

[श्री भोला पासवान शास्त्री]

की जहा तक बात है उसमें कोई दो राय नहीं है। आपको यह संतोष हो जाना चाहिए कि यह विधेयक बिलकुल आर्डर में है और जो जवाब मैंने दिया है उसके बाद मैं समझता हूँ इसको पास करने में माननीय सदस्यों को ज़रा सी भी देर नहीं करनी चाहिए।

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI BIPIN-PAL DAS): The question is—

“That the Bill further to amend the Punjab Municipal Act, 1911, as in force in the Union Territory of Chandigarh, be taken into consideration.”

The Motion was adopted.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI BIPIN-PAL DAS): We shall take up the clause-by-clause consideration of the Bill tomorrow.

Now we will take up the Half-an-Hour Discussion.

HALF-AN-HOUR DISCUSSION ON POINTS ARISING OUT OF ANSWER TO STARRED QUESTION 672 GIVEN ON 23RD AUGUST 1974 REGARDING RECRUITMENT TO DEFENCE SERVICES

SHRI NIREN GHOSH (West Bengal): Sir, . . .

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI BIPIN-PAL DAS): Mr. Niren Ghosh, we want to close the discussion at 6.30.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH: Yes, that you need not tell me.

I rise against the dangerous course that is being almost consistently pursued in the matter of recruitment to the army, that is the concept of martial and non-martial races. It is a hang-over of the British past, colonial past, and it is striking at the very fabric of the unity of India. I say this is a dangerous development. In 1947 the Government of India said this concept has been given up. In 1967 the Secretary to the National Defence Academy said, the theory of martial and non-martial races was completely exploded during the Second World

War. General K. M. Cariappa, the then Army, Chief, said, “I do not understand why anybody gives publicity to this nonsense of martial races”. But on March 14 in Lok Sabha the Defence Minister, Mr. Jagjivan Ram, said, “In order to broaden the recruitment in the various States, recruitment demands placed on Punjab, Himachal Pradesh and Haryana have had to be reduced recently as recruitment from the States has been much heavier than their proportionate share in the past. This is an understatement, though. But the wonder of wonders is that eight Punjab M.Ps. supposed to be progressive—one of them is a CPI M.P. Shri Jagdish Singh Anand—say that other States do not have the aptitude for military service and the required physical fitness. This is their statement. This is a gross insult and it is a scurrilous slander against the majority of States of India.

Our Constitution prohibits discrimination on grounds of religion, race, caste, sex or place of birth. Yet, it has been systematically violated all these 27 years by this Government. Though this was declared in the Constitution, the Government resorted to the previous concept even in 1953 and continued that concept of martial and non-martial races. Shri Jagjivan Ram said in August 1972:

“In the Army the class composition continues yet and it has not been possible to change it due to historical reasons.

So, it is continuing. He also said:

“Such large-scale reservation in the Armed Forces for particular areas is not a very desirable thing. Ever since I took over, I have been oppressed with this idea. How is it in conformity with our Constitution or the new trend that is rising in the country?”

Yet, this thing is continuing. Who are not martial? I have heard an incident. I suppose Sardar Baldev Singh was the first Defence Minister in the post-independence days. When trouble broke out in Kashmir, somebody told him what was happening in Kashmir. Then he is reported to have said: “I will send my Navy to Kashmir to fight

the enemy". The so-called martial race has not only monopolised 40 per cent of the regiment, but they have a large share in the class regiment. Taking the entire army as it is today, over 60 per cent of the forces are drawn from North-West India comprising Punjab, Haryana, Himachal Pradesh, Jammu and a few districts of Western U.P. and North and Western Rajasthan. Cannot the rest of India fight? They are sub-human beings. Some day you will say that the Vietnamese cannot fight: So, this is a blatant violation of our Constitution. I have given you the figures. In 1953 they declared a new recruitment policy. There again there was one class, fixed class and mixed class recruitment in the Army. A Delhi newspaper dated 16th April 1974 carried the following report:

The Government did not want to take any measure that adversely affects the role and importance of Punjabis and Sikhs in the Army anyway.

