेकिन आपको हथियारों के मामले में आत्म निर्भर होना चाहिये। साम्यवादी कह सकते हैं, मैं नहीं कहता हूँ कि अमरीका से हथियार लेना ठीक नहीं होगा, वह झूठे वादे करता है और हथियार नहीं देता है। यह वे लोग कह सकते हैं मैं नहीं कह सकता हूँ और न मैं ऐसा कहने के लिए तैयार हूँ। मैं तो कहूंगा कि हम इस से भी लें और अमरीका से भी लें, जहां कहीं मे हमें हथियार मिलें हम वहां से लेने को तैयार रहें।

हमें यह नहीं सोचना चाहिये कि ये पूंजीवादी हथियार हैं और ये साम्यवादी हथियार हैं। वे न पूंजीवादी और न साम्यवादी हथियार होते हैं। हथियार जिसके हाथ में होते हैं, उसके वे होते हैं। शत्रु के ऊपर जब उनका चलाया जाता है तो ये उनके सफाये के लिए होते हैं। इस वास्ते हमें जहां कहीं से भी हथियार मिल सकते हों, लैने में संकोच नहीं करना चाहिये। हमें देश को बलशाली बनाना चाहिये।

मैंने सुना है और आडिट रिपोर्ट में भी मैंने देखा है कि कई लाख रुपये का सीमेंट चोरी चला गया है। कौन चोरी करते हैं और कैसे यह चोरी चला गया, इसकी सुरक्षा मन्त्रालय को जांच करनी चाहिये। सुरक्षा मन्त्रालय में इस तरह की चोरी होना कलंक की बात है। अगर इस मन्त्रालय में चोरियां इस तरह होने लगीं तो देश का कोई नागरिक सुरक्षित नहीं रह सकता है। किस ने चोरी की क्या मन्त्रालय ने जांच की? यह कोई छोटी मोटी चोरी नहीं थी। तीन चार लाख रुपये का सीमेंट चोरी गया है। इसके साथ साथ चार करोड़ रुपये का सामान भी चोरी गया है। कौन ये चोरियां करता है क्या मन्त्रालय ने इसकी तलाश की है। जिन्होंने इस किस्म के अपराध किये हैं उनको सख्त दण्ड मिलना चाहिये। मैं यह आडिट रिपोर्ट के आधार पर आपको बता रहा हूँ। सुरक्षा मन्त्रालय ने जो नियम बना रखे हैं, जो रूल बना रखे हैं उनके अनुसार ऐसे लोगों को दण्ड मिलना चाहिये।

असैनिक जो कर्मचारी इस मन्त्रालय के अन्दर हैं, उनके सम्बन्ध में मुझे पता चला है कि कुछ छटनी आप करने वाले हैं। मैं पूछना चाहता हूँ कि आप उनकी छटनी क्यों करने हैं, क्यों आप उनको बेरोजगार करने जा रहे हैं? आप नए नए गकारखाने खोलने वाले हैं, नए नए हथियार आप निर्माण करने जा रहे हैं और वहां भी आपको इनकी आवश्यकता होगी और आप इनको उब कारखानों में

### [श्री हरम चन्द कच्छबाय]

खपा सकते हैं। मैं चाहता हूँ कि इनकी छटनी आप न करें। इनको उन कारखानों में आप लगा लें। इस तरह से छटनी करना ठीक नहीं है। इस बारे में मन्त्रालय को सावधान रहना चाहिये कि उसके अन्दर अराष्ट्रीय तत्व तो नहीं हैं, जो चीन के समर्थक साम्यवादी लोग हैं वह तो इस मन्त्रालय में नहीं घुसे हैं। उन लोगों पर कड़ी निगाह रखी जानी चाहिये और कड़ी निगाह रख कर पूरी सावधानी बरती जानी चाहिये ताकि हमारी गतिविधियों की सूचना बाहर न जायें। मेरा विश्वास है कि मन्त्रालय इस बारे में पूरी तरह सजग रहेगा।

जबलपुर में जो फैक्ट्री है उसमें जो घोटाले चल रहे हैं वह बहुत नीचे स्तर के हैं। वहाँ के अफसर इस प्रकार के घोटाले कर रहे हैं कि माल कितना बनता है, लिखते कुछ और है और बाहर कुछ और भेजते हैं। लाखों, करोड़ों के घोटाले चल रहे हैं। मैं समझता हूँ कि सरकार इस ओर भी ध्यान देगी। अब की जब मैं दौरे पर गया तो मुझे पता लगा कि वहाँ पर ऐसे तत्व घुसे हुए हैं जो कि वहाँ के अफसर हैं और राष्ट्र विरोधी काम करते हैं। वह वहाँ के कारतूतों को खराब करार देते हैं और बाद में उनको बाहर भेज देते हैं। जिस समय पाकिस्तान से हमारा युद्ध चल रहा था उस समय हमारे यहाँ के बने कारतूस पाकिस्तान में जा कर हमारे विरुद्ध काम में लाये गये। मैं यह बात अपनी जानकारी के आधार पर कह रहा हूँ। मन्त्रालय को सजग रहना चाहिये कि वहाँ पर कोई ऐसे तत्व तो नहीं हैं जो कि हमारे यहाँ बने माल को खराब करार देकर पाकिस्तान भिजवा देते हैं और फिर पाकिस्तान उनका उपयोग हमारे ऊपर करता है।

मैं इतना ही कह कर अपना भाषण समाप्त करूँगा कि इस मन्त्रालय ने बहुत अच्छा काम किया है लेकिन अब समय आ

गया है कि हम को उनमें और भी तरक्की करनी चाहिये। इस क्षेत्र के अन्दर सब प्रकार के आधुनिक शस्त्रों की संख्या में वृद्धि, सेना में वृद्धि, होनी चाहिये। अधिक से अधिक शस्त्र हम बनायें और साथ ही साथ ज्यादा लड़ाकू लोग तैयार करें। इसके साथ साथ सेना के हलके हलके काम करने के लिये मैं सरकार को कुछ सुझाव देना चाहता हूँ। जो लोग सीमावर्ती क्षेत्रों में रहते हैं उनको सैनिक शिक्षा दी जाये, जो रिटायर्ड सैनिक हैं उनको वहाँ पर ले जाकर बसाया जाये। जो उन क्षेत्रों के रहने वाले लोग हैं उनको हथियार दिये जायें। वहाँ पर ऐसे लोग हैं जो कि घरों में हथियार बना सकते हैं, छोटी छोटी बन्दूकें बना सकते हैं। उन को प्रोत्साहन दिया जाये ताकि वे सीमावर्ती क्षेत्रों में उनको सप्लाई कर सकें। सीमावर्ती क्षेत्रों में आज जो पाबन्दी लगी है कि उनको हथियार न दिये जायें उसको हटा कर वहाँ पर हथियार दिये जाने चाहियें। साथ ही जो रिटायर्ड सैनिक लोग हैं उनको वहाँ बसाया जाये।

**Shri Manabendra Shah** (Tehri Garhwal): Mr. Deputy-Speaker. Our foreign policy has so far been based on all other premises except that of defence. Defence has been a hand-maid rather than the boss. We have been following the non-alignment policy so that we are left in peace to improve our economic conditions. In that, we have not been allowed to continue. We have been following the non-alignment policy to ensure that we get the best of both the worlds; in that also, we have failed.

The recent conflict has made it clear that those who do not follow a non-alignment policy and are even members of certain defence alliances to contain communism, can remain in those alliances and still hobnob with the communists. They can go even to the extent of flirting with the communists in their conflict with

India; yet no western power has censured them or has asked them to get out of those alliance. As a matter of fact, India, which in fact is trying to maintain democracy, both ideologically and by checking external aggression, both on the political and economic fields as well as on the battle field, is being treated on a par and is being equated with that country which is now encouraging and abetting in the spread of the zone of influence of the Chinese communists.

All said and done, whether for the better or for the worse, the Russians did not come to our help. This is a significant indicator and I hope Government will note it. It clearly shows that our foreign policy which at present is subordinate to any other consideration except the home, should now be subordinate to our home policy; and in the home policy, Defence has to play a prominent part.

I make bold to say so because if we are not able to prevent our country being occupied or getting defeat after defeat in the battle field, our ideology will all go to the dogs. To safeguard our ideology, we will have to make our foreign policy defence-oriented. In that, I hope the Defence Minister will play a dominant part and not a dormant one.

If we have to place any reliance on the estimate of striking power of China, contained in a recent issue of the *Time* weekly, then I submit that at the present speed and with the present approach, even ten years of planning for continuous strengthening of our defences will not carry us anywhere near China. And China is now our number one enemy.

The Tashkent Agreement, militarily speaking, gives both India and Pakistan, an opportunity to assess the gaps and try to fill them up. I am sorry if anybody says that I am not strictly adhering to the Tashkent spirit, but I would like to face facts,

and in doing so, I feel that as a short-term policy, we will have to look abroad for help and aid. We cannot afford to continuously go on buying. We cannot afford to continuously expect our foreign exchange resources to meet our requirements. As a short-term policy; therefore, aid in kind and loans will have to be the short-term policy, and we should not fight shy about it. It may seem unpalatable; it may appear humiliating, but facts are facts and we will have to face them.

As a long-term policy, it is heartening to note that Government have provided for a defence plan of Rs. 5,000 crores over a five-year period, 1964-69. Keeping in view the climate around us, I would strongly suggest that Government should try to reduce this period. We should get out of our five year plans for at least defence; I hope Government would be able to reduce this from 1969 to, let us say, the end of 1967. If it is Government's assessment that 1969 is the time up to which we can safely stay in peace to prepare ourselves, I am sorry I cannot accept that, and I feel it would be living in a fool's paradise. If, on the other hand, Government say, 'no; anything can happen any time', then to wait for such a long time is, I think, asking for trouble.

The Congress Government have been able to make the country self-sufficient to the extent of about 75 per cent in the defence field. Now about 25 per cent is left to be filled up. I hope we should be able to make it up if we accelerate our production. But as I said before, the five year plan of 1964-69 should be reduced, and although we do not yet have the fourth five year plan, I would like to suggest that the first two years of that plan should primarily deal with defence and agriculture and the rest of the plan projects should be taken up from the third year of that plan.

Revenue expenditure for the army for 1966-67 is Rs. 797 crores. Out of

[Shri Manabendra Shah]

this, pay and allowances account for Rs. 328 crores and stores and equipment for Rs. 355 crores. It is very heartening to see that Government are concentrating on development of equipment and stores. At the same time, I would like to point out that we cannot ignore manpower. As far as I understand—I hope I am wrong—in the last war with Pakistan, there were certain vulnerable areas which we had to leave either to the mercy of God or defence by God or to those branches of the services which had nothing to do with land. There is a clear indication, therefore, that we might have to increase our ground units.

It will be appropriate for me at this juncture also to point out the question of emergency commissioned officers. I read in the papers that civil services were being opened for them, but before that is done, Government should now take up the question of absorption of these people into permanent commissions. They should not wait for their terms of contract to expire and then think whether to keep them in permanent commissions or to discharge them. I know that many people would like to continue in the army, but they do not know whether they would be kept in the army or not; so, they would like to play safe and try to get into the civil jobs. We have trained them, we have wasted money on them, and I think we should take full advantage of these competent emergency commissioned officers now, so that they know that they are secure in the army, and that too as permanent commissioned officers.

Another method of making available more armed personnel for active work would be—I do not know whether it is a technical term or not—by non-militarisation of the army headquarters and other headquarters in the lower strata. The last war was a short war, the Tashkent agreement came in, the U.N. came in, and we did not fight for a long time, but it is not necessary that next time if war

breaks out, we would have a short fight; it may go on for a long period, and naturally we all expect that all the technical military personnel who are just sitting at the tables in the various headquarters would be in the field. If that is to be done as things are today, there would be a vacuum in these headquarters. Either we have to send them to the front with a vacuum at the headquarters, or not send them to the front and keep them where they are. Therefore, it is high time that the army headquarters and other headquarters were demilitarised as soon as possible. We have got time just now and we should look into that aspect.

I would not like to touch much on the navy, because many others, experts, have talked about it. I entirely agree with Shri Raghunath Singhji that more and more has to be done for the navy. We have got a very big sea coast. We know the danger posed to us by Indonesian policy in the last war, and we can always expect the same threat again. So, the outlay of Rs. 30 crores does seem a little less. Probably it can go up to Rs. 50 crores, but, as somebody had mentioned before, if we only go in for out-dated ships and obsolete junks like vikrant, then even this Rs. 30 crores may be enough, but we should go in for things which are really required to safeguard our coast which would mean going in for submarines.

Similarly, I would not go into details about the air force because I know that soon the bell would ring. I would like to touch one minor point. At page 31 of the Report for 1965-66, para 25, it is mentioned that 38 pilots and navigators were released for civil aviation. I would like to caution the Government on this. We are still in an emergency, and we should not be free in releasing our technical pilots for civil work. I am in favour of these people being taught civil aviation, by which I mean their learning to fly the civil planes, because

then Government would not be always blackmailed by the civil pilots and navigators. Therefore, to teach them to fly the civil planes is a must, but to release them is in altogether different matter. I would request the hon. Minister to concentrate more on teaching them to fly the civil planes, rather than releasing them for civil aviation.

I am going to suggest two important and major changes in the set-up of the defence organisation. At page 123 of the Defence Services Estimates for the year 1966-67, it is clearly indicated that the defence services normally function directly under the Chiefs of Staff, and the important function of the Ministry is co-ordination, adequate liaison, obtaining policy decisions of Government and looking after certain public sector enterprises. Surely for this we do not require such a vast Defence Ministry. I would suggest that the Defence Ministry should be reduced, and whatever surplus is there should be transferred to the defence headquarters to replace the military personnel there.

At page 125 of the same book, there is mention of the Financial Adviser. From reading the said Appendix B, I come to the conclusion that this officer of the Finance Ministry is a sort of super boss over the three Chiefs of Staff, and I think even the Defence Minister. It is said that the function of the Financial Adviser is not of a restrictive nature but of an advisory character. Yet, the booklet admits that he has the prerogative of putting so many question which, in fact, are hurdles in the formulation and implementation of defence projects. The Finance Ministry's hurdles is a thing which is common probably to all the ministries, but where the Defence Ministry is concerned, it is a hurdle which should not be there. It mars our defence activities, and therefore where defence is concerned at least, the financial hurdle should not be there. I would even go to the extent of questioning the compe-

tency of the Financial Adviser to put questions on defence plans, requirements and strategy which have been prepared by the defence experts. How he becomes a technical hand is a thing beyond my imagination. Some plans are given up, I am told, by the army service headquarters because of the troublesome and bothersome questions of this Adviser. In fact, I understand that a comprehensive defence plan was submitted much earlier than the Chinese aggression, but was scuttled by our financial experts.

**Shri Nath Pal (Rajapur):** No, no.

**Shri Manabendra Shah:** If we can trust the security of the country to the defence forces, I fail to understand why we cannot trust them to use our funds judiciously and economically. I am sure we can also trust our Defence Minister to see that the defence forces use their funds judiciously and economically. And over and above all this, there is the auditor. With all these things, I fail to understand why there should be this Financial Adviser. I, therefore, strongly recommend that this Financial Adviser should be scrapped altogether.

**Shri Nath Pal:** This year I have moved no cut motion, not because I am satisfied with the preparations to meet any eventual aggression against this country, but basically by way of appreciation of the heroic endeavour and magnificent performance of the armed forces. For 18 long years they remained the armed forces of this country, but I may venture to say that this year they emerged as the defence forces of this country. They have been integrated into the main current, the mainstream, of our national life. And, therefore, I should like to join all those who took the floor before me in paying our homage to those who laid down their lives in the defence of our country, and those who rescued the name of the country which had been tarnished by the ineptitude and incompetence of Government's defence policies in the era preceding 1965 September.

