

[Shri Raj Bahadur]

in consultation with the Ministries of Finance and Commerce and Industry, formulated a tentative scheme for the setting up of, what may be called, a Free Trade Zone at Kandla. It is an entirely new concept for the country and, therefore, we must necessarily proceed with it cautiously.

Shri Feroze Gandhi (Rai Bareli): Why don't you lay it on the Table? It is very long.

Shri Raj Bahadur: It is not very long.

The idea is to cordon off a small area at the port with a high barbed wire fencing, the entry into and the removal of goods from which could be suitably controlled. Within this area, facilities may be given for the establishment of appropriate industries and permission given to them for the import of raw materials and semi-processed goods for conversion into finished goods and export, without the need for the payment of import duty.

The industries to be established in the zone will be licensed and subjected to suitable supervision and control but the intention is that a party wishing to start a particular industry will be allowed to do so unless the establishment of such an industry is likely to set up unfair competition with a similar existing industry elsewhere in India. If there is a demand for the facility of the import of certain types of finished goods to be brought into and stored in the zone free of customs duty with a view to re-export to nearby countries, the grant of such a facility could also be considered. It would not, however, be possible to relax the ordinary restrictions as far as import into the rest of the country where it is a question of importing gold or certain special articles such as diamonds, watches, etc. are concerned.

A regular account will need to be kept of imports into and exports from the zone with a view to prevent smuggling of goods into other parts of India and also in order to secure and retain full advantage of the foreign exchange earnings realised by the export of goods manufactured or processed in the zone and exported to other countries. Any goods or materials moving into the country from the free trade zone will be subject to the normal import restrictions.

The details of the scheme are being worked out and will be given due publicity in the near future. In the light of the response received and the comments made by the commercial and industrial bodies, Government will finally decide on its introduction and its scope in the initial stages. Our tentative view is that the scheme may prove helpful in giving the much needed impetus to economic and industrial activity at Kandla.

12.16 hrs.

DEMANDS FOR GRANTS—contd.

MINISTRY OF DEFENCE—contd.

Mr. Speaker: The House will now resume further discussion and voting on the Demands for Grants under the control of the Ministry of Defence. Out of six hours allotted, time has been taken to the extent of one hour. The balance of time is five hours. We will finish this Ministry today.

Shri Khushwaqt Rai (Kheri): The whole day should be allotted for this Ministry.

An Hon. Member: Up to 6.

Mr. Speaker: Five hours will mean up to 5.15. We will sit up to 6 O' Clock. Whether we will start the other Ministry or not, I shall try to find out.

An Hon. Member: This is a very important Ministry, Sir.

Shri Goray (Poona): This is one of the most important Demands which the House is called upon to consider today. But before I take up the points, I would like to request the hon. Defence Minister through you not to misunderstand our criticism against the Defence Ministry as a criticism against himself. I thought it was necessary to make this request because last year also the Defence Minister thought either he or the jawans of the Army were being criticised, and in a very unfair manner. Therefore, I thought it was better to explain at the very outset that when we are dealing with the Demands of the Defence Ministry, which is of the order of nearly Rs. 300 crores, the criticism that is levelled against the Ministry should be understood in the right spirit.

Nobody will grudge any amount of money to this Ministry, because I am quite sure that Members in this House, whether they belong to the Official Benches or to the Opposition Benches, want that this country should be protected against aggression. They want that the independence which we have won after so many years of struggle and sacrifice should be maintained and protected. Therefore, whatever criticism we make today is made because we feel that the money that we are voting should be well spent. It should be possible for us to tell the voters and our constituencies that every rupee that they are spending for the Army, Navy and the Air Force, is being well spent, but I am very sorry that this is not the impression that we can carry. We are not convinced ourselves, and I think that, in spite of the repeated efforts of the Defence Minister, it has not been possible for him to convince the House. When we begin to read the various audit reports on this Ministry we have a feeling that here we are entering the land of the *Arabian Nights*, where thousands of rupees are thrown away as if they were not worth more than a single naya paisa.

I would draw your attention to the Audit Report which was laid on the

Table of the House only yesterday. The only thing that I would like to say about this report is that it makes dismal reading.

Shri Jaganatha Rao (Koraput): On a point of order. The Audit Report was placed on the Table of the House only yesterday. I would like to have guidance from you. . . .

An Hon. Member: Of course, it is meant for discussion. (*Interruptions*).

Mr. Speaker: Order, order. Hon. Members must have the patience to allow me to hear the point of order. What is the point of order?

Shri Jaganatha Rao: The Auditor-General in his report has stated some facts. It is up to the Ministry to meet the objections, and then, I understand, the matter would go to the PAC. Before that, is it proper for the House to discuss any matter referred to in that report? That is the point of order.

Shri Surendranath Dwivedy (Kendrapara): We can make a reference certainly.

An Hon. Member: Why should the hon. Member try to defend the Defence Minister?

Shri C. E. Pattabhi Raman (Kumbakonam): There is no finality about the Audit Report, as has been suggested.

Dr. Ram Subhag Singh (Sasaram): Anything that is placed on the Table of the House must be referred to. Anything which is placed on the Table of the House is the property of the House, and any Member is entitled to use it in any way he likes, and nobody should object to it.

Shri Naushir Bharucha (East Khandesh): May I also point out this? When certain sums are asked for, is it not open to us to say that you have wasted money in this way, and, therefore, why should we give you more?

Shri Feroze Gandhi (Rai Bareli): May I know whether it will be open to Members also to point out that the Auditor-General might not have given the correct statement, and that there is another version? Then, it may become a subject for discussion.

But I would remind you that that about two years ago, when in connection with the Demands for Grants of the Ministry of Railways, I had made certain references to the Audit Report, you were pleased to say that reference can be made. But I am not very clear whether that can be utilised to condemn, without getting an answer. I would like, and the House would like, to have your guidance in this matter.

Mr. Speaker: What guidance?

Shri Feroze Gandhi: Supposing Shri Goray says that such and such a remark has been made by the Auditor-General, will the hon. Minister, in the course of his reply, or other Members, be permitted to say that the Auditor-General is probably not correct? In that case it becomes a subject for discussion, which is not allowed by you, Sir.

Shri Goray: Can I add something?

Mr. Speaker: On this point of order?

Shri Goray: Yes. On this point of order.

Dr. Ram Subhag Singh: There is no point of order.

Shri Goray: I think that there is no point of order, because last time when we quoted certain things from the information that was made available to us, the Defence Minister got up and said that this was about twelve months old. Now, this is something fresh. When we say something and refer to papers which are given to us, they are either too old or too fresh; it will not be possible for us to argue at all in that case.

Therefore, when we are given this information, I think it is perfectly legitimate for us to refer to this information, and it is perfectly legitimate for the Defence Minister or anybody else on his behalf to say that the statements made therein are not correct.

Dr. Ram Subhag Singh: They are entirely correct.

Shri Goray: In fact, he went out of his way and said the other day that it was a malicious over-statement, that is, whatever the Auditor-General had stated. He can say that again now.

Shri Tyagi (Dehra Dun): That was withdrawn.

Shri A. M. Tariq (Jammu and Kashmir): The Chairman of the Public Accounts Committee is also present here. Let us have his observations also.

Dr. Ram Subhag Singh: Hon. Members know their limitations and their rights also.

Mr. Speaker: Why should hon. Members get excited over a small matter like this?

A point of order has been raised as to whether reference can be made to the remarks of the Auditor-General made in the Audit Report. The objection was that it was still to be considered by the Public Accounts Committee, and they had to present their report.

Also, Shri Feroze Gandhi asked whether, when the Audit Report is relied upon for one purpose, it is open to the hon. Minister or to any other Member to say that this observation is not correct. What has the Defence Minister to say?

Shri Krishna Menon: On this point of order?

Mr. Speaker: Yes.

Shri Feroze Gandhi: Before the Defence Minister makes his observation, may I ask him to explain when this report of the Auditor-General came into his possession?

Mr. Speaker: It has been placed on the Table of the House.

Shri Feroze Gandhi: It was placed on the Table of the House only yesterday. I want to know whether the hon. Minister got it only yesterday or he got it some days earlier.

Shri Surendranath Dwivedy: How is that relevant?

Mr. Speaker: The only point is whether he has anything to say in respect of the point of order.

The Minister of Defence (Shri Krishna Menon): I saw the Audit Report after it was placed on the Table of the House.

Whether it should be debated or not is entirely a matter for your discretion, and I would not presume to say anything about it.

But, so far as I understand the procedure, the proceedings of the Public Accounts Committee are of a judicial or quasi-judicial character. There are statements in this Audit Report to which the Ministry have a full and complete answer, and we may also have to point out something with regard to the general impression given by matters which had occurred ten years before and which have been presented as though they had happened last year. I would not like, without adequate notice, to deal with these facts and figures and all the arguments that go with it, and anticipate the evidence that Government officials who cannot answer here have to give before the Public Accounts Committee.

It is my humble submission that whatever impression the hon. Members may have they cannot necessarily exclude from their minds, and they have a paper before them. But if it is going to be discussed, as my hon. friend Shri Feroze Gandhi has said, both sides must be known, and I propose, in due course, to ask that with your permission, just as the Audit Report has been laid on the Table of the House, likewise, the evidence given or the answer given by the Ministry may also be placed on the Table of the House in due course.

Shri Goray: May I point out that this has been published also in today's papers?

Dr. Ram Subhag Singh rose—

Mr. Speaker: How many times am I to hear the hon. Member? Of course, I have very great regard for the hon. Member. But there must be some finality to such representations. Let me dispose of the point of order.

The Audit Report has been placed on the Table of the House. It is one thing to say, we have not had sufficient time to go through the Audit Report, and unless we go through the evidence, we may not be able to do full justice; it is another thing to say that you ought not to refer to the Audit Report at all. That is the point that is before me, that is, when once the Audit Report has been placed on the Table of the House, unless it is looked into and reported upon by the Public Accounts Committee, it ought not to be referred to. There is absolutely no objection. The Public Accounts Committee looks into this, hears the one side and also the other side, and it is entitled to go into the question whether the Audit Report is right. It is open to the hon. Members, and also to the Ministry to which the report relates, to give evidence to say that the Auditor-General made a mistake and try to explain that a particular portion ought not to be accepted.

The Public Accounts Committee is in the nature of something like a judge, to look into this, on behalf of Parliament. It helps this Parliament to come to a conclusion as to whether the Audit Report ought to be relied upon with respect to any particular matter.—there is absolutely no question of impeaching the credit of anybody—whether the particular facts can lead to different conclusions, whether all the facts might not have been placed and so on. Therefore, we have the advice of the Public Accounts Committee who report to us.

But, does it exclude the jurisdiction of the House to refer to it? Let us assume that the Public Accounts Committee takes months to deal with it; it may be legitimately taken, not that

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it wants to delay. Therefore, it may be said that when once the report is placed on the Table of the House, it is open to the House to refer to it.

Now, the only question is this. When once something is relied upon, it is open to Government to say that it ought not to be relied upon; it is equally well open to the House or to the Minister to say that this portion is not like that. When the Public Accounts Committee send their report, then, if necessary, we shall have a discussion upon that.

This stands on a different footing from the Estimates Committee which does not come in this manner, and nobody challenges it. Sufficient opportunity is given to the Ministries to explain, and if still there is a difference of opinion, it is settled only in the Estimates Committee where sufficient opportunity is given to the Ministries. So far as the Public Accounts Committee is concerned, it is not an act of Parliament which is looked into by its committee. It is only an act of the Auditor-General, who is a constitutional head with respect to accounting and audit. He sends his report to the President and not straightway to us, and the President causes it to be laid on the Table of the House. Therefore, as in the case of any other report, it is open to this House to rely upon it or not to rely upon it or to say that it ought not to be relied upon.

With regard to the question that the Audit Report came to him only yesterday, that is a matter where any hon. Member is not able to explain it immediately now; he can only say in general terms.

So far as evidence is concerned, I shall consider as to whether that is the practice or if there is any objection to it, I shall hear, and if the hon. Minister wants that the evidence also may be placed on the Table of the House, I shall consider that matter.

Was the Audit Report placed on the Table of the House only yesterday?

Some Hon. Members: Yes.

Shri Surendranath Dwivedy: It is a small report. We have gone through it.

Mr. Speaker: He may only refer to it. If any hon. Member thinks that what is stated there is not correct, he may also say so.

Dr. Melkote (Raichur): On a point of order. May I know whether the House could debate the Audit Report if it is only an interim report?

Shri Sinhasan Singh (Gorakhpur): It is not an interim report.

Dr. Melkote: After going through the various answers of the Government, a final report is made. So I do not know whether we can discuss an interim report. Only the final report could be debated. So I would like to know whether we can take this as the final report.

Shri Tyagi: The Audit Report is not the subject of discussion here now. It is only referred to. The House is not considering the Report at this stage.

Mr. Speaker: Order, order. Is it an interim report?

Shri Yadav Narain Jadhav (Malegaon): No, Sir.

Mr. Speaker: Therefore, I am not called upon to give my opinion as to whether the interim report ought to be discussed or not. I will reserve it for another occasion.

So far as this is concerned, this is the final Report. Hon. Members could refer to it. They may refute it or support it. The discussion may now go on.

Shrimati Benuka Ray (Malda): Has the Public Accounts Committee discussed that Report?

An Hon. Member: It was placed on the Table only yesterday.

Mr. Speaker: She may ask the Chairman of the Public Accounts Committee. Let us not take time over that here.

Some Hon. Members rose—

Shri Goray: Suppose I do not yield.

Shri Krishna Menon: From what I have seen of this Report, this goes into great detail covering a very long period. I would like to learn from you whether, if the investigation by the Public Accounts Committee by examination of witnesses is a quasi-judicial procedure, in terms of natural justice a public discussion of it prior to that investigation will go together with it or not.

Shri Surendranath Dwivedy: It has appeared in the public press.

Dr. Ram Subhag Singh: The Public Accounts Committee is a Committee of the House. The House is quite competent to discuss it.

Mr. Speaker: Order, order. The Public Accounts Committee is a Committee of the House to enable the House to sift these matters. After all, this House of 500 Members may not be able to sift these items for and against. This House does not itself go into those things. The Public Accounts Committee examines a particular Ministry and hears the explanation of the officials on the Report made by the Auditor-General. The Auditor-General is one official of the Government as there are other officials in the Secretariat. The Public Accounts Committee represents Parliament. Therefore, it hears both sides and comes to its conclusions. The House may or may not accept those conclusions of the Public Accounts Committee. Normally it accepts those conclusions because so many people go into this matter.

Therefore, although this is a matter relating to so many years and so on

and it may not be proper to go into it fully without giving an opportunity to the hon. Minister to explain, to the extent it is necessary, hon. Members may refer to it and in his reply, the hon. Minister may also reply to it. This is on the understanding that it was placed on the Table of the House only yesterday. But in future, when anything more has to be explained in greater detail, we will further await the report of the Public Accounts Committee.

Dr. Ram Subhag Singh: We have seen the report. There is nothing much in it.

Some Hon. Members rose—

Mr. Speaker: I am not going to allow any more discussion on this taking away the time of the House.

Shri Feroze Gandhi: May I suggest that you will request the Auditor-General to make his reports available much earlier to us so that we can at least study them beforehand? Presenting the report just one day before the debate on a particular Ministry is due to take place creates a little misunderstanding. Therefore, I would request you to request the Auditor-General to send these reports to the House a few days before the Demands for Grants of Ministries are taken up, not on the particular day that a Ministry's demands are discussed.

Mr. Speaker: Order, order. The hon. Member knows the Constitution very well. The Auditor-General is not a servant of this House. He is appointed by the President and he has to send his report to the President. The President always does everything in consultation with the Minister. The Finance Minister evidently placed it on the Table only yesterday. We can only direct our Ministers to do this and not do that, not any officers under them. We have no direct jurisdiction over them. We can only ask the Ministers. I would like that before the Budget demands are discussed, the Audit Reports must be made available

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to us so that they may be properly made use of at the time of the discussions of the Demands for Grants. I am sure this will be taken note of.

Shri Vajpayee (Balrampur): The Auditor-General signed his report on the 28th March. So if anybody is to blame for placing it on the Table late, it is not the Auditor-General but the Finance Minister.

Shri P. K. Deo (Kalahandi): I would draw your attention to Rule 369(2) which clearly says:

"All papers and documents laid on the Table shall be considered public".

So there is no question of the time factor; there is no question of requesting the Auditor-General to see that the report shall be laid a few days prior to any particular discussion.

Shri Tyagi: It is the fault of the Minister of Parliamentary Affairs. He ought to have known that the report is controversial and should have avoided placing it on the Table yesterday; after the discussion was over, it could have been placed on the Table.

Shri Tangamani (Madurai): I would like to know whether it is open to any Member of this House to criticise the Auditor-General except on a substantive motion.

Mr. Speaker: Order order. I do not know why we are going off the particular issue. Nobody criticised the Auditor-General here.

Shri Vajpayee: He has been criticised.

Shri Tangamani: The question arises because when references are made to the Auditor Report, it may be open to Members to criticise certain remarks of the Auditor-General in that particular report. Will it be open to us to do so except on a substantive motion?

Mr. Speaker: There is no meaning in this question. Otherwise, he need not send his report at all to us. I am really surprised that curious questions are raised. The Auditor-General is entitled to look into the accounts. He then submits his report to the Head of the State. Through the Minister the report is placed on the Table of the House for the purpose of scrutiny by the House to enable the House to know what exactly the weak points are and so on. Unless the hon. Member wants to accept the Auditor-General's report as if it is a Bible and not go behind it, there is no meaning in asking this question. The Auditor-General's report is placed. We do not totally accept it. It is open to us to accept it or not to accept it. And when any hon. Member says that a particular statement made by the Auditor-General is not right, it ought not to be taken as criticism of the Auditor-General as such or detracting from the credit or merit of the report. One person may have one view. There can be another view. So I cannot understand this curious kind of objection that is taken.

So far as the future is concerned, the hon. Finance Minister will note that steps will be taken to make such reports available earlier. I suppose the Auditor-General's reports in this case do not relate only to the Defence Ministry.

An Hon. Members: Only the Defence Ministry.

Shri Feroze Gandhi: Therefore, it is creating misunderstanding.

Shri C. R. Pattabhiraman: Actually, there are references to irregularities. It means that whatever be the opinion of the Auditor-General, who is an authority under the Constitution, the Ministry may have their own view. So that also may be heard here.

Mr. Speaker: Let us proceed. The Auditor-General's report has been

presented. It is open to all Members to use it or not to use it.

Shri D. C. Sharma (Gurdaspur): Already 25 minutes have been taken on the points of order. I hope you will correspondingly extend the time.

Shri Goray: I am thankful to you for the ruling you have given. I never thought that when I tried to refer to this report, I would be touching a hornet's nest. For the benefit of my hon. friend, Shri Feroze Gandhi, I would like to point out . . .

Mr. Speaker: He need not point it out now.

Shri Goray: . . . that according to the original time-table, the Demands for Grants relating to the Defence Ministry were scheduled to come up for discussion on the 4th of this month. Naturally, if this Audit Report was submitted yesterday, it was done really after the Demands were to be discussed, if the original schedule had been followed. We never thought that the discussion of the Demands would be postponed and it would be coming up only today. That was why a miscalculation crept in and that was why Shri Gandhi had to rise to defend the Defence Minister.

Shri Feroze Gandhi: You mean I was wrong when I said there was a special effort to produce it? I am very sorry.

Shri Goray: He knows much better. I would like to say that this report, page after page, refers to the irregularities and, as I said, it makes very dismal reading. I would not like to list all the irregularities and deterioration that has taken place of stores and other things but I will only point out one or two things. On page 10 of this report, there is this item:

"Purchase of stores at high prices.—The Captain Superintendent of a naval dockyard purchased through a contractor 8½ tons of one item of store and 5 tons 14 lbs. of another, during 1958-59

at a cost of Rs. 2,30,000 and Rs. 1,26,157 respectively. Enquiries made by Internal Audit in March 1959, after the payments had been made, revealed that these were imported stores and that their market prices were about Rs. 720 and Rs. 4,816 per ton as against Rs. 26,320 and Rs. 25,200 respectively at which they were purchased by the Naval Officers. On the basis of these market rates, the cost of these two items works out to Rs. 30,410 as against a sum of Rs. 3,56,457 paid."

This is one of the instances where money nearly ten times the market price was paid for stores purchased.

There is another example on page 13 where the Engineer-in-Chief's branch is referred to. Here also it is a very curious example. It says:

"In December, 1952, Government sanctioned the construction of certain roads approximating in length to 308 miles, at an estimated cost of Rs. 304.47 lakhs. By December, 1958, 98.11 miles only were constructed, at a cost of Rs. 392.64 lakhs. One of the reasons contributing to the increase in cost was the excessive expenditure on explosives. Against the original estimate of Rs. 19.99 lakhs worth of explosives for the entire work, the cost of explosives used, on the portion completed, was Rs. 154.84 lakhs."

That is another example where the calculations went entirely off the target.

Again, on page 16, there is a reference to the Director General, Ordnance factories. Here they say that they wanted to set up a plant for manufacturing metal boxes and an expenditure of about Rs. 10 lakhs was sanctioned out of which an expenditure of Rs. 6.53 lakhs had been incurred. But the factory is still lying idle because they were advised that

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instead of manufacturing metal boxes themselves, it would be profitable to purchase them in the open market. Therefore, the building and the machinery are lying unused.

I would not go on quoting all the instances. The whole report is blistering with this and I will only draw your attention to a paragraph on page 24 where unfortunately, Nanavati is also brought up. Here, the Auditor-General has remarked:

"An officer of the Indian Navy, who was held under naval custody pending trial of a charge of murder, applied for legal aid at State expenses. Government granted him, as a special case, a sum of Rs. 10,000 as financial assistance towards the expenses for defence. The charge was for an offence alleged to have been committed by the officer as an ordinary citizen, while he was on leave. In such a case, which had no connection with the official duties, of the officer, the financial aid for defence seems unusual and unjustified."

This example, has been listed under the head 'Miscellaneous Irregularities'. Therefore, I would like to point out to the Defence Minister that it is not a question of getting angry with the Auditor-General. The question is how you convince the broad masses of what has been done here, of this neglect and destruction of stores, of not using the buildings and of using explosives hundred times more than what they were assessed at the beginning. How are you going to convince the people that the money, this hard cash, they are paying—poor as they are—is not being thrown away. This is not the instance which has come to this House only this year. Year after year, we are referring to this and I suppose that the Auditor-General, more out of despair, says: I am bringing this to the notice of the Defence Ministry but nothing is being done. Therefore, I would like the Defence

Minister not to go in a huff but to take the House into confidence and tell the people: why is it that the Auditor-General has to make such remarks? It is for the Defence Minister and his friends to convince all of us that the Auditor-General has gone wrong. And also that what they have been doing, they have been doing *bona fide* and the money that was spent was well-spent.

Shri Surendranath Dwivedy: That is proved by the jeep scandal.

Shri Goray: We are now asking the people to pay nearly Rs. 275 crores for the Defence Budget.

Now, coming to the Defence Organisation itself, I see that the Navy is being neglected. When we have a Navy, I do not know why no steps are taken to see that our naval ratings are educated or trained in so far as submarine operations are concerned. Every year we find that the Navy takes part in the naval exercises where the Navies of the U.K., Pakistan and other Commonwealth countries participate. There only, I suppose, our ratings get a chance to see how the submarines work from inside. I would ask the Defence Minister why we are not adding a couple of submarines to our Fleet? I know that we are not a country having aggressive or offensive designs. But our soldiers, ratings and Air Force men should know how to handle all these instruments of war. Otherwise, they will have to depend for knowledge on other countries. When the time comes, they will be taken by surprise and we will find that we are not prepared for the emergency. Therefore, I would beg of the Defence Minister to see that one, two or three—whatever the number—submarines are added to our Navy so that it will be possible for us to train our own ratings.

Very little is being done about the Territorial Army. When the T.A. celebrated its annual day, I remember the Chief of Staff of the Army saying

in a public meeting that somehow the response to the TA was not adequate. Why is it that people are not responding to the call of the TA? Why is it that the Government has to send appeals to the employers and labour unions asking their co-operation and why is it that their co-operation is not forthcoming? What special efforts are being made to popularise the TA? I think that special efforts need to be made and co-operation from all sections of the people will have to be asked for. I think that enough attempts and efforts are not being made to popularise the TA.

We have been told by the Prime Minister, not once but many times here as well as outside, that after China had changed its attitude towards India, we shall have to look to the Himalayan frontiers with more care. This tension between India and China is likely to continue for years to come and we will have to defend our borders with tenacity, patriotism and planning inside the country and raising our Defence Organisation to the highest standard. So far we were only confronted with Pakistan and our strategy so far as the Army was concerned was orientated towards that country. So far as Pakistan was concerned, the advantage was that we knew exactly what the Pakistan army was like because the Pakistan officers as well as the Indian officers were trained in the same army schools. Mostly probably our Chief of the Staff and Gen. Ayub Khan were together at Sandhurst—I do not know; it is quite possible. Therefore, we knew in what way the army functioned in Pakistan, what sort of officers they had, what sort of training they had, what sort of equipment they had and what sort of terrain we will have to fight on. It was the plains of Punjab and the plains of West Bengal. But now the entire picture has changed. We do not know what sort of Chinese army is there, what sort of training they have got and what sort of terrain is there. I do not want to cast a reflection on the efficiency of the Defence Ministry but what I would

like to say is that so far as the Himalayan terrain is concerned, we are very much in the dark. The Prime Minister of China has used that argument against us. He has said that, when they were constructing roads and other things in that area, you did not know it for three or four years and how is it that you are now saying that that particular territory belongs to you where you did not know what was taking place? Therefore, it really shows we are completely ignorant of that terrain.

The other day we were told that the Government of India has protested to the Chinese Government because violations of air space had taken place. Now, whatever the Minister said to the *New York Post* Correspondent, I would like to point out that it has been established that whether it is the Pakistan aircraft or whether it is the Chinese aircraft we are not in a position to intercept there. They come and go as and when they like and all that we can do is to guess as to the directions from which they have come and the directions in which they must have disappeared. Therefore, it is very obvious that there is an opponent across the Himalayan borders about whom we know very little.

Therefore, I would like to say that the Defence Minister ought to tell us what he knows about it, what is the information about all those things, what sort of equipment they have, what sort of training the Chinese soldier has, what sort of war science they are following. (*Interruptions*). I have got some details. I would like to tell you that so far as the army in China is concerned they have said in their own book which they published in the foreign language press that the Chinese army is a highly politicalised army. That means that it is a completely indoctrinated army. There is indoctrination—Marxist indoctrination. That particular point of view is instilled into them. The army is told not only how to use arms but against whom to use them, for what purpose to use them and what is their

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ultimate objective The ultimate objective as presented to the Chinese army is to oust the imperialists from Asia and from their collaborators. Now, people will say that if the Chinese are there to oust the imperialists from Asia and their collaborators, why should we worry. We should worry because any time they will call us collaborators of imperialists because they had caked us that some years back and again they are saying how that it is India which is committing aggression and not they. So far as the Chinese vocabulary is concerned, we who are their friends, we whom they describe as adherents of *Panchsheel* may overnight become aggressors and collaborators of British or American imperialists as it suits them.

Therefore, I would like to say that when the Chinese army is such an indoctrinated army—the Chinese army which has been told that this aim ultimately is to oust all the imperialists and their collaborators from the Asian soil—we must be on our guard and we must see to it that our army also comes to that standard, that is, they are also given some sort of idealism, they are also told what it is that India stands for, they are also told what our ideals are and what is it that our army is fighting for.

So far as the Chinese army is concerned, I was told that their air force is very strong. I do not know what is our air force, but the foreign countries have said that the Chinese air force may be anywhere between 4000 to 5000 planes. This is what they say and they say that they are in a position to manufacture their planes also.

Now, so far as the Chinese infantry man is concerned, he is well-equipped and as you can see from the report that came to us from Akasai Chin area, they have set up very good depots on the frontier. Our police officers were ambushed there and they were taken away in Transport Sup-

erintendent. Karam Singh in his statement said that he was taken in a lorry and there were so many depots, there were medical facilities and his deposition was tape-recorded. All these things go to show that even in that area which is described by our hon. Prime Minister as a desolate area they have set up very good army camps and their forward positions have been very well entrenched

Therefore, I would like to know what steps our Defence Ministry has taken to protect the Indian frontiers against such an overwhelming mass of concentrated camps.

So far as the Chinese strength in infantry is concerned, we are told that it may be anything between 40 and 50 lakhs, not counting the auxiliaries and their territorial army. I just happened to come across one of the regulations of their communes—they have set up communes everywhere. This is the regulation of the Weihsing (Sputnik) Commune in Hovan Province. Article 10 of that says:

"The commune will arm all the people, able-bodied youngmen of military age, and demobilised and retired servicemen should be enrolled in the militia."

So, it is some sort of a conscription in China where every able-bodied man is given military training. This is the sort of country which stands in opposition to us on the Himalayan frontiers. As against that country, whether it is the training that we give to our youngmen, whether it is the number of army men that we have, whether it is the air force or the navy, I think that we fall short of the necessary standard and every effort will have to be made to see that we are brought to a particular standard.

Now I come to the production aspect. I do not know how far we are near self-sufficiency. In this Report we have been told that a body

has been established called the Defence Minister's Production Committee and the aim and objective of that particular Committee is to bring the defence forces as near self-sufficiency as possible. Now, this 'near self-sufficiency' is a very tricky word. We do not know what it is. We would like to know out of lakhs and lakhs of articles that are needed by the army in what percentage of articles we are self-sufficient because to say that in 60 or 75 per cent of a particular item we are self-sufficient does not convey any meaning at all. Even the 5 per cent of the component parts in which we are not self-sufficient may be the most vital part and if that vital part is missing all the other 75 per cent or even 95 per cent of the component parts will be of no use. Therefore, the House ought to be taken into confidence and told what is meant by saying 70 per cent or 80 per cent or 95 per cent self-sufficiency. For instance, take the rifle. If the bolt is not there and if we cannot manufacture it, then, what is the use of manufacturing the whole rifle without the bolt or without the cartridges? We find here that so many cartridges—excuse me if I again refer to the Auditor-General's Report—were bought from Switzerland and other countries and they were not used at all. If these cartridges are not used and we are not able to manufacture them also then our bombers and air force officers will have to go without ammunition.

Shri Krishna Menon: Sir, may I...

Shri Goray: I will just finish.

Shri Khushwaqt Rai: Why interrupt?

Mr. Speaker: If there is any point of clarification I will allow him to ask.

Shri Krishna Menon: Here is an instance brought by the Auditor-General which is totally a contradicted fact and has a result on the morsel of the army which uses these weapons.

13 hrs.

Shri Khushwaqt Rai: Sir, what is the point of order in that?

Mr. Speaker: There is no point of order.

Shri Surendranath Dwivedy: He is very allergic to the Auditor-General.

Shri Goray: Sir, I do not know why he says that it is demoralising. Here, in this report, about provisioning of stores and all that, it is said that so many cartridges were ordered, so many are lying useless, they are deteriorating and all that. Therefore, Sir, I am saying that so far as production is concerned, so far as training is concerned, so far as equipping our army and our ideal is concerned, we must take steps which will bring up the army to a standard which the Chinese army seems to have reached.

I said, Sir, I may be open to correction. Some people may say that the Chinese army may not be equal to us when it really joins us in battle and many of the merits which are credited to them are not there. That is quite, possible—I stand corrected. But, Sir, let us take it as it is described by foreigners. For instance, I came across a book written by an American colonel who was arrested on the Korean frontier. In that book he says that so far as the Chinese infantry is concerned they will surpass any army in the world in stamina and so far as marches are concerned they are capable of covering 50 miles a day. They have been used to this sort of thing ever since the Communists left their habitat in Koumintang China and marched thousands of miles away and established their new nucleus. They have been used to this sort of marching, and these forced long marches have enured to any sort of climate, any sort of physical hardship.

Therefore, I would like to say, if you want to create any army whose task is not only to meet the threat of

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Pakistan which may not be there but to meet the threat which is looming on the borders of Himalayas, you will have to reconsider the whole thing, the whole nature of training and equipment, and you will have to see to it that your Production Committee really produces something fast and good and we really reach the stage of "near self-sufficiency" as quickly as possible.

Shri M. R. Krishna (Karimnagar-Reserved-Sch. Castes): Mr. Speaker, Sir, when we discuss about the defence of any country we have to see how the defence forces can be made effective. There are only two ways to see that a country's defence forces are very effective and strong. Firstly, the men, officers and others connected with all the three wings of the defence forces should be contented, and, secondly, the defence forces should be very well equipped with modern equipment.

Here, Sir, I would like to congratulate the Defence Ministry for fulfilling a thing which was for a long time unthought of. The Indian officers in the defence forces were feeling that their promotions were blocked and they could not go too far. That was one of the reasons for the Defence Ministry and the country to feel that most of the young men were not joining the defence forces because they did not see a very bright future. I should say, Sir, the thing which was there for a long time has been broken by the Defence Minister, because today that feeling is not there in the Defence Ministry, especially among the officers.

Even in a country like the United Kingdom a cadet who joins the army can go only up to the rank of major and in many cases the retired officers are given the honorary ranks of lieutenant colonels, whereas in this country, today, a cadet after joining the defence forces can retire as a confirmed lieutenant colonel, which is

a very great thing to keep the officer classes very happy.

In many respects, Sir, the officer classes have been benefited. I do not grudge that. To have a very effective army you must necessarily help these classes of people to do their jobs properly. Having done this, I would request the Defence Ministry to concentrate on the men who really form the very foundation of the defence forces.

So far, the condition of the sepoy's in the Indian army has not been improved. Their prospects of promotions are not very bright. Many may say that they can hope to become JCO's and so on, but the ratio between sepoy's and JCO's is very narrow. Then, the JCO class itself is not very happy today because the prospects of their promotions are not very bright.

13.06 hrs.

[MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER in the Chair]

Many of the J.C.O.'s, who have got not only experience but education also have not got their due share. I hope the Defence Ministry will concentrate their attention on giving more amenities to these men and making their life happy because they have to serve the army for a number of years. After that they have to settle down themselves. When I looked into the cut motions moved in this House I found that many of the hon. Members have stressed the point about the rehabilitation schemes for the ex-servicemen. They are not very happy. They are not properly rehabilitated. Even the centres which have been started in many places are not properly functioning. The lands which the Defence Ministry have taken from various State Governments are not fully put into use. In the initial stages lot of money has been spent on these schemes, but these schemes have actually become failures. In one or two centres, I think, in Punjab, they must have

made some progress, but in States like Hyderabad and others, even though they have spent a lot of money which they got from the rehabilitation funds, there are hardly very few people staying on those lands.

Sir, the Defence Ministry has taken up very many projects. At the same time, we see that the Defence Ministry is spending a huge amount of money in hiring buildings for housing officers. Most of these buildings are hired in places which are away from the military zones. These are some of the things which, again, make the people in this country feel that the defence secrets are usually being leaked out because the officers and other people are allowed to stay in places which are not at all controlled by the military authorities. I understand that in countries like the United States of America the defence people are treated as a separate class. They are not allowed even to rub shoulders with civilians in cinema halls and clubs. They have got separate places for them. Though I do not want that kind of thing to be created in this country, at the same time, I would definitely stress that as far as these officer classes are concerned they must be provided with suitable accommodation. When they are allowed to stay outside military areas their families should be properly protected. These officers do not join the defence forces merely to earn a living or get a rank. They go on serving the country in order to help their children and their families. When they are out on responsible duties with a view to protect this country, it is not right for the Defence Ministry to be satisfied only by giving these officers lot of money or giving them rum and brandy—whatever it may be—but the Defence Ministry should also see that their families in their homes are also protected.

Shri T. B. Vittal Rao (Khammam): Rum is important?

Shri M. B. Krishna: Rum and brandy are also important for the

defence forces when they are functioning in certain areas but, more than that, the protection of their families is more important. I want the Defence Ministry to take proper care to see that families left behind in civilian areas by the defence officers who go out to various zones to serve the country are well protected. The defence station headquarters are there. The provost corps is there. All these people can just keep a watch on the families of these officers. Officers serving in border areas must feel that everybody at home is safe. The Defence Ministry has to do this. I think the Defence Ministry understands what I am driving at.