This report was quoting the Prime Minister's statement on 15th April. I challenge the Prime Minister. She has no right to say that in violation of the Constitution. Does it mean that 15 States of India cannot fight and only Sikhs can fight? History has proved that it is not so. It is not so. It is insulting and it is derogatory to the people of India. How long will it continue? I want to know this from the Defence Minister. Now, Sir, the Defence Ministry spokesman said on 23rd March:

"There has been no change in the policy of representation of the Sikhs in the Army. There need not be any fear or alarm that any injustice would be done to any area or community. The Sikh Light Infantry units are entirely reserved for the Sikhs and they have also approximately 50% representation in the Punjab Regiment besides having a sizeable representation in the Mahars, etc. and the J&K Rifles. Further, the Sikhs have secured more than a proportionate share of representation in the Armed Forces like the Artillery, Engineering Division and the Armoured Corps".

This is the statement and this shows how even the 1953 New Recruitment Policy which carried forward this concept followed it in the matter of recruitment. In this connection, in these areas even in the villages recruitment centres are opened and more than the required number of persons are recruited whereas in the other States recruitment centres are rarely opened and it is not even advertised and even if one or two centres are opened, they are opened in the tribal areas so that no one can come forward! Now, they say that in the Navy and the Air Force there has been no discrimination. But I should say that this is also an utter lie. Here also, Sir—I say it again—here also there has been over-proportionate representation. One or two figures I would like to give now. For 1972-73, the representation of the different States in the Navy is like this:

Punjab	...	...	195
Haryana	...	...	154
M.P.	...	...	74
Gujarat	...	...	2
Andhra Pradesh	...	...	71
Karnataka	...	...	65

What is the basis for this? One does not know what it is. No one knows what the basis for this is. This is in the Navy. So, what are you doing? One day, Sir, the people of India will call this a Punjabi Army because they are over-represented and it is over-staffed by the Punjabis. You see the Admirals, you see the Chiefs of Staff, you see the different Generals. All of them come from this region! What a wonder it is! So, you are striking at the very root and concept of the unity of India and you have continued with this policy for all these 27 years. Please do realise that it is causing deep resentment amongst the various communities in India and this bodes evil for the future development of the unity of India. How long will you carry on with this policy? We want to know this. I want that once and for all this policy must be changed. This policy must be changed. And, Sir, as the first step, I would demand

[Shri Niren Ghosh.]

that quotas, according to the population, must be fixed and these quotas must be drawn. Any man can fight; all people can fight. There is no doubt about it. History has proved it again and again and there is no doubt about this.

Now, there is another point. From the Defence budget—this year it is about 2,000 crores of rupees; but in 1970 it was perhaps about 1,200 crores of rupees—about three hundred crores of rupees have flowed into this region in the form of salaries and wages. So much money has been pumped into this region! But many of these people are worthless and they cannot fight and they cannot cope with any situation and they have neither the intellect nor the equipment nor the courage to do it. I know it for certain that they cannot fight. In a standing Army like this, if the Army units are utilised for coming down heavily on the people, you cannot inspire great ideals in them which inspire any Army to fight for the defence of the border. But that does not take place. Over-representation of this kind in a standing Army in a capitalist-landlord-ridden country like India means that many of the people cannot fight. If they have to face the Marathis or the Bengalis or the Kannadigas or the Malayalees with similar armour and with similar equipment, I dare say that these Punjabis and Sikhs would be defeated. That is the position. You are continuing this. It is a calamity. You are heading towards a calamity, I utter a note of warning. I want a drastic change. These things are taking place.

I do not want to take longer time, I stick to my promise, and I finish, though I am entitled to five minutes more . . .

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI BIPIN-PAL DAS): You have taken 12 minutes already . . .

SHRI NIREN GHOSH: This policy be ended, and recruitment into the Army, according to the population of the States, must be strictly adhered to.

THE MINISTER OF STATE (DEFENCE PRODUCTION) IN THE MINISTRY OF DEFENCE (SHRI VIDYA CHARAN SHUKLA): Sir, the hon. Member has

shouted a lot while placing his point of view before the House, because barring various wrong conclusions that he has drawn . . . (Interruption) . . . Please listen. I am trying to inform you; I am not trying to criticize you.

Barring wrong inference that he has drawn, as far as the policy is concerned, we have no difference with him, and we have already said, and we are implementing it, that now the recruitment is based on the average percentage of the male recruitable population for each area. The concept of 'martial races' has been given up, and given up for good, and nobody can say that recruitment to Army or, for that matter, to any para-military forces, is based on that . . .