[Shri Nath Pai]

I will not be adhering to my own stand if I travel through the Report and concentrate this year on some of the criticisms that I have in mind, and shall therefore try to skip over them, but, nevertheless, it will be necessary, before I take up particular issues, to draw the Defence Minister's attention to some minor criticisms I have in mind. We have a rather voluminous-looking document called the Report. I used to take great pains in reading that and offer criticisms every year, and there was an improvement. I think imperceptibly they have slithered into the old habit. This is rather a disappointing document which is supposed to be the report in a year, when the armed forces have covered themselves with glory in every field of their activity. Somehow, Shri Chavan's draftsman lack that kind of precision, incisiveness and understanding of language. I am not here to criticise anybody's language. But Julius Caesar was his own commentator; so was Churchill, and this document can be better written. He should take this criticism seriously because sometimes he has landed himself in trouble without his knowing by the wrong drafts, as it happened when he told us about what transpired at Pindi just at the beginning of this session.

15.30 hrs.

[SHRI S. L. SARAF in the Chair]

I would like to draw his attention to this anomaly which is rather baffling. The report says:

"On April, 24, 1965, the Pakistan Army, without any justification, attacked our territories in the Rann of Kutch and penetrated six to eight miles inside Indian territory."

Well, immediately then, at page 8, we are told that it was not on the 24th April—Chapter III on Army begins at page 8—but it is something quite different. The reports says that "on 9th April, 1965, Pakistan launched an attack on the Indian police post of Sardar near Kanjarkot." I will go on

citing like this. Has it been done by one man, or many men wrote out the report and they have been just stitched together. The report must be a comprehensive, integrated one. One does not see it like that here.

There is another point again. At the end of page 2 of the report, it is said:

"To relieve the pressure on the forces in the Chhamb sector and to prevent further aggression by Pakistan in areas of its own choice, Government authorised the Chief of Army Staff to take immediate counter measures."

Here is that strange apologetic tone about why we acted and how we acted and the way we acted. We needed to be told firmly, and the world should be told, the truth of this—why we did it and what we did. But this kind of thing goes on hanging here in this House; that was the kind of lame excuse which was given at the time of the liberation of Goa; the truth was that it was India's inherent right to liberate Goa. But instead of that, a fantastic fiction was thrown in the eyes of the world, that the Portuguese were committing aggression from Goa into India and therefore we went in. What a shame and how low we fell in the eyes of the world, because nobody will believe that kind of fictitious thing. The truth was that the Portuguese aggression against India did not begin in December, 1961. It began in 1498. Here, Shri Chavan had a good defence in acting as he did. He had the backing of the whole nation. But why this apologetic tone?

Another interesting thing is this. This tone disappears on page 10, where the Army chapter deals with the same subject and tells us more clearly in this language, namely, "Our troops were given orders to observe, scrupulously, the cease fire...." etc. "However, in the days immediately following the cease-fire, certain units of Pakistani forces and irregulars

made fresh incursions into certain sectors" and so on. The Chhamb, Jammu and Kashmir sectors were threatened and therefore we had to act. How nicely, how clearly the truth has been told. I will read the precise sentence.

"It became evident that the objective of the invading forces was to cut off our lines of communication into Jammu and Srinagar. If they had succeeded in this objective, they would have cut off our forces deployed in the Srinagar valley and the Rajouri sector of Jammu, threatened our troops in Leh guarding our areas against China and jeopardised the security of the whole of Jammu and Kashmir."

It is very clearly stated. It was Jammu and Kashmir that was threatened and we were free to act in defence of it. It was not only threatened aggression here which would not have convinced you. We ought to have taken courage in our hands, as the Army chapter does. I hope Shri Chavan will take sufficient care to ensure that this document becomes a readable, impressive and purposeful one.

Then, what can be an Army Manual has been stitched together: a general kind of information, not precise, has been put together; that can be a separate booklet. The Defence Ministry's report, particularly in a year like this, should be a White Paper, which tells us about your preparations, or the estimates for the next year, not only in money items but in terms of the difficulties on the security frontiers and what you propose to do. Instead, I am sorry to use the word—it reads like a hotchpotch. I hope care will be taken in the future in regard to this aspect of the matter.

There is another point to which some hon. Members have drawn attention. This Parliament is the only Parliament in the democracies which has never cut the defence estimates by a single penny. I think our forces deserve it eminently; particularly under Shri Chavan they

have created a record, and it is an item where the House should vote every demand that is made. Nonetheless, we are entitled to ask that every penny we vote is properly utilised. I am afraid I will not have much time to go into the details, but the Audit Report for this year shows many lapses, where not every penny is carefully utilised or put to proper use. Some reference was made. Instead of going into the details, I will draw the hon. Minister's attention to what I found at page 1 of the Audit Report. How does it happen? Take, for example, the demands granted and actually appropriated. In 1962-63, the percentage of saving was 5.28. In 1963-64, it was 4.75. In 1964-65, it was 5.77. But the interesting thing is this. Out of Rs. 47.59 crores—it shows an extremely bad estimating, bad budgeting and perhaps bad utilisation—under three grants, Army non-effective and capital outlay, a sum of Rs. 28 crores was surrendered on the 31st March, 1965. The surrender under the capital grant alone was Rs. 25.09 crores, representing nearly 18 per cent. This is one aspect of it.

The Maharaja of Tehri-Garhwal was speaking just now and he said that the Financial Adviser comes in the way. That is not true so far as this Ministry is concerned. The Audit does make sometimes some strange comments. I know that, when a pilot lost bearings and therefore petrol was used, the Audit remarked, "We understand the use of more petrol, but what happened to the bearings?" Such a kind of silly questions do occur sometimes, but nonetheless, very often, there are more pertinent criticisms which need to be taken more seriously.

At page 6 and at page 29, there is the confusion about mules, gliders, about certain contracts to foreign firms etc., which is avoidable. I do not want to overemphasise this. I would now come to page 28 and ask Shri Chavan to look into it. I refer to the hire of accommodation at high rentals. And how high are the

[Shri Nath Pai]

rentals? Give every kind of facility to our officers and our jawans. Give them the best that this country can afford to give, and this House and this country will never grudge and be mean or miserly about the expenditure. But such a kind of extravagance and waste is something which even in a year of triumph we cannot afford to overlook. I will give the percentage.

I refer to the percentage of rental to the maximum possible pay of the allottee. How many cases are there? In the category of 50 and over but below 60, there are 32 cases, in which the rent paid for the officers' accommodation is 50 to 60 per cent above the salary. 60 and over but below 75, there are 24 cases. 75 and over but below 100, there are six cases; 100 and over, there are two cases. All these matters need to be looked into, and I hope the necessary rectificatory steps and measures would have been adopted when we discuss this Ministry's Demands next year.

Now, I would like to point out one or two basic things about the conflict last September. Much has been said about it, but one or two aspects need to be emphasised so that the country does not face similar difficulties in the future. In the first place, though the war was limited to 22 days, it was not so simple as the detractors of India have been saying. I do not want to exaggerate its importance, but the fact remains that India was chosen for experimenting Mao Tse-tung's and Limpoya's theories. Mao Tse-tung had given this basic theory of pitting three against one and Limpoya had adumbrated his theory of encirclement and annihilation. India was chosen as the guineapig for this, when Pakistan was used as a proxy by China to carry into practice this theory. Who were the three? It is said that ultimately India triumphed because there were 48 crores of Indians as against 11 crores of Pakistanis. Here it is forgotten that it

was Pakistan that had superior arms of every kind: tanks, aircraft, long-range guns and means of communications. But it was not only superiority in arms that Pakistan enjoyed. She had numerical superiority too. The journal of the American military forces concedes that eventually India gave a drubbing to Pakistan's superior forces, but they also mention this fact by way of taking away the true magnitude of India's victory that it was ultimately a conflict between 48 crores of Indians against 11 crores of Pakistanis. This is a totally deceptive picture. The truth was not that there were 11 crores of Pakistanis against 48 crores of Indians. It is just the other way round—48 crores of Indians opposed by 11 crores of Pakistanis plus 70 crores of Chinese plus 12 crores of Indonesians. These were the forces that were ranged against India basically. It was the encirclement doctrine of Mao Tse-tung that was applied. China was poised on the north; Pakistan had started nibbling and gnawing at our eastern borders and in the south, the Indonesians had started naval operations and giving threats about sending army units to Pakistan. This was the true dimension of that limited war of September.

We knew it is not necessarily superior arms that always triumph, but superior morale, superior training and better leadership very often triumph over better arms. That has been the lesson of military history.

**Shri Kapur Singh** (Ludhiana):  
Better luck also.

**Shri Nath Pai:** Of course, better luck too, but luck comes to those who have got the guts to use it. We found this in Korea where the North Koreans were confronted with superior American arms, but nonetheless they over-ran the whole of Korea. We found this in the history of China. After all, the liberation army of Mao Tse-tung had inferior, out-dated arms

compared with the sophisticated arms of Gen. Chiang Kai-Shek. We found the same in Viet Minh and in the case of Viet Cong also. This is something which India will have to accept, that we lack the so-called sophisticated modern arms . . .

**Mr. Chairman:** The hon. member's party has 14 minutes . . .

**Shri Nath Pai:** Sir, I have just begun. We will have to accept this kind of superiority on the part of our potential aggressor in arms. But if we continue to concentrate on superior training, superior leadership, India need not be worried.

There is an aspect to which I would like to turn immediately. When Pakistan committed aggression in the Rann of Kutch, we demanded a fundamental change in India's defence strategy. In the past—past does not mean the recent past, but it means the hoary past beginning with Alexander—it used to be that the enemy, the invader, should come, we wait to be attacked like a petrified rabbit, and then we give battle on our territory. Last April we demanded in this House: if we cannot hit back at Pakistan in the Rann of Kutch, why don't we utilise the 3,700 miles of our frontier with Pakistan and hit back at a point of our choice and convenience? I think when eventually the government rose to the occasion and Mr. Shastri and his colleagues gave this order, it was not only changing the pattern of fighting in this part of the world, but it was changing the face of Indian history, turning of a new page. This served as a warning not only to Pakistan but to the whole world that those days when the invader comes, takes us by surprise, imposes the humiliation of defeat and goes away with the trophy of victory, had ended on the dawn of 6th September. Anybody who will come against this country will have to face the possibility of India going into the territory of the enemy. This basic change in the

military strategy was the main reason of our victory, apart from the credit to be given to our armed forces and our commanders. I am not here for the division of the credit, but this basic change needs to be taken into consideration.

**Mr. Chairman:** He has three minutes more.

**Shri Nath Pai:** I would not speak. I am sorry; this is a joke if on defence, we are to be treated in this mechanical manner. I am not participating in an elocution competition.

**श्री हुकम चन्द कछवाय :** हमारी पार्टी का जो समय बचा है, वह आप इनको दे दीजिये।

**Mr. Chairman:** There is a way of doing everything. I must make it absolutely clear that this is the time allotted to all the parties. The time allotted to the hon. member's party is 14 minutes. I am prepared to accommodate him to a reasonable extent, but not beyond that.

**श्री हुकम चन्द कछवाय :** हमारी पार्टी के पांच मिनिट बचे हैं, वह आप इनको दे दीजिये।

**सभापति महोदय :** आप कैसे ऐसा कह सकते हैं।

**Shri Kapur Singh:** Some indulgence may be shown to the hon. member.

**Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath:** He is the only spokesman of our party.

**Shri Nath Pai:** I am sorry; this is not an elocution competition; this is something which concerns our arms . . .

**Mr. Chairman:** I quite agree, but there are difficulties here also. That needs to be appreciated.

**Shri Nath Pai:** I appreciate it; I do not suggest that you are unfair. I only suggest that the whole method needs to be looked into. I was saying

[Shri Nath Pai]

that it was this basic change which brought about this victory nearer home.

But our troubles are not over. We are now finding that in spite of the euphoria generated in the country in the wake of the Tashkent agreement, the realities are something quite different. I am glad to see that the country is recovering from that epidemic of euphoria and self-hypnosis that everything is all right because we signed the Tashkent agreement. We find that China and Pakistan are once again up to their old game. China is pouring such arms into Pakistan as she can spare. We read only the other day—you must have also read it with alarm, Mr. Chairman—that most up-to-date tanks have been unloaded into Pindi's armoury and China has also supplied some of the very best aircraft, the improved edition of MIG-19. In the meanwhile, Mr. Bhutto was trying to make the axis against India by going to Jakarta. We do not see any abatement of this continued encirclement of India. What shall we be doing?

I would like to point out here to the Defence Minister a point which was made by the Speaker from the Congress benches who preceded me also, that we should realise another basic thing about our defence policy. There is nothing wrong in saying that no country in the world is completely self-reliant in the matter of defence. Even the mightiest nation has to think in terms of looking for allies and friends for neutralising potential enemies. Let us not worry about the so-called Chinese threats. China is not as invulnerable and invincible as Mao Tse-tung thinks. This giant has many vulnerable and soft spots on its body. One million of its army are poised against Formosa; 400,000 are in the region of Vietnam and Thailand. Only 150,000 are on the borders of India. Half a million are facing the Soviet army. We know the deployment of the

Chinese. The Chinese call others paper tigers. But in facing China, while we should not be self-complacent, we should not take China lightly and should not, as in the past, make the fatal mistake of calling "Bhai, bhai", on the other hand, we should not go to the other end of the pendulum and have a petrified attitude of fear complex and panic. There are many who are worried about China, but China has a fear too. China is not so free to come into this country. I would like to read here the estimate of the worst that China can do, so that we can have a proper assessment of what we will have to do. This is prepared by the Institute of Strategic Studies in association with a member of the high command of the Indian armed forces, a retired General:

"It, therefore, seems fair to assume for the time being at least that major attacks into India, though possible would be difficult to mount and are not likely to succeed. Smaller but decisive attacks with limited objectives at moments when India is politically or diplomatically weak or involved elsewhere, combined with a continuous undermining of Bhutan and Nepal by political means might well be the pattern of Chinese future operations in the Himalayas."

This, therefore, is our assessment of the kind of attack China will make. China will never be able to have a full-scale invasion but we should never overlook the possibility of another kind of NEFA, a limited but decisive probe into India, taking us by surprise when we are internally weak as may happen or when we are internationally isolated.

While discussing China, I would like to deal with the air preparedness of this country.

Mr. Chavan's massive document does not tell me anything about our air force, but the military barons, again in a document prepared by the Institute of Statistical Studies, tell us all that is there in the Indian Air Force. I hope they are wrong. But it tells us the names. Last year we had pleaded about the immediate, imperative, paramount necessity of standardising the aircraft. What kind aircraft we have? It seems every possible aircraft made anywhere from the time the Wright Brothers flew is available with the Indian Air Force. We have the marut, we have the mystere, we have the gnats, we have the canberras, we have the hunters, we have the oerlikons, we have the vampires, caribous, we have the others, we have the viscounts and we have the avro. But with all these we do not have a dependable air force, though we have a dependable air command. I do not detract from the magnificent performance of the pilots and their officers, the miracle performance that the little gnat gave against the superior and almost invincible sabre jets and star fighters. The credit goes to the better planning, better guts and better manoeuvrability of our pilots. But the fact remains, and Shri Chavan must very seriously look into it, that the Chinese have tactical advantage there on a plateau from where all our strategic points, industrial and military, are within half an hour's flight. But to retaliate we have to go back crossing the whole of Tibet into the Chinese main land. God forbid that such an eventuality arises, but we should be ready for it only in order to prevent the temptation for China to use the advantage against us. Shri Brij Raj Singh was right when he said that in spite of all that is being said all these years about the mighty Avro 24, Avro jets and HF-24 we remain far from having our own dependable all weather, all-purposes fighters interceptor. I think this is a dangerous lacuna.