Coming to the projects which have been started by the Defence Ministry, we are not able to understand how much money has been spent on the projects. The Defence Ministry is doing really a very right thing by starting these projects, especially the projects which they have constructed at Ambala. The time taken by the defence forces to construct these projects is very short. Many times, the authorities have tried to build these apartments through the contractors, but in spite of paying heavy amounts the contractors could not finish the buildings in time. So, what the defence forces are now doing is a very good thing. But, at the same time, we would like to know what is the amount of money that is spent on the projects. That will give an idea to this House and to the country that whatever works the Defence Ministry takes, it really does them with less cost. Otherwise, we will be led to feel that the defence forces use the military vehicles, military men and various other military resources without accounting for them. Therefore, it would give a clear picture if the Minister could give us an idea as to how much they have been spending on these projects.

At the same time, I would also insist that when the Defence Ministry are thinking of providing accommodation for officers and men and other

[Shri M. R. Krishna]

accommodation for military purposes, they should also think of reviving the old pioneer corps. If they cannot do that, they must create a corps even on a short term basis so that that corps could be entrusted with this type of work. I say this because there is also a feeling among the people that most of the men who are trained for doing a particular type of work are diverted to take up this kind of project and civilian work. Therefore, in order to set at rest that feeling, the Defence Ministry should think of a corps which can be created on a short terms basis, and with the assistance of sappers and miners they will be able to take up this kind of projects. I hope the Ministry will be able to do much in that way.

I next turn to the ordnance factories and depots. Just now the audit report has come, and it presents a very gloomy picture. There are many reasons for such a picture. Mostly, the things which have been investigated into were those which had happened just after the partition and many of the irregularities pointed out by the Auditor-General in the report had been committed about five to ten years back. Now, we would like to know from the Defence Minister how he has tried to review these things, especially the contracts and the amounts spent on the various items, and more particularly the accommodation which has been provided for but not properly used.

I have got the relevant papers with me. I was really shocked to see that covered accommodation which had been constructed by spending lakhs of rupees has not been properly put into use. Some buildings have been built for defence use, but there are vacant portions. 20 per cent of the space has been given as vacant at some places and 40 per cent at some other places. There are also workshop buildings, say, for instance, for the Valves Division, 100 per cent of the accommodation constructed is still lying vacant. These are certain

things, for which the Defence Ministry will be blamed. While constructing these buildings, the Ministry must have consulted the people concerned or they must have been advised by some committee which wants such and such types of buildings to be constructed. But, after constructing them, I do not see any reason why these buildings have not been properly put into use. This is really a very serious thing. Many times, even during the Question Hour, we tried to get the information from the Defence Ministers but we seldom got the correct information. I do not know the reasons behind it.

The Defence Ministry, I should say, is not concentrating much on the cantonments under it. These cantonments see to the needs of the people living next door to them, in the municipal areas. Again, in the municipal areas, water facilities and other facilities are available, but in the cantonments most of these things are not properly attended to. There are also villages covered by the cantonments but not catered for by the cantonments. There are villages which contribute and pay taxes to the cantonments but they do not get their essential requirements like water. I may refer to the Secunderabad cantonment where there are about 18 villages which have been covered by the cantonment.

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

Shri M. R. Krishna: These villages are not at all helped by the municipality since they do not come under the municipality. They do not pay tax to the municipality but they do pay to the cantonment. Even then, ordinary facilities like drinking water are not made available to them. I think the Defence Ministry has been already posted with a lot of information on this point and I hope the Ministry will be able to do something in this regard.

On one occasion, I raised, during the Question Hour, the point that the conservancy staff under the brigade headquarters were not at all being given any help. The Home Ministry comes forward in other places to help them with a subsidy to the municipalities in order to better their conditions. But the conservancy staff under the Defence Ministry is suffering a lot because the brigade headquarters recruit these people and there is no condition governing their promotion, dismissal or any kind of thing. I would request the Defence Ministry to see that the conservancy staff is transferred from the brigade headquarters to the Garrison Engineers, because the Garrison Engineers are the people who have to keep these kinds of men under them. Further, the Garrison Engineers have got regular allotment of money to be spent. If the conservancy staff is left to the brigade headquarters, they are governed without any rules! Whenever the troops move, these people are just thrown out and they do not even get one month's notice, because the brigade headquarters are given only a certain amount annually and within that amount they will have to meet the expenditure on account of the conservancy staff. Therefore, it would be better and proper for the Defence Ministry to transfer the services of the conservancy staff to the Garrison Engineers, instead of keeping them under the brigade headquarters.

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

Shri M. R. Krishna: Sir, I may be given some more time; two or three minutes.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: He can have one more minute.

Shri M. R. Krishna: I may now refer to the Canteen Stores Department. I think the Deputy Minister is the chairman of this organisation. I do not want to go into the whole history of this institution, as to how it has

come up, etc. But I would very much like to know how this is functioning—whether it is a government institution or a private one or a co-operative organisation. It has got a fund of nearly Rs. 1 crore, but the CSD employees do not get any benefit under any kind of scheme. Either under the cooperative scheme or under any government scheme, this department gets various concessions; it gets things tax-free and also gets exemption from various duties on so many articles. It gets concessions, I think, as a government institution, but when certain benefits have to be extended to the employees there, the employees are simply denied those benefits on the ground that the CSD is a government institution. I would therefore very much like to know what is the position of the CSD, how the profits are being utilised and which is the agency which owns this department and who is financing it. I understand that the CSD has come into existence with the amount which had been left over by the syndicate, and that amount has been taken as the capital for the CSD. Afterwards some money has been repaid. But today I do not know who owns the CSD. I would very much like Defence Minister to enlighten this House about this matter.

Shri Warior (Trichur): Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, the first point I want to make in this Demand for Grants under the Defence Ministry is the independence of our defence organisation, equipment and defence stores. Much has been said about the present position here, as compared to the position in nearby countries like China. Pakistan is ignored this time, and that is well and good, for, we can come to some arrangement or agreement with Pakistan on a friendly basis. Now the potential enemy has shifted to some other country. Their forces are described vividly here, and at the same time very bleak picture of the position we have is given. Our position may not be up-to-date, but at the same time, the reason for that is for the last 12 years, we had been concentrating all our attention for the creation of

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the background, the rear. In that respect, industrialisation has been going on and steel plants are coming. The defence ordnance factories are going ahead. But I would like to say that the old shackle is there. The British connections are still lingering not only economically and politically, but even in service matters.

The purchases are made in England. Shri Patnaik was saying about the purchase of aircraft carriers. We do not know where else we can get aircraft carriers. We have to depend on them, whether it is obsolete, condemned or limping. At the same time, there is no other way. That is still continuing. So also in the air force. All the things are brought from U.K., America and other countries which are by nature imperialists. I do not think Shri Goray will contend that they are not capitalist, if, not imperialist. We depend on them for equipment and for training of our boys. Our boys are sent to U.K. for training.

We are taking part in the naval exercises of the Commonwealth. I do not know whether we get all the ins and outs and whether our boys are given all the secrets that are remaining with them. Even in industrial matters, they are not parting with their know-how. I do not know how much know-how we will get by taking part in naval exercises. Be it as it may, we are still doing that.

In regard to scientific and technological matters, I was wonder-struck when Shri Patnaik yesterday referred to inter-continental ballistic missiles. I do not know what is meant by inter-continental ballistic missile, according to Shri Patnaik. Our country, the Government and this august Parliament have declared that we have nothing to do with nuclear armaments at all nor with space rockets and other things. But there was a cut motion by Shri Patnaik on that. He says we

must have inter-continental ballistic missiles and at the same time, he is complaining that we have not got even light rifles for our men in the Himalayan region. If political matters are to be brought into a defence debate, well and good; but that must be put forward straightly. If it is a question of defence in a particular sphere, we must take it up and see that the heritage of the British domination, the connections of the Commonwealth which are still lingering, hampering our progress towards a final complete independent building up of our strength, are removed.

Here comes industrialisation, especially the production in the ordnance factories. Of course, there also we have got much to say. I do not for one moment condemn what is there in the audit report; the other side may come later and then we can discuss it. But for the present, we know that from 25 to 30 per cent. utilisation of the capacity, which was formerly reported in the administrative report itself, now it has gone up to something like 42 to 45 per cent. Many factories have registered progress. I have visited the Bharat Electronics Limited and the H.A.L. in Bangalore. I have first-hand knowledge not only from the officers, but from the workers also, who came to see us not in the factory, but the railway station. There is considerable improvement in the matter of manufacturing capacity. In the 19 ordnance factories, previously only 25 to 30 per cent. of the manufacturing capacity was utilised. Now it has gone up to 42 to 45 per cent. To give some instances,—installation of boot plant at Harness and Sadlery Factory, Kanpur, increased steel production in the ordnance factory at Kanpur and Ishapore, etc. All these come under this category and progress in production has been registered. I do not know whether production is going to be condemned also. Of course, the Ministry has to be condemned in many respects; there is no doubt about it.

Shri Tyagi: Why?

Shri Warior: Because in certain things they bungle. At the same time, we have seen these things and they need encouragement.

In the B.E.L., we met officers and workers and we had cursory discussions with them. We were really proud of the achievements they have made, although many equipments are still to come. From Rs. 60 lakhs worth of production, they are going up to the mark of Rs. 1 crore this year. But there was a sad side comment also. About 15 M.Ps. had gone there and the workers there hinted that at times there was too much scrutiny into things and too much interference in the day-to-day work in the factories, hampering production. New designs are made and new patents could be registered. There were new patents, not known to anybody else except the people there. They say, these are new things which will come in a very big way in our communications system. I cannot give out the names of the patents; I do not know the technical things about it. But they showed those things. They are not willing to divulge it, because they do not know what will be their fate once it is divulged. I am giving it out in Parliament, so that Members may know.

They mentioned the names of certain committees to us. They said, a new prototype for a car is built there. They do not give all the details of that car, because it is a new model and of a new design. They are asked, "How much is the leg-space? Is it only so much? In the Chevrolet, it is more." So, it is to be condemned and finished. They are asked, "How long are the brakes?" All these questions, which are very apparent and which anybody can ask, are put to them and some defect is found out. It seems it is mainly for finding out the defects these questions are put. No encouragement is given. They say this car is marketable. They are cheap, costing only Rs. 5,000. Even an ordinary Member of Parliament—not to speak of bigger fellows—can purchase it.

Shri Tyagi: Book one for me.

Shri Warior: But they are not ready to submit the final reports, about it, because first comes the discouragement rather than encouragement. A word of encouragement coming from this Parliament, with all the vehemence that Shri Goray put in his speech in regard to the defence of the Himalayan region would have produced thousands of cars, because our boys would have been encouraged to go ahead and register further progress. If there is anything to be condemned, I am not yielding to Shri Goray . . .

Shri Goray: I am not getting up at all.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: He might continue in spite of Shri Goray.

Shri Warior: In the administrative report itself, it is said:

"The value of civil trade work carried out in Ordnance Factories during the year 1958-59 amounted to Rs. 3.20 crores. It is hoped that the production during the year under review will amount to Rs. 3.50 crores."

It is also said:

"The value of overall output of the Ordnance Factories inclusive of items for civil trade consumption was Rs. 20 crores during 1958-59 as against Rs. 18 crores of 1957-58 and Rs. 14 crores of 1956-57."

In this connection, I have many quotations to make, but I do not make them for want of time. I will only refer to one point more, viz., the attack levelled against the Ministry in the matter of taking up new contracts with foreign firms and the installing of new capacity for increasing production.

With due deference to hon. Members who have spoken before, I would point out one thing. We have went to 13 installations in the private sector and in the public sector also. When-

[Shri Warrior]

ever we go, the technical know-how and the scientific know-how rests with the foreigners. When we were under the grip of the British rulers for the last 150 or 200 years, we did not know much about them and so we had to import them. Now, in Rourkela there are Germans, in Bhilai there are Russians, in H.A.L. there are Germans and in B.E.L. there are French people. But that is inevitable in the present stage of our country. Of course, some mistakes have been committed in those places. But the entire country can go into those mistakes. Reports are coming every now and then and they are open to public. It is an open book. You can go there, inspect everything, put questions and get answers. But what is the position in the private factories? I ask hon. Members to judge it impartially. What has the Tatas been doing all the time? What have the other basic industries done? They talk so much about the public sector and the private sector that I cannot understand even now which is the private sector. It is only private profit out of the public sector, public money, money voted by this Parliament which is appropriated by the private business. Now the profit is taken by the private person but the money is public property. Can the Tatas themselves claim that it is private property? Can anybody claim like that? All major industries, all major undertakings in this country are of the public. How long can the taxpayer, the consumer wait for the Tatas to achieve self-sufficiency or expand their industries? Now, so much money has been given to them by so many indirect methods to help them. So, all these things must be taken into consideration when we view the destructive criticism that has been levelled on the production of defence industries.

Our Estimates Committee themselves have suggested certain things. They have stated that it is inevitable that there are some idle machinery. They can be used only for emergency purposes but they have to be kept ready.

In conclusion, I will suggest that things must be done in a much better way as there is room for improvement. We must get technical know-how from all friendly countries, irrespective of their colour and their political or social appreciations. That is the only possible method that we can adopt to improve our industries.

I want to suggest one thing there. In many of the factories that we went we were told that the conditions of the workers are still very bad. I would request the Ministry to look into this matter. For instance, in H.A.L. the workers compare their houses with those of B.E.L. which are certainly much better. Why not the Ministry consider this question and improve their working conditions? Workers have complained that they are not housed properly. They have also made so many other demands, apart from those about their wages and bonuses. Then, a proper check must be kept on the expenditure incurred by these factories. All these things must be looked into.

In the H.A.L. we found new models made, new designs, by our engineers. Though I do not give complete credit for that to the Ministry, our engineers, our technicians, our boys are doing a very good job and we must really be proud of them, in spite of all our political differences with them.

Then, time and again, we have referred to the Raghuramaiah Committee Report and the service personnel. Things are still in a very bad way. I will refer only to a few cases which have come to our notice. I hope the Ministry will look into those cases. There is very much discontent among the personnel. If they do not take necessary steps to remove the discontent and if they think that a call to their patriotism is enough, they are very much mistaken. Because, they compare their position not only with that of the present officers and rank

and file but also with their position in the pre-war days under the British. Many jawans say that the day the Britishers departed that particular human touch with which they approached the rank and file has gone. If that impression gathers ground, that is very serious. So, that discontent must be removed.

I will tell you one instance. When I was travelling some jawan was telling me that some subscription is collected from them for giving reception to their commanding officers. Whenever the commanding officers go there, there is a well-organised reception and then they have a parade. Then the officer will ask whether they have any complaints or not. In the jails also we have parades. There I used to complain boldly, because there is nobody whom I fear. But in the military parade the jawan has to complain against his own immediate officer to the visiting officer. So, he keeps mum. Should not the visiting officer ask: wherefrom did you get all this money for decoration, reception and all these things? But he never asks that question. That is the old Sahib mentality which the European forces used to exhibit. Then he will give a very good certificate that the Command is all right and everything is O.K. But the memory of the subscription will always be lurking in the mind of the jawan.

Then, the lowest ranks get only very little increments. They have no time-scale of pay. Officers have time-scale and everything. They automatically get rises, they automatically get increments, but not the jawans. Then I will give another simple instance. An ordinary rank and file a jawan coming from the extreme south to Delhi is given only Rs. 1-2-0 as daily allowance. The G.T. express charges Rs. 1-2-0 for one meal. So, the jawan is expected to have only one meal. And that also only vegetarian. If he wants non-vegetarian food, he has to pay six annas more. But an officer gets Rs. 10. How much can an officer

eat? He also gets only the same G.T. meal, as there is no other meal available in G.T. for Rs. 1-2-0 or Rs. 1-8-0 if he eats meat curry also. But he is given Rs. 10 a day. This simple instance will show the differential treatment for officers and other ranks.

I will mention another instance. While I was travelling, one Jamedar or Subedar—I do not remember his exact rank—came to my compartment. Since his name was not there on the notice board, I asked him "Why should you come here?". He said that though he is entitled to travel first class and he has got his seat in the military compartment, since his boss was travelling in that compartment he could not sit there. So, he has come to my civilian compartment from the military compartment.

An Hon. Member: That is the mistake of the Railway Ministry.

Shri Warrior: That is the mistake of the same man, the Sikh gentleman, the Subedar. He never contended for his position before his own military superior officer, although he was also entitled to travel by the same upper class.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Could the hon. Member help him?

Shri Warrior: I could not. It was an army affair. He could not even report it to me according to the Army Act, because I am a Member of Parliament. No such military secrets should be reported to me. So, this sort of treatment is meted out to army personnel, because one is a J.C.O. and another is a commissioned officer.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: He has given out a clue that he was a Sikh gentleman.

An hon. Member: There are so many Sikhs in the army.

Shri Warrior: There are so many complaints about the hours of duty. For example, in Signals in the third shift one person has to be on duty for 12 hours. After 12 hours of duty, at

[Shri Warrior]

7 O'Clock in the morning he is relieved. He is called again at 2 O'Clock for other training or class of coaching or some other duty. Mind you, these 12 hours of duty was in the night and before he had any nap at all in the noon, he is again called for some other duty. So, there is so much of discontent about the long hours of duty.

There is no system of paying overtime even in the case of construction works where the civilians are having it. Sufficient number of family quarters are not there for the Other Ranks. Other Ranks with a family are not given a quarter. They are stationed in a depot for only three years. After 2 years 2 months or after 2 years 6 months they are allotted a quarter for the remaining period of six months or so. Can they bring their family for that short period? By the time they bring their family, specially from distant places, it will be time for them to send them back and go somewhere else.

Then, it is said that Naval boys are sent to U.K. for training there. They are given just 13 shillings per day. Is that enough for their maintenance? Do they get proper accommodation there? It is said that they get all the chances for training there. That too can be contested, but leave alone that are 13 shillings enough? There is much to be done in this regard. They must be given proper allowance and their time and study must be utilised for our purpose. They must be contented. They are in a foreign land. Here they can adjust in any way with somebody else, but there they cannot.

Then I have one more point to make and that is about recruitment. There is one officer in Bangalore for recruitment to the Air Force. For the last two seasons he has not visited Kerala. He goes to all other places. That also must be looked into.

I am now running through the points.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: He ought to run.

Shri Warrior: Then I come to the education of the children of military personnel and their personal activities. We had contended for liberalising the provision in the Navy Act as well as in the Army Act. But at that time the Government contended that it is sufficient and that here is so much of fear of sabotage, this and that. Now it comes to this very shabby or very dirty literature is finding its way into the Army. There should be proper literature. As Shri Goray was suggesting, they are indoctrinating them. Why not we also indoctrinate them? Why should we complain about it? We should also indoctrinate them with patriotism with the march of the new India. We can also do that. It is no use saying that Russia has got ballistic missiles and we have not got them. (Interruption). That is also necessary. We must do it. They must have proper education, proper social functions, proper literature and proper cultural activities.

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

Shri Warrior: I have not touched the Audit Report. But before I take up the Audit Report I have another point. I will see if that also can be covered by the Audit Report. If we read all these Audit Reports, we find that it is a bleak picture. It is really dismal. It is very disheartening and disquieting. I do not know how all these things have cropped up. I also find, as the hon. Minister was pointing out, that there are arrears from the 1948 and 1951 periods. All these accumulations come up to crores of rupees. We cannot squander our money like that. I do not say, if at all somebody else is prone to say, that one hon. Minister or two hon. Ministers or all the hon. Ministers or all the Ministries are responsible. Finally they are responsible to the Parliament. They come up here also. That is done usually. But if we really want to

stop this the entire system must be looked into. There is something wrong. That is true. But the urgency is not so much to locate the responsibility as it is to remove it completely and have a clean slate. One man can charge one commander and another man can charge another person, but if all these persons together accumulate so much of arrears, so much of unwanted things—store purchase and everything is there—then the whole administration must be looked into. There I agree with Shri Patnaik when he said that the Council must be formed immediately. The Army, the Navy and the Air Force must be brought together and there must be a top council including the representatives of the Ministry as well as of the military departments.

Shri Narayanankutty Menon (Mukandapuram): Audit seems to have examined the Defence Ministry now.

Shri Warior: Lastly, I will mention only one thing and that is about the Nanavati case which has figured so much in the press and in the Parliament today.

Shri Narayanankutty Menon: Nanavati was audited.

Shri Warior: The Defence Ministry had allotted Rs. 10,000 or Rs. 15,000, a big sum, to save him. It is true that he was on leave. But suppose the Ministry thinks that he is a very good person, he is a very good officer and we can rely upon him and in order to save the life of a person, to meet the ends of justice and to help him they give him Rs. 10,000. Of course, it is a very big amount and we cannot pay like that to everybody, but on account of generous and mercy considerations that can be given. But I want to ask the Ministry whether the Ministry will accept this as a principle and whether it will be extended to the lowest ranks.

Shri Tyagi: Yes.

Shri Warior: That is what we want to know. I doubt very much the bona fides of the Ministry in regard to that. We fought tooth and nail

when the Navy Bill was before the Select Committee to make a provision for appeal there. That provision was not accepted. In this case I stand with the Ministry that to save a person you may spend money. But that principle must be extended to the lowest ranks. So many of them are facing trials in the civil as well as in the military courts. Their life is also very much precious to the nation. If possible to meet the ends of justice and not to defeat justice—I do not stand for interference in justice—this must be extended to the lowest ranks. Then we shall see that the principle is adopted in a right manner. If special consideration . . .

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

Shri Tyagi: How can that guarantee be given?

Shri Joachim Alva (Kanara): Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, I am very much heartened by two hon. Members who spoke from opposite benches in regard to amenities and conveniences for the men of the Defence Services. First and foremost I want to speak about the welfare and happiness of the personnel of the Defence Forces

There can no efficiency without happiness and there can be no happiness without efficiency. We are trying to instill the iron cast system of efficiency in the defence forces without looking into the happiness of the defence forces. My two hon. friends have already detailed a large number of grievances of the defence forces. The defence forces are in a different category altogether. They are in a different category altogether from the private citizen who sits comfortably in the office or who is in the private sector—the man who is demanding dividends. The personnel of the defence forces, whether they are in the Army, the Navy or the Air Force, are at the call of duty every second of the day or of the night with a ready summons from Death itself.

[Shri Joachim Alva]

The men in the Air Force, who high up in the air sacrifice their life at any m.n.u.e, are placed in a very bad and disadvantageous position than men in civil aviation where we saw the strike by the Air India International pilots. People drawing Rs. 3,000 as salary who, if they would have perished at the post of duty, would have got about Rs. 50,000 almost black-mailed the country in the sense that 30 or 40 pilots went on strike. On the other hand we have men in the Indian Air Force who, regardless of consequences, are always at their post of duty and when they perish their widows get only Rs. 100, Rs. 150 or Rs. 200. With that sum their widows or dependants cannot carry on even in distant villages.

This efficiency in the defence forces must be maintained. I do not know whether a time has come when a special unit should be created in the defence forces to look after the welfare of defence personnel. There should be an altogether comprehensive and detailed unit which will look after all the grievances of the defence forces personnel whether they are in the higher or lower ranks.

I was very much interested in the story of my hon. friend on the other side about the Jamadar in the train. The other day when I travelled, a Jamadar gave me his whole berth to his inconvenience as he thought that I was a Member of Parliament and was entitled to a berth for which I had not registered myself. I was indeed grateful to him and I wrote to him a letter the other day thanking him for his courtesy in giving me the berth when I was not entitled for it on that long journey. When we find these differences between the higher and the lower ranks and then the welfare state demands the erasing out of all these differences, it is time that the defence forces are looked upon by us in all in the sense of a large family. We, the nation and the Parliament, must look upon the defence forces as a large family and we ourselves,

either from this side or from that side of the House, do not make the slightest difference between officers and men of the higher or lower ranks.

I think the time has also come when the Defence Forces should have more women in the forces. In the Soviet Union, in the Second World War, there was an entire wing of women parachutists. And those women went up and did very gallant work in the war in the parachute regiment. You may remember that Lord Wavell wrote in his book admirably about the parachute regiment of Soviet Russia as early as in 1936. They are the pioneers in parachute regiment. It is therefore thrilling to know that one woman, Miss Guha, did a record in parachute jumping. We have people, men and women, brave boys, able boys, patriotic boys. But what they need is the chance; what they need is the wherewithal, and not the 13 shillings. Even with 35 shillings, when I stayed in London, I had to go in 1957 to twelve hotels in the night to find a place; so much so that I do not care to go there a second time. When, as a Member of Parliament, I had to go from place to place and ask for accommodation to stay, the hotel proprietor, if a European couple came, would phone up fixing up their accommodation, leaving me out. So the 13 shillings allowance must be increased. The Defence Minister having lived in London must know how inadequate it is, and therefore he must see that it is increased to double at least. Because, 13 shillings cannot get you even a cigarette.

These are the essential amenities we must give to our Defence Forces. A number of top officers and brave officers have mentioned to me that they have been married for twenty-five years of their lives and not lived with their wives and children for even five months or five years. In the matter of transfers, when they are transferred, the Defence Ministry

must have a whole list of their personnel so that they can know how long a person has been away from his own home, for how many years he has been away on snowy regions, how far has he been in the south and so on, and the transfers must be effected on human considerations. If we have no human consideration, the Defence Forces cannot march.

My friend Mr. Goray mentioned about the Chinese army. I say the Chinese army is independent and over and above the horizon. They have a ration of two bowls of rice in a meal. I was given special rations in the train and I found them very funny to taste. With those rations they march through the forest. We need not go to the other extreme of the Americans where the G.I.s took chewing gum, and when the Americans went over as prisoners to China during the Korean war the latest book on "Psychology of Prisoners" says that 30 per cent of the American prisoners mentally went over to the enemy side. It is a record in the history of war. We neither want the chewing gum mentality for our forces, nor do we want the rations of the Chinese—through for their part it is not easy for them to feed 600 million people. Our army, our boys of the Air Force, of the Navy, of the Army, are the best material that we have got. They are very patriotic. But it is for us to give them the wherewithal.

Now the children of the army officer or the other personnel go from place to place. The army man's wife goes to the principal of the Civil school, private school which makes a lot of money, whether at Bombay, Madras or Calcutta. The mother of the children whose father, the officer or jawan, is serving away on a hilly mountain, has to go and beg admission for the children. I want to ask the Minister of Education and the Prime Minister whether we cannot have this system, that if the wife of an army officer or a person of the lower ranks produces a card with photo, like the card of a Member of Parliament,

that card must entitle admission to her children in any school anywhere in the country. If we are not able to do it, let us close down our schools. If our army or defence personnel, with those difficulties, are not able to get admission for their children in our schools, anywhere in the land, I think there is something wrong with our schools. When we try to send our boys abroad, the best of our boys, for training, the wives of our army personnel, army lower ranks have to go and beg of the principals for admission to their children. And there are rich schools and private schools, and these rich schools are the worst sinners in the sense that they turn a deaf ear. I would therefore very strongly urge that the Ministry should take up the matter that in respect of our military personnel, as long as they are serving, the wife of the officer or other personnel should not have to go and beg for admission for her children in the schools, but when she produces a card that her husband is an officer or belongs to the lower rank, her children shall *ipso facto*, automatically, get admission.

And in the matter of fees we have to be very careful. I remember a man in our personnel, in the diplomatic mission in Cairo, telling me, "I have five children and I have to spend Rs. 65 for each child". True, the Government of India gives them some allowances. But if he has to spend Rs. 65 multiplied by five, and if he is getting a salary of Rs. 600, how can he manage?

These are very important considerations, and unless we make the Defence personnel happy, we cannot make them efficient. You have not only to fill their stomachs, but make their minds alert and contented and happy. And unless we consider it as a human problem, we shall not be able to win any battle; we shall not be able to fight if our land is invaded.

My friend Shri Goray said, there are stern, indoctrinated soldiers in China. When I asked the Chinese to

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take me to their military camp for boys, they said, "Are you not satisfied, you have seen marches in the operas". And that brings me to the second part of my story, that we are lax about the secrets of our Defence Forces. Let us draw a complete line about the essential secrets and the non-essential secrets. These essential secrets have to be guarded with all the strength at our command. And as far as the non-essential secrets are concerned, let us be as liberal as we can.

Mr. J. R. D. Tata the other day, in his role in the private sector, criticised the Defence Minister for not giving out many of the secrets. I do not take up the role of the Defence Minister. Where the secrets are essential and affect the security of the land, they cannot be given. When I went to Mongolia I wanted to see the Defence Minister. They said, "see the Deputy Defence Minister". And on the second day when I went to see him, they said "he has gone out of town". I am just giving you these things for this purpose. Of course, the British I must compliment; they are very liberal in their information. We have tried to copy them. But in these times of stress and emergency, maximum security information must be guarded with hooks of steel, and non-essential information may be given out. I for one am not interested in knowing how many people there are in our Defence Forces. But if these numbers were given away to the other side, affecting the security of the land, it is time that it is halted. In this fight of private and public sector, the Defence Ministry has been made a foot-ball by the private sector. What my friend said is true. Every piece of property and every piece of money in this land belongs to the nation. And for the first time in the history of the Defence Forces experiments are being made by which the public sector has shown the way by which we can produce vehicles. I am not concerned with how much loss has

been made. But I would like to know this. To one firm, namely, Mahindra and Mahindra, how many crores of rupees as foreign exchange have been given for the import of jeeps and steel? If India is not able to produce a single jeep, cent per cent, we are not fit as an industrial nation. There are nations, which within ten years of coming of their own, have been able to throw out jeeps. Let us not have a fashionable car. But a jeep is a wherewithal for the army. If we have no jeeps, our army cannot move. If people who have been given crores for steel and other implements are not able to produce a single jeep, what is the use? A jeep is a small vehicle. We have engineers, first rate men, and if we cannot produce a jeep, well, we can shut down the shop and that 'let somebody else produce it'.

Now, that brings me to the point that our ordnance factories must produce scientists and technicians.

We have over thirty—I do not know the exact number; perhaps more than thirty or forty ordnance factories. I am not concerned with the number—we have a large number of ordnance factories. It is time that the ordnance factories produced first rate technicians and scientists. Prof. Blackett, a Nobel Prize winner in physics, said about Russia in 1958 that they had more technicians and scientists than all the rest of the world put together. Russia, within the course of a generation, from your side and my side, have been able to produce 4 million scientists and technicians in forty or thirty years. It is time at least that our ordnance factories produced decent scientists and technicians, so that we may deliver the goods in times of emergency.

I hope Bharat Electronics will not fail. And here I come to the significant question of radar. We are very vulnerable on the air front. We have first class men who will be prepared to die, as army men. We have first class men in the navy. But we have

not got all the implements necessary for the navy or even the airforce. We have got a large number of planes but the number is completely insufficient. I have to go back to the Russians again, and when I go to the Russians I have to quote an English author from Hong Kong. If anybody wants to see the book I can give it to him. I shall just read the figures. Please do not be surprised when I quote the figures.

14 hrs.

In 1930 the Soviet Union started with just 1,000 planes. By 1940 they had 10,000 planes and by the end of the war, they had 20,000 planes. I am not concerned with their methods. Our methods have to be based on our own resources, our own enthusiasm and intelligence. If you have graft and corruption, we cannot get along, but we must build up our own resources and intelligence, and if we have such a small number of planes, we have no future.

In regard to our air vulnerability, I raise five points which I want the Defence Minister to take note of. I am not exposing our weaknesses. We in India want a comprehensive radar early warning system which gives defence in depth. India must establish a chain of radar stations near and around her borders in order to get 'fifteen to twenty minutes' warning before the development of an enemy air attack. We also need a long-range early warning system without which modern strategic air defence can be powerless. We lack strategic air defence. We have no radar to detect missiles and no defence against them.

We have a very large and first-class factory in Bharat Electronics. Why is it that we are not producing radar of the most up-to-date type?

That again reminds me of the presence of Dr. Kurt Tank who is with us. On the basis of a model of a diagram drawn up by Dr. Kurt Tank,

during the last war in Germany, the Russians designed and produced the MIG 15 which wrought havoc in Korea. These MIG fighters were produced by thousands with a British engine and a German design, and they have proved superior even to the Sabre which can climb and fly fast over thirty thousand feet. The original design was that of Dr. Kurt Tank. Of course, some may say that this original designer, Dr. Kurt Tank, whose services we have had, and for whom we have the greatest respect, has not got a large number of technicians. It is time that the work is done and results produced quickly, so that we may be able to build up our air force, so that we may have our own fighters and aeroplanes in such a manner that our defence forces may feel equal to their task.

A certain gentleman gave his design to another country and through it thousands of planes were produced which did very important work in the Korean War. Whether they got it done through a British or German mastermind does not matter. It is time that the Bharat Electronics and the Hindustan Aircraft Factory with their fine equipments and machines deliver the goods. The Hindustan Aircraft Factory has been doing very good work, has cleared up the mess of a labour strike in five years, and today they are doing good work, but should be more speedy and effective. It is time that we achieve quick production, and produce products as good as those produced by other people not very far way from us.

My hon. friend Shri U. C. Patnaik spoke of our defence forces. He said we are neither nuclear-armed, nor do we have a Strategic Air Command like the Americans. What does he want us to do? All that we can do is to have conventional weapons and equipment of higher quality and quantity. Today we can be content with conventional weapons only of the highest quality and quantity. We cannot do like Russia and America on either side of us. How is it possible for us to wrestle with these two

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giants that are trying to wipe out each other, that try to show superior weapons at each other? That is a thing we cannot do, but I want to tell the House in what way they are posed against each other, in what way they are able to show their progress.

The Soviet Union, from a cartwheel economy—just as our bullock carts except that they were drawn by horses—has today achieved a position of superiority. The Americans with 300 years of progress, with the highest capitalist economy, have also been able to produce weapons. Those weapons we cannot possess since our Prime Minister has said that our scientists like Dr. Bhabha are not going to produce atomic bombs like other people. All that we can do is to produce conventional weapons of the highest quality, quickly, effectively, and in no time, and also in quantities, so that we may have a sense of security in our country, so that people may not feel alarmed about the state of our defence forces.

At present Russia has ten Inter-continental Ballistic Missiles and the United States three. By June the Russians will have 35, and the U.S. 18. A year later the Soviet total will be between 140 and 200, and the U.S. will have 54. By 1963, the position may be 500 and 200 respectively.

Gen. Thomas S. Power, Chief of the Strategic Air Command of the U.S.A. has estimated that with 150 ICBMs and 150 IRBMs Russia could knock out the U.S. deterrent in thirty minutes. This is from the *New York Times* of February 7, 1960. And this is the view given by the Britishers in the *Observer* :

"... taking all the forms of American nuclear deterrent capability that will be operational during the next two or three years—namely some fifty to 130 Atlas ICBMs in the United States, 1,500 bombers there and over-

seas, some 100 IRBMs in Europe, the American fighter bombers in Europe, the Sixth and Seventh Fleets in the Mediterranean and the Pacific, the nucleus of a Polaris submarine fleet—the United States will have a diversity of means of retaliation sufficient to make any Soviet challenge at the level of nuclear war an act of incredible folly . . .

In the second place, the largest element in the American nuclear deterrent over the next three years will be 1,500 bombers of S.A.C. The 500 inter continental B-52s are based on 50 airfields in the United States, while the shorter range B-47s are based overseas. Many of these overseas bases are already in the sight of the numerous Soviet medium-ranged missiles located in Western Russia . . ."

This is the position, and it is time that we took our own decision and developed our own strength.

Shri D. C. Sharma: While listening to the debate this morning, I asked myself one question, namely whether I should sing the praises of the Chinese soldiers who can live on two bowls of rice per day or boost the achievements of Russia and America in the nuclear field and production of weapons. There was a great temptation on my part to do so. I also know a few countries, I have also toured a few countries, I also know about the soldiers of a few countries, but I believe that the purpose of this Defence debate is not to boost the achievements of other countries, to sing the praises of the soldiers of other countries, to tell us that we are a country in a state of underdevelopment so far as weapons and other things are concerned. I think I am a man of very limited understanding, a man of very limited knowledge, and a very humble man. No jamedar has ever given his berth to me so far because nobody takes me to be a Member of Parliament. All the same

I feel that the purpose of this morning's debate is this—and I say it with due humility and with a due sense of responsibility—that we send a word of good cheer to our armed forces, that we send a word of good cheer to the workers in our ordnance factories that are producing our equipment, that we send a word of good cheer to the persons who are concerned with our defence establishments.

