

[Shri Chilta Basu]

short-term scheme but unfortunately, Madam, no funds have been made available with the Government of West Bengal to implement the short term scheme. The rapid erosion of the embankment near Malda and Murshidabad over the past few months has already affected the afflux dam of the Jangipur barrage and vast areas in the Dhulian sub-division of Murshidabad district. The Farakka barrage itself might be hit by the rapid erosion soon if proper protective measures are not taken immediately.

It is further reported that the Farakka Barrage authorities have already sent a Rs. 11.20 crore scheme for the protection of right bank of the Ganga between Jessop Colony and Nayansukh. Again the Centre has not released any money to the barrage authorities for these programmes.

I invite the attention of the Government to immediately release the funds in order to avoid the total destruction of the National Highways, State Highways, Railway lines and lastly densely populated areas in Malda and Murshidabad districts in North Bengal from erosion. I hope the Government of India particularly the Prime Minister, who holds the Finance portfolio, would take appropriate action. Thank you.

DISCUSSION ON THE WORKING OF THE MINISTRY OF DEFENCE

SHRI SURESH KALMADI (Maharashtra): Madam Deputy Chairman, today's discussion on the working of the Defence Ministry takes place at a time when the challenges posed to the country are much greater than ever before. We find that the threat to the security environment is heightened by the emergence of a Washington-Beijing-Islamabad axis. The Indian

public is showing signs of awareness of and concern at this new danger. The common man, the citizen, has not at all grudgingly the increase in the budget, as he has realised that the territorial integrity and sovereignty of the country are paramount and there can be no compromises on this.

Madam, the armed forces have been and do remain the symbol of unity in diversity and there should be no attempt to politicise defence matters. National security must be kept above partisan politics. All parties will have to shed their pride and prejudices if national security is not to become a hostage to inflamed domestic discords.

Another point which we must take into account in a defence debate is not to look at it in a narrow sense but in a much broader sense. Over the years we know that we cannot just discuss defence in the context of threat from Pakistan but we have to discuss it in a much broader perspective. A sound economy, a strong industrial base, a capacity to keep pace with science and technology, a dynamic foreign affairs and keeping abreast with international affairs—are prerequisites in national security in the real sense of the term.

Madam, in today's newspapers there is some alarming news about the letter written by the Prime Minister of Pakistan, Mr. Junejo, to President Reagan, which was sent through a Senator. This was disclosed by the New York Times. Madam, if the United States succumbs to this move, it will be almost an act of war against this country. The pilots who are going to man the AWACS are to be American. The AWACS itself is going to be obtained on lease. So in fact it is not going to be a Pakistani AWACS; it is going to be an American AWACS manned by American pilots, overseeing the Indian borders. I feel personally that it is nothing short of an act of war in case the US succumb to this request of Pakistan. They have been talking about Afghanistan

and intrusions from Afghanistan. But both the types of AWACS which they might be getting are not very effective in the mountain regions. It is effective only against India because our air bases are near by and one can see right up to New Delhi. So, the threat is definitely directed towards India.

Madam, Pakistan is now asking for AWACS on lease—not that they have not got the money. They very well have the money. But it is to circumvent the strong objection in the American Congress to giving AWACS to Pakistan because of its potential for nuclear bomb explosion or the capacity of Pakistan in the nuclear field and, therefore, they will not probably sell the AWACS to Pakistan. Now, to circumvent that they have gone in for AWACS on lease. But, to get AWACS even on lease is not easy under the US procedure. The US laws very well say that only in case the AWACS are in surplus or any US equipment is in surplus that it can be given on lease. As of now the United States does not have any surplus AWACS. But it may say, if it wants to oblige Pakistan, that there are two AWACS lying surplus in Saudi Arabia which they do not need. That could be one way. The other way could be: There are two AWACS being modified in the United States, which belong to Egypt and, if Egypt allows, those two might be sent to Pakistan. Even now, if they do not get the AWACS, Senator Humphrey is already in the process of drafting a legislation for giving AWACS on lease to Pakistan which, indeed, is a very, very dangerous sign. This single move of giving AWACS to Pakistan is very dangerous and, I think, since Independence there has been no move more dangerous than this because, with this one equipment Pakistan will get a definite technological edge over India. And therein lies the danger.

Madam, you are aware that AWACS is a command post in the sky. From there they can direct their aircraft to

Indian bases and guide them back. From the sky the AWACS can monitor aircraft which are even taxiing in places as far away as Hindon near New Delhi. So, this is the danger. And AWACS, with the F-16 aircraft which has a long range—it can come up to New Delhi and go back—is the most dangerous combination which the United States is arming Pakistan with. In their first aid which was of the order of \$ 3.2 billion, they gave Pakistan 40 F-16s. This aid expires in September this year. Again there is another back-up coming. That is the \$ 4.2 billion package which starts in October this year. In that package they have asked for 80 F-16 aircraft. Also the F-16 C aircraft have been asked for by Pakistan and this is definitely going to upset the military balance. Therefore, I do not know why the United States, which is supposed to be the strongest democracy in the world, while on the one hand they say that India is the biggest democracy in the world, are so strongly supporting dictatorial regimes all over the world. I cannot understand this. Also, Pakistan is getting 500 Sidewinders. ... (Interruptions) They are giving 500 air-to-air sidewinder missiles, not just normal missiles. These are AM9L missiles which are the world's most advanced close-combat missiles. This is what they have already received. And under this new aid package they are going to receive another 1,000 sidewinder missiles.

Madam, they say that it is for use against Afghanistan. What are they taking about? They have 250 frontline aircraft. The Pakistani air force aircraft are often fitted with sidewinders. The Afghanistan air force does not have even 90 frontline aircraft. Are they going to be used against Afghanistan? Or are they thinking that they have to combat the entire Russian, USSR air force? Madam, one thing is very clear that these sidewinder missiles have got only one target, and that is us, and there is no doubt about it.

SHRI MURLIDHAR CHANDRAKANT BHANDARE (Maharashtra):
Quite correct.

SHRI SURESH KALMADI: Madam, in this aid package also they are going to receive low-level radar equipment, also automatic data-handling equipment and also sophisticated surface-to-air missiles.

Madam, the symbol of the United States-Pakistan-China collusion plan is the F-7 fighter for which the US is providing the technology, the Chinese are providing the air-frame and Pakistan is providing the infrastructure. This aircraft, F-7 fighter, is going to be the symbol of their joint co-operation to be used against this country.

Madam, they are also going to acquire tanks. They are, in the new aid, seeking 100 M-60 tanks, and they are also asking for the best mobile tanks in the world, that is, M-1 tanks. This, indeed, is the most sophisticated tank in the world, and that also, the United States is thinking of giving to Pakistan.

Madam, as far as the navy is concerned, they cannot raise the Afghan bogey. They have raised another bogey altogether for justifying acquiring of arms from the United States. And that is the acquisition of the second aircraft carrier which India has just acquired, the Hermes. Madam, I do not know why the United States is sharing the Pakistan's perception in that manner. When they think of aircraft carrier, it is a big aircraft carrier, which has 90 aircraft on board. They do not realise that our aircraft carriers, whether Vikrant or Hermes, carry just about 8 or 10 Sea Harrier aircraft on board. It is very small.

Why have we gone in for the second aircraft carrier, Madam? You are aware that the first aircraft carrier, Vikrant, could not be used during the Indo-Pakistan war in 1965 because it was under maintenance. You are also aware that even the 1971 war Vikrant had almost missed due to a major

repair. But the Chief of the Naval Staff at that time decided to press on with the aircraft carrier, and so the aircraft carrier was used in 1971. But, Madam, there has to be regular maintenance of aircraft carriers every one and-a-half years to two years for a period of time. So, at all times we do have one aircraft carrier available for use. That is one of the main reasons why we have gone in for the second aircraft carrier. And Pakistan is making a lot of hullabaloo about the second aircraft carrier.

Madam, this is to receive more aid. They have been promised the P 3C Orion maritime reconnaissance aircraft. Also, Madam, their strike capability has been added by a squadron of 17 Mirage-3 aircraft with exocet missiles. They also have destroyers—you are aware already—which are equipped with the most modern missiles in the world i.e. the Harpoon Missiles. Already their destroyers are armed with and they continue to get these get these missiles in a big manner. They just received two submarines and another eight missile-equipped boats also. So, we are indeed facing an arms race, a mad scramble for the latest technology for arms which is more dangerous. The latest US technology is sought to be inducted in the Pakistan Armed Forces. You are aware also that when we had Brass-tack exercises, we had informed Pakistan about the timing, about the location about the size or level of the exercise, but in spite of that they brought in their armours into the Sukkhargarh bulge, they brought it into the Fazilka-Ferozepur sector. Thereby the Indian armed forces had to move along the entire border and take posts where usually the BSF is existing. So, a tension was created. It was defused by the initiative taken by our side, by sending the Foreign Secretary. And then we came to an understanding. In spite of all these threats of Pakistan, India continues to desire peace with Pakistan on the basis of the Simla Agreement.

China is all set to improve its relations with the United States and with the Soviet Union. It has improved its relations with the Soviet Union over the period of last three or four years to a great extent. Thereby it has been able to disengage troops from the Sino-Soviet border. These troops are now being massed in the Tibet border. There is a feverish activity in the Tibet belt. They have made runways and roads. Their aircraft and fighters can take off in all weathers. Their aircraft and airfields have been so developed that they are operational even during the winter. So, this clearly is a threat to us. You are aware that there was an intrusion in the Sumdorong Chu Valley. China has also lodged a protest about our declaring Arunachal Pradesh as a State, which is an integral part of this country. They have been raking up the border issue time and again. And after the Chinese intrusion last year, we have had to take up defensive positions all along the India-China border. China is trying to become the third largest power in the world by the year 2,000. It has approached the US and is receiving active support in its request for computers, electronics, avionics and modern military technology. Today China has over 5,000 front-line aircraft. Of course, it has MIG 15, 17, 19 and 21. It also has modern F-8 and A-5 fighters. It has TU-16 and IL-12 bombers. But the most important of all is that it has surface-to-surface missiles which have been developed by China from the year 1966. These missiles have been targeted to vital areas and vital places in this country. They have TU-16 bomber which has a range upto 1,100 nautical miles and back with nuclear capability. It can be either conventional or nuclear bombers. Madam, this is indeed one of the major threats which our country is facing. There is also the possibility of Chinese weapons being transferred to Pakistan in the event of a war. Madam, to counter these threats, the Government

have done well to bring forward a defence plan for 1985—90 and the main thrust of this defence plan is modernisation. Keeping in view the perspective of security, environment and induction of latest technology weapon system by our neighbours...

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Please try to conclude.

SHRI SURESH KALMADI: Madam, I have been given 45 minutes to speak and I have started at 12.45 P.M.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: I do not know. Does not matter, you can continue.

SHRI SURESH KALMADI: I will not delay lunch break.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: We may not have our lunch break today.

SHRI SURESH KALMADI: Madam, I must congratulate the Government for thinking in terms of a perspective defence plan upto 2000 A.D. in which they will try to adapt all the imported technologies etc. I also congratulate the Raksha Mantri and Raksha Rajya Mantri for coming out with one of the best and one of the most revolutionary budgets ever so far. They have recognised that modernisation is the need of the hour and made a provision of Rs. 1,250 crores out of Rs. 4,500 crores in the defence budget. I think it is the one single even that is going to give a new look to the country's defence forces. Modernisation has become essential to effectively achieve an efficient command, control, communication and engines syndrome. A capital investment has been made for the first time for aircraft and aero-engines for the Air Force and Navy to the extent of Rs. 14 crores. This is very good. Similarly, for equipment Rs. 790 crores for heavy vehicle Rs. 13 crores has been earmarked. All these years I have noticed that there has not been enough money to buy the equipment, etc., and even for maintenance you had to see the

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capital outlay. But this specific amount for equipment, aircraft, aero-engines, etc., for the first time will definitely take us to the path of new technology. I think this was the much needed dose which our defence forces wanted and I congratulate the Government for having identified their priorities in a rightful way. They have done a lot of home work for coming out with a right budget. I am sure the amount being given for the right places will be seen for many years to come and for generations to come. Madam, this will also help in our goal of self-reliance. I would also like to congratulate the Raksha Mantri and the Rajya Raksha Mantri for the decision to do away with middlemen in all Defence deals. This saves, as I said, hundreds of crores of rupees in Defence purchases now and in future; especially now, since the Budget is going up, the Budget for capital equipment is going up, and doing away with middlemen has been a good thing and a lot of money has been saved. But all the traditional middlemen and agents who have been in the Defence deals have not liked it. They are hitting back in some way or other. They are spreading stories. We should be careful. We should not fall prey to such gossip. Today's newspaper, *The Hindu*, carries a story. Yesterday's *Hindu* also carried a story. But today's *Hindu* has said that it wrongly reported. That is why the Opposition today in the Zero Four did not get up. They did not get up to say, "Sorry, yesterday we got up on a wrong assumption". I shall read out today's *Hindu*. The Opposition made a lot of noise yesterday on the basis of yesterday's *Hindu*. I shall read out just the relevant paragraph. "*The Hindu* of 28th April that—

"The Prime Minister, Mr. Rajiv Gandhi, had told a conference of Army Commanders that the present Prime Minister of Sweden, Mr. Carlsson, had clarified that the arrangement ruling out middlemen

and non-Governmental agents had been followed and that no money has been paid to any Swiss Bank. This report was based on a misreading of a reference contained in the officially released summary of what the Prime Minister had said in a closed meeting. According to the release the Prime Minister pointed out that the negotiation and purchase of 155mm Swedish howitzer was meticulously handled. He reiterated that he made it clear to the Swedish Prime Minister, Mr. Olof Palme, that there should be no middlemen. The guns should be good and the prices reasonable. Sweden had confirmed that there was no middleman and no money was paid in a Swiss Bank. The misreading of what the Indian Prime Minister was reported to have said was conveyed from India and the report served inadvertently as a basis for making further inquiries in Stockholm with the Press Secretary of the Swedish Prime Minister, Mr. Carlsson."

So, on the basis of a wrong report filed by *The Hindu* a press release was given after the Commanders' Conference. All the press had received it. No other newspaper reported it; only *The Hindu* had the courage to come out with...

SHRI K. MOHANAN (Kerala): The Prime Minister himself conceded that there was something wrong in the press release itself, not *Hindu*. Why are you blaming *The Hindu*. Why are you blaming the press? The Prime Minister has conceded that there was something wrong.

SHRI SURESH KALMADI: On the basis of that they have talked to the Press Secretary of the Swedish Prime Minister. On the basis of this report of a *Hindu* correspondent the Swedish Radio went to the Prime Minister of their country, Mr. Carlsson, and asked him for his reaction. On the basis of a wrong report of *The Hindu*, the Swedish Radio... (Interruptions). When it comes to

whatever suits you in *The Hindu*, you take it and what does not suit you, you do not want to look at it. Yesterday for them *The Hindu* was a gospel. I will read out from *The Hindu*:

"The Swedish Radio was also asked for its reaction on the latest development. The Radio's news section basing itself on information conveyed by *The Hindu* from India through its Special Correspondent, obtained the reaction of Mr. Carlsson."

I want to say *The Hindu* retraced the inaccuracy involved in the report published which served as a basis for inquiring what the Swedish Prime Minister told the Indian Prime Minister. *The Hindu* has at least expressed its regret. But what did the Opposition do? Are they going to apologise? The Swedish Radio has come out with a false report from *The Hindu*. I would like to say that ... (*Interruptions*).

SHRI K. MOHANAN: Are we the culprits? You people are talking as if we are the culprits! Fantastic! (*Interruptions*).

SHRI SURESH KALMADI: All that we are saying is this: Don't go by the Press reports. (*Interruptions*).

SHRIMATI RENUKA CHOWDHURY (Andhra Pradesh): That is precisely what we are saying. (*Interruptions*).

SHRI SURESH KALMADI: Madam, the Prime Minister has said that he will take Parliament into confidence... (*Interruptions*)... The Government have said that they will take Parliament into confidence. When they have said that they will take Parliament into confidence, I do not know why they keep getting up. The Swedish Radio has gone on the basis of a false Press report from the Hong Kong based gentleman and a similar story was sent from here without verifying the facts... (*Interruptions*)... Again, Madam, I want to say that on Defence, if any allega-

tions come up, they must be taken up and we should not go by the Press reports and that is all that I want to say.

SHRIMATI RENUKA CHOWDHURY: That is exactly what we are also saying. (*Interruptions*).

SHRI SURESH KALMADI: Now, Madam, I would like to point out that the Air Force has been given a budget of Rs. 2,775 crores which is about 22 per cent of the Budget. The IAF is just about acquiring acquiring two squadrons of the latest MIG-29 aircraft which will definitely go a long way in modernising our Force. The backbone of the Air Force continues to be the MIG-21 base aircraft supported by the Mirage-2000 of which we are going to get a few more which is good for air superiority role as well as ground two squadrons of the latest attack role. Also, the acquisition of the MIG-27 is good in whose case the production has started in the HAL and this will take the Indian Air Force into the era of laser—and computer-controlled air-to-ground missiles. Also, we have the Jaguar which is a deep penetration aircraft. Our transport fleet was getting obsolete. We had the Packet aircraft and that has been replaced by the AN-32 and our ageing AN-12s are being replaced by IL-76. But there have been some complaints about both these types of aircraft. I would like the Raksha Mantri to look into those complaints. They say that the AN-32 aircraft has a high noise level and also vibration level and that the IL-76 is too big and it is not always utilized. So, before we go in for the purchase of any more of these two types of aircraft, transport aircraft, I would request the Government to look into these complaints further.

Madam, earlier there was a spate of aircraft accidents and I have been raising the matter of Air Force aircraft accidents during the last two years. But I am happy to say that during the last few months we have

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not had the same accident rate...
(Interruptions)

SHRI K. MOHANAN: Is it because you have come out of it (Interruptions). Is it because you have gone to that side? (Interruptions)

SHRI SURESH KALMADI: It is just a coincidence... (Interruptions)

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: No interruptions, please. Let him continue.

SHRI SURESH KALMADI: Madam, the La Fontaine Committee has gone into the flight safety aspect and I do not know whether the accident rate was a little low after this or whether concrete measures have been taken by the Air Force. There are three factors that cause accidents. One is technical defect, the second is human error and the third is bird strike. On the technical defects part and on the human error part, there have been a lot of instructions which have been sent and I am aware of that. With regard to the bird strike part of the matter, I think the Government has brought in bird hazard combat teams in five selected airfields. But I think more work will have to be done in this field. We will have to think in terms of bird repellents which are widely used in the U.S.A. We will have to be sure that there is no garbage about 10 kms. from the airfield. All this we will have to ensure.

Madam, also, the main thing about the Air Force is that it has about 45 squadrons today. The Subramanian Commission had said quite a few years back that the level, the optimum level, the correct level, for the Air Force should be about 65 squadrons. So the Government might think, in the present security environment, whether we must reach that target of 65 squadrons as soon as possible.

Madam, as far as the Air Force aircrafts are concerned, the situation, by and large, is all right. But one area which concerns me is the area of air defence. We are quite vulnerable at

the moment. We have to improve our systems, whether they be surface-to-air missiles, whether be electronic counter measures or the EECM, or radar. Madam, the reaction time for Pakistani air fields by F-16 is just 10 to 20 minutes to most of our air fields. And there is also no reason to believe that the US satellite pictures and US intelligence will not be available to the Pakistanis. Madam, air defence consists of detection, identification, interception and destruction.

There is need for more communication. Communications are important. We must acquire automatic data handling system which Pakistan already has. I think a lot more budget has to be poured into this because the United States puts in about 15 per cent of the Defence budget in communications, which we are not doing. I think it is very essential that more amounts must be given for Communications. Madam, the radars which... (Interruptions).

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: You have five minutes more... (Interruptions) You try to sum up now.

SHRI SURESH KALMADI: Madam, the Army has received a good budget of Rs. 5500 crores. The main thing is 155mm. guns which are going to increase the efficiency of the Army. T-72 tanks, Russian tanks, which we are going to manufacture in this country, for which five more factories are planned, is a very good thing. And also the BNT infantry vehicles.

SHRI DIPEN GHOSH (West Bengal): Is he giving us consultancy services?

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: No interruptions please. Please continue.

SHRI SURESH KALMADI: For the Soviet equipment. The modernisation of Vijayanta tank and also the MBP is being fitted with imported engines which will be outside the Seventh Five Year Plan. Madam, we are getting 1500 torps. We have a very long coast line and it is important that we go in

for the latest sea operations technology. We must go in for underwater detection devices and also underwater weapons. A breakthrough has been made in torpedo technology. Now there are torpedoes with a speed of 50 kilometres which have entered the world market. One such torpedo can sink warships of 40,000 tonnes as well.

Coming to defence production, we have increased the budget from 1280 crores to 1890 crores. It is a good thing. Especially the defence factories have received a jump of 2680 crores and this is for modernisation. It is a good step. New technology is being brought in and it is replacing old antiquated machinery. I think this is one very good step. In the budget also they have decided to shed low technology areas such as boots, blankets, binoculars, etc. to the civilian sector in order to concentrate on strategic and lethal weapons which is indeed a good thing. Madam, about commercial undertakings which come under defence production, I would say that their performance has not been as good as one would desire it to be. Production has gone up from 1810 crores to 1880 crores and the total investment in the defence public sector has gone up from 850 crores to about 950 crores.

I think HAL has to pull itself up. The record has not been good as far as HAL is concerned. I have been expressing my doubts about the Light Combat Aircraft. The Government has taken certain steps on the objections raised. They have said that RD 199 engine is not up to the mark and they have decided to go in for F-404 engines which is a right decision because all the L.A.Cs. all over the world have got this F-404 engine whether it is F-18 or Jet 39. It is a good thing. The only thing is that we have got 11 engines. Is the United States going to stick to its commitment? Has the United States agreed to transfer of technology of these 404 engines? We are also trying to have a indigenous engine ready. Madam, I think we have to take a definite guarantee from the United States or one day we might regret.

I may also point out that as far as stores are concerned, the inventory has come down from 4800 crores to 4100 crores. It is a good thing that there is tighter inventory control. Indigenisation has also taken place. Transfer to the civilian sector of the other things which are not of strategic value can obviate holding of large reserves.

About R&D also, I think there is an increase in budget. Five per cent of the defence budget is for R & D and that is a very healthy trend. But the capital investment in aircraft, aero engines and equipment must create a spin off in the civilian sector. I would only like to point out that production, R & D, and inspection go together. But I am surprised to find that the budget for Inspection is very low. Actually it has gone down from 0.71 per cent to 0.69 per cent in this Budget. Madam, on the one hand, the capital equipment cost is going up. So, it is very important that quality must be maintained. And there is a definite case for Inspection getting much more money.