Sir, I will come to one more point and then sit down. It was raised by

my hon. friend, Shri Indrajit Gupta. Shri Indrajit Gupta and I have the misfortune of disagreeing on some basic issues; only time proves that I am right and he is wrong. In 1959 we tried to warn this House about the inevitable clash with China. He had preceded me and accused me of singing a hymn of hatred against China. But, he is a gallant man, he retraced his steps and admitted his wrong assessment. Today he has done the same with regard to the necessity of India's looking again at the question of developing her nuclear deterrents. Mr. Chairman, Shri Chavan should seriously consider whether this country should permanently be pledged to nuclear brahmacharya. This is a great luxury and I think the time has come to have a fresh look. I know that both the United States and the Soviet Union, both our friends, can be our allies because both are having serious fears about the Chinese. After all a very significant segment of the Soviet forces also are deployed on the frontier with China. So is the fear of the Americans with regard to it. We can plead for division of labour in deterrents, but we cannot abdicate our own responsibility for defending India. There is no umbrella which will open at the time when we need it. India alone will have to shoulder the burden. Shri Chavan who is provided with Rs. 5,000 crores cannot plead paucity of funds. We cannot plead the absence of technological knowledge. I do not have the time to read all these things to show how that can be done. But I can say that the estimate given by Dr. Bhabha, and the best estimate, indicates that even for the production of hydrogen bomb we would require Rs. 500 crores. This is to be spread over five years and it means an additional budget of only Rs. 100 crores. Then you may be able to have not only on conventional arms but something far more precious, the freedom of India.

Sir, the armed forces have been doing very well. But often there is a complaint when it comes to the ques-

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tion of recruitment. I want to persuade myself into believing that the complaint is wrong. All kinds of considerations are given at the time of the interview, and I want to publicly voice, having said all the good things, what I have to say about that. This is what happens. A young man goes for the interview. He is asked his name. After hearing the name the Board says: "So you come from this so-and-so place?" The young man keeps quiet. The Board goes on to say: "But you must be an outsider in this area?" The young man says: "I have been here for three generations." The Board says: "All right—*jara pan khao*". He is given a *pan*. He eats the *pan*. He is not used to take *pan* and so he goes out. When he comes back the officer asks the young man: "Why did you go out?" He replies: "Well, I had to spit". The officer says: "Then you do not belong to this place

अगर इस स्टेट के ब्रा होते तो बूकने के लिए बाहर नहीं जाते, यहीं बूकते।"

I do not know how far this kind of things are happening. I do hope that he would be looking into this kind of thing and rectifying them.

Sir, I end with the hope that some of the suggestions, which I would have liked to carry home, he will take very seriously and I hope in the years to come our strength will come to a point where neither China nor Pakistan nor they jointly will be tempted to repeat the adventure of 1965.

**Shrimati Tarkeshwari Sinha (Barh):** Mr. Chairman, Sir, the discussion on the Demands relating to the Ministry of Defence is very significant indeed because it is following the Tashkent Agreement. Year after year these Demands have been discussed in the House, but this year's Demands carry special significance because of not only the Tashkent Agreement but the later incidents.

I do not agree with Shri Nath Pai when he said that the presentation of

the Demands has not been improving. I must compliment the Defence Minister in that the presentation of the Demands, I find, from year to year, has improved very much. But, of course, I appreciate the suggestion that he has made that there should be more streamlining of the presentation of the Demands because now the responsibility of peace time defence is as great and as serious as the responsibility of wartime defence. Therefore, there should be more streamlining, more streamlined discussion and mentioning of what they are doing to meet the defence obligations and increasing defence potential.

Coming to the Tashkent Agreement, I am surprised about two or three developments which have taken place. This morning the hon. Minister answered a few questions, and he indicated that he would be very very seriously maintaining and sticking to the principles of the Tashkent Agreement and also the spirit of the Agreement. Nothing like it. We have been a party to an international agreement and we should stand by that agreement with great dignity. But, there are some events which have taken place—I think the Defence Minister himself is aware of them—that require more consideration, more enlightenment than have been given in the newspaper reports we have come across. The Defence Minister, in this House, made a statement some time ago that the withdrawal of forces has been complete. Of course, it was later corroborated by the U.N. Secretary General, Mr. U. Thant. He had corroborated that the withdrawal of troops had been completed. As I said, if I remember aright, the Defence Minister also made a similar statement in the House. But, then, Pakistan raised some objections. Now we find, according to newspaper reports—I do not have any information direct from the Defence Ministry and therefore we have to go by newspaper reports because it has been worded in the mouth of the Chilean Brigadier

General Murambio who is in charge of U.N. operations of withdrawal—that the withdrawal on the India-Pakistan border as has appeared in the reports by U.N. Secretary General in which he mentioned that the withdrawal has been completed by 25th February was incorrect. After that we immediately find the Pakistani leaders claiming a few areas of territory which has been all the time Indian territory. They are claiming that before even 24th September these areas were under Pakistani occupation. So, if you add two and two together you come to this fact that Pakistan is trying to create a dispute in those areas. I understand that the Government of India has knowledge about this and the Government of India has not accepted that those areas in the Jammu-Sialkot sector, which Pakistan claims were under that country's *de facto* occupation before the hostilities, were actually under their occupation. The Government of India, I am glad, has not accepted their claim. That is where we stand today in that regard. I understand that the Government of India also has given some indication that they are prepared to negotiate with Pakistan about these areas. The question of negotiability does not arise at all and it should not have been accepted by the Government. We would like to be enlightened by the Defence Minister about this aspect. The withdrawal of armed forces by both the countries should have been completed by 25th February. That being so, we cannot understand why these areas have been brought into dispute by Pakistan and why our Government also should give them an indication to negotiate about them.

16 hrs.

While the Defence Minister has stated that the withdrawal has been completed by 25th February, whether the report of Brigadier-General Murambio, the representative of the United Nations, that the withdrawal has not been completed by that date is wrong and incorrect, especially

when he has been in charge of this issue. I would like the Defence Minister to let us know where we stand in this matter. Though the areas may be 20 acres, a little more than half an acre etc. all the same these have been brought into dispute by Pakistan. I understand that the Government of India has also agreed to discuss this matter and negotiate this matter.

As many hon. Members have pointed out, there was display of Chinese arms during recent Pakistani celebrations in Rawalpindi. I believe that it was not only the display of arms but also of Pakistani intentions. This is a serious situation to be noted by the United States, especially when they are formulating their policy towards India and Pakistan. There is in fact a method in the madness shown by Pakistan. The United States of America has been declaring from house-tops that they are going to discriminate between lethal weapons and non-lethal weapons in the matter of giving military aid to India and Pakistan. But Pakistan in collusion with China is creating a more dangerous situation on this side of the world. Mao Tse Tung is following a much deeper method of sabotage because Tashkent Agreement was an eye-sore to China. From the very beginning our Defence Minister has been saying that, in spite of the Tashkent Agreement, we should be vigilant on our borders as we cannot rely on the good intentions of China. We see now that China is challenging the Tashkent Agreement. The Tashkent Agreement has given a breathing time to us as also to Pakistan. It is certainly a very good thing for this country. I have no inhibition in saying that the Tashkent Agreement has given us breathing time and I would also welcome such Agreements which would bring in international peace. Any such agreement is worth while. After all, this could have happened in Vietnam. The whole world is at a standstill now because with all the ingenuity and imaginativeness on the part of the United States of America they are not in a position to find another Tashkent

[Shrimati Tarkeshwari Sinha]

Agreement for Vietnam. If that had happened, the world would now have been in a better mood and the United States also would not be saying so far as India and Pakistan are concerned that their hands are too full with the problem of Vietnam. Therefore, I would like to mention that there is a deep method in what Mao Tse Tung is doing.

The involvement of China in Vietnam is becoming difficult for China. They are now face to face with America, especially when the attitude of America is stiffening. With deeper involvement of America in Vietnam they are not going to get all the advantages from such a situation and they cannot also turn the situation to their own liking. When China committed aggression on Indian borders in 1962, after a certain period they went back not with the noble intention of allowing our prosperity to grow, but because they thought that it was time that they went home to re-plan their whole strategy, not only on the Indian borders but the entire region of South-east Asia. With China becoming deeply involved in Vietnam and the United States getting deeper and deeper in their determination to solve the Vietnam problem by fighting out till the end, China is trying to find out some other disturbed area to divert some of their forces. Now, Pakistan seems to be willing to be exploited by China. Pakistan was going a little bit into the influence of Soviet Union and that too for a little while. Some sense dawned on Pakistan and they signed the Tashkent Agreement. We should not under-estimate the situation by saying that President Ayub Khan is being made a victim of repressions and suppressions. We should not under-estimate Gen. Ayub's power, just because he has signed the Tashkent Agreement. The display of arms is a significant indicator. As soon as the Tashkent Agreement was signed, the next business on the part of Pakistan was to re-organise its military strength. That is how they have been able to display these arms

in Rawalpindi, which carries so much significance. Unfortunately, the United States does not seem to be aware of the significance of Pindi demonstration. I understand that the newspapers there have under-played this news and according to them they do not carry any significance and they do not attach any importance to this display of Chinese arms and ammunition by Pakistan. I think they will be caught napping. If they are so much involved in Vietnam, that does not mean they should be completely unaware of this problem. Their policy has virtually become static in relation to Pakistan and India in as much as that they are not going to resume any aid unless and until Pakistan and India live in peace and settle all their differences. Their economic aid will be channelised and will be regimented. We cannot change their policy because we realise our limitations and our country's limitations. We don't also have any right to question the plans of other countries and we have also no claims on the patronage of other countries. Of course, we should also not seek aid at the cost of humiliation to our self-respect. That fact also must be realised. But, all the same, it is very important for India and the United States to consider that this policy of the United States to completely remain neutral between Pakistan and India and also impose conditions on India *vis-a-vis* Pakistan till both the countries come to terms should be reappraised. No doubt, our Prime Minister is in the United States now. But the American papers and the American officials have made it clear that the aid will be conditional. Now, such a situation has been created where the United States have to work with a better understanding of the problems. They cannot consider India and Pakistan on the same terms because today China has come into the picture. Pakistan has given a very blunt reply to the United States that, if they impose certain conditions like setting the mutual differences etc.

they will be written off. The Pakistani leaders have told the United States that they could go to hell, by displaying the arms and ammunitions from China. This display of arms does not indicate the military strength that they have got from China or what they would be getting in future from China. There is no indication of that. Therefore, it is very necessary for the United States to reappraise their policy as also for the Indian Government.

This brings me to the threat of atomic and nuclear weapons. This argument has got bogged down into either being a protagonist of nuclear weapons or some people showing an allergy to nuclear weapons. I understand that there are limitations. Yet, this problem should be free from the boasting that we can do it within such and such a period—I don't think Mr. Nath Pai is boasting in that fashion; he is a very, very understanding and reasonable person and I would submit that I don't have command over English as he has—but this tendency is more and more developing in this country. We have started boasting about our capacity to manufacture the atom bomb. This is also wrong. The other kind of gullibility is also wrong, as Mr. Nath Pai pointed out.

**Mr. Chairman:** The hon. Member must conclude now.

**Shrimati Tarkeshwari Sinha:** I would conclude now. This question has to be related to the situation that is happening in China. I understand from the newspapers—one of the leading American magazines has brought this out—that in two or three years' time China will be able to deliver 100 atomic bombs and that the missiles and other delivery items which they are developing or have already developed, though not the proper ballistic missiles, have a combat radius of 600 to 700 miles. This is a thing which we have always to bear in mind. We have also to consider whether in the area of Sinkiang

they are having some of these bases. The American Seventh Fleet is in the South Seas and China has built up an automatic base there. We must consider, we must know whether these atomic bases are being constructed in the Sinkiang area. My information from the newspapers is that those bases are being constructed in that region. If that is happening, our policy on this subject needs reappraisal. We must try for an international agreement for nuclear protection, not only from the United States of America but from both the power blocs. We have not been able to get it so far. I would appeal to the hon. Minister to work for this object. We must work for nuclear protection. If we can be assured of nuclear protection, then there is no need for us to make nuclear weapons. So, we must work towards that goal and try to achieve that goal.

I now come to my last point. I think our Defence Minister should have gone to America with our Prime Minister. There is every need for understanding by the American audience of our aims and objects and why we fought this battle. I am happy to say that our Defence Minister carries a good name in America. His performance during the Pakistani attack has created a good image for him. He should have gone there to create and improve that understanding. It is not enough that the Prime Minister alone will be talking to the US President, just one person talking to another person. The whole organisation of the American State Department and the American leaders also should have this kind of understanding. If he had gone it would have been much better for us. It is a pity that he did not go.

श्री मोरारजी वसंत वेंगी (जम्मू तथा काश्मीर) : सभापति महोदय, हमारे जवानों ने अपनी उत्तम सैनिक शिक्षा, प्रशुन शौर्य और बलिदान से भारत और भारतीय सेना का नाम रोशन किया है। बटिया और पुराने

[श्री गोपाल दत्त मैगी]

हथियारों से पाकिस्तान के आधुनिक और बढ़िया हथियारों को विफल ही नहीं किया है बल्कि उन की ऐसी दुर्गति की है कि वह मजाक का सामान बन कर रह गए । पाकिस्तान को अपने पैटर्न टैंकों पर और जैट फाइटर्स पर बहुत अभिमान था हमारे बहादुर सैनिकों ने पाकिस्तान का वह अभिमान तोड़ दिया । इससे देश का बहुत नाम हुआ, देश में बहुत आत्म विश्वास बढ़ा । इसका सेहरा जवानों के सिर पर तो है ही लेकिन मैं यह कहूंगा कि इसमें आर्मी लीडरशिप का भी बहुत हिस्सा है जिन्होंने जवानों को ऐसी उत्तम शिक्षा दी । उन्होंने इतना अच्छा नेतृत्व दिया कि फौजी भारत का नाम रोशन रख पाये । जब मैं इंडियन आर्मी लीडरशिप की सराहना करता हूँ तो मुझे उन रेक्टिंग एजेंसीज की भी सराहना करना चाहिए जिन्होंने कि इस इमरजसी के लिए और संकट का सफलतापूर्वक सामना करने के लिए भारत का सर्वोत्तम मैटीरियल चुना जिन्होंने अपने शौर्य, अपने नेतृत्व और अपनी लीडरशिप से पाकिस्तान को नीचा दिखाया । यह ठीक है कि पाकिस्तान के साथ हमारे संघर्ष के बाद हमारा नाम बढ़ा है, जवानों का आत्म विश्वास बढ़ा है लेकिन यह भी दुस्त है कि इस संघर्ष के बाद कुछ बहुत बड़ी बड़ी खामियां, कुछ बहुत बड़ी बड़ी कमजोरियां हमारे सामने आई हैं ।