I say this because I cannot discuss defence in a vacuum. Our defence is not in the air. There is a definite responsibility laid upon India at this time, and I am discussing our defence in the context of my country's limitations, in the context of my country's needs and in the context of the challenges that my country has to face. These are great challenges, and I think it will not do at this time to give the impression to my countrymen in the first place, and to the nationals of other countries, that we are unprepared.

Shri C. R. Pattabhi Raman (Kumbakonam): Perhaps it is done to mislead our enemies!

Shri D. C. Sharma: I think our enemies are much more clever than Shri C. R. Pattabhi Raman thinks them to be.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: The hon. Member is making the same mistake that others have done, because he says that our enemies are much more clever.

Shri D. C. Sharma: I think you will prevent me from making any mistake.

I would submit very respectfully that we can discuss these Demands from so many points of view. We can compare our Defence Forces and other things with those of other countries. I would not do that. We can look at the Defence Demands from the context of our own constituency. For instance, I would say that Gurdaspur which faces Pakistan at countless

points should be turned into a cantonment. We lost so many cantonments when our country was partitioned, and our country is not having many cantonments now, and Gurdaspur is a place where a cantonment should be established. That is because that city touches Pakistan at so many points, it connects us with Pakistan and it connects us also with Jammu and Kashmir. I can say that.

Shri Braj Raj Singh (Ferozabad): Such a big introduction for Gurdaspur?

Shri D. C. Sharma: I can also say this that there are certain categories of officers in our Defence Forces, whose service conditions should be stepped up. For instance, I can say this about junior psychologists. They have to sit with persons with higher ranks, and they are asked to give their decision on those things. So, I think the service conditions should be stepped up.

I can also say this that there are certain officers who held ranks for some time, but they were not given substantive ranks.

I can also say that when the Army, Navy and Air Force Acts were being examined by the Joint Committee of Parliament, some of the Members wanted to raise the question of appeals. I would say that in the case of the courts-martial etc. there should be provision for appeal. This provision has been conceded in UK and other countries also, so that no person who is brought before a court-martial should have any sense of grievance. I can say all that. But I would say that this will be only a personal or a territorial approach.

Now, as I look at the overall picture of our Army, I would say with a due sense of responsibility, though I know there are many Members of this House who would not agree with me, that so far as our Defence Forces are concerned, during the last thirteen years when we have been free, they have given a splendid account of

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themselves, and that our Defence Ministry, in terms of ordnance factories, in terms of training, in terms of equipment, and in terms of everything, has been showing an upward trend. I can say this without any fear of contradiction.

There are some persons who say that the Chinese have an infantry of 15 million strength. I do not remember the figure. I think each country has to look at its defence needs from its own social context, political context and economic context. There is conscription in China; we can also have the same number of infantrymen and the same number of men in the other Forces, if we also have conscription, but I think our social conditions do not demand a thing of that kind. If necessary, we can take to that, but so far, we have not been conditioned like that. But I feel that we should build up not only one line of defence but many lines of defence, and I can say that at a time of emergency, at a time of military show-down, those lines of defence upon which we do not concentrate our attention now will give a very good account of themselves.

There is the Territorial Army. Of course, I want that the Territorial Army should have a new look. I want that it should have better training; it should increase in strength. All the same, I think the Territorial Army is a kind of good stand-by for us.

Then, there is the Lok Sahayak Sena. I think this is the poorest link in our defence chain, but I think, given time, it can also be improved, and it can bridge the gulf between the professional soldiers and the rural population.

Then, there is the National Cadet Corps. The number of cadets is going to be enhanced, and I can assure you that so far as the youth of my country are concerned, they can do very well in terms of training and other

things through this cadet corps. I must request the Defence Minister and the Prime Minister that they should try to increase the number of the cadet corps as much as they can. They are our potential soldiers; they are our potential officers; they are the potential commanders of tomorrow, and I wish that something should be done to expand the National Cadet Corps as much as possible.

Then, there is the Auxiliary Cadet Corps. This is also a link which brings us near that. I believe that during the last thirteen years, a steady improvement has been made in the training of the different categories of personnel, who can be either actual or potential feeders for our Army.

Again, when I look at the equipment part, I feel that the naval dockyards expansion scheme which has been taken in hand should be given a proper reorientation. It is because the Navy is going to play a very important part in the war of the future, and unless we give this naval dockyards expansion scheme a proper reorientation, it may not be able to play that important role.

Again, I am very glad that we are building Avro-748, a transport aircraft, to replace the Dakota aircraft. I think all these things were unknown some years ago, and these things have come into the field only some time back. I think that in the matter of production of aircraft also, we have turned the corner, and the day is not far off when we shall be able to show results as other countries are showing.

There are some persons who try to think that it is only a toy with which we are playing, but I set a great deal of store by the Defence Minister's Production Committee, and the Defence Minister's Planning Committee. I think this is the best thing that has been done in the Defence Ministry, of late, and I hope that this committee will not be merely a

departmental committee or a supervisory committee but it will be a committee which will take note of the overall needs of our Army, not for a year or two years, but which will take stock of the needs of the Army for ten years or fifteen years, and prepare a phased programme for the production of the Army's requirements. I would also think that it should also have the blue-print of a programme which, if necessary, will be useful to us if there is any show-down. Of course, the Hindustan Aircraft Ltd., the Bharat Electronics Ltd. etc. are there, and I must say that during the last few years, there has been a great deal of progress made in these things.

Now, the Army is there, and the Army has to work in terms of welfare, and I agree with Shri Joachim Alva that we should look after the welfare of our Army men. The Army has also to make use of armaments and other things, and I believe that slowly we are trying to build up the right potential of defence and the right potential of armaments. But the most important thing for the Army is training. So far as training goes, I can say that our country gives as good training to its soldiers as any other country. Of course, it was a pity that one hon. friend of mine said that we were sending our Army and Navy abroad, to this country or to that country. But I am very happy that now we are going to have a National Defence College so that we need not send our high officers abroad for training. So the need for proper kind of training is also being taken note of.

So far as one thing is concerned, I would say this, that in this century, wars are won not only with the help of the morale of the Army, not only with the morale of the civil population, but they are won because of new techniques and new weapons. I would like that our Army should do something to design new kinds of weapons. So far in our country, there has been dearth of talent in designing

and inventing new weapons. So far as my country is concerned, we have not produced any great strategist or tactician in the context of our life today. I want that we should have a very well-established wing of the Defence Ministry trying to design and invent new weapons, weapons which are suited for our own country, weapons suited for our climate and our personnel. This is the thing that is needed most. Of course, they have a Defence Science Organisation. But I think it works in a routine manner and deals with routine problems and tries to solve them also in a conventional way. I do not think this is the right approach. We should try to step up the progress of the Defence Science Organisation in research and inventions.

As I said in the beginning, India faces a very big challenge at this time. It faces a two-fold challenge. This challenge is not only from other countries but also from certain dissentient voices in my own country about which I feel very unhappy. But India has to stand up to that challenge. I am sure that our Army will stand up to it. But I also know that so far as defence is concerned, we should try to speak on this subject in a way which creates faith in the people. After all, whatever we say here goes out and everybody knows it. It is said in the *Bhagavad Gita*:

न जनयेत् बुद्धिं भेदम् ।

Therefore, I would say that nothing should be said here on the floor of this House which can create suspicion or lack of faith in the people of India. I have no doubt that in spite of our limitations in spite of our deficiencies when compared with U.S.A., China and the Soviet Union, in spite of all these things, when it comes to a show-down, India will be a match for any country of the world. Indian soldiers will be more than a match for soldiers of any country in the world. I have no doubt about it. I think this is the message that we should give to India and to people abroad.

Dr. Ram Subhag Singh: Mr. Deputy-Speaker, just now I very carefully heard the warning of my hon. friend, Shri D. C. Sharma, that nobody should say anything which may create conditions in the country in which people feel disheartened. I very much like this suggestion, but I hold a different view, a view totally different from what Shri D. C. Sharma suggested. I feel that we should not hide our weaknesses. The moment we pretend to hide our weaknesses, we go on creating a vicious circle in which we will kill the entire nation.

Shri Joachim Alva and Shri Warrior spoke about the production of jeeps and cars. I very much agree with regard to the increase in our production in ordnance factories, but where I differ is in regard to clear thinking on this matter. Shri Warrior said that a cheap car was being produced. We require clear thinking in defence and in other matters also. As regards the future, how are we going to increase the prosperity of the country without good defence or without creating good law and order conditions, we won't be able to bring prosperity to the nation. Therefore, clear thinking is necessary.

It is a patent fact, which is being noticed everywhere that our think is not in tune with our requirements. Therefore, we are not planning for what we require today for the defence of the country. Though on paper production has increased—it might have increased physically also; I very much like that it should increase—our ordnance factories are meant to manufacture things which are needed for strengthening the Army. For instance, it was narrated here that some planes from foreign countries entered our air space and went back without being brought down. What do we require? We require machinery, we require radar and we require members to make such intrusions totally impossible. They should know that if they venture to cross into our territory, they will not be in a posi-

tion to go back to their own country. But that sort of situation is lacking. Therefore, I want that our ordnance factories should be geared to the tasks which we have to fulfil today and not to manufacturing something which may not be of much use to us. Everything that we manufacture, even a sleeper, is necessary, but what we urgently need is the protection of the country. Everybody is interested in giving a good cheer to all without any discrimination, but good cheer must be given to those who deserve it and not to those who do not deserve it.

The situation today is that due to our own good actions or bad actions, we have created history on our frontier. That history concerns the new frontier of the Himalayas.....

Shri U. C. Patnaik: At the cost of geography.

Dr. Ram Subhag Singh: This is a major historical change. This has been effected mostly by our actions. Previously, Tibet was, in a way, an independent country. It was a buffer State between Russia, China and India. Now Premier Chou En-lai says that both sides may agree to create a buffer by withdrawing the troops—so far as we are concerned, we are not having any troops there; we have only our patrol personnel—20 kilometres on either side.

I want that our military intelligence, our military study programme, our Air Force survey programme and all those things should be in tune with our requirement, because we did not know what the Chinese were thinking, how they were planning to advance, what would happen if Tibet was erased from the map of independent nations of the world and how the Chinese succeeded in crossing our Aksai Chin area from Sinkiang and invading Tibet. All these things must have been known to the Defence Minister and to our Government, and they should have chalked out a co-ordinated programme for defending

our border, and thereby our nation. That is the weakness. The Chinese terrorised India. They were not interested in terrorising Burma, because it is a small nation, or terrorising Bhutan. By terrorising India they created an atmosphere in the universe and more particularly, on the border States so that no State on the border is in a position to tell anything even if the Chinese were wrong because we are not in a position to say that what the Chinese are saying is wrong. Sometime ago they had negotiations with Burma. The Burmese are satisfied and so we are also satisfied. A few days ago, they had an agreement with the Nepalese Prime Minister. He was, to some extent, satisfied and I think they should be satisfied because they have effected that agreement. Now, the Nepalese Prime Minister has disclosed that Mount Everest was demanded by Mr. Chou-En-Lai. What is the position of India? I want to know. We have known the map because the agreement which we have with Nepal, between India and Nepal, shows what is the boundary of India and what is the boundary of Nepal. Shri B. P. Koirala did not specifically say anything regarding the Chinese aggression into our country. It may be because of the conditions which we had created prior to that. Today, there is nobody, responsible body, to say, "No, Mount Everest belongs to Nepal." I do not claim to know much but according to what little I know, Mount Everest belongs to Nepal and to nobody else and if anybody wants to coerce Nepal, we must back Nepal to have its right properly exercised. Now, why this condition or the major historical change was created? It was created due to certain factors. Some factors are of the Chinese themselves: because they want to expand their territory, because they are power-mad. The others were created due to our efforts also because we were silently acquiescing to whatever the Chinese wanted and we were observing that with a cool and calculated silence. Therefore, I had to tell Shri D. C. Sharma in the beginning that if

any mistake is committed anywhere even at the highest quarter, it should not be the duty of any Indian to accept it if you want to live as an independent nation. That mistake we had committed. On top of that we have provided and are still going on providing respectability to China who goes on committing the mistake, year after year. And in 1959, Shri Alva says that if our soldiers are not given good food and proper amenities, they may not face the battle. I want that all amenities should be given to our soldiers and their conditions should be improved as much as possible. I also say that there are soldiers in India, proud soldiers of India, who can go to any battle field and come with flying colours. Without any meat, they can live even on a bowl of rice; they have lived like that in several battles. If you send the Nepalese or the Gurkhas or the Kumaons or the Sikhs or anybody from any part of the nation, they can go and decide the fate of Aksai Chin but here comes the hesitancy of the Government. If you leave it to them, they can decide the fate of Aksai Chin and the Gurkha people who are in our Army can go and cut the Chinese like sugarcane in a sugarcane field. But that is not known to many of our friends. Therefore, I say that all these things were created due to the unpreparedness of our Defence and the Defence apparatus.

It is the elementary duty of any Defence apparatus or any Defence Ministry to know about the defence of the country, to know the boundary of the country and to defend every inch of our border of our territory and also to plan for the protection of the country. Now, 12,000 square miles of our territory is under Chinese occupation and I do not know what has been done so far. We are talking about the car manufactured in the HAL. Had there been any real and co-ordinated programme for the defence of the country, rather than manufacturing any car, they would have manufactured helicopters and bombers and things like that which

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would have been commissioned there to save the country and more bases would have been created. I do not want to hide it and even by trying to hide it we cannot serve either the interest of the nation, or of our own. There is no base in the entire frontier of the Himalayan region and I want you to go on creating as many bases as necessary. Shri D. C. Sharma was interested in Gurdaspur. It is true that it is a border place and we must do everything but it is the duty of the Government and it should be the duty of the Defence people to create as many cantonments as possible from Ladakh upto the NEFA. At least 25 cantonments should be created because the development of those areas can be had only by creating such organisations and sending the people. Today a road construction committee has been constituted with the Prime Minister as the head and the Defence Minister as the Vice Chairman. The Defence Minister is here now and over the entire frontier there should at least be a hundred check-posts from Ladakh to NEFA and at least 25 cantonments. On top of that, there should be roads and bridges and other things and they should be constructed at a greater speed than the speed at which they were constructed a year before or even today.

Shri Alva referred to the American inter-continental ballistic missiles, etc. They know their boundaries and how they should be protected. For protecting New York and San Francisco they are having their bases in Gilgit. Similarly, Soviet Russia is also trying to have its interests properly protected by expanding its fighting capacity. Similarly, we should also know how to protect ourselves. Take for instance, Goa. The people of India wanted to decide the fate of Goa; it might have been wrong or right. I do not want to say anything about that. But at that time it was argued that if we allowed our people to enter into Goa, there would be war in Formosa. But

now there has not been any war in Formosa. The people were prevented from entering into Goa but the Chinese, for whose sake we said that at that time, have entered into our territory and have occupied 12,000 square miles of our area.

Now, here is a map published by the Survey of India Office, Dehra Dun. There are some maps in which the northern frontier of Ladakh was virtually a straight line with a little curve but later on there became a bigger curve. According to this map, we are in a correct position because our frontier is there where it is shown in the maps which we are having at present. I would like that such maps should be circulated to the Members of Parliament. It is very wrong on the part of the Government to price it Rs. 15 because nobody requires these maps for taking them to the school or for the children. Everyday some correspondence is going on between China and India and unless and until Government enables Members to get such literature, it will not serve the proper interests and also not help to rightly exercise their rights as Members in this House.

Shri Tyagi: Sir, this is a point I would request you to kindly convey to the Government. Members are anxious to be fully acquainted with the border situation and therefore, Government may supply us with the maps.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Need I convey it now? It is conveyed already. The hon. Member should conclude now.

Dr. Ram Subhag Singh: I will forego my other chances and I need only five minutes now, Sir. I am not a good English-knowing person. But here it is mentioned in this report on page 5:

"A little later when there were some incidents on the Ladakh border of Tibet, in October 1959...."

My point is that no incident occurred exactly on the border of Tibet. All the incidents that took place were deep into our territory. Even the latest incident that took place at Chang Chemo where nine soldiers were killed and 11 arrested occurred 45 miles south of the Indian border. To say that these incidents occurred on the Ladakh border of Tibet is a very misleading statement. All other incidents also occurred within 40 or 50 or 100 miles south of our border. The first patrol party was arrested in September, 1958 near Shingling lake in Askai Chin. That incident also occurred 100 miles south of Ladakh border. The second patrol party was arrested in July, 1959. That party also was arrested about 50 miles south of our border and this incident occurred about 45 miles south of our border.

Now, the Chinese are about 500 miles south of our border and the Defence Ministry says that these were the incidents that occurred on Ladakh border of Tibet. Actually, I would not say that these are incidents. They are real invasions. About Pakistan, incidents occurred on the border of two or three miles. About Longju I could admit, Longju is 5 miles south of the Indian border.

Now I go to other point about Kashmir. It is said that on the recommendations of the Jammu and Kashmir Government the permit system was abolished but the persons intending to visit Ladakh and other adjacent areas to the cease-fire line are still required to obtain special entry permits. My point is that when you have been regulating this permit system from the very beginning and even today you are issuing permit to Ladakh, then where is the sense in saying that our policy in the past had been to entrust the security of the border to the police and that the army came in only when there was an organised incursion from Askai Chin border, that is, in October, 1959? I want to point out that it was the responsibility of the Defence Ministry

to have a watch over the security of the Jammu and Kashmir State but neither the Intelligence people nor the military Intelligence people knew what was happening. That is the biggest negligence or incompetence on the part of the Ministry.

Then, another point is that we should manufacture more clothing, parachutes and other weapons which the army people need today.

About this Nanavati case, I have much sympathy for our people but we should also see that such things are not allowed to occur. We should not make our army totally Americanised. In Dehra Dun there was the school named Sainik School. With due respects to the sentiments of the officers who want to be called Rollians the name of the school was changed to Indian Rashtriya Military School or College, something like that so that their sentiments must be respected. I want to respect every sentiment but that should be avoided.

About promotions and extensions, they should be very careful because we notice that sometimes judicious care is not taken in giving promotions and buttress is given to some persons. We want that the jawans should be properly looked after.

There is only one point more which I want to mention. I have heard that the Jeep case which was going on in U. K. has been withdrawn. The case was filed with the Court with a view to vindicating the position of the Government. If it has been withdrawn, it means that the Government was not in proper position of making those jeep purchases. Therefore, I want that the position should be clearly stated.

Shri P. K. Deo (Kalahandi): Mr. Deputy-Speaker, Sir, at the outset I pay my compliments to the Defence personnel for giving timely aid to the civilian authorities in several works, like, relief work at the time of flood and fire in various parts of the country and at the same time for giving

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them timely aid in maintaining law and order in Naga hills and Tuensang areas and in Kerala during the times of mass agitation. They have also done splendid work in helping the Bhakra authorities in salvaging the submerged iron gates and in blocking the tunnel. I would also like to praise the activities of our defence personnel in the promotion of sports and athletics. They have done splendid work and the contribution towards the promotion of sports and athletics in this country is praiseworthy.

It would not be proper to pass the demands of this Ministry without making a reference to the new situation that has been created in our northern border by the Chinese intrusions and the specific role this Ministry has to play in maintaining the territorial integrity of this country. The demand of the Ministry is out of tune with the realities. In this connection, I would like to submit that on previous occasions when the demand of the Ministry was discussed never there was such an occasion that our areas were under the occupation of any foreign power. Our preparations and preparedness used to be in terms of the military strength of Pakistan. Now, China whom we considered all along as a friendly country and who subscribed to the Panchsheel with us has all of a sudden created a new problem for us by her forcible occupation of large chunks of our territory. China has a common border of 2600 miles with us mostly on the top of the high mountains which was considered at one time as a dead frontier but which is now throbbing with activity. I would like to submit a few words in this regard.

Defence policy is determined mostly by the foreign policy of the country. Even when buffer State of Tibet was forcibly occupied by China, we did not properly assess the military designs of the expansionist, imperialist Com-

munist power of the most ruthless type, a power which has been trying to expand on all sides and infiltrate into the neighbouring countries, like, South Korea, Nepal, Laos, India and Tibet.

In this connection I would like to submit that the then Ambassador of ours in Peking was fully satisfied with what we did regarding Tibet. In page 175 his most controversial book "In Two Chings" he has mentioned:

"The Tibetan issue was simpler. So far as our other posts and institutions were concerned, some of them like the telegraph lines, military escort at Yatung were to be abolished quietly in time . . .

I would like to draw your attention to the word 'quietly'. Why it should be done quietly? Then, further it says:

"..and the trade agents and other subordinate agencies, brought within the fram-work of normal Consulate relations. These were to be taken up and and when the circumstances become ripe. The main issue of our representation at Lhasa was thus satisfactorily settled and I was happy to feel that there was no outstanding issue between us and the Chinese at the time of my departure."

From this, Sir, you can understand with what satisfaction and complacency the whole question was viewed at that time. The result is that today the sacred agreement of 1954 is not even worth the paper on which it was written and 12,000 square miles of Indian territory has been under the forceful occupation of the hostile forces.

But it is a good thing that under the pressure of public opinion lately at least there has been a marked change in the approach of our ruling party, that is the Congress Party. So long they thought Tibetan question to

be a domestic affair of China, but today they have accepted in unequivocal terms that Tibet has been invaded by China, and I hope the Defence Minister also subscribes to the view of the Congress Party. In a very nice publication known as *India-China Border Problem* published by the Bureau of Parliamentary Research of the Congress Party in Parliament, on page 11 it is said:

"Having committed aggression recently first by invading Tibet and then grabbing large chunks of Indian territory, under one pretext or the other, Communist China stands condemned in the eyes of the civilised nations of the world."

Sir, it is a very welcome change in the attitude of the ruling party, and I fully support it. China has seized all she wanted, and she now pleads for the advantages of peace and *status quo*. This is a definite manoeuvre of their strategy. The invasion of India, occupation of large chunks of Indian territory and the unprovoked slaughter of Indian patrol are a *fait accompli*. The patient toleration of hostile action and insult may be a fine example of diplomacy, but from the defence point of view it amounts to complete surrender of Indian territory.

I beg to submit that in dealing with this border question our armed forces should be given a free hand. We made the same blunder at the time we dealt with the Kashmir question. When the whole of Kashmir was going to be liberated by our armed forces and the Pakistani invaders were about to be ousted, our armed forces were ordered to cease fire. There should not be any similar interference in the legitimate duties of our armed forces in clearing the invaders from Indian soil.

Our Prime Minister is going to have a talk with the Chinese Prime Minister very shortly. I pray to God that the talk will be crowned with success

and some peaceful solution may be reached, surely not at the cost of India's honour or prestige. But, Sir, with all humility I beg to submit that whatever be the solution it would not have any lasting effect unless India is militarily strong, strong enough to retaliate any such bully or aggression. It is only India's military strength that can keep India's border intact, and no amount of agreement or settlement on paper and no frequency of reiteration of *Panchsheel* can do that. Only a strong army and air force can insure against any territorial violation in future.

In this connection, I beg to submit that China is not prepared for any settlement. China is anxious to keep the whole issue alive as it will provide an outlet to divert the attention of the Chinese people from their domestic problems. That is why this fantastic claim of Mount Everest, otherwise the tone of the latest reply of the Chinese Prime Minister which was published the other day should not have been like that. China can understand only the language of strength, and I beg to submit that we should be fully prepared to keep up our integrity.

Sir, it is in the fitness of things that the Finance Minister has made an additional provision of Rs. 28.56 crores in this year's defence expenditure and has further given an assurance that he might have to come before the House for additional funds if circumstances necessitated it. Though the army and navy estimates show an increase of Rs. 26.75 crores and Rs. 3.48 crores respectively, there has been a decrease in the air force estimate by Rs. 2.94 crores for this year. I am not happy over this reduction, as it is not an appreciation of the situation that demands the urgency of guarding our northern frontiers.

In this connection, I would like to bring to your notice the frequent violations of our air space which has become a regular feature these days. It is so because our air force do not

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do their reconnaissance duty properly, our ground staff do not give the necessary warning and our fighters do not intercept the incoming hostile planes. We once paid a heavy price in losing one of our Canberras due to alleged violation of Pakistan's air space. One of our I.A.F. planes met a crash at Taksing in Subansiri Division of NEFA very near to the Sino-Indian border. It is not yet confirmed that Indian Air Force plane was not shot by the hostile Chinese from the other side. The other day we came to learn that one Vampire plane of the Indian Air Force was reported missing while flying northward. It was last seen by a sadhu in the Himalayas and it has remained untraced. As a layman, Sir, I cannot understand what kind of a strategy is this to allow foreign planes to violate our air space. The only action we generally take in such cases is to lodge a protest which is replied back with a denial and a counter-charge against our violation of their air space. When we ask questions in this House why our planes do not fly over the occupied zones and take photographs of road constructions and other activities that are being done in that area, the obvious answer given is that the border is very palpable.

Sir, we know that China is being armed to the teeth by Russia with all the latest aeroplanes and other vital gadgets of modern warfare. If this book *Jane's Aircraft of 1958-59* is to be believed, there is a small paragraph in that about China, regarding the manufacture of aeroplanes, from which we learn that China with the State Aircraft Factory at Mukden is building both military and civil aircraft of the Russian design in a large scale. MIG single seater fighters are produced at the rate of 12:15 per month for which engine, radio, instruments and certain other items of equipment are imported from USSR which also supplies technical assistance. If you consider the aeroplane production programme in this country you will find that a few

HT-2 planes have been produced. Regarding the production of Gnat single-seater light fighter and Orpheus jet engines a licence has been issued for manufacture of these things in 1956 but nothing has been done so far. Sir, only day before yesterday we read in the papers that a multi-purpose plane known as "Kanpur I" has been manufactured in the Kanpur Depot and it has been tested. It is a good thing, but it is not known when our Avro 748 planes would be commissioned. We further learn that in addition to the heavy programme of aircraft building the HAL factory at Bangalore is manufacturing railway coaches. I most respectfully submit that the manufacture of railway coaches in the HAL or the manufacture of "Kanpur Kishan" tractors in the Kanpur Depot should be suspended for the time being and all energy should be concentrated on the manufacture of more aircraft for the need of the country.

Regarding the type of tractors produced, we have seen that some of them have proved a failure in the Dandakaranya area. If we are serious to protect our borders, we must really think of having a first-class airforce. This House will not grudge to sanction the required amount for that purpose. We learn that some helicopters are going to be purchased. I hope they would be of the proper type so that they can do their duty properly in the high altitude and in the difficult terrains in our northern frontier.

15 hrs.

Now, coming to the armed forces, I would be failing in my duty if I do not pay my tribute to the army. India's army is one of the best in the world. They have the finest spirit and the highest morale with a brilliant record of service in the past. They are the finest fighting material of which any country should be proud. When India has got a land barrier of about 5,000 miles and when we are not sure of Pakistan's attitude and when China's attitude is definitely

hostile, we must see that our armed forces are adequately paid and kept fully contented. A soldier suffering from privation cannot be prepared to face an enemy's bullet. We should equip our armed forces with the latest gadgets of modern warfare, as the technique of modern warfare is changing day by day.

We have been adopting a policy of non-alignment. A policy of non-alignment necessitates that we should make ourselves sufficiently strong that no country could consider it worth-while to ride roughshod over us. If the meaning of non-alignment is that we would not be strong, then circumstances would arise and under the pressure of those circumstances we may be forced to align ourselves with some other power, and that would defeat the very purpose and the spirit of non-alignment or neutrality. We have seen in the case of Switzerland and Sweden that even though they are neutral countries and have not aligned themselves with any other power, they are sufficiently strong and they have equipped their armies with the latest gadgets of modern warfare according to their own resources.

The other day, Dr. Raghu Vira made a startling revelation in the upper House that very soon China is going to explode an atom bomb and that very soon China would join the atomic club of the world. If that be so, we should be prepared to do something by way of research in the atomic field. We have made sufficient research in the atomic field and valuable research has been done about it, but so far it has been done for peaceful purposes. I beg to submit that we should now think of extending the field of research to defence purposes also. We are pledged to peace and non-aggression. We are not going to use the atomic warheads against any nation. But if we are attacked we should have sufficient power to defend ourselves. We should not be left exposed to any

atomic attack either from China or from any other country. So, I request that our scientists should be requested to scratch their heads to do something in this regard.

Regarding the ordnance factories, I must say that our ordnance factories are doing splendid work, but to talk about India's self-sufficiency in defence requirements is not a practical proposition. Today we do not have a factory producing the latest explosives. We shall have to depend on foreign supplies. They are very expensive items and they would be draining our bit of good money.

Coming to foreign aid, I beg to submit that India has been receiving foreign economic aid, and we do not have any objection to accepting foreign aid in this regard. So, why should we have any objection in accepting military aid if it is supplied without any strings? It is immaterial whether the military aid comes from the USA or the USSR and so long as we get military aid we should accept it. Marshal Tito accepted American aid so long as he needed it. So, I most respectfully beg to submit that the Defence Minister should consider the proposal of getting similar military aid from outside.

Regarding the development of our border areas, I beg to submit that we should improve the social and economic condition of the people in the border areas who are very backward socially and economically, because we know that unless their social and economic condition is improved, they would be most vulnerable to the catchy Communist slogans which the Communists have started infiltrating in the border areas.

On the question of our second line of defence, I beg to submit that our NCC and territorial army should be strengthened. The procedure of sharing the expenditure between the States and the Centre should be dispensed with. The Central Government should take full responsibility

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of this expenditure. Compulsory military training may be considered for the college students as a prerequisite for entry into the colleges. This may have a salutary effect on discipline in the educational institutions where discipline is lacking in these days.

Lastly, I beg to submit that taking into consideration the importance of this Ministry, the Prime Minister should seriously consider the taking up of the responsibility of this Ministry on his own shoulders.

पंडित ब्रह्म नारायण 'ब्रह्मेश' (शिवपुरी) :

कृष्ण वन्दे जगद्गुरु । उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, सुरक्षा मंत्रालय के संबंध में मेरे बन्धुओं ने विषय रूप में प्रकाश डाल दिया है । इसमें कोई सन्देह नहीं है कि सुरक्षा मंत्रालय का संबंध मोधा समूचे देश के साथ घाता है । यदि सुरक्षा मंत्रालय समृद्ध हो, मजबूत हो तो देश सुरक्षित है । यदि सुरक्षा मंत्रालय खतरों में है तो देश का भगवान ही भालिक है । लेकिन मैं सच्चे समय में मुनता घ्रा रहा हूँ, देख रहा हूँ कि सुरक्षा मंत्रालय के संबंध में बिना मोंचे विचारों केवल सुरक्षा मंत्री पर कुछ दिनों लोग घटके करने रहे । मैं यह समझता हूँ कि सुरक्षा मंत्रालय घबरा सुरक्षा मंत्री का उतना दोष नहीं जितना कि समूचे शासन का मिल कर होता है । मैं नहीं समझता कि किसी भी एक मंत्रालय का मंत्री बिना कैबिनेट को राय के बिना सम्पूर्ण शासन की किसी नीति को ध्यान में रखे, स्वतंत्र रूप से काम करेगा । इसलिये किसी एक मंत्रालय विशेष का यह दोष नहीं हो सकता है जैसा कि लोग समझते हैं ।

चाहना ने स्वाम तौर पर सुरक्षा मंत्रालय की तरफ देशवासियों का धीर नोक मभा का ध्यान धारकषित किया है । यदि चाहना ने हमला न किया होता तो इसका इतना महत्व सम्भवतः हम न समझते जितना कि आज समझ रहे हैं । जहाँ तक चाहना के धारकषण का संबंध है, उनमें हमारे साथ विषयामघान किया, इस में रंच मात्र भी सन्देह नहीं है । हम समझते

थे कि वह हमारा मित्र है, मित्र हो गया है और इसके लिये हम पुराने इतिहास के पन्ने पलट कर मोचने थे कि यह संबंध हमारा स्थायी रहेगा । परन्तु इसमें सन्देह नहीं कि हम इस बात को भूल जाने हैं कि राष्ट्र समाज, जातियों की प्रकृति धीर प्रवृत्ति बदलती रहती है । इसीलिये किसी भी समस्या के समाधान के लिये देश का, काल का धीर पात्र तीनों का ध्यान करना धावश्यक है । अब चाहना का देश वह देश नहीं रहा, उसके पात्र भी वे पात्र नहीं रहे धीर काल भी अब बदल गया है । रशिया में धीर चाहना में साम्यवाद का काल चलता है धीर वहाँ का चाहना अब 'बुद्ध शरणं गच्छामि, संघं शरणं गच्छामि' नहीं बोलता है । अब बुद्ध धीर संघ दोनों का हड़ार कर धीर डकार लेकर, जहाँ से बुद्ध भगवान चले थे, उसको भी हजम करने की उनकी इच्छा है, ऐसा प्रतीत होता है, धीर इसके लिये श्री गणेशाय नमः कर दिया है धीर एक्स्ट्रेट की चोटी पर चढ़ कर घोषणा करने लगा है कि यदि संसार में हम केवल पंचशील का नाग लगाते रहेंगे धीर साम्यवाद को दबाने के लिये मजबूत मंगठन बना कर धागे नहीं धायेगे तो हम एक्स्ट्रेट की चोटी से वह संसार में साम्यवाद फैलायगा । ऐसी चुनौती वह हमें ही नहीं दे रहा है, धपितु सारे संसार का यह चुनौती दे रहा है । हम चुनौती को संसार को स्वीकार करना चाहिये धीर भारतवर्ष को इसके माध्यम में संसार को सूचित कर देना चाहिये कि यह खतरा भारतवर्ष पर ही नहीं होगा, धपितु सारे संसार पर घ्रा रहा है ।

जहाँ तक सुरक्षा मंत्रालय की भूल की बात घाती है, मैं समझता हूँ कि यह हमारे शासन की नीति रही है कि जब कोई सारे तो फिर बड़े बन कर क्षमा कर देना, यद्यपि स्वयं मारने की ताकत हम में है या नहीं यह नहीं देखना, लेकिन दुनिया को दिखाना कि हम बड़े रहे हैं इसलिये क्षमा कर रहे हैं । लेकिन साम्यव में बात यह है कि क्षमा तभी क्षोभा देती है जब हममें उमे मारन की ताकत हो जिम को हम

क्षमा कर रहे है। लेकिन यदि हममें मारन की ताकत नहीं है तो हमारे क्षमा करने का कोई मूल्य संसार में नहीं हो सकता है। अब हमें अधिक दिनों तक क्षमा का दम्भ नहीं करना चाहिये। संसार में शांति का नाग, पंचशील का नाग बड़ा उत्तम नाग है, यह मैं मानता हूँ, लेकिन पंचशील का प्रभाव मुग़ला मंत्रालय पर नहीं होना चाहिये, पंचशील का प्रभाव संसार पर पड़ना चाहिये। लेकिन पंचशील के माने यह नहीं होने चाहिये कि जब देश पर कोई आक्रमण हो तब भी हम पंचशील का नाग लगाने जायें। यही स्थिति हुई थी जिस समय पाकिस्तान ने हमारे काश्मीर पर आक्रमण किया था, जब हमारी फौजों ने अपनी प्रपूर्व शक्ति और सामर्थ्य का प्राकट्य किया था और संसार को दिखा दिया था कि भारत के नवयुवक युद्ध में पीछे नहीं रह सकते। उस समय मोज़ फायर आर्ट्स नहीं होना चाहिये था। समूचा काश्मीर अपने हाथ में करने के पश्चात् दुनिया में पूछना चाहिये था कि अन्याय कौन कर रहा है। हमने स्वयं शांति का प्रदर्शन करके, स्वतंत्र मोल लेकर, पाकिस्तान को अपने को मारने का धमकावण दे दिया था, चाइना को भी हमने अपने को मारने का धमकावण दे दिया। यह वह भूल है जिस का परिणाम हमें इस समय भुगतना पड़ रहा है, और यदि इस समय हमने गम्भीरतापूर्वक सोचकर पग नहीं उठाया तो इससे ज्यादा भयानक परिस्थिति इसके कारण निमित्त हो सकती है और उस का कुफल समूचे देश को भुगतना पड़ सकता है। यहाँ एक घाघ व्यक्ति का मवाल नहीं है, न यहाँ कोई श्री कृष्ण मेनन का मवाल है और न जवाहरलाल जी का मवाल है। जवाहरलाल और मेनन दोनों ही भारत माता के सपूत हैं और ऐसे घनेकों सपूत पैदा होने रहेंगे यदि भारत माता जिन्दा रही। और यदि उसका धूल कर दिया गया तो न मेनन का मवाल है और न जवाहरलाल का प्रघन है। इसलिये भारत को सुरक्षित रहना चाहिये। एक घावमी के क्विटिन्स का प्रघन नहीं है। मुग़ला मंत्रालय को गम्भीरता-