Finally, Madam, the last portion of my speech today is on the service conditions of the Armed Forces personnel. Parliament owes it to itself and the country that we look after those who are defending our borders, our shores, and our skies. Equipment is important. But the man behind the equipment is also very important. And from that point, this Fourth Pay Commission giving Rs. 550 crores is a step in the right direction. This will definitely help induct good people in the Services. Also the Government step like free ration which has been given to the Servicemen and also the decision to de-link pay and rank are good decisions. But a lot more has to be done because we must attract the cream of the youth into the Services. On the one hand we are getting good equipment, costly equipment. But on the other, the people manning them also must be of the same calibre. We must attract the best. We have not been able to get. We have to get much more. Why can't we treat a pilot

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of a Mirage aircraft or a Jaguar aircraft which cost Rs. 30 crores as a Managing Director of a Rs. 30 crore firm? We have to change our outlook. We have to get the best people because we are going into modern aircraft, we are going into modern computerisation, we are going into modern tanks. And we must look after our Services. There is a lot more to be done. We can give them income-tax rebate, We can give them free housing. And we must also look after his service conditions. Today only 0.5 per cent of the Army reaches the rank of a Brigadier. But in the Civil services, about 27 per cent of the IAS reach a similar grade. So, there are certain disparities. Also, I hope that sports will get attention in the Armed Forces. We have seen of late that a lot of sports centres are coming up. And adequate budget must be kept for the sports. Also, Madam, about the resettlement of ex-servicemen, there is the K. P. Singh Deo Committee which went into the conditions of ex-servicemen and they came out with about 60 recommendations out of which 50 have already been implemented and ten are left. But, Madam, I would like to point out that when in service, the Serviceman is the responsibility of the Centre. The moment he retires, he is the responsibility of the State Government. And so the State Governments are not cooperating. They made several suggestions like reservation of posts under the State Government and the public sector undertakings. Some States are yet to do it. About ex-servicemen cooperatives, some States are yet to do it. Only Punjab and Himachal Pradesh have done it. About the grants to welfare fund also, the State Governments have not been giving the grants. Even the expenses of the Sainik Boards are supposed to be shared by the Centre and the States. That they are not doing. So, a lot more has to be done in this sector. Madam, I think, there is need also for debates since the Budget is increasing. There is the need for debate,

not necessarily on purchases because purchases is a different matter altogether, but definitely on what should be the size of the Armed Forces, whether in today's context of technology and technological warfare we require 1.5 million army. Is it required or should we reduce the Army and go in for a bit of conscription and get more equipment? Otherwise, the pay and allowance segment is increasing rapidly. So, this can be one discussion. There can be a discussion on whether to go in for an aircraft or should we go in for missiles. This is the need of a debate. I think, we must also discuss in an intense form whether we should have the concept of aircraft carrier or not.

Finally, Madam, I would like to end with a warning which the Prime Minister gave at the Army Commanders' conference to be prepared for a surprise attack. It is just possible. Let us be eternally vigilant. Let us guard our frontiers, our seas and our skies. Let us be prepared to face any conspiracy or collusion. Let us not listen to rumours and I am sure we will come out with flying colours and will emerge as a strong and self-reliant nation. Thank you.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Now the House stands adjourned for lunch and will meet again at 2.30 P.M.

The House then adjourned for lunch at thirtyone minutes past one of the clock.

The House reassembled after lunch at thirty-four minutes past two of the clock. **The Vice-Chairman (Shri H. Hanumanthappa)** in the Chair.

SHRI M. A. BABY (Kerala): Thank you, Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir. At the outset, I would like to congratulate the defence personnel of our country who have been displaying exemplary discipline, who have been showing immeasurable sense of sacrifice at times of crises and at times of natural calamities, they have shown how they can serve the country with the same vigour as they defend our borders, seas and skies, in protecting

the people from natural calamities. Moreover, Sir, in our sub-continent we have had unfortunate experiences of military intervening in political developments of the country. So many bad experiences are there in our sub-continent but self-restraint and self-discipline with which our defence personnel have been behaving after independence shows that they need not be told again and again that they are not meant for engaging themselves in internal political development. With all these aspects in mind, on behalf of my party I would like to congratulate the defence personnel of our country for their supreme sacrifices and services to our country.

Sir, as we know, defence and external affairs are closely related subjects. If you are in a position to pursue a very sound and successful external affairs policy you may be in a position to lessen the expenditure on defence, which could be utilized for more purposeful national building activities. This we may have to bear in mind. When we say that external affairs and defence are closely related subjects, we know that the External Affairs Ministry is doing the same thing with words, that the army does with arms. When the External Affairs Ministry in diplomatic relationship and diplomatic exercises use words, they need not have to purchase words, they can use words which are at their disposal, but in the case of Defence Ministry, arms at times are to be purchased. When External Affairs Ministry uses words, there can be omissions and commissions, but when Defence Ministry purchases arms, there will not be omission, there will be only commission. This aspect has come to the fore with the developments in the recent past: And so, it is quite natural that my friends in the other side take part in the discussion on Defence Ministry with a sense of self-defence, I do not mean to say, self-deception.

Sir, I do not know why our friends from the other side and for

that matter the Defence Ministry and the Prime Minister himself hesitate to come out forthwith to agree with the proposal from our side to constitute a probe into the so-called activities of corruption and kickbacks and shabby defence deals with foreign countries in the wake of increasing charges and allegations. With the support of the overwhelming majority of the other side, so many apparently brave statements have been made that nobody will be spared if correct proof pinpoints the responsibility with someone. If you are so confident, what harms you from agreeing to our proposal. Can't you take us into confidence? Do you think that patriotism and sense for security of our country are monopolies of somebody who belongs to one political party? So far as we are concerned, we feel that everybody in this country is second to none on the question of patriotism and concern for the security of our country unless otherwise proved. That is what we say. So in the wake of so many charges and counter-charges and clouds of suspicion, to ward off these suspicions and to put things clearly before the people of our country, I utilise this opportunity once again to reiterate our demand that there should be a parliamentary probe into these charges. This is all the more important even from the angle of the morale of the defence personnel. This is very important. Those who are in the forefront, those who are on the borders, those who are in the skies and seas, when they hear that something rotten, not in Denmark or Sweden, but somewhere else, has happened, on arms purchases that affects their morale. So, to put things in their proper perspective and to ward off suspicion, only a parliamentary probe, with eminent persons, will help. This, I hope, will be seriously considered by the Ministry.

Sir, we raise this question with a certain solid back-up of our own experience. From some knowledgeable sources, we came to know

[Shri M. A. Baby]

that in the process of acquisition of arms from abroad, there were certain points where some extraneous interests could creep in. The Minister of States for Defence, who, in fact, is senior in the Ministry, in terms of stay in the Ministry, to the Cabinet Minister, the other day, took pains to explain in both Houses of Parliament the price negotiations process. But he did not throw proper light on one aspect that the final decision is being taken in the Cabinet Committee for Political Affairs. The hon. Minister just said that he being a junior Minister did not know what happened in the Cabinet Committee for Political Affairs.

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE DEPARTMENT OF DEFENCE RESEARCH AND DEVELOPMENT IN THE MINISTRY OF DEFENCE (SHRI ARUN SINGH): I never said that. I never said anything of the kind.

SHRI M. A. BABY: This has been implicated.

SHRI ARUN SINGH: I am giving a personal explanation. I am, as it happens, the Minister of State in the Ministry of Defence. That is a fact. I am not a member of the Cabinet Committee on Political Affairs. That is also a fact. But I have never once—neither in this House, nor in the other House, nor in any other forum—ever said that I did not know what happened in the CCPA. So kindly don't misquote it.

SHRI M. A. BABY: Anyway, precisely this aspect I would like to bring to the notice of the House. From the explanation given, it was quite clear that the process of acquisition of arms is a very long process and there are cases concretely in relation to HDW class-f09 Submarines, which was negotiated in the year 1980-81 where in the negotiations in the Price Negotiating Committee, the representative of the

Navy opted for Kockum Submarine, if my information is correct. The representative of the Indian Navy had quite a justifiable reason in opting for the Kockum submarines because the HDW Class-209 submarines, though considered to be good, belong to one generation behind, and Kockum submarine is a generation ahead and suitable to Indian conditions. This was the position of the representative from the Indian Navy. He expressed it in the meeting. If the information with me is correct, in the third meeting of the Price Negotiating Committee the Navy man was called aside and told that he should not insist that the Kockum submarine should be more suitable for our country. So, this has happened. If this has happened, I expect an explanation from the honourable Minister as to how this has happened. And if this has happened, no one can question the suspicion that similar episodes would have happened whenever the price negotiations are being made, and we know that ultimately the decision will be taken at the highest level. Whatever transpires at the price negotiation meetings, the final decision is being taken by the Cabinet Committee for Political Affairs—and here comes the political element in the decision. It is quite natural; I don't want to attribute the responsibility to anyone. But, in the Cabinet Committee for Political Affairs the Prime Minister presides over the meetings and those who are accessible to the Prime Minister can naturally mention that in the bargain between the various firms it would be better to select a particular firm. This is where the crux of the matter comes. So, in this background we don't want to accuse the other side that their *bona fides* cannot be taken seriously; we do not want to say so. We do not want to engage in a competition as to who are more patriotic and who are more concerned about the defence of our country. But to ward off suspicion to keep up the morale of

our Defence forces, what we propose is, why can't there be a high-power committee including parliamentarians who are knowledgeable in these matters? Fortunately, especially in this House we have a few such knowledgeable persons both from the angle of Defence and from the angle of Finance and accountancy. Why can't a high-power committee of experts be constituted to scrutinize and decide on the purchases of arms from abroad, not every purchase but purchases in which a substantial amount is involved say, Rs. 5 crores or 10 crores which can be discussed and decided upon. This is a specific point which we would like to raise and this will help improve the situation. There need not be any unwarranted suspicion on such matters and if you cannot take such a high-power committee into confidence, then we have no other arrangement to place. This is all the more important in the wake of the report appearing in today's *Hindustan Times*—not relate to defence but related to the purchase of helicopters following pressure from Britain. According to today's *Hindustan Times* report, these helicopters are not very suitable; they are not working properly due to a machine fault. This is reported in today's paper. So, when a substantial amount is involved in purchases from abroad, we have a right to scrutinize it. We won't say that everybody should be allowed to go into all aspects. But Defence cannot be kept as a sacred cow that no one can touch. This is very important, Sir.

Second, the overall perspective of our defence. We understand that given the geo-political situation today, a country like India has to spend money, substantial money for our defence. We do not question the

necessity of spending for defence because the threat from the American imperialism is no more illusory. Everyday. We are reading reports about how the American imperialism is arming Pakistan with modern equipment giving AWACKS and its own personnel to man the AWACKS, how the American imperialism is trying to encircle our country. How the independence of the third world countries is threatened by the American imperialism, we are aware of it. In this situation, it is painful that substantial amount is being taken away for defence purpose, which would have been otherwise utilised for other development purposes. That is why I say it is painful. But there is no other option, we agree.

But, at the same time, just by acquiring the modern arms and keeping the army you cannot defend your country, no one can do so, people should be made aware of the threats coming from imperialism. On this aspect, we are constrained to say that the party at the helm of affairs which rules our country is not doing its duty. You are limiting your criticism of the American imperialism only to statements.

Only when you are caught up in some allegations, only when some skeletons come out of your cupboard, you are woken up to the threat of the imperialism and the efforts of foreign hands in destabilisation. If you fail to educate the masses of our country regarding the threat coming from the imperialism and how the imperialism, especially the American imperialism is trying to arm Pakistan and encircle our country, the people cannot be mobilised for the defence of our country.

I may be permitted to remind you, Sir, the experience at the time of Second World War in the Soviet

[Shri Arun Singh]
Union. When countries after countries were kneeling before the might of Nazi Hitler, it was the Soviet Union which started the defeat of Nazism in the Second World War. I do not want to elaborate about that. But the point is how the Soviet Union could succeed in defending not only the Soviet Union but the mankind from the horror of Nazi Hitler? It was not by arms and military alone. Each household of the Soviet Union was a defence outpost. That is how, unlike other countries, the Soviet Union could succeed in defeating the Hitlerite army. This historic experience must be taken seriously, and in our country also the masses of our people should be educated about the threat from the imperialism.

Sir, coming to the question of research and development, due to lack of time I do not want to take much of the time. I am just mentioning points only.

The highest amount of research and development is being allocated on defence. But how eminent persons are sacked there? I just want to mention for latest experience. This is not related to Defence. Dr. Gopalakrishnan who was entrusted to head a project in collaboration with the Defence Ministry and the BHEL and who was the managing Director, was unceremoniously sacked. That is the attitude of the higher-ups. And if the same attitude is pursued, it would be detrimental to the growth of research and development not only in the Defence sphere, but also in all other spheres.

There are, so many problem for various sections of Defence personnel. I would just like to mention one example in the Military Nursing Service. Discrimination between male and female nurses still

exists in this service. With the conspicuous presence of the hon. Minister, Shrimati Margaret Alva, I hope she would advice the Defence Minister to see to it that the discrimination that exists between male and female nurses in the Defence Department is eradicated without much delay. They have so many grievances which are not being considered favourably by the Ministry. One of their demand is that the Military Nursing Service should be headed atleast by a Lt. General so that they can directly negotiate with the Defence Ministry. Similarly, every year 60 to 65 thousands people retire from the three armed forces. There are innumerable problems facing the retired armed forces personnel. Their grievances are not being considered favourably. I request without enunciating their grievances that their problems should be sympathetically looked into because during their prime youth they have been trying their level best to safeguard our country.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI H. HANUMANTHAPPA): Please conclude. You have taken ten minutes more.

SHRI M. A. BABY: I would just like to recall the way in which the importance of the Defence Ministry was undermined by the present Government at the time of a crisis. In history you will find that whenever a serious defence crisis arose, the number one man in the Cabinet comes up and take over the Defence portfolio. This has been the experience. But ironically in our country when a defence crisis develops, the number one man drops the portfolio as a hot potato and his responsibility is given to somebody else. And once he took up the cudgels against corruption, he was also unceremoniously sacked or allowed

to prove loyalty to the leader. This is very unfortunate.

Now, during the period under review two significant events occurred. One was the visit of General Secretary Gorbachev which re-assured our self-confidence. This is one positive aspect of our Defence perspective and foreign policy, as we call it. I appreciate that. At the same time I cannot but mention the negative side also. For the first time in the history of independent India, the Defence Secretary of America visited our country during the period under review. Whether he is Casper Weinberger of Casper 'World burglar'; I do not know. This shows the negative approach to our world problems. I hope in future, we would be in a position to strike a balance and take up our Defence perspective as well as external affairs perspective from the angle of anti-imperialism. With these words I conclude.

3.00 P.M.

श्री सत्यपाल मलिक (उत्तर प्रदेश) : श्रीमन्, प्रतिरक्षा मंत्रालय के कार्यकलापों पर जो बहस हम लोग आज कर रहे हैं, उसमें जो हमारे रक्षा विशेषज्ञ हैं, रक्षा मंत्रालय में बैठे हुए लोग और सेना में तीनों अंगों के विशेषज्ञ, उनका काम मैं अपने जिम्मे नहीं लेना चाहता हूँ। चार-पाँच मिनटों के पदार्थ यदि मैं विशेषज्ञ होने को कोशिश करूँ, तो मैं अपना वक्त जाया करूँगा और उससे कोई फायदा आज को बहस में नहीं होगा।

मैं बिल्कुल जो मोटे-मोटे बातें हैं, हिन्दुस्तान के लोग अपनी सेनाओं के सिलसिले में, दुनिया में अपने नेतृत्व के सिलसिले में और हिन्दुस्तान के जो सुरक्षा की स्थिति है, चारों तरफ उसके सिलसिले में जो आम आदमि समझता है, मैं उसका प्रवक्ता होकर बात बरतना चाहता हूँ। फौज की ओर युद्ध की दृष्टि से इसलिए पड़ता है—श्रीमन्, युद्ध होता है राष्ट्रों की इच्छाओं की पूर्ति के लिए। किसी भी मुद्दे को अपने सेनाओं को बताने वक्त दो चीजों का खयाल रखना पड़ता है। एक तो यह कि दुनिया में उपाय-समाधान-विकल्प रोल क्या है और नम्बर दो, उसको

दुनिया में इज्जत के साथ जिंदा रहने के लिए उसके चारों तरफ का वातावरण और खतरे क्या हैं।

आजादी की लड़ाई के दौर से आज तक, चाहे महात्मा गांधी, पंडित जवाहर का दौर रहा हो या इन्दिरा गांधी जैसी और राजीव गांधी का दौर रहा हो, हिन्दुस्तान ने एक नुमाया रोल हासिल किया है, अख्तियार किया है, यह रोल अपने हाथ में लिया है। इस संदर्भ में जहाँ भी कोई ज्यादाती होती है, चाहे वह दक्षिण अफ्रीका का मामला हो, फिलिस्तीन का मुक्ति का मामला हो, उन सारे सवालों पर हम बोले हैं और एक तरह से आजादी की लड़ाई के दौर से आज तक अगर मैं बतूँ कि—

आज जंगल में लगे थे सात दरियाओ के पार और कोई शहर में फिरता था घबराया हुआ।

दुनिया में वहीं कुछ हुआ है, हमारे ल डर-शिप ने जुल्म और जालिम के खिलाफ खड़े होकर अपने बात बतूँ है और जब यह रोल आप लेते हैं तो आपको कुछ खतरे उठाने पड़ते हैं। आपके ऊपर कुछ दबाव आते हैं आपको तोड़ने का कोशिश होती है, आपके ऊपर हमले का बचाव आते हैं। तो आज जब हम अपनी तैयारियों की बात करें, तो अपने इस रोल के परिपेक्ष में करनी चाहिए कि हमने यह रोल अख्तियार किया है, इस रोल के यह-यह नतीजे हो सकते हैं। इसलिए हमारी तैयारी इस तरह से होनी चाहिए।

दूसरा, जो यह हमारा थर्ड परसेप्शन है, हमारे चारों तरफ का जो वातावरण है, उसको समझने में वहाँ हमको गलती नहीं करना चाहिए, चाहे विपक्ष के लोग हो, या सत्ता पक्ष के लोग हो। हमको यह देखना चाहिए कि हमारे आसपास कौन-कौन तापते हैं। ज्यादातर हम लोग गलती करते हैं कि इन्कार बहुत पाकिस्तान के संदर्भ में हम लोग करने लग जाते हैं और पाकिस्तान के साथ-हम अपने सेनाओं को तुलना करने लगते हैं कि उनके पास इतने डिवीजन हैं, हमारे पास इतने हैं, उनके पास इतने, सबमेरीज हैं, हमारे पास इतने सममेरीज

[श्री सत्य पाल मलिक]

हैं, उनके पास इतने जहाज हैं, हमारे पास इतने जहाज हैं। यह तुजना बेसान है क्यों? पाकिस्तान प्राक्स क लड़ ई लड़ता है। पाकिस्तान पर मैं बाद में बोलूंगा। पाकिस्तान नहीं लड़ता है हमसे।

चीन के संदर्भ में मैं पहले निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि चीन के साथ हमारी पहले एक लड़ाई हो चुकी है। चीन के साथ हमारे कुछ मामले आज भी अटके हुए हैं, हल नहीं हुए हैं और हमारी सरकार की बराबर कोशिश है कि वह मतले बातचीत के जरिए हल हों, हालांकि उस तरह की कोशिश नहीं है, जैसे जनता सरकार में हो गई थी। बिना किसी शर्त के आप चले गये थे और रात को वियतनाम पर जब बिना बताये हमला कर दिया, तब तो आप रात में भागे और देश का जलील कराया। बहुत समझदारी के साथ, काशस तरीके के साथ हन चीन के साथ मसलों को हल करने के लिए और कभी कोई मौका आया, हम चीन के साथ बातचीत कर रहे हैं और मेरी यह इच्छा है और सारे देश की इच्छा है कि बातचीत से चीजें हल हों, लेकिन सिर्फ सदेच्छा से देश कायम नहीं रहते। बातचीत की इच्छा भी हो और तैयारी भी हमारी इस लायक रहे कि हमको फिर कोई बुरा दिन देखना न पड़े। तो इस संदर्भ में जो चीन की स्थिति है वह आज हमसे बहुत आगे है। हमारे तमाम शहर चीन की मार में हैं और चीन का कोई शहर हमारी मार में नहीं है। चीन की आणविक तैयारी जबरदस्त है। उसने बरिफ छोटे-छोटे हथियारों में भी कनवेंशनल वैपस जो हैं, उनमें भी आणविक इस्तेमाल कर ली है। उसके पास कैरियर भी हैं, उसके पास तमाम तरह की आधुनिक चीजें हैं और सब से बड़ी चीज यह है कि इस वक्त चीन में एक दुस्तारुसी लीडरशिप है, जो जरा सी बात पर भी वियतनाम को सजा देने के लिए लड़ाई करने के लिए तैयार हो जाता है। उस लीडरशिप का मिाज दुस्तारुसी है। इसके अलावा वह लीडरशिप दुनिया के बाजार में चली गई है और जो लड़ाई की नई से नई टेक्नोलोजी है उसका भी ला रही है। चीन की फौज जैसे

हम बीस साल पहले उसको समझते थे उस तरह की नहीं है। जब थ्रॉट परसेप्शन पर सोचें हम लोग हमारे विशेषज्ञ और हमारे रक्षा मंत्री जी को यह मानकर चलना चाहिए कि चीन के संदर्भ में हमको और कितनी तैयारी की जरूरत है और मुझको यह विश्वास है कि आप अगर यह बतार्यें अमरीका के लोगों को कमजोर करने वाले लोगों ने तो बहस बहुत बार चलाई है कि प्रतिरक्षा पर बहुत खर्च है जो कि केन्द्र सरकार के खर्च में से हम देखते हैं। राज्यों के खर्च में से प्रतिरक्षा पर कोई खर्च नहीं होता। जो हमारे देश को खतरा है उसके अनुसार जितना खर्चा होना चाहिए उससे कम होता है। मैं इस बात को कहना चाहता हूँ कि अगर आप देश के लोगों के सामने जाए कि यह-यह स्थितियाँ हैं और हमको अपनी रक्षा के लिए इतना खर्चा चाहिए तो इसके लिए इस देश के लोग भूखे रहकर काम करना भी जानते हैं, लेकिन मुल्क की संवरेनिटो मुल्क की ताकत और इज्जत इसको किसी भी भी कीमत पर गिरवी रखने के लिए तैयार नहीं होंगे और आपकी मदद करेंगे। पाकिस्तान के संदर्भ में जब हक संच तो हमको यह मानकर चलना चाहिए कि हम सिर्फ पाकिस्तान से नहीं लड़ रहे हैं। मुझको याद है मैं अनवर सादात की जीवनी पढ़ रहा था। अनवर सादात ने अपने मुल्क में कोशिश की कि वह अपने देश की शर्म को धाए और एक तैयारी करके उन्होंने लड़ाई शुरू की तथा पहले 2-3 दिन उन्होंने बहुत कामाबी हासिल की इसके बाद जब उनका नाकामाबी हुई तो उसके संदर्भ में लिखते हैं अनवर सादात जब उनसे यह बात जानने की कोशिश की गई कि आपने समझोता क्यों कर लिया ता अनवर सादात ने कहा कि तीसरे चौथ दिन मुझको अंदाजा हुआ कि कि मैं इसाइल से नहीं लड़ रहा था कोई दूसरी ताकत थी जिसमे लड़ रहा था। उसके सामने मेरे टैंक इस तरह टूट रहे थे कि जैसे बच्चों के खिलौने टूट रहे हैं। तो आज पाकिस्तान को वही ताकत जिसकी तरफ अनवर सादात इशारा

करता है वह ताकत लड़ाई की सब से बेहतरीन टैकनॉलॉजी और जो हथियार हैं वे सारे पाकिस्तान को दे रही हैं और सारी दुनिया को बेवकूफ बनाने की कोशिश की जा रही है कि ये अफगानिस्तान से खतरों के लिए हैं। दो-तिहाई से ज्यादा दूज हमारी सीमाओं पर है। अफगानिस्तान के संदर्भ में पाकिस्तानी लीडरशिप के यह आदेश है कि अगर अफगान एयरक्राफ्ट आपकी सीमा में भी आ जाए तो उसको छोड़ने की जरूरत नहीं है क्योंकि उसको छोड़ने का मतलब सोवियत रूस को छोड़ना है। वह आ जायेगा तो उसको नहीं छोड़ेंगे और कह रहे हैं कि हमको एवाक्स दो। हमको अफगानिस्तान के लिए चाहिए। अमरीका भी यह बेवकूफी करने वाला नहीं है कि वह अफगानिस्तान के लिए हथियार दे। आज की तारीख में जूनैजो ने कहा है कि करना हम अफगानिस्तान से हाथ खींच लेंगे। अफगानिस्तान के सिलसिले में पहली चीज यह है कि पाकिस्तान रूस से लड़ नहीं सकता चाहे जितनी भी अमरीका मदद दे। नम्बर दो अफगानिस्तान में पोलिटीकल सैटलमेंट लगाना होने को है, उसके लिए इन हथियारों की जरूरत नहीं है यह जो एवाक्स और हाक आइज भी हैं। श्रीमन्, 1962 की लेबनान की लड़ाई में इजराइल ने अपने दो जहाज खोए और अरबों के 60 जहाज तोड़े थे इस व्यवस्था को लाने के बाद और यह इतनी खतरनाक चीज है। इसलिए वे सारे हथियार हमारे ही खिलाफ इस्तेमाल होंगे। इजराइल ने उनके 60 जहाज बर्बाद किए थे, उसके पास यह व्यवस्था थी जो कि पाकिस्तान आज अमरीका से मांग रहा है। उनको चलाने के लिए उनके आदमी भी मांग रहा है। जिस वक्त 60 के दशक में हम बहुत छोटे थे तो हमने अखबारों में पढ़ा था कि यू-2 जहाज था जो कि अमरीका का उड़कर गया था और गिरा दिया था रूस ने, वह पाकिस्तान से उड़ा था उसका जो चालक था गैरीपावर उसको जब गिरपतार कर लिया गया तो ख्रुचेव ने एक दावत में पाकिस्तान के राजदूत को कहा कि मैंने तुम्हारा नक्शा देखकर पेशावर पर लाल निशान लगा दिया है। उनका कहने का मतलब

यह था कि बदतमीजी होगी तो हम आपका इंतजाम कर देंगे। आज भी वही हालत बरकरार है। अमरीका यह एडवेंचर कर नहीं सकता है कि वह कभी भी अफगानिस्तान या रूस के खिलाफ पाकिस्तान को हथियार दे। यह सारी कोशिश सिर्फ और सिर्फ हिन्दुस्तान के खिलाफ है। ये सारे के सारे हथियार हमारे खिलाफ इस्तेमाल होने वाले हैं।

SHRI GHULAM RASOOL MATTO
(Jammu and Kashmir): Map I just
supplement what he says?