SHRI NIREN GHOSH: It is based like that . . .

SHRI VIDYA CHARAN SHUKLA: It is wrong; nobody can say that. It is absolutely wrong. And if the hon. Member says so, he is speaking from lack of knowledge of facts. But he must know that this is because of historical reason. We cannot get away from it as quickly as we would like to. We would not like to completely upset the Armed Forces by saying that here and now we finish off everything that has been done. We say that we have changed the basic policy. The basic policy is being implemented in a proper, phased and careful manner as not to impair the defence preparedness of the country. It does not mean that under this cloak we carry on the old policy or we carry on the old concept. We do not say that the martial races policy is correct. It is absolutely wrong to say that.

It is very clear that the proportion of so-called martial races has been progressively going down over the years. It has not gone down as fast as we would like to because of, again, historical reasons. It is no shame in saying that because of historical reasons this has been so. And today if we have been successful in bringing down the percentage of so-called martial races than it used to be ten years back or 15 years back or at the time of Independence, it is because of the conscious policy that the Government has

followed in this regard right from the day of Independence. And, therefore, if the progressive composition of the Army is properly analysed, it will show the result that the recruitment from various other parts of the country from almost all States of the country and from various sections of society has been increasing, whereas it was almost non-existent before Independence.

Sir, the hon. Member made a wrong reference to the Chiefs of Staff, for instance. We know that our Chief of the Army Staff comes from South; he is from Karnataka and he is a Brahmin. But the hon. Member chooses to ignore that fact. Nobody calls him as belonging to martial races. And if he takes the Principal Staff Officer and senior officers of the Army, Navy and Air Force, he will probably improve his knowledge.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH: Will you give us the figure?

SHRI VIDYA CHARAN SHUKLA: You turn the telephone directory and you can see. You can go out and . . .

SHRI NIREN GHOSH: You want me to go out . . .

SHRI VIDYA CHARAN SHUKLA: We will give you, if you want. If you go out of the House and turn the pages of the telephone directory you can see. I am telling you that if you take the trouble of only turning the telephone directory, under the Army, the Navy and the Air Force Headquarters in Delhi itself, you will see more or less the composition of the three Armed Forces . . .

SHRI NIREN GHOSH: Sixty per cent come from these three or four States.

SHRI VIDYA CHARAN SHUKLA: The hon. Member is absolutely wrong there. There is no such thing. If the hon. Member likes, he can go through . . . (*Interruption*). Sir, this kind of running commentary will not help him and he will go out of the House as ignorant as he came in. Therefore, I would advise him to listen to what I am saying. You will not agree with me,

but listen to me. The only reason why you will not let me speak without interruption is that you do not wish to learn anything from me.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH: Sir . . .

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI BIPINPAL DAS): Let him answer the question.

SHRI VIDYA CHARAN SHUKLA: Sir, the policy that has been followed by the Government is that the recruitable male population in each State of the Union is now regarded as the base for recruitment, and the orders have been issued to recruit strictly on that basis. This would surely mean lessening the recruitment in certain areas where earlier, before independence, the recruitment was more than the ratio would justify. In those areas, the recruitment will surely go down. And, therefore, some Members have taken objection to that, but not withstanding those objections, we are firmly going ahead with our policy that we have announced in the House and repeated several times in other forums. The census figures provide the basis for this recruitment. It is a fact that we do come across certain areas where there is a lack of interest in recruitment and in certain other areas there is much more enthusiasm than we find in certain other areas. So, this as also sought to be removed by various methods like propaganda, education and requesting and persuading people by advertisements and by various other methods to join the Air Force, the Navy and the Armed Forces. In certain other areas, this kind of inducements or advertisements may not be necessary. And this again, howsoever the hon. Member may dislike the expression, is because of historical reasons. He cannot falsify the history. It has been there. Howsoever obnoxious it may be, it is there. If we have not made it certainly on the lines of the People's Liberation Army, it is mainly because of our idea that we want to keep it as a viable fighting force at all times to come and we do not wish to disrupt the composition in an abrupt and irregular manner.

[Shri Vidya Charan Shukla.]