पूर्वक बैठ कर वैदेशिक नीति पर अपने विचार प्रकट कर के निष्पत्ति करना चाहिये कि देश का हित किम में है। घाघ मूद कर, चकि हमारे प्रधान मंत्री कहते हैं इमलिये हम भी वही कहते जायें, यह कोई शोभा की बात नहीं है। हमें निश्चित करना पड़ेगा कि अब हमें क्या करना है।

यह ठीक है कि चीन के प्रधान मंत्री पधार रहे हैं, बात चीन होगी, लेकिन कोई महत्व का तथ्य निकलने वाला नहीं है। यह हमारे प्रधान मंत्री भी स्वयं स्वीकार कर चुके हैं। वे यहाँ क्यों आयेंगे इसका कारण स्पष्ट है। लक्षण बता रहे हैं कि वे यहाँ पर आकर क्या करेंगे। वे दुनियाँ को दिखाना चाहते हैं कि आक्रमण हमने नहीं किया, हिन्दुस्तान ने किया है। फिर भी हम कुछ देने के लिये तैयार हैं। उल्टा चोर कोतवाल को डांट रहा है। एक तो हमारी भूमि पर अधिकार कर लिया और दूसरी ओर मज्जनात और मौज्जनात का भाव संसार के सामने प्रकट करना चाहता है। मगर देवा दुबल घातकः। दुबलता में कहीं कोई किमो का साथ नहीं देता है। इसलिये हमें सब से अधिक घन देश की सैनिक शक्ति को अधिक सशक्त बनाने के लिये देना चाहिये।

बार बार हमारे बीच में वायुमंडल पैदा किया जाता है कि विरोधी दल वाले गवर्नमेंट को गलत या सही रास्ते पर ले जाने का काम करते हैं। प्रजातंत्र में यह होता है, लेकिन जैसे हमने पंचशील का उद्घोष किया, जैसे हमारे बन्धु बैठ बैठ कहते हैं कि हम चर्खे में घरेजों को भगा दिया तो फिर पाकिस्तान से हमने की क्या बात है ? मैं उनसे पूछना चाहता हूँ कि श्रीमान् घाय चाइना से क्यों डर रहे हैं ? जब पाकिस्तान से डर नहीं था तो चाइना से भी मत डरिये। जब हमने ब्रिटिशों को चर्खे में भगा दिया तो इस चाइना को तकली में भगा देंगे। न कभी चर्खे और तकली से लड़

[पंडित राज नारायण 'ब्रजेश']

भाग है और न भाग सकते हैं। यह उद्वांष तो व्यर्थ है कि बिना खून बहाये हमने हिन्दुस्तान को आजाद किया। हमने रक्त दिया है, हमको रक्त देना है, हम रक्त दान कर सकते हैं और रक्त दान करने के लिये हमें तैयार रहना चाहिये। हम रक्त दान नहीं करेंगे यह कहना कोई बुद्धिमता को बात नहीं है। दुष्ट के सामने हमें अपना रक्त बहाने के लिये तैयार रहना चाहिये, और उसको रक्त गिराने के लिये तैयार रहना चाहिये। हम कोई ऐंसे अहिंसक नहीं हैं कि कोई शत्रु हम पर चला आये, हमें मार कर खा जाये और हम शांति का पाठ पढ़ते रहें। जो बर्बरता करे, जो दुष्टता करे, अत्याचार करे, उसके सामने हमारी फौज, हम सब मशक्त रूप में सामने खड़े रहें, उसका मुकाबला करेंगे, यह भावना होनी चाहिये।

इस दृष्टि में देश में इस समय अनिर्वाय मैनिक शिक्षण किया जाना अत्यन्त आवश्यक है। सारे देश में मैनिक शिक्षा दी जानी चाहिये। प्रत्येक नवयुवक के मन में यह भावना पैदा होनी चाहिये कि हमारी मातृ भूमि के लिये हमारे नेताओं ने घोर परिश्रम करके जो स्वतंत्रता प्राप्त की, उसकी रक्षा के लिये हमें सब कुछ बलिदान करना है। अब बंगाल की भूख का जिक्र नहीं करना है, उड़ीसा में कोई लड़प रहा है, इसका जिक्र नहीं करना है, अब हमें अपना देश की रक्षा के लिये प्राण देने है, यह भावना होनी चाहिये। घाज छोटी छोटी चीजों के लिये, चपरामीगिरी के लिये नांग लड़ रहे हैं, कोई कोटे परमिट के लिये लड़ रहे हैं, कोई मोटर और कार के लिये लड़ रहे हैं और उ र में हमारा शत्रु चला आ रहा है। हमारे देश का ऐंसा हाल हो रहा है कि हर एक प्रायमी कोटे कारखाने में इस तरह से उलझा है जैसे कि ईश का बकरा घागम से खाये जाता है, उसे पता नहीं होता कि दूसरे दिन उसकी बलि बढ़ने वाली है। शरीर को दण में देखते हैं कि हम कितने मोटे हो गये हैं लेकिन यह पता नहीं कि नाश गाड़ी जायेगी तो जमीन

ज्यादा लगेगी और फूकी जायेगी तो लकड़ी ज्यादा लगेगी। कोई लाभ होने वाला नहीं है। इस तरह से विचार नहीं कर रहे हैं कि देश की सुरक्षा किस प्रकार हो सकेगी। आजादी किसी प्रकार भी आई, जो लाये उनको धन्यवाद है। जिन्होंने यह प्रयत्न किया वे सब बघाई के पात्र हैं, उनमें हमें झगड़ा क्या करना है, लेकिन अब जो चीज आ गई है, उसकी रक्षा कैसे हो बहु प्रश्न हमारे सामने है। इसके लिये अर्थ मंत्री का और सुरक्षा मंत्री का, दोनों का सहयोग होना चाहिये। यदि अर्थ मंत्रालय के साथ सुरक्षा मंत्रालय नहीं मिल सका, यदि इन दोनों में यह मेन मिलाप नहीं हुआ तो अर्थ की जगह अर्थ और सुरक्षा की जगह आपत्ति धारक खड़ी हो जायेगी। इसलिये इस समय अधिक से अधिक पैसा सुरक्षा में लगना चाहिये।

सुरक्षा मंत्रालय का काम भी इस समय यह नहीं होना चाहिये कि मूली पैदा करने के लिये सिपाही खेत गाड़ रहे हैं और बे इतनी बड़ी मूली पैदा करने लगे हैं। जब हम ही मूली बन जायेंगे तो उस मूली को खायेगा कौन ? मैं तो कहता हूँ कि इस समय सुरक्षा मंत्रालय को मूली नहीं पैदा करनी चाहिये, सुरक्षा मंत्रालय को सब से अधिक अस्त्र उत्पादन का काम करना चाहिये। सब से अधिक अस्त्र पैदा किये जाने चाहिये और वे अस्त्र पैदा किये जाने चाहिये जो चाइना का मुल मोड़ सकें, जो चाइना को सबक सिखा सकें। हमें यह देखना पड़ेगा कि हिमालय की चोटी पर हम उड़ान कर सकते हैं या नहीं और उड़ान करके ऊपर से बम्बार्डमेंट करने चाइना को हिमालय के भीतर कब में पहुँचा सकते हैं या नहीं। क्या चाइना ने ममज्ञ लिया है कि हिन्दुस्तान के लोग ऐसे हैं, मचमुच बुद्ध भगवान के चेले हैं और हम उनको खा जायेंगे, एक प्रदेश तो खा ही लिया और दूसरे प्रदेश खा लेंगे। चेले को तो हमने खा लिया, गुरु को भी खा लेंगे। बुद्ध भगवान के दूसरे चेले हैं गांधी जी। बुद्ध भगवान को खा लेंगे तो गांधी जी कहाँ बचेंगे?

गांधी जी का नारा लगाने से क्या होगा ? अगर बुद्धवाद सत्य हो जायेगा तो गांधीवाद उसके बाद सत्य हो जायेगा, उसका पता ही नहीं चल सकेगा । बुद्धवाद की ही शाखा है गांधीवाद उसका प्रयोग राजनीति में करने से काम नहीं चलेगा । जब अशोक अहिंसा द्वारा अपनी राजनीति को नहीं बचा सका तो हम कैसे अहिंसा द्वारा अपनी राजनीति को बचा सकेंगे अब सहयोग के माने यह नहीं होते हैं कि बकरी शेर के साथ सहयोग करे क्योंकि बकरी अगर शेर के साथ सहयोग करे तो शेर बकरी को खा जायेगा । सह अस्तित्व के माने यह नहीं होते कि तुम अकेले रहो और हमारा अस्तित्व ही सत्य हो जाये । हम सहयोग करते हैं, अनेक काम के लिये हम सहयोग करेंगे किन्तु बुरे काम के लिये हम सहयोग नहीं कर सकते । अगर हम ज्यादा शान्ति पकड़ेंगे तो चीन को इतना भयानक और इतना दुष्ट बना देंगे कि वह खाली हम को ही नहीं खायेगा बल्कि न जाने कितनों का खा जायेगा । दूसरों के प्राण बचाने के लिये हमको लड़ना पड़ेगा यह खाली अपने ही प्राण रक्षा का प्रश्न नहीं है । इस दुष्ट से सुरक्षा मन्त्रालय को अधिक से अधिक पैसा मिलना चाहिये । जो उन्होंने मांग की है उसके लिये मेरा कहना है कि वह कम है और स्वीकृत धनराशि में से जो उन्होंने खर्च नहीं किया यह उनकी अदूरदर्शितापूर्ण नीति है और जो उन्होंने बचाया यह उनकी सबसे बड़ी दुर्बलता है । एक पाई भी उनको बचाना नहीं चाहिये । अधिक से अधिक रुपया खर्च करना चाहिये और ज्यादा से ज्यादा मांग करनी चाहिये और कोई न दे तो हमारे कान में कड़ देना चाहिये और हम मरदा आवश्यक धनराशि का दिनवाने के लिये तैयार हैं । आखिर भारत की सुरक्षा यदि कायम नहीं रहेगी तो फिर वह भावसा बांध किम काम में जायेगा और उनका नाम कौन उठायेगा ? यह जो बड़े बड़े उत्पादन के कार्य हो रहे हैं और देश के मांग नंगे भूखे रह कर

पैसा देकर और टैक्स देकर अर्थ मन्त्रालय को अपना पेट काट कर सम्पन्न बन रहे हैं तो उसका उपयोग किस के लिये होगा ? उस पैसे का उपयोग हमारी सेना पर होना चाहिये ताकि हमारे देश की सुरक्षा पर ध्यान न देने पाये और वह तभी होगा जब सुरक्षा मन्त्रालय समझ होगा, मशकत होगा और युद्ध करने में निपुण होगा । हमारी सेनाओं को युद्धकला में अधिक से अधिक निपुण होना चाहिये । इसलिये इस दिशा में सुरक्षा मन्त्रालय जो कार्य कर रहा है और जो प्रयत्न कर रहा है वह स्वागत योग्य है और उनके लिये मैं उसका बधाई देना चाहता हूँ । सिपाहियों को कुछ भी कहने का हमें अधिकार नहीं है क्योंकि वह सदा से देश के खातिर प्राण देते रहे हैं और आज भी उन्होंने अपने प्राण देकर दिखा दिया कि देश की रक्षा के खातिर वह अपनी जान की भी पर्वाह नहीं करते । चीन ने हमारे साथ कृपा की कि हमारे प्रधान मंत्री महाशय को उनके जन्म दिन पर हमारे लोगों की नाचों भेज दी और हमारे गौरव और सम्मान को अपने अधिक और क्या धक्का होगा । अब हम अपने ब्राह्मण और क्षत्रिय धर्म को भूल गये हैं । अब सब प्रथम श्रावणी कर्म में अस्तित्व को पवित्र करना होता है और नया यज्ञोपवीत धारण करना होता है और नवरात्रि में नौ दिन तक दुर्गा माता का धाराधन करके विजयदशमी के दिन सीमोल्लंघन करते हैं लेकिन आज मुझे इस बात का खेद है कि हम सीमोल्लंघन करना भूल गये और शत्रु हम पर सीमोल्लंघन करके छाता है तो हम शान्ति, अहिंसा और चर्खे के गीत गाते हैं किन्तु मैं उनको सावधान कर देना चाहता हूँ कि यह भेड़िया शान्ति के गीत से नहीं मानने वाला है । शान्ति के गीत सज्जनों में होने चाहिये किन्तु बंबरो के सामने तो मीना तान कर खड़ा हो जाना चाहिये और क्षत्र धर्म का पालन करना चाहिये । यह दोनों क्य हमारे सामने हैं । यह मानक को अस्तित्व में रख कर

[पंडित ब्रज नारायण 'ब्रजेश']

श्रीर गुरु गोविन्द सिंह को भुजाओं में रख कर जिस दिन हमारे देशवर्मा श्रीर जवान लड़े हो जायेंगे उस दिन निश्चय जानिये संसार हमको गुरु के रूप में स्वीकार करेगा। यह ब्राह्मण श्रीर क्षात्र धर्म दोनों साथ में होने चाहियें।

"न ब्रह्म धत्र मूदनाति न धत्रम् ब्रह्म वर्धते।
ब्रह्म क्षात्रं च सम्प्रवत मिह चामुत्र वर्धते ॥"

न तो अकेले पंडित जी बनने से काम चलेगा श्रीर न अकेले ठाकुर साहब बनने से ही काम चलेगा क्योंकि ठाकुर साहब अगर ज्यादा पी कर घर वालों को ही मारने पर लग गये तो घर का सत्यानाश हो जायेगा श्रीर पंडित जी अगर वाममागियों के सामने बेद पाठ करते रहे तो भी मामला चौपट हो जायगा। इसलिये ब्रह्म श्रीर क्षात्र शक्ति इन दोनों का समन्वय करना होगा। हमको शान्ति के साथ शस्त्र को जोड़ना पड़ेगा लेकिन जो शान्ति भंग करेगा उस पर हम शस्त्र प्रयोग करेंगे श्रीर जो शान्ति रखेगा उसकी रक्षा के लिये हम शस्त्र लेकर लड़े रहेंगे। इस भावना के साथ हमें अपने पंचशील का प्रयोग, उपयोग श्रीर उद्घोष करना चाहिये। इसके विपरीत हमें नहीं जाना चाहिये।

मैं सुरक्षा मन्त्रालय से केवल एक ही निवेदन करूंगा मेरा भी उसमें कुछ सम्बन्ध चला आता है। जहां तक सुरक्षा मन्त्रालय के मन्त्री श्रीर उपमन्त्री महादय का सवाल है मैं समझन हूँ कि स्वभाव से वे बड़े सुन्दर हैं, गम्भीर हैं श्रीर उदात्त हैं। मैं समझता हूँ कि वे अपने फौजियों की समस्याओं आदि को देखते और समझने का प्रयत्न भी करते होंगे श्रीर मुझे तो इस मन्त्रालय की बकिंग आदि के सम्बन्ध में उतने भीतर जाने का काम नहीं पडा है तो भी मेरे पास साधारणतया जो कुछ जवानों की आपत्तियां आई हैं वे इस प्रकार की हैं श्रीर मैं समझता हूँ कि इस तरह की स्थिति मनुष्य देश में ही हो गई

है कि ऊपर के अफसरान की जो लेविल है वह पूंजीवादी बन गई है श्रीर नीचे के जवानों श्रीर अफसरान की लेविल साम्यवादी मंगठन बन गया है श्रीर दोनों में जो एक सहयोग श्रीर एकरूपता होनी चाहिये वह दिखाई नहीं देती है। नीचे की साम्यवादी लेविल वाले असन्तुष्ट प्रतीत होते हैं श्रीर वे यह भीतर ही भीतर काना फूसी करते हैं कि देखिये इन बड़े अफसरान को तो १०-१० रुपये रोज मिलते हैं लेकिन हम को केवल १ ही रुपया मिलता है। इसी तरह फौजी जवानों का जो राशन मिलता है तो उसमें भी काफी गड़बड़ चलती है। अब लडाकू लोग जो होते हैं अब इनका खुराक अच्छी मिले तो यह मैदान में जान की बाजी लगा कर लड़ते हैं श्रीर जिस तरह एक पहलवान को दूध श्रीर मक्खन चाहिये श्रीर अगर उसको काफी दूध श्रीर मक्खन न मिले तो वह अखाड़े में उतरना पसन्द नहीं करेगा। ठीक वही हालत उनकी की भी है। फौजियों का बढ़िया राशन मिलना चाहिये लेकिन इसमें भी अष्टाचार फेना हुआ है श्रीर फौजियों को जो बढ़िया राशन मिलना चाहिये उसको ठेकेदार बीच में खा जाता है श्रीर यह क्लाम मान वहां पर सप्लाई करता है। अब फौज के सिपाहों को यदि अच्छा भोजन नहीं मिलेगा तो वह दुश्मन से तबियत से लड़ेगा कैसे। जाहिर है कि जिसका खायेगा उसका गायेगा, अच्छा खाता खायेगा तो अच्छा बजायेगा श्रीर अच्छी मार लगायेगा। अगर उसको खुराक बढ़िया नहीं दी जायगी तो वह अच्छी मार नहीं लगा पायेगा। इसलिये हमारे फौजी जवानों को राशन फस्ट क्लास का मिन्ट, यह व्यवस्था होनी चाहिये। अब शुद्ध चीं तो मिलना नहीं है लेकिन उनको यह बन्द डालडा का डिब्बा भी नहीं जाता है श्रीर पता नहीं कौनमा घटिया किम्म का बैजीटेबल घायल जाता है। अब बैजीटेबल घायल को कलर करने की बात चल पड़ी है तो मेरा कहना है कि देश का कलर कराव है।

घौर उसके कलर को बदलना चाहिये । घभी तो कलर गड़बड़ है । इसलिये मेरा कहना है कि हमारे जवानों को घी भच्छा मिलना चाहिये, दूध भच्छा मिलना चाहिये घौर जां भंडे खाते हैं उनको भच्छे भण्डे मिलने चाहिये घौर जां मांस खाते हैं उनको खाने को भच्छा मांस मिलना चाहिये । अब यह दूसरी बात है कि मैं ब्राह्मण हूँ घौर मैं मांस नहीं खाता लेकिन हमारे क्षत्रियों को यदि वे मांस खाना चाहें तो उनको मांस खाने का निषेध नहीं होना चाहिये जो मांस खाता है उसको मारा मिलना चाहिये लेकिन इसके साथ ही यह भी कहूंगा कि जो मांस नहीं खाते हैं उनको जबदस्ती खिलाना भी नहीं चाहिये । अब इसके लिये यदि यह कहा जाये कि हम दिल्ली में स्लाटर हाउस खोलें घौर वहां पर गाये प्रादि काटे घौर स्लाटर हाउस यदि गाये काटने के लिये खोलेंगे तो यह मरने का लक्षण है । बकरी घौर भैंस यह दोनों कायरता घौर मूर्खता की प्रतीक हैं घौर इनको बलि चढ़ानी पड़ेगी । अब तक मूर्खता घौर कायरता की बलि नहीं चढ़ायेंगे तब तक शक्ति का भ्रजन नहीं होगा । भैंसा मूर्खता का प्रतीक है । फ्रिजियर मेल चला घा रहा है लेकिन उसको पता नहीं चलता घौर वह कट कर उसके सामने मर जाता है । हानं दो लेकिन वह ध्यान नहीं करता है तो मैं कहूंगा कि यह भैंसे रूपी मूर्खता हमारे लिये ठीक नहीं है । उसको मालूम नहीं कि चीन घा रहा है या रूस घा रहा है घौर इसलिये मैं कहूंगा कि यह मूर्खता ठीक नहीं है । यह मिमयाना घौर गिड़गिड़ाना मलत बात है क्योंकि याद रखिये बुजदिय प्रादमी संसार में खड़ा नहीं रह सकता है घौर हमें शक्ति का भ्रजन करना होगा ।

दूसरा मेरा निवेदन यह है कि मेना के मांगों का जब ट्रांसफर होता है तो उनके बच्चों को स्कूलों में ६-६ महीने का दाखिला नहीं मिलता है । अब जो हमारे लड़के वाम फौजी जवान हैं उनको अपने परिवारों की घौर से हर तरह निश्चिन्त होना चाहिये तभी वे दिन से देश की सेवा कर सकेंगे घौर अपनी

जान की बाजी लगाने में भी दरेग नहीं करेंगे । अगर उनको यही चिन्ता बनी रहे कि उसके परिवार का क्या होगा घौर उसकी पत्नी का क्या होगा तो वह देश के लिये मर नहीं सकता है । प्रत्येक योद्धा को यह विश्वास होना चाहिये मेरी सन्तान घौर मेरे घर वालों के पीछे मेरा देश है घौर मेरे परिवार के नालन पालन, बच्चों की पढ़ाई लिखाई प्रादि की गारु द्वारा समुचित व्यवस्था की जायेगी घौर ऐसा होने पर ही वह उत्तमतापूर्वक प्रागे बढ़ कर अपनी जान की बाजी लगाने में जरा भी संकोच नहीं करेगा शिशा मंत्रालय घौर सुरक्षा मंत्रालय में सहयोग होना चाहिये घौर हर प्रकार की शिक्षा प्रादि की सुविधायें फौजी जवानों के परिवार वालों को मिलनी चाहियें । देश में ऐसे वायुमंडल का हमें निर्माण करना चाहिये जिसमें ऐसे लोग जो कि बेकार हों घौर जिनके पास रोजी कमाने का कोई धंधा न हो उनको यह समझ में आना चाहिये कि उनको देश की फौज में भरती हो कर देश की रक्षा करनी चाहिये । हमारे देश में इस तरह का वायुमंडल पैदा होना चाहिये । कोई प्रादमी रोता भी है घौर अगर उसको नौकरी नहीं मिलती है तो उसको पकड़ कर फौज में भरती कर देना चाहिये घौर उससे यह कह देना चाहिये कि फौज में क्यों नहीं भरती हो जाते घौर इस तरह बेकार भूखे क्यों मरते हो । भूखे मरने के बाजय फौज में भरती होना भच्छा है । तुम हम पर लदे हुए हो घौर उधर शत्रु भी लदा चला घा रहा है तो क्यों नहीं फौज में भरती हो कर देश का कल्याण करते । देश में ऐसे वायुमंडल का निर्माण होना आवश्यक है जिसमें प्रत्येक नवयुवक को स्कूल में फौजी शिशा दी जाये । स्कूलों में लड़कों को कम्पलमरी मिलेटरी ट्रेनिंग देने की व्यवस्था होनी चाहिये । जो लोग रिटायर हो गये हैं उन सब को वापिस बुला लेना चाहिये घौर प्राधी तनक्बाह तो उन्हें पेंशन के रूप में दे ही रहे हैं ; तो प्राधी घौर भिला कर उनको काम पर क्यों न लगाया जाये घौर उनसे काम क्यों न लिया जाये क्योंकि जैसे सत्यानाश जैसे साड़े सत्यानाश ।

[पंडित ब्रज नारायण 'ब्रजेश']

दरिद्रता तो भाई ही हुई है और ज्यादा धा जायेगी उसमें बिगड़ता क्या है।

हमने भ्रलबारों में पढ़ा था कि करोड़ों रुपये की गाड़ियां ऊपर शौड न होने के कारण बेकार हो गई और यदि इस प्रकार पैसा बर्बाद हो तो कैसे काम चलेगा। हमारी साधन सामग्री जो नष्ट हो रही है तो उसको रोकने की और ध्यान दिया जाना चाहिये। साधना होनी चाहिये, साधना के साथ साथ भावना होनी चाहिये और प्रस्तावना होनी चाहिये तभी कामना पूरी होगी लेकिन मुझे खेद के साथ यह कहना पड़ता है कि न साधना है न भावना है केवल प्रस्तावना है। कार्य की सिद्धि के लिये यह अत्यन्त आवश्यक हो जाता है कि जो साधन हमको प्राप्त हैं उन साधनों को ठीक से बरता जाये। उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं धापको धन्यवाद दे कर अपने भाषण समाप्त करता हूँ।

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Shri Tyagi.

Shri Tyagi: I have no intention to participate.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: I saw him standing up once.

Shri U. C. Patnalk (Ganjam): He should speak something.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Shrimati Subhadra Joshi.

श्रीमती सुभद्रा जोशी (धम्बाला) :

उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, मिनिस्ट्री की दूसरी बातों की चर्चा करने से पहले मैं एक बात का जिक्र करना चाहती हूँ ताकि उसको मैं भूल न जाऊँ। काफी धर्मा हुआ कि पटियाले से एक बहिन ने लिखा था कि फौज के जो पेंशन के कायदे हैं, उनमें एक कायदा यह है कि धगर किसी विधवा को पेंशन दी जाती है, और धगर वह दूसरी शादी कर लेती है तो वह पेंशन बन्द हो जाती है। लेकिन धगर वह अपने पति के शानदान में ही दूसरी शादी कर ले तो उसे पेंशन मिलती रहती है। उस बहिन ने लिखा है कि इस कायदे की वजह से हमको उसी शानदान के किसी धादमी से शादी करने के लिये मजबूर किया जाता है, चाहे वह पति

का छोटा भाई हो या बड़ा भाई हो, या दूर का भाई हो, चाहे वह भच्छा हो या बुरा हो, चाहे छोटा हो या बड़ा हो। उस बहिन ने लिखा था कि बहिनों को इस मजबूरी से बचाने के लिये पेंशन के इस कायदे को बदलना चाहिये। मैं समझती हूँ कि पेंशन का शादी से इस तरह ताल्लुक करना है कि वह घर में किसी से, चाहे वह छोटा हो या बड़ा हो, भच्छा हो या बुरा हो, शादी करने के लिये मजबूर की जाये, बहुत नामुनामिब है, और इस पर मिनिस्टर साहब गौर करें।

वक्त बहुत कम होने की वजह से मैं यह मोचती हूँ कि उसी बात के बारे में कुछ कहूँ कि जिसे दूसरे भाइयों ने कहा है। उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, बांडर के बारे में जो भी हमारे मिनिस्टर साहब की पालिमी रही है और उसके बारे में जो उन्होंने भाषण दिये हैं, उनके लिये मैं उनको धाज मुबारकबाद देती हूँ। कभी कभी ऐसा इम्तिहान का वक्त आता है कि उस वक्त में मुल्क की परीक्षा होती है, मुल्क में रहने वालों की परीक्षा होती है, सरकार की परीक्षा होती है और जो जिम्मेदार होता है उसकी भी परीक्षा होती है। उन पर मुस्लाफिफ लोगों के कहने का कोई धमर नहीं हुआ और उन्होंने देश के धन्दर वारमांगरिंग का काम नहीं किया। धगर मिनिस्टर साहब उस वक्त कमजोरी दिखाते और जिस तरह से उन्होंने काम किया उस तरह से न करते तो, धाज जब एक तरफ से हमारे मुल्क पर चीन की तरफ से मुसीबत की घटायें धा रही हैं, एक दूसरी मुसीबत की घटा और हमारे ऊपर आती और देश के बड़े बड़े पैसे वाले, बड़े बड़े सरमायेदार और बड़े बड़े व्यापारी, धगर हमारे डिफेंस मिनिस्टर नासमझी से काम लेते या हमारे प्रधान मंत्री नासमझी से काम लेते, उसका फायदा उठाकर कीमतों की जो पहले से ही बहुत बढ़ी हुई है और भी बढ़ा देने और लोगों के लिये मुश्किल हो जाती।

जहां तक देश की रक्षा का सवाल है, हो सकता है कि वह तकली और चरखे से रक्षा न हो सकती हो, लेकिन वह भाषणों

से भी नहीं हो सकती। वह रक्षा सामान से होगी, हथियार बनाने से होगी, देश में आवश्यक चीजों के बनाने से होगी। प्राज कौन नहीं चाहता कि हिन्दुस्तान की रक्षा हो, प्राज देश का बच्चा बच्चा चाहता है कि देश की रक्षा हो, कौन नहीं चाहता कि यहां पर हथियार बनाये जायें, कौन नहीं चाहता कि हमारे पास भ्रच्छे से भ्रच्छे हथियार हों, लेकिन इस वक्त देश के अन्दर खतरा पैदा किया जाये या खौफ पैदा किया जाए तो यह देश के लिये भ्रच्छा नहीं होगा। हमारे साथी डा० राम सुभग सिंह ने कहा कि हमको अपनी कमजोरी को छिपाना नहीं चाहिये। यह ठीक है कि कमजोरी को छिपाना नहीं चाहिये लेकिन यह भी ठीक नहीं है कि हर वक्त अपनी कमजोरी को प्रकट कर दिया जाए। ऐसा करना हमेशा देश के लिये भ्रच्छा नहीं होना।

डा० राम सुभग सिंह (सहसराम) :
नङ्गने की बात करिए न।

श्रीमती सुभद्रा जोशी : एक माननीय सदस्य ने कहा कि सहयोग का मतलब यह तो नहीं कि हम दुश्मन के सामने बकरी की तरह बन जायें ताकि दुश्मन हमको खा जाए। लेकिन यह कौन कहता है कि दुश्मन के प्रागे बकरी बन जाएं, हमारे डिफेंस मिनिस्टर साहब और प्राइम मिनिस्टर साहब तो यह कहते हैं कि हमें कोशिश करनी चाहिये, वह तो यही कहते हैं कि जहां तक हो सके कोशिश की जाए कि हमको युद्ध न करना पड़े। और अगर कोशिश नाकामयाब होगी तो हिन्दुस्तान का कोई प्रादमी यह नहीं कहता कि हम दुश्मन का मुकाबला नहीं करेंगे। लेकिन यह तो कहना ठीक नहीं कि कोशिश ही न की जाए। चीन के प्रधान मंत्री हमारे यहां बातचीत करने के लिये आ रहे हैं। हो सकता है कि कोई नतीजा न निकले, और हो सकता है कि कोई नतीजा निकल भी जाए। मैं तो चाहूंगी कि

इसका नतीजा निकले। हमारे प्रधान मंत्री ने भी कहा है कि हो सकता है कि कोई नतीजा न निकले लेकिन कोशिश तो कर लेनी चाहिये। लेकिन प्राज हमारे देश में कुछ लोग ऐसे हैं जो कि प्राज देश में गलत बातावरण पैदा कर रहे हैं, और चीनी प्रधान मंत्री के बायकाट करने का प्रचार किया जा रहा है। मैं आपसे कहती हूँ कि अगर तकनी और चरखे से इस मामले का फ्रीमला नहीं हो सकता तो जो ये बातें की जा रही हैं इनसे भी फ्रीमला नहीं हो सकता। प्राज दिल्ली में तरह तरह की बातें कही जा रही हैं। एक बात कही जा रही है, उससे प्राप अन्दाजा लगायें कि उनको देश के डिफेंस के बारे में क्या ख्याल है। जैसे कि पंजाब में कुछ अनपढ़ प्रादमियों को यह कहा गया था कि सरकार पानी से बिजली निकाल लेती है इससे उसकी ताकत निकल जाती है, इसी तरह से दिल्ली में यह कहा जा रहा है कि चाऊ एन लार्ड को प्राज बुलाया गया है, उनका स्वागत भी होगा, लेकिन अगर वह वापस जानें में इन्कार कर दें तो फिर क्या होगा, उस वक्त कितनी मुश्किल हो जाएगी। कहा जा रहा है कि चाऊ एन लार्ड को प्रधान मंत्री ने बुलाया है, लेकिन अगर उन्होंने बाद में कह दिया कि मैं नहीं जाता तो क्या होगा। केवल में तो बैठ ही सकते हैं। उस हालत में गवर्नमेंट क्या करेगी। मैं कहना चाहती हूँ कि इस तरह की बातें फ्रीमलाने में तो देश की रक्षा नहीं हो सकती। तो मैं प्रत्येक से निवेदन करना चाहूंगी कि इस मसाले को बार बार उठाना ठीक नहीं है कि जब हमला हो रहा था, बारडर इंसीडेंट हो रहे थे, उस वक्त डिफेंस मिनिस्टर ने कुछ नहीं किया इसका क्या कारण है। इस बारे में बार बार इस हाउस में बयान हो चुके हैं, स्टेटमेंट दिये जा चुके हैं, कि पहले बारडर की रक्षा डिफेंस के हाथ में नहीं थी, होम मिनिस्ट्री के हाथ में थी या मिबिल प्रापारिटीज के हाथ में थी। यह सब होने के बाद भी अगर

[श्रीमती सुभद्रा जोशी]

कोई उमी बात को बार बार दुहराता रहे तो यह मेरी समझ में नहीं आता। जब जब जरूरत समझी गई और जब उसकी रक्षा का सवाल उठा तो उस बारबर का काम डिफेंस मिनिस्ट्रो को सौंप दिया गया और मुझे शुबहा नहीं कि डिफेंस मिनिस्ट्रो पूरी जिम्मेवारी के साथ इस काम को करेगा।

इसके बाद जो हमारे साथी हमारी घाईनेन्स फैक्टरियों में काम कर रहे हैं उनको मैं मुबारकबाद देना चाहती हूँ। और मैं डिफेंस मिनिस्ट्रो को भी मुबारकबाद देती हूँ कि जो हमारे लोग घाईनेन्स फैक्टरियों में काम कर रहे थे उनको और भी काम करने का मौका दिया गया। एक वक्त्र था कि हमारी १६ घाईनेन्स फैक्टरियों में उनकी मैनुफैक्चरिंग कैपेसिटी जो थी उसका २५ या ३० फीसदी काम होता था, लेकिन आज उनकी मैनुफैक्चरिंग कैपेसिटी का ४२ से ४५ पर सेंट तक काम उनमें हो रहा है। जो कुछ सारा काम हो रहा है उसको मैं यहां नहीं बतलाना चाहती क्योंकि वह इस रिपोर्ट में दिया गया है। आज इन घाईनेन्स फैक्टरियों में अच्छी से अच्छी चीजें बन रही हैं। मिनिस्ट्रो ने जो एवरो ७४८ बनाया है और उसके लिए जो प्लांट लगाया है उसके लिए मैं मिनिस्ट्रो को मुबारकबाद देता हूँ। लेकिन प्राइवेट सेक्टर की तरफ से कहा जा रहा है कि इसके लिए जो राल्स राइस का इजिन बनाया गया है वह इसमें फिट नहीं होगा। मैं चाहूंगी कि मिनिस्टर साहब इसके बारे में अपना बयान दे दें, ताकि लोगों के दिल से यह सन्देह दूर हो जाए।

मैं मिनिस्ट्रो को इसके लिये भी मुबारकबाद देती हूँ कि उसने ट्रक्स और ट्रैक्टर तैयार कराये। बड़े बड़े पूजीपति लोगों को हमने लाखों और करोड़ों रुपया दिया लेकिन उन्होंने हमको कोई भी चीज बनाकर नहीं दी। आज

डिफेंस मिनिस्ट्रो कुछ चीजें बना रही है तो कहा जाता है कि तुम ने यह ठीक नहीं बनाया, वह ठीक नहीं बनाया, कोई कहता है कि तुम ने छोटी बन्दूक नहीं बनायी, और जो चीजें बनायी गयी हैं उसके लिये कहा जाता है उनमें यह काम ठीक नहीं किया वह काम ठीक नहीं किया। अगर आज एक चीज ठीक नहीं बनी है तो कल ठीक बनेगी। लेकिन इसका मतलब यह तो नहीं है कि हम हमेशा दूसरों को रुपया देते चले जायें और कमी अपनी चीजों के लिये सेल्फ सफिशेंट न हों। आपने जो शक्तिमान बनाया उसके लिये मैं मुबारकबाद देती हूँ। और भी दूसरी चीजों का जो उत्पादन बढ़ गया है उसके लिये भी वह बचाई के पात्र हैं।

मैं यह भी अर्ज करूंगी कि हमारे यहां अगर इन घाईनेन्स फैक्टरियों को अलग अलग राज्यों में डिसेंट्रलाइज कर दिया जाये तो उससे ज्यादा फायदा होगा। दूसरे राज्यों के लोगों को भी इनमें काम करने का मौका मिलेगा।