जब छम्ब पर हमला हुआ, पाकिस्तान छम्ब में टैंक लाया तो हमारे जो रास्ते थे, हमारे छम्ब और उसके आगे जाने के जो पुल थे वह बहुत कमजोर पाये गये और हम पाकिस्तान के टैंकों का मुकाबला करने के लिए अपने भारी हथियार और अपने भारी टैंक नहीं ले जा सके । अन्दाजा कीजिये कि अगर पाकिस्तान किसी तरीके से जोड़ियां से आगे बढ़ पाता और हमारी वायु सेना के जवान अपने बलिदानों और शौर्य से उन्हें रोक नहीं पाते और पाकिस्तानी उस सड़क को काटने में कामयाब हो जाते जो सड़क

हमारी फौजों को जो कि अखनूर से लेकर छम्ब, नौशेरा, राजौरी और पूछ तक फैली हुई है, रसद पहुंचाती है, साज सामान पहुंचाती है तो क्या हालत होती ? इतना ही नहीं लोग तो यह पूछते हैं कि जब हमारे रक्षा विभाग को यह पता था कि छम्ब के उस पार पाकिस्तान का एक बहुत बड़ा आर्मी बेस है जहां से वह छम्ब के इलाके पर हमला कर सकता है, छम्ब की भूमि इस किस्म की है जहां पाकिस्तान को बहुत एडवांटेज है तो लोग यह पूछते हैं कि 18 वर्ष के असें में हम उस इलाके को सुरक्षित करने के लिए अखनूर के पुल को भी ठीक नहीं कर सके ? मैं यह समझता हूँ कि उस और हमें ध्यान देना चाहिए ।

रन आफ कच्छ के झगड़े के समय भी यह देखा गया कि हमारी सरहदी सड़कें अच्छी हालत में नहीं हैं । छम्ब के वाक्ये के समय तो यह भी प्रतीत हो गया कि इन सड़कों के नाकामहोने से इन पुलों के कमजोर होने से कितने भयंकर नतीजे निकल सकते हैं ? इसलिए मेरी प्रार्थना यह है कि हमें अपनी इन सड़कों की तरफ ध्यान देना चाहिए । यह तो समझ में आ सकता है कि हमारे पास बढ़िया हथियार नहीं हैं, उनकी कमी है लेकिन इस बात की समझ नहीं आती क्योंकि समें कोई बहुत विदेशी मुद्रा की आवश्यकता नहीं है कि हम अपने पुलों को, हम अपनी सड़कों को जो कि हमने बनाये हैं पूरी तरह अच्छी हालत में क्यों न रखें । इसलिए मेरा सुझाव यह है कि हमें इस तरफ ध्यान देना चाहिए । इतना ही नहीं बल्कि सरहदी सड़कों के साथ साथ आलटरनेट रोड्स भी बनानी चाहिए ताकि आयन्दा इस किस्म की परेशानी का सामना न करना पड़े ।

भारतीय सरहदों की रक्षा के लिए जहां सड़कों की आवश्यकता है वहां भारत में सरहदें पार करके पाकिस्तान के कितने हो

आम्बं घुसपैठिये आते हैं, डाकू आते हैं और पाकिस्तानी सिपाही सिविलियन ड्रेस में आते हैं उन्हें रोकने के लिए यह भी जरूरी है कि वहां पर एक्स सर्विसमैन किसान बसाये जायें। इस सम्बन्ध में मैं इस सदन में कई बार सवाल उठे हैं। अभी पिछले ही दिनों एक प्रश्न इसी क्रिसम का सदन के सामने आया था। उस पर जो उत्तर मिला वह सर्वथा निराशाजनक था। जो लोग हिन्दुस्तान के बोरडर्स पर रहते हैं विशेषतः जम्मू काश्मीर में उन्हें पता है कि उनके सामने क्या परेशानियां हैं? इस छम्ब के संघर्ष से पहले शायद ही कोई ऐसा हफ्ता गुजरता था जब पाकिस्तानी डाकू रियासत के अन्दर आकर और मीलों अन्दर आकर खेतों में काम करते हुए किसानों को न मारते हों। यही नहीं, वे उन के मिर काट कर ले जाते थे। रात के वक्त घरों में सांए हुए लोगों की भी यही दुर्दशा करते थे। जब उन सरहदों पर यह हालत हो, तो वहां की आर्थिक अवस्था किस तरह बेहतर हो सकती है? इस लिए जब हमने इस सदन में कुछ दिनों पहले यह सुना कि काश्मीर सरकार भी जम्मू के इलाके में सरहदों के साथ साथ एक्स सर्विसमैन को बसाने के हक में नहीं हैं, वो हमें ताज्जुब हुआ। मैं यह मांग करता हूँ कि जम्मू में इस तजुबों की जरूर अपनाया जाये। अगर इस बारे में कुछ राजनैतिक मुश्किलता हों, तो हम इतना भी कर सकते हैं कि जम्मू में जितनी भी मियासी पार्टियां, राजनैतिक पार्टियां, काम कर रही हैं, वे केन्द्रीय सरकार को लिख कर भेज देंगी कि जम्मू रीजन में सरहदों के साथ साथ एक्स सर्विसमैन को बसाया जाये, क्योंकि जब तक जम्मू की सरहदों पर एक्स सर्विसमैन को नहीं बसाया जायेगा—मिर्फ बसाना ही काफी नहीं है, उन्हें एक सैमी-मिलिटरी डिमिन्शन के तहत रखना है, उनका सम्बन्ध प्रदेश सरकारों के साथ नहीं होना चाहिए, बल्कि उनको सीधे रक्षा मन्त्रालय के अधीन रखना चाहिए तब तक मैं नहीं समझता कि उस इलाके के लोगों की हालत बेहतर हो सकती है। अगर

यह तजुबा जम्मू में कामयाब हो जाये, तो बाद में उसको राजस्थान, आसाम और पंजाब में भी किया जा सकता है। जम्मू में यह तजुबा कामयाब बनाने के लिए केन्द्रीय सरकार को वहां की जनता की तरफ से पूरी पूरी सहानुभूति और सहयोग मिलेगा और कोई आवाज इसके खिलाफ नहीं उठेगी इसलिए मैं यह मांग करता हूँ कि मन्त्री महोदय इस तरफ पूरी तवज्जह दें, इस पर पूरी गम्भीरता से विचार करें और जम्मूके लोगों की इस परेशानी को दूर करने के लिए कुछ कदम उठायें।

भारत-पाकिस्तान संघर्ष के समय एन० सी० सी० के युवकों ने जो काम किया है, मैं उसके सम्बन्ध में भी कुछ कहना चाहता हूँ। मैंने स्वयं देखा है कि जम्मू, और बाडर के दूसरे करबों में उन्होंने किस तरह सारी रात जाग कर पहरा दिया। इतना ही नहीं, जब यह जंग जोरों पर थी, तो मैंने पठानकोट में देखा कि जब जर्मी सिपाही एम्बुलेस गाड़ियों में आते थे, तो कालेज के युवक उन के स्टूचर उठाते और गाड़ियों में पहुंचाते थे। वे बड़े उत्साह, प्रेम और श्रद्धा से उनकी सेवा करते थे। मैंने यह भी देखा कि जब बर्तन साफ करने वाला सब काम को सम्भाल नहीं सका, तो कालेज के इन युवकों ने खुशी खुशी बर्तन साफ किये और सारा काम खुद सम्भाल लिया।

लेकिन एक कमी भी मैंने देखी। जहां नौजवानों की कमी नहीं थी, जो कि हर तरह की सेवा करने के लिए तैयार थे, वहां हमारी कोई बहनें और बच्चियां दिखाई नहीं दीं, जो कि नर्सिंग का काम करतीं। इस लिए मेरा सुझाव है कि एन० सी० सी० में बच्चों के लिए राइफल ट्रेनिंग ठीक है, लेकिन बहनों और बेटियों के लिए राइफल ट्रेनिंग के बजाय नर्सिंग की ट्रेनिंग रखी जाये, ताकि समय आने पर हमारी बहनें भी अपने भाइयों की सेवा कर सकें और हमें नर्सिंग की कमी महसूस न हो।

[श्री गोपाल दत्त सींगी]

मैंने कई जगह बाहेंर पुलिस का काम देखा है। उनका काम बहुत और बहुत खतरे का है और हमारे सैनिकों से बहुत मिलता जुलता है। इसलिए मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि क्या ही अच्छा हो कि उन्हें भी रक्षा मन्त्रालय के अधीन कर दिया जाये, उन्हें सैनिकों की तरह का राजन, तनख्वाह और एसाउर्नसिज मिलें और वे रक्षा मन्त्रालय के अधीन रह कर सैनिक अनुशासन में रहें।

मुझे इस सिलसिले में एक और प्रार्थना करनी है। इस संघर्ष के बाद हिन्दुस्तान में अपनी फौजों के लिए एक खास तरह की श्रद्धा पैदा हो गई है। वह श्रद्धा जनता के किसी एक ग्रुप में ही नहीं है, बल्कि सारी जनता में है। वह पार्टी पालिटिक्स से ऊंची श्रद्धा है। उस श्रद्धा को हमें बनाए रखना है— उसे जाया नहीं करना है। इसलिए कुछ माननीय सदस्यों ने जो यह सुझाव दिया है कि भारतीय सेना को कभी भी, किसी भी हालत में दंगों बगैरह के बारे में इस्तेमाल नहीं करना चाहिए, मैं उसका समर्थन करता हूँ। अगर आवश्यकता हो, तो बेशक पुलिस विभाग में एक ऐसा विभाग बनाया जाये और उसको मुनासिब शिक्षा दी जाये, जो कि दंगों का मुकाबला करे, लेकिन हिन्दुस्तान की गोली किसी भी हालत में किसी भी हिन्दुस्तानी के खिलाफ नहीं चलनी चाहिए।

हिन्दुस्तान के साउथ में सीलोन है और नार्थ में नेपाल है। इन दोनों और हिन्दुस्तान को मिला कर धार्यावर्त बनता है। धार्यावर्त के ये दो हिस्से—नेपाल और सीलोन—आज हमारे दोस्त तो हैं, लेकिन साथी नहीं हैं। क्यों? इसलिए कि वे हमें इतना मजबूत नहीं पाते हैं कि हम उनकी रक्षा कर सकेंगे। इसलिए मेरा सुझाव है कि हम ट्यूटीकोरिन से रामेश्वरम् तक कुछ इस किस्म के नैकल शिपयाइंडज बनायें, जिससे सीलोन को भी यह धार्यावासन हो सके कि वक्त घाने पर हिन्दुस्तान उसकी सहायता कर सकेगा।

इन प्रस्ताव के साथ मैं आप को धन्यवाद देता हूँ।

16.28 hrs.

[MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER in the Chair]

**The Minister of State in the Ministry of Defence (Shri A. M. Thomas):** Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, I would like to intervene at this stage in order to apprise the House with regard to certain points which have been raised in the course of the debate. Before doing so, I would like to express the appreciation of the Ministry of the very sympathetic and constructive attitude that hon. Members, who have so far spoken, have taken to the various Demands that have been placed before this honourable House. When this Ministry's Demands came up last time for discussion, hon. Members had generally expressed a great deal of confidence in the handling of the Ministry and the state of affairs. I am happy that this confidence has not been misplaced and there is considerable appreciation in the House of the part that has been placed specially by our defence personnel. It is a matter of great encouragement that the contribution that has been made by the armed forces has been openly recognised by this sovereign House.

Hon. Member, Shri Indrajit Gupta, stated that the administrative report does not indicate any awareness on the part of the Ministry, of any drive for self-reliance. I would not like to join issue with him. In fact we have tried to share with the honourable House all the information that we could possibly have shared. We have in this administrative Report not only given a catalogue of events that have taken place or how the amounts have been utilised but, if the Report is gone through, you will be able to find that we have even tried to project the various lines on which the Ministry would like to have development. You will find the year 1965-66,

the year which is coming to a close and which will be over by the end of this month, would go on record as being the year in which bulk production has been established for new weapons and new types of ammunition. Why I say this is because of the fact that there has been some indication in one of the speeches that there has been perhaps a fall in the value of production of the ordnance factories. I would submit that the figures of production may not perhaps give a correct idea of the type of production that we are having in the ordnance factories and the new lines of production which we have established.

When you notice that there has been some fall in the production in the years 1962-64 to 1964-65, you have to realise that this fall is accounted for under one group of items, namely, clothing and general stores. We have produced sufficient for the Defence forces and so we could afford to have some reduction in that particular field. Then, we have also to take into account that as far as some conventional items on which we were concentrating till this time are concerned, it may not be necessary to carry on production in those items but that we take to newer and other lines of production.

**Shri Banga (Chittoor):** But the total production must not fall.

**Shri A. M. Thomas:** With regard to the total production, I have already answered that, that is explained by the fall under one single item. For example, the new lines are 81 m.m. bombs, 120 m.m. mortar bombs and considerable efforts were also made in the year 1964-65 for the production of newer items, such as, new mountain guns, anti-aircraft guns and new mortars. As to how important these new items are will be seen from the fact that there has been the demand from the hon. Member from Rajasthan that they wanted these weapons in those particular areas. So, that shows the great importance of these weapons, the demand for which is not only being made from the Defence forces

but even from the public. At the same time, I may say that as far as the year 1965-66 is concerned, there is bound to be greater production even in terms of value because we have been able to achieve bulk production of these new items. So, it is a matter of satisfaction that this sector of the production-base of the Defence Ministry has, by and large, done well and I would like to pay my tribute to the workers, thousands and thousands of workers, who are working in these various factories for their excellent performance in this field. They have put in their best having regard to the present Emergency.

Then, Shri Indrajit Gupta wanted to know what exactly is the position of the new ordnance factories. In fact, this is a legitimate question to ask and, I think, it would be necessary perhaps to give some idea to this honourable House as to what has happened to the various ordnance factories about which a reference had been made on previous occasions also. I may at the outset admit, before I proceed to this matter, that there have been some bottle-necks in the establishment of new factories. There have also been some difficulties but any progress which we have achieved in this matter has to be viewed in the light of achievements and the magnitude of the task involved. Viewed in this light, therefore, though there has been some delay here and there which can be said to be mostly unavoidable it cannot be said that the progress has been unsatisfactory.

Now, which are the factories that were intended to be set up we know, at first, the intention was to set up six new ordnance factories. Considerable discussion has taken place with regard to two of those factories about which I would make some passing reference at a later stage. The four other factories are: Ordnance Factory, Varangaon, Engineering Factory, Ambajhari, Filling Factory; Chanda and Small Arms Factory, Tiruchirapalli. With regard to Varangaon Ordnance Factory, in fact,

[Shri A. M. Thomas]

it has gone into production and it would go into full production as has been anticipated and envisaged earlier and the issues of ammunition from this Factory commenced in August, 1965 and it is expected that adequate production level will be reached within a few months.

Then, with regard to the two factories, one at Ambajhari and the other at Chanda, of which specific reference has been made by the hon. Member, Shri Indrajit Gupta, it is true that the factory at Ambajhari was intended to be set up with the external assistance coming from the United States of America; and with the suspension, in September, 1965, of the military assistance given by the United States of America, further action on the procurement of plant and machinery for this factory was suspended. But I may assure this honourable House and, I think, that would satisfy the hon. Member, that alternative measures to procure plant and machinery for a part of the project, for its first phase, are being already taken.

**Shri Indrajit Gupta:** Why haven't you said that in your Report? You have not said that in your Report. That is why I raised it.

**Shri A. M. Thomas:** We cannot incorporate each and every detail in this Report.

**Shri Indrajit Gupta:** This is a major matter. In December, 1964, you complained here that the factory was deadlocked. Is it a minor matter?