Sir, there is no discrimination amongst the recruiting officers and in their work as far as the recruitment pattern goes. They recruit strictly according to the regulations. And I have described the regulations. We have prescribed the physical standards and according to that, they are recruited. There are certain relaxations provided which may be given at the discretion of the recruiting officer. In the one-class and fixed-class regiments, the recruitment is still according to what it used to be. But the percentage of these one-class and fixed-class regiments in the country's army is less. It is only 38 per cent. And 62 per cent of the Army is composed of all-class regiments. Therefore, the historical mistake is being corrected in a manner that it will not compromise the interests of security and I can assure the hon. Member that as far as the Government is concerned, there is no wish on our part to continue with the old mistakes. We have given up the practice long back, as I stated earlier; and we are going ahead with the policy that was enunciated immediately after the Independence. This policy is being followed and we will continue to follow it. The innuendoes that the hon. Member has made, I need not answer them. But, I can, in the end, again assure the hon. Member that the policy that we have followed has given us dividends, has kept the Army, the Navy and the Air Force in proper trim. As he himself has said, except the Army; the Navy and the Air Force do not have any fixed class or one-class regiments. They do not have the regiments based on region, like the Punjab Regiment, the Garhwal Regiment and things like that. Even in these fields, it is our declared policy that we shall alter this. But, this alteration will have to be done in a very careful manner. And, therefore, while agreeing with the general sentiments of the House when I answered this question earlier, I would again like to reiterate that it is our policy to see that citizens of India from all classes and from all regions of this country are given equal opportunity according to their population ratio to get into our Armed Forces and get equal opportunities to make sacrifices for the security and defence of India.

SHRI N. R. CHOUDHURY (Assam): Sir, I carefully listened to the Minister's reply but I am not satisfied with the reply that he has given.

DR. K. MATTHEW KURIAN (Kerala): Because, you are not intelligent.

SHRI N. R. CHOUDHURY: Sir, you know that in the total recruitment to the Defence Services, martial races have a monopoly of 40 per cent of the regiments. He said that there are one-class and all-class regiments and 62 per cent of the Army consists of all-class regiments. My point is that in all-class regiments also these so-called martial races are being recruited. The martial races have not only a total monopoly of 40 per cent of the regiments but they also have a very large share in the all-class regiments too. Taking the entire Army, as it is today, over 60 per cent of the forces are drawn from North-West India, comprising the Punjab, Haryana, Himachal Pradesh, Jammu and a few districts each of Western U.P. and North-Western Rajasthan. Sir, this point is very vital. If you look at the contribution made by these States to the national exchequer, you will find that it is very meagre as compared to the contributions made by West Bengal, Maharashtra, Tamil Nadu and Assam etc. But, you will see that a lion's share of the national exchequer is being taken by them by way of military pensions and also as salary to the Army personnel and in the 70s it is about Rs. 300 crores per year. So, Sir, the point is economic in the sense that the resources at the disposal of the national exchequer should be equally distributed among the people all over the country. It is for this reason that quality has to be achieved. But, Sir, whatever he may say, he did not clear this point. I want a clarification on this point. Also, Sir, whatever recruitment policy they may have, that policy is not being executed. Sir, that point has not been answered by the Minister.

There are elaborate arrangements for recruitment in the so-called martial race areas. Even in villages they set up camps to recruit and they recruit a large number of people, beyond the number fixed for

those areas and, Sir, in those areas which they have classified as non-martial race areas, no arrangement whatsoever is made; no announcement is made, no propaganda is made and therefore nobody can be recruited from those States.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH: Even those who are recruited . . .

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI BIPIN-PAL DAS): He needs no prompting.

SHRI N. R. CHOUDHURY: I want a specific reply on this point also.

Then the other point is—it is a very important point the lives of the recruits are made miserable in the training camps; the lives of the recruits from the areas inhabited by the non-martial races, their lives are made miserable by, what they call in modern times, ragging. That also works as a bad propaganda against recruitment in those areas. *Time bell rings* I am finishing within two minutes. I also want a clarification from him about this.

Another point is, he says "History". Yes, I admit there are some historical reasons. But that is a black history.

SHRI RANBIR SINGH (Haryana): No, no. Pakistan was defeated by these people.
(*Interruptions*)

SHRI N. R. CHOUDHURY: If Mr. Ranbir Singh behaves in this way, I will remind him of some plain facts of history.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI BIPIN-PAL DAS): Please conclude your point now. Do not go into history.
(*Interruptions*)

SHRI NIREN GHOSH: Enough of that.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI BIPIN-PAL DAS): The Minister will reply.