इसके अलावा जो इलेक्ट्रानिक लिमिटेड ने काम किया है उसकी भी आज चर्चा हुई है। मुझे मालूम है कि कुछ गलतियां भी हो रही हैं, मगर सबसे बड़ी बात देखने की यह है कि यह धामों की तरफ जा रहे हैं या नहीं। इस बार पहली दफा है कि लोगों को प्राफिट होने की उम्मीद है, यह हमारी रिपोर्ट में दिया गया है। सोलह से भी ज्यादा नई चीजें आज बे लोग बनाने लगे हैं। १९६०-६१ के लिये उन का जो टारगेट था, उस को वे बहुत पहले पूरा कर चुके हैं और टारगेट से भी ज्यादा दूसरी चीजें बनाने लगे हैं। जो चीजें वे बनायेंगे, उन में से पचास साठ परसेंट चीजें डिफेंस सर्विसिज के लिये होंगी।

इसी तरह से हिन्दुस्तान एयरक्राफ्ट वाले जितनी चीजें बना रहे हैं, हम लोग उन को भूल जाते हैं। यह कहा जाता है कि वे यह चीज नहीं बनाते, वह चीज नहीं बनाते।

कौन कहता है कि वे न बनायें ? लेकिन हमें याद रखना चाहिये कि वे बनाने की कोशिश कर रहे हैं । एक दम सारी चीजें बन जायें, यह एक भ्रष्टा स्वभाव है, लेकिन वह स्वभाव एक दिन में पूरा नहीं हो सकता है ।

जो "धमर" हाउसिंग स्कीम डिफेंस मिनिस्ट्री ने बनाई, वह सारे देश के लिये गौरव की बात है । जैसा कि मैं ने प्राप से कहा है, हिन्दुस्तान में जो वेस्टिड इन्स्ट्रुस हैं, जो वैसे वाले लोग हैं, जो, वे इन बातों से नाराज हैं । धमरी हाल ही की बात है कि जब फौज बार्डर का चार्ज लेने के लिये भ्रामाम भेजी गई, तो वहां के बड़े बड़े ठेकेदार बड़े खुश हुए । उन्होंने मोचा कि फौज यहां पर घ्रा रही है, हम को बड़े बड़े ठेके मिलेंगे, कंस्ट्रक्शन के बड़े बड़े काम मिलेंगे । लेकिन जब हुकम हुआ कि मिलिटरी सब सामान, बिल्डिंग बैगैर खुद बना लेगी, तो वे लोग रोज डिफेंस मिनिस्ट्री और डिफेंस मिनिस्टर को गालियां देने लगे । मुझे इस में कोई गुबहा नहीं कि धमर उन लोगों से पूछा जाये, तो वे कहेंगे कि यह मिनिस्ट्री चाहना से हिन्दुस्तान की रक्षा नहीं कर सकती है । बात यह है कि वे श्रोग नहीं बोलते हैं, उन के वैसे का इन्स्ट्रु बोलता है ।

यहां पर घ्राडिट रिपोर्ट की बहुत चर्चा हुई । उस पर मुझे कुछ कहना नहीं है, पर मैं इस बात को समझती हूं कि बहुत सी गलतियां हुई होंगी । कुछ बातों का मिनिस्ट्री जबाब देगी, लेकिन मैं इस हाउस के सदस्यों का ध्यान इस बात की तरफ दिलाना चाहती हूं कि बहुत पहले प्राक्शन कैसे होते थे, इस को कौन नहीं जानता है । नई चीज प्राज खरीदी थी और फौरन ही उस को बेकार कह कर प्राक्शन कर दिया जाता था और उसी चीज को कल फिर खरीद लिया जाता था । कानपुर में बाह्र घाने गज जो कैनवस बेच दिया गया, उसी कैनवस को उसी ठेकेदार से तीसरे चौथे दिन दो रुपये गज के हिसाब से लिया गया । दिल्ली में मैं ने देखा कि बिल्कुल नये प्रेशर

कुकर जो कागज से निकले थे, तीस तीस रुपये पर दिल्ली के कबाड़ी बेच रहे थे । उन को मालूम नहीं था कि चीज क्या है । वे पाच रुपये सेर के हिसाब से तीस रुपये का प्रेशर कुकर बेच रहे थे, जिस की कीमत चार साल पहले बाजार में तीन सौ रुपया थी ।

मैं यह भी धमर करना चाहती हूं कि जब एम्प्लॉईज की तरफ से, या हम लोगों की तरफ से कोई बात डिफेंस मिनिस्ट्री के नोटिस में लाई जाती है, तो उस पर कार्यवाही होती है । धमरी कानपुर का किस्सा है कि सोलह हजार रुपये पर कोई चीज प्राक्शन की गई । जब यह बात मिनिस्टर साहब के नोटिस में लाई गई, तो उन्होंने उस को स्टे किया और उस के बाद वह चीज ६६,००० रुपये में प्राक्शन हुई । इस से प्राप भ्रन्दाजा लगा सकते हैं कि गवर्नमेंट का कितना नुकसान होने वाला था और वक्त पर कार्यवाही से यह बच गया ।

यह भी कहा गया है कि जब तक काम करने वालों की—चाहे वे सोलजर्ज हों और चाहे घ्राडिनेंस फैंक्टरीज के वर्कर्स—तस्ली नहीं होंगी, जब तक वे खुश नहीं रहेंगे, तब तक वे ठीक काम नहीं कर सकते । धमरी तक हमारे यहां यह होता था कि डिफेंस मिनिस्ट्री में घ्राडिनेंस फैंक्टरीज में रिट्रेंचमेंट होनी थी । हाउस के सदस्यों को याद होगा कि धमरी बहुत पहले की बात नहीं है कि १९५६ में छः हजार लोग एक दम में रिट्रेंच कर दिए गए । इसकी वजह यह थी कि उन दिनों ज्यादातर काम बाहर दिया जाता था और घ्राडिनेंस फैंक्टरीज में काम करने की कोशिश कम होती थी । मुझे याद है कि दो मान की बात है कि इनने बड़े वर्कशाप होते हुए भी दिल्ली में बड़े-बड़े टुकम की मरम्मत करने का काम एक ठेकेदार को दिया गया और बेम कमाड के एम्प्लॉईज खाली बैठे रहे । हमने हुकूमत का ध्यान हम तरफ दिनाया, तो डिफेंस मिनिस्ट्री

[श्रीमती सुमद्रा जोशी]

ने समझा कि जब यह काम हम खुद कर सकते हैं, तो कोई वजह नहीं कि इसे ठेकेदारों को दिया जाये।

पिछले साल कितनी ही स्ट्राइक्स हुईं, लेकिन ग्राइनेंस फैक्टरीज में स्ट्राइक्स कम हुईं। इसके लिए मैं ग्राइनेंस फैक्टरीज के कारीगर भाइयों को मुबारकबाद देना चाहती हूँ, जो कि अपने फर्ज को समझते हैं और समझते हैं कि हमको देश के काम को करना चाहिए।

इस सिलसिले में मैं एक बात डिफेंस मिनिस्टर साहब से भ्रज करना चाहती हूँ कि हमारे देश में एक जगह पर एक यूनियन से ज्यादा होना मजदूरों के लिए हर जगह बहुत खतरनाक बात है। सरकारी महकमों में और खासकर डिफेंस मिनिस्ट्री में और डिफेंस के कामों में अगर एक से ज्यादा यूनियन्ज एक जगह पर बनाई जायेंगी तो वे देश के लिए तबाही का बायस होंगी, क्योंकि एक यूनियन अपनी मांगें रखे, उनके लिए लड़े, जो कुछ भी करे, यह उसका फंडामेंटल अधिकार है, लेकिन अगर यूनियन्ज में आपस में काम्पैटीशन होना है कि कौन क्या मांगता है, कौन ज्यादा मांगता है, तो फिर डिफेंस का काम, ग्राइनेंस फैक्टरीज का काम बिल्कुल पीछे हो जायेगा, मुझे इसमें कोई शक नहीं है। जो रघुरामैया कमेटी बनाई गई, उसके लिए भी मुझे मुबारकबाद देना है और मैं चाहती हूँ कि बड़े कर्मचारियों, सोल्जर्स और बाकी लोगों की तन्वाहों का क्या हो, इस पर फौरन कार्यवाही होनी चाहिए। उसकी रिपोर्ट जल्दी से जल्दी आए, ताकि लोगों को ज्यादा से ज्यादा संतोष हो और अगर मुसीबत पड़े—और अगर न भी पड़े—तो हमारी घाम्मी के लोग अच्छा काम कर के देश की रक्षा कर सकें।

Shri Morarka (Jhunjhunu): As you know, Sir, generally I do not take part in the debate on the demands of this Ministry. But this year I am obliged to do so by the Defence Minister himself.

An Hon. Member: Did he request you?

Shri Mahavir Tyagi: Has he been briefed, Sir?

Shri Morarka: When I spoke last on a subject connected with Defence, I said that "over-indenting, higher prices, excess payments, faulty deliveries, defective storage, loose inspection, careless drafting of contracts, etc. are matters of daily routine occurring very frequently in this Ministry". About this statement the Defence Minister said, "I would like to ask if this is a responsible kind of statement". In view of this I owe it to this House to substantiate every word that I said, the different characteristics of my statement, and for that purpose I have compiled a statement here with me which, if I were to go through, will take at least two hours. Therefore if you permit me, with your permission, I would like to place it on the table of the House, so that the hon. Members may have a chance to go through it. I am sure the Minister.....

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Then he would conclude his speech by placing it on the Table?

Shri Morarka: Sir, this is one aspect. There are two or three other aspects about which the Defence Minister has also said.....

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: I have no objection. I will allow him to place that statement on the table of the House. But what the Defence Minister intended that day, I thought—he may have really something different in his mind—was that even if we have certain things, perhaps in the

discussion of this Ministry they should not be said, because it might have some other effects which we do not desire. That was all. And the hon. Member should keep that in view when he substantiates, as he says, what he is going to do.

Shri Morarka: Even when I spoke last year I said that while on the one hand the Ministry was trying to economise in small matters like withdrawing the facilities from our Defence personnel, on the other hand they were not taking due precautions and care in the purchase of stores etc. where huge amounts are wasted. I know the valour of our army is the greatest, their discipline is perfect, and their morale the highest. I have nothing against either our army, navy or air force on that account. But on a point which concerns the purchase of stores and also.....

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: If the hon. Member would excuse me for interrupting him, there is one thing. I have been given these directions by the Speaker, and according to those directions, this statement that he asks me to be allowed to be placed on the table of the House, shall have to be gone through. If it is otherwise not objectionable, then certainly the Speaker, or I myself, would give that permission. But if there are certain things that I consider ought not to be placed on the table, then I would not certainly allow it. So it would be subject to that.*

Shri Morarka: Sir, I may assure you that I have compiled the statement from the reports of the Public Accounts Committee, the Estimates Committee and the Audit Reports. The statement does not contain any information "extracted from any soldier in uniform".

Shrimati Parvathi Krishnan (Coimbatore): If the information is compiled from these reports, these reports are available to the Members of Parliament already.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: I cannot object to that. If it is from authoritative sources, I shall have no objection—if no other statements on his own behalf are contained therein. Perhaps I might not have any objection to that if it only contained facts.

Shri Morarka: Sir, there is no contribution of my own in the statement. It is entirely compiled from the reports presented to the honourable House from time to time.

Shri Khadiikar (Ahmednagar): On a point of order. You have just now ruled that unless you go through it you will not allow it. So an omnibus statement of this type has no meaning. He has said that he has compiled it from several authoritative sources. But how he has placed those facts, that is also important. So unless you go through it according to the rule.....

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: That is what I have said.

Shri Khadiikar: Now he takes it that it has been accepted.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: No, no. Perhaps the hon. Member took it like that! He did not.

Shri Morarka: Sir, now I would like to say one or two points which are not exactly contained in the statement. One is about the higher prices. Even when I spoke last time I gave few instances. But the instance which I saw yesterday in the Audit Report for 1960 was really staggering. What it said was that during a certain period, 8 tons and 15 cwt. of a certain item were purchased by the Navy. And the market price of that was Rs. 720 per ton, whereas this item was purchased at more than Rs. 26,000 per ton. I am not saying anything by myself; this is what is contained in this report. Whether it is right or wrong, of course the Public Accounts Committee would decide. But, surely, the Auditor-General is an independent person and audits the accounts relating to the entire Consolidated Funds of India. And certainly

*The Speaker not having subsequently accorded the necessary permission, the document was not treated as laid on the Table.

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whatever report he gives to the House has credence and deserves due attention of the House.

Pandit Thakur Das Bhargava (Hissar): May we know the name of that article which was purchased for Rs. 26,000 when the market price of the same was Rs. 720?

Shri Morarka: The name of the article is not mentioned.

Dr. Ram Subhag Singh: That is the rule, not to give the name.

Shri Morarka: If the hon. Member wants, I can give him the reference. It is at page 10, paragraph 11, of the Audit Report 1960.

Now, Sir, there is something about defective storage, and it is said that in one ordnance factory they had a loss of Rs. 1.74 crores due to defective storage. And a board of enquiry was appointed. What did the board of enquiry do? The board reported in 1957 that an overall loss of Rs. 1.74 crores had occurred and that the factory management was to a great extent responsible for the loss. The board also found that the bulk of the loss was avoidable and that the factory had not taken suitable action to review the stock and dispose of the surplus stock in time.

I want to give one more example, and that is about the loose inspection. And this time my witness is the Ministry's own report. During a certain period stores worth about Rs. 51.30 crores were declared as surplus. They were declared as surplus for disposal. One technical committee was appointed to go through this item. And what did it find? The committee found that out of these stores worth Rs. 51.30 crores, stores worth Rs. 30.14 crores were usable and good stores and the stores should never have been declared as surplus, but only stores worth Rs. 21.16 crores should have been declared as surplus and disposed of. This is what I mean by loose inspection.

About the careless drafting of contracts, we have had the instance of the jeep deal and Bharat Electronics, and the latest is Levy's contract.

These are my facts, which I have been reluctantly obliged to come out with not in any spirit of retaliation but more in a spirit of self-defence. I am very sorry to say that last time when I gave out those facts, though my intention was only to draw the attention of the Defence Minister to these serious irregularities with the hope that he would look into them and improve the position, he, unfortunately, did not take them in that light. He replied in anger, which did not help anybody.

I may also say that this statement which I am placing on the Table of the House is only from the recent reports. It is only illustrative and not exhaustive of all the examples. There are many more reports, and many more instances are contained therein. I would say no more about the stores, and go to the question of production.

Self-sufficiency in defence material is our recently accepted goal, and that is a very welcome feature of our defence policy. It is not a new theory, as a matter of fact, it is fairly old to say that the strength of a country depends upon its natural resources or industrial potential.

The Report of the Ministry says that during the year under review, production in the ordnance factories has gone up, but unfortunately the figures are given only in rupees. It is said the value of production has gone up from Rs. 14 to Rs. 16 crores, and then to Rs. 20 crores. That is true, but what is the unit? The prices of materials are rising. We do not know whether the actual physical production in these factories has gone up, or only the value has gone up. This is a point which I am sure the Defence Minister, when he replies, will clarify.

It is mentioned in this Report that during the year ten new collaboration agreements were signed, but we have not been told with whom these agreements have been signed, with which countries, for what purpose, when production would start, the terms and our financial commitments.

The Report also says that during the year they would spend Rs. 19.31 crores for setting up new projects for production. Here again, it is not said what the new projects are, and what we would manufacture.

To give you an illustration of the type of information they give, I quote from Ministry's Report. At page 40, it is said:

"An agreement was entered into on the 13th January, 1959, with a British firm for the manufacture of certain equipment required by the Defence Services. The equipment has already been taken up for production by BEL."

How are we wiser after reading this information?

Hon. Members of the House have time and again tried to get information from this Ministry about foreign collaboration, about these agreements, and every time the hon. Minister has claimed the privilege of secrecy. It is interesting to note that he has claimed it not in our public interest, or because he considers Parliament is still not fully mature; he has claimed it in the interests of the foreign collaborators.

I would read for your information an extract from the statement of the hon. Deputy Defence Minister made on the floor of the House on 5th December, 1958. This is what he said in that statement:

"It has been suggested in one of the questions that the contracts or some of them should be placed on the Table of the House. We would have no objection to doing this, but this is not the practice, and this cannot be done without the consent of the other

party concerned. Such contracts are considered confidential by them as this might affect their dealings with other parties."

Then, of course, the Defence Minister said that he was prepared to show them to such Members as the Speaker might name.

My comment is this. They talk about commercial practice. Every Ministry of this Government places such contracts almost *suo moto*, as a matter of routine, on the Table of the House or in the Library of the House. Here I have got with me a note from the Research Section of our Library which gives the details of the various contracts placed on the Table of the House or in the Library from time to time, not because any Member made a demand, but on their own accord, just in answer to a circular from the Parliament Library that such contracts might be sent. Even the hon. Prime Minister placed in the Library a copy of our agreement about the Canadian Atomic Reactor which gives certain details about our financial commitments, sharing of information etc. That is not considered so secret, but the agreement about the manufacture of trucks and tractors, or things like that, are considered secret, merely because they are entered into by the Defence Ministry.

We have put up three steel plants which are huge in financial commitment, size and everything. They were competing with one another so far as foreign collaboration was concerned. There was international competition between the Germans, Russians and the British, and yet the Minister concerned did place not only the main agreement, but the supporting agreements on the Table of the House and in the Library, and that did not create any complications, that did not harm anybody's interests. The foreign collaborators did not object. Here, merely because the proposition is sponsored and initiated by the Ministry of Defence, it becomes a secret thing, it achieves a certain special sanctity. I

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think that is not fair. What information should be given to this sovereign institution in the country should be determined by you, Sir, by the rules of procedure and by the wisdom of our Minister, and not by the whims and fancies of the foreign collaborators. We should not seek their permission to tell us what this Parliament is entitled to and is not entitled to. That is my point, and I hope the Defence Minister would give due weight to this point.

I have got here with me a list of many questions and answers asked and answered on the floor of the House. I would only quote one of them to support what I have said so far. Here is a supplementary to Starred Question No. 877 dated the 16th March, 1960, put by Shri Hem Barua:

"May I know what would be the foreign exchange that would be involved in this scheme?"

The scheme was for the manufacture of Rolls Royce engines.

"Shri Krishna Menon: That would be disclosing the terms of the contract which we could not do in propriety without consultation with the Rolls Royce."

Shri Hem Barua then raised a point of order asking whether the information could be withheld from Parliament. Then Shri Krishna Menon said:

"I think my answer was slightly different. I said the exact amount of the foreign exchange in regard to this particular component prices could not be fully divulged."

Of course, these two answers are not the same, but that apart, my main point is that he cannot say that he will not give this information without consulting the foreign collaborators. The foreign collaborator, when he enters into a contractor with us, must know that he always runs the risk of the agreement being placed on the Table of the House as Parliament is entitled to know.

Now I come straightaway to the question of production.

Shri Joachim Alva: There are just one or two points on which I would like the hon. Member to enlighten me. Does he draw an essential line between defence contracts and non-defence contracts? He has mentioned about the Canadian Atomic Reactor. Secondly, have the previous Defence Ministers placed such contracts on the Table of the House?

Shri Morarka: I am obliged to my hon. friend who has put this question because it gives me a chance to make my point clear, which I was about to forget.

I do not want contracts which are of a secret nature, the divulging of which would impair the security of the country, to be placed on the Table of the House. No, Sir, I am not that anxious, but surely they can place on the Table of the House the foreign collaboration contracts for the manufacture of trucks and tractors and things like that. Whether the trucks are manufactured by the Ministry of Defence or the Commerce and Industry Ministry, or, for the matter of that, even in the private sector, makes no difference, or very little difference, according to me. After all, what is required is the over-all production in the country, not who produces it.

Shri Ansar Harvani (Fatehpur): You will be happy if the private sector has it.

Shri Morarka: He knows about my happiness more than his own.

You will have to give me some time, Sir, because I mentioned that point about which the Defence Minister has said . . .

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: It is difficult for me to extend the time now. There is great pressure.

Shri Morarka: I would crave your indulgence for only a few minutes.

About defence production, I would say while it is a good thing to have this goal of self-sufficiency, there are three principles which the Defence Ministry must adhere to. Firstly, the Defence Ministry should concentrate on the production of only those things which are required by the Defence Ministry exclusively, which are of strategic importance, and the production of which cannot be entrusted either to the private sector or even to the sister Ministries. According to me, it is not the business of the Defence Ministry to manufacture hair clippers, coffee percolators or pressure cookers. Even if they are to be manufactured in the public sector, do so by all means through the Commerce and Industry Ministry or the Steel Ministry. Leave it to them.

Pandit J. P. Jyotishi (Sagar): Why, if we have surplus capacity there, we can make use of that.

Shri Morarka: They are talking about surplus capacity, even the Defence Ministry has not been very clear about this surplus capacity. First they say we must employ this surplus labour and surplus capacity and for that purpose, even if we have to adapt our production apparatus to civilian uses, we must do it. And they have done it. Now they say in their report that it is essential for defence to always have surplus capacity so that during the war, the surplus capacity may be harnessed for production purposes. First, you have surplus capacity which you utilise for civilian purposes, and when that is utilised, you want to create surplus capacity, idle capacity....

An Hon. Member: That is proper.
16 hrs.

Pandit J. P. Jyotishi: People get training there, and if an emergency comes, they can be utilised.

Shri Morarka: I am glad the understanding of my hon. friend is very clear on this point, and he perfectly understands what I am trying to tell him. The point is this. I do not

object to what the Defence Ministry tries to do. My only point is that they should not try to duplicate the effort which is already done in this country. That is not the business of the Defence Ministry. In the report, it is mentioned that jeep engine blocks and heads are produced by this Ministry. I do not want to get into trouble with the Defence Minister again, because he does not like anybody to talk about jeeps. But I must mention this thing. When jeeps are being made in this country, why should that effort be duplicated here? If you find that these things are not good, by all means, you ask the Commerce and Industry Ministry or the Steel Ministry to start another factory. They are already doing that for the small car. But simply to manufacture these small parts here and there does not serve anybody's purpose.

Shri Joachim Alva: I do not like the hon. Member misleading the House by mentioning the case of jeeps. Mahindras are not able to deliver a cent per cent Indian made jeep to the country, despite all the foreign exchange granted to them.

Shri Morarka: I seek your protection, Sir. I have never said anywhere even indirectly that Mahindras are producing cent per cent. I did not say that. It is no use my hon. friend trying to interrupt me in that manner when I did not say a thing like that. I know his enthusiasm. (Interruption).

Now, I come to my last point. The hon. Defence Minister has said towards the beginning of his speech, about me, that I am very sensitive about the industry in the public sector. When I heard this remark, I really felt sorry because it was not for a person of his stature and his position to attribute motives to the Members, when they ventured to point out certain shortcomings in his Ministry, even though they related to the times before he came here. I would say one thing in this

[Shri Morarka]

connection. I have been a Member of this House for the last nine years, a period little longer than the total tenure of the Defence Minister in Parliament.

Pandit J. P. Jyotishi: That is the feeling that he has created in me also.

Shri Morarka: Fortunately, we have a system of recording the speeches. I have had the occasion of making many speeches during this period of nine years mainly on industry and finance, and I would stand by those speeches of mine. Let there be a scrutiny of those speeches. If the Defence Minister or anybody, including the hon. Member who has also got the same impression, can point out a single speech, leave alone a single speech, can point out a single sentence and say that I had argued the case in favour of the private sector or against the public sector, I own the compliment or the remark which the Defence Minister has given.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Does he not admit the charge that he is sensitive, when he is replying particularly to that point? Why should he be so particular about it? Many things are said in this Parliament, which are not to be taken notice of so seriously.

Shri Morarka: So far as the controversy between the public sector and the private sector is concerned, according to me, it is meaningless. I am reminded of what Alexander Pope once said quite some time back. He said:

"For forms of government let
fools contest,

Whatever is best administered is
best."

I think one can say the same thing about the forms of these enterprises, and say:

"For forms of industrial enter-
prises let fools contest,

Whatever is managed best is
best."

I am one of those people who believe in what Mr. Hanson once said that is, that there can be a public enterprise without planning, but there cannot be planning without public enterprise.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Now, Shri B. Das Gupta. After that, Shri Vajpayee.

Shri Naushir Bharucha rose—

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Shri Naushir Bharucha also wants to speak? It is difficult to accommodate now so many Members.

Shri B. Das Gupta (Purulia): I am one with my hon. friends in extending my cheers to our Armed Forces, the Army, the Navy and the Air Force, but I regret that I could not do so for our Defence Minister, because I think he has failed to protect the border of India with the Indian Army intact. Thousands of miles of our Indian territory have been occupied by an alien power, without the least resistance, and without a single shot having been fired from either side. I do not think there is a single country in the world today, however weak she may be, that tolerates a single inch of her soil being occupied without any resistance, but India has done so. We have not only allowed that, but we have to a great extent tried to find out justifications and excuses for the aggressors, such as inaccessible territory, no-man's-land etc. etc., MacMahon Line, Radcliffe Award and so on and so forth. This is wonderful. This is one side of the tragedy in the northern border of India, and the other is in the eastern border of India.

There, our neighbour killed Indians, molested Indian women, looted India properties, invaded Indian territory and kept under occupation Indian territories without the

least resistance and without the least hinderance. And we are thinking of amending the Constitution for legalising that. This is what India is doing, the land of Buddha and Gandhi. Is not *Panchsheel* our foreign policy?

So we find today from the Defence Minister down to the poor soldier that everybody has been turned to be Sramans, Bhikshus and non-violent satyagrahis. So, we would not fire a single shot to protect our borders, to drive away the aggressors, to reoccupy the occupied territories, lest there should be a war? And let any nation, any foreign Power come to India, and let them occupy our territories, one after the other, and we would not fire a single shot, and we would not resist them because we apprehend that it might lead to a war?

16.09 hrs.

[MR. SPEAKER in the Chair]

We only send protests after protests and at the same time allow the alien powers to keep under occupation thousands of miles of Indian territories. A piece of wonderful defence work indeed!

And what are the reasons? Is it *Panchsheel*? If it is so, I must say that it is defeatism under the cover of *Panchsheel*. Is the Army not strong enough to resist all these? If the answer is 'no', it has been made so.

I was going through the Audit Report, Defence Services, 1960. The Report has amazingly expressed the whole truth thus in a single sentence. The Report mentions cases indicating "bad planning and lack of foresight". This "bad planning and lack of foresight" is the whole truth regarding the defence services, and consequently the defence of India under the hon. Minister of Defence. The Auditor-General has found out the truth based on startling facts. The hon. Minister is not pleased with him. But by that the facts cannot

be altered. This bad planning, lack of foresight and mismanagement and the bunglings have affected seriously our military strength.

The Defence Ministry have not been as mindful of defence in formulating policies as they should have been. The result is that we have come to a stage when it is rather doubtful if we would be able to defend ourselves successfully against attack by a second-class or even a third-class Power. It is an undeniable fact that compared to the size of our country and our vulnerability in the west—and more recently in the north—our armed forces are extremely weak. We may have a larger Army than our western neighbour, but the equipment of our armed forces is obsolete. The army of our northern neighbour is not only much larger than ours but also much better equipped. Our Air Force may have brave air men, but it is, in fact, a museum of out-of-date machines. The result is that in case of conflict, it will be no match even to that of our western neighbour. From the supply, maintenance and replenishment points of view also, if an air force has standardised aircraft, its efficiency increases more than proportionately. Both our western and northern neighbours have concentrated on a few models of fighters and bombers only. But we have such a large variety of planes in our Air Force that there is a real danger of chaos in the event of war or conflict.

The weakness of our Air Force and the complacency of the authorities have been fully demonstrated by the last Canberra incident. Contrary to our information, we are now having the shock of learning that Pakistan has got such powerful jet fighters as are able to shoot down even a Canberra bomber at a height of 45,000 ft. Besides, in July, Pakistan, reportedly, took delivery of a number of modern bombers from the USA. These have a cruising limit of 2,000 miles, so that our key indus-

[Shri B. Das Gupta]

trial centres like Jamshedpur and Bangalore are now within bombing range of the Pakistan Air Force.

In these days, neither a large Army nor the bravery of the troops is of any avail, if the enemy has superiority in air power. I do not know when 'planes are going to be manufactured in India. We cannot wait for that day. Our neighbours who get their supply of planes from the USA or USSR will always have better 'planes, and in case of conflict, any amount of bravery on the part of our airmen will be of no avail. We shall fare no better than the larger but ill-equipped armies of Indian Princes fared against the smaller but better equipped soldiers of the East India Company in the 18th century. We should reconsider the whole position and make arrangements so that at least in fighters and medium bombers we are able to get the latest 'planes which may be developed by one or the other of the major Powers of the world.

While it should be the object of our policy to maintain the friendliest relations with all countries far and near, it will be fatal if we permit the philosophy of Panchsheel to weaken our defence potential. Even neutrality has to be defended, and in international politics, there is no permanent friend as there is no permanent enemy. China has proved that. It is only common prudence, therefore, that we should keep our powder dry.

We have to concentrate on building up of our Air Force as early as possible, specially fighters and medium bombers. We have also to fully mechanise our land Army as early as possible rather than dissipate our limited resources on large armies of the World War II type that we seem pathetically to cling to. Let us not live in that Don Quixotic dream that because of our neutral foreign policy and the pet Panchsheel, there cannot

be any war in India. In the rolling plains of North India, the outcome of battles, and therefore, of the fate of the country, will be decided primarily by mechanised armed units and air support which we can give to those units.

The authorities have been feeling, and they declare it also, that if there is a war after all on the Indian soil, we are bound to win as a result of our potential strength, and even if we are in a tight corner, there may be UN intervention or foreign help. I warn the Government not to confuse our potential strength with our effective strength.

Lastly, may I point out to the Government that our real danger is the danger of Troy the wooden horse within our walls? We must beware of that. The House must beware of that. The time has come for us to take a lesson from history and give attention to defence not in the way now being given but in a way which would not allow any alien Power, any foreign nation, to invade our country or to violate our borders. Whatever is said, our fear due to the short-comings of our effective strength has compelled us to tolerate the aggression of Pakistan and China on Indian soil. Still they have been allowed to retain Indian territory, small or big.

I know that the Defence Minister will emphatically contradict this, repudiate this, and would present a very nice picture before the House, depicting everything as okay. But that is more dangerous; it is misleading and misguiding. If in the Defence Service for want of covered accommodation, vehicles valued at about Rs. 5 crores and stores worth Rs. 57 lakhs deteriorate and are rendered unserviceable, then under such management, the Army cannot remain serviceable as it should be. The Defence Service which has failed to defend India against aggressors

would do well not to defend its bad doings and incapacities. That would in no way strengthen the effective strength. It would lead to chaos and disaster, which the nation cannot allow. I appeal and forewarn the House while there is still time.

Dr. Melkote: Mr. Speaker, the Defence Services of India after Independence have given a glowing picture of their efficiency and ability, both inside the country and outside the world over. They have to be congratulated. In spite of this, if today there is such an amount of discontent voiced in the country, it is not about the personnel of the Defence Forces themselves either—the Army, Navy and the Air Force—but it is with regard to certain policies that have been adopted. With the incursions of the Chinese on our border, this criticism has increased due to concern that has increased. A very favourable atmosphere is prevalent in the country to help Government to do everything that is possible to enhance the power of these Forces so that the striking capacity is increased to such an extent that we can turn back all the invaders. I hope that the Defence Minister who is a very active and energetic person will take stock of the situation and the most favourable situation prevailing in the country and do everything to enlarge the prestige that is already ours. If we have to do that I personally feel that we in this House and at this juncture ought to be very careful in the remarks we are making here. There have been speakers here before me who have said so many things with regard to our management of the Defence affairs. They may be right or wrong and I am not sitting in judgment over that. But I wonder whether at a juncture like this, when the forces across our frontiers are watching our debate very carefully, we should not arrange a secret meeting of Parliament to discuss these matters so that the hon. Members may voice their feelings more forcefully than they are able to do today. These things are done in other countries and our

Parliamentary system is more akin to that of the U.K. Even during the war, when that country's Parliament faced such situations, the whole of Parliament went into a secret session and debated every such question in full detail. I think that would have been more favourable for making points as well as for replying to those points by the hon. Defence Minister. I leave it to the House to consider this aspect of the question.

If we have got to enthuse the Defence personnel and the workers there, we have necessarily got to create that enthusiasm so that their morale is kept at the highest. In other countries, for every soldier in the front, there are between 20 and 30 civilian personnel working behind him in the country. Here, in our country, that number is very small. I do not know why we should not be able to increase the striking capacity as well as this number. It may possibly be one more method by which we can solve the unemployment problem to some extent but more than that it is necessary to give our forces adequate support that they need.

Today with the cost of living so high, the pay-scale is too meagre. Many of the officers feel that what they are getting today is insufficient even for their maintenance. India is a poor country no doubt but if we have got to keep these people contented it is necessary to do something much more than what we are giving them today. The Pay Commission has made its recommendation and I do not know when exactly it would be implemented and when the irregularities that have been brought to its notice would be rectified and when the Services would be made happy.

The Defence Personnel who put in a service of 15—20 years while still young have to retire. They are very active and disciplined people. If these Forces in the prime of their youth have got to get out of the Services and leave on a paltry pension, they feel very unhappy. That hap-

[Dr. Melkote]

pened even during the war and a long time before that, say, 1910, or 1929.

I have here a book on the U.K. Defence Services written by Mr. S. K. Curtis about Her Majesty's Armed Services, published in 1952. I would like to say something about the education system in the Armed Services. Even as far back as 1920, in U.K.'s Armed Forces, there were a number of people whose education was so meagre that they could not write even their names and had to give their thumb impressions when their salaries were given. It was found that an educated person was an asset to the Army. Numerous army officers who opposed this idea, decided that instead of spending their time in training, if there was this kind of educational system, it would make them soft. But in actual vogue, it was found that the armed personnel improved with the type of education imparted to them and the facilities that were offered were increased; during the 1914—18 War and even between 1940 and 1941, the educational service was established to look to this kind of education. It is not merely for the ordinary type of education. Many of these people were given training and technical education so that in the prime of their life when they left the services, they could become useful citizens and earn a living. This kind of thing has got to be done in our Defence Services also and the report on defence does not mention anything about this kind of education.

Many of the Armed personnel in the Services who were in their 40th or 50th year, during the course of the war—about 6,000 of them—qualified in courses which they took through correspondence and many of them subsequently became lecturers and professors in colleges. How many of our people who leave the Army in the prime of their life are being absorbed in civil life or even in Government service? I do not know. What figure is not given. A note with

regard to the educational system prevailing in the Army would go a long way not merely to give us the information but to help the Army personnel themselves who, when they retire can become useful citizens. The kind of education would not merely help the Armed personnel. The training that would be given there can be utilised by the other teachers to find to what minimum extent education could be necessary so that we can become useful citizens. They get a diploma there.

This is one aspect of the question. Apart from this, there are innumerable jawans and others in the Army who today can only handle the arms and a few of them possibly both in the Navy and the Air Force who are technically trained and maybe even a few in the Engineering Services of the Army. It is a question of educating them; so that when they leave the Army they are enabled to earn their own living independently. This is a matter of great concern to us and if this is assured to the Army many more people would join the Army because they would know that when they have to leave the Army in the prime of their lives there is other knowledge through which they could earn their livelihood. This aspect of the education is a very important one which I would like to stress upon the Defence Ministry for its consideration.

Apart from this, there is the personnel working in the different ordnance factories. The Pay Commission has given its award which has not been implemented. It is found that whereas in junior service a L.D.C. of Grade III can become a U.D.C. and can rise to the rank of an Assistant and other posts, there are innumerable people working here who have no such opportunities. There are people who have been serving for 12 or 15 years but have not yet been made permanent and there is no chance of their becoming permanent and there are no other opportunities for them. Unless and until there is

a system prevalent in the Government whereby in places where opportunities are denied to those people, they could be transferred to the civilian side of the Government and be absorbed there, dissatisfaction and discontent among the workers will continue. It is the same Government that is working. If a person in one service could be transferred to another service—if he is no longer required there—that would help the situation very much.

16.32 hrs.