इस सिलसिले में मैंने एक दिन खुद अपने कानों से सुना था कि पेशावर के हवाई अड्डे पर जनरल जिया उल हक को अखबार वालों ने पूछा कि रूस के साथ अफगानिस्तान के संबंध में आपकी क्या राय है? तो उनके लफज थे कि भाई, जब पानी में रहना है तो मगरमच्छ से बैर क्यों?

This was the conception of
Pakistan and hence I support, what
Shri Satpal Malik States.

श्री सत्यपाल मलिक : अब अमरीका में कहना यह है कि जो पाकिस्तान के समर्थक लोग हैं कि ईरान हमने खो दिया है, पाकिस्तान हम खोना नहीं चाहते। पाकिस्तान तो हम से नहीं खोया जा रहा है। लेकिन हमारे खिलाफ हथियार दिए जा रहे हैं। इसके साथ-साथ हमारी जो आंतरिक दिक्कतें हैं उनको देखकर अभी हाल में दो दिन पहले सदन में कोट हो गया और इससे पहले साल हमारे देश के एक प्रतिष्ठित संपादक हैं, उन्होंने खुद मुझे बताया कि वह जब जनरल जिया से मिलने के लिए गए तो और कुछ उनके जनरलज बैठे हुए थे और उन्होंने पंजाब के संदर्भ में जब पूछा कि हमारे देश में यह आशंका है कि पंजाब की स्थिति को देखते हुए आप हमला कर सकते हैं तो जनरल जिया ने उनसे कहा कि हमारे जो जनरल्स हैं वे तो इस सिचुएशन को बहुत टेम्पटिंग पाते हैं, लेकिन मैं इनको रोक रहा हूँ। यह पाकिस्तान की लीडरशिप का इस वक्त रक्षान है और वह सारा अमरीका के वृत्ते पर। तो हमको इसको सोच कर

[श्री सत्यपाल मालिक]

अपनी नीति निर्धारित करनी चाहिए। मुझे इस बात की खुशी है कि हमारे नेतृत्व के पिछले दो साल में हमारी फौजों को जो हमारे मित्र देश हैं रूस, उसके जरिए और दुनियां के बाजारों से जहां भी जो बढ़िया से बढ़िया हथियार पा सकते थे, अपनी फौजों को दिए, उनको डिमोरेलाइज नहीं होने दिया है और उनको इस स्थिति में नहीं रखा कि वे लड़ाई में जायें तो अपनी तरफ से ऐसी सोच रखें कि कमजोर और हल्के हथियार लेकर गये हैं। इसके लिए मैं अपनी मौजूदा लीडरशिप को मुबारकबाद देता हूँ। मैं ही यह नहीं कहता, एक जगह मैं पढ़ रहा था विशेषज्ञों का, कि कोई काल्पनिक सिनिरियो क्या होगा, अगर हिन्दुस्तान और पाकिस्तान की लड़ाई चलती है और अगर हिन्दुस्तान की लीडरशिप दुनियां की बड़ी ताकतों को न सुनें, अनसुनी कर दे तो छह हफ्ते के बाद पाकिस्तान हमसे दुबारा लड़ाई करने की हिम्मत नहीं कर सकता। इतनी तैयारी हमारी लीडरशिप ने की है और इसके लिए मैं अपनी लीडरशिप को मुबारकबाद देना चाहता हूँ। लेकिन श्रीमन्, यह जो बात मैं कर रहा हूँ, यह सारा कंवेन्शनल इवेण्टस है उसके विलसिले में, अगर लड़ाई टैंक की, तोप की, बम की, बमबार की होती है तो।

लेकिन श्रीमन्, अब स्थिति बदल रही है और वह इसलिए बदल रही है कि अब पाकिस्तान के पास एक डिसिसिव चीज आने वाली है, जिसका नाम है—परमाणु बम। पाकिस्तान की लीडरशिप ने, भुट्टो साहब ने एक जमाने में कहा था कि हम घास खाएंगे, लेकिन परमाणु बम जरूर बनाकर रहेंगे क्योंकि उन्होंने कहा था कि यह थुहदियों के पास है, क्रिश्चियन्स के पास है, हिन्दुओं के पास है, जबकि हमारे पास नहीं था, लेकिन वह बोलते थे जोश में। उनका कहना था कि हम इसको लेकर रहेंगे और जो क्रोनोलोजिकल इवेण्टस हैं, वह सारे मैं बोलना नहीं चाहता हूँ, कोट किया जाय तो अमरीका के अखबार, इंग्लैंड के

अखबार, बी०वी०सी०, दुनियां भर के विशेषज्ञ यह मानते हैं कि एक स्कू लगाने भर की देर है, पाकिस्तान के पास अणुबम तैयार है। कहा तो यह भी जाता है कि शायद चीन में जब जुनेजो साहब गये थे तब उन्होंने टेस्ट कर लिया था, यह भी कहा जाता है कि बलूचिस्तान की सुरंग में टेस्ट हो ही गया है। मैं अगर यह मान भी लूँ कि थह सारी बातें गलत हैं तो भी दुनियां भर से जो खबरें छन कर आ रही हैं, उसके मुताबिक एक स्कू लगाने भर की देर है और उनके पास तैयार है। अब थह बम पाकिस्तान के हाथ में आ जाने के बाद जो स्थिति होती है, उसको सोचकर हमारी लीडरशिप को फेंसला करना पड़ेगा। इसे मैं आज की बहस का सबसे महत्वपूर्ण मुद्दा मानता हूँ और चाहता हूँ कि हमारा प्रतिरक्षा मंत्रालय इस बारे में सारे देश को आश्वस्त करे कि इस भिचुणन से निपटने के लिए हमारी क्या सोच है?

श्रीमन्, एक प्रोफेसर कोहन हैं, उन्होंने पाकिस्तान आर्मी की जो मैगजीन है, उसमें लिखते हुए यह माना है, मैं अंग्रेजी को कोट करने का आदी नहीं हूँ; उन्होंने यह कहा है कि हिन्दुस्तान के पास भी अणुबम हो, इसके बावजूद भी अगर पाकिस्तान इसको हासिल कर लेता है, तो किसी भी बक्त हिन्दुस्तान की लीडरशिप अगर अनिश्चय की स्थिति में होगी तो वह कश्मीर के मामले को खोल सकता है लड़ाई करके। यह बात विदेश के लोग भी मानते हैं, मैं उनकी बातचीत को छोड़ देता हूँ। हमारे जो इस समय मौजूदा चीफ हैं जनरल सुन्दर जी, उन्होंने अपना चार्ज लेने के बाद सबसे पहली बात जो कही, वह बड़ी हार्टेनिंग है और अच्छी है, हमारी सरकार अगर उन विचारों से अपनी सहमति प्रकट कर दे तो देश के लोग आश्वस्त हो जाते हैं:—

“General Sundarji highlighted the Army's concern about the nuclear

weapon capability by one of our potential adversaries and asked the army to be prepared to face both conventional and nuclear threat. He said: 'Our Government is aware of the threat and I can assure you that if a war is forced upon us, it will not make us fight our adversary at a disadvantage'."

और यह उन्होंने उसी दिन ही नहीं कहा, उससे पहले भी जो उनका पर्चा बहुत मशहूर हुआ है, उसमें भी उन्होंने लिखा था कि —

"Conventional superiority vis-a-vis nuclear Pakistan would be no effective deterrent."

तो श्रीमन्, यह हमारे प्रतिरक्षा विशेषज्ञों की भी राय है, यह देश की जनता की भी सोच है और विदेश के लोग भी यह मानते हैं कि पाकिस्तान के हाथ में बम आ जाने के बाद बहुत स्थितियों में परिवर्तन आ जायगा। इसलिए मैं माननीय रक्षामंत्री जी से यह चाहता हूँ कि इस प्रश्न पर वे देश की जनता को, देश की फौजों को और संसद् को विश्वास में लेकर आश्वस्त करें कि उससे निपटने का हमने क्या सोचा है? मैं उसकी डिटेल में जाने की बात नहीं करता, लेकिन केवल नीति विषयक बात में जाना चाहता हूँ।

श्रीमन्, पिछले दो तीन हफ्तों में काफी हल्ला हुआ गया प्रतिरक्षा मंत्रालय की खरीदों के सिलसिले में, इसलिए मेरे पास उस संबंध में कुछ कहने के लिए नहीं है। जो हमारे प्रतिरक्षा मंत्री जी और प्रधान मंत्री जी का ब्यान है, उसके बाद उसके बारे में कोई शक शक नहीं रह जाता है। मैं जानता हूँ कि जनता सरकार में जब जगुवार की बहस हमने देखी थी तो किसी ने यह भी नहीं कहा कि उसकी जांच कराएंगे और यदि कोई दोषी हुआ तो उसको सजा देंगे। लेकिन आज तो मजबूती के साथ कह दिया गया है कि हमने मिडिलमैन को ऐलिमिनेट किया है। इसके बावजूद भी कहीं कोई बगला हुआ है तो हम उसकी जांच करेंगे और दोषी को सजा देंगे। मैं किताबों से कोट कर सकता हूँ

कि हमारे ही नहीं विदेश के प्रतिरक्षा विशेषज्ञ भी यह मानते हैं कि हिन्दुस्तान में इधर जो तीन, चार सालों में खरीद हुई है उसमें डिसिजन किसी पॉलिटिकल लीडरशिप का नहीं है और उस दृष्टि से खरीद नहीं की है बल्कि टेक्निकल विशेषज्ञों और फौज के लोगों के सलाह-मिशविरे को ज्यादा महत्व दिया है और कम से कम हथियारों में ज्यादा से ज्यादा बढ़िया खरीद करने की कोशिश की गई है। इसके लिए मैं सरकार को धन्यवाद देता हूँ कि हर स्तर पर जो प्रिपेडनेस हमारी है उससे देश सुरक्षा के लिए कोई खतरा नहीं दिखाई देता।

आखीर में मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि जो बजट आपका है, जितना बजट है वह संतोषजनक है, लेकिन जो थ्रोट पर्सन है, दुनिया की जो हालत है उसको देखते हुए अगर आप महसूस करते हैं कि इससे ज्यादा की जरूरत है तो इस देश के लोगों ने जब कभी भी देश पर संकट आया है उन्होंने परवाह नहीं की है तो इस मामले में भी आप हिस्सेदारी की कोशिश न करें, मुल्क के लोग अपने पैर पर पट्टी बांधकर भी आपको समर्थन करेंगे।

श्रीमन्, मैं एक ही निवेदन आपके मन में करना चाहता हूँ। इस देश में जो लोग फौज में हैं, चाहे वे जवान हों या अफसर हों, उनके ऊपर बड़ी भारी जिम्मेदारी है। उन्होंने अब तक बहुत बड़ी जिम्मेदारियों को निभाया है। जब उनके पास हथियार नहीं थे, औजार नहीं थे तब भी उन्होंने अपने और शौय में किसी तरह की कमी देश के लिए नहीं की है। मैं निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि हमारे देश में जो इस समय आर्थिक स्थिति है जिस तरह से देश में कुछ चीजें चल रही हैं, उसमें आपको कोई बुनियादी रास्ते की तलाश करनी होगी। फौज के जवानों और ब्रिगेडियर की तनख्वाह बाकी सेवाओं में लगे लोगों की तनख्वाहों की साथ तुलना करके आप मत तय करें। इस देश में दुर्भाग्य से ऐसी स्थिति है, जसा कि कर्नाटका का कहना है कि विकासशील देशों में करप्शन इज ए लुब्रिकेंट लेकिन यह

[श्री सत्य पॉल मॉलिक]

भी सच है कि दूसरे जितने पद हैं सरकारी नौकरियों के उनके ज्यादातर लोग आर्थिक फायदों के लिए उनका उपयोग करने लग गए हैं, उनमें से फायदा निकालने लग गए हैं, लेकिन फौज में ऐसी चीज नहीं है, न ही हम उम्मीद करते हैं कि वे अपनी जगहों का आर्थिक लाभ के लिए इस्तेमाल करें। लिहाजा देश की रक्षा की जिम्मेदारी हम उनके हाथों में मजबूत मानकर उनका भारेल बूट खना चाहते हैं, तो उनको ज्यादा सुविधाएं देनी होंगी। मुझे बहुत तकलीफ होती है जब मैं एक ही कार में चार ब्रिगेडियरों को सवार जाते हुए देखता हूँ पैदल के रूप में बचने के लिए, लेकिन उस देश में जो हम देखते हैं कि एक पंसासरी चार साल में देश का उद्योग गति बन जाता है तो इसको कहीं जरूर रोकना होगा देश में एक तरफ जंगल बिना कुछ किए जिनगी के साथ समाप्त मुहैया कर लेते हों और दूसरी तरफ सेना में लगे हुए लोगों का तनावपूर्ण तब नरत संभव है उनके प्रति। इंजिनों या अन्य सेवाओं के साथ जोड़ें, तो यह उचित नहीं होगा। मैं चाहता हूँ कि इस संबंध सरकार विचार करे। बहुत-बहुत धन्यवाद।

SHRIMATI RENUKA CHOWDHU-

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

Before I start on what is the main subject, the working of the Ministry of Defence, I request you to permit me to digress in order to commend, on behalf of myself and the people of my State, the services, the armed services, the civilians who are involved with armed services, and all those who work towards the common productive end, that of defence of independent India. I salute the soldiers who go without any party or partisan attitude, without any concept or any inhibitions of religious affiliations and who have only gone

with the sole end of keeping the flag flying in this country of ours.

Now, I will go back to the subject, that is, the Discussion on the working of the Ministry of Defence. I agree that we cannot philosophise on a subject like this. What we have to take into consideration is that there is a considerable jump in the budget allocation. Let us, for a moment, view the Armed Forces not as Indian but as an outsider who is going to view our Armed Force as a collective force within the country, The sheer dimension, the magnitude, the manpower that the Armed Forces command in our country, is in itself overbearing when viewed by other people. When you empower a size like this, a force like this, with weapons conventional and non-conventional then we become a force to contend with. When you think of allocating a budget for a large force like this, a budget of roughly about 12,500 crores, it is still the highest defence budget. While we examine the trend, it is 43 per cent higher as compared to the budget estimate of 1986-87. The note-worthy aspect is that it is 20 per cent of the total budget and one-third of the non-developmental expenditure. Now, there is a concern in Parliament as to why we have given such a big budget to the services. Nobody is going to dispute it as such. Is it that we are more aware of the inherent dangers that are surrounding our country or is it that we are preparing our services for a better defence system? There is a parallel that you have to draw. Have we failed in our foreign policy? Are we under increased threat as compared to last year or the year before last? You can visualise the allocation of defence budget in both ways. Then you take up the departmental break-up of the grants for the Ministry of Defence. The national security environment is one thing. Now, what does the national security environment advocate? We have to examine the defence policy. What exactly is the defence policy? What is the task that we are setting for our selves? Does our defence policy re-

quire that we should be in a state of alert? Are we building up our forces against an enemy who makes aggressive gestures towards us? Are we going to purchase even more machinery to keep us up-to-date with conventional and non conventional means of war? Or is there any task that we have set for ourselves as a defence policy? It is not what is accepted on its face value. There has to be some task that has been set for the defence forces by the defence policy makers. You have to examine it in depth and come to a comprehensive conclusion as to what exactly you mean by defence policy and equate that to national security environment. If you don't bring the two together, you cannot draw a comprehensive picture. Then you have organisational functions and defence plans. Now this would draw attention to the planning mechanism and its efficacy. You have what is known as Strategy Planning Group which is headed by the young dynamic Prime Minister who is taking us into the 21st century. If my information is right, they have not met in the past two years. This is despite the inherent threat and the warning systems, the insecurity that is all over the country today saying that we are in a vulnerable position. So, you have to come down to this Operation Brasstacks, not the one we execute on the borders, but to internally strengthen ourselves, to clarify our stands and to drive home the point which would mean planning mechanics of this Organisation's functions and Defence plan, and their efficacy. I, as a citizen of this country, do not want to break the three Forces, the Army, the Navy and the Air Force into three different Forces. They are representing the secular India and the spirit that we are all fighting for. The three Services should be taken into consideration in terms of the manpower, the entire number of people who are collectively working in the three Armed Forces together. And in a war strategy—I repeat, and this is with experience that I speak because I have served in my own lit-

tle way in the Armed Services where we had been there at the evacuating centres when we brought the injured soldiers back and we did not have sufficient supplies to even lift their bodies—I will tell you that no single service can go alone in the event of an attack. The Army, the Navy, and the Air Force cannot operate as a single service individually in their own individual aspects as air cover or water cover or ground cover. You cannot, unless the three are consolidated together. So, let us visualise the three, the Army, the Navy, and the Air Force in sheer strength of manpower and then we will consider the machinery which we are going to equip them with. This is where we come into considering the quality of machinery that we purchase and the training that we give in order to defend us. So, the weapons procurement policy of the Army, the Navy and the Air Force has to be viewed in a joint effort. You do not separate the Navy and talk about the submarines. You do not separate the Air force. You have the war ships which have aircraft landing on them and taking off. It cannot suddenly be bifurcated in the Naval Department itself. And you have your territorial cover which is the Army which will be covering you simultaneously in the event of an attack from any point. Then there is the Department of Defence Production and Supplies. This is one of the largest buyers in this country in sheer amounts of what they do. And I do not just mean weapons. I do not mean tanks, I do not mean aircraft, I do not mean ships, I do not mean submarines. But I mean the day-to-day uniform material, I mean shoes, I mean blankets, I mean medicines, I mean a lot of things which would go towards housing, clothing, feeding, and they are the largest land-owners in this country. So, they are the largest suppliers. And there is the Military Engineering Service, the MES. There are inherent weaknesses within the system, the pitfalls that you do come across, the possibilities of middlemen which have not been eliminated and

[Shrimati Renuka Chowdhury]
no directive has been given regarding that, and the kickbacks which are inevitably kickbacks, and commissions which come when this brings into operation the purchases for the Armed Forces because again qualitative control goes down when there is bargaining for quantity and price control. So, you have to look into this also. These are just humble suggestions made by me as a Member of this House. Then there is the Department of Defence Research and Development to which I would like to draw your attention. During the last six to seven years, we spent Rs. 15,000 crores on defence equipment. In the current year itself we spent Rs. 4,000 crores. Even according to the Government, the indigenous purchase is about 15 to 20 per cent only, and the rest is being purchased from outside. Why is this happening? The allocation that we have given to research and development is still, I am very very sorry to say, very very low. That is hurting us where it should. Because unless you have indigenous discovery, indigenous creativity, you are going to continue with your inter-dependence on other countries which you could well avoid if you did not want to and you would not be subject to being dictated by other countries if you increased your indigenous production. At the same time, you must avoid any horizontal duplication. You have your different centres which are doing research in development in various products and we are not aligning each other on one line to see what is the end product. Sometimes we are duplicating the same effort in different agencies of ours where R. & D is going on and we do not even have enough funds to bring in transfer of technology along with the purchase of weaponry. If we bring in transfer of technology we can convert it into indigenous manufacturing within the country itself.

And, then just one more thing that I would like to emphasise upon, name-

ly, recruitment and training. This is again based on a personal experience. The most shocking, humiliating greatest factor contributing to my insecurity was that two years ago when the recruitment offices were opened, not a single recruit came to attend the armed services recruitment centres. Why? What are you doing from the defence side by means of utilising the media, by means of utilising the Doordarshan as a means to reach out to the youth of this country, women and men irrespective of, to strengthen your country, to strengthen your services of manpower, which is your own raw material, where at least you cannot claim any shortage?

THE MINISTER OF DEFENCE (SHRI K. C. PANT) May I interrupt the Hon. Member and ask where this happened that nobody came forward for any recruitment?

SHRIMATI RENUKA CHOWDHURY: It happened in Hyderabad in your recruitment office there. And, what I am trying to emphasise is that we must publicise. You must make the terms of service requirement more attractive. You must make it the topmost service in the country. Why I am driving this point is because perhaps many Members do not know that there are a lot of people who, when we ask for concessions for service personnel, say why for them only when we have the police personnel and fire service personnel and we have the IAS and the IFS cadres, why not for them also? But none of these cadres are posted at the non-family stations. Members of none of these cadres are on recall duty as long as five years after retirement, with no extra remuneration either from the Central Government or the State Government. And, when a man is working under those conditions, it is not that that man works individually. His family contributes to his working there for the nation. So, it is imperative that you view the armed services as a family unit, not as a soldier, as a single man, going

there. He will not go with his heart set on a job if his family is not well looked after by you. You have to improve his service conditions. What is the point in preventing a service officer from travelling in third class? It is mainly to keep up his morale, to maintain a distinction between an officer and a lower rank. And what is his status after he retires? He gets lesser pension than any peon in any department of the Government. Why did they have to resort to have advisory G.Os. Only Rajasthan and Tamil Nadu have adopted it. There is exemption in municipal taxes, but it is not mandatory in any other State. Why? You make it a Central Act, Make it mandatory, where State Governments are going to exempt at least in the life-time of an officer and his wife. We are not asking for this facility for children... (Time bell rings)

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI H. HANUMANTHAPPA): Please conclude now.