**Shri A. M. Thomas:** It is not a minor matter. That is why I thought that I would give some such assurance. As far as the first phase is concerned, we are, in fact, going to adopt alternative measures for the procurement of plant and machinery and to a considerable extent we may perhaps be relying on public sector undertakings

within our own country. You may also like to know apart the procurement of plant and machinery, about the construction work to be done at the site itself. The outlay on civil works that will be necessary for the Ambajhari factory will come to about Rs. 16 crores and we have sanctioned works to the tune of Rs. 11 crores and that work is proceeding ahead and there is no bottle neck as far as that is concerned. Perhaps, with regard to certain buildings there may be some delay, since depending on plant and machinery, it may be necessary to plan them and then start construction.

With regard to the Chanda Factory after the indication of assistance was available, the planning was completed with the help of United Kingdom authorities. After the suspension of aid, we have agreed to pay cash for the plant and machinery and we are going ahead with the project. So, that project also we are not going to leave behind.

**Shri Indrajit Gupta:** Was it held up because of cash payment?

**Shri A. M. Thomas:** Not only that. It is quite well known that they have lifted that ban subject to this condition that there could not be any assistance at all and that it would be only on cash basis. At one stage, even if you were prepared to pay cash, it was not possible to get it. The hon. Members have to realise this. As far as this factory also is concerned, it involves civil works to the extent of Rs. 14 crores; we have already sanctioned Rs. 12 crores. Regarding that also, the progress is quite satisfactory.

**Shri Ranga:** How soon would he expect to complete these two works?

**Shri A. M. Thomas:** Within a period of 1½ to 2 years we would be in a position to complete the first phase of the Ambajhari project and the other.....

**Shri Ranga:** Chanda will take longer, I think.

**Shri A. M. Thomas:** We cannot say; it depends also on the receipt of plant and machinery.

**Shri Y. B. Chavan:** That is the sequence; it has to come afterwards.

**Shri A. M. Thomas:** Because in the engineering factory at Ambajhari equipments which have to be filled in Chanda have to be manufactured, although without Ambajhari, Chanda also could be used to some extent.

With regard to the factory at Tiruchirappalli, for which we do not depend on any country's assistance, we are going ahead with our own foreign exchange reserves and I am glad to inform this House that it would go into the first phase of production within a few months. The progress of the construction is fairly satisfactory.

**Shri Ranga:** Then, how about the other two?

**Shri A. M. Thomas:** I am coming to them. I would request the hon. Member to be a little patient.

Besides these four factories out of the six, as the hon. House is aware, three other factories have also come up: one is the Bhandara Explosives factory, another is the Cable Factory at Chandigarh—we are going to double the capacity of that factory—and the third is the well-known factory, the Tank Factory at Avadi, the first tank of which has rolled out in the month of December.

**Shri Indrajit Gupta:** There are no armour-plates . . .

**Shri A. M. Thomas:** I am coming to that. Let the hon. Member not think that I will leave out that point. He has made certain valuable suggestions and having regard to those valuable suggestions made by him, he may rest assured that I will not leave them out. We have to take into account all

these new factories which have come into existence.

Then two other factories, one for the protection of vehicles in Jabalpur and the other, the accelerated freeze-drying factory at Agra, have also been sanctioned and action in this regard is in hand and it is showing a fairly good progress.

**Shri Ranga:** That would take four years?

**Shri A. M. Thomas:** With regard to this Agra factory, our idea is that it must be commissioned at the earliest possible opportunity. There has been some delay in getting possession of the land because there is a case pending in the U.P. High Court; otherwise, perhaps the civil works would have advanced considerably.

With regard to these new factories, the position is this. Not only Mr. Indrajit Gupta but several other hon. members have referred to the inadequate provision for the Research and Development Organisation compared to the advanced countries like the U.S.A. Perhaps the point was highlighted by the Estimates Committee and it has gained good publicity. We are aware of the fact that it is only roughly one per cent of the total Defence outlay that is being utilised for the research and development establishment. But when we take into account the 15 per cent provided in the U.S.A., U.K. and U.S.S.R., we have also to take into account the fact that much of this allocation is in the field of atomic energy and other fields in which perhaps, as has been stated by the hon. Member, Shri Nath Pai, we may still have to adopt a sort of Brahmacharya attitude. So that has also to be taken into account. What we have to see is—we may have provided only one per cent or whatever that may be; it may be adequate or may not be adequate—what we can possibly spend and how is the record compared to the previous years.

**Shri Ranga:** It means after the Chinese aggression?

**Shri A. M. Thomas:** That is exactly what I am going to refer to. The very name of the hon. Member, Acharya, suggests that he has to be a little patient. Unless the teacher is patient, how can he expect the students to behave well? This sort of interruptions would not help. I would request the hon. Member to bear with me for a while.

What has been the allocation for the R. & D. Organisation in the year 1961-62? That would be a good starting point. In fact, the actual expenditure came to about Rs. 3,14,47,000 or nearly Rs. 3.14 crores. During 1964-65 it has risen to Rs. 840 lakhs. During the year ending 31st March, 1966, the expenditure would be approximately Rs. 967 lakhs. Within a period of three or four years, the allocation for this particular department has gone up by three times; the allocation going up by three times and that too to be spent—although it may not be perhaps sufficient, as far as our requirements are concerned—is not a bad record, and it is something on which we should feel some satisfaction.

With regard to the foreign exchange allocation for the R. & D. Establishment, in 1964-65 the foreign exchange allocation was Rs. 103 lakhs, whereas in 1961-62 it was only about Rs. 28 lakhs. In the matter of personnel also there has been a 33 per cent increase during the last four or five years. So, in all these matters, when we take into account.....

**Shri Ranga:** My hon. friend was telling us.....

**Shri A. M. Thomas:** I am not yielding.

**Shri Ranga:** My hon. friend was telling us that the foreign exchange expenditure had considerably been reduced.....

**Shri A. M. Thomas:** I said that the foreign exchange allocation had been increased.

**Shri Ranga:** .... He was saying that the foreign exchange expenditure had considerably been reduced. Was it not because the British were not prepared to sell anything to us?

**Shri A. M. Thomas:** I do not know what my hon. friend is saying. I have said that the foreign exchange allocation has been increased for the Research and Development Establishment. So, when we say that it is only one per cent of the total defence outlay, these aspects have to be borne in mind; it also depends on the capacity of the Research and Development Establishment to spend. In fact, it depends on the personnel that we would be able to have. In one portion of the Report of the Estimates Committee I find that some amount which had been allocated could not be spent for dearth of technical personnel and other things. So, it is not enough if we merely set apart the amount. But there is this aspect so far as the Research and Development Establishment is concerned, that whatever has been set apart has been mostly spent and in some cases overspent also.

**Shri Indrajit Gupta:** The hon. Minister is satisfied with that?

**Shri A. M. Thomas:** They have had a good record in that matter. I would now refer to some other aspects too. Some hon. Members including Shri Indrajit Gupta referred to the question of the utilisation of the private sector. Shrimati Sharda Mukerjee said that our entire defence production would have to be integrated with the production in the private sector, and also dovetailed into the other sectors of production. I completely agree with her approach to this question. By and large I also agree to the various principles that have been enunciated by Shri Indrajit Gupta that when we entrust some production to the private sector, it would be necessary to adopt certain safeguards from the point of

view of defence. In fact, those principles have certainly been kept in mind. I am happy to note that Shri Indrajit Gupta does not go to the extent that his friend sitting at his back Shri S. M. Banerjee goes, because according to Shri S. M. Banerjee nothing should be entrusted to the private sector. But I am happy that Shri Indrajit Gupta takes a different view or has a difference approach to this question.

**Shri Indrajit Gupta:** There is no difference in the approach. The defence workers object to surplus capacity being kept idle while the work is given out to the private sector.

**Shri A. M. Thomas:** In that matter, I may assure the hon. Member that the administration is fully aware of the need for gainful employment of the workers in the ordnance factories and other defence establishments and they will continue to ensure this in future also whenever we parcel out orders to the private sector.

With regard to the question of relaxation of specifications, if any order is placed with the private sector and if they carry it out, I may assure the hon. Members that there are not going to be two yardsticks at all, and there is not going to be any relaxation in the matter of specifications or quality. In fact, it is because of our stringent observance of these specifications that the private sector has not been able to fulfil even the orders placed on them. You will find from the administration report that they were able to carry out only 46 per cent of the orders placed. That itself shows that in this matter we would not be able to compromise our standards or specifications.

On the question of self-reliance and import substitution, the House should remember one aspect. In many fields where we have established production base, it is as per licences obtained from foreign firms or foreign countries. Yesterday there was a question on the production of gnats, what would be the indigenous components, how we

are going to make the whole of the components indigenous and so on. With regard to the gnat also, the collaboration has been with the firm of Holland which was merged with the Hawker Siddeley firm. That collaboration is now subsisting with regard to the Howker Siddeley firm. As regards the capacity that has been put up with their collaboration, almost the entire field of production that was achieved in the collaborating firm is established in this country also. But even as far as that firm is concerned, they depend for the engine on some other factory. So we have in fact established capacity for engine production by collaboration with Bristol Siddeley. So as regards the gnat for the 701 engine, we have established production. But it has to be realised that even those air frame or engine manufacturers are dependent on certain other firms in their own country or in some other country, perhaps in France for some of the parts. So that it is a question of inter-dependence. When we establish production, we should also take that factor into account.

At the same time, I am aware of the fact that in critical times these items may be of considerable importance, so that the scope of establishment of production of even those items, though it may not be economic to do so, has to be explored. In fact, that would certainly be kept in mind, having regard to our recent experience also.

The House would be happy to know that this aspect has been kept in mind, to some extent, in the manufacture in the tank factory. As far as the tank is concerned, we have got these Vickers people, so far as the engines are concerned, we have got Leylands with regard to some other part and for the electronics parts some others. We are trying to be more or less self-sufficient in our newer items when we establish production. But one will have to concede that there are limitations to that also.

[Shri A. M. Thomas]

At the same time, it would not be correct for any hon. Member to say that we are not giving a new orientation as regards the need for attaining self-reliance in the matter of defence production.

When questions are asked in this hon. House about what we are doing in the matter of import substitution and in the matter of attaining self-sufficiency, we have tried to give as much information as possible. The hon. House has been told at one stage that we have set up certain groups to assess our existing capacity and to project our requirements. There have been as many as 9 study groups—very important groups—for the purpose. They have submitted their reports to the Planning Commission. Of course the primary responsibility has been with the Defence Ministry. The very nature of those study groups will indicate to what extent we are aware of the need for self-reliance or self-sufficiency, as the case may be. The groups are for special steels, ferro alloys and general engineering; electronics industry; non-ferrous metals and alloys; explosives; textiles and miscellaneous items of general stores; aircraft industry; vehicles and engineering instruments; instrumentation; shipbuilding. There are these various groups.

As I mentioned about special steel, hon. Member Shri Indrajit Gupta might be thinking what has happened to the manufacture of armoured plates. We are establishing capacity in the Rourkela plant for the manufacture of armoured plates. Some of our public sector as well as other steel factories are also being geared to the production of special steel that would be necessary.

The studies having been made, we have got an idea of the extent to which we have to put up capacity and establish production during the course of the Fourth Plan. In fact, the Fourth Plan was also intended to be given

defence orientation. Take explosives for example. If there is a public sector field of which we can take advantage, it would be the petrochemical complex. We are going to utilise it and invest on the manufacture of explosives to the extent it would be desirable to do so.

Then, with regard to this additional capacity for the manufacture of these finished types of alloys and special steels, the bulk of the requirements are being met from certain factories. Apart from that, we are very seriously considering the establishment of a steel alloy plant to meet the special requirements of defence. This proposal, which was perhaps planned some four or five years ago, was dropped because other projects had to be given higher priority. Now that a further review has been made of the requirements of special steels and steel alloys for defence production as well as in the country as a whole, it appears that to meet those requirements another steel alloy plant may have to be set up, and this matter is at present under very serious consideration also. The thinking has advanced considerably, and with the setting up of that factory, we would be self-sufficient in the matter of these special steels which is so important as far as the defence factories are concerned.

All the same, the question of this gap will remain. Within a period of four or five years you would not be in a position to achieve self-sufficiency or self-reliance in almost all the fields that we perhaps would like to have. For example, hon. Member Shri Krishna Pal Singh, I think, referred to the field of electronics. The House would be glad to know that we are aware of the great importance of electronics for defence purposes. The establishment of the electronics industry was the responsibility of the Industries Ministry, but it has been transferred to the Defence Ministry now, and the special Department of Defence Supplies would be concentrating its energies on the development of this

electronics industry, having regard to its great importance.

At the same time, within the units that are functioning in Bharat Electronics, we are trying to increase production, and we are also seeing to it that Bharat Electronics itself takes a dominant hand and establishes capacity in ancillary centres therein Bangalore itself, and places orders. We think it would be in a position to produce about Rs. 9 to Rs. 10 crores worth of electronic equipment perhaps in the course of this year, and about Rs. 6 crores worth of components and other things which may perhaps be available to the private sector also. We are not satisfied with that, but this is, I think, an impressive performance as far as Bharat Electronics is concerned.

The hon. House is aware of the second electronics factory we are going to set up in Hyderabad. Although it is part of the MIG complex, it would not only manufacture electronic equipment for the special purpose of meeting the requirements of the MIG complex, but also general purposes.

Then there is the Indian Telephone Industries which is meeting part of defence requirements. We are also thinking of establishing other factories also for this development.

17 hrs.

**Shri Ranga:** What is the time-table?

**Shri A. M. Thomas:** Of course, time is of the essence. Having referred to the BEL, I cannot escape mentioning also the fact that some of the public sector undertakings under the Department of Defence Production have done well. The hon. House would notice from the administration report that for as many as four out of the six public sector undertakings, because of competent handling and better performance and working—my hon. friend Shri Ranga would be very happy about this because he is a violent critic of the public sector undertakings, including the Bharat Electronics—it has been

possible for them to declare a dividend last year.

HAL has been referred to, with a bit of adverse criticism. Shrimati Sharda Mukerjee said that the HAL project is a failure; that the AVRO project is a failure and that the vast complex is not coming up. It is not fair. For example, take the Bangalore unit. To say that HAL stands or falls on the success or otherwise of the HF-24 project would not be correct. In fact, you will find that as far as the HAL, Bangalore unit, is concerned, it has got several other items of production. We have the Gnat project which has been referred to. Then there is the Krishak; then there is the Pushpak; then there is the trainers' project. Apart from that, the value of the work including repair work and the overhauling work that has been done in the HAL in the Bangalore unit alone comes to Rs. 16 crores to Rs. 17 crores. Is that not a good record? Because one project shows some slow progress, it is not proper to condemn it. It has done very well in the other sectors. Even as far as the HF-24 project is concerned, we are aware of the great importance of that aircraft; and here, one has to see that it is a supersonic aircraft which is being planned and developed by us without any assistance from abroad. The production orders were placed with HAL even before the entire development was complete; what is called the pre-production aircraft. Order for pretty good number has been placed and side by side with the development, we are having good production work also in the HAL. That has to be taken into account when we assess the importance of the HF-24 project. There are three stages as far as this project is concerned. There is the pre-production aircraft, then the production ones and then an improved version to have greater speed and better performance. In the Bangalore unit itself, the third stage is being developed. I think it would be possible to give a good number of HF-24 aircraft for the ground attack role from the HAL unit, Bangalore.

[Shri A. M. Thomas]

Some points were made with regard to what has happened to the UAR project. The hon. House is aware that for Mach II aircraft we are going to produce MIGs. Regarding UAR project, although no reference has been made in the report, the hon. House has to realise that the engine there is in the development stage, and we are also assisting the UAR in the matter, to some extent, of the development of that engine, and when it reaches a particular stage, then any we will be able to say whether we would go in for that, apart from other circumstances. Because there is no mention about that in the administration report, any inference like the one that has been drawn by some hon. Members is wrong.