SHRI N. R. CHOUDHURY: I am not entering into any dispute. There is a single point I would like to make. Because of the contempt the Haryana M.P. is showing towards people from the non-martial races, I would like to remind him of some plain facts of history. I am quoting, Sir:

"Over thousands of years, wave after wave of invaders swept over Punjab in

the west, but the only occasion the Punjabis are known to have prepared to give a fight to the invader was when Porus marched his forces against Alexander the Great in 326 B.C. on the banks of the Jhelum. Punjab was then part of the Persian Empire. Porus was outmanoeuvred and defeated when in serious battle the Macedonians actually crossed the river".

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI BIPIN-PAL DAS): Please conclude now. You cannot go into long history like this; you cannot go into thousand years of Indian history.

SHRI N. R. CHOUDHURY: I am not going into the long history, Sir. Then the British, with an army raised from Eastern India and the South conquered Punjab without any real fight. Even today, the casualties among the members of the non-martial races are high in the battlefield.

(*Interruptions*)

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI BIPIN-PAL DAS): You must conclude now.

SHRI N. R. CHOUDHURY: One minute, Sir.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI BIPIN-PAL DAS): No, half a minute.

SHRI N. R. CHOUDHURY: I am not going into those points. I am simply raising one point for the Minister. Now they are maintaining all these racial regiments as the British legacy. They do not want to have any Bengal Regiment. They are maintaining British legacy of State and racial regiments but they do not allow Bengal regiment . . . (*Interruptions*) . . . because they say that the sepoy mutiny was first started in Bengal . . . (*Interruptions*).

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI BIPIN-PAL DAS): Now Mr. Choudhury, this is not a debate. You can only ask for a clarification.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH: He has been disturbed.

SHRI N. R. CHOUDHURY: They refuse to have Bengal regiment and also Assam regiment. You will find a few Assamese there and that is monopolised by the so-called martial races.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI BIPIN-PAL DAS): Please sit down.

SHRI N. R. CHOUDHURY: Let the Minister clarify this point. The recruitment policy of the Government is being foisted by the officers coming from these so-called martial races who dominate the Defence Headquarters.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI BIPIN-PAL DAS): Yes, you have made your point fully.

श्री जगदीश जोशी : (मध्य प्रदेश) मेरा प्रश्न सेना में भर्ती में कद के विषय में है।

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI BIPIN-PAL DAS): Only question, not a speech.

श्री जगदीश जोशी : मेरा निवेदन यह है कि इस प्रश्न के सिलसिले में माननीय मंत्री जी ने स्पष्ट उत्तर नहीं दिया और बताया कि आदिवासियों के लिए 156 सेंटीमीटर है, गोरखा के लिए 152 सेंटीमीटर है और हरिजनों के लिए कोई कैटेगरी नहीं रखी है। मेरा कहना है और बहुत साफ है कि इस देश में जो कम खाने वाले लोग हैं उनका कद बहुधा बहुत लम्बा नहीं हो सकता है, लेकिन रण कौशल में उनकी क्षमता में कोई कमी नहीं है। इसलिए कद वाली शर्त जो गोरखा के लिए रखी है न्यूनतम, वही सारे हिन्दुस्तान में लागू होनी चाहिये।

दूसरा सवाल इसके साथ साथ यह निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ और यह सवाल मैंने जानबूझकर इसलिए किया है कि मैं इस बात को जानता हूँ कि हरिजन और आदिवासियों की प्रगति सेना में बहुत धीमी है। इन लोग जो जमीन में झाड़ू देने के अलावा और कोई काम नहीं मिलता है। हरिजन सुरक्षा मंत्री हो सकता है और वही हरिजन सुरक्षा मंत्री हिन्दुस्तान को पहली बार जीत के कगार

पर लाकर खड़ा कर सकता है। लेकिन आज बड़े आफिसर हरिजन नहीं हो सकते हैं और जनरल नहीं हो सकते हैं। (Interruptions) मुझे जरा अपनी बात कहने दीजिये। मैं बीच में हस्तक्षेप करना पसन्द नहीं करता हूँ। मैं तरक्की के सिलसिले में कहना चाहता हूँ कि जो दून के पढ़े लिखे लड़के होते हैं और जो जमीन के सिपाही हैं...