SHRIMATI RENUKA CHOWDHURY: I request you to make it mandatory, whereby you will exclude them from municipal taxes. May be the Centre can reimburse. It is a very sorry state of affairs. The man is the soldier of the country and responsibility of the Central Government as long as he serves, but the moment he retires, he is the responsibility of the State Government. He joins the service as an Indian and he will die as an Indian, and you cannot palm off the responsibility to the State Government. If the State Government does not have the necessary budget allocation, the Centre must reimburse. You must reimburse. You are responsible for the soldier because he lays down his life for the Government and the people of this country.

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE DEPARTMENTS OF YOUTH AFFAIRS AND SPORTS AND WOMEN AND CHILD DEVELOPMENT IN THE MINISTRY OF HUMAN RESOURCE DEVELOPMENT (SHRI-

MATI MARGARET ALVA): Not for the Government, for the country (Interruptions)

SHRI PARVATHANENI UPENDRA: (Andhra Pradesh): She has said it. You have not heard her fully. (Interruptions)

SHRIMATI RENUKA CHOWDHURY: Please do not be so touchy.

Sir, the second thing I would like to refer is, because the officer is serving elsewhere, because they are serving elsewhere, the family is dispersed in different parts of the country. You should give some concessions. I would suggest that at least you should allow the family to travel at half rates to other parts of the country. Do give them concessions so that they can keep their dignity.

The third thing I would like to suggest is, in some sections of the service, we have people retiring at the prime of their age. We are drawing them out of service without giving them any avenue of reemployment. Why are we wasting human resources? Why are we wasting experience? Why are we not making allocation for them to be automatically absorbed in some field where they can be useful, where their valuable experience can be utilised. You have a person at the prime of his age, begging for a job outside. He is absolutely down and out. This directly inhibits your recruitment also. The youth do not want to come forward and join the service when they see the plight of their fathers. A person retires at the prime age of 40 and he is down and out. He is physically fit, mentally alert and he has everything on his finger tips. Yet he is ignored. Sometimes, the wives are forced to take up jobs as house-keepers in some private clubs. I do not look down upon the job of a house-keeper. No. But you should not create an environment which is alien to them. You cannot expect an officer to work

[Shrimati Renuka Chowdhury]

as a Class IV employee. Please keep this in mind.

Now, I come to the NCC. I would suggest that it should be compulsory just like in Europe. Every child must go through one year of military service. By this, you will not only be creating an awareness, but you will also be improving the national moral fibre, something which is very much needed today. I do remember the time when the National Anthem used to be played in the cinema halls and people used to stand in attention. Today, in the name of politics, in the name of parties, the National Flag is being abused. There have been incidents. For example, on 15th August, when the National Flag is being hoisted, a rival party is playing a cinema song next to it only to undo their job. You have to inculcate the spirit of brotherhood or sisterhood and the spirit of Indianness. Therefore, there should be one year of compulsory military service which will go towards enhancing the image of India and the people and there will be the kind of commitment that will come from the youth of our country today. This may be before or after plus two.

Sir, with these words, I conclude. I hope, the hon. Minister will take note of the few suggestions I have made. I thank you for giving me a patient hearing.

SHRI PAWAN KUMAR BANSAL (Punjab): Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, today we find ourselves in a complex phase of our nation's growth and in a security milieu which was never witnessed before. India has always demonstrated greater sensitivity to the security perceptions of our neighbours and has tried to promote friendly relations with them. We have remained committed to the principles of peaceful co-existence and good neighbourliness. Unfortunately, we have not received a similar response. The revanchist military rulers of Pakistan, conscious of their in-

herent weaknesses, have been constantly feeding their people on the bogey of a threat from India. Also, they have accelerated the rate of acquisition of sophisticated weapons going much beyond their *bona fide* needs. The merchants of war in the United States continue to supply modern military arsenal including Abraham tanks and F-16 aircraft completely ignoring the fact that Pakistan has claimed the capacity to produce nuclear bomb at will. The decision to supply Airborne Warning and Control Systems adds another serious dimension to our security environment.

With such a command post in the sky Pakistan's military apparatus would again a definite technological advantage because more than being a defensive system the Airborne Warning System is a force-multiples which can enhance the planes' fighting capability several times and it is actually meant to guide air attacks. During peace time also, by photo-reconnaissance large stretches of land and air along Indo-Pak border could be kept under surveillance.

Sir, there are also disturbing reports that Pakistan has ordered the laser-guided bombing fire control system for F-16 aircraft. Today the United States-Pakistan-China axis poses a veritable threat to our security. The role of U.S. has to be viewed in the historical perspective. After the Second World War, when the colonial powers lost control over the Indian Ocean the United States donned the imperial mantle. Diego Garcia was acquired and converted into a military base. All such bases were upgraded with the introduction of nuclear missiles and formidable submarines, long-range bombers and sophisticated arsenal of mass destruction. Diego Garcia could well serve as a spring board for action of 4 lakh strong U.S. Rapid Deployment Force to intervene on behalf of Pakistan.

Sir, as a part of the U.S. strategy and desire to preserve the colonial system of international relations, the emergence of a new defence ring around Indian peninsula is being encouraged. Pakistan meets the geo-strategic demands of USA and dances to the tune of Uncle Sam in abetting terrorist activities that have played havoc in Punjab. In Sri Lanka there is the genocide of innocent Tamil civilians which throws up manifold problems for us. Also the presence and activities of various extra-regional powers there adversely affect our security environment.

Dhaka is completely oblivious of the duties of a good neighbour and the influx of persecuted tribals and others from here has created varied problems here.

Sir, after the loss of power and influence in West Asia the United States is working for an alliance against India because it is India which does not fit in well with their perceptions of world situation while our economic development and efforts to transform our society and build a strong nation clash with their imperialist designs. On the other hand, China reckless to become a world power has once again adopted a hostile attitude. Its intrusion into the Sumdorong Chu Valley, its totally uncalled for protests over the grant of statehood to Arunachal Pradesh which is purely our internal matter and its questioning the validity of Mc Mahon Line, all emit clear signals of its expansionist policies. These moves and the large deployments across the border and induction of nuclear-tipped missiles in Tibet have vitiated the atmosphere of peace and tranquillity along the North-Eastern border. To weaken India, the Karakoram Highway has been opened and there is a distinct possibility of the Chinese weapons also going to Pakistan. All these developments pose a serious threat to the territorial integrity and sovereignty of India. There is a consistent effort to destabilise

India and shatter its unity and integrity. Defence being the primary concern, we cannot afford to be complacent in an environment where forces of destruction view with contempt our peace initiatives which the world at large acknowledges with admiration.

In this situation, Sir, I fail to understand the Opposition's criticism against an enhanced budget allocation for defence this year. An allocation of Rs. 12,512 crores this year as against Rs. 10,194 crores of the last year's revised estimates is by no means exorbitant. The budget estimates for 1987-88 for defence constitute 19.8 per cent of the total Union Budget, as against an average of 23.7 per cent during the last 36 years, and paradoxically, at 1970-71 prices, it comes to only 3020 crores of rupees.

Sir, India has 15.7 per cent of the world's population, but our defence expenditure is just .88 per cent of the world's military expenditure. The per capita defence expenditure of India, as per the 1985-86 military balance, was Rs. 110 while that of Pakistan was Rs. 270. This only shows that the objections raised over the increase in defence allocation are most preposterous. I do not understand how some senior leaders of the Opposition justify their stand, particularly when they also — and I think rightly so — call for the production of nuclear bomb.

Though inherently peace-loving people, with a leadership that has made a major contribution in promoting world peace, we do not compromise on the question of defence. With all our might, we have defended the integrity of our Motherland whenever it was challenged and threatened in the past. It is nearing to observe that the Government has formulated a defence policy based on our core national objectives and on a clear perception of our national interests. With large scale acquisition of arms and heavy military build-ups by Pakistan and

[Shri Pawan Kumar Bansal]

China, we have rightly increased emphasis on modernisation of armed forces. Indigenous production has also received the requisite thrust. To meet the long-term demands, it is necessary to strengthen the defence research and development and it obviously calls for still bigger allocation.

Sir, during the last fortnight or so, controversies over two defence deals have dominated the scene. I would not like to take much time of this hon. House to recapitulate the details again. But since a reference to them was again made here, I would crave your indulgence to advert to an important aspect emerging therefrom. In a democracy it is the right and even the duty of the Opposition to condemn the Government on its failings. But in these cases, I most humbly submit that even the Opposition has been taken for a ride by those scheming forces who do not wish us well. I do not for a moment doubt the motives of any hon. Member who may have even used strong words while participating in the two debates earlier. But I do beseech all to give a dispassionate consideration to the issues involved.

We must remember that the defence of the country involves defence against the physical attack, that is, armed aggression as well as defence against a psychological attack against our polity, against our very system which we all cherish irrespective of the party affiliations. The first being an open and a direct one, is immediately felt and met. The second one is more subtle and systematic and can do more harm. It is against such an attack that we have to guard ourselves more. To impede the process of modernization of our Armed Forces, to thwart our efforts to raise the socio-economic standards of our people, to deter us from pursuing our basic policies and to contain our widening influence amongst

the third world countries with whom we make common cause on matters of global importance, the hostile powers angle and intrigue to create a situation that has the potential of raising a crisis and bring the entire system under pressure. It is in such circumstances that a gentleman comes here from Hong Kong, files a short but mischievous story alleging the payment of a commission in a defence deal, this news is beamed back to a people who cherish moral values more than bread and a storm is raised, bringing to a standstill the normal functioning of the highest legislative forum of the land. A brilliant and calculated move is successfully made to control all our political activity. For two weeks Parliament, the media and the people are busy discussing this. We seek no corroboration, we don't ponder over the possibility of any mischief and rush to pass judgment against the Government, the Government which, on occasions, has reiterated its commitment to cleansing public life and to bring to book any person found guilty of any economic offence whatsoever.

Sir, it is such hasty responses which emanate from the psychological attack I just mentioned about, which sometimes inflict an injury far more serious and grave than that of an actual aggression. For instance, doubts arising from a news report based on a misinterpretation of the Prime Minister's speech to the Army Commanders the other day were clarified beyond a shadow of doubt yesterday by the Prime Minister himself, but the Opposition harps on the issue. Surprisingly, the Janata Party President refuses to see reason and rushes to accuse the Prime Minister of what he calls,— propensity for telling the untruth. He accuses the Prime Minister of demoralizing the Army and acting in an anti-national manner. Amazingly, he goes on to say that the Swedish Prime Minister had confirmed the

involvement of middlemen in the Bofors deal. It is this, Sir, which causes us concern. If this is how we treat sensitive matters, I do not know what is the moral authority which the conscience keepers of the nation like Shri Chandra Shekhar keep harping upon it. It would like to ask who has tried to create an atmosphere...

SHRI N. E. BALARAM (Kerala): Point of order, Mr. Chandra Shekhar is not in the House. He is the President of a party... (*interruptions*) ...Is it proper on the part of the honourable Member to refer to him in a condemning language in his speech?

SHRI G. SWAMINATHAN (Tamil Nadu): I also stand on a point of order on the same thing raised by the honourable Member. Mr. Chandra Shekhar is the leader of a political party and we have got every right to mention the leader of a political party. He is President of a political party. We have every right to take his name.

SHRI PAWAN KUMAR BANSAL: I repeat to ask

SHRI M. A. BABY: We expect a ruling from you.

SHRI N. E. BALARAM: We can say, "President of such and such a party".

SHRI M. A. BABY: Without giving a ruling you are allowing the Member to speak.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI H. HANUMANTHAPPA): You could have waited. Mr. Bansal, you can mention as President of the party, and not the name.

SHRI PAWAN KUMAR BANSAL: Sir, I repeat to ask who has tried to create the atmosphere of crisis here. It does call for an honest introspection so that we do not dissipate our energies on non-issues.

It is high time that we see through the nefarious game of the imperialist powers and confine our political activity to the real issues at hand. We must refuse to be unwillingly used by hostile powers as mere pawns in their game to destabilise us. That is my request, that is my entreaty to the leaders of the Opposition.

Sir, any discussion on Defence would not be complete and fair if we do not gratefully acknowledge the selfless services rendered by the jawans and officers of the armed forces. They have fought valiantly in the past to defend our freedom, they have gladly laid down their lives so that India lives and braving the vagaries of nature they have maintained a constant vigil on our borders so that we carry on our daily lives unhindered. The country is proud of the serving personnel and the ex-servicemen. But we must express our appreciation by improving their service conditions and by stepping up the programmes for their re-employment and for other welfare measures.

To the personnel of the Coast Guard Organisation also we owe our thanks for guarding and protecting the maritime and other national interests in the maritime zone.

Finally, I would also like to join with, and share the sentiments of, other hon. Members when they said that to inculcate a spirit of sacrifice and to infuse in them the sense of discipline we must make it compulsory for the youngsters to take to the NCC. Thank you.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI H. HANUMANTHAPPA): Shri Kailash Pati Mishra.

[THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI PAWAN KUMAR BANSAL) IN THE CHAIR]

श्री कौलश पति मिश्र (बिहार) :
 उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, आजादी के काल

में देश तीन बार युद्ध का सामना कर चुका है। उसका अनुभव लेकर 40 वर्षों के बाद आज इस वर्ष के लिए हम सुरक्षा व्यय का आंकड़ा लेकर उपस्थित हैं। देश की सुरक्षा न केवल सत्ताधारी दल की जिम्मेदार है और न ही विरोधी दल का अकेली जिम्मेदारी है, सत्ताधारी दल और विरोधी दल सब के लिए सुरक्षा एक है। मैं कहना चाहूंगा कि पूरे भारत की जनता के लिए सुरक्षा एक है। जब सुरक्षा की चर्चा करते हैं तो उसके साथ कुछ न कुछ बात आकर खड़ी हो जाती है। जब बजट लेकर खड़े होते हैं तो हमें ठोस परिस्थितियों के आंकलन का अनुमान लेकर चलना पड़ता है। पहला बिन्दु है कि सीमाओं की हमारी स्थिति कैसी है? कौन-कौन से खतरे हमको दिखाई दे रहे हैं? दूसरा बिन्दु है कि कौन-कौन सी सीमा के बाहर बैठी हुई शक्ति अपने देश को कभी भी संकट में डाल सकती है? उसकी क्षमता क्या है? उसकी ताकत क्या है? इन दोनों का ध्यान में रखें ताकि अगर देश संकट में उलझे तो हम निपटने के लिए अपनी तैयारी और अपनी क्षमता कितनी बनाकर रखें। इसी के साथ संकट के दिनों में फंसने के बाद भी और पहले तैयारी के समय में भी राष्ट्र का मनोबल कैसा है, नेतृत्व पर विश्वास कितना है मेरे ट्रेजरी बैंक के साथी क्षमा करेंगे, मैं आक्षेप नहीं करना चाहता हूँ।

4.00 P.M.

महोदय, जब सीमाओं पर आंख जाती है तो दिखाई देता है कि 40 वर्ष बाद भी भारत की सीमा इस समय संकट में जितनी फंसी हुई है, इससे पहले देश के ऊपर इतना संकट पहले कभी नहीं था। सिर के ऊपर चीन बैठा हुआ है। चीन ने हमारी सीमा रेखा, मैकमोहन रेखा को मानने से इकार कर दिया है, उसे वह अमान्य कर चुका है। गलत नक्शे प्रकाशित करके दुनियां में वितरित कर रहा है। हाल ही में हमारे प्रदेश के अंदर सीमा के भीतर अरुणाचल में चीन की फौजें आकर बैठी हुई हैं। इतना

ही नहीं घाटी के अंदर उसने हेलीपैड बना लिया है और अब वहां चीन की फौज के हेलीकोप्टर आते जाते हैं।

महोदय, पाकिस्तान की चर्चा बहुत हो रही है। पाकिस्तान की मंशा के बारे में मैं बाद में बोलूंगा। लेकिन ढाका भी हमारे लिए संकट बना हुआ है। अभी मैं पूर्वी सीमा की ओर गया था घूमने के लिए। चिटगांव पहाड़ी के अंदर भारत की सीमा में 80 हजार की संख्या में चकमा जो इधर-बौद्ध है। उधर भटक रहे हैं। आज की स्थिति में 56 हजार सरकारी शिविरों में वे निवास कर रहे हैं। लगभग 30 हजार इधर उधर दिखाई दे रहे हैं। त्रिपुरा से सटे हुए चिटगांव के इलाके की 120 किलोमीटर सीमा जो कि पहले आवादी से खाली थी, आज वह भरी हुई है। उनके सिर के ऊपर चिटगांव की पहाड़ियों में लगभग 42 हजार बंगला देश के मुसलमानों को बंगला देश की सरकार बसा रही है। चकमाओं ने बता दिया है कि हम प्राण गंवाने के लिए बंगला देश जाने के लिए तैयार नहीं है।

महोदय, दक्षिण की तरफ जब हम आते हैं तो श्रीलंका की अवस्था यह है कि वहां पर तमिल मूल के निवासियों की सामूहिक हत्या हो रही है। जड़ से उनका उन्मूलन हो रहा है। हम जब कभी विचार करते हैं तो सबसे पहले हमारे सामने हिन्द महासागर का विशाल क्षेत्र दिखाई देता है। वैसे वह हमारा सागर है, लेकिन दुनियां की जितनी भी महाशक्तियां हैं, सबके बड़े आज हमको हिन्द महासागर में दिखाई दे रहे हैं। मैं मंत्री महोदय से आग्रह करूंगा कि हिन्द महासागर के अंदर हमारे सामुद्रिक बंड की अवस्था क्या है, किन-किन देशों का सामना हम करने के लिए तैयार हैं, कृपया बताएं।

महोदय, आज चीन परमाणु बम बना चुका है। परमाणु शक्ति वाला चीन भारत की सीमा में घुस रहा है। पाकिस्तान को शक्ति देने वाला अमरीका भी परमाणु बम लेकर बैठा हुआ है।

पाकिस्तान स्वयं परमाणु बम बना चुका है या बना रहा है। ट्रेजरी बेच के एक सदस्य ने भी अभी बताया कि आधुनिकतम शस्त्रास्त्रों जो आज अमीका के साथ में हैं उससे पाकिस्तान को भी यह अभिमान है, गर्व है कि जब कभी भी उसकी आवश्यकता होगी तो वे पाकिस्तान के हाथ में दिखाई देंगे। मैं भारत सरकार से सीधे सवाल पूछना चाहता हूँ कि चीन के पास एटम बम है, चीन हमारे सिर पर बंटा है। पाकिस्तान के हाथ में न्यूक्लियर बम है, पाकिस्तान की पीठ पर खड़े होकर अमीका भारत सरकार और देश के मनोबल को गिराए रखना चाहता है तो चारों तरफ जब हम परमाणु शक्तियों से घिरे हुए हैं तो आप खुलकर अपनी नीति प्रकट करें कि परमाणु बम बनाने के लिए क्या हम तैयार हैं? मुझे कोई संकोच नहीं है न अपने व्यक्तिगत तौर से न अपने दल को और से कि दुनिया में अगर भारत शान्ति स्थापित करना चाहता है तो यह जो भारतवर्ष का क्षेत्र है यहाँ अगर शान्ति रहेगी तो विश्व में शान्ति रहेगी और यहाँ अगर शान्ति समाप्त हो गयी तो हम सारे दुनिया में अशान्ति स्थापित करने का कारण बनेंगे। लेकिन याद रखें कि शान्ति केवल तत्वज्ञान से नहीं आती है। दुनिया में दो प्रकार के लोग रहते हैं। भारतीय मनीषियों ने कहा था कि एक हाथ में शस्त्र चाहिए। दूसरे हाथ में डंडा भी चाहिए। भारत के सन्यासियों के एक हाथ में दर्शन रहता है और दूसरे हाथ में डंडा दिखाई देता है। दुनिया में दरिदे भी हैं। वे तत्वज्ञान के दर्शन को कभी नहीं मानते। वे केवल शस्त्र समझते हैं। वे शक्ति की परिभाषा समझते हैं। इसलिए भारत को खुल कर इस बारे में विचार प्रकट करना चाहिए और भारत को इसके लिए प्रयत्न करना चाहिए—भारत परमाणु बम बनाए। मेरी राय छोड़ दीजिए। लेकिन मैं मंत्री मशूदय से कहना चाहता हूँ कि इस अवसर पर वह खुल कर विचार प्रकट करें कि देश की नीति इस सम्बन्ध में क्या हो रही है। मैं किसी के मनोबल को गिराने की बात नहीं कर रहा हूँ। लेकिन चाहता हूँ कि सरकार इस पर

अपने विचार स्पष्ट करे। हमारे यहाँ जो पैसे खर्च हो रहे हैं, मैं तो कहता हूँ कि देश की सुरक्षा के लिए चाहे जितना पैसा खर्च करे देश उसके लिए कभी इन्कार नहीं कर सकता। अगर देश की सुरक्षा रहेगी तो देश विकास कर सकेगा। अगर देश संकट में फँस गया तो देश को सारी तरक्की बर्बाद हो जायेगी। हम 12512 करोड़ रुपये इसके लिए खर्च कर रहे हैं इसकी चिन्ता हम को नहीं है। इतनी बड़ी राशि खर्च करने में हमारी सुरक्षा की निश्चिन्ता कितनी बड़ी है जरा हम इसके बारे में अवश्य जानना चाहते हैं। एक सवाल पूछना चाहता हूँ कि लाइट कम्पैक्ट एयरक्राफ्ट जो हैं युद्ध में आजकल इनकी बड़ी आवश्यकता पड़ती है। इसके इंजन अभी तक हम अपने यहाँ क्यों नहीं बना सके? एक रिपोर्ट पढ़ रहा था। इसमें दिया हुआ है कि जो मेंगुरियन टैंक्स हैं इनके लिए रेडिफाटिंग की व्यवस्था हम अपने यहाँ कर लें तो 300 मेंगुरियन टैंक्स हमारे आधुनिकतम उठाएँ में आ सकते हैं। लेकिन लगता है कि हमने उनका कुछ नहीं किया और कवाड़ी में उनको बेच दिया गया।... (समय की घंटी) मैं थोड़ा ही बोला हूँ थोड़ा सा टाइम और दे दीजिए।

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री पवन कुमार बांसल)
संक्षेप में कहिये।

श्री कैलाश पति मिश्र : इटैलीजेंस के बारे में जो कहा गया है उसे जरा मंत्री मशूदय स्पष्ट करने की कृपा करें। यह "हिन्दुस्तान टाइम्स" 29 दिसम्बर, 1986 का है।

"Indian Army after independence" written by noted Indian Army historian late Major K. C. Praval: "In the Indian Army poor intelligence was one of the problems. There was hardly any intelligence organisation within the theatre."