**Shri Indrajit Gupta:** There is mention?

**Shri A. M. Thomas:** There is no mention, and because there is no mention, you should not draw any adverse inference.

Then, with regard to the AVRO project, the Public Accounts Committee has devoted several pages to that item. We are aware of the deficiencies of that project, and we are not happy over the progress that has been achieved in the matter of production or the manufacture of AVRO-748. I do not want to put forward excuses but the hon. House might kindly consider one aspect of it. It was previously only a repair depot, which had to be converted into a pucca manufacturing unit. That will necessarily take some time. We lack experience in the matter of development and manufacture of aircraft and because of that we have not been able perhaps to fulfil the original optimistic estimates. Apart from that, there was a lot of uncertainty about the orders themselves. At various stages there has been some difficulty.

The PAC has also referred to another aspect. As far as this Kanpur

unit is concerned, there has not been any project report as is done in the case of the MIG and other new projects.

**Shri Baaga:** Why was it not prepared?

**Shri A. M. Thomas:** We should look ahead rather than do *post mortem*. Of course, *post mortem* is all right to the extent it is beneficial to our future planning. You will find from the new project there are two stages. First there is a project report and then a working project. We go into all these details but even then with regard to production, perhaps the original schedules may not be kept. These aspects also have to be kept in mind. At the same time, we are doing everything to see that as early as possible the orders for Avro placed on the Kanpur unit are carried out. There are some orders by the IAC also.

Mr. Indrajit Gupta asked, what has happened to the successor aircraft. We thought we would be in a position to depend on the Avro's military freight version. But the performance and the results achieved so far on the development are not to the satisfaction of the Air Force. So, we are not in a position to say definitely about that. Some other aircraft has been suggested by Mr. Brij Raj Singh Kotah. Whatever it is, the entire position is being reviewed and how the Kanpur unit is to be used in the best possible way is engaging the very serious attention of the ministry.

Mr. Raghunath Singh, who is an expert in the field of shipping, referred to the navy. I still remember how as a private member, I also used to join hands with him in emphasising the importance of shipping and the navy. When he refers to inadequate allocation for the navy, he should remember that the amount provided for purchase of ships alone should not be taken. Naval preparedness does not depend on purchase of

ships alone. There are several other factors also. We have got two units in the public sector—the Mazagaon Docks and Garden Reach. Three frigates are going to be manufactured in Mazagaon Docks. The keel of the first frigate would be laid in the course of this year, although the completion of the frigate may well take upto 1970 or 1971. So far the progress of works regarding the frigate project and the expansion programme of Mazagaon docks, for which several crores are being spent, is quite satisfactory. This aspect of building up capacity for the navy within our own country is also engaging the attention of the ministry.

Sir, I do not think I need take more time of the House.

**Shri Indrajit Gupta:** What about the other two factories; you said you would say something about them.

**Shri A. M. Thomas:** I have already mentioned why at that time these two factories came to be dropped. These factories were intended for explosives and propellants. That is why I said that we are proposing to utilise the petro-chemical complex in the public sector if necessary. If separate units have to be put up in the defence production department itself we will certainly consider that. At one stage we thought that having regard to the heavy investment that would be necessary, having regard to the easy availability of the products that were planned to be manufactured here, from abroad, priority need not be given and it may be dropped for the present. You may remember that in my statement I have used the words "they are dropped for the present" so that in the new set-up if it becomes necessary to set up these factories we will certainly consider it. In that context we are considering whether the capacity in the petro-chemical complex in the public sector could also be utilised.

Therefore, I do not think that we are having a feeling of complacency

or anything like that in this matter. I may assure the House that we are conscious of the importance of building up a firm production base as far as defence preparedness is concerned and no effort would be spared to achieve that. In the end, although the picture that I have given is fairly satisfactory, as one famous scientist has said, the Ministry is conscious, "the more the area of illumination, the greater is one's awareness of the area yet to be illuminated".

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** Dr. Lohia.

**Shri Karni Singhji:** Sir, my name was called before and then the hon. Minister intervened. Because he intervened I sat down. I do not see how my name can be skipped over like this.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** Has he not spoken?

**Shri Karni Singhji:** No.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** I am sorry. I have called Dr. Lohia now. After that I will call him.

डा० राम मनोहर लोहिया (फर्रुखा-  
बाद): उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, यामस साहब  
को सुनते समय ऐसा लगा कि इक्का-  
दुक्का पेड़ की बूढ़ में पूरा जंगल घाबों  
से भ्रमल हो जाता है और कुछ नकली  
बहसों पर ही, जो कि यूरोप और अमरीका  
की तरफ से उठाई जाती हैं—जैसे,  
प्राणविक बहाचर्य हो या प्राणविक मैथुन  
हो—, लोगों का ध्यान चला जाता है।  
असल में प्राणविक बहाचर्य या प्राणविक  
मैथुन, ये सब सबाल दूसरे नम्बर के  
हैं। असली सबाल यह है कि प्रौद्योगी-  
करण—खेती, कारखानों में सुधार—ऐसा  
होना चाहिए कि जिससे जहरत पढ़ने पर  
अनु अस्त्र तो छोड़ें—वे तो अब मुन्ली  
इन्डा होते जा रहे हैं—, प्रलोपनास्त्र भी  
बन सकें।

इस स्थिति में यह सबान कि भारत  
का प्रौद्योगीकरण खत्म हुआ जा रहा है,

[बा० राम मनोहर लोहिया]

रक्षा मंत्रालय के लिए भी उतना ही विकट है, जितना कि श्रीर किसी के लिए—वर्तक ज्यादा, क्योंकि असल में प्रतिरक्षा वहीं से होती है। लेकिन जब मैं रक्षा मंत्री जी की तरफ देखता हूँ, तो एक ही सवाल उठता है कि मान लीजिए, यह न रहें और रक्षा उपमंत्री भी न रहें और सारा काम-काज खाली राष्ट्रपति और वे लोग, जो रक्षा मंत्रालय के सचिव और उपसचिव हैं, चलाते रहें, तो क्या फर्क पड़ेगा। अगर लोक सभा को जरा इसका जवाब मिल जाये, तो बड़ा अच्छा होगा। रक्षा मंत्री और उनके उपमंत्री की यहाँ क्या जरूरत है ?

श्री यशबन्तराव चव्हाण : जैसी माननीय सदस्य की है, वैसी हमारी है।

डा० राम मनोहर लोहिया : इस सूरत में हमारी तरफ से सवाल जवाब उठाने की क्या जरूरत है ? हमारे जवाब क्यों नहीं दिये जाते हैं ? उप सचिव और सचिव जो रास्ता बता रहे हैं, उसी पर चले जा रहे हैं।

यह भारत की सेना बीस बरस पहले की भारत की सेना से बिल्कुल भिन्न नहीं है। खाली शरीर बड़ा है, दिमाग में कोई तबदीली नहीं हुई है। एक लाख, डेढ़ लाख की जगह आज दस, बारह लाख सिपाही हो गए हैं, लेकिन दिमाग वैसे का वैसे रह गया है। यह कहा जा सकता है कि यह सेना देशी हो गई है, इस की आत्मा देशी हो गई है, जब कि पहले वह परदेशी थी। लेकिन इतना कहने से काम नहीं चलेगा। उस आत्मा के अनुरूप देशी दिमाग भी बनना चाहिए। नीतियों का सवाल उठना चाहिए।

क्या रक्षा मंत्री जी ने कभी इस बात पर गौर किया है कि मुझ हो जाने पर सेना में भर्ती—सिपाहियों की, मैं

अफसरों की बात नहीं कह रहा हूँ— इस ढंग से होनी चाहिए कि एक खास उम्र के सब लोग भर्ती किये जायें— इस हिसाब से नहीं कि जो गरीब है, बेचारा मुसीबत में मरा हुआ है, वह सेना में भर्ती हो। इस नीति से रक्षा मंत्री को कोई मतलब नहीं रहा है। उनको कोई मतलब नहीं रहा है। इस नीति से कि सिपाहियों को बीरता और हुनर के अनुसार ऊँचे से ऊँचे अफसर के पद तक पहुँच की सम्भावना होनी चाहिए। यह मैं जानता हूँ कि नमूने के लिए दो, चार, दस को भेज दिया जाता है, लेकिन जो सिपाही ऊँचे से ऊँचे अफसर के पद तक जायें, उनकी संख्या पूरे अफसरों की संख्या की आधी या दो तिहाई हो सके, क्या उन्होंने इस बारे में कभी सोचा ? कोई जरूरत नहीं है। रक्षा मंत्री साहब कभी इन नीतियों के सवाल पर नहीं सोचते। उनको क्या जरूरत है ?

अगर सेना को खाली दायें वायें चलना है, "ध्यान दो", "बन्दूक उठाओ" आदि आदेशों का पालन करना है, तो यह काम तो सेनापति लोग भी करते रह जायेंगे। तो रक्षा मंत्री की क्या जरूरत है ? कभी वह इस लोक सभा को बतायें कि किस लिए उनकी आवश्यकता है। और जब मैं उनको कहता हूँ, तो मेरा मतलब करीब-करीब हर एक मंत्रालय से है— रक्षा मंत्रालय के बारे में उनसे और कबीना के हर एक मंत्री से है। सेना का एक बड़ा सवाल है। अगर उन्होंने इसको खाली यह समझ रखा है कि दस, बारह लाख सिपाही हैं, कुछ हथियार हैं, उनसे एक बल का संगठन जैसे चला आ रहा है, वैसे कर लेना है, तब मुझे यह कहना पड़ेगा कि भारत की सेना खोपड़ी-विहीन है, क्योंकि इसका मंत्री—रक्षा मंत्री—खोपड़ी-विहीन है।

वे मंत्री किसी तरह के विचारों के ऊपर सोच-विचार नहीं करते हैं। खाली पुरानी परम्पराओं को बलाए जा रहे हैं और इसीलिए मैं आपका ध्यान खींचना चाहता हूँ कि जिन दो देशों के कारण यह प्रतिरक्षा का सवाल उठता है—दूसरों को तो जाने दें—, खाली चीन और पाकिस्तान, उनके बारे में कभी भी रक्षा मंत्री ने, उनके आदमियों ने और कबीना और प्रधान मंत्री ने बैठ कर एक संगठित सोच नहीं किया है।

चीन की बात ले लीजिए। जब देखो, तब, पिटी-पिटाई बातों, मैकमोहन रेखा कोलम्बो प्रस्ताव, तरह-तरह की छोटी-छोटी घटनाओं, फिर चीन का जमाव हो गया है, कितने सिपाही भेजे, कितने टैंक भेजे, इन पर बहस की जाती है। क्या इसके अलावा वह कभी बुनियादी बातों पर बहस करते हैं—अपने भीतर, मुझ से नहीं? अगर सचमुच भारत और चीन के प्राकृतिक गठन को देखें, तो भारत और चीन की रेखा, सीमा, या तो आजाद लिम्बत है, वना कैलाश, मानसरोवर और पूर्ववाहिनी ब्रह्मपुत्र की रेखा है, जो कि मैकमोहन रेखा के करीब अस्सी, सौ मील ऊपर जाती है। और यह मेरा कहना नहीं है वह प्रकृति का कहना है, इतिहास का कहना है, लोगों के रहन सहन का कहना है, इस पूरे इलाके के गठन का कहना है।

इस सरकार ने एक शब्द बहुत सीखा है और वह है जलपात। मैकमोहन रेखा के लिए वह इसी का तर्क देती है। वह जलपात कैसे तय किया जायेगा? किसी एक मनमानी नदी का पानी किस तरफ गिरता है, खाली उसको देख कर जलपात तय किया जायेगा? जलपात यह देख कर तय किया जायेगा कि किस तरह पर, कहाँ से, जमीन हिन्दुस्तान की तरफ ढलती है और चीन की तरफ ढलती है। और वह जलपात होता है

कैलाश, मानसरोवर और पूर्ववाहिनी ब्रह्मपुत्र, और कहीं नहीं। वहाँ से चीन की तरफ यांगसे नदी जाती है और इधर ब्रह्मपुत्र या सिन्धू नदी आती है।

इस बारे में सोच-विचार कर के सरकार को और सेना को बाकायदा अपनी एक योजना, एक दिमाग, बनाना चाहिए। मैं जानता हूँ कि आजाद लिम्बत बहुत जरूरी है। लेकिन क्या हुआ? जब मैंने यह सारा सवाल उठाया तो श्रीमती विजयलक्ष्मी पंडित ने माफ़ी मांगी। वह एक बड़ी श्रूत है। लेकिन क्या कभी उन्होंने भी यह कहा कि हम भी सोच-विचार करेंगे? यह बात हमें उड़ा देने से काम नहीं चलता है। मैं जानता हूँ कि आज वह इस हमियत को नहीं पा सकते हैं, लेकिन वह यह सोचना शुरू करें कि भारत की सेना को दिमाग वाली सेना बनाना है।

आज सुबह ही भारत-पाकिस्तान के मामले में उन्होंने क्या कहा? बहुत अच्छा मौका उठा था। उन्होंने जवाब यह दिया कि सवाल उठना ही नहीं है। मुझे तो कई दफा अच्छरज होता है कि इस लोक सभा में आप अध्यक्ष हैं या मंत्री लोग अध्यक्ष हैं। यह कोई जवाब है! अब आप ने एक सवाल पूछने दिया, तब उसके बाद मंत्री को जवाब देना चाहिए और यह नहीं कहना चाहिए कि सवाल नहीं उठता है। क्या सवाल था? सवाल यह था कि जो भारत पाक का रिश्ता इतना ज्यादा बिगड़ गया है कि एक तरफ तो मंत्री महोदय कहते हैं कि ताश्कंद समझौते की आरती उतारेंगे, उसका एक एक अक्षर पालन करेंगे और दूसरी तरफ मंत्री महोदय कहते हैं कि सीमाओं पर सावधानी की नजर रखी जा रही है। वे जंग के शुरुआत होने की भाषा, सावधानी की नजर और अक्षरशः पालन दोनों बातें कहते हैं, लेकिन दोनों में संगति करने की कोशिश नहीं करते और जब मेरे जैसा

## [डा० राम मनोहर लोहिया]

आदमी सुझाव देता है कि एक आयोग बैठायो, पता लगाओ कि क्यों इस देश का बटवारा हुआ, क्यों हिन्दुस्तान भारत और पाकिस्तान में बटा, क्या तर्क था, कैसे यह सारा कामकाज हुआ, तो एक बहुत बेरुखा सा जबाब आ जाता है। इस तरह से दिमाग नहीं बनेगा। मैं यहां पर एक बात बताये देता हूँ, इंग्लिस्तान में यह आयोग बन गया है। लंदन विश्व-विद्यालय ने बनाया है। चार-पांच साल तक लगातार जांच कर के अंग्रेज लोग तय करने वाले हैं कि यह हिन्दुस्तान का बटवारा क्यों और कैसे हुआ। वे लोग कर सकते हैं। शायद उनकी यह मंशा हो कि विश्व को भविष्य में कह पायें कि हमारा इस में कोई हाथ नहीं था। पता नहीं, उनकी क्या इच्छा हो। लेकिन आपके सामने इतना बड़ा सुझाव आता है तो आपकी तरफ से बड़ा जाता है यह सवाल नहीं उठता। भारत और पाक के रिश्तों को क्या इस तरह से सुधार पायेंगे। क्या नतीजा हो रहा है। भारत और पाक में जब बात चलती है या रक्षा की और सेना की, या तो बिलकुल शान्ति और बिलकुल प्रेम की बात चलती है जैसे कि ताशकंद में चली। मुझे ताजुब हुआ, उम्मीद थी कि कम से कम 6 महीने तो चलागा, लेकिन मामला दो महीने में ही रह गया और सब गड़बड़ें फिर से होने लगी हैं। युद्ध की बातें फिर शुरू होने लगी हैं।

भारत और पाक के बारे में कुछ बुनियादी सौर दो सींचो कि कैसे इस मामले को हल किया जाय। इसलिये मैं यह कहना चाहूंगा कि यहां जब युद्ध चल रहा था सितम्बर में, युद्ध क्या था? बोझा-बहुत गुल्ली-डण्डा था। उस वक़्त खान अब्दुल गफ़ार खां की बात चल पड़ी थी, बंगाल की बात चल पड़ी थी, सिंध की बात चल पड़ी थी, लेकिन इधर तीन-चार महीने से बिलकुल बन्द है। उस से फोह क्या नतीजा निकालेंगे, कभी अपनी तरफ से भी देख लिया करो कि चेहरा कैसा

है। उस से लोग अन्दाजा लगाते हैं कि भारतवर्ष में जो कुछ छपता है, अन्वेषण होते हैं, वक्रतायें होती हैं, वे सब की सब सरकार के इशारे पर होती हैं। जब सरकार सड़ाई लड़ रही थी तब तो भारत के अखबारों और जनता को फिक्र पड़ी खान अब्दुल गफ़ार खां की, सिंध की फिक्र पड़ी, बंगाल की फिक्र पड़ी, लेकिन जैसे ही ताशकंद समझौता हुआ, वैसे ही सब फिक्रें खत्म हो गईं। विदेशी कहेंगे क्या सचमुच जनतंत्र है?