[PANDIT THAKUR DAS BHARGAVA in the Chair]

Apart from this, there are workers in the Defence services, like the cooks, the water carriers and others. Now, we believe in the socialist pattern of society. In the case of the Army personnel there are rules and regulations. To them the ordinary rules of trade unions do not apply. I can understand this necessity possibly on the frontier and in the prohibited areas where a certain amount of discipline and behaviour is necessary, but not in non-prohibited areas. The ordinary citizen like the cook and the water carrier to whom the Constitution guarantees perfect freedom to form a union, if he is not allowed to form a union and assert his right, where is he to go? There ought to be some method by means of which his difficulties are remedied. There is no such thing.

There are works committees and other committees that are established so that he could put forward his grievances and get them redressed. But it is not the workers themselves who elect men of their choice but they are nominated by the officers. This is not going to give satisfaction to the workers. I personally feel that this aspect of the matter should be looked into very carefully so that whatever remedies could be given are given.

There is a third factor also. There is the Labour Ministry. It is not merely the Defence Ministry but

there is also the Home Ministry, the Steel, Mines and Fuel Ministry, the Works, Housing and Supply Ministry—all these Ministries—come under the same labour laws of the Government. But whenever a union goes on strike or puts up a demand before the Ministry, each Ministry deals with it in an independent manner without possibly consulting the Labour Ministry. So, there is no uniformity in the code of conduct of the Government departments. I do not know why this should occur. I feel that there should be a certain amount of co-ordination in this matter and whatever the defects may be, according to the laws and the Acts that are prevalent the same conveniences ought to be given to all labour.

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

Dr. Meikote: I have taken only 7 or 8 minutes. I usually do not take much time. As soon as the bell is run I resume my seat.

Mr. Chairman: He has taken 13 minutes. He can go on for another 2 minutes.

Dr. Meikote: There are a few points which I wanted to deal with. I will write them out and send them to the Ministry.

श्री हेम राज (कांगड़ा) : सभापति महोदय, मैं आपका धामारी हूँ कि आपने मुझे डिफेंस की डिमांड पर बोलने का मौका दिया है। माय ही माय मैं आपका इमनिये मी धामारी हूँ कि उस इलाके के रहने वाले को आपने बोलने का मौका दिया है, जिस इलाके की घात्र हम मदन में बहुत चर्चा की गई है —

Shri Sinhasan Singh: May I know, Sir, when the hon Minister will reply to the debate?

Mr. Chairman: I propose to call him at 5.30.

श्री हेम राज : यहां पर यह कहा गया है कि तिब्बत का जो इलाका है वह बहुत खतरे में है। लेकिन इससे पहले कि मैं उस सम्बन्ध में कुछ कहूँ, मैं अपने डिफेंस मिनिस्टर साहब को बधाई देता हूँ कि जब से उन्होंने इस महकमे को अपने हाथ में लिया है, तब से कुछ तरक्की की तरफ हम गए हैं। बहुत सी बातों की जो यहां चर्चा की गई है और श्रुतियों का जिक्र किया गया है, उनको मैं मानने के लिये तैयार नहीं हूँ। आज भी एक रिपोर्ट का यहां पर जिक्र किया गया है जो कि आइटर जनरल ने पेश की है। मैं समझता हूँ कि उस रिपोर्ट में जिन बातों का जिक्र किया गया है, वे आज से दस साल पहले ही घटित हो चुके हैं और दस साल पहले जो कुछ हो चुका है, उसके लिये मैं मानता हूँ कि डिफेंस मिनिस्ट्री तो जिम्मेदार हो सकती है लेकिन—

श्री लुशबक्त राय : १९५९-६० का भी उममें मामला है।

श्री हेम राज : मैं कह रहा हूँ कि १९५८ से लेकर १९५७ तक की जो बातें हैं उनके मूतालिक आज आप यह कहें कि डिफेंस मिनिस्टर साहब जिम्मेदार हैं, तो यह ठीक नहीं होगा। मामला यह है कि जिस वक्त से उन्होंने कार्यभार सम्भाला है उस वक्त से कितनी गड़बड़ी हुई है। आज देखने में यह घाता है कि जितनी ज्यादा चोट डिफेंस मिनिस्टर पर की जाती है उतनी ज्यादा चोट डिफेंस मिनिस्ट्री पर नहीं की जाती है। यह ठीक है कि किसी वक्त में कोई कमी रह गई है, लेकिन उसके लिए श्री मेनन साहब जिम्मेदार नहीं हो सकते हैं, डिफेंस मिनिस्ट्री तो हो सकती है। तो हमें देखना यह है कि जिस वक्त से हमारे डिफेंस मिनिस्टर साहब ने अपने हाथ में इस चीज को लिया है उस वक्त से हमारी जो पार्सनेस फैंट्रीज है, उनकी क्या हालत रही है। अभी जो रिपोर्ट उन्होंने पेश की है उसमें साफ जाहिर होता है कि पार्सनेस

फैंट्रीज में जो सरप्लस लेबर थी, उसको भी काम में लाया गया है और जो सरप्लस केपेसिटी थी, उसको भी काम में लाया गया है, कोई बाहर की और लेबर नहीं लाई गई है। उसके वावजूद भी वहां पर जो प्रोडक्शन होती है, उसमें रोज-ब-रोज तरक्की हो रही है और जो तरक्की हो रही है वह उन्होंने जाहिर कर दी है। अगर सन् १९५७-५८ में १६ धी तो फिर २० हुई और अब २६ होने वाली है। इसलिये मैं समझता हूँ कि हमारे मंत्री महोदय बधाई के पात्र हैं।

हमारी फौजों का आज यहां पर चीन की फौजों से मुकाबला किया गया है और कहा गया है कि उन फौजों का मुकाबला शायद हमारी फौज नहीं कर सकेंगे। मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि हम जिस वक्त आजाद हुए और एक खतरा हमारे सामने उपस्थित हुआ जो कि पाकिस्तान की तरफ से उपस्थित हुआ था, उस खतरे का जिस धान से उसने मुकाबला किया, उसे आप सब जानते हैं। उस वक्त यह भी खयाल किया जाता था कि जो अग्नेय जेनरल थे वे फौज की कमांड बहुत अच्छी तरह से करते थे और अब हम शायद उस तरह से फौज की कमांड न कर सों। जिस वक्त मुकाबला पड़ा तो हमारे जेनरलों ने, हमारी फौजों ने जिस तरह से दुश्मन के दांत खट्टे किये, उससे आप बाकिफ हैं। अगर यहां से धार्य न होता कि फौजें भागे न बड़ें तो जिस इलाके को हम अब तक पाकिस्तान के हाथ में छोड़ें हुए हैं, उस पर भी हमारा कब्जा होता। उस वक्त हमारी फौजों का हीसना बहुत बुन्द था और आज भी है। तो यह कहना कि हमारी जो फौज है, हमारे जो सिपाही हैं, वे किन्हीं मूरतों में किसी से कम है, ठीक नहीं है। अगर चीनी सिपाही दो मूट्टी चने खा कर मुजारा कर सकते हैं तो मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि हमारे सिपाही भी दो मूट्टी चनों से सारी

लड़ाई को जीत सकते हैं। मैं डूंगर प्रदेश से आता हूँ और मेरे जो बोगरे हैं, वे बड़ो बहादुरी से काम करते हैं और भागे भी करते रहेंगे और हमेशा ही अपनी जान पर खेल कर मुल्क की हिफाजत करते रहेंगे। इस वास्ते आप यह खयाल न करें कि जो बोगरे हैं या दूसरे हैं, वे इतनी जल्दी उन लोगों को भागे भाने देंगे और अगर आप ऐसा खयाल करते हैं तो यह आपकी खाम-खयाली है। आज तक इन लोगों ने बहादुरी के काम किये हैं और भागे भी वे बहादुरी के ही काम करने वाले हैं। इस वास्ते जो एक मायूमी की लहर हमारे दरम्यान में दौड़ गई है, वह नहीं दौड़नी चाहिये। इन्हिये हमारे फौजो जवान जो हैं, हमारे जो पिपाही हैं, उनके निये हमारा एक ही सन्देश है और वह सन्देश यह है कि जो यह पालियामेंट है, वह उनको सहूलियत का हर काम करेगी, उनके खाने पीने का हर काम करेगी, और जो जो चीज भी उन्हें चाहिये, उनका पूरा-पूरा बन्दोबस्त यह करने वाली है जो उनको किसी किस्म की तकलीफ होने नहीं देगी।

मैं धाड़ करना चाहता हूँ कि फौज लड़ाई के वक्त ही बहादुरी के काम नहीं करती है, दूसरे और भी कई मीके आते हैं, जब वह बहादुरी दिखाती है। जिस वक्त कोई घाड़ा वक्त आ जाता है, जिस वक्त भी सिबिलियस को कोई तकलीफ हांती है, उस वक्त भी हमारी फौज हमारे रेसब्यू पर आती है। भाखड़ा में जो इतना जबर्दस्त नुकसान होने वाला था, जो घाड़ा वक्त आया था, काम खतरे में पड़ गया था, उस वक्त नेरी के डाइवसं ने जो शानदार काम किया, टनल को बन्द किया, धार्मी के ६०० या ७०० जवानों ने शानदार काम किया, वह आपके सामने है। यह सब चीज हैं जिन से हमारा हौमला बढ़ना चाहिये और हमारे निये कोई मायूमी का कारण नहीं होना चाहिये। हमें यह देख कर खुशी

होती है कि हमारी फौज हमेशा ही और हर वक्त पर अपनी जान पर खेलने के लिये तैयार है।

कल यहां जिक्र किया गया कि बांडर एरियाज जो हैं, उनमें जो आपरेशनल कमांड है, वह हमने धार्मी के मुपुदं कर दी है। मैं भी लाहौल के इलाके में दो साल हुये गया था। वहां पर हमारी चौकियां जरूर हैं लेकिन वे पी० ए० पी० चौकियां हैं। हमारी चौकियां केलांग में थीं, हमारी चौकियां डारखा जसपा में थीं। लेकिन मैं समझता हूँ कि आपरेशनल कमांड से हमारा काम बनने वाला नहीं है। मैं जवानों से मिला हूँ और मैंने उनसे बात-चीत की है। मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि मेरे माननीय सदस्य सरदार अजित सिंह जी ने जो तजवीज रखी है, मैं उसकी तार्ई करता हूँ और मैं समझता हूँ कि एक जुदा कमांड होनी चाहिये और जिस तरह से हमारे कंटोनमेंट्स हुषा करते हैं, उस तरह के कंटोनमेंट्स डिमानल की सरहद पर जरूर होने चाहिये।

इसके साथ-साथ मैं यह भी धाड़ करना चाहता हूँ कि उमने ही हमारा काम बनने वाला नहीं है। अगर देश की रक्षा करनी है, तो देश की रक्षा महज फौज ही नहीं कर सकती है। हजारों मील लम्बी हमारी सरहद है, हमारी बांडर लाइन पाकिस्तान से भी लगती है, चीन से भी लगती है। इसके निये मैं समझता हूँ कि जिस वक्त तक देश में तैयारी नहीं हो जाती है, उस वक्त तक हमारा काम बनने वाला नहीं है। उनके निये आपने एक मेकिड लाइन धाफ डिफेंस बनाई हुई है। वह मेकिड लाइन धाफ डिफेंस जो है, वह हमारे निये बहुत ज्यादा काम दे सकती है। अगर हम उसको पूरी तरह से धागोनाइज कर लें, तो वह बहुत मुकीद माबित हो सकती है। आपने नांक सहायक सेना का जो मध्य रखा है वह पांच लाख का रखा है। उसके निये आपने इस धार भी घोड़ा सा बजट में प्राविजन रखा है। आज लोगों में यह भावना पैदा हो गई है कि

[श्री हेम राज]

चीन आने वाला है, क्या बनेगा और ऐसी भावना का पैदा होना अच्छी बात नहीं है। अगर इस भावना को दूर करना है और लोगों में डिसिप्लिन लाना है, तो जगह-ब-जगह इसके लिये प्रापको अधिक से अधिक खर्च करना पड़ेगा। जो सेकिड लाइन ग्राफ डिफेंस है; जिममें रिजर्व धार्मी भी आती है, टैरिटोरियल धार्मी भी आती है, एन० सी० सी० भी आती है, केडेट कोर भी आती है; लोक सहायक सेना भी आती है, इन सब की तरफ ग्राज ज्यादा ध्यान देने की जरूरत है। इसकी वजह यह है कि फौज अगर आप बहुत ज्यादा रखते हैं, तो बहुत अधिक खर्च आता है लेकिन अगर देश में हर एक आदमी को ट्रेनिंग दे दी जाती है तो लाजिमी तौर पर लोगों में डिसिप्लिन पैदा होगा और किसी को यह कहने का मौका नहीं मिलेगा और न ही कोई यह कह सकेगा कि मैं, किसी वक्त भी जब जरूरत पड़े, अपने देश को डिफेंड करने को, तैयार नहीं हूँ। हर एक आदमी अगर ट्रेनिंग ले चुका होगा तो किसी को भी इस तरह की बात कहने का मौका नहीं मिलेगा और देश की रक्षा भी आसानी से हो सकेगी। इस तरह की ट्रेनिंग देने के लिये जितना रुपया आप धार्मी पर खर्च कर रहे हैं, उसके मुकाबले में बहुत कम खर्च आयेगा। आपने कहा है कि आपने ५०,००० आदमी तैयार किये हैं और इस साल उसमें आपने खर्च के लिये करीब ६७ लाख रुपये रखे हैं। मैं भ्रज करना चाहता हूँ कि आपको सेकिड लाइन ग्राफ डिफेंस पर ज्यादा जोर देना चाहिये। इस पर अधिक पैसा खर्च करना चाहिये। एन० सी० सी० के बारे में मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि उसमें एक चीज आई है। स्टुडेंट्स से भी इसके बारे में जिक्र हुआ है, आफिसर्स से भी हुआ है। जितने भी कालेज थे, जहां पर कि हड़तालें होती थीं या दूसरी बातें होती थीं, वहां पर ग्राज अगर आप देखें तो आपको पता चलेगा कि पंचाशत में कम से कम हड़तालें हुई हैं।

इस की वजह है कि जहां जहां नेशनल केडेट कोर आप का गया है वहां डिसिप्लिन कायम हो गई है, वहां हड़तालें कम हो रही हैं। मैं समझता हूँ कि देश के आने वाले जो लीडर्स हैं उन में अगर डिसिप्लिन आयेगी तो देश को कमी कोई खतरा नहीं हो सकता। इसलिये मैं खिक करना चाहता हूँ कि नेशनल केडेट कोर, प्राग्जिलरो केडेट कोर और लोक सहायक सेना जो हैं उन के ऊपर हम ज्यादा जोर दें। मैं आप से भ्रज कर रहा था कि जो नेशनल केडेट कोर है उस में गरीब आदमियों के लड़कों के लिये कोई जगह नहीं है। उन में बहुत से अच्छे अच्छे लड़के होते हैं, लेकिन उन को ग्राज तक कोई हेल्प नहीं मिली, वह भागे नहीं जा सकते। आप ने जिक्र किया है कि जो आफिसर्स यूनिट्स हैं उन में जो परसेन्टेज मुकदर किया गया था उसे शायद आप ने १० के बजाय १५ परसेंट कर दिया है। पिछले दिनों आपने एक बाशर निकाला था कि आफिसर रैंक्स में अच्छे आदमी भागे नहीं आते। मैं समझता हूँ कि यह जो नौजवान आते हैं उन के लिये आप ज्यादा से ज्यादा मौका मुहैया करें और आप जो परसेन्टेज १० से १५ कर रहे हैं उसे बढ़ा कर २५ परसेन्ट तक ले जायें, ताकि ज्यादा से ज्यादा नौजवानों को मौका मिल सके और वे ज्यादा से ज्यादा तादाद में आ सकें और गरीबों के बेहतरों आदमी आप के पास आ सकें।

इसी तरह से मैं आप से यह भी भ्रज करूंगा कि जहां पर लोक सहायक सेना के कैम्प लगते हैं वहां पर आप के पास बेहतर से बेहतर आदमी आ जाते हैं। वहां पर अगर आप के रिक्विटिंग सेन्टर्स हों तो वे बड़ा अच्छा काम कर सकते हैं। आप ने ग्राज मार्शल और नान-मार्शल की बात तो छोड़ दी है। जहां तक आप की नेवी का तालुक है, उस के जो फार्स हैं उन में आप ने सब क्लासेज के कालम को छोड़ दिया है, लेकिन जहां तक धार्मी का तालुक है, आप से सब क्लासेज के कालम को कायम

रक्खा है। जब आपने नेवी में वह कालम नहीं रक्खा तो फिर आप धार्मी में उसे क्यों रखते हैं। धार्मी में भी आप एक ही कालम रखिये जैसे कि आप ने नेवी में रक्खा है सब क्लासेज के जो कालम हैं वह उड़ जाने चाहिए।

एक बात धीर धर्ज कर दूँ। आप समझते हैं कि आप की मिलिटरी में बहुत धादमी नहीं आते। हमारे श्री कृष्ण मेनन साहब को पिछली स्पीच है कि ३० लाख के करोड़ एक्स सर्विसमें हैं धीर गालबन आप २५ या ३० हजार धादमियों को वापस करते हैं। इस तरह का जिक्र हो रहा था लोगों का रिटायरमेंट बहुत जल्दा होता है। जिस वक्त वे धरेड़ उम्र में होते हैं उस वक्त वे लोग बाहर निकलते हैं। उन के लिये कोई चारा नहीं होता। आप ने एक्स सर्विसमें के रिसेट्लमेंट का जो प्राविजन किया है उस में यह किया है कि तब ३ हजार एकड़ जमीन रक्खी है, जिस पर कि आप को उन्हें बसाना है। आप के पास धादमी इतने हैं कि उन के लिये आपके पास जगह नहीं है। कुछ थोड़ी सी जमीन आप मिल में उन को दे देंगे। लेकिन जब उन को इतना बड़ी ताबाद में आप बाहर भेज रहे हैं तो उन के लिये आप को कोई न कोई स्कीम बनानी पड़ेगी जिस से वे ऐसे काम सीट जायें कि बजाय इस के कि वे आपके मुलतिक बन जायें, आप के प्रचारक बन जायें : जिस जिस गांव में वे लोग जायेंगे, उस उस गांव में आप का एक-एक प्रचारक बन जायेगा। अगर उन्होंने आप के मुलतिक बन कर प्रचार किया तो आप की फौज में अच्छे धादमी धाने वाले नहीं है। इसलिये भी आपको यह बात सोचनी चाहिए।

हमारे बहुत से पुराने मिलिटरी धाफिसर्स हैं उन के लिये भी बहुत दिनों से यह उम्मीद दिलवाई जा रही थी कि उन की पेंशनों में कुछ न कुछ इजाफा धाम तीर से कर दिया जायेगा। लेकिन वह धामना जो धाम पुराना

हो गया, धभी तक धाप का कोई फँसला नहीं हुआ है। पिछले बजट में इसके लिये कुछ प्राविजन किया गया लेकिन धभी तक कोई फँसला नहीं हो पाया है। मैं धपने माननीय डिफेंस मिनिस्टर महोदय से प्राथना करूंगा कि इसके लिये भी कोई फँसला करने की जल्दी कोशिश की जाये।

जे० सी० धोज० जो हैं धीर एन० सी० धोज० जो हैं उन के लिये जो प्रमोषन है वह भी १० परसेन्ट रक्खे गये हैं। वे धाप के बड़े धच्छे तीजवान हैं, उन्होंने बेहतरीन तरीके से काम सोखा हुआ है, काफी पैसे लिखे हैं, इसलिये उन के प्रमोशन के परसेन्ट के बढ़ाया जाना चाहिये जिस से कि लोअर रैंक्स के धादमी भी धागे बढ़ सकें धीर धाप की जो फौज है उस में धच्छे से धच्छे धादमी नीचे से धाने शुरू हः सकें। इस तरह से वे धागे बढ़ कर धाफिसर्स रैंक में जा सकते हैं।

धात्रि में एक बात धीर धर्ज करना चाहता हूँ। धभी पिछले दिनों यहां एक सवाल हुआ था फील्ड फायरिंग के बारे में। हमारे यहां भी दो जगहें हैं जहां फील्ड फायरिंग के लिये जगहें छांड़ी हुई हैं। जिस समय धाप उस जगह को फायरिंग के बाद छोड़ते हैं उस वक्त धाप के पास जो बहुत सा बारूद होता है, धाम्स होते हैं, वे भी वहीं रह जाते हैं। मैं चाहता हूँ कि उसे छोड़ने के बाद धाप पांच या सात रोज में उसे धच्छो तरह से साफ कर दें ताकि वहां पर कोई कैमिबुल्टो न हो। हमारे यहां गुरल्लो धीर कच्छपारो दो मुकाम हैं, जहां कुछ कैमिबुल्टोज हुई हैं। मैं ने पिछली दफा क्वेश्चन किया था, लेकिन उन का मुधाबजा धाज तक नहीं मिला है, इस से लोगों में धसन्तोष पैदा होता है।

मैं समझता हूँ कि धामनीय धंधी महोदय इन बातों की तरफ जरूर ध्यान देंगे। इसके धाम ही यह जो धियान हमारे

[श्री हेम राज]

रक्षा मंत्रालय की हैं उन की सपोर्ट करता हूँ और रक्षा मंत्रालय को बधाई देता हूँ कि उन्होंने इतनी अच्छी तरह से इस काम को चलाया है। मैं समझता हूँ कि हम ज्यादा से ज्यादा जितना पैसा इस मंत्रालय को दे सकें, उतना ही बेहतर होगा।

Mr. Chairman: Shri Vajpayee.

Shri Feroze Gandhi: May I Mr. Chairman, make out one point with your permission? The Minister is going to reply at 5-30. It is a very important point on which the House would like to have information.

Mr. Chairman: I have called Shri Vajpayee.

Shri Feroze Gandhi: I will take only one minute. I am not making a speech.

Mr. Chairman: I have certainly no objection to his putting a question or making out a point. But I have already called Shri Vajpayee. I will call him after Shri Vajpayee. Now Shri Vajpayee.

श्री वाजपेयी : सभापति जी, सुरक्षा मंत्रालय का काम देश की रक्षा करना है, और जहां तक विदेशी आक्रमण से देश की रक्षा करने के प्राथमिक कर्तव्य का सवाल है, इस बात से इन्कार नहीं किया जा सकता कि सुरक्षा मंत्रालय अपने कर्तव्य को पूरा करने में सफल नहीं हुआ है। भारत की सीमार्ये हमारे पड़ोसियों के लिये सहज आक्रमण का विषय बन गई। ४२,००० वर्ग मील भूमि जम्मू काश्मीर में पाकिस्तान के कब्जे में है। यह कहा जा सकता है कि जब पाकिस्तान ने जम्मू काश्मीर पर आक्रमण किया तब हम तैयार नहीं थे, लेकिन यह तर्क चीन ने जो आक्रमण हमारे ऊपर किया है उसके सम्बन्ध में लागू नहीं होता। लद्दाख जम्मू काश्मीर का हिस्सा है। जम्मू काश्मीर में युद्ध की

स्थिति है। जम्मू काश्मीर के आवागमन का नियंत्रण सुरक्षा मंत्रालय के हाथ में है। इससे जो बहुत से लोग जम्मू काश्मीर जाते थे, उन्हें सुरक्षा मंत्रालय से परमिट प्राप्त करनी होती थी। कभी-कभी वह परमिट दिये जाने से रोक भी दिया जाता था। इसका मतलब यह है कि जम्मू काश्मीर की सीमा और उस की सुरक्षा का भार पूरी तरह से सुरक्षा मंत्रालय के ऊपर था। लेकिन चीनी आक्रमणकारी लद्दाख में घुस आया और सुरक्षा मंत्रालय को उसका पता भी नहीं लगा। हम गये थे जम्मू काश्मीर की रक्षा करने पाकिस्तान से, मगर वह चीनी आक्रमण का विषय बन गया, और इसके लिये सुरक्षा मंत्रालय जिम्मेदार है। क्यों नहीं हमने लद्दाख की सीमा की पूरी व्यवस्था की? यह कहा जा सकता है कि हमें चीन से आक्रमण की आशंका नहीं थी। लेकिन पाकिस्तान के आक्रमण को देखते हुए हमें लद्दाख की रक्षा का पूरा इन्तजाम करना चाहिये था। यह सीमा की ही बात नहीं है। चीनी आक्रमणकारी ४०, ४५ मील भारत की भूमि में अन्दर घुस आया।

लेकिन हमारे सुरक्षा मंत्रालय को पता नहीं लगा। मैं समझता हूँ कि सुरक्षा मंत्रालय की सफलता का माप सुरक्षा मंत्रालय द्वारा निर्मित की जाने वाली वस्तुओं से नहीं लगाया जा सकता। उत्पादन में वृद्धि हो यह बड़े आनन्द की बात है। सुरक्षा मंत्रालय सब तरह का सामान तैयार करे इसमें मुझे कोई विरोध नहीं है लेकिन इस मंत्रालय का पहला काम देश की रक्षा करना है और मैं जानना चाहता हूँ कि जब चीनियों ने लौंगजू पर आक्रमण कर दिया था और हमारे प्रधान मंत्री जी ने कहा था कि इट इज ए क्लियर केस फॉर एग्जेशन तो उस के बाद कर्नल सिंह और उनके साथियों को चीनी सेना की गोलियों का शिकार बनने के लिये लद्दाख में क्यों भेज दिया गया ?

सरकार जानती थी और सन् १९५७ में पता लग गया था कि चीन ने लद्दाख में घुस कर सड़क बनाई है तो फिर कर्म सिंह की पार्टी के साथ में कोई संरक्षण क्यों नहीं दिया गया ? उन के पास हथियार नहीं थे और वे जमीन के नीचे खड़े थे और चीनी सेनायें ऊपर पहाड़ की चोटियों पर बैठी हुई थी । मैं पूछना चाहता हूँ कि सुरक्षा मंत्रालय ने कर्मसिंह और उनकी पार्टी के साथ रक्षा का इंतजाम क्यों नहीं किया जिससे कि चीनी आक्रमण से वह बच सकते थे । अब कहा जाता है कि यह राज्य का विषय है लेकिन मैं समझता हूँ कि लद्दाख के बारे में यह बात लागू नहीं होती है क्योंकि जब से पाकिस्तान ने लद्दाख पर आक्रमण किया है लद्दाख की रक्षा का भार केन्द्रीय सरकार के जिम्मे है । पहले तो चीनी आक्रमण का पता ही नहीं लग सका और उन्हीं ४० मील भारत की सीमा के भन्दर भ्राने से नहीं रोक सके और सबसे बड़ी गलती यह की गई कि कर्म सिंह और उनके साथियों को चीनी सेना द्वारा मारने के लिये छोड़ दिया गया । सुरक्षा मंत्रालय को इस स्थिति को स्पष्ट करना चाहिये । मैं यह भी जानना चाहता हूँ कि क्या यह बात सच है कि जनरल थिमैया ने सन् १९५७ में इस बात की धोर संकेत किया था कि चीनी सेनायें लद्दाख में घुस आई हैं । यह कहने के लिये मेरे पास एक आधार भी है । १४ दिसम्बर, १९५६ के भ्रमरोकी प्रखबार टाईम में जनरल थिमैया और श्री मुरारजी देसाई के बीच हुई बातचीत को उद्धृत किया और सुरक्षा मंत्री ने जैसे उस दिन न्यूयार्क पोस्ट के सम्वाददाता को दी गई मेट से इंकार कर दिया था अभी परमात्मा का धुक है कि वित्त मंत्री महोदय ने उस मेट से इंकार नहीं किया है और मैं यह भी नहीं मानता कि उन्होंने इसको पढ़ा नहीं होगा । मैं इसका एक भंश सभापति महोदय, आपके सामने रखना चाहता हूँ :-

"Finance Minister, Mr. Morarji Desai, angrily set out to get the facts about the red road."

लद्दाख के बारे में है ।

"Cross-questioning India's Army Chief of Staff, Lieut-General K. S. Thimayya, he asked when he first knew about the road. 'In 1957' said the General and he had offered proposals....".

Shri Narayanankutty Menon (Mukandapuram): May I know the name of the magazine from which he is quoting?

Shri Vajpayee: It is Time. You may not like it. But it is here.

Shri Narayanankutty Menon: He need not reply me. I only wanted to know the name of the magazine.

Shri Vajpayee: Sir, I had already informed you of the name of the magazine. If the hon. Member does not understand Hindi, I am very sorry for him.

"'In 1957' said the General and he had offered proposals to safeguard the security of India. But they were turned down by the Defence Minister, Mr. Menon. 'Why?'"

"'व्हाई' ? यह इनवर्टेड क्रीमाज में लिखा हुआ है । श्री मुरारजी देसाई ने पूछा है कि ऐसा क्यों है ?

"'Why?' asked Desai. 'Because' replied Thimayya, 'he said that the enemy was on the other side and not on this side.'"

17 hrs.

इसका अर्थ यह है कि सुरक्षा मंत्रालय ने और हमारे जनरल थिमैया ने कहा कि दुश्मन दूसरी तरफ है अर्थात् दुश्मन चीन की तरफ नहीं है बल्कि दुश्मन पाकिस्तान की तरफ है । मैं चाहता हूँ कि सुरक्षा मंत्री इसका खंडन करें यदि यह सही न हो लेकिन अगर यह बात सच है तो सुरक्षा मंत्री चीनी आक्रमण के सामने देश को खुला खोल कर रख देने के दोषी हैं । पाकिस्तान से आक्रमण की

[श्री बाजपेयी]

सम्भावना है। पाकिस्तान ने आक्रमण किया है इससे इंकार नहीं किया जा सकता मगर हमारे सुरक्षा मंत्री एक तरफ से थ्रॉलें बंद कर लें और केवल अपना ध्यान पाकिस्तान की तरफ लगाये रहें तो देश की सुरक्षा के साथ वह न्याय नहीं कर सकते। अभी भी चीनी आक्रमण हो जाने के बाद ऐसा लगता है कि हम चीनी आक्रमण की गम्भीरता को नहीं समझे हैं। अभी उस दिन जब ऐयर स्पेस सीमा के उल्लंघन की चर्चा चली थी और प्रश्न पूछा गया तो जहाँ तक पाकिस्तान द्वारा हमारी ऐयर स्पेस के उल्लंघन का सवाल है सुरक्षा मंत्री ने बड़े विश्वास के साथ जवाब दिया मगर चीन की तरफ से आने वाले हवाई जहाजों के बारे में वे कुछ नहीं बोले। बाद में राज्य सभा में उन्होंने कहा कि जिन लोगों ने देखा है मुना है वे ऐसा कहते हैं कि हवाई जहाज चीन की तरफ से आये थे मैं जानना चाहता हूँ कि क्या हमारी सेनायें चीन की तरफ से आने वाले हवाई जहाजों को सुन नहीं सकती या देख नहीं सकतीं और क्या हम उनको पहचान नहीं सकते या पहचान लेते हैं तो फिर हमारे सुरक्षा मंत्री महोदय यहाँ सदन में आकर उसको कहने में क्षिप्तकते क्यों हैं? आखिर इसका कारण क्या है? अब अगर हवाई जहाज हम पहचान नहीं सकते तो यह सुरक्षा मंत्री और सुरक्षा मंत्रालय की प्रशंसा के जो पुल बांधे गये हैं यह कोई मतलब नहीं रखते। देश को स्वाधीनता प्राप्त किये हुए १३ साल हो गये और इस सदन ने कभी भी सुरक्षा मंत्री जो भी धन की मांग करें उसको उसने इंकार कभी नहीं किया हमने सदा जो उन्होंने मांग को उसको उन्हें दिया है। गत वर्ष भी यह कहा गया था और सदन में किसी ने इस बात पर आपत्ति नहीं की कि सुरक्षा के ऊपर अधिक धन खर्च किया जाना चाहिये। लेकिन उस दिन हमारे माननीय सदस्य श्री त्यागी ने सुरक्षा मंत्री महोदय से यह आश्वासन चाहा था कि अबिष्य में चीनी हवाई जहाज भारत की सीमा का

उल्लंघन करके नहीं आ सकेंगे, यह आश्वासन क्या आप दे सकते हैं तो उन्होंने कहा था कि रिपोर्ट पर निर्भर। इस रिपोर्ट में भी कहा गया है कन्सिस्टेंट विथ प्रवर लिमिटेड रिपोर्ट में जाना चाहता हूँ कि यदि हमारे देश की सीमा पर विदेशी हवाई जहाज घुस आते हैं तो वह किस देश के हवाई जहाज है क्या इस का पता लगाने के लिये भी हमारे पास साधन नहीं हैं? अगर सुरक्षा मंत्रालय के पास साधन नहीं है तो वे इस सदन में आकर अधिक धन की मांग कर सकते हैं। जब भी उन्होंने कोई मांग की हमने उसको स्वीकार किया और कभी भी रज्या देने से हमने इंकार नहीं किया। देश की सुरक्षा को सर्वोच्च प्राथमिकता मिलना चाहिये। ऐसा लगता है कि उत्तरी सीमाओं की उपेक्षा की गई है और प्राज भी उपेक्षा की जा रही है। चीनी आक्रमण हो जाने के बाद भी सुरक्षा मंत्रालय को अपने कर्तव्य का जिस तरह से पालन करना चाहिये था, वह नहीं कर रहा है और मैं समझता हूँ कि यह देश के लिये बड़ी गम्भीर बात है। हमारी सीमाएं दोनों ओर से प्रतिरक्षण का विषय बन गई है।

एक भूपूर्व रिटायर्ड मेजर जनरल शिव-दत्त सिंह भार्मी में रह चुके हैं और मैं समझता हूँ कि जो वे कहेंगे वे प्रमुख के प्राधार पर कहते होंगे। इसलिये मैं उनका उल्लेख करता हूँ। उनका कहना है कि ऐसा हो सकता है कि चीन और पाकिस्तान कभी एक साथ मिल कर हमारी सीमाओं पर हमला करें। अब पाकिस्तान को प्रमरीका से हथियार मिल रहे हैं और चीन को रूस से शस्त्रास्त्र प्राप्त हो रहे हैं...

श्री त्यागी : इसीलिये दोनों मिल नहीं कर सकते हैं।

श्री बाजपेयी : मैं एक रिटायर्ड मेजर जनरल को यहाँ पर कोट कर रहा हूँ लेकिन अब अगर त्यागी जी उनसे ज्यादा अधिकारपूर्ण

वाणी में कहना चाहते हैं तो मुझे उसे मानने में कोई आपत्ति नहीं होगी।

श्री जोशीम आल्वा : सभापति महोदय, क्या मैं एक बात जान सकता हूँ कि क्या यह तथ्य नहीं है यह मेजर जनरल सिर्फ इस वजह से अखबार में घ्राटिकल नहीं भेजते थे कि अखबार उन के नाम के घ्रागे रिटायर्ड मेजर जनरल लिखना चाहता था और वे चाहते थे कि रिटायर्ड शब्द न लिख कर केवल मेजर जनरल ही लिखा जाये ?

श्री बाजपेयी : मैं नहीं जानता कि मेरे माननीय मित्र क्या कह रहे हैं और जो वह कह रहे हैं उसको शायद वे भी नहीं जानते

श्री जोशीम आल्वा : मैं सही बात कह रहा हूँ। मेरा निवेदन यह है

Mr. Chairman: Order, order. Let there be no interruptions of this kind. The hon. Member does not understand his interruption and does not give way. There is no meaning in his trying to rise and interrupt. He has made his speech already.

Shri Joachim Alva: I am not making a speech.

Mr. Chairman: There is no meaning in this kind of interruption. The Hon'ble Member speaking has a right to say what he wants, and the hon. Member has no right to interrupt him.