मशूदय, मैं एक बात और विवेक करना चाहूंगा। कुछ मित्रों ने कहा भी है कि जो एक्स सविनमैन हैं उनके साथ सजनुच न्याय नहीं हो रहा है। अगर 1948 में कोई रिटायर कर गया बड़ा पदाधिकारी उसकी पेंशन, आज जो उसी श्रेणी का

[श्री कैलाशपति मिश्र]

या उससे नीचे का पदाधिकारी रिटायर कर रहा है इसकी पेंशन ज्यादा है। मैं आप्रह करूंगा कि वन बैंक वन पे पर विचार किया जाये। दूसरे यह कहना चाहता है कि जो रिटायर कर जाते हैं उनको रिटैबिलिटी कराने के लिए राज्यों के ऊपर छोड़ दिया जाता है। इसमें होता यह है कि बिहार एक नियम बनाता है, उत्तर प्रदेश दूसरा नियम बनाता है, राजस्थान तीसरा नियम बनाता है और गुजरात चौथा नियम बनाता है। कई जगह वे अधिक संकट में फंस जाते हैं। मैंने स्वयं एक रिटायर सैनिक को जमीन देने के संबंध में बिहार सरकार को अनेक पत्र लिखे, लेकिन फिर भी वह काम नहीं हुआ। मैं यह कहना चाहता हूं कि इस जिम्मेवारी को केन्द्रीय सरकार अपने ऊपर ले। इस संबंध में कोई केन्द्रीय अधिनियम होना चाहिए। इसके लिए केन्द्रीय सरकार को अधिनियम बनाना चाहिए और अपने ऊपर इनकी जिम्मेवारी लेनी चाहिए।

अन्त में मैं एक बात का उल्लेख और करना चाहता हूं। मैंने कहा था कि देश की सुरक्षा के लिए नेतृत्व में विश्वास की आवश्यकता होती है। यहां बार-बार हमारे ट्रेजरी बैज के मित्त उठते हैं और बोलते चले जाते हैं, लेकिन हमारी समझ में नहीं आता है कि वे किस तरह की बातें कर रहे हैं। मैं सीधा-सा-सवाल पूछना चाहता हूं कि क्या फेयर-फेक्स का मामला या उसके इन्वेस्टिगेशन का मामला विरोधी दलों ने उठाया था? केन्द्र के एक मंत्री श्री विश्वनाथ प्रताप सिंह ने सबमेरिन की जांच का आदेश दिया। यह मामला भी विरोधी दलों ने नहीं उठाया... (व्यवधान)। आपने फेयर-फेक्स का मामला एक तरफ रख दिया और एक दूसरी जांच शुरू करवा दी। इसी सदन के अन्दर अनेक बार प्रश्न उठाया गया है कि टर्म्स आफ रेफरेन्स जो रखी गई हैं उसमें उद्देश्य पूर्ण नहीं होता है। भारत की जनता इस बात की मांग कर रही है कि दुनिया में विदेशी बैंकों में भारतीयों का जो पैसा पड़ा हुआ है उसकी जांच करने के लिए

[श्री कैलाश पति मिश्र]

इस जांच कमेटी के टर्म्स आफ रेफरेन्स को बढ़ाया जाय। स्वीस बैंक में, हांगकांग बैंक में, किस भारतीय का कितना पैसा जमा पड़ा है, इसकी भी जांच होनी चाहिए। श्री विश्वनाथ प्रताप सिंह जी ने जांच बैठाई है। कल परसों जो चर्चा हुई और स्वीस रेडियो और हिन्दु अखबार में जो कुछ प्रकाशित हुआ उसके बारे में कहा गया कि गलतफहमी के कारण प्रकाशित हुआ। स्वयं प्रधान मंत्री जी ने इस सदन में कहा था कि उन्होंने जो प्रेस स्टेटमेंट दिया था उसी के कारण भ्रम पैदा हुआ था... (व्यवधान)।

ठाकूर जगतपाल सिंह (मध्य प्रदेश) : प्रेस वाले गलत छापें हैं तो आप उसके लिए हमें क्यों दोष देते हैं ?

श्री कैलाश पति मिश्र : गलतफहमी पैदा हुई है। आप यहां पर बार-बार दुहाई देते हैं कि कोई बिचोलिया नहीं था। आप यह क्या तर्क दे रहे हैं। पहले के स्वीडिश प्रधान मंत्री मर गये। भारत के प्रधान मंत्री की स्वीडन के प्रधान मंत्री से बात हुई थी। बीच में कोई नहीं था। अगर मैं एक आरोप लगाऊं कि बीच में बिचोलिये की क्या आवश्यकता है? बात तो गई। स्वीस बैंक में किसी का एकाउन्ट पड़ा है। सीधे स्वीस बैंक में पैसा जमा हो गया। इसके लिए बिचोलिये की क्या आवश्यकता है? इससे काम नहीं चलेगा। अगर आप ईमानदारी साबित करना चाहते हैं, देश के अन्दर विश्वास का प्रमाण देना चाहते हैं तो मेरी समझ में नहीं आता कि एक छोटी-सी और सीधी बात के लिए आप पार्लियामेंट की कमेटी या सब-कमेटी क्यों नहीं नियुक्त करते हैं? शायद उसमें आपके ही लोग ज्यादा होंगे, विरोधी दलों के लोग कम होंगे। इस मांग को अस्वीकार करके, इससे इंकार करके आप दस क्लॉबाजियां करते रहेंगे तो याद रखिये कि एक अनपढ़ भारतीय के दिमाग में आप विश्वास पैदा नहीं कर पाएंगे। वह समझेगा कि यह सरकार भ्रष्टाचार में पड़ी हुई है। जब तक आप इन बातों की भी जांच

नहीं करेंगे उसके मन में आपकी ईमानदारी का विश्वास नहीं जमेगा। इसलिए आपके ही कल्याण के लिए यह आवश्यक है कि आप इसके लिए पार्लियामेंट की एक कमेटी बनायें ताकि वह पूरी चीजों की जांच करे। इसमें आपका भी कल्याण है और देश का भी कल्याण है। आप दस कलाबाजियां दिखाते रहेंगे तो इससे देश में असंतोष बढ़ेगा, इस बात को आप ध्यान में रखिये। इस प्रकार से मैंने सुरक्षा के सबंध में जो कुछ भी कहा है, मैं आशा करता हू कि माननीय मंत्री जी उन बातों का उत्तर देंगे। इन शब्दों के साथ आपने मुझे बोलने के लिए जो समय दिया है उसके लिए धन्यवाद देता हू।

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI AWAN KUMAR BANSAL): Now, Mr. Vithalrao Jadhav,

SHRI VITHALRAO MADHAVRAO ADHAV (Maharashtra): Mr. Vice-chairman, Sir, I rise to support the working of the Ministry of Defence of the Government of India and through you, Sir, I would like to convey my hearty congratulations to all the Defence forces, to the three wings, namely, Army, Navy and Air Force, who are rendering an outstanding service for the cause of security of the nation for decades together. Except for the small debacle in the year 1962, the morale and the standard of our Army, Navy and Air Force have been quite high in the whole world.

Sir, India is a big country and it is a subcontinent. India is the only country in the world which is following an independent foreign policy and an independent defence policy by adopting the policy of non-alignment because to have a secular democracy and to secure freedom, one must have an independent foreign policy and one must have an independent defence policy and also a strong defence organisation. At the time of India's Independence, the late Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru said:

"The only possible and real objective that we have in common with the other nations is the objective of co-operating in building some kind of a world structure, call it one world. If we think of that structure and if we think of our co-operation with the other countries in achieving it, where does the question come that we are tied up with this group of nations or that group?"

India always stood for independence, not only for its independence, but for the independence of the human race and the entire world. It is clear from this example. Just two years ago or so, there was a conference of 103 nations in New Delhi which was presided over by the late Prime Minister, Shrimati Indira Gandhi, and all these 163 nations independently raised their voices for freedom and social justice. If you want to make a country strong, you must have a strong defence organisation. Sir, till this year, our Defence budget was quite meagre. When our population is so large our resources are also very large. But our Defence budget has gone up this year from Rs. 8,728 crores to Rs. 12,500 crores, and this has become the topic of discussion not only in India, but also outside India. The capitalist countries are afraid that India is increasing its defence expenditure. At the time of our Independence, the capitalist countries, especially the United States, U.K. and France thought that like the Latin American countries we would become the economic slaves of those countries. But India did not become their economic slave, but formulated an independent foreign policy and an independent defence policy.

Now, Sir, in the Budget for 1987-88, presented by the Prime Minister himself to Parliament on the last day of February this year, he has made a massive increase in the Defence expenditure and it is expected

[Shri Vithalrao Madhavrao Jadhav] to go up from Rs. 10,194 crores for the year 1986-87 to Rs. 12,512 crores for 1987-88. In terms of percentage, the increase is more than 22 per cent. If we take into account the budget for 1987-88, we will find that originally it was Rs. 8,728 crores and now it will be 40 per cent more in the year 1987-88, and perhaps the defence spending will come to 17 per cent of the total Government expenditure and 32 per cent of the non-developmental expenditure of the Central Government. It will work out to more than 3.5 per cent of GDP of the country. It is not very surprising because the most advanced country in the world, that is, the United States of America, to whom there is no danger from any corner, is spending about 187 billion dollars on its defence and it is three times that of the Indian Budget. For what are they spending so much? They are spending this much amount only to create terrorism in the international arena and to bring the democracies, several democracies in the world, into danger and that is the main intention of the United States of America. While we are thinking of making India strong and independent from the point of view of defence, we are engulfed in danger from the surrounding countries. You take the example of Pakistan. My friend, Mr. Kalmadi, has stated so many things on this and my other friends also have given much information and I am not going into all those details just now. But the thing is that when we are discussing the defence policy of Pt. Jawaharlal, one may recall that Jawaharlal Nehru was very emphatic about keeping defence production in the public sector because he believed that many in Europe were interested in selling their products to certain buyers so that they could corner huge profits. Once the defence production was taken out of the Schedule of the Industrial Policy Resolution, there would be far-reaching changes in the Government's political policy and

the character of the State will also be sharply affected.

Likewise I would like to appeal to our Government. Our Government did not depart from that policy. If they had departed from that policy and defence production goes to the private sector, it will create the same situation that is in America. The private war machinery manufacturers will always find ways to get their profits from any corner of the world. They will create unstable situation in other countries. So from that point of view India did not adopt that direction in respect of defence. And I hope our Government will also take that line while thinking about defence production.

Sir, it is wrong to state that. Recently, for the last 15 days or one month, so many fabricated episodes have been coming out of the newspapers in cooperation with Opposition parties. There was a lot of discussion on things which did not exist at all. We have wasted a lot of time. India is trying its level best to have regional cooperation. We participated in the SAARC summit and India has given a lot of encouragement for that. We have tried our level best to sort out differences with Pakistan on the basis of the Simla Agreement. Even when President Zia was here to witness the cricket match the Prime Minister suggested to him for the Joint Commission to meet early.

Sir, we cannot set aside the nuclear threat which is coming up. In one of the newspapers a cartoon has come. In that cartoon it has been written that Pakistan has become the 51st nation state. Like that it was the cartoon. That means, our neighbours, people of our origin, of our race, due to religious fanaticism, have gone to some other capitalist force. On the basis of hate-India campaign they are going in the wrong direction. They are manufacturing their own nuclear bomb.

Sir, our hon. Defence Minister has said in the Lok Sabha that we will have to do something. Sir, when are we going to have that 'something'? Our friends said that we are having 15 per cent of the world population in India. India is the only democratic country in the world. Our democracy is neither affected by capitalism nor by socialism. Our democracy is totally dependent upon the urges, upon the expectations, of the poor masses of this country. Our democracy is independent democracy and that is why it is a real threat to the capitalist world. And that is why they have more hatred for India. That is the thing.

From that point of view we must have our own nuclear bomb, I must say. Now Pakistan is having a nuclear bomb. It might have prepared one nuclear bomb. The United States is having another ally in Israel. At one angle there is Pakistan; at the other extreme there is Israel which is having about 200 nuclear arsenals at their disposal. And we cannot forget China also. It has not tried to become the third largest power. But as far as the defence is concerned, it is today the third power. We are not having very friendly and very cordial relations with China. So there is no other option for India, though always India has stood for the security of the entire human race of the world. We must go nuclear once for all. We must have our own weaponry. We must not depend upon others for our help. Soviet Union has helped us all the time.

We have to take note of what is happening in our neighbourhood, i.e. Sri Lanka. The Tamils are killed brutally. We cannot look towards that problem as a third party because it is very much the concern of India.

Now, take Indian Ocean. It has to be a zone of peace. The U. N. General Assembly has passed a Resolution in the last session for convening a conference on the Indian Ocean as a zone of peace not later than 1988.

There is a U. N. *ad hoc* Committee on the Indian Ocean of which India is a member to complete all preparatory work in regard to this conference by the end of 1987. This Committee met at the end of March, 1987. The conference will be meaningful when great powers participate in it. That is the stand of our Prime Minister.

Coming to defence, we know that the aid given by the United States to Pakistan recently comes to 4.2 billion dollars. It is package deal. Sophisticated AWACS have been given. The U. S. Strategic Committee which is generally vociferous on nuclear proliferation, has decided to keep a relatively low profile in this respect since it seems to have fallen for the view articulated by General Eriah of the Central Command Force before the House of Representatives. Sub-Committee on Asia Pacific Affairs that a Pakistan Bomb will act as a deterrent against the Soviet Union. By Pakistan going nuclear, the Islamic world will feel satisfied. Israel is having 200 nuclear arsenals. The South-West Asian countries area is known as the most unstable area in the world. The Iran-Iraq war is now in the seventh year. The Afghan insurgency is in the 8th year. Arab-Israeli conflict is in the 40th year. The sectarian conflict in Lebanon has been raging for more than a decade. The Khurd'sh insurgency encompassing three nations, i.e. Iran, Iraq and Trukey, goes back to the 20's. This is an area of deep civilizational conflict on one side, Jewish-Muslim conflict on the other side and Semitic-Aryan conflict. Then, it is the conflict between Islam and Christianity. These are the conditions in this sub-continent. Late Mr. Bhutto said that Pakistan would wage a thousand-year war with India. General Zia-ul-Haq did not make that statement. But he has the same dream to have a war with India for 1000 years. Pakistan's nuclear scientist, while talking to Mr. Kuldip

[Shri Vithalrao Madhavrao Jadhav]

Nayyar, said: Pakistan has a bomb. Pakistan has no quarrel with Israel. Where is the quarrel? They say that there is no quarrel with the Soviet Un.on. Where is the quarrel? The quarrel is with India. They are very sensitive. The partition was a great mistake. In 1971, under the dynamic leadership of Madam Indira Gandhi, Pakistan was divided into two countries and Bangladesh was separated from Pakistan. That has been the great worry of General Zia-ul-Haq. He wants to destabilise India. Terrorism in Punjab and in some other parts of the country is the direct effect of that. Therefore, India should be very vigilant. They have to safe guard against this danger.

Looking towards the Indian Ocean, the U.S.A. is having 440,000 rapid deployment forces. Out of that, 60,000 R.D.F. are planted in the Indian Ocean. Their main base is Diego Garcia. They have a programme to destabilise several nations. If you try to find out, you will come to know that Lebanon in Sri Lanka and in so many South-West Asian countries, they are playing this role and they are making their democracies unstable. So, from that point of view, India requires to play a very dominant role, and they must give a very positive answer to this possible threat from the capitalist world. Sir, the Soviet Union is very friendly with us. Not only that. The Soviet leader, Mr. Gorbachev, has put forward several times the five important proposals for peace and an international security system, but Mr. Regan has not responded.

Sir, as you have rung the bell, I would like to appeal through you to our hon. Defence Minister that we must not keep quiet, we must have our own Research and Development Wing. Of course, borrowing the technology from other countries is a temporary answer to all our questions. But we must have our own

technology. We are having the largest scientific force in our country. As we have seen in our Science and Technology Report, we have about 20 lakh scientist in our country. They are capable of doing anything, any type of research that is being done in any corner of the world. From that point of view, I fully endorse my support to the working of the Defence Ministry. And I wholeheartedly support the Defence Minister and he must go ahead with all types of weapons, including nuclear weapons which are required for the security of India.

Thank you, Sir.

श्री वीरेन्द्र शर्मा (उत्तर प्रदेश) : माननीय उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, भारत ने सदब संसार में शांति और निरस्त्रीकरण का प्रचार-प्रसार और प्रयास किया है, और आज तक कभी भी भारत ने संसार के किसी भी देश पर हमला नहीं किया। वह शांति चाहता है, शांति के लिए प्रयत्नशील है। भारत के ऊपर ही चीन और पाकिस्तान ने पांच बार हमले किये हैं। सन् 1962 ई० से पूर्व तत्कालीन प्रधान मंत्री, श्रेष्ठ जवाहरलाल नेहरू जी ने चाऊ-एन-लाई के साथ पंचशील के सिद्धांत पर हस्ताक्षर किये थे। दोनों देशों में बहुत बड़ी मित्रता दिखलाई देती थी, हिंदी-चीनी भाई-भाई के नारे भी लगते थे। किन्तु सन् 1962 में धोखा देकर चीन ने भारत पर आक्रमण किया। भारत क्योंकि लड़ना नहीं चाहता था, शांतिप्रिय देश है, इसलिए अपनी सुरक्षा के लिए भी उसने कोई व्यवस्था नहीं की हुई थी।

नतीजा उसका यह हुआ कि चीन ने धोखे से आक्रमण कर भारत के 90 हजार स्क्वैर मील से भी अधिक क्षेत्र पर नाजायज कब्जा कर लिया। मान्यवर, यह कब्जा तब किया है जबकि हिंदुस्तान ने चीन के साथ हिंदी-चीनी भाई-भाई के ही नहीं, बल्कि संयुक्त राष्ट्र संघ में सदस्य चीन को सदस्य बनाये जाने का प्रयास किया, पैरवी की, सुरक्षा परिषद् में चीन रखा जाए ताईवान की जगह,

इसका प्रयास किया और तिब्बत जो अंग्रेज ने बहुत चतुराई से एक बफर स्टेट बनाई हुई थी, इंडिया और चीन के बीच जवाहरलाल जी ने वह तिब्बत भी चीन के सुपुर्द कर दिया। यह सब कुछ होते हुए इतना बड़ा धोखा चीन ने हिन्दुस्तान के साथ किया और लगातार इन पच्चीस वर्षों में पांच सात दफा बातें भी आपस में हो चुकीं, लेकिन एक इंच भी जमीन चीन देने के लिए तैयार नहीं है। अरुणाचल प्रदेश में कुछ भाग पर भी और अधिकार कर लिया और जब भारत ने अरुणाचल प्रदेश को राज्य का दर्जा दिया, तो उस पर भी आपत्ति की, यह समझ कर कि अरुणाचल प्रदेश भारत का भाग नहीं, यह चीन का हिस्सा है। पश्चिम उत्तर भाग में गिलगिट तक, कराकोरम, अक्साईचिन के भाग में बहुत लम्बी-चाड़ी और बड़ी सड़कों जिस पर भारी से भारी वाहन जा सकते हैं, चीन ने बना ली हैं और पाकिस्तान ने भी बना ली हैं। मुझे दुख है कि अक्साईचिन पर तो प्रतिदिन झगड़े होते रहे हैं पाकिस्तान के साथ। हिन्दुस्तान की ओर से सड़कों का निर्माण करा। ईचिन तक पहुंचने के लिए शायद अब तक उस पैमाने पर नहीं हुआ जिस पैमाने पर पाकिस्तान और चीन कर चुका है। रक्षा मंत्रों इस ओर ध्यान देंगे। मान्यवर, देश के लिए अक्साईचिन कितना महत्वपूर्ण है इसको ध्यान में रखकर सड़कों का निर्माण करायेंगे। पाकिस्तान ने भारत पर चार बार आक्रमण किया, स्वतंत्र होने के तुरन्त बाद काश्मीर पर और जो हिस्सा काश्मीर का दबा दिया है जिसको वह आजाद काश्मीर कहता है और हम गुलाम काश्मीर कहते हैं भारत सरकार ने भी उस गलाम काश्मीर के हिस्से को वापस लेने के लिए कोई प्रयास अभी तक नहीं किया है। अन्यथा रक्षा मंत्रों जो बताने का कृपा करेंगे अपने जवाब में कि जिस दिन से यह देश आजाद हुआ है जिसको 40 साल होने को आये भारत सरकार ने पाकिस्तान के उस अनाधिकृत जम्मू-काश्मीर के हिस्से को लेने के लिए क्या प्रयास किया इस पर प्रकाश डालेंगे? जबकि शिमला समझौता हो जाने के बाद भी

पाकिस्तान निरन्तर संयुक्त राष्ट्र संघ में, सुरक्षा परिषद में और वर्ल्ड को मुस्लिम कांफ्रेंस में काश्मीर का प्रश्न उठाता रहता है और इस समस्या को दुहाई देता रहता है। मान्यवर, प्रारम्भ से ही देखने में आया है कि अमरेंका ने, इंग्लैंड ने और फ्रांस ने पाकिस्तान का सदैव शस्त्रों से सहायता की है और जितने भी शस्त्र पाकिस्तान ने आज तक लिए हैं सदैव भारत के खिलाफ उनका प्रयोग हुआ है। यह भारत सरकार भी लगातार कहते रहता है। अमरेंका कहता रहता है कि पाकिस्तान की सुरक्षा के लिए दिए लेकिन उन हथियारों का हमेशा प्रयोग भारत के खिलाफ ही हुआ है। जितने भी प्रकार के आधुनिक हथियार हैं चाहे वे समुद्र के हैं, चाहे हवाई जहाजों के हैं या थल सेना के लिए हैं, आधुनिक से आधुनिक किस्म के हथियार अमरेंका पाकिस्तान को दे चुका है। अड्डे बनाए जाना भी पाकिस्तान ने स्वकार कर लिया है दियोगांसिया में अमरेंका का बड़ा अड्डा बन रहे चुका है। भारत सरकार का निरन्तर यह प्रयास और कोशिश रहें है कि हिन्द महासागर शांति का क्षेत्र बने। लेकिन दियोगांसिया और पाकिस्तान में भी अब अड्डे और श्रीलंका में भी जो वच्चाटिबू का टापू लंबा को भारत ने दे दिया था उस के बराबर में अमरेंका ने अपना एक और अड्डा भी बना लिया है। शायद त्रिकोमाली में या क्या नाम है? इस तरह से चारों तरफ चहे पाकिस्तान है, चहे चीन है, चाहे श्रीलंका है, ये सब आज हिन्दुस्तान के मित्र देश प्रतीत नहीं होते हैं जिस प्रकार का उनका व्यवहार है और बंगला देश का भी, हिन्दुस्तान के साथ मित्रता का व्यवहार नहीं है। पाकिस्तान के साथ हमारा बहुत लंबा वार्डर है। हिन्दुस्तान का आदमी पाकिस्तान में जाता है और पाकिस्तान का आदमी हिन्दुस्तान में आता है, चाहे तस्वरी करने के लिए, चाहे पाकिस्तान से ट्रेनिंग लेकर आए, हथियार लेकर आये हिन्दुस्तान में यहां पर हिन्दु-सिख नफरत पैदा करने

[श्री वीरेन्द्र वर्मा]

के लिए या कन्वले-ग्राम मथाने के लिए और तमाम बोर्डर खुला पड़ा है, कुछ बन्द है अवश्य। मैं रक्षा मंत्री जी से निवेदन करूंगा कि वे यह बताएं कि हिन्दुस्तान और पाकिस्तान के बोर्डर को स्थायी रूप से सील करने की उनकी क्या व्यवस्था है, जबकि वे जानते हैं कि जम्मू और कश्मीर में, पाकिस्तान के साथ जो लगा हुआ है राजस्थान, गुजरात और पंजाब का हिस्सा, उन तमाम में निरन्तर तस्कारी की, हथियारों की, ट्रेनिंग की व्यवस्था जारी है बावजूद हमारी सुरक्षा सेनाओं के भी। तो स्थायी रूप से जैसे कि उन्होंने इछोगिल की कैनल बनाई है, आगे भी कैनल को बढ़ा दिया है, जम्मू और कश्मीर के लिए आप क्या करेंगे? जम्मू और कश्मीर का जो हिस्सा नाजायज तरीके से पाकिस्तान ने कब्जा रखा है, उसको वापस लेने के लिए आप क्या करेंगे? इसी तरह चीन ने जो हिस्सा कब्जा रखा है दोनों तरफ का, पूर्व का और पश्चिम का, उसको वापस लेने का आप क्या प्रयास करेंगे? इसके ऊपर माननीय रक्षा मंत्री जी अपने विचार प्रकट करने की कोशिश करेंगे।