इसलिये आज ज्यादा जरूरी है कि सब चीखों की तरफ ध्यान जाय। क्योंकि अन्ततोगत्वा किसी भी सेना की ताकत कहां रहेगी, खाली दस लाख सिपाही और उनके हथियारों में रहेगी या इस में रहेगी कि सामने आने वाली जो सेना है, उसका मनोबल कितना कमजोर हो जाता है। इसलिये अगर भारतीय सेना का दिमाग हो तो यह सिंधी, बंगाली, पठान और बलोचि वाले मामल को कभी भी, एक मिनट को भी अपने दिमाग से भ्रोजन न होने दें।

उसी तरह से एक महासंघ अथवा संघ की बात सोचो। आज भारत और पाकिस्तान के मामले में एक ही मंत्र सच्चा है और वह है—संघ अथवा जंग। इस के अलावा और कोई मंत्र सही नहीं है। अगर इस को समझ जाओगे, तो फिर उसके ऊपर सोचने लगोगे।

हमारी सेना में जाति का बिलकुल नाम हो जाना चाहिये। हिन्दू-मुसलमान के मामले में बिलकुल बराबरी हो जानी चाहिये। सेना एक ऐसी चीज है जहां पर आप यह काम कर सकते हैं। 18 वर्षों में आपने कभी कुछ काम नहीं किया। अमरीकी सेना पूंजीपति, प्रतिगामी, यथार्थवादी होते हुए भी वहां पर नीचों और सफेद लोगों को एक साथ साने के लिये कितना भारी प्रयत्न किया गया। लेकिन वहां जाति को मिटाने के लिये भारतीय

सेना को अग्रग्रा वनना चाहिए था, उसमें कुछ नहीं किया गया।

यहां हिन्दू और मुसलमानों के मामले में बराबरी कायम कर देनी चाहिए थी, ऐसी कि अगली दफा पाकिस्तान की पल्टन मुकाबला करने को आती, तो पाकिस्तान के सिपाही लड़ने से इन्कार कर देते। ये सारी चीजें आप को करनी चाहिये।

इसलिये एक बात मैं और कहूंगा। अगर सैनिक स्टाफ हो, कोई जैनरल स्टाफ हो तो उस जैनरल स्टाफ से, मेरे जैसा आदमी तयार है, थोड़ी बहुत बातचीत हो। मगर आपको तो डर लग रहा होगा कि जैनरल स्टाफ से इनको मिला देंगे, तो सेना का मामला कहीं गड़बड़ न हो जाये वे लोग अपने लोगों पर गोली नहीं चला पायेंगे, इस से इधर का काम बिगड़ जायेगा।

आज मैं समझता हूँ कि जानसन साहब से बातचीत हो रही होगी भारत के प्रधान मंत्री से। वे तो उनसे नहीं कह पायेंगी और आप भी शायद नहीं कह पायेंगे, लेकिन मेरी बात को आप थोड़ा समझ पायें, तो अच्छा है। आज दुनिया दो हिस्सों में बट गई है। एक हिस्से को हंसी का और बेतुका कहना चाहिये, जैसे भारत का क्षेत्र, वियतनाम का हिस्सा, दक्षिण अमरीका का हिस्सा, जहां पर लोग लड़ते हैं तो बाकी दुनिया हंसती है। आप जानते हैं कि जब मितम्बर में लड़ाई हुई, हम लोगों की दृष्टि से बहुत बड़ी लड़ाई हुई, लेकिन दुनिया के लोग हंसते थे और कहते थे कि अब 6 हफ्ते के हथियार रह गये हैं, अब बस 4 हफ्ते के हथियार रह गये हैं, अब बस तीन हफ्ते के हथियार रह गये हैं और कितने मरे, 10 मरे, 50 मरे, 200 मरे। यह हंसी का क्षेत्र है, यह और मेना के मामले में ये हंसी के क्षेत्र हैं। खाली रूस और अमरीका—ये दुख और प्रलय के क्षेत्र हैं। फ्रांस और इंग्लिस्तान ये बीच की खिचड़ी होते हैं, लेकिन अरब में दुख और

प्रलय का क्षेत्र रूस और अमरीका ही है। इसलिये मैं कहना चाहूंगा कि महात्मा गांधी अब इस हंसी के क्षेत्र से कुछ विमों के लिये खत्म हो गये हैं, यहां पर अब हिंसा-अहिंसा का कोई मामला रह नहीं गया है। अगर महात्मा गांधी कभी संसार में आये तो वह देखे गस्ते से हो कर आयेंगे, मास्को और वाशिंगटन हो कर आयेंगे, दिल्ली में अब वह ताकत नहीं है। लेकिन हंसी के क्षेत्र में चीन को कम से कम कुछ समझ आये, वह देखे कि हिन्द एशिया को उसने इतने ज्यादा हथियार दिये थे, लेकिन उसका नतीजा क्या निकला, वे हथियार हिन्द-एशिया मलेशिया के खिलाफ नहीं, बल्कि वे हिन्द एशिया में कम्युनिस्ट पार्टी के खिलाफ एक लाख आदमियों को कत्ल करने के लिए और हिन्द-एशिया में साम्यवाद की जड़ उखाड़ने के लिए काम में आये। आज वह हथियार पाकिस्तान को दे रहा है, अमरीका पाकिस्तान को दे चुका है, शायद और देगा, इनको भी समझना चाहिए। यह हंसी का और बेतुका क्षेत्र कुछ ऐसा है कि यहां पर जो हथियार देने वाले होते हैं, उन्हीं के खिलाफ उन हथियारों का इस्तेमाल कर लिया जाता है। अगर जानसन साहब से कोई बात करने जाये, भारत का पते का आदमी तो वह जा कर उनको बताये।

एक मानवीय सवस्य : आप जैसा आदमी।

डा० राम मनोहर लोहिया : मुझ जैसा आता तो कहना क्या था, आप लोगों के नेहरू उतरे नज़र नहीं आते और जो एक तरह में खात्मा आ रहा है, वह नहीं आता। जानसन साहब से बात करते जाते हैं तो मालूम होता है जैसे मकान के रंग के बारे में बात होती है। फिर भारत की सेना के ऊपर क्यों नहीं उनसे साफ़ साफ़ कहते कि इस हंसी के क्षेत्र में हथियार देकर कहीं आप प्रकृति के इकाव को रोकते की कोशिश मत करो जो इन्हा का, इस दलाके का प्राकृतिक इकाव है,

### [डा० राम मनोहर लोहिया]

बहाब है, जो इस इलाके का विकास है, उसको रोकने की कोशिश मत करो, आज यह बात साफ़ तीर से उनको कह देनी चाहिये ।

रूस और अमरीका ने इस तत्व को नहीं समझा है । वे यह समझते हैं कि जहाँ उनकी किसी से कोई संधि या समझौता हो गया, उसको वे हथियार देना शुरू कर दें, बस यही काफ़ी है । बहुत कुछ ठोकर खा चुके हैं, और ठोकर खायेंगे । उनको यह सोचना चाहिये कि इस इलाके में हथियार उसी को दें जो कि प्राकृतिक विकास के तत्व को स्वीकारता हो, वरना वे ऐसे चलाते रहे, तो कम से कम हम लोग तो सोचें ।

आज यह भारत की पलटन जितने पुराने डरें पर चली जा रही है, वह मैं खाली आपके राष्ट्रीय गीत को कह कर बताता हूँ । जन, मन, गण—मैं इस पर कुछ नहीं कहना चाहता कि यह गीत कहां से उपजा । बहुत लोग कहते हैं कि यह गीत ऐसी जगह से उपजा कि यह स्वतन्त्र भारत का गीत नहीं होना चाहिये । उसको छोड़ दीजिये, कई वफ़ा कमल कीचड़ से पैदा होता है । कहते हैं पंचम जार्ज से जन मन गण निकला, मुझे पता नहीं है, लेकिन यह ऐसा गीत है जिसमें देश की स्तुति न कर के, उसकी भलग-भलग इकाइयों की स्तुति है । यह गीत आप अपनी पलटनों को सिखाते हैं, जिसमें भलग-भलग, भागों की, बंगाल की, महाराष्ट्र की, उत्तर प्रदेश की, पता नहीं बिहार भी है या नहीं, भलग-भलग भागों की स्तुति है । इस मायने में संस्कृति की तरफ़ भारत का दिमाग़ जाता है, लेकिन इस से तो भारत के इतिहास को बिलकुल पलटना पड़ेगा । बहुत लोग कहते हैं कि भारत की संस्कृति अशीब है, जो बाहर से आता है, लड़ाई कर के बिजय हमारे ऊपर पा लेता है, उसको हम आपने की अद्वितीय ताकत रखते हैं । हम ने

मुग़लों को खपा लिया, हम ने अफ़ग़ानों को खपा लिया । कहीं आप भी ऐसा न सोचने लग जायें कि सब को खपा लोगे क्योंकि फिर सब की विजय अपने ऊपर झेल लिया करोगे । सांस्कृतिक गाने को छोड़ो, वह राजकीय गाना था, जबर्दस्त गाना था, राष्ट्रीय गीत था, क्रान्ति का गीत था, वन्दे मातरम् वह गीत था जिस को गा कर फांसी के तख्ते पर लोग चढ़ जाया करते थे । वह होना चाहिये भारत की सेना का राष्ट्रीय गीत । मैं आप को यह इसलिए बता रहा हूँ कि सेना शरीर में तो बड़ी है लेकिन मन के हिसाब से 18-20 बरस पहले की सेना रह गई है ।

इसी शहर में जुम्बो मजुमदार से हम लोगों से तब मुलाकात हुई थी जब 1942 के आन्दोलन में हम लोग कुछ कोशिश कर रहे थे । जुम्बो मजुमदार कौन थे ? वह उस वक्त वायुसेना का सब से बड़ा अफ़सर था । सेना का सब से बड़ा अफ़सर था । मैं इस बात को बता कर समाप्त कर रहा हूँ । बहुत सी बातें छूट जायेंगी लेकिन एक मिनट में मैं इसको बता कर समाप्त कर दूंगा । जुम्बो अंग्रेजी वायुसेना का उस वक्त 1942 में सब से बड़ा भारतीय अफ़सर था । एक दिन वह हम लोगों से मिलने आया । आप समझ सकते हैं कि कितनी खतरनाक बात थी । आप भी खतरनाक मामलों में पड़े हुए थे । आप भी तब इस आन्दोलन में शामिल थे । लेकिन ये सब चीजें आप की नज़रों से नहीं गुज़रीं । जुम्बो आया यह कहने के लिए कि अगस्त 1942 में जब जनता का बलबा हुआ था उस वक्त हम बेखबर रह गये लेकिन अगली दफा जब भारतीय जनता का बल्बा अंग्रेजों के खिलाफ़ होगा तो उस में हम सब भारतीय हवाई अफ़सर हिस्सा लेंगे । यह आश्वासन वह हमें देने आया था । दो चार मिनट के लिए के लिए वह नहीं आया था । दो घंटे हमारे साथ वह रहा था ।

बाद में वह मर गया। लेकिन भारतीय सेना में उस जुम्बो मजूमदार का आदर्श और तस्वीर को आप रखो न कि यह जो कि ब्रिगेड पलटन की परम्परा में पले हुये हैं। आज्ञाद हिन्द फौज को आप खपा नहीं पाये, उस पर सोचो, जरा नत मस्तक हो कर सोचो। आप सोचो कि क्यों नहीं उस वृत्ति को आप खपा पाये। उसका कारण है कि आप ने एक प्रतिगामी, ब्रिगेडपरस्त, साम्राज्यशाही के जमाने में बनाई हुई पलटन को जैसा का तैसा रखा। खाली उसकी तादाद को बढ़ाया है, उसकी आत्मा को बदलने की कोशिश नहीं की है। उसकी आत्मा को बदलने की आप कोशिश करो और जो दिमाग देने बताया है उसके उपयुक्त उस सेना को बनाने की कोशिश करो। नहीं तो हट जाओ यहां से, कोई फर्क नहीं पड़ेगा। जो सचिव लोग हैं वे आपका काम करते रहेंगे और जनरल दायें बायें करते रहेंगे। और कोई फर्क नहीं पड़ेगा। लाहौर आप भी नहीं पहुँचेंगे, वे भी नहीं पहुँचेंगे। सारा मामला जैसे का तैसा रहेगा।

**Sbri Karni Singhji:** The current budget year is essentially a year of the Defence forces. It is in this year that our Armed Forces made great history in the recent Indo-Pakistan conflict. The hon. Defence Minister, sitting here, and our late Prime Minister had, during the period of this Indo-Pakistan conflict, built up a great public image, an image that we are all very much proud of. I feel that every Indian citizen would like to pay his compliments to our late Prime Minister, to our Defence Minister and to all the men of our Armed Forces and the ordnance factories who made this victory possible.

I do not wish to go into very great details about the Tashkent Declaration. Enough has been said on the floor of this House. But one thing is quite certain: knowing the attitude of Pakistan, there is no doubt that

the question of easing of tension does not exist. We only have to go into the recent speeches made by the Pakistan's warlords to know as to what scant respect they have for the Tashkent Declaration. I believe that China has only very recently made available to Pakistan two squadrons of MIGs. I would like to know from the hon. Defence Minister whether these MIGs were supplied by the Soviet Union to the Indonesian Government and later on they were channelled by Indonesia to Pakistan or whether these MIGs were manufactured in China and supplied directly to Pakistan.

The recent big welcome that was accorded to the President of China when he visited Rawalpindi shows beyond a shadow of doubt the oblation between these two countries and the threat that they pose to us in the years to come.