श्री बाजपेयी : सभापति महोदय, हालत आज ऐसी हो रही है कि भविष्य में क्या होगा कुछ कहा नहीं जा सकता है। लेकिन सुरक्षा के मामले में हम कोई खतरा नहीं ले सकते और हमें सब प्रकार की सम्भावनाओं पर विचार करके इस के लिये तैयार रहना चाहिये। और मुझे ऐत्रा बिलता है कि सुरक्षा मन्त्रालय गम्भीरता के साथ अभी भी इस सबाल पर विचार नहीं कर रहा है, क्योंकि इस बजट में केवल २६ करोड़ रुपये की अधिक मांग की गयी है। मैं नहीं समझता कि

चीन के प्राक्रमण से जो संकट पैदा हुआ है उसकी गम्भीरता को पहचानने का यह परिचायक है।

श्री बाज एन लाई भारत आ रहे हैं, बातचीत सफल हो जाए तो बड़े प्रानन्द की बात है, लेकिन उन्होंने जो नया नोट भेजा है वह कोई वार्ता की सफलता का संकेत नहीं करता, वह तो प्रब एवरेस्ट की चोटी मांग रहे हैं, अभी तक तो वह धरती मांग रहे थे, पर प्रब प्रासमान मांग रहे हैं। अभी तक जमीन मांग रहे थे, प्रब पहाड़ मांग रहे हैं, हिमालय की सबसे ऊँची चोटी मांग रहे हैं। मैं नहीं समझता इस स्थिति में बात सफल होगी, और अगर दुर्भाग्य से बातचीत विफल हो गयी तब क्या होगा ? तब क्या ये २६ करोड़ रुपये पर्याप्त होंगे। क्या हमारे सुरक्षा मन्त्रालय, हमारी सरकार के पास इतनी सैनिक शक्ति है कि चीनी प्राक्रमणकारियों को भारत की भूमि से खदेड़ कर बाहर कर सके। इस प्रश्न का उत्तर दिया जाना चाहिये, और इस संदर्भ में सुरक्षा मन्त्रालय की मांगों को देखा जाना चाहिये।

सभापति जी, जो रिपोर्ट रखी गयी है प्राडिट की तरफ से, उसमें नानावटी कांड का भी उल्लेख है। मैं समझता हूँ, उसके बारे में चर्चा करने में सुरक्षा मन्त्री को भी कोई आपत्ति नहीं होगी, क्योंकि वस हजार रुपया उनकी बकालत पर खर्च किया गया इसमें इकार नहीं किया जा सकता। इसमें एक बड़ा सिद्धान्त का सबाल पैदा होता है कि क्या सेना में काम करने वाले सैनिक और अफसर सामान्य नागरिकों से अलग हैं। कमांडर नानावटी ने जो कुछ किया वह जर्मसेना के अफसर के नाते नहीं किया, एक व्यक्ति के नाते किया, और व्यक्ति के नाते उन्होंने जो कुछ किया उसका दण्ड उन्हें व्यक्ति के नाते भुगतने के लिये खोद दिया जाना चाहिये। मैं समझता हूँ कि गलत परम्परा नहीं डाली जाएगी। पंजाब में जी० एस० निच को पंजाब

[श्री बाजपेयी]

सरकार ने कोई सहायता नहीं दी, यद्यपि उन पर जो आरोप लगाया गया है वह उनके कर्तव्य की पूर्ति के सम्बन्ध में लगाया गया है, ऐसा कहा जाता है। और मैं आपसे कहना चाहता हूँ कि मैं इस बात को मानने के लिये तैयार नहीं हूँ कि श्री नानावटी के मामलें में केन्द्र को हस्तक्षेप करने के लिये सुरक्षा मन्त्री ने अपने प्रभाव का उपयोग नहीं किया। हमारे प्रधान मन्त्री ने उस दिन कहा कि एडमिरल कटारी मेरे पास आये। मुझे यह सुन कर बड़ा ताज्जुब हुआ कि आखिर एडमिरल कटारी सुरक्षा मन्त्री की उपेक्षा करके सीधे प्रधान मन्त्री के पास चले गए। उनको इस तरह नहीं जाना चाहिये था और मैं समझता हूँ कि वह गए भी नहीं हैं। जनरल थिमैया एक बार चले गए थे और उसके कारण कितना बवण्डर खड़ा हुआ यह आप जानते ही हैं। मैं नहीं समझता कि एडमिरल कटारी ने वही गलती की। और मेरा अनुमान है कि सुरक्षा मन्त्री ने अपने प्रभाव का उपयोग किया और सदन से इस तथ्य को छिपाया गया। मैं समझता हूँ कि यह देश के लिये बड़े दुर्भाग्य की बात है।

धीरे-धीरे देश में एक ऐसी हवा बनायी जा रही है जिसमें लोकतन्त्र कुठित होता जा रहा है। सेना सहायता के काम में मदद करे। यह बड़ी प्रशंसा की बात लगती है। कहीं बाड़ घा जाए तो सेना सहायता करे, कहीं ला एण्ड आर्डर की शक्तियाँ की सहायता के लिये सेना को बाजारों में मार्च कराया जाए, यह कानूनी है और हमारे संविधान के अन्तर्गत इसकी स्वीकृति है। लेकिन इसमें इस बात का बीज निहित है कि जो सिविल अथॉरिटी है वह धीरे-धीरे कमजोर होती जा रही है और हम ज्यादा से ज्यादा सेना के ऊपर निर्भर होते जा रहे हैं। भारत के पास पड़ोस में जो घटनाएँ हो रही हैं, एशिया, अफ्रीका में लोकतन्त्र जिस तरह से प्राप्त होता जा रहा है, और हमारे देश में भी जैसी अधिनायकवादी

शक्तियाँ सिर उठा रही हैं, उस अवस्था में सेना यदि इस प्रकार के अधिक काम करेगी तो मैं नहीं समझता कि यह देश के लोकतन्त्र के भविष्य के लिये अच्छा होगा। इसलिये मैं विवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि देश की सुरक्षा की शक्ति को बढ़ाया जाए। विदेशी आक्रमण को ध्यान में रख कर हम अपनी सैनिक सामर्थ्य में वृद्धि करें। सेना में यदि प्रांतीयता घाती हुई दिखायी देती हो तो उसका निराकरण करें और सेना में जो जातियों के नाम पर सेनाओं के नाम रखे गये हैं, जैसे मराठा रेजीमेंट या जाट रेजीमेंट या सिख रेजीमेंट, मैं समझता हूँ कि सिक्कूलर भारत में इन साम्प्रदायिक नामों के लिये स्थान नहीं है। इन नामों को खत्म कर दिया जाना चाहिये और सम्प्रदाय के आधार पर सेना का संगठन होना चाहिये।

Shri Joachim Alva: Please allow me just one minute to explain my interruption.

Mr. Chairman: There is no question of explaining it. First of all, the hon. Member makes an interruption, and then he wants time to explain the interruption.

Shri Joachim Alva: I shall take your permission to explain it, because it is a matter of public importance.

Mr. Chairman: If he wants my permission to explain the interruption, he should have taken my permission to make the interruption also. But he never asked any permission to make the interruption.

Shri Joachim Alva: I am asking your permission now.

Mr. Chairman: There is no occasion for explaining it now. The hon. Member who was speaking did not reply to the interruption; he did not even understand the interruption. So, there is no occasion for any explanation now. Now, Raja Mahendra Pratap.

Shri Narayanankutty Menon: Before the hon. Member starts, with your permission, may I rise to a point of order, which is very important? The Audit Report has been placed on the Table of the House. It is a printed copy, which is a duplicate of the original document. It was printed on 18th March, 1960 by the Manager of the Government of India Press, and the original was supposed to be signed on the 24th March, 1960 and countersigned on the 28th March, 1960. So, the document is non-existent, as far as we are concerned. So, how can it be laid on the Table of the House!

Mr. Chairman: The hon. Member knows that it has been placed on the Table of the House and he started with that assumption that it has already been placed on the Table of the House. What is the objection of the hon. Member?

Shri Narayanankutty Menon: It is a non-existent document, because it is shown as having been printed on the 18th March, signed by the Director of Audit, Defence Services, on the 24th March, and countersigned on the 28th March by the Auditor-General. So, when it was printed, the original was non-existent, and this being a duplicate does not exist. So, the House has been given a document which is non-existent.

Dr. Ram Subhag Singh: We have not been able to understand what the point of order is.

Mr. Chairman: The hon. Member may kindly re-state the point of order.

Shri Narayanankutty Menon: My point of order is this, that a document has been placed on the Table of the House which, according to what is written in it, is an invalid document, because it was printed on the 18th March, 1960. The printed document is a duplicate of the original. The original was non-existent when it was printed, because it has been signed by the Director of Audit, Defence Services on the 24th March, and

countersigned by the Auditor-General on the 28th March, 1960. So, it is an invalid document, which is non-existent which has been placed as a valid document on the Table of the House.

Dr. Ram Subhag Singh: This is the usual procedure for placing all the Audit Reports on the Table of the House. Other Audit Reports have also been placed on the Table of the House in a similar manner.

Mr. Chairman: The original can be sent for, and then the point can be decided. The point cannot be decided without looking at the original copy. The original will be sent for, and then the point in question will be decided.

Shri Narayanankutty Menon: The original can be called for.

Mr. Chairman: Certainly, it will be called for.

Raja Mahendra Pratap (Mathura): I rise to speak here, not as a Member of the Opposition. I wish that we all stand up, wherever we stand up, as Members of one Parliament in which we are all working for the whole country without any distinction.

I would first refer to my seven cut motions. My first cut motion relates to the problem of ex-soldiers and ex-officers. Their problem should be considered with sympathy. It is very important that we give every facility to the ex-soldiers and ex-officers, so that the soldiers and officers in the active Army can be quite sure that when they retire they will be looked after well. I propose that ex-soldiers should be given always suitable work. They should not be left unemployed. I suggest that ex-officers should be given farms so that they can work there and have their livelihood.

My second cut motion relates to cantonments. I propose that in every cantonment there should be farms and factories. I believe that we can reduce the expenses of the Army very

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much if we utilise these lands so that the soldiers may produce their daily necessities. They can even manufacture arms and ammunitions, and they can also produce their daily necessities. I have been proposing this for several years and I was very glad that our hon. Defence Minister used this plan to a certain extent in building the cantonment at Ambala. I expressed my thankfulness to him in the Defence Committee.

Then I propose that the military organisation should be utilised to develop social welfare. This has been proposed by some other friends also. When armymen go out of the army, they can show the way of discipline, what a disciplined life is.

I also suggest that immediate action should be taken to stop supply of strong drinks in Army messes and Army clubs. Of course, when they are in such frontier areas as Tibet or in very cold places in Kashmir, they can be given a dose of brandy as is given under certain conditions to a sick man.

I propose that family quarters should be provided in all cantonments. There should be schools in all cantonments. Then our soldiers who go there can live quite satisfied without any worry. They have their families there and they have schools for their children. In this way, the soldiers will be very satisfied and we can have any number of soldiers. We can have even 10 million soldiers when they are working also to produce their daily necessities.

Some hon. Members have said that the differences of caste, religion and so on should be done away with. But I am very sorry to say that these have persisted during all these 2000 years as far as we see in history. We find today that the Brahmmins, Banias, Kayasths and Khetris are highly intellectual. They have some kind of a super-mind. We have to recognise facts. We must not be blind to facts.

In the same way, I also say that the Rajputs, Jats, Gujars, Ahirs, Maharatta and Gurkhas are martial races. That does not mean that they will just work for themselves. They will be utilised for the entire nation. It is not that the Brahmmins will be allowed to become very rich and live in luxury. That is not the idea. The idea is to utilise whatever good quality we have in different groups in the interest of the entire nation. Of course, we have all to work for all to make all happy. Not one man is to be left without work and without daily bread.

Now I wish to refer to a small matter. When I was returning by train, I met a Professor of an Engineering College at Poona. He said some very strange things. He said that for 7 years the pay accounts of four Professors are sent every month for sanction. Every month it has to be sanctioned. This is rather very strange. What is the idea of this? This has to be investigated.

As I said in the beginning, I do not stand here as a Member in Opposition. I admire our hon. Defence Minister. I admire our hon. Sardar Surjeet Singh Majithia; he also happens to be my relation. I also admire the Maharajah of Baroda who has taken up this service. I told him: it is a shame that you took up such a service. He is so great a patriot that he has taken up the service. I admire them. But I say that there are certain defects which should be considered. Today, I was shocked about the audit report. I am quite sure that our hon. Prime Minister will equally be shocked. We should not consider ourselves to be more anxious about the welfare of the country. I do not think our Prime Minister or the Defence Minister or the Deputy Defence Minister or the Parliamentary Secretary are less anxious. They are as anxious as we and I am quite sure that they will investigate and find whether it is true. If it is true, it is a very serious question. Colossal money is lost.

I can say one thing from my own personal experience. Sometime back I was going about in the cantonment. The labourers of the cantonment workshop invited me to speak to them. I was astonished to see that there were a lot of trucks and jeeps without any shelter. They are being spoiled. They have been there like that for a couple of years, perhaps three years.

Shri Naushir Bharucha: For the last ten years.

Raja Mahendra Pratap: That is a very sad state of affairs. I think our Defence Ministry will consider the question.

I have heard some great and very fine speeches. I admire my friends but I say that these speeches were suitable speeches before the First World War. The two World Wars and the establishment of the UNO—the United Nations Organisation—changed the situation entirely. I beg to say that we should implicitly support the UNO and we should depend upon the UNO. It can really defend us, I believe. We all should try that the UNO has a very strong army, such a strong army that it can dictate its decision. That is the weakness of the UNO. It has not got that army to dictate its decisions. They say some very pious things. They give some very pious ideas. For instance, regarding South Africa, they say this and this should be done. But no one listens because in South Africa they say: let them talk and talk nonsense; we are here and we have the army and the police and we do not mind what the UNO says. That is the situation. If we work for this ideal if UNO has a strong army, then that will be the world Government. We can evolve the world Government out of it. I think that instead of speaking of having a large army and having a bigger defence and making so many more aeroplanes and so on, we should always say that we should have world federation, we should see that the UNO has a strong

army, that it has a court of justice so that whenever there is trouble, can go to the court of justice. Then the UNO army will be there and it would defend us.

As regards Premier Chou En-Lai's coming here, I am sorry to say that there are some sections in our country which speak ill of his coming. It is very unfortunate. A great guest is coming; we, the people of India, should believe our hon. Prime Minister. When our hon. Prime Minister will talk to him I am quite sure some good decision will be made and it will be made in the interest of the entire country. It is not correct to say, we shall show black flags or anything of that kind. It will be a shame not only to that group but to our country, to our civilisation and to our culture. I hope that it will not be done.

17-25 hrs.

[Mr. SPEAKER in the Chair]

Now, there is a great deal of talk about communism and capitalism. I say that it is very wrong. It is quite wrong. It is not any struggle between communism and capitalism. Certain races, certain nations struggled, struggled for supremacy, and now there are only two great nations—the Anglo-saxons and the Slavs are left in the contest. They are struggling for world control. This should be understood, but it is not understood. The Slavs are utilising these ideas called communism to fight the Anglo-saxons and the Anglo-saxons are utilising the ideas like parliamentarianism, democracy and four freedom just to attract people, make a big following to fight the Slavs and defeat them. This must be understood.

I shall be very glad if our Communist brethren in the country understand this fact that Communist ideas were invented by the great Jewish mind. That great Jewish mind saw that really in society the kings, the priests and the businessmen ruled. This is what the Brahmans did long ago. The Brahmans, the

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Kshatriyas and the Vaisyas ruled. It is now that the jews found it out and said, down with the kings, down with the priests, down with the businessmen.

When I was in Soviet Russia in 1918 what I found was that all the great posts were taken by the jews. Their Defence Minister Trotski was a Jew. Lunacharski was a Jew, Radek was a Jew, Kamenev was a Jew. All great men of the revolutionary Russia were Jews. Afterwards Russians from lower strata came up and then they removed the Jews. This is the fact. Our Communist brethren should know this fact. They should also know another fact. If I am a Hindu I shall bow to Mathura-Vrindaban, if I am a Muslim I shall bow to Mecca, if I am Communist I shall bow to Moscow, if I am a man following democracy or parliamentarianism I shall bow to London.

This fact must be understood. Then we can come together and work together. We should not fight for ideas. We are all brethren. We should work together. We are in one country and God the Creator has created all mankind on this earth. We should realise this fact. God the Creator having created all mankind wants the good of all. If there is a father and he has ten sons, he wants the good of all the ten sons. If these sons quarrel and fight the father will be very sorry. So when we are fighting in this world, I see that God is weeping. He is very sorry that his children are fighting among themselves. He is thinking why His children are destroying His own creation. He is very sorry. So, Sir, let us work together in the interest of all and make all happy.

Mr. Speaker: A point of order which had been raised has been brought to my notice. That is with regard to the date of the audit report. In the original that I have before me, Shri P. K. Basu and Shri A. K. Chanda have signed. Their names

are not printed there. They signed on the 24th March, 1960. The original is important to us. So far as the copies are concerned, the names of Shri Basu and Shri Chanda are also printed. The whole thing was printed on the 18th March. That appears here. In the copy, the names of Messrs Basu and Chanda are also printed. Of course, that is by way of anticipation; they cannot go on signing everyone of the copies!

Shri Narayanankutty Menon: May I explain, Sir?

Mr. Speaker: What is the need for explanation? Why should hon. Members make much about a small thing?

Shri Narayanankutty Menon: The point is this. The copy that has been placed on the Table of the House is a copy of the original document and the presumption arises only if it is not proved to the contrary. But when this was printed, there was no signed document existing—(Interruptions).

Mr. Speaker: Order, order. Every day, we are aware that before I sign, I ask copies to be printed. Until I sign, the copies would not be issued, and the paper takes currency or becomes valid only from the time when I sign it. That is common knowledge. So, there is nothing in the point of order.

Shri Tyagi: Moreover, the budget speech is made on a particular day, but the budget is printed long before.

Mr. Speaker: Yes; how can it be printed immediately, as he goes on speaking here?

Shri Narayanankutty Menon: The date is not printed,—

Mr. Speaker: Order, order. There are many important points that have been raised by hon. Members. Why should the hon. Member make much of small points? Shri Krishna Menon.

Shri Krishna Menon: Mr. Speaker, Sir, the House has debated these estimates for the last five hours or more. A greater number of speeches have referred to all matters raised in the papers before hon. Members as a general problem. It is usual on these occasions to give the necessary time for an overall view of the problems under discussion. It is very important this year in view of the special circumstances in which we find ourselves. It was my hope that I would be able to spend the whole hour that may be placed at my disposal for this purpose.

Mr. Speaker: Even now, he can use a full hour.

Shri Krishna Menon: I submit to your discretion. But unfortunately, a number of matters have come up which, if they were not at least answered by way of a random sampling, might lead to misconceptions.

Government and the Defence Ministry, if I may say so, do not resent—I am not saying this as a sort of patronage—criticism so far as their actions are concerned. But as a member of the Government, as a Member of this House and as a citizen, one feels a sense of concern when those observations are likely to be of interest to those who are not friendly to us. Therefore, certain statements made in the course of the speeches, if not contradicted, might make other people believe that our strength is far less than it is and that we are in a panic-stricken state of mind—at least a small section in the country—and that may have an adverse effect. And no amount of grants made by this Parliament would counterbalance that position.

I have no desire to go chapter and verse into the speeches or annotate the speeches. But I shall first take a few things that have been said. We have been told that there is no ammunition available, that bombers are without bombs and that the

parachutes that are used tear away when they are flown, and things of that character. I shall just say a few words about the parachutes. These parachutes today are more potent weapons of war, of defence, than they once used to be in the old days. Whether it is a question of dropping supplies or dropping men in the required areas, a parachute becomes of tremendous importance and we are happy to think that our troops either in the Air Force or anywhere else are very competent in this regard.

Before I go into the matter in detail, I am sure the House would appreciate that this is an occasion for us to remember, to say something, and to pay a tribute to the men and the officers who are today in the far-off corners of our country. They are an aid to civil power. For many years, these men have been working and operating in very difficult conditions in the eastern part of India. Their leave terms are short because the strength of our army and the officers' strength are very limited. Therefore, their duties and tasks must come first. They are living in conditions which Members of this House would find it hard to believe unless they saw them themselves. Their operating conditions also are difficult, because they have not the freedom of the belligerent soldier to achieve victory by short-cut. They are there for the maintenance of law and order and only for the purpose of self-defence or for the purpose of providing security for those who are loyal to the constitution and security of this country.

Then again, there are those men who are in the Naga Hills and their officers. I wish I were in a position to disclose the numbers of those people who have been operating year after year now. They deserve our full sympathy and consideration.

Government have tried, as far as our resources allow, to make the lot

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of these people easier by making the necessary provision for their families.

Unfortunately, either from the point of economic capacity or from the point of view of public opinion or our general outlook in this matter, we have not reached the stage as in western countries, where the soldier's family is looked after by family allowances.

For the last 10 years, in a part of India, in Jammu and Kashmir, where some 30,000 to 40,000 square miles are in external occupation as a result of aggression—and this country has declared its policy that the aggressor must vacate the aggression—are also located a considerable portion of our army. My distinguished friend, the former Minister for Defence Organisation, would be able to say more than I can under what conditions they went there, because this was regarded as a temporary matter. They have also lived in conditions of hardship. We are moving them into a better state of affairs now, because we feel when there is no settlement on this matter—it must come only when the opposition makes up its mind to vacate this land—they have to be put into better accommodation, but that covers only a small number of people.

Then came very recent difficulties, all over 2,000 miles of our northern borders, which not only in the time of this Government, but in the time of the imperial British Government was left unprotected, was left unprotected in the pre-British times also. It is not the policy of civilised nations usually to put soldiers on the tips of their borders; they used to be protected by policemen with sufficient arms behind them, if occasion should arise.

Shri U. C. Patnaik: Because they believed in buffer States like Tibets.

Shri Krishna Menon: Therefore, new situations have arisen where conditions of life are harder, where in the

advanced positions, every ounce of food has to be dropped by air and therefore, the supplies must be limited, where conditions of living are not as comfortable, even though they are not governed by the factors to which Shri Patnaik referred.

Therefore, to say that Government is oblivious of these matters, that it shows lack of concern, that there are no suits, no shoes, no warm clothes, etc. is not proper. It is not necessary to have vehicles to convey food to the mountains. After all, food does not go to the top of the mountains; it goes to the foothills and from there it goes in planes. If it really reaches them and if they pay that attention to it which I pay to the hon. Members' speeches here, I am afraid it will have bad effects. I say this because, the hon. gentleman enjoys a reputation of being an expert in military matters. Whether that reputation is deserved or not, history alone can decide.

Shri U. C. Patnaik: Why not meet those points I made out?

Mr. Speaker: Let him be allowed to speak.

Shri U. C. Patnaik: I have never claimed to be an expert on the subject and it is not for the Minister to say that I claim that. I claim to be a Member of Parliament and as a Member of Parliament, I have the right to point out the defects of the Defence Ministry.

Shri Krishna Menon: I never said the hon. Member claimed anything. Whatever the hon. Member gets comes without his claim. I said, he enjoys that reputation. I would not take away from the hon. Member his position by saying he asked for it.

Anyway, snowshoes and all those equipments that are required are manufactured in defence establishments to the extent that is necessary.

Parachutes are manufactured in the same way and we hold all the stocks that are required. But, as in all other military equipments, there are certain special types and specifications which it may not be economical, which it may not be within our capacity to make over here. For these orders are placed. Now, whereas I said I do not want to devote much time to this, this particular matter which the hon. Member referred to really relates, Mr. Speaker,—it is very important to remember that—to a trial order. The trial order was placed with the United States and obtained through the normal channels of procurement. When this House or anybody else makes criticisms about the method of procurement, purchase, this that and the other, it is often forgotten that there are very well-laid down procedure in the Defence Ministry, apart from the fact that in Government to Government transactions it is passed on to the Ministry of Supplies, who does this job for us. Anyway, it comes through the usual sources.

Now, some of the parachutes were not found effective; they were not entirely suitable for the purpose for which they were intended. There were certain defects. Now, it was for that purpose, for testing them, that they were taken. They will go back and they will be replaced by the manufacturers after alterations are made. Without this method of trial and error it is impossible to operate defence equipment in the peculiar conditions of this country of tropical weather, rains, snow, wind, storm and other things which do not obtain in other countries. It is a fact that, I am sure, is well-known to you, Mr. Speaker, that the defence equipments that are used here are, to a very large extent, almost hundred per cent equipment are subject to special treatment on account of the conditions of the weather, of our tropicalisation, to withstand the dust or humidity or whatever it may be.

Shri U. C. Patnalk: An order costing one lakh dollars, was it a trial order or a bulk order. I would like to know what it is?

Mr. Speaker: Order, order. The hon. Member should resume his seat. I would not like him to go on like this. He has taken about 25 minutes for his speech and I was a bit indulgent to him. As I said earlier, hon. Members would like to hear the hon. Minister. Merely because he makes a special study, he cannot go on supplementing what he has said by interrupting the hon. Minister.

Shri U. C. Patnalk: No, Sir. It is a valuable order and he is....

Mr. Speaker: I am not going to allow it. He had his say. Let the hon. Minister explain the position. Should I allow him to go on cross-examining like this? Let the hon. Minister be allowed to have his say and still if the hon. Member is not satisfied there are other methods for him to present his viewpoint, or to seek further clarification. The trend of the discussion will be disturbed if the hon. Member goes on contradicting or interrupting the hon. Minister. It will not produce any other effect.

Shri Krishna Menon: As I said, there are two kinds of criticisms that can be made. One is in regard to the equipment that is used, that the equipment itself is found to be a failure. That is a legitimate criticism and something that is understandable, that the bombs would not explode when they are used, as happened in Czarist Russia. That is a different question. Here we deliberately placed a trial order so that the parachutes can be tested under difficult conditions. Probably it is not known that with regard to defence equipments a great deal of punishment is put upon the weapons which are there, what are called destruction tests, in order to find out the limit they would take. These are the ways in which these things can be checked and we do it every time. I have

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mentioned only one instance as otherwise it will take too much of time.

There is no foundation in fact in the criticisms that have been made in regard to supplies. It is said that the ordnance factories making clothing are idle or they are making things which they should not make. That is not the correct position. The position is they are required for the purpose of providing equipment and clothing that is required for our troops. They change from time to time and, therefore, the production methods also change.

The next lot of criticisms were in regard to the Audit Report. Following your ruling this morning, Mr. Speaker, there has been....

Shri Feroze Gandhi: May I ask a question?

Mr. Speaker: No.

Shri Feroze Gandhi: The Chairman has allowed me earlier. I was just half a minute late. It is one question in regard to the Audit Report. It is a very important question for the House. I would like to know about this Report of the Auditor-General which was laid on the Table of the House yesterday. May I refer to chapter VIII? I would like to know from the Minister whether Chapter VIII was in the report submitted to the Ministry of Defence and, if it was not there, why it was not there and how it has appeared in this Report. Secondly, I want to know whether the Auditor-General observed the usual convention of giving six weeks' time to the Ministry to give their replies before submitting his report to the President. I would like to know whether there is any such convention and, if so, whether this convention was observed in this case or not. And if not, we would have to think how to deal with the subject.

Mr. Speaker: The hon. Minister is able to take care of himself.

Shri Joachim Alva: On a point of information. Was the Auditor-General the Deputy High Commissioner when the hon. Defence Minister was our High Commissioner in London?

Mr. Speaker: Order, order. I am afraid hon. Members are going beyond the limit. What if somebody had been working under the hon. Minister when he was the High Commissioner? It is very wrong for us to say that. The Auditor-General is a person against whom nothing shall be said except on a motion to remove him. We are now discussing the report that he has placed, whether the report is right or wrong and even there the only point is whether sufficient time was given or not. The hon. Minister can say, "I want six weeks or eight weeks" and according to the rules he may have that. If, on the other hand, he is willing to answer it and he does not want to have six weeks, what is the meaning in the hon. Member asking whether six weeks had been given or not? In these matters... (*Interruption*). All that I can say is that the hon. Minister is one of our foremost Ministers and is able to take care of himself.

Shri Feroze Gandhi: May I point out that this particular rule is observed in the case of all reports sent to the various Ministries? I only wanted to know whether in this case that was done or not... (*Interruption*).

Mr. Speaker: I am not going to allow this question.

Shri Feroze Gandhi: I do not want anything more than that.

Mr. Speaker: If the hon. Minister has no objection, why is the hon. Member having the objection? I cannot understand that the hon. Minister knows it very well.

Shri Krishna Menon: It is a very important point. After all, this is a statement which, I may say without

any disrespect to our Auditor-General, is an *ex parte* statement so far as we are concerned, because the rest part of it....

Mr. Speaker: Very well.

Shri Krishna Menon: If I may say so, the report in this form does not come to the Ministry. What happens, as all my hon. colleagues know, is that each item is sent to us and on that, item we give an answer. What actually happens finally we see only after the report is printed because he might have accepted the explanation that we gave. I would have been happy if that would have been the case. But in regard to this report all items but Chapter 8, have been seen by us and we have sent our comments. So far as Chapter 8 is concerned, apart from its unusual heading, namely, *Other topics of interest*, we have not seen this. What is more, so far as I know my distinguished colleague, the hon. Minister of Rehabilitation, has not communicated anything to the Auditor-General in regard to this matter. He has mentioned that here. Therefore, what is the source of his information?

The Minister of Rehabilitation and Minority Affairs (Shri Mehr Chand Khanna): Am I mentioned there?

Shri Krishna Menon: Yes, and your Ministry.

So this matter has not come to us. If I may say so with respect, the point raised by Shri Feroze Gandhi has some importance because the idea is that we should have six weeks in order to examine this. After all, this goes all round the world spreading over five continents.

Mr. Speaker: If the hon. Minister is willing to answer, let him; he does not want six weeks. If he is prepared to do so within two weeks, can any hon. Member object to it and ask the hon. Minister to take objection to it?

Shri Krishna Menon: These are all assumptions, if I may say so, because there are certain rules of procedure laid down.

Shri Feroze Gandhi: We want you to give a ruling on it. Please understand. What I am trying to say.

Mr. Speaker: I am not going to give a ruling. None is called for. (*Interruption*). All that I can say is that if six weeks are necessary, here also they will be given.

Shri Feroze Gandhi: It is about the other part, that is, Chapter 8. Now that the hon. Minister has confirmed that Chapter 8 was not submitted to the Ministry and as it occurs in the report, I would like to know as to how this has happened. That is all nothing more.

Shri Krishna Menon: So far as this matter of six weeks is concerned, by agreement the six weeks may be cut down to five weeks and what not. But we have not seen this Chapter 8 at all. I do not say that it would have made any difference because apparently judging from the others the Auditor-General has not been good enough to accept our explanation. But anyway....

Mr. Speaker: Is it the case of the hon. Minister that if he had had more time he would have explained it much more?

Shri Krishna Menon: That is not the case.

Mr. Speaker: He had none whatsoever.

Shri Krishna Menon: There is a responsibility on the part of the Auditor-General to ascertain the views of the Government when he makes an allegation against the conduct of the Ministry. We have a right to be asked.

Dr. Ram Subhag Singh: It is now open to the hon. Minister to give a reply to Chapter 8 because it runs only to one page. He can convince the House. But the Audit Report is prepared on the basis of certain papers provided by the Ministry.

Mr. Speaker: I am afraid at this rate we will not have time for the hon. Minister to reply. That is why I did not want even Shri Feroze Gandhi to start this. It is being copied. The hon. Minister says that he would have given his own explanation and it would have been possible that because of the explanation the Auditor-General would not have made this observation or would have withdrawn this paragraph. If he is entitled to six weeks' notice and he is entitled to submit his own explanation regarding a particular point which possibly may be in doubt in the mind of the Auditor-General, after consideration and after receiving the reply the Auditor-General might have omitted this paragraph altogether. Therefore, this matter is relevant. I only take exception to hon. Members doing it when the Minister himself is capable of saying all that. That is all.

Shri U. C. Patnaik: Sir, on a point of order. This report was laid on the Table of the House by the Government of India yesterday. No objection was taken to it, and it was laid on the Table of the House by another Minister of the Government on behalf of the Government. Secondly, you have given a ruling that that report was admissible, and at that time also neither the Defence Minister nor his supporters on either side took exception. May I know whether it is open for them at this stage to raise this objection?

Shri Feroze Gandhi: Why not?

Dr. Ram Subhag Singh: It is totally irrelevant.

Mr. Speaker: I will allow all hon. Members to get up and speak simultaneously!

Shri Feroze Gandhi: Sir, it was pointed out in the morning that if you are going to allow this, then you will have to allow the other part also. That is why I wanted that it should not be discussed. (Interruptions).

Shri Tyagi: The Auditor-General's report is not a subject of discussion today. As and when this report is discussed, these points of order might be considered. This is now as good as any item in the Press. If Members can take notice of any items of criticism in the Press, they could treat this as well like that.

Shri Feroze Gandhi: That is what we are doing.

Shri Tyagi: Sir, my submission is that these points of order will be relevant as and when this report is concerned by the House.

Shri Joachim Alva: The Auditor-General, like Caesar's wife, must be above suspicion.

Dr. Ram Subhag Singh: He is above suspicion. He should withdraw that, Sir. (Interruptions).

Mr. Speaker: Order, order.

Dr. Ram Subhag Singh: It is much more for Mr. Alva to pass that remark. He visited China at the Chinese invitation.

Mr. Speaker: Order, order. Let the hon. Minister proceed.

Shri D. C. Sharma: On a point of information, Sir. How long will the House sit today?

Mr. Speaker: I shall allow the Minister to go on as long as he wants to explain and answer every point that has been raised. It is left to him. I request hon. Members to continue to sit until this demand is completed.

Yes, the hon. Minister.

Shri Krishna Menon: I was not raising a hair-splitting point of order. I would have explained for your information that the usual procedure has been followed in this matter. Until now, to the best of my knowledge, no item has been included in the Audit Report for which Government has not had a chance of saying what it

wants to say. And that is a well laid down convention not only here but everywhere. Normally his report comes to us; we send a reply; it comes back again; and there is some adjustment of some kind. In this matter of Chapter 8, as far as I am concerned, on merits, the same is the case as about the others—probably it is different in substance—but in fact we have not seen it. Therefore, naturally, one feels that the report is not of the same category as the other reports.

That is all. (*Interruptions*).

Mr. Speaker: Let the Minister go on.

Shri Krishna Menon: I gave this explanation regarding parachutes, ammunition and so on. Shri Patnaik also raised the question of the availability of ammunition to ourselves, it is not in order, and the House must be assured that all the ammunition we require are either manufactured in our country or—I cannot specify those items—where certain parts cannot be made here, we should stockpile them. So far as one's reasonable calculations can permit, consistent with our resources, there are no gaps left in this matter.

Shri U. C. Patnaik: From U.K. last year how much did we get?

Mr. Speaker: Order, order.

Shri U. C. Patnaik: He has not contradicted me. He contradicts me by saying....

Mr. Speaker: Order, order. Will the hon. Member resume his seat or not? I will have to take very strong action against him. He goes on interrupting. He is irrepressible. I requested him not to interrupt, but he goes on interposing. He has heard everything. The hon. Minister is trying to answer. If the hon. Member is not satisfied with the answer, I am not going to allow him to interrupt in this manner. There are a number of

other opportunities when he can have his own version.

Shri U. C. Patnaik: As he referred to me by name, I wanted to do it.

Mr. Speaker: Let him. He will go on doing, not only now, because the hon. Member spoke. He could have avoided that if he had not spoken altogether.

Shri U. C. Patnaik: I wanted to make my position clear.

Mr. Speaker: No, no. The hon. Member has already made his position clear. He spoke.

Shri Krishna Menon: If it is the desire of the hon. Member that he does not want the information, I am sure the House will feel convinced that Government is not likely to leave its defences neglected, and will safeguard them to the best of its ability. So, I shall leave it on the one side. If he likes to give the kind of certificate that his own observations do not call for a reply by way of refutation, I have no desire to press the point.

We were told by Shri Morarka that a great deal of capacity of the ordnance factories is misused by the making of hair clippers, pressure cookers etc. What else did he say?

An Hon. Member: Hair pins.

Shri Krishna Menon: No, we do not make hair pins.

These are two of the items that are required. It is a matter of very great importance, because, even though the Defence Minister does not probably clip his hair as often as he should, the Army must have its hair clipped, and the Ministry of Commerce and Industry, in its wisdom, decided to prohibit the import of hair clippers. Now, are our soldiers to go like *sadhus* with long hair, or are they to use hair clippers? Therefore, the ordnance factories and the service headquarters used their initiative, ingenuity and everything else and pro-

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duced hair clippers which are as good as any imported hair clippers. That is the answer.

The second is with regard to pressure cookers. I do not know why anybody is so worried about pressure cookers being made here. There may be a reason or may not. The fact is we have troops at heights where water does not boil without a pressure cooker, and they are entitled to cook food; and the Commerce and Industry Ministry, again, in its wisdom, prohibited the import of pressure cookers. Therefore, we made the pressure cookers and they are giving good service. Incidentally we discovered that these pressure cookers probably cost only one-fourth of what we pay for them. There is no objection to saving Government money so far as I can understand, and therefore we saved it. That is the position.

Shri N. R. Muniswamy (Vellore): May I request the hon. Minister to speak very slowly, because he is so very quick and we are not able to follow him.

Shri Krishna Menon: I will make an effort.

Perhaps I could leave these criticisms for a while, and turn to other matters. There is very legitimate concern about the conditions of serving soldiers, and I would be the last person to say that they are satisfactory, but there have been improvements in certain conditions, and it very largely depends upon the economic capacity of our country. You may well say: you have not got the money, don't have soldiers. That is a matter for Parliament to decide. There have been certain circumstances introduced by way of their amenities, and also restoration of certain cuts of rations that were imposed some time ago. The Army made a voluntary cut of five per cent some years ago, and they have probably a bit of a wrong feeling that it is not very politic to make voluntary cuts,

because they say once funded, it is never refunded. So, the cuts have not come back to them for a long time. Government gave this its consideration, and, having regard to all the pressures on its purse, this year 15 per cent—it is only a part of it—is going back in the way of supplementary rations.

Similarly, various other amenities, not only restoration of cuts, have been introduced, but not as much as we would like them to be.

Questions have been asked about the education of soldiers' children. Under our system, under our Constitution, education is a State subject, and though these are children of soldiers, they are children of citizens of our land. They are entitled to education like anybody else, and they are entitled to no more. That is the issue. Therefore, normally speaking, they have to take advantage of whatever there is in the country, but, as it happens, there are some 180 to 190 schools run inside the Army itself, apart from the other defence services, which are very largely the result of voluntary efforts, the use of regimental funds, the efforts of the wives of serving officers and of the men themselves. And if I may say so with respect, they are very good schools. And the Government does assist them by way of providing accommodation where there is accommodation; where we shall not fall into difficulties with regard to audit or finance, where we can adjust these matters, we try to do so. Again, I only express an opinion that as soon as resources permit, it is only right that our education should become more widespread. Now, so far as the children of the officers and the men are concerned, there is a provision made for them for higher school education in what are called KG Schools and other places where they get scholarships and there places are reserved for them. But they are not enough. More are being opened for them by us, and in some cases, by the State Governments, which are not

military schools; others are semi-military schools.

18 hrs.

Perhaps, it will be more convenient if I take each of the arms of the Defence Organisation. Since there has been a considerable amount of publicity in regard to defence production, some people think that it ought to be more, and some people think that it ought to be less, and there is some doubt expressed that there is not any.—I think it is necessary to speak about it,—reality about it. Defence, particularly in modern times depends upon our industrial capacity for replacement, for the manipulation of weapons. You can give a complicated weapon to a soldier, but if he does not have the social background to use it, or he cannot handle it, it will be more an encumbrance than otherwise. So, the general level of industrial capacity which at the present moment we can increase by the short-term process of educating the soldier himself becomes very important.

Questions were asked by Shri Morarka why the figures were not fully given, that is, in regard to the rise in production from Rs. 14 crores of products to Rs. 18 or 20 crores, and this year, to Rs. 26 crores. That is very nearly hundred per cent increase. This elevation to Rs. 26 crores has been possible because of the patient effort of those who were in the Defence Ministry before and who have kept these ordnance factories in good condition. Some unkind remark was made, and someone said, why should you make pressure cookers or guns, why can you not buy them up? If that were so, then they might have closed the factories; indeed, some of the places were taken away. Therefore, I would like at this moment to pay my mead of respect to those who have nurtured these places before. During the last three years, defence production in ordnance factories alone has gone up by nearly one hundred per cent. The question is quite likely asked: Does this represent only an increase in money

value or in real value? The answer is that these Rs. 26 crores worth of production represent more than the Rs. 26 crores worth of production four years ago, because of the rationalisation introduced, or the co-operation of the scientific research and development department, in the way of men management, in the way of operational research, in the way of reducing fatigue by conditioning the factories, and more than all, by the enthusiasm of the men in the factories. I do not think that it would be any exaggeration to say that unless these men realised what they were producing for, we would not have got the output that we are getting now, and what is more, the per-item-cost of these things is less, because we have introduced—I think I am correct in saying that—certain different methods of costing, because in the old days, to the cost of the product was added on all the losses incurred by the British Government in pre-British days even, and so, something that cost £100—Shri Tyagi will tell you this—if it were to be sold in any neighbouring country, would have to be sold for £ 500, would have to be sold for £500, accounting then, all these losses of bad organisation, shall we say, of the bren-gun factory at Hyderabad or let us say, due to somebody having stolen something, were added on to the cost as special overheads.

So, really, these Rs. 26 crores represent much more than the Rs. 26 crores would have represented previously. And then, this does not include, so far as the ordnance factories are concerned, the tractor and the truck projects. They are outsiders. With that, I shall dismiss this particular aspect of it.

Questions have been asked again, why you make these trucks, why do you not buy them up from the people who are manufacturing them? I can give the reason. I did not intend to give the reason, but since they have asked for it I would give it. We do not buy it from the people who make them, because they did not

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treat Government in the way they should have treated. And I think it is time to speak these things out. There are three manufacturers of trucks in this country. From two of them, we hardly ever got any deliveries. We still have orders for two years outstanding—I would not mention names—with regard to one of them. With regard to the other whose supplies were more regular, and who were on the whole easier to deal with, their prices went up very considerably. So, my good colleague the Minister of Works, Housing and Supply told us, 'If you want your vehicles, you better do something about it'. And what is more, in the last two years, when conditions had become difficult on the Pakistan border and now on this border, we have been pulling out all the old vehicles and getting them into condition. The army engineers—I do not mean the defence ordnance, but I mean the army engineers—today have a commission of reconditioning 20,000 vehicles. And most of them are really junk; in the old days, they would have been thrown away, but we cannot afford to do that any more. They are being reconditioned. And when all that is being done, who am I to say that some private manufacturers, either because of his inefficiency or because of his greed, should make profits at the expense of Government? Under these conditions, I do not like being blamed and I do not like to blame anybody else.

Therefore, we came up with these trucks. We found we had been pushed into this position. I am glad to say that orders now taken by the Director-General of Ordnance Factories from headquarters are for 4500 3-ton trucks and 1200 1-ton trucks. When these are delivered, Government would have saved Rs. 5 crores. What is more, the contract for the 3-ton truck project, about the non-production of which truck there has been so much complaint, was signed in November of the year previous to the last. I was away in America and there was some difficulty

here. There was a debate in Parliament, and there was some delay. There are no new factories set up. We were told by expert manufacturers that we cannot produce these things in pocket or surplus capacity and all that because we have been accustomed to throwing away money, private or public, in order to build prestige buildings before things are done. But the Director-General, Ordnance, used large spaces left by the British for piling up other things in order to erect factories in Jabalpur and used existing factories in Ambar-nath and other places where various things are made, and they are assembled in one place.

So the factory went into production, or rather began production, somewhere about March last year. In June of that year, in three months, the first truck rolled out of the factory. It was inaugurated by the Prime Minister. That, I think, is a record even for Defence organisations.

After that, we had a setback because of the bottleneck in regard to material. This was conditioned to produce 100 per month if there was no rush. But it could be raised to 300 or 400. That is possible. We were held up because there was no steel available. My hon. colleague, the Minister of Steel, Mines and Fuel, intervened and did his best. But you know it is one thing to get priority on paper and quite another to get priority in material. We have not got the privilege of going into what is called the irregular market. That is a polite name for black market. We could get any steel we wanted if we could buy it like everybody else.

So there was a bottleneck in regard to steel which held up the production of the bodies of these trucks. You might as well ask, 'If you have not got steel for that, why don't you produce other things?' If we did that, our space would be cluttered up and it would be left there and there might be pilfering—anything

might happen. What is more, the Director General, Ordnance, might be accused by Audit of storing material which he had no right to store. All these things were there.

Therefore, he had to slow down production. A month ago when a question was asked in Parliament, I said that 412 trucks or so had been delivered to the Army. That was less than a month ago. The latest figure is over 500—an increase of 100.

All that it means is this, that the target of delivery was different from what the hon. Member said it was, not 2500 trucks for this period, but 1200 or 1000, whatever it is. Instead of being delivered in March, they would be delivered in June. While in the case of the private manufacturer, we did not get it for three or four years, now there is a delay of two months.

Now, in each of these units, there is a saving. I have not got the exact figures. But I think the prices come to somewhere about Rs. 38,000 odd while in the case of one private manufacturer it comes to about Rs. 42,000 or Rs. 43,000. Anyway, there is a net saving in regard to the cheapest manufacture of somewhere about Rs. 7,500.

But this is not the whole story in this matter. For this kind of equipment one has to find spares for ten years. It is supposed to have a ten year life. I believe it has to have five times the nuts etc. to keep going. If you buy these spares from the commercial manufacturer, they are not sold on a pro rata basis anywhere in the world, that is to say, if you want to buy one-hundredth part, you pay one-hundredth the money. Considerable profits are made by these people on these, which is not the same thing with us, because we are going to manufacture it and therefore it is. The whole Government stands to gain very considerably.

The question was asked: why did you not go to the Germans or other persons? Whatever we did, there

was something wrong about it! We did not go to the same manufacturer, because he did not have one ton truck capacity and he was quite prepared to design one if we paid a million pound sterling. So, we went to some who had it. The Army tested the various models and they went through the tests. There were qualities and considerations which impressed them. That also is produced at Rs. 8,000 less on one unit. These vehicles have fifty per cent more carrying capacity and nearly 25—30 per cent more cruising speed which is required in certain conditions. Apart from the fact of one being a NATO vehicle and the other being a Japanese vehicle, they have some advantages which enable greater camouflage in operational areas. Sir, I have gone into all those details because it has come, like King Charles' head, every time, though I have answered questions hundred times over. There is so much thirst for information and I hope the information that is given would be welcomed.

We are asked: Why are these contracts not placed on the Table of the House? There are two or three reasons. First of all, all contracts have some mention of the quantum of the goods required. It is one of the unwritten laws of any Ministry—even among the very powerful countries in defence—not to say how much we pay and what we are going to get. The moment the contract is there open you know how many engines you are going to make and in how many years. That is one reason. The other reason is that the western world which we have got to deal with, including Japan, has come to realise that we are not going to buy at any price, that we would insist upon manufacturing things ourselves, that we would rather do hard bargaining. They are anxious to get our custom. Probably, we get rates and conditions which are lower in many cases or assistance which is more than what in other cases is given to their normal customers. Obviously, they do not want it to be publicised because it spoils their market. There was an

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instance in this way, when a contract was concluded in my predecessor's time with a French firm called CSF—that is the contract with the Bharat Electronics. That was placed on the Table of the House, I think, by Shri Tyagi, under pressure of this kind. The result was this. They said: "We would not work with you any longer; you are telling everybody what we did for you." So, there it was. There is good reason. What reason can the Government have? There is nothing occult about a contract. We seek to serve the interests of the country to the best of our ability. When the time comes when the House—not any individuals—when the House as a whole and the country does not regard the Government as being capable of carrying on that burden, there are remedies open to them.

When we come to each of these factors, so far as the Army is concerned, it is not for me to reveal in the House the size of the Army of India. But there has been augmentation of the units by various methods of treatment which those who have been working in the Defence Ministry would understand, whereby its defensive power is greater than it was before. They have been moved to forward positions imposing upon them considerable hardship by way of lack of accommodation. For example, there is one of our forward areas and the Prime Minister goes to open an accommodation project. It is to house a large number of troops there. They were moved there about a couple of months ago and on the 1st of February, this project was inaugurated. They were given 70 days to finish it. Normally, it would have taken two years but they finished it in 63 days. These were not hutments. They are built on the local style. Anyway, they can live in them. It is not for the sake of comfort. If they do not have these places, they will be drowned in the water. It was a shallow land

and there was no way of living in that place. I would like to say this, not by way of claiming credit for the Ministry but, in order that this House and the hon. Members may have an idea and may be acquainted with the morale, willingness and the capacity of our people. This has involved a lot of co-operation from my hon. friend, the Minister of Railways and from others who have made it possible to have logistics of a character which is not normally available to others.

The question was asked about the relative costs. I want to make a correction. There is a general belief that when troops build accommodation, they are pressed into this service as if it is a method of getting cheap labour. In our system of accounting any system of audit, every soldier who does the work of a carpenter or a builder or a brick-layer is accounted for in the cost of that project. Though he gets a soldier's salary, the necessary book entries are made and his pay is accounted for in the project. Therefore, the project is not any cheaper because of the employment of, what you call, troop labour or anything of that kind. The project has to take account of all these things. Even then it is lower than other buildings. There has been considerable building work going on in this way.

That takes me to the question of covered accommodation. This is one of those things which have distressed every Defence Minister, whoever had to come before this House, because every Member of Parliament or otherwise, including the Prime Minister, who goes round sees these defence properties all lying out in the open. First of all, let me say that it is neither myself nor my predecessor who brought them there. They are a legacy of war. We did not buy them to be put in the open. We had them, and we had to keep them.

The covered accommodation that was available to us in the period 1950—57—a period of seven years, the earlier period of pioneering—was 22 lakhs square feet. The covered accommodation constructed and now under construction between 1958 to 1962 is 40 lakhs square feet. The projects under consideration for 1962-64 will give 27 lakhs square feet. At the present time 77 per cent of our Ordnance stores and 46 per cent of our vehicles are under covered accommodation. It is true that there is the balance and we have to decide as to which of the items should go under cover and which of them should lie out. Sometimes they deteriorate. But, on the other hand, there is the consolation that if we did not know about those things they, probably, would not have been there, they would have been disposed of as scrap. While there is deterioration of this character this Audit Report refers to a loss of Rs. 50 crores, not in 1959-60, not in 1957-58, but from the beginning of the day of independence. Mr. Speaker did not say that the Auditor-General is infallible, but he did say that he was immune to criticism. That may be the constitutional position. I accept it. But no Constitution can prevent...

Mr. Speaker: It is open to the hon. Minister to say that a particular figure is not correct.

Shri Krishna Menon: It is not a question of figures. It gives the impression that all has happened suddenly. It has been there for a long, long time. There are 57 items in this report out of which 40 relate to matters before 1955-56 or something like that. Now, if the Ministry is so remiss in remedying them in ten years, how is it that those who are responsible have also been remiss in not drawing the attention of the House before this? Is it not a legitimate enquiry to make?

Now, questions have been asked about ex-servicemen. Again, this is one of those problems which the

House as a whole would look at with sympathy and understanding, because treatment of ex-servicemen is as important as equipment of soldiers and other things. In our army, I think rightly, a man is recruited at the age of 17, 18 or 19. Sometimes he says that he is 19 whereas he may be only 16. Therefore, say, from the age of 20 he has colour service of seven years and he can take another seven years. That means, he would be thrown into the labour market or the community as a citizen either at the age of 27 or at the age of 32 or 34 and he has his whole life to work out. Unless the army can provide the position that when he goes back he does not go as a destitute—I am not saying, by giving him money—unless he is conditioned just as we condition a recruit to be a soldier, when he goes out a soldier has to be unsoldiered in order to fit into the community and to give the community all the discipline, all the methods of being able to organise and so on which he has acquired in the army—the armed forces. They have also to acquire a trade or something of that character. This has been under consideration by Government, and at the present moment it is being organised through the Directorate of Ex-servicemen, which is merely a rigged up department inside the Ministry using whatever labour forces we have in men. When it has been successful already, we will be able to persuade ourselves—the Government is one—that the necessary organisation should be set up. There is no harm in giving these figures, I believe. Each year, there are some three million ex-servicemen in this country. Some of them are the remnants of the first world war—very estimable and venerable gentlemen—and they still have their medals and insignia. Then there are the others of the second world war. Each year we put into the pool 30,000 new people. I am glad to say that in the last 12 months, the Directorate has been successful in finding jobs for 10,000 to 12,000, and at that rate they expect that by the end of the year they will be able to

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place half of them in the ordinary labour force.

It may also be said that everybody does not want a job because when one goes back to the village one does some work. Of course, on account of the new land reforms and so on, a new situation would arise. Therefore, plans are under consideration for this purpose; and in the same way, some 15 co-operative societies have been started by them and are being registered and more of them are coming in. Therefore, this ex-service-men problem—I hope the Members of Parliament and others will take a considerable interest in it, being a voluntary affair,—should receive the support of this House and of the country generally.

Next I come to the air force. I was asked about what is called self-sufficiency. It is an unfortunate word; nobody is self-sufficient in that way. It simply means an increase in the indigenous content and relying as much as possible upon ourselves. In the same way, we talk about full employment. I do not know if there is ever any full employment. There is fuller employment. Therefore, there will be more and more of self-sufficiency. We are asked whether it is merely in name or otherwise. But what is forgotten is this: the Ministry of Commerce and Industry has laid down certain criteria for what is indigenous content and what is not. What is made here and what is imported can easily be measured by looking at your foreign exchange. We have to pay for foreign exchange, and we are bringing it down considerably. In the navy, the proportion of foreign content in the equipment is 11 per cent. In the army it is more and in the air force, probably a little more but now it is coming down. But anyway I think we have brought down the element of foreign exchange in these matters by about 25 to 30 per cent. We are now in a position to produce most of our ammunition including the explosives that are going into production

at Bhandara very soon. About these small arms and bigger arms—I regret to say that it is not possible to place those agreements on the Table of the House—there are agreements. The air force has been largely responsible for the increase in military expenditure in the last two years. There has been an augmentation of our air strength to a very considerable extent as you might have guessed or noticed.

But so far as the air force is concerned, they have also contributed very considerably to the defence arm by rescuing large quantities of what was regarded as salvage. I believe that in the last two years or less—last 18 months I think—the air force has produced equipment not only for putting up an aeroplane but for making machine tools and things of that character. It may be worth well about Rs. 2½ crores.

Questions have been asked with regard to one of the bombers that went to the Hindustan Aircraft, repaired there and came back. It could not be used. It appears in the audit report. This is one of the characteristics of an aircraft. A man who flies an aeroplane or a unit like the air force that uses it is not concerned very much whether you pay for it or not. All that he wants to know is if you can fly it. Therefore, these vampires which really were junk, which were left over here by the Americans after most of the destruction had been done, were put together by us. We started using them and we could not do anything else. They are the Liberators which are not used in any other part of the world. One of them crashed near Coimbatore. We went into the question and we found that it was necessary to look into the matter more, and this thing had to be reconditioned.

So, we have also undertaken to produce on a large scale—in the air force I will include the Hindustan Aircraft as well—these equipment, and I think this country today can say that it

has an all-jet air force, that is to say, our pilots do not go into training now on a piston-engined plane. They go into training in jet planes straight-away and that is where the training takes place. So, the Indian Air Force has become an all-jet force. Each year, in each successive period, when new planes come, the older ones are pushed either into the reserve or into training. For example, the air force auxiliary, corresponding to the territorial army, would use the vampires which at one time were our front-line planes. I believe one can go as far as to say that in a short term—I cannot give you the date—the Indian Air Force will take into its squadrons the supersonic aeroplane. When I say, totally-made, they still import the material. When an aeroplane flies at supersonic speed, you can take no chance on its material. Some of its power is being made in Bangalore, worked by Rollyy-Royce on the one hand and Siddleys on the other. Both these supersonic engines and the other engines that go into the other planes are being made and I suppose in three or four years' time, they will go into full production. They will first assemble them. The engine factories mean a very large establishment and our agreement with these people covers all developments for the future, because an aeroplane which is considered so fast and up-to-date today, tomorrow may be short-landing or may not take off vertically. All these things have to be taken into consideration.

Coming to the Navy, the navy had a rather set-back, because in the naval dockyard which is under construction for a long time, one of its contractors fell down—I mean not physically, but he broke down the contract—and the poor navy which had never done an engineering work of this kind, had to take it over. I am glad to say that the first phase, which the navy took over drawing upon the support of army engineers, has been completed, at a cost which taking into account the relative prices four years ago, is lower than what would have been

paid to anybody else. They are doing it at a cost of about Rs. 4 crores—the first thing of its kind—and it will soon go into commission.

Questions were asked about the aircraft carriers. I am not aware of aircraft carrier listing, because it has never been commissioned. It is not a second-hand vessel. It was a vessel laid down by the British during war-time. Its construction was abandoned in 1943, because the war was over and they probably had other ideas about aircraft carriers; and, we took it over to complete it. Otherwise, it would cost us more. I believe it will come over to India sometime next year and we are not aware of any defects of any kind. This is the first time I hear of any aircraft carrier listing, because it has no superstructure to list. So, it will go into commission soon.

So far as our own building is concerned, Government have recently acquired the two dockyards—one in Bombay and another in Calcutta, in the first place to build coastal mine-sweepers and afterwards smaller vessels. Ultimately, in two years' time perhaps, our destroyers will be built in these yards, of which our navy has got the capacity. Also, there are other engineering works to carry out like requirements of army bridges, hauling machinery and things of that character. It was about that questions were raised as to why we could not have bought new machinery and built a new dockyard ourselves. For one thing, it would have taken us ten years and certainly it would have cost us 10 or 15 times more than what we paid and also more foreign exchange for that purpose.

There are two other matters that I would like to deal with. One relates to the over-all looking of our position

Shri Feroze Gandhi: Nanavati.

Shri Krishna Menon: There is no harm in expressing my point of view. I think the case is *sub judice*; I am a

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lawyer and I do not think it is proper to refer to it.

The armed force have encountered difficulties by way of deficiency of man-power. The whole world is deficient in man-power, because man-power for this purpose means effective and expert man-power. The boys who come out of the engineering colleges get better jobs in the civil side and they do not come to us. The navy commissions them before they pass out and they cannot get away from the navy, under the Navy Act. So, we are now taking into our engineering services short-service people. Government has passed orders a few days ago expanding as a first step the intake of the Dehra Dun College, where the cade's are to be located in Fleming Town by 50 per cent. That is an urgent step, pending procedural and other decisions there. A larger intake for the army personnel is necessary and this would be a good test of the response of the country to these particular difficulties and appeal, the answer to which is not in doubt, as far as I am concerned. Because, these 200 young men will not come through Khadakvasla. They will not come through any training college. They will come from the ordinary educated population and they will become officers. And I have no doubt the NCC would attract a large number of these people.

Since I mentioned about NCC, I might finish this off. Questions have been raised about its usefulness and its role in the national life. I want to say that the NCC is not a military organisation in the sense of providing soldiers. They do not come under the army law. They come under the Acts passed by the Parliament for the purpose. They are a preparatory force. They are young men and girls who are put through discipline, who are able to carry arms, who go through proper exercise and so on. And so far as men are concerned, the NCC has equipped itself well in relation to the army, because 50 per cent

of the total intake of the officers' cadre comes from the NCC. Whether through Kadakvasla or by open entry or by competition, over 50 per cent have been through NCC some time or the other.

Soon after the present emergency is dawned upon all of us, irrespective of our political or other views, that whether we had a strong army, strong defence weapons or not, it will be necessary to bring about a greater sense of discipline in the population who would take the brunt of any trouble, and there the existing machinery was the NCC. So, Government decided to raise its strength by the introduction of two new categories, one or the other NCC rifles, to a quarter million this year. The present strength in the NCC is probably 100,000, having gone up, from 500 I believe, in ten years to 99,000. Now, in these two categories the old NCC will continue to play its usual role. The new category, which is light armed infantry, will take quarter of a million students from colleges of the age of "16 plus". Now, this scheme was finally sanctioned just a month before the examination, which is not always a good time to approach the students. So, we were in the position that the funds available for this part of it has to be spent in the budget year and, therefore, it was laid down that before the 31st of March the quota for enrolment would be 50,000 and I am glad to say that before the 31st March, rather on the 28th of March, 53,000 students have been enrolled in the NCC. When I say enrolled, I do not say it in the strict sense of the law. They have been medically examined, they have been enlisted, they have been sworn in, so to say, into the NCC. There are a large number of pending applications. I have no doubt at all that by the end of the year this quarter of a million and more will be forthcoming, and if more will be forthcoming, commensurate with our resources they will all join the NCC so that it would not be necessary for us to resort to conscription or anything

else. It is far greater achievement for a country if it kindles response from its peoples without compulsion, and I have no doubt at all that the students that come out of the colleges at the proper age, unless they are conscientious objectors or medically unfit, would find a place in the National Cadet Corps.

Not as an afterthought but at a later stage, the girls also wanted to join the NCC and they made their voices felt. Therefore, the NCC Girls' Cadet Corps have been formed which do not carry arms. They are trained in the use of arms but they do not bear arms. They are provided a special curriculum, one of which is nursing for 200 hours, out of which I believe 70 hours or so are in the hospital, so that they will be an efficient auxiliary force.

Now, taking an overall view of this matter—I would not go into answering questions in these things any more—we have to consider the position that we would not be able, either in the state of our public opinion or in the state of our general preparedness or otherwise, nor would our economy permit us to create a very large standing army in our country. In fact, it would be, as some one was saying, thinking of a war in terms of before the first world war. But it would be very necessary for our citizens to go more into the ambit of defence considerations and there Government is seriously considering, as far as I dare go, of inducting into the Territorial Army which has been sanctioned by Parliament by law, half a million people. It may be necessary to introduce a new category, because unlike in other countries a representative class of citizens do not come into the Territorial Army. I do not know whether any Member of Parliament is a member of the Territorial Army, though I appealed to Members of military age to do so. There is no law prohibiting them from joining in our country.

Mr. Speaker: Is there any age limit?

133(A1) L.S.D.—9.

Shri Krishna Menon: Yes, Sir. You would not be eligible.

Shri Tyagi: That is our misfortune.

Shri Krishna Menon: The age limit is not because of any other consideration except the break-down due to strain, because the Territorial Army has regular army training.

Shri Sinhasan Singh (Gorakhpur): Are you going to introduce the air wing of the NCC in the universities?

Shri Krishna Menon: Yes. We are not entirely free agents in this matter. We have to carry the State Governments with us. Therefore we try to persuade them. In a federal system that we have, State Governments can only be persuaded if they are amenable to persuasion. We cannot do anything else with them. But so far as Gorakhpur is concerned, I will put that through. There will be one in Gorakhpur. We are not refusing it anywhere.

I give no undertaking to Parliament. I am only saying that it is the thinking of the Government at the present time. It should be possible to devise some thing corresponding to the NCC Rifles where the training would not be as extensive as in the present Territorial Army. But for all this we have to find the officer strength that is required. Therefore the new projection of our defence organisation should be that, just as we give a great deal of our concentration on equipment, we have got to give equal concentration on the human equipment. Without officers it is not possible to do anything.

A great credit is due to the Junior Commissioned Officers of the Indian Army. 800 of them have been earmarked for the NCC lately and they are going there. They form the hard core of the training that is to be given to the young people and commissioned officers take the overall command. We have also taken in hand the re-opening of the college at Nowgong where Other Ranks would go for training for commissioned office.

[Shri Krishna Menon]

We cannot think of this merely in terms of social discrimination or of classes, groups or anything of that kind. A modern army requires educational equipment. If it is the misfortune of certain groups of people or of certain levels of society, as they exist now, not to have had that, then it becomes very difficult for them to grasp anything. One way is that you must take them in the Army, graduate them and put them in, which very often happens. There is more inflow into the commissioned ranks today from the Junior Commissioned Officers' ranks than before.

It is always forgotten that the person whom you see as the Junior Commissioned Officer is not a person who is recruited as such. He has become a Junior Commissioned Officer coming up from the ranks. He has already won his spurs in that way. On top of that he becomes a Commissioned Officer afterwards. They hold a high esteem in the minds of the Commissioned Officers, the troops and everybody who sees them. Without them our Army will be very much poorer. Indeed, it will be difficult for us even from the economic point of view to run it without them. So this idea that we could abolish, what you may call, the Warrant Officer class is purely an impractical one. If you do not have Warrant Officers, then you will have Commissioned Officers and the country will have to find the money to pay them, because officers there must be.

So just as equipment has to be prepared, in this way we have also to prepare the human equipment. Therefore Government would have to condition itself for this purpose. Whatever might happen—this is not my beat really—in the conversations between the hon. Prime Minister and the Prime Minister of China, the fact remains that historically now we are endowed with a new frontier which has become alive and which has to be looked after certainly in our time. Therefore it means a recondi-

tioning of our thinking in this way which largely depends on the progress of industrialisation and a greater determination of our people of all classes to defend the territorial integrity of the country and the real preparation of men and women to be able to stand a shock if it should come.

Here, I do not want to be an alarmist, but I think it will be entirely unrealistic to think that for a country engaged in defensive war—and that is our position and I hope it will never change—it is not our business to go and initiate war on anybody else's country. We defend our frontiers. Any country that engages in defensive wars always stands the chance of initial reverses because the enemy would try to attract its limited strength to a spot that is suitable to him in order that he may come through some other place. If we were to be foolish enough and if the public does not understand this matter—they might put pressure on the command and on the Government at the time—we would be in a very bad way. We just cannot send our forces around anywhere. We cannot go by aeroplanes anywhere. It has got to be done in an orderly way, which means conditioning public opinion to this idea.

Therefore a larger number of people coming in, the extension and the re-organisation of the Lok Sahayak Sena, which is now making a contribution to our border security in many places and long periods of training so far as they are concerned, all these become of vital importance. It is the general thinking that must pervade our minds in future. But nothing can be done unless there was greater understanding of these problems among all of us. While one welcomes criticism, it is extremely difficult to hope for larger results, but at the same time we cannot carry men with us. The morale of our defence workers in the ordnance factories or our fighter pilots or things of that kind is extremely important.

I have come to you, Mr. Speaker, in your Chamber and have requested you for an arrangement whereby I am not asked to make statements in the House whenever there is an air crash. An air crash is an unfortunate inevitable feature in an Air Force organisation. But if every time public statements were to be made about who crashed, where, how and all the rest of it, that is not possible. Of course, we take all precautions; and we appoint courts of enquiry. It does retard parents, particularly in our country, from allowing their sons to join the Air Force. So it was at their request, at the request of the Air Force, that I came up to you and said that Parliament will understand, you will explain. As regards a normal one we must come and explain. That is the position.

I submit these were the limited facts. I have left out many others as I thought them to be unnecessary. One last word. I have mentioned about equipment, and human equipment. A greater development has been in the way of the growth of the scientific organisation of research and development. Two years ago, thanks to those who were in the Defence Ministry before me, in 1948 under the initiative and the inspiring guidance of our Prime Minister, a Defence Science Organisation was set up, and we had men like Prof. Blackett for whom this country owes a debt of gratitude, who started it on its way. It rambled along, broke its initial ground and made some progress. Two years ago we had ten laboratories in the country. Now we have more than twice that number of major laboratories. And the number of laboratories alone would not do anything, Sir. A great degree of conditioning of equipment, of designs, and of training of people takes place in these areas. And what is more, the field of operational research, which is so necessary not only for warfare but even for the purpose of a normal organisation, is receiving so much consideration that they are submitting the population of the

Defence science laboratories themselves to the condition of the operation and the results of it.

Also, there is development of new or weapons and gaining of knowledge of what takes place in other countries. The use of nuclear energy, not for purposes of war but for therapeutic purposes on the one hand, is undertaken by the Ministry of Defence in the use of isotopes either in our hospitals or in civil hospitals. The use of isotopes, again, for industrial purposes, where precision manufacture calls for considerable use of electronic energy and electronic equipment on the one hand and of isotopes on the other in modern times, is also undertaken. Electronic development has not reached a stage in the country where we can hope to be anything like near self-sufficient in our equipment.

Quite rightly this House asked so many questions about Bharat Electronics. Bharat Electronics is doing very much better than it did three years ago. It produced Rs. 35 lakhs worth of goods then whereas now it has crossed the one crore mark. And next year I hope it will do better. But even when Bharat Electronics has done everything, it will be a large-scale factory doing more duplication, more production of bulk rather than the kind of equipment that will be required for other purposes. No country can have just one electronic factory, because it is a specialised business, and therefore electronic research is taking a very considerable thinking of the Defence Science Organisation. And here I would like to pay a tribute to our Defence Scientific Adviser who is one of the foremost scientists of the world. Under his guidance the work is going on. And he comes with his services rendered in the way of services than otherwise. Today not only researches of this kind are carried on, but there are also two other establishments of this, so that it would be not possible to produce the scientific or technical men unless we have electronic knowledge around.

[Shri Krishna Menon]

And therefore there has to be greater co-ordination with universities on the one hand and the taking up of fellows into the laboratories to be paid by Government on the other. They are not there to take a degree, but they condition themselves for research, and when they are fit they are taken. This is the procedure followed in the National Laboratories, and we adopt it in that way.

There is another matter and that was with regard to martial law.

It was said by someone that Gen. Thimmaiah had said that there were no court martial cases in India before, and now there are so many, 70 a day or something. Naturally, I am responsible for Gen. Thimmaiah so far as Parliament is concerned. I represent the civil authority which controls the army authorities. That is our system of Government. I am responsible for Gen. Thimmaiah. I take responsibility for what he says. Therefore, we ascertained what he said. All that he had said at a Rotary Club meeting was this. It is better for soldiers not to talk, but there is nothing wrong in this. He said:

"Whereas before the war we considered it most unfortunate if we had even one court martial in ten or fifteen years in a battalion,.....

—in a battalion, not in the army—

"...today discipline has naturally deteriorated and court martials and indiscipline are much more frequent. But even now, compared to any other Army in the world, I would say that our standards of disciplined behaviour are far higher."

Not satisfied with this, I sent for the statistics in regard to court martials. In 1939, which is the first pre-war normal year we had, the percentage of court martial to the total strength of the Army was 3.5. It went up to

8.4 immediately after the war when there was a lot of crime and crime soon after the war. Then it began to come down, and today it is below the pre-war level, at 2 per cent as against 3.5 per cent.

Shri D. C. Sharma: We must have appeals against these decisions also.

Shri Krishna Menon: There is provision in the court martial proceedings for appeals. It is quite true there is no appeal to the Supreme Court, but if that were instituted what would happen I do not know. With protracted litigation, it would be difficult to maintain discipline in the Army. It is for Parliament at any time to consider what it wants to do, but there are procedures of appeals to Government in this matter. Every case of disciplinary action is popularly called a court martial, and that is why it works up in this way. And when you have a new country with a wave of democracy and general indiscipline in the country, that is bound to be reflected in the Army. So far as the Defence Ministry is concerned, we are not alarmed about this. Soldiers, airmen and navy men know that if they do not obey the law, they will be punished, and they will go before a court martial and they cheerfully accept the result.

An Hon. Member: Not always.

Shri Krishna Menon: I am glad to say that the atmosphere of resentment and then going round and saying to somebody, "I am going to be court-martialled"—that is not the order of the day in our Army.

So, I have submitted not merely a kind of sample of answers to various criticisms raised in this House, but tried to give, as far as I can, an overall view of what our defence approach, I cannot say defence policy, should be. There is recognition by

the House that there should be a greater provision in the Defence Budget. I do not go into this matter, but this Rs. 28 crores does not represent a very considerable, real increase, because the pay of the soldier has to go up corresponding to the Jagannada Das Commission's arrangements and various other matters, but Government will have to come to Parliament in the course of the year for increased grants, because there are so many matters pending. It was quite unnecessary to put larger figures in the Budget which we could not spend immediately. So, it is well understood that there are twelve months before you, and Parliament will again have the opportunity of examining the work of the Defence Ministry and the responsibility, and if I may say so, the privilege of finding the resources for it.

Shri U. C. Patnalk: May I put only one question?

Mr. Speaker: Does any hon. Member press any cut motion? None.

Then I put all the cut motions to the vote of the House.

All the cut motions were put and negatived.

Mr. Speaker: The question is:

"That the respective sums not exceeding the amounts shown in the fourth column of the order paper, be granted to the President, to complete the sums necessary to defray the charges that will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st Day of March, 1961, in respect of the heads of demands entered in the second column thereof against Demands Nos. 8 to 12 and 108 relating to the Ministry of Defence."

The motion was adopted.

18.50 hrs.

The Lok Sabha then adjourned till Eleven of the Clock on Monday, April 11, 1960 Chaitra 22, 1882 (Saka).