मान्यवर, अभी हाल में और इससे कुछ महीने पेशतर डा० कादिर खान, जो पाकिस्तान के एटामिक रिसर्च के फादर माने जाते हैं, उसके डायरेक्टर हैं, उन्होंने भी कहा हमारे यहां के एक प्रसिद्ध पत्रकार को कि पाकिस्तान ने अणु बम बना लिया है। पाकिस्तान के प्रेसीडेंट मिस्टर जिया-उल-हक ने भी कहा है कि एटम-बम बनाने की स्थिति में हम पहुंच गए हैं, किसी को आप कहते हैं कि बना लिया है और किसी को कहते हैं कि बनाने की स्थिति में पहुंच गए हैं। लेकिन वह किस स्थिति में हैं, यह सारी दुनियां जानती है। पाकिस्तान के प्रेसीडेंट ने यह भी कह दिया कि हिन्दुस्तान से कभी भी बंद सकता है, कफंटेसन, हो सकता है।

पाकिस्तान जब अपनी तैयारी मुकम्मल कर लेता है, तो हिन्दुस्तान से द्वंद की सोचता है। उसने द्वंद का कह भी दिया है। इन बातों को ध्यान में रखते हुए मैं माननीय रक्षामंत्री जी से निवेदन करूंगा कि अपने देश की रक्षा के लिए उनका मुकाबला करने के लिए क्या व्यवस्थाएं उनके दिमाग में हैं, बताएं? 40 साल हमें स्वतंत्र हुए हो गए हैं। इन 40 साल में मैं हमने अपने देश को रक्षा के मामले में कितना स्वाबलंबी बनाने का प्रयास किया? कितने हम स्वाबलंबी बने हैं? बने हैं कि नहीं बने? मुझे तो ऐसा जंचता है कि भारी खर्च करके विदेशों से आधुनिकतम हथियार हम प्रतिवर्ष मंगाते हैं। मुझे यह उम्मीद है कि जिन विदेशों से आप यह हथियार मंगाते होंगे, चाहे जर्मनी से आपने मंगाए हैं या बोफोर्स से जो तोपें आयी हैं या उसके पेशतर या बाद में भी, जैसे सन् 1979 में सी-हैरियर जो आपने इंग्लैंड से मंगाया था, उनके संबंध में प्रोद्योगिकीय का भी आयात करने का उपबंध आप करते होंगे। इस शर्त के साथ आप उन्हें मंगाते होंगे कि इनको खरीदने के पश्चात् इन शस्त्रों का निर्माण, इनका विकास हम अपने देश में करने लगेंगे। मुझे यह विश्वास है कि शस्त्रों के अनुसंधान पर, शस्त्रों के विकास पर, शस्त्रों के निर्माण पर हमारे देश में और अधिक खर्चा क्या जाना चाहिए जिससे कि हम देश को हथियारों के मामले में अपनी रक्षा के लिए स्वाबलंबी जल्दी से जल्दी बना सकें।

मान्यवर, यह जो पनडुब्बी आपने जर्मनी से मंगायी है, सन् 1979 ईसवी में इन पनडुब्बी के मामले में जब सौदे जर्मनी से किए जा रहे थे, उस समय भारत सरकार की तरफ से मेमोरैंडम आफ अंडरस्टैंडिंग एक दिया गया और उसमें यह कहा गया कि अगर कभी लड़ाई हो जाय तो इन पनडुब्बियों के स्पेयर-पार्ट्स वगैरह भारत को उपलब्ध कराए जाते रहेंगे। मगर कुछ खटाई में पड़ गया। बाद

में पनडुब्बियां भारत ने खरीदीं । मैं माननीय रक्षा मंत्री जी से यह जानना चाहूंगा कि वह जो मेमोरेण्डम आफ अंडरटेकिंग था, क्या उसके आधार पर स्पेयर-पार्ट्स के लिए जाने का कोई उपबंध हुआ या कि नहीं हुआ ? क्या आपको स्पेयर पार्ट्स दिये थे नहीं, यह भी आप बताने की कृपा करें । 1979 में इंग्लैंड के साथ जब सौदा हुआ था तो उसके स्पेयर पार्ट्स भी सी-हैरियर के साथ भारत में भेजे गए थे । क्या उन्हीं शर्तों के आधार पर इन सबमैरीन्स के भी भेजे गए हैं ?

मान्यवर, आप जानते हैं कि बोफोर्स के साथ सौदे की काफी चर्चा सदन में हां चुकी है । दोनों रक्षा मंत्री महोदय यहां पर बैठे हैं । मैं यह जानना चाहता हूं कि सन् 1980 में यह घोषणा हुई, तत्कालीन प्रधान मंत्री श्रीमती इंदिरा गांधी के मुखारबिन्द से कि अब भारत में किसी भी प्रकार का कोई बिचौलिया नहीं होगा, कोई ऐजेन्ट नहीं होगा, कोई कमीशन नहीं दिया जाएगा । यह निर्णय उचित और मुनासिब घोषणा थी । सन् 1985 में फिर दोनों प्रधान मंत्रियों ने बातचीत की कि कोई कमीशन नहीं दिया जाएगा, कोई बिचौलिया नहीं बनेगा । तब फिर जब यह निर्णय ले लिया गया था तो इस फैसले की क्या जरूरत थी । जब यह तय किया गया था कि कोई बिचौलिया नहीं होगा, दोनों प्रधान मंत्रियों ने तय किया था तो रक्षा मंत्री जी बताने की कृपा करेंगे कि उस सौदे में इस प्रकार का अनबुंध है कि बोफोर्स जो भी सौदा करेगा उसमें किसी प्रकार का कोई कमीशन नहीं दिया जाएगा ? तो उसके ऊपर भी प्रकाश डालने की कृपा करें ।

मान्यवर, आइंदा के लिए भी मैं आपके माध्यम से निवेदन करना चाहता हूं कि भारत बहुत बड़ा धन इस्तेमाल करके हथियार खरीदता है अपनी रक्षा के लिए । क्या रक्षा मंत्री जी इस प्रकार की कोई स्पष्ट प्रक्रिया निर्धारित करेंगे कि जो भी हमारे यहां सौदे होंगे तो उनमें कोई बिचौलिया नहीं होगा, कोई ऐजेन्ट नहीं

होगा और इस देश की गाड़ी कमाई का पैसा बच सकेगा और उसे देश की सुरक्षा के लिए ही लगाया जाएगा ।

मान्यवर, हमारा दुर्भाग्य है कि चीन जिसको हम अपना दोस्त कहते थे और अमरीका जिसका विरोधी था, दुश्मन था, वे आज दोस्त हैं । चीन भी हमारा विरोधी है, पाकिस्तान भी हमारा दुश्मन है, अमरीका भी हमारा दुश्मन है और हमारी नाक के नीचे श्रीलंका भी हमारा विरोधी है, चारों तरफ हमारे विरोधी हैं । भारत सरकार को यह प्रयास करना चाहिए कि हमारी मित्रता बढ़े । हम दुनिया से युद्ध नहीं चाहते हैं, शान्ति चाहते हैं तो शान्ति के प्रयासों ने हमारी मित्रता बढ़नी चाहिए । यह मैं आपसे प्रार्थना करूंगा । कितने दिनों से बंगला देश के पर बाउंड वायर लगाने की बात चल रही है, सड़कें बनाने की बात चल रही है तो वह कब बनेगी ? रक्षा मंत्री जी यह भी बताने की कृपा करें कि बंगला देश को सीमा पर स्थाई सुरक्षा की दृष्टि से अपने बाउंड वायर लगाने और सड़कें बनाने की क्या व्यवस्था की है क्योंकि बंगला देश से रोजाना चकमा व अन्य शरणार्थी असम या बंगाल में आ रहे हैं । देश की अर्थ व्यवस्था को तो वे खराब कर ही रहे हैं, हमारी सुरक्षा के लिए भी चुनौती पैदा कर रहे हैं । (समय की घंटी)

मान्यवर, गुप्तचर ऐजेंसी की चर्चा यदि मैं न करूं तो देश की सुरक्षा की दृष्टि से वह उचित नहीं है । जर्मनी तो इसे फिफथ कालम कहा करता था । सबसे बड़ी आवश्यकता है देश की सुरक्षा के लिए गुप्तचर विभाग की, चाहे वह अमरीका हो, रूस हो या कोई भी देश हो दुनियां का, उसकी सुरक्षा में गुप्तचर विभाग की बहुत महत्वपूर्ण भूमिका होती है । मुझे ऐसा लगता है कि हमारा गुप्तचर विभाग बहुत सक्रिय नहीं है । संगठित नहीं है । इसकी तरफ भी आप ध्यान दें और यह चेष्टा करें कि हमारा गुप्तचर विभाग बहुत संगठित हो जाए ।

[श्री बोरेन्द्र वर्मा]

मान्यवर, हमारी सेना के जो अधिकारी और कर्मचारी हैं, उनकी बात भी मैं माननीय मंत्री जी के सामने रखना चाहता हूँ। मुझे यह सुनकर बड़ा दुःख होता है कि जो फौज में भरती होती है, उसमें भी भ्रष्टाचार चल पड़ा है। भ्रष्टाचार व्याप्त है इसको कड़ाई से रोकने को कोशिश को जानो चाहिए। सेना का जो फुड एंड सिविल सप्लाय का भूकमा है इसमें भी भ्रष्टाचार है इसको भी रोका जाना चाहिए। पिछली दफा भी मैंने कहा था कि इजाहाबाद के 1500 सौदों की सी. बी. आई. जांच कर रही है किसी लैफ्टिनेंट कर्नल के खिलाफ। मेरा कहना है कि इस प्रकार के भ्रष्टाचार को रोका जाना चाहिए।

सैनिकों की उम्र के बारे में भी कुछ कहना चाहूँगा। आज कल उनको 45 वर्ष की उम्र में रिटायर कर दिया जाता है। इस उम्र को बढ़ा कर 50 वर्ष की कर दी जानी चाहिए क्योंकि अब तो हमारी औसत जिन्दगी भी बढ़ चुकी है।

मान्यवर, हमारे छोटे कर्मचारी जब मिलिटरी से रिटायर होते हैं तो रिटायर होने के पश्चात् उन्हें पुलिस में, इंडस्ट्री में और दूसरी सेवाओं में स्थान दिया जाये। जो गरोब आदमी होता है वही सेना में जाता है। छोटे पद पर ही जाते हैं। इसलिए मेरा कहना है कि उसके लड़के को भी लिया जाये जिससे इस तरह की परेशानी हमारे सामने न आए कि हमारी सेनाओं में लोग नहीं आते।

इन्हीं शब्दों के साथ जो मैंने सुझाव दिये हैं माननीय रक्षा मंत्री जी से यह अपेक्षा करूँगा, दोनों मंत्रियों से अपेक्षा करूँगा कि मेरे द्वारा उठाये गये कुछ प्रश्नों पर उत्तर देने की कृपा करेंगे।

SHRI MURLIDHAR CHANDRAKANT BHANDARE: Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, one of the oft-discussed issues these days is the security environment of our country. And I think it bears repeated repetition because of the fast changing events which threaten the security environ-

ment of our country. From today's reports I am conscious of the fact that the supply of AWACS has been cleared. The symington Amendment which prohibits supply of arms to countries engaged in the production of nuclear weapons has been waived, at least for a period of two years, as they say, but I have no doubt in my mind, as I have said repeatedly before, it stands waived permanently. It is a matter of great regret that the amendment which was moved by Senator Byrd has been defeated and decks cleared for a massive aid of over 4 billion dollars to Pakistan. The debate here has shown remarkable unanimity on one single factor—namely, that the arms given in the name of Afghanistan, ostensibly, will not be of much use to fight Afghanistan but there is every possibility that these will be used against India. Now I am one who is at all times for very friendly relations with our neighbours, and in fact it is going to be my endeavour this evening to find out how we can maintain the best of friendly relations in this very extremely adverse and severe security environment.

With China, we have had several rounds of talks. Nothing has come out. It continues its aggressive attitude and postures against us on the border issue. Its protest on the conferment of statehood on Arunachal Pradesh is well known. It is in this background that I want the Government to consider, the honourable Ministers to consider, this scenario which I am placing before them. (1) The situation in Afghanistan is that the USSR has agreed to withdraw itself within a period of three years and the pressure on Pakistan is easing (2) The Soviets and Pakistan, in that process, could come together. (3) AWACS and other highly sophisticated weapons supplied to Pakistan by the USA are absorbed because it takes a certain period. It is not as if you give the weapons today and tomorrow

they can be manned. In fact, in the case of AWACS we know that for sometimes they would be manned by American pilots and American crew.

(4) Last but not the least, USSR-China or Sino-Soviet tension eases and what happens is that the burden on the Chinese army reduces across the Sino-Soviet border and they are in a position to concentrate more on the Indo-China border. This is the scenario I want you to look at when you plan for our defence. I find that when one looks at this, one finds that the Government is rather unduly defensive about its Defence budget. I find it is sometimes apologetic, because this is one area where I don't think it goes either by figures or by the percentage of gross domestic product. It really goes by the needs of the hour, and no price is too dear to defend the freedom of our people and to defend the unity and integrity and national honour of our country. Therefore, I am one of those who want to assure the Government, on behalf of the people, that every man will stand by the Government in its effort to preserve the very independence and the spirit of democracy of this country.

The main question which arises today is Pakistan, which has become a nuclear power. That is the main question we have to address ourselves to. In this connection I would refer you to what I said on the 7th of November, 1986 when we had a debate, a short duration discussion on "The Security Environment in the Country in the context of Pakistan's Nuclear Plants and renewed US Arms supply to that country." Every word of what I said then has come true or, probably, more than true. I am one who says India is the leader of the peace movement. Wherever there is a movement for peace, wherever there is a fight against colonialism or imperialism, India is the natural leader. Right from 1962 we have been taking a consistent stand for the elimination of all nuclear weapons all over the world. In fact, one of the reasons why in 1968 we opposed the Non-Pro-

liferation Treaty—one among the many reasons—was that we stood for total elimination of the nuclear arsenal from this planet. But what happened? Since then it has only proliferated and reached very, very dangerous proportions. Therefore, we do not believe in war, yet we have to have an army and we are discussing the highest possible figure which was

allotted to the Defence Ministry 5.00 P.M. try this year. At that time I gave all the options. Even now one cannot really go by what one has stood for if it really affects the very existence of our nation. I was surprised to find that very great intellectuals and philosophers, great human-rights experts and champions of human rights like Sakharov in the USSR and Debre in France, both of them and many others are of the opinion that it is really the existence of the nuclear weapons which is a real deterrence to war and that the conventional war can never be stopped. They point out to Iraq, Iran, to what is happening in Palestine and other parts. They say, the conventional war can never be stopped, but that a war can be deterred only by possession of nuclear arms.

Therefore, let us now reconsider whether we should or we should not revise our options on the nuclear policy. It is in this context that I want to point out that India is the seventh nation. It ranks seventh in the whole world in the matter of capability for nuclear weapons. We do not require any technology from outside at all. All that technology is there, and only we have to develop it. We have to apply it.

The second aspect which I want to ask myself is: Will the cost be too heavy? I think there is some misconception because what has happened is this. Look at Pakistan. It has persistently gone on. They started in 1955, and they have acquired the capability now. Look at China. China reduced its expenditure from 1979-80 on all conventional weapons but it stuck to the half-a-billion dollars of expenditure on the acquisition of the

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nuclear weapons. It went on steadily with the nuclear weapons programmes despite restriction and reduction of the conventional weapons. I am informed of this. I am not a very knowledgeable man, and I don't want to take upon myself to learn a subject which takes a life-time to learn. But the Ministry would check up and find out whether only an additional cost of about 6 to 7 per cent or about Rs. 1,500 crores will put us in a very very strong position of nuclear armament, nuclear weapons. That is the point that I was making even against China. In this I include from the ballistic missile force to explosive, guidance etc.

I am making this point because I started by saying that the Ministry seems to be a little on the defensive. I can assure the Government that nobody in the country will grudge the very very little expenditure because ultimately the purpose of defence is what? To defend yourself, not only against Pakistan because of the history of three wars previous wars but because of the potential dangers from elsewhere also.

I feel that what is most important is that you acquire a capability in this department which is comparable with China because then only will China come to terms, I tell you. I was very happy that in the other House the Minister referred to the axis of the USA, Pakistan and China. The only way you will break that axis is to show that you are as powerful as China. When that happens, you will see that China will come to terms because we are on equal terms with China. You will then see a radical change in the attitude of Pakistan you will see a radical change in the attitude even of the USA because they would not have that military base.

[The Deputy Chairman in the Chair]

Many Members asked repeatedly as to why is it that the USA is yielding to the misapprehension of Pakistan? The answer

was given in a cartoon the other day — I think it was Mr. Laxman's cartoon — showing that Pakistan was the 53rd State of the USA.

SHRI N. E. BALARAM: I would like to know how this would break the axis.

SHRI MURLIDHAR CHANDRAKANT BHANDARE: When you are in the same position and are not afraid of them, they will have no other option. Today they can terrorise you because they have a potential. Today we have no nuclear weaponry at all. Once you have it and you are in a position to strike, that really ends everything. That is why I started by saying that there is a line of reasoning which requires a very serious consideration viz. what deters war, what deters this type of aggressive and threatening postures and attitudes is the possession of adequate nuclear weapons in your own country. I think that is a thesis, which I am not advocating on my own but which is being advocated by others. But this is the time for the Government to consider it. Two things really embolden me to say so. Firstly, because of our capability. Let me at this stage pay my tribute to those soldiers, to those officers in uniform, to those engineers, to those scientists, who have been able to achieve so much for our country in so short a time. And when I am on this point, I am really amazed that in the context of this, at least one of the national leaders, should talk of Prime Minister demoralising the army. I don't think there is anything more shameful than this. I don't think that the Prime Minister becomes small by the statement. Those who make such a statement, they themselves become small. At a time when we are appealing in this House and outside against character assassination, against rumour mongering, against dis-information, should we not have certain norms and standards? Or should we go on engaging ourselves in this petty political stunts and petty political gains? I do not know whether one gets them or not but I would leave it at that with a strong condemnation that I can make against such an attitude and expression.

Now I come to Navy. I know that there is a very marginal increase in the outlay

for Navy. But we cannot forget that we have 2300 miles of coastline with our islands strategically placed. Now, it is here that I feel that we must immediately procure nuclear-powered submarine force to protect our island territories. I may mention that China has developed eight nuclear-powered submarines. Two of these submarines carry thirty-two ballistic missiles and each missile carries nuclear explosives of a megatonne range which roughly means a hydrogen bomb range. The nuclear powered submarines are cruising and if they cruise further of which there is every possibility I don't say more, but I am told that if they cruise further it will be a real danger to our islands. What I want to say in brief is that there should be a full-fledged balance. When we were discussing here on the 7th November, we were told no, no, our Ambassador is talking and he will see that AWACS are not given. When we were discussing the External Affairs Ministry, we were told no, no, one of our Ministers has gone there and he will see that USA does not supply arms to Pak Combat Aircraft. (Time bell rings) All that is true. But while he is in the USA, the Sington amendment is thrown out. I raised this point late in the evening on that day, but the External Affairs Minister said that he himself was going and would be asking the USA to disavow. Now, why does he not also take upon himself an exercise a very serious exercise, of telling the USA, all right if you give them AWACS, you also give us AWACS. I think if you really want to test the proof of pudding lies in eating, we must ask them, well, we don't want your super computers, you give us your AWACS. Well, these are some of the things which I wanted to say.

Now I come to the Air Force. I have said that Pakistan has acquired AWACS or is in the process of acquiring and, therefore, we must immediately procure what is called ADGES — Air Force Defence Ground Environmental System. I do not want to go into the details because from this year onwards I am a Member of the Consultative Committee of the Ministry of Defence and I will get an occasion to go into the details in that meeting. Now, it is not necessary and I will share certainly what is my perception about this sys-

tem with the Minister outside the House so that it remains confidential and it serves its real purpose.

Much has been said about the Light Combat Aircraft (Time bell rings) All that I say is that we must have the capability to destroy the highways. We must have capabilities for surveillance of Tibet and Karakoram and for all these purposes we must have this aircraft. This is the main suggestion I am making and an integrated ballistic missile programme... (Time bell rings). I will take only two minutes because this is one of the most important topics we are dealing with. I was just referring to an integrated ballistic missile. Now, the Chinese missiles threat is real. They have 13 air-fields in Tibet. I again do not want to go into the various combinations. But I want to say that integrated ballistic missile programme should be taken up on a very, very positive footing. What I want is to improve the vision of planning so far as the defence is concerned.

We have always talked of men behind our machines. We have men but we must also have adequate machines. I am aware of the very great efforts and very scientific efforts made by the Ministry for modernisation and for updating technology. But all that I will say is that while you are at it your budget on research and development still remains one of the lowest in the world, roughly about 5-6 per cent of your budget which is really very low and something will have to be done for increasing it so that you can meet all these suggestions which I have made in my short speech.

There are only one or two things which I want to say. I suggest you prepare the nation in an atmosphere which can make better citizens of ourselves. What I mean is let there be compulsory N.C.C. for a period of two years. Madam, you have been one of the commandants in the N. C. C. and Home Guards too. It is only a part of the Civil Defence. I request the Government that it has to be done in collaboration with the Ministry of Human Resource Development whether or not it is possible to give but you make compulsory military training or N.C.C. through which we can inculcate discipline. It will make better citizens of our students and boys

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and girls. That is one more suggestion which I wanted them to consider.

Much has been said about ex-servicemen. I do not think it is feasible to extend their age of retirement. But the possibility of self-employment, the uncertainty of absorption is one of the great heart-burning problems and adequate seniority is not given for the period they work in military service. Only the other day I had to make a representation on behalf of ex-servicemen and only at the intervention of the Prime Minister the necessary seniority was given. Why we should go to the Prime Minister every time? Can we not provide for that security automatically?

Many more things are there and I know that this Government is very, very conscious of all these difficulties of ex-servicemen and they will have a complete package deal for their full rehabilitation in civil life. The same, I think, is true about war widows. With this I would appeal to the House, on this issue let us speak with one voice, let us not do anything which will in any way affect the morale of our armed forces, of our engineers, of our scientists, and I am quite sure that in the years to come we will continue to be the leaders of peace in this region but through an adequate military capability.

SHRI ARUN SINGH: Madam Deputy Chairman, I rise to intervene in the debate and I would attempt to confine the intervention to a specific area because Raksha Mantri ji will be replying to the debate *per se* tomorrow and will be covering the vast bulk of the area.