उप-सभाध्यक्ष (श्री बिपिनपाल दास) : आप का सवाल क्या है ?

श्री जगदीश जोशी : मैं सवाल ही कर रहा हूँ और मेरा सवाल यह है कि जो दून स्कूल के पढ़े लिखे लड़के होते हैं, उनको आफिसर बनने का जो अधिकार है, उसको बन्द किया जाना चाहिये मैं यह जानना चाहता हूँ कि कितने प्रतिशत आफिसरों की जगह उन सिपाहियों को मिलती है जो जमीन पर काम करते हैं? असल में दुनिया के आजाद देशों में जो सिपाही सेना में काम करते हैं, उनको सब से ऊँचे आफिसर बनने का अवसर प्राप्त होता है। इसमें पढ़े लिखे, वी० ए० और एम० ए० की डिग्री की कोई शर्त नहीं होती है। इसलिए यह जो शर्त सिपाहियों के लिए आफिसर बनने पर लगाई है, उसको खत्म किया जाना चाहिये ताकि उन लोगों को भी सेना में जनरल बनने का अवसर प्राप्त हो सके। आफिसर बनने में उनका प्रतिशत 75 हो और जो दून के स्कूल के पढ़े लिखे लड़के हैं, उनका प्रतिशत 25 होना चाहिये। मैं उनको खत्म करने की बात नहीं कह रहा हूँ। वे लोग तो सीधे स्कूल से पढ़ लिख कर सैकेंड लैफ्टीनेन्ट बन जाते हैं, लेकिन एक सिपाही जो सेना में पाँच दस साल काम करता है, उसको आगे बढ़ने का अवसर इस समय प्राप्त नहीं होता है। उसको जनरल, कर्नल, ब्रिगेडियर और चीफ आफ दिस्टाफ बनने का अवसर मिलना चाहिये जो आज उसको नहीं मिलता है। मैं यह जानना चाहता हूँ इस तरह के पदों पर कितने प्रतिशत इस तरह के लोग पहुँचे हैं? क्या आप इस तरह की स्थिति को सुधारने की कोशिश करेंगे? यह जो कद की

सीमा की पाबन्दी है, वह गोरखा के लिए एक है, आदिवासियों के लिए एक है और हरिजनों के लिए कुछ नहीं है। तो मैं ये निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि इस सीमा को खत्म करके आप एक समान सीमा कर दीजिये। इसी तरह का हिसाब छानी वगैरह का भी है और मैं इस बस पर अभी नहीं जाना चाहता हूँ क्योंकि आज का जो युद्ध है वह साफि-स्टिकेटेड हो गया है। इस तरह के युद्ध में कद और दूसरी चीजों को ज्यादा महत्व नहीं दिया जाता है। अगर इक्विसिटी सदी का युद्ध हुआ, तो वह कमरों में बैठकर तय हो जायेगा। आज मास्को में, वाशिंगटन और पैकिंग के बीच जो युद्ध है, वह कमरों के अन्दर से लड़ा जायेगा और इसमें मेना नहीं लड़ेगी।

यह जो कद वाला मामला है इस पर एक नीति हों ताकि देश का जो नीचे का दबा हुआ आदमी है वह यह महसूस न करे कि गोरखा कोई बड़ी ऊंची जाति है जिसको अगह मिलती है, हमको नहीं मिलती है। सबके लिए आप बराबरी करिए। इस कद के नियम को परिवर्तन करने में सरकार को कितना समय लगेगा? हमें अपनी गुलामी का इतिहास याद रखना चाहिए, लेकिन उसकी नकल नहीं करनी चाहिए। इसलिए इन दो चीजों के सम्बन्ध में—कद की समानता और अफसरी में पैर के सॉलजर्स का प्रतिशत बढ़ाना—मैं कैटेगोरिकल आन्सर चाहता हूँ।

श्री रबी राय (उड़ीसा) : उपसभापति जी, शुक्ल जी के भाषण को सुनकर मुझे लगा कि उसमें विरोधाभास है। उन्होंने कहा कि जनसंख्या के आधार पर रिक्रूटमेंट करते हैं। मैं यह जानना चाहता हूँ कि उन्होंने कब से यह फैसला लिया है? उन्होंने दो-तीन साल पहले लिया होगा यानी 15-20 साल तक उनका पुराना फैसला ही लागू था। अब कहते हैं कि मार्शल और नानमार्शल कन्सेप्ट को मान नहीं रहे हैं। आप आंकड़ों को देखिए, खासकर ईस्टर्न इंडिया के आंकड़े। 72-73 में आसाम में नेवी में 26 लिए गए और एयर फोर्स में