The recent war has proved beyond a shadow of doubt that fire-power is the crux of all military preparedness. We would like to know what steps the Government of India have taken to ensure that the Indian Army's fire-power would match the fire-power of Pakistan and China. While, admittedly and with pride we can say that India put up a better performance in the recent battles with Pakistan, both on the ground as well as in the air, that was to a large extent due to the superior quality of training of India's man-power, but at the same time it cannot be denied that Pakistani Army was better-gunned and possessed more sophisticated tanks and aeroplanes than we did all of which were amassed through aid received from other countries by Pakistan over the last few years. To correct this situation in the next year or two, India must also catch up and steal a march over Pakistan and the Chinese in fire-power.

September, 1965 is a clear enough warning to us in this country. Let not the lull created by the Tashkent Declaration throw us into a sense of

[Shri Karni Singhji]

complacency, because we have to accept one thing very clearly that the whole thesis of Pakistan's dictatorial Government's survival depends on how successfully they can make their hate-India-campaign a success. If good relations are established between these two countries, perhaps Pakistan's warlords fear that Pakistan will lose all its justification for existing as a separate country, and hence these constant provocations that we are experiencing from Pakistan, Tashkent or no Tashkent. We, therefore, have to learn to prepare and live with Pakistan and her sabre-rattling attitude and also the Pakistan-China axis in collusion, which becomes necessary as a result of this Pakistani attitude. We must be fully prepared to fight in case we are once again attacked by Pakistan or even China, which is not entirely an unlikely eventuality, in an attempt, in case China wishes, to defeat the Tashkent Declaration which obviously is her objective; otherwise she will give in to the supremacy of Soviet diplomacy, and I hope that we can see through that guise.

The Kashmir problem is a problem that we shall have to learn to live with. Kashmir belongs to us, and there is no doubt about it. Pakistan's entire thesis is based on the fact that Kashmir belongs to them. In a situation like this, it is perfectly understandable that really true and genuine friendly relations between these two countries may be very hard to come by. In a situation like this, it is essential that India as a peaceful country should develop her armed forces and her nuclear potential to an extent that we can defend the integrity of our country, should such a need arise.

I would now very briefly like to say a few words about the Army intelligence. Many of us in this House have felt that the Army intelligence is not satisfactory or is certainly not inkeeping with the large problems that exist before our country which has large borders with Pakistan and China. If it is not too much of a secret, I would like the

hon. Defence Minister to take the House into confidence and tell us if he feels that the intelligence of the Army is sufficient to look after the various problems that confront us.

I believe that right now the Defence Ministry is channelling its information through the Home Ministry which has a cell for such information. But I feel that the Defence Ministry should have their own cell big enough to handle this intelligence question.

My hon. friend Shri Nath Pai has mentioned something about the atomic bomb, and a very large number of us in this House feel that for a country like India which has to look after its vast borders and perhaps to be prepared to fight the joint strength of Pakistan and China, we must in the years to come develop an atomic bomb or nuclear weapons and also develop a delivery system. China has develop a delivery system or not is already exploded a bomb in our face. I believe that Pakistan also will very soon be able to detonate a bomb. Whether they are in a position to a matter to be seen. But I am quite sure that even if they do not perfect a delivery system, some of their friends would be able to come to their rescue.

I would now like to say something about self-sufficiency with regard to armaments. Every country which has any self-respect wants to stand on its own feet, like India wishes to do.

We must, naturally, in the next few years depend on our own resources. To depend on England, the US or for that matter, on the Soviet Union, is, in my opinion, hardly wise. We have only to go back to the recent Indo-Pakistan war to see how badly we were let down by Great Britain and the US when it came to supply of weapons. I hope this will be an eye-opener to our country. I have no feelings of ill-will against any country. Anybody who wishes to help India is welcome to do so; we shall thank them for it. But when they withhold that help at the most crucial

moment, naturally we have every right to be angry about it.

I would like to suggest to the hon. Minister that in the present world when armaments are progressing at such a phenomenal rate, we should think a great deal about carrying out experimentation in modern armaments. I hope in the ordnance factories we have these armaments centres where research can be conducted to better whatever we are producing right now.

Coming back to the question of the MIGs, we have been hearing for the last many years that they will be built in India. I am sure that the laymen in the street thinks that MIGs are already flying, I mean the Indian-built MIGs. But the hon. Minister of State just now told us that, that is far from true, it may be years before the MIGs will be made in India.

**Shri A. M. Thomas:** This year.

**Shri Karni Singhji:** Even then, it is too late, because the MIGs we are building are already obsolete, and I am sure that countries like Pakistan and China will not be waiting for us to build more modern ones.

**Shri Y. B. Chavan:** They are not obsolete. I do not know wherefrom he got that information.

**Shri Karni Singhji:** In your MIG Mach II or Mach III?

**Shri A. M. Thomas:** It is Mach II.

**Shri Karni Singhji:** Then you are manufacturing an old model.

**Shri Y. B. Chavan:** No, no.

**Shri Karni Singhji:** I think by the time your MIGs leave the assembly line and take off into the air, they will be very much obsolete.

**Shri Y. B. Chavan:** That is true of every 'plane in the world'.

**Shri Karni Singhji:** I wish to make a brief observation further to what I said this morning during a call attention notice about some of the cities of India which are now exposed to aerial bombardment. Knowing as we do, Pakistan's build-up on our vast borders, I would like to warn the hon. Minister, and I hope that our cities will not be exposed to the same destruction that they were during the Indo-Pakistan war. Fortunately, Pakistan had very bad pilots and their bombing was most inaccurate. But what little damage was caused to cities like Jodhpur and Amritsar was bad enough; I hope that next time our aerial and ground defences will be adequately taken up well in time.

I would like to mention here that while a certain amount of care had been taken of Amritsar and Jodhpur, cities like Bikaner with a population of close on two lakhs and within a range of only 70 miles from Pakistan border were completely unprotected. I give the hon. Minister sufficient notice, so that—God forbid—in the eventuality of any such border conflicts with Pakistan in future, these cities are given protection so that the citizens feel reasonably safe to live in them.

Coming to the question of border roads, I believe the Government of India have a very ambitious programme to build roads all along the border. Pakistan has already stolen a march over us, and during the recent conflict, they had the edge over us in some of the desert areas because of their superiority in communications. I sincerely hope that these border roads will receive higher priority and that the contractors and the whims and fancies and State Governments will not be allowed to come in the way of the quick implementation of their construction.

Coming to the sinking of wells, I have the experience of touring the desert areas during the recent conflict. I saw that water had to be

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transported to troops in the desert covering 20, 30 and 40 miles, taking 6-7 hours. Now with modern age technology and the time at our disposal as a result of the Tashkent Declaration, I sincerely hope that the Ministry of Defence with the help of other Ministries concerned will see that tube-wells are sunk all along the border areas to make water available for drinking purposes to our troops who have to fight under the most rigorous conditions in the desert.

Now what I have to say is a subject which I will only briefly deal with. I do not normally like to speak anything which smacks or smells of communalism or casteism. But the recent war has proved one thing exclusively, that there are some men in our country who are good fighters and there are others who are not. It is a question of the armed forces taking the right type of manpower, so that they can acquit themselves better in the case of an emergency. I wish to suggest to the hon. Defence Minister, and I make this suggestion against all my principles, that for a period of the next 20 years or so, as far as the border is concerned, we should get the ex-armymen who come from known martial races, who come from the stock of men who have never known to turn their back against bullets, and rehabilitate those men all along the border with Pakistan and China, so that if there was ever a war again, these men would be able to form a cushion and a buffer.

A brief word about the ex-State forces. I wish to say only this much, that I hope that the Government of India will equate their pensions with those of the Indian army. When the States merged, many of these brave men who were in India's armed forces had to lose a great deal to their services for no fault of theirs, and I believe that many an officer and man lost as much as one-third of the service he had earned. Whatever maybe the rights and wrongs of this ques-

tion, I do hope that with regard to the question of pension, they will be equated with those of the Indian army, bearing in mind the dearness in the country as it is.

In the present world we are witnessing that there is a struggle which is constantly going on for more and more power. Whether we like it or not, and no matter how strong our belief in peace may be, it is only that country which has made itself strong and self-sufficient that can command the respect of other countries including those of the nuclear powers. We have also recently seen that Britain and America and many other countries change their tone. Although they were very critical in the beginning but towards the end soon after the war, when India started winning and striking home into Pakistan territory, this change of tone came about not because of India's rightfulness of her cause, which was always there, but because India was able to prove the rightfulness of her cause through the show of strength also. In this world, it is strength which is respected. Be it America or England, they will respect us as long as our army is strong, as long as our foreign policy is strong, and as long as India remains a united country. Our late Prime Minister and our Defence Minister in particular deserve every credit for this tremendous prestige that our country has been able to build up, and no words of praise or congratulation are enough for the magnificent work done by our armed personnel in defending the integrity and freedom of our country.

The war has proved one thing beyond a doubt, that when it comes to a trial of strength, this great country of ours has shown the world that we have the power to unite, and I hope that we will continue with this unity for the good of our country. But we would like our enemy countries, or those who are less friendly to us to know that if anybody ever wishes to tamper with our freedom and our

independence, once again, this time we will give them hell and this time India will not keep quite.

**Shri R. G. Dubey** (Bijapur North): At the very outset I should like to say something regarding our friend Dr. Lohia. I can understand the Communist Party, I can understand PSP, I can understand the Jana Sangh for that matter, but I do not know what exactly Dr. Lohia or SSP stands for. It seems it is a politics of frustration, resentment and anarchism. I do not think the way he is preaching in this country serves the cause of democracy. If he believes in democracy, he should not adopt the line he has adopted.

Then I pay my tribute to Shastriji. It is said somewhere that Sir Winston Churchill was equal to 24 divisions of the army. So was Shri Lal Bahadur Shastri. He fought in the war, he fought for peace, he gave this country a leadership. I have also full appreciation about our Defence Minister who showed courage, skill, the way he fought, the way he gave leadership to the army. I would like to draw the attention of the House to the way our soldiers were praised. The *Baltimore Sun* reported that the Indian soldiers could be compared to the daring, brave soldiers of Russia in the second world war. It gave this explanation in the context of the Indian soldiers' fighting in the last conflict, and the way the Indian soldiers fought and destroyed the Patton tank. According to the *Baltimore Sun*, the Indian soldier, like the daring Russian soldier, hit the Patton tanks in the hatches and in the rear.

There was another point made: that in the Pakistan army, there was no co-ordination between the infantry and the tank columns. While the Indian officer was very brave and skilful, the Pakistani officers had no knowledge of the tank; they did not know how to handle a tank, manoeuvre or operate the tank. These were the explanations or the observations, so much so that the Patton tank has now become out-of-date. If the

Indian-made handgrenades could destroy a Patton tank, in Washington, there is the thinking as to what would happen to the Russian magnetic rocket. This is the way the Indian army has fought.

I remember that historic event when Captain Keeler led that squadron and finished a successful air battle within five minutes. They went into the air at 3 O'clock exactly. Within five minutes they brought down two 86-Sabre Jets and returned to base by five minutes past three. This is the way the Indian Gnats played their role. While we should not exaggerate the danger from China, we may remember that the Chinese divisions—the best divisions in the Chinese army have been removed to Kwatung adjoining Vietnam, because China is terribly afraid of the USA. President Johnson has somewhere said that in case China steps beyond limits, then the USA would not hesitate to bombard their nuclear bases. China has cut a sorry figure in Indonesia also and in Vietnam also, China has not been able to do much. So, while we should not exaggerate the Chinese danger to this country, we must remember and not be complacent.

When we were in Teheran, we heard the news about the Indian and Chinese soldiers establishing contact at an altitude of 14,000 ft, where the visibility was almost nil. The second day, news came that the Indian army fought well and that 40 Chinese soldiers were killed vis a vis eight of the Indian army. Our mountain divisions are there. India of 1962 is not India of 1965. We have prepared our mountain divisions and they have acclimatised themselves to the altitude and that kind of fighting.

About the Tashkent declaration, I think whatever the lapses on the part of Pakistan, we should stick to that, because if we consider it in any war-like spirit, we would not be able to implement that Tashkent spirit. Let us wait and see what happens. May be there are some concentrations of troops. The news has come a little

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while ago they say that the Pakistan army has cancelled the leave to all army personnel; that in Gadra Road, there is some concentration of troops and in Kutch also they are building some bunkers, but even then, our Defence Minister has assured us that they are aware of these facts. But then it is necessary for us to wait patiently and see that the world is convinced—and the world at least must be convinced—that we are sincere and serious about the implementation of the Tashkent declaration. Otherwise, if we right now start with a campaign, the very object of the Tashkent declaration will fail.

Coming to the ordnance factories, I think we must have a very high appreciation for what has been done. Almost 75 per cent of our needs are manufactured by the ordnance factories. The tanks are being manufactured and the MIG factory also is keeping up production. This is the overall picture. We are not lagging behind. Somebody said that our weapons are out-of-date. True, to some extent it is so. About the nuclear warfare, Shri Nath Pai made some observations. But the late Shri Lal Bahadur Shastri also made it clear. The point is, the real nuclear powers in this world at the moment are Soviet Russia and the USA, and to some extent, England and France. But these nuclear powers know the horrors of war and the amount of destruction to humanity cause by it. So, the world powers do not like war any further. That is the basic fact. In India also, that is our policy—not to escalate the war. That is why we accepted the Tashkent declaration.

I was happy to know from the hon. Minister, Mr. Thomas, that our Defence Research Institute is being provided with more funds. So, in that context also, we are working well. Again I must pay my tributes to Gen. Chaudhuri and Air Marshal Arjan Singh for the way they established coordination between the army and

the air force. Somewhere it was suggested that the BBC correspondents in Karachi were really military experts and they tried to help Pakistan in war strategy. But Gen. Chaudhuri and Air Marshal Arjan Singh had a counter strategy and they effectively dealt with the situation.

With these words, I support the demands of the Defence Ministry and I again pay my tributes to the Defence Minister and the armed forces.

**Shri Surendra Pal Singh** (Bulandshahr): Sir, our defence preparations of the past few years were put to a very severe test recently in our fighting against Pakistan and this country can take legitimate pride in the fact that both our defence forces and our entire defence organisation stood up to the test most magnificently, and our valiant armed forces proved to the world that given proper arms and all the other requisite facilities, they are more than a match for the fighting machine of any of our neighbours who happen to cast an evil eye on this country.

Before I proceed further and to give the devil its due, I would like to support the suggestion made by the hon. member from Jhalawar that we should be thankful to the Chinese. I would go a step further and say that we should be thankful not only to China, but to Pakistan also. We must thank China for having woken us up from our deep slumber in 1962. If they had not done that, if we had not got that jolt in November 1962, perhaps we would have been caught napping when Pakistan attacked us and the consequences of that are too horrible even to think about. We must thank Pakistan for this reason that by starting a military aggression against India, they drove out the fear of the unknown from our minds. Before this attack from Pakistan, we were rather apprehensive of that country's military—strength, and how far their military potential had increased.

what aid they had got from their benefactors, etc. We did not know what actually will happen if they decide to invade this country. Now that they have done it, they have exposed their hand completely. We know what is their military strength and we do not have to fear them in future at all.

After having gained experience from fighting with China and Pakistan, the time has now come for us to take proper stock of the military situa-

tion we are confronted with at the moment, and on the basis of the experience gained so far, and by a process of induction, we should now evolve and formulate our own military strategy, to suit our own needs and aims and to meet the danger from both Pakistan and China.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: He can continue tomorrow.

18 hrs.

*The Lok Sabha then adjourned till Eleven of the Clock on Wednesday, March 30, 1966|Chaitra 9, 1888 (Saka).*