It has been my privilege to be the first Minister in the Union Council of Ministers since independence specifically charged with the responsibility of Defence Research and Development. This has also been an area in a wider perspective dealing with self-reliance which has been a subject of considerable discussion today and on the earlier occasions in this House. I will,

therefore, confine myself in this intervention to the basic area of Defence research. Before I start may I say that in the last eighteen or nineteen months in which I have been associated with this department, I have built two very strong emotive responses: (1) a great sense of enthusiasm, and (2) a great measure of respect. In my own way through the process of today's discussion and debate I hope that I will be able to infect — that is the right word — some of the honourable Members of this House with that element of enthusiasm and respect. There are tens of thousands of people working in this country on Defence research and development. These really are the true backroom boys and girls of our process. What is not perhaps commonly known is that hundreds, if not thousands, of them are of such a quality that they would find employment anywhere in the world if they wanted to go out. They do not work here because of what they get paid; they do not work because of their career opportunities in India. They work here, as I can understand it, for two basic reasons: The first and the foremost is patriotism, and the second is job satisfaction. Before I come to the definitive area of Defence research and development I would make one point very clear that research and development in India in areas relating to Defence is very, very much larger than the work that is done in DRDO. DRDO—Defence Research and Development Organisation—is a department of the Government of India. Research in India is done in a variety of places and we try and look at this in broad terms as a three-tier process. The first tier is the phenomenal amount of work that is done in the Services themselves. By the Services I mean the Army, the Navy and the Air Force. Some reference was made in today's discussions by an honourable Member to the concept of retrofitting. Retro-fitting, as it happens, is an activity which is under considerable stress today and is handled by the Services. So, we have what we call product improvement programmes and there are two major programmes and I can quote an example. First, on the tanks, one, on the Vijayanta and another on the T-55, both of which are handled by the Services and these are very complex programmes

and they are, in fact, a very complex mixture of science, technology and engineering through which process the tank is up-gunned, up-engined and up-armoured and converted into a system which can be used for another ten or fifteen years. So, there is a tremendous input in the Services. The other kind of work that the Services do is an activity related to improving the system. For example, we will take up one thing. I will take one such example. Now, we have an infantry combat vehicle and out of a process of pure service development, the Electrical and Mechanical Engineers of the Indian Army decided that they can improve this otherwise important vehicle by fitting on a missile. So, they have integrated a missile on to a combat vehicle and so, improved its capability considerably and they have done this entirely indigenously. So, the Services have their own capability in research and development.

Then, Madam, the second tier is the industry and industry itself consists broadly of four types. We have the Ordnance Factories which are departmental units; we have the Defence public sector units like the Bharat Electronics Ltd., the HAL and so on; then we have the non-Defence public sector units like the Electronics Corporation of India, Bharat Heavy Electricals, Bharat Heavy Plates and Vessels, Instrumentation Limited, etc; and, finally, we have the private sector. In the normal course, in fact, without exception, work on weapons—by weapons, I am very specific, I mean arms and ammunition research and development work on weapons is only done either by the Ordnance Factories or the Defence public sector units. But work in area related to Defence research and development work is done in a large number of other public sector units and a large number of private industries, for example, improvements in a three-tonne truck or improvements in metallurgy on heavy plates for shipbuilding. So that is the second tier where research and development is conducted by industry. Finally, the third tier is the DRDO itself and that is the area which I will basically concentrate upon now.

Madam, the DRDO is the largest scientific and technological organisation in this country, and it is the largest in three ways,

in terms of money expended, in terms of the number of laboratories and in terms of the people employed. It is, therefore, in a manner of speaking, a premier science and technology entity and that science and technology entity, fortunately for me, is a relatively low-profile science and technology entity and, therefore, it does not attract much publicity. However, in the course of the last few days in this House, when we debated issues and subjects like submarines and guns, one of the basic points that was regularly raised was that we are too secretive about the business of defence. So, I thought I should take this opportunity to dilate upon what this DRDO does before I explain and answer some of the questions that have been raised on such elements like Light Combat Aircraft, MBT, investments made in R&D in India and so on. Madam, we have two basic types of activities in D.R.D.O. I am trying to be as general as possible, and I don't want to get too involved in my own enthusiasm.

SHRI MURLIDHAR CHANDRAKANT BHANDARE: You are like a professor.

SHRI ARUN SINGH: Yes, a layman's professor. There are two basic activities one is what we call Systems Integration. System Integration means that the entity, the laboratory or the group of scientists or whatever, takes subsystems and components from a variety of sources and put them together into a single package. In the systems integration there is the capacity both to use indigenous equipment in terms of subsystems and components and to use imported subsystems and components. But the package is an indigenous package. So when indigenisation or self reliance or terms like that I use in terms of defence, they have slightly more complex parameters associated than in any other field. There is no country in the world that is self-sufficient in defence. None. Without exception. I include in that the United States of America. But self-reliance is a goal for which we must try. And one of the critical components of self-reliance is the ability to integrate subsystems and components from a variety of sources into one workable package, because it is that workable package which is the defence equipment, and not sub-

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systems and components that go into it. So, system integration is one basic thrust.

The other basic thrust is *ab initio* research. *Ab initio*. It is really that type of research which goes into such things as space, particle weapons, beam weapons—to an extent, the kind of work that is being talked of in the West as SDI. *Ab initio* research in our context of course does not mean such things as SDI. But it does mean in certain areas, for example, let us take Titanium technology. We are one of the world leaders in titanium technology. *Ab initio*. Not based on any imported components in terms of research.

So there are certain fields, very specific fields, in which Indian scientists, working in India, and quite often qualified in India, no foreign degree, nothing, are among the world leaders in *ab initio*... (*Interruptions*)

Madam, the spread of research in defence is another common thing which many Members may not know much about, because in actual fact, science and technology in defence spans every single facet of science and technology known to man today—every. We cover everything. I do not know even how to begin the list, because we cover absolutely everything, from clothing to medical sciences, including electronics, electrical, mechanical, metallurgy, propellant, explosive, armament, vehicle, propulsion, hydraulics, pneumatics. There is no single field which is not covered in the field of defence research because, by and large, strange though it may sound, defence tends to be a world of its own. The great phrase used by late President Eisenhower—the so-called military industrial complex had this specifically in mind, because there is no sector of industry which does not find a place in defence. And that is how, as one of our hon. Members was saying, when Panditji evolved this policy of the public sector involvement in defence, to stay away from this problem of industrial strangle-hold that can be called, what I think he meant was really the area confined to such things as armaments and weapons, because in defence research, for example, what is not known is that have the finest nuclear medicine laboratory in India is the defence

laboratory and the finest metallurgical laboratory in India is the defence laboratory. The only laboratory in India working on snow structure and avalanches is a defence laboratory. We span a range of 45 laboratories and many of them are totally unique. For example, we work in areas like clothing. We work on everything from socks to unclear protective clothing. We work on fabrics covering everything from parachutes of jute or silk or artificial material or tentage and composite material for armour proofing. So, the range and spread of defence research is exceedingly large. We also do some work and I am not sure whether we should be doing that. I do feel that we have another responsibility to perform and role to play. We do some work in areas which are not directly connected with us. For example, we have laboratories in the hills. We have one in Leh, Arunachal Pradesh and Almora. We do extension work. We grow better variety of maize and wheat. We work on potatoes. We do all this for the local population. We feel that if we are permanently living in some areas like Nubra and Siachin, then we can ensure that our purchase of fresh fruits and vegetables is from the local people. In this way, we are making an input to their economy and we are not a strain on their economy. We have been working on such things as agricultural extension.

In the whole field of this defence research and development, we have a massive involvement of scientists and technologists. We have them as scientists and technologists in the Department. We have them in production agencies because all major production agencies have their own research and development capability. We have scientists and technologists and experts from among the users. What is not commonly known is that the Army, Navy and Air Force have a very significant number of people who have done doctorates and who are experts in specific fields of science. Finally when we assemble a system and make it work as a weapon, we have one test which is defined in technical terms as ergonomics. It is about man. When a truck is designed, how does a driver feel? There is no point in asking an expert. The only person who knows how

he feels is the driver. Then, he will give you a lot of problems. So, a large variety of people get involved in science and technology. Within this particular frame work, what do we want to try and do? What is our objective? It is very simple to put forward a global objective and say that our objective is self-reliance in India because such an objective has no time frame. In fact, it will not probably be true even after 25 years from now and the Minister will stand up again and say that our objective is self-reliance, knowing full well that this is an objective which may or may not be achieved. How do we go about looking at the problems? What do we want to do about them? We have two basic resources, money and people. With money, we can buy equipment, we can buy instruments, we can buy structures, land, building, etc. In research and development, the only basic input other than the financial constraint is people. We are totally dependent on the intellect of men and women. In terms of money, some comments have been made about our expenditure and how little it appears to be. I think it is a valid comment. I would like to point out that in a sense we have to be a little careful about how fast we want to go because nothing is simpler in this world than wasting money. The massive allocations can be thrown away. The hon. Members have pointed it out in general in relation to defence. If we look over the last six or seven years in 1980-81 the D.R.D.O. budget was Rs. 76 crores. In 1987-88, we are having an Estimate of Rs. 650 crores. We have gone up nine times in seven years. (*Interruptions*) It is nine times over the last seven years which is a rather rapid rate of growth. We do agree that in concept...

SHRI N. E. BALARAM: May I put a question? What is the over-all expenditure for the Defence Ministry? Compared to that, what is the growth of R & D? (*Interruptions*)

SHRI ARUN SINGH: I understood his question. We were 1.96 per cent of the Defence Budget in 1980-81. Of the total Defence Budget, it was 1.96 per cent. Now we are 5.22 per cent. So, it is approximately three and a half times growth in terms of the percentage of the Defence Budget. (*Interruptions*) Let me finish this area.

We feel that as a basic concept, we should be investing somewhere between 12 and 15 per cent of the Budget on Research and Development. But just deciding to invest the money is not going to solve any problems. We must structure ourselves such that we can handle that level of investment. To deal with Rs. 650 crores in one year in a Department which was dealing with Rs. 75 crores six years ago is not easy because here please bear in mind that the investments are very much people-oriented. There are no major machines and huge pieces of plant and equipment and large tracts of land. This is optimising output in terms of intellect. And, therefore, all that our goal is to move towards something of the order of 14 to 15 per cent. We do feel that this will happen, perhaps, over the next two Plan periods. So, we will come from something 5 to 6 per cent to maybe 8 to 9 per cent in the next Plan period, and maybe 12 to 14 per cent in the Plan period after that. Therefore, in order to ensure that even the money that we already spent is well spent and no frittered away, the second area of investigation, of stress is people. We have grown in terms of people in the comparable period. We had something of the order of about 9,000 scientific and technical staff in 1980. And we have got something of the order of 14,000 scientific and technical staff in 1986. Now, this 14,000 will have to absorb and handle Rs. 650 crores. When we want to go to Rs. 1000 crores or Rs. 1200 crores, we will have to increase this scientific and technical staff from this 14,000 to maybe 25,000 or 20,000. How do we go about doing that? What is the method? In order to do this, it is our believe that we have to go to the very young. And in order to do that, we have to go to the universities. So, what we are doing now is that we have programmes running at the moment which are six. But we are hoping to extend it to 12 or so universities in the country where the students are funded by the DRDO or their involvement with the DRDO takes place at that point. We are also running courses internally where we re-orient students. We take, for example, M. Scs. in Physics and

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make them equivalent to M. Scs. in computer sciences. We are also considering the possibility of working with the institutions like IITs and building up faculties in specific areas in collaboration with them so that we go for the student populations. As part of this process and in order to keep this process moving we have also decided now to do something, which in India, we stepped back a little in general, and that is to start using universities again as primary centres of research. There has always been a great argument in this country that the Minister of Science and Technology is better placed to deal with as to whether science and technology or science particularly is a function of laboratories or whether it is a part and parcel of the university ethos and in fact in India we have been through a period where we moved away from universities into library ethos and we feel that in order to broad base science in this country we must go back to universities and this is something which DRDO is actively pursuing as a programme. We are also incidentally working with some universities in defence projects and have had absolutely outstanding results from faculties of the type which one would not expect. We have some of the best work being done in places like Jadhavpur university, outstanding work being done for DRDO in the universities.

Now in order therefore to look at the future it is clear that we have to come to terms with the planning process. We cannot stumble through research and development. There is no possibility doing that. There has to be a planned process. What we have done is that we have set up making a perspective plan to span a period of 15 years in the initial stage and to try and look ahead and see what we are going to try and do in defence research and develop in the next 15 years relating to the requirements of the army, the navy and the air force, in that same period. So, when I come back to the words self-reliance, we are really talking about concentrated self-reliance in specific projects and areas of target

interests of Indian users so that self-reliance is not a global term or a generic term or something like that but is a very specific set of targets in specific areas of research for specific products. We have also got to do one other thing. We have also got to ensure that defence research is so broadbased, is totally catalytic in many countries in the world, by other activities of by-product flow in defence research in one form or another. China is a classic example. China has demonstrated this over the last 20 years because they made massive investments in defence research and of course they made it in such areas as nuclear research as well for defence purposes and the by-product and by-flow of that is what you see in China today. So we have got to try and build specific areas where such investments are possible and we are going to call these enabling technology centres. We are going to do this in specific areas of basic research. These will be premier institutions in India, nodal institutions, in CSIRs, Department of Science and Technology, public sector, private sector, DRDOs where we will be having technology centres. We look at the possibility of technology parks for small scale entrepreneurs where we will provide basic infrastructure, computerisation, computer aided design, computer manufacture facility, power, water, electricity etc. where small scale entrepreneurs will come and build or make specific components.

I would now like to spend a short while on some of the areas which we claim are success areas. I would like to say first that the total output of Indian defence research and development is somewhere of the order of Rs. 1500 crores and we have the order book position which will equate to another 500 to 600 crores. Something like Rs. 2,000 crores or thereabouts has been generated by the defence research activity in India, which is on an annual basis something like 3:1. If this kind of ratio continues then investment in research and development will yield benefits larger than investment and therefore you are always on a cost benefit positive side.

Some of the successes we have had cover a very wide range of activities. We have produced ammunition. In fact, in one particular case, which is an anti-tank ammunition, we claim that ours is the very best available in the world today. We have also developed other kinds of ammunition like smoke ammunition etc. Some of the technologies are new. We have developed most modern capabilities in these areas. We have done some good work on electronic warfare. Not enough. But whatever we have done is very good. We have done very good work for the Navy in terms of the sonar system, acoustics system, sea mines, torpedoes etc. These are some of the areas where really some good work has been done. I would say comparable to the best that is available in the world in that class.

A recent big breakthrough has been in the case of the low level radar, which has been commented upon by the PAC. But the net product on the top of all that is a really, exceptionally, good product. We have done good work in high-altitude clothing. It is very expensive and it is very difficult. You can imagine troops fighting at altitudes of 20,000 feet and at temperatures of — 50 degree celsius. They are not to just live there. They have to fight there. They have to be equipped in such a fashion, they have to be clothed in such a fashion that they have also to fight, not just live. Mountaineers, for example. When they do their part of work, they have only to climb and they have nothing else to do. These gentlemen have to climb mountains on the one hand and fight also while they are climbing. Some good work has been done in terms of shelters, habitats, clothing, food, packaging of food etc. for these people.

We have also done some good work in regard to vehicles. We have developed small vehicles of the jeep type, trucks etc. based on indigenous R&D. We have developed half-truck, a vehicle which is half motor car and half tank. We have developed tractor vehicles. A very fair record of activity.

Another thing which is of more interest and which has direct relevance to members here is the communication system. We have produced an indigenous

communication system, I include in this the Army, defence research, army production agencies; all together. This is known as Plan AREN—Army Radio Engineer Network, which is a very sophisticated communication system. There are three or four like it in the world. This has also direct relevance to civil communication network. We have a wide range of success stories. In this, we need one major success to fund. For example, our low level radar which is a very significant success. For this one product alone, the order book position with the BEL is Rs. 450 crores. If you get one or two successes like that, you can pay for the investment which you are making in research.

I would now like to discuss two or three programmes which regularly feature as questions in the House but we very rarely get time to explain them. One thing I would like to mention here is the main battle tank. Not more than four or five countries in the world are trying to make such a tank. It is one of the most complex span of technology known to man, because what you are producing is a very complex vehicle. It is a transportation problem. It has no utility at all unless it can fight. It cannot fight unless it can protect itself. It is a combination of the best vehicle technology known to mankind. Therefore, the main battle tank is a project or a programme which is highly ambitious. We have done good work in this. We have been exceedingly successful in parts of the programme and not successful so far in other parts of the programme. Therefore, when criticisms are made by hon. Members, I would like them to bear this in mind. This one particular project spans so many projects in terms of research and development that success or failure in any one of the sub-projects can never said to determine the success or failure of the tank project as a whole. To quote you an example, we have been very successful on the gun, we have been very successful on the armour, we have been very successful in suspension system, we have been successful on the tracks, we have not been very successful on the engine.

SHRI NIRMAL CHATTERJEE (West Bengal): Not in the field of MBT. That is an area of neglect.

SHRI ARUN SINGH: I will come to it in the other part. So, when we are talking about the tank programme for the MBT, we have not got six prototypes currently under valuation. We expect the tank to be produced indigenously by the end of this decade. It is possible, I am not in a position to say with any degree of certainty today. We know that we require a certain type of engine which will produce us 1500 hp. The first component of that engine has to give us something like 500 hp. If we can get that 500 hp, we can get the 1500 hp, we know that. We are having problem in that first part. We have one of the two options. This kind of problem is true not only in defence but in hundreds of other programmes. Either we have the option, saying, right, until you develop this part of the programme, no further activity on any other part of the programme, and if we take that and if we do not succeed on that part of the programme, we will not have an indigenous tank. So, what have we to do? And this is something which is common to all research and development and it is particularly true in defence that we have to run two lines in parallel, we have to work with an imported engine and if by ill luck, at the end of this exercise, indigenous engine does not work, development of all the other sub-assemblies and components and sub-systems is done on time, but the engine is not ready. Then we will produce a main battle tank with an imported engine because what we want is the main battle tank. We do not care for the engine. The engine is definitely of secondary importance. But we do have a problem with the engine, as you rightly pointed out. It is also true of the next project which I will discuss. So, some area has to be given in terms of engine development *per se*, air aspirated diesel engines, jet engines, all kinds of engines.

SHRI NIRMAL CHATTERJEE: What about LCA?

SHRI ARUN SINGH: I am coming to that.

What I was saying is that we have a very fine tank programme. We are hopeful that we will manage 1500 hp., but we will not supply a second rate engine to the Indian army on a first-class tank,

simply because that is an indigenous tank. We will make sure that the engine which is fitted in the tank is suitable for the tank, as the Indian army wants it, whether that engine is indigenous or not. Our preference is for indigenous engine. If we fail, we will import the engine.

The second major programme to which I would like to draw the attention of the House is the guided missile programme. It is a large programme which is under way. It deals with basically three types of missiles, that is, surface to surface missiles, surface to air missiles and air to surface missiles.

I am very happy to announce and this will be my first public announcement I am making, that we have had the first launch of the surface to air missile. We have had a low-level quick reaction surface to air missile. It is totally new, absolutely state-of-the-art missile. We have had our first test of the launch. Many more are required. We may have to do 30 or 40 launches, but it is a significant achievement. This is the field in which we are coming for the first time, on an indigenous knowhow. So, guided missile programme is generally going on well. Launches are being done and they will be done as and when required. When they are done, the House will know about them.

I will come to the LCA. A major question has been raised many a time in this House ever since I have been a Member. There were two options for India. And these options came into being in 1956 or thereafter, for the first time. They have been repeated from time to time since then. Do we want an indigenous aircraft industry or not? Or are we content to go with a semi-indigenous aircraft industry? Because it is possible to have a semi-indigenous industry. Semi-indigenous industry route is licensed production. The indigenous route is local development, indigenous development. We were the first, one of the first, countries outside the Super Powers to have our own aircraft programme in 1955-56. And they produced a superb aircraft. It was the HF-24 which came in to service as Marut. Unfortunately in that programme there was no engine at all. The

engine was theoretically going to be developed in Egypt. The Egyptian engine never got developed. The aircraft was developed in India, but there was no engine. That aircraft never recovered. Consequent upon that, as a result of that failure, the aviation industry in India died. For the last 25 years, there has been no significant development in aviation in a country which has one of the largest Air Force in the world and which has also got one of the largest civilian fleet of passenger aircraft. And this is a very very sad situation.

So we have come to a stage, when it comes to the LCA, where we want to develop the aircraft industry in this country. The question about the LCA was that we knew as far back as three or four years ago what type of aircraft is likely to be in service by the mid-nineties in the world. We know that the conventional types of aircraft, as we see them now, will no longer be capable of being flown by the end of the century. They do not, they will not possess the capabilities required of an aircraft. So what we want to develop is a very complex flying machine. What we are trying to do is we are trying to bypass an entire generation gap in aircraft development. The machine that we are trying to build.....

SHRI N. E. BALARAM: You have to bypass a generation. What is the use of an outmoded machine?

SHRI ARUN SINGH: That is our view also. We have got to jump over a generation. What we are going in for is an aircraft which is based on composite materials with primary structures which is something that, as of now, there are only two aircraft flying which are really based on composite materials with primary structures. Both are test aircraft. It is the fly-by-wire aircraft. Fly-by-wire aircraft is different from all present aircraft to the extent that all commands are sent electronically, all control surfaces are actuated electronically and not mechanically. It will have to have very advanced instrumentation and display systems and it will have to have very advanced weapons system. In order to do this, we have to have five programmes running at the same time. We have to have an air-frame programme,

testing composite materials. We do not know anything about composite materials in this country. We have to have control surfaces an aircraft control programme based on fly-by-wire system. We do not know anything about fly-by-wire. We have to have a very complex display and instrumentation system. We know something about that. We have to have a very complex engine development programme. The kinds of thrust-to-weight ratio which we want in this aircraft are really extraordinary. We have done work on an engine. And we have to work on a weapons and censor system. We have got some work done.

Taking this as the spread, we want from this to build an Indian aviation industry. So we put together a group of people, largely from the HAL, but also scientists and technologists from a variety of disciplines in India and some have come back from abroad to work on this project, into an agency called the Aeronautical Development Agency—ADA. Many laboratories in India are working for the LCA. For example, Mr. Nirmal Chatterjee raised a question about the engine. There is a full laboratory working on an engine. We have a very good engine ready. But it is not good enough for the LCA. We have to develop the kind of engine in technology terms which, as of now, will be one of the best engines available in the world. And there are only two or three of the type under development.

One of the strange ironies about
 6 P.M. the aircraft engine, the GTX engine for the LCA, is that India had a process called, in Sanskrit, *Madhu Uchchishta Vidhana*—the lost wax process. The dancing girl of Mohenjodaro and the Chola bronzes were cast by the lost wax process. We lost this process. The biggest single stumbling block on the engine is the turbine blade, and the process rediscovered in the western world is the lost wax process and we are having to re-invent in our country a process or technology which was with us, maybe four thousand years ago. But we are being successful in it. We have done tremendous work. It is called investment casting, a very complex technology. But we are

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confident. We have done good work on it and we feel that it will come through. So, what happened is, we have got out of step. To answer Nirmalji's point, we have got a little out of step.

We feel that we will have a flyable air frame as a proto-type, ready before we have an engine. So, we do not want to stop that work on the air frame. So what we said is, we will buy, outright, ten engines for air frame, one engine test bed to power the prototype which we will have and engine development in GTRE of the GTX bypass variant, the VS variant, will continue. So, this is not intended to have a kind of neat bypass route to obtaining an imported engine. I want to allay your fears on that. It is genuinely that we will have the air frame, we reckon the air frame ready to fly three to four years before the engine will be ready, and for those three or four years this prototype aircraft are going to be subjected to tremendous tests by the research scientists, by test pilots, by production pilots and by the Air Force, and the testing on the prototype can be carried on. This is the route, incidentally, which a lot of countries follow. For example, France has just come out with their variant of a medium combat aircraft based on similar technology of flybywire and so on, and they have also used the same GE F-404 engine although their own engine is under development in their own factory and they expect to have the engine ready by the time production is organized for the aircraft. So, these three programmes—the tank programme, the missile programme and the aircraft programme—we think, are real trend-setter programmes because we expect to be successful in these and these will provide the really true base for self-reliance in this country for major weapons systems.

In the last four years we have made it very clear that in the last fifteen years or so the rate of change in technology has been so rapid that the next colonization of the world has to be a technological colonization. Therefore, self-reliance in the field of technology is an area which we cannot lay enough stress upon.