227 इसमें विरोधाभास है। उड़ीसा में नेवी में 39 और एयर फोर्स में 276 लिए गए। पश्चिम बंगाल में नेवी में 100 और एयर फोर्स में 386 लिए गए परमेंटेज आफ रिक्रूटमेंट आसाम का निल है जबकि एकचुअल परसेंटेज आफ रिक्रूटमेंट टू दि एन्टायर आर्मी 68-69 से 70-71 में आसाम का निल कहा गया है नम्बर रिक्रूटेड टु आर्मी इयूरिंग 68-69 टू 72-73 पांच साल में 7474। बिहार का परसेंटेज आफ रिक्रूटमेंट 10.2 है और एकचुअल एवरेज रिक्रूटमेंट 5.13 है, उड़ीसा का परसेंटेज आफ रिक्रूटमेंट 3.9 है जबकि एकचुअल एवरेज रिक्रूटमेंट 1.27 है। जो आंकड़ा हमारे पास है वह भारत सरकार का है। शुक्ल साहब कह रहे हैं कि मार्शल और नानमार्शल की बात नहीं रहती है, लेकिन जो आंकड़ा हमने प्रस्तुत किया उससे मालूम होता है कि ऐसा हो रहा है। मैं जानना चाहता हूँ कि क्या वे कोई विशेष कार्यक्रम लेना चाहेंगे जिससे यह जो अनुपात है पूर्वी हिन्दोस्तान का वह दूसरे प्रान्तों पंजाब, हिमाचल प्रदेश, हरियाणा के बराबर आ सके?

दूसरा प्रश्न यह है कि मुसलमानों में इस तरह की शंका है कि शायद उनके ऊपर सरकार को विश्वास नहीं है और इसीलिए जिस तरह से उनका रिक्रूटमेंट होना चाहिए वह नहीं हो रहा है। मैं चाहता हूँ कि वे इस बारे में सदन को बताएं।

तीसरी बात यह है—जिसे जोशी जी ने भी उठाया—कि हिन्दुस्तान के जो आदिवासी और हरिजन हैं उनके दिमाग में यह आ गया है कि हम कभी ब्रिगेडियर या उससे ऊपर के अफसर नहीं बनने वाले हैं क्योंकि हम हरिजन और आदिवासी हैं। इस सिलिसिले में क्या आप कोई विशेष कार्यक्रम अपनाएंगे? आपको अपनी नीति में, रिक्रूटमेंट की नीति में मौलिक परिवर्तन करना होगा। जैसा दुनिया के दूसरे देशों में होता है, जिसको कान्स-क्रिप्शन कहते हैं, उस अनिवार्य भर्ती को हम अपनाएँ तो हिन्दुस्तान का जो पूर्वी इलाका है, दक्षिणी इलाका है, जिसका सदियों से ब्रिटिश सरकार ने

[श्री रबी राय]

और ब्रिटिश सरकार की अनयायी इस सरकार ने नान-मार्शल के नाम पर अनुपात नहीं बढ़ाया, उनका भेद मिट सकेगा। 24, 25, 26, साल के जितने आदमी हों, उनको कान्सक्रिप्शन के अन्डर में भरती किया जाय आर्मी में, जब इस तरह का मौलिक सिद्धान्त आप अपनाएंगे तब अनुपात बढ़ सकता है और मार्शल और नान-मार्शल का भेद मिट सकता है। क्या मंत्री महोदय इस बारे में विचार करेंगे।

SHRIMATI MARGARET ALVA (Karnataka): Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, I am not speaking here today to create further trouble because I think we have already had enough of it. I speak here because I feel that 27 years after independence we have still failed—I do not know due to what—to build a truly nationalist picture of the army. I know that the British had a plan when they set up the army, along various communal, caste and religious lines because it suited their interests to set one group of Indians against another and thus to keep them fighting all the time. Though in 1947 the Government had spoken clearly of giving up this class-bias and of building up a truly nationalist army, it seems very strange that 27 years after independence the hon. Defence Minister had to admit recently that very little had been done in this direction and that we are still today in the old rut of having recruitment on these various communal, religious and caste lines. I know that the hon. Minister, in his reply, has denied some of the statistics which have been presented, but I would still like to ask him this. These so-called martial races, well, they may be physically stronger or perhaps more attractively built than us in the South. All the same, I would like to know why, even after 27 years of independence, these areas which comprise just 15 per cent of the population of the country today has 60 per cent representation in the Armed Forces? Is it that there is something wrong with us in other parts of the country or are we less patriotic or are we less capable of fighting for the motherland than these people? I

have great regard and respect for those who have fought and laid down their lives in the defence of the country, but that does not mean that the other parts of the country should not have an equal opportunity to contribute their bit to the defence of the motherland. It is in this strain as a southerner, though I am a woman, that I would like to emphasise that greater scope should be given to people from other parts and other areas to make their own contribution.

Coming to the question of regiments, which has already been raised, forty per cent are reserved for the so-called martial races and the rest 60 per cent is open to all Indians. There too, since they think they are better in a way they get a larger share compared to the southern areas. I think it is unnecessary in the army of today to have this kind of physical prowess. You have also to give them various skills. There are various other aspects which have to be taken into consideration. You have to open up mechanised columns. You have various other fields today in the Army which can perhaps be reserved for these people who are not so good in certain other aspects of army life. There are today 19 regiments bearing names of States, races and castes. If this has to continue, then either have it in the name of everybody else, or do not have them at all. You must think in terms of a single, uniform system by which you will have only a national army and not a class-biased army.

Then the question of minority comes in. It is rather frustrating to see that their recruitment to the Armed Forces has fallen very steeply, as far as the minorities are concerned. Why is it? Is it because they are decreasing in their patriotism or they are losing interest, or they are not getting enough facilities now after independence? (*Time bell rings*). The Defence Budget for 1974 . . .

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI BIPINPAL DAS): Do not come to the Budget. Please put a question.

(*Interruptions*)

DR. K. MATHEW KURIAN (Kerala): Sir, you can be chivalrous.

SHRIMATI MARGARET ALVA: There is only one woman-speaker. A sum of Rs. 300 crores is going to this particular area by way of pension, retirement benefits and other facilities every year. I do not grudge it, but we would also like to have economic benefits coming to us by way of these things. One more important point . . .

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI BIPIN-PAL DAS): No point. Ask a question.

SHRIMATI MARGARET ALVA: Unless I make the point, I cannot put the question. Today the Government is giving many facilities to ex-Servicemen. They have reservation in jobs; they have also facilities for re-employment and many other facilities. I ask: Why does it not come to others? I should like to know why we should be discriminated against and should not get those benefits as well.

The hon. Defence Minister has said that he is seized of the matter of recruitment to the Army. If after 27 years they have not been able to correct the imbalances, I would like to know how many more years we are expected to wait to get justice and fairplay and herald the birth of a truly Indian National Army.

श्री भैरों सिंह शेखावत (मध्य प्रदेश) : सभापति महोदय, यह दुर्भाग्य है कि सेना में नये सिरे से रीजनील बेसिस पर रिक्रूटमेंट करने का प्रयत्न किया जा रहा है। केवल दो प्रश्न मैं मंत्री महोदय से पूछना चाहता हूँ। मंत्री महोदय ने यह कहा कि सेना में रिक्रूटमेंट जनसंख्या के आधार पर होगा। मैं ऐसा समझता हूँ कि जनसंख्या से उनका अर्थ एक प्रांत में कितनी जनसंख्या हो और उस प्रदेश का कितना रिप्रजेंटेशन असल में होना चाहिए, होगा। मैं यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि हिन्दुस्तान की आल इंडिया सिविल सर्विसेज या स्टेट सर्विसेज में आज तक किसी भी राज्य में रीजनील बेसिस पर कोटा निर्धारित नहीं किया गया। इस स्थिति में सेना में केवल आप रीजनील बेसिस पर अपांटमेंट करेंगे उसके क्या परिणाम निकलेंगे इस पर क्या सरकार ने गम्भीरता से विचार कर लिया है ?

दूसरा प्रश्न इस संबंध में सरकार से यह जानना चाहता