We have also done some dreaming—because we feel that in research and development there is need to dream—and we have some very esoteric projects going on in areas like hyper planes, laser systems and so on which are, as I said, very esoteric, and a spy in the sky. We have groups working on them because we feel that we would like to test our hand on something which is unusual and very exciting.

In conclusion, I would like to thank you, Madam, and honourable Members...

SHRI KAPIL VERMA (Uttar Pradesh): Can you tell us something about the AS-WAC system at HAL, Bangalore, which is a matching system for AWACS?

SHRI NIRMAL CHATTERJEE: I have also seen some of the DRDO laboratories and I was deeply impressed. I have also been sometimes honoured with their publications which were sent to me.

I know more than year ago the titanium thing you mentioned today. But still in order to raise the quality of the debate still higher, what still is necessary is to pose the problems that are being faced inside the DRDO. They are good, they are doing things. But there are problems also in the functioning of the DRDO. I would like the Minister very much to pose such questions to which we can bestow our wisdom, collective wisdom and raise it to a still higher level.

PROF. C. LAKSHMANNA (Andhra Pradesh): One more point. You said that the expenditure on R&D has gone from Rs. 76 crores to Rs. 650 crores from 1.9 to 5 per cent. It is a very good thing. But then you said that the manpower engaged in the research labs has gone up from 9,000 to 14,000. If you look at this, the number of people who should have been doing research is not commensurate with the increased amount over the period of time.

You also said that you are having plans to involve the IITs, universities etc. You have to involve them in a substantial way. I would like to know what system you have developed to involve

them in a larger number so that the output is much more than what it is. I would like to know what those programmes are in which you would involve more number of people in the research work.

SHRI NIRMAL CHATTERJEE: To what extent has the perspective planning come to stay, which was not there in the 70s?

SHRI ARUN SINGH: About the aspect which the hon. Member mentioned, much has been said about the AWACS. The Raksha Mantriji will be dealing with the question of the AWACS and so on in his reply to the debate.

There is one basic thing which I would just like to mention. The AWACS is a super, what is technically called, AEW aircraft. The normal development follows this route, that you produce first, what are called, the airborne early warning aircraft. And the Hawkeye tends to be more of an airborne early warning aircraft than the Boeing which is called the AWACS which is the airborne warning and control system because the control part of it is what the AWACS does, which the AEW aircraft does not do.

The ASWAC project is, therefore, a project which is a technology demonstrator because the AWACS is a system which, in the flying capability, is only one. There is only one AWACS available in the world. There is only one aircraft, and that is the Boeing aircraft. Some other countries have tried. Some have failed. Some are still trying. So, we want to take on a technology demonstrator project which will ultimately end up with an AWACS. But it will take many, many years because every technology that we are talking about is not known to us, and it is a highly complex technology and is not available from anywhere in the world. So the ASWAC is really a preliminary, technology-demonstrator project for airborne early warning. And it will take, even if we are lucky, a decade, before we get anything really meaningful out of this project.

SHRI KAPIL VERMA: Then, what is your reply to the AWACS?

SHRI ARUN SINGH: To that the Raksha Mantri will be replying,

I will deal with the question of manpower, if I may. On the manpower side, we have got an achievement -- we have not yet sold it to the Government, but we still think, we can -- of the perspective planning process, because we have now got a very specific plan in terms of projects, laboratories, money and time-schedules. We have also evolved a perspective manpower requirement for different types of manpower. We have many grades of scientists, for example. We have grades of technologists. Then we have other people who work and help in laboratories. For example, the figure I was quoting of 14,000 people. They are only scientists and technologists. The total number of persons working in the DRDO today is 31,200. So, we have now developed a perspective manpower plan for DRDO upto the year 2000. In this perspective manpower plan, the manpower is identified by the skills required. How many aeronautical engineers are we going to need; how many naval propulsion people are we going to require; how many people are going to work on guidance system for surface-to-air missiles? This throws up how many we can get. Because some of these areas do not exist, in those areas we go to universities or the IITs and tell them that this is our requirement. We need 250 people of this type. Are you in a position to give? They say, no, we cannot give them. O. K. how close can you get? We get upto here and you retain after that. So, these cooperative projects of that type we are getting involved in. I will project it to Raksha Mantri. This is the phased manpower perspective plan. And from that we will give birth to our requirements in terms of faculties, academia and so on and so forth. But the little bit of work that we have done is successful, because we have now got a recruitment system which is based on external examiners as it exists in the universities. We have external examiners who do recruitment for us. We have been successful in attracting people to the extent that in the last few years

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in all these new activities, we actually recruited 700 young scientists and engineers. Recruitment of 700 people in one small period of time is reasonably a good achievement. So, we are hopeful that we will get the people.

There is another thing that I must point out here. It is a very interesting thing. I quote an example of a young lady. We find that sometimes, or quite often, people do not follow the normal route, because the normal route in India, if you want to be a very high-level technologist, is that you have got to end up in an IIT or to qualify as a post-graduate and so on. But we find we get some exceedingly competent people who are B.Sc.s from regional engineering colleges and so on. This young lady I am talking about is one of the few people working in the country on the artificial intelligence system. She would never have got into IIT, but she is absolutely outstanding in this system. So, the spread of talent in India is there. The problem that we have, like many other organisations have, is how do we identify that talent and how do we find those people. In this process we are now trying to involve the universities and IITs, wherever we can get help from, including the CSIR or the Department of Science and Technology. We are also going to try and build up capability in the Services themselves. The Services have accepted the concept that you could qualify people as scientists and technologists in the services and give them their own career path, their own promotion capabilities and so on as experts and not necessarily feed them back through the normal route of promotion and so on and so forth. So, the effort is on. But ultimately we are going to run into the problem, if we are not careful. If we do not project this manpower requirement properly, we are going to run into a constraint of manpower.

The theory that we have the third largest science and technology manpower in the world is true in quantity, but it need not be true in quality. So, we have to identify the quality.

So far as the problem areas are concerned, I would say frankly the biggest

problem that we possess today is the problem of human resource. I think I am right in saying that we have managed it. It does not go to the credit of any person or a set of persons, but we are operating in one of the most exciting fields in India today; in defence which ever laboratory you look at, they know they are operating in the field of a very great excitement and that their contributions, their potentials are far beyond the normal contributions made by scientists and technologists. I think we have managed to get some better gearing in our structures and so on and so forth, but we have problems. I know some of the problems that you are talking about. For example arbitration awards are pending for 2 years. It does not lend itself to creation of great enthusiasm. But we have to overcome administration hurdles. We do not have any problem of finance unlike five years ago when we had single constraint, that is, financial resources. Today I can confidently say that finance is not a constraint because we are now conscious that the money that we have must be spent well. We do not want to throw it away. Therefore, we have to be very clear about our programmes and in what time frame we can complete the projects which is the biggest problem in R&D work. How do you kill the research project? How do you say no? I have a first-class project which is going on and I thought it would take two years but it has taken twenty years. One of the problems for research is that you have to be strong enough to say alright not two but three and after three, no. So we have to be very clear about our objectives, about our targets and about our time-frame and money will come.

SHRI N. E. BALARAM: Then kill the research or kill that project.

SHRI ARUN SINGH: Only that particular piece of work which is connected to the research.

PROF. (MRS.) ASIMA CHATTERJEE (Nominated): May I know from the Minister whether any efforts are being made to carry out defence research in high altitude areas? This is an inter-disciplinary research work. It means research on metallurgy, physics, chemistry and other disciplines. How many laboratories are there in our country?

SHRI ARUN SINGH: I think the hon. Member asked a question which I should have covered on my own because it is a very pertinent question. We are probably the only defence forces in the world who have to operate in this kind of altitude. There is no country in the world which can assist us in this area. For example, I discussed briefly on clothing and what we are using there is the kind of skiing equipment or mountaineering equipment clothing which is developed in other parts of the world for expedition to go and spend three weeks and come back or two months and come back. But our men have to live there in that equipment, in that clothing, in that altitude for six months. So high altitude research is a very, very major problem for us.

The second problem we have is in regard to our men who have to be at Siachin. Now, it is not enough for us to say any longer that we do not have any permanent solution for our men as to how they live, how they eat, how they equip their food and how they dispose of the waste. So we have to find permanent solutions to these problems and in order to do that we had set up a permanent steering committee some one and half a years ago for high altitude research and it deals with a variety of laboratories ranging from clothing to food, shelter, arms and ammunition, transport, medicines, because some of the diseases as Gen. Aurora has pointed out are totally special in high altitude, for example, oedma, frost-bite and some of the things which we have found are really extraordinary. For your personal interest, Madam, we discovered that there is a physiological, preponderance to frost bite. You can screen a man in the plains and you can tell certain people before they go into the mountains that if this chap goes into the mountains he will be frost-bitten and this kind of research is something which only we need to do because only we use people in those numbers in these areas. Most countries just send them for mountaineering expedition. So we are doing a very basic amount of work on the high altitudes.

SHRI MURLIDHAR CHANDRAKANT BHANDARE: How many laboratories are there?

SHRI ARUN SINGH: We have a total of 45 laboratories.

AN HON. MEMBER: Are there high altitude laboratories?

SHRI ARUN SINGH: Each laboratory makes some contribution at any point of time in any particular project. On high altitude we may have 7-8 laboratories working on it. The specific high altitude laboratories are 2 or 3 only. For example, there is one in Manali. Snow and Avalanche Studies Establishment and there is one in Leh which deals with food production etc. But in putting up these laboratories from all over the place, including engineering laboratories, material science laboratories, a fair amount of work is done. And there is a coordinating committee called the Steering Committee.

In conclusion I would like to reiterate my own personal thanks -- if that is the right word -- to the men and women working in these Defence labs. I am sure the House will join me in conveying our compliments to them. We can say with confidence that they can meet all the challenges that lie ahead of them and we wish them all the best.

May I, with your permission, Madam, share a piece of information with the House? The Swedish Government is issuing the following press statement today in Sweden. The information has just been received from the Swedish Ambassador in India:

"The Government has today decided to ask the National Auditing Board to make an auditing review of certain transactions that were made by Bofors in connection with the Indian Government. The review shall be conducted speedily and should be concluded by the end of May. The Indian Government has made a request to the Swedish Government to try and ascertain if middlemen have been used. The assignment by the Government to the Auditing Board means that the Board shall undertake an auditing review in this matter. The Board may, if necessary, appoint a chartered Accountant to participate in the review. In its work the Board should take the advice of the Military Equipment

Inspectorate. The Government assumes the Bofors will give the Audit Board all necessary insight into the transactions. The Board will also partake all available documents with various authorities concerned. The background to the decision of today is the following.

'An important question during the negotiations for a contract between Bofors and the Indian Defence Ministry was the request of the Indian Government that the Howitzer deal should be concluded directly between the parties without middlemen. This question was also raised in talks between Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi and Prime Minister Olof Palme. In January of 1986 Prime Minister Olof Palme informed Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi that Bofors had declared that it wished to conclude the business directly with the Indian Defence Ministry thus without any middlemen. Bofors also wrote directly to the Defence Ministry in March 1986 stating that no middlemen would occur in the transaction. On April 21 of this year the Indian Ambassador came to the Swedish Foreign Ministry and asked that the Swedish Government should help in obtaining information as to whether middlemen had been used or not. In view of this, the Under Secretary of State, Mr. Carl Yohan Aberg, immediately contacted the leadership of the Nobel industries and requested that full clarity should be obtained in the matter. On April 24 Bofors transmitted a written report to the Indian Ambassador in Stockholm. The Indian Government has declared that an investigation through the Swedish Government is of great importance. The Audit Board will make a speedy review of all those transactions which may be relevant in the matter.'

This has been translated from Swedish to English by the Swedish Embassy in Delhi.

SARDAR JAGJIT SINGH AURORA (Punjab): Madam Deputy Chairman, I think we could now turn to the mundane subject of the Defence Budget after having had a very illuminating and enthusiastic talk, if I may say so, from the Minister of State in the Ministry of Defence.

SHRI NIRMAL CHATTERJEE: Madam, I think this can be done tomorrow also. I think, the Minister has to go now. Of course, tomorrow is the Private Members' day. The only course for us is to skip the lunch hour tomorrow.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: If the House agrees, I have no objection.

SHRI GHULAM RASOOL MATTO: We have to have got two and half hours for the Private Members' business and if we will skip the lunch hour. We will get two and half hours.

SHRI NIRMAL CHATTERJEE: I think that is the only course available now.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: I think that with the consent of the House I can say that after Sardar Jagjit Singh Aurora finishes his speech today, we will adjourn and tomorrow we will have no lunch break and the remaining speakers will speak. Is that all right?

SOME HON. MEMBERS: Yes.

SHRI NIRMAL CHATTERJEE: Madam, sometimes you are more reasonable than my expectation!

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Sometimes you are more sensible than my expectation!

SARDAR JAGJIT SINGH AURORA: Madam, can I carry on?

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Yes, please.

SARDAR JAGJIT SINGH AURORA: Thank you very much. Madam, it is the primary function of the Defence services to provide security to the country from external aggression. Today, all wars are national wars and, therefore, real security can only be provided if the nation as a whole is involved in it. So, there is a need to mobilise all the national resources. The point that I would like to stress at this stage is that it is the national will which is the most important aspect of fighting any war and unless we develop that national will, the will neither be able

to mobilise resources nor we would be able to fight prolonged war. Uptil now, India has had experiences of fighting against China and at least three times against Pakistan. These wars have been of a short duration only and the will of the nation has not really been tested. Their enthusiasm has been tested, but not their will. Therefore, it is the basic duty of the Government which has been in power for a long time to ensure that that will is developed. I am very sorry to say, going by the discussion that has taken place today, we have been talking more or less in despair about how we find ourselves *vis-a-vis* Pakistan, China and America. We seem to be rather overwhelmed by the problem. We have been provided one answer by my worthy colleague, Mr. Bhandare. He has suggested that we should have every imaginable equipment including nuclear weapons and everything else, nuclear submarines included, and only then we will feel secure. But where are the resources? We must realise that India has the compulsion of limited resources and, therefore, we have to learn to be able to fight and defend our country with determination in spite of our inferior resources. It has been done. It was done by China in Korea against the American resources, and not only against the American resources, but also, at that time, against the UN resources. It has been more successfully done by Indo-China, first against the French and, later on, against the American resources which were far far greater, in quality and quantity, than what the Indo-Chinese could produce. That is why, if you forgive me, I want to labour this point and it is this that is really required our determination. We are a nation of 700 million people or maybe 750 million.

SHRI NIRMAL CHATTERJEE: Now, we are 800 million.

SARDAR JAGJIT SINGH AURORA: All right, I will accept that it is 800 million. Therefore, only when we as a nation are determined, only when we as a nation are united and only when we as a nation are enthused about what our task is or job is, we would be able to face what is against us and not otherwise. Now,

the second point is for the defence services. You have to first work out what is the threat. Defence and foreign Policy are very closely allied, and I am very glad that we are talking of defence soon after we have talked about the foreign affairs. We have been talking a great deal about our foreign policy. I think the thing to remember is that there is no permanent foreign policy. There are permanent national interests which govern your foreign policy, and therefore your foreign policy must change to serve your national interest. And that is another aspect, I think, we possibly do not pay enough attention to.

Our national interests are security against two major enemies at the moment—One is China and the other is Pakistan.

Now, China looks a very much a bigger threat. But I do not think it is, because if you evaluate it, the Chinese ability to carry out the land attack supported by Air Force and what you have, over the Himalayas, this limited. Therefore, the real threat from China, as I foresee it, is to embarrass us on the frontier and areas close to the frontiers, rather than launch a major attack. Our plan should be based on how much we need against it and not get so much concerned that they have got 3 million army and we have one million or less than that.

Next comes Pakistan. There is no doubt we do not have a natural barrier against Pakistan. There is no doubt that we cannot compete with them, with the quality of weaponry, because if America is going to continue to help them like this, I feel that whether we try to catch up with them, in every respect, we may not be really be able to do so, because you have to buy these weapons I don't think that the Americans are going to give you the same even if you tell them: We will pay you, and give us these weapons. They won't give, because the Americans are also wanting to use their weapons to serve their permanent interests, and their interests are not tied with us. We must accept this proposition. Therefore, what I suggest is that what

we lack in the modern weaponry we have to make up with the preponderance of resources that we have over the Pakistanis. We certainly have them. What we can produce within, Pakistan cannot produce one-tenth of. I am very happy to know how much progress we have made in Research and Development. My knowledge is a bit out of date. I would like to compliment Mr. Arun Singh for giving us this illuminating talk. It has given us greater confidence that we are on the right lines.

Having decided what is there, now we have to decide the balance force, and that is really important for us. I think that exercise has been done over the years. In any case at the National Defence College they do it every year.

There are one or two points that I would like to mention here. Sometimes we get carried away that we give so much to the Army and not enough to the Navy or give so much to the Air Force and not enough to the Army or the Air Force. For the Air Force you may have to spend millions and billions of rupees. I am not really in a position to criticise it. From what I have heard about the condition of the second aircraft carrier from various people, I am a little bit concerned because I do not know whether we have decided to spend that money in the right manner. If I have been wrongly informed, I stand corrected. I would request the Defence Minister to please throw light on this. I hope the new carrier is better than the one we bought last time. Somebody mentioned about aircraft carrier in 1971 operations. I can assure you that it was by will power rather than the mechanical ability of the aircraft carriers that we could launch the aircraft. If the wind was favourable and if we were running the aircraft carrier in that direction, only then we could do it. Otherwise, it would not pick up enough speed for the launch. It is important that the equipment you buy is good. Otherwise it causes problems and leads to lack of confidence. Deliberately, I am not using the word morale. I think the defence forces of India do not lose their morale so easily as we think they do.

There is one other thing which I would like to stress. When we were briefed, it was mentioned to us that the defence factories would be modernised. These are really vintage factories. They were so when we inherited them and I find that many of them still continue to be vintage. These factories should be really modernised or scrapped if it is not possible to modernise them.

What we cannot produce ourselves, we have to buy from outside. We have to accept that over the years it has become quite common that in large purchases from outside, a certain percentage of commission has gone to the coffers or the pockets of certain people. I am very happy to know that we are making every possible effort to block that leak. I think it is necessary for the Government to take such measures that will convince the people in general that this has really stopped. That can happen if the investigation is carried out thoroughly and in a manner which will give confidence to the representatives of the people. I mean the Parliament -- that it is being done in the right manner in order to block this and that anybody who is guilty will be definitely punished. We would like to know what methods are being used in order to do it. We have to be convinced that you are really trying to find the guilty and that you are going to punish them. It is not easy to do so. I realise it. I may point out that the way the Fairfax Inquiry is being carried out, it has left a large number of people, not only the parliamentarians but the public outside also, concerned and worried as to whether their Government is really sincere to find out the truth and get at the money which has gone outside the country. Not only have they swindled this money, they have done so in foreign exchange about which India is extremely short.

My next point is that whatever we buy from outside, people are going to say that what we bought was not the best. The companies in competition are going to put out articles in the papers in order to confuse the whole thing. Where-

as I do respect the sentiments that our equipment should be kept as secret as possible I think, we should really give sufficient details to the public after you carry out user trials, you may give something about what you have been able to get. You may not give the exact figure but you may say that it was rated to do this, and we can assure you that we have achieved it. Further we have tried it in the desert in the plains, and the hills and have found satisfactory. Certain amount of information of this nature, I feel, should be given whenever possible. Normally I find that the Government of India is very good at advertising or if I may say so the public relations aspect of building up the image. But in this respect, we are being unnecessarily secretive.

The next point I want to mention is about the nuclear weapons. I think, my worth and very senior colleague, Mr. Bhandare has talked about nuclear weapons. He has given his views. My own view is that we cannot afford not to have some, at least, the technique and technology in our hand that we are capable of producing the nuclear weapons at short notice. I do realise that if Pakistan has this nuclear weapon today or is going to get it tomorrow or is only two screw turns away from it, it is not going to use it day after tomorrow. So, need not get unduly panicky about it. But in the long run, we have to have it. And it does really pay to belong to the select club. It happens in ordinary life. I think countries also have got to live by the select club standards. And we can afford it. We have the ability to do so. And, we should do so. It will certainly give us much greater prestige and people will take more notice of us (*Interruptions*).

May I say something about the ex-serviceman and the pensioner. A lot has been said. But, I think, as a pensioner myself I can talk with some personal experience. And also one gets an opportunity to meet many more ex-servicemen, birds of the same feather, as you know. In fact, tomorrow I am going to go across and talk to them. They are having some seminar already going on and I at least want

to tell them that I have tried to promote their cause, and whether it will be a success or not, I cannot say.

SHRI PAWAN KUMAR BANSAL:
Tell them that everybody has tried that.

SARDAR JAGJIT SINGH AURORA:
There is absolutely no doubt about this that the ex-serviceman does not get a fair deal. As a result I find that we are doing ourselves a great deal of harm. If a trained person, whether he is from the EME or he is trained in the use of weapons in the Infantry or the Armoured Corps or the Artillery, if he is unhappy, he is going to do one or two things. One is that he will tell the other young people who want to form the Army,

"For God's sake do not come there; look what is happening to me." And the second thing is that with the situation in the country, he may fall a prey to becoming a dacoit or a fundamentalist or a terrorist. And it does happen. It is necessary for the peace and tranquility in this country that we do look after our ex-servicemen. You engage them young and then throw them away at the age of 30 or 35 hoping that they will get another job. Normally it is difficult to get a job because having been in the Services, he has not learnt the technique of greasing the palms and getting round the people and using political influence to get a job. In fact, he is definitely handicapped, it is very unfair on a person who has decided to serve his country and lay down his life in the service of his country when it is necessary. While I am about it, I just like to mention about the way we treat our gallantry award winners. These persons who won the Param Vir Chakra. We pay them Rs. 150 a month. Is it really fair? What is Rs. 150 a month? So is the case with Ashok Chakra and various other awards. I got a very heart-rending letter from a very dear friend of mine who fought with me in Bangladesh and he is not only MVC once but MVC winner twice. I do not know whether he gets Rs. 300 or whether the Audit and Accounts people have come in the way and say no, you will get only Rs. 75 for the second. May be, I do not know. It is very immoral.

[Sardar Jagjit Singh Aurora]

tant that you please look after these people. Many of these awards are posthumous. Most of the PVCs are posthumously awarded to the children or the widows of the winners. If they are on the street, what is going to happen to them? As you know, there have been cases where people have gone and sold their medals in order to get money and that is very disgraceful. These medals are normally sold to people outside the country who are collectors. They are ready to pay handsomely. This sort of a thing should never happen and we must look into it.

Now, I will end up by saying that I appreciate the Government's concern about the arming of Pakistan by the USA and about the threat from China. We do have to face these challenges. But the

only thing I do object to is that while we are facing them, let us not suffer from low morale, let us not bleat. We have got to decide in spite of our inferiority in weaponry how we are going to win the next round. For this we need determination, national will and the Government's will that we are not going to accept cease-fire after two or three weeks and that we will continue to fight till we have brought our enemy down on its knees. Thank you.

Allocation of Time for disposal of Government and other business

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: I have to inform the Members that the Business Advisory Committee at its meeting held today, the 29th April, 1987, allotted time for Government Legislative Business as follows:

Business	Time Allotted.
1. Consideration and return of the following Bills, as passed by the Lok Sabha :	
(a) The Appropriation (No. 3) Bill, 1987	1 day
(b) The Finance Bill, 1987	2 days
2. Consideration and passing of the Coconut Development Board (Amendment) Bill, 1987	1 hour

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Now the House stands adjourned till tomorrow and will meet at 11 a.m. on 30th.

The House then adjourned at forty eight minutes past six of the clock till eleven of the clock on Thursday, the 30th April, 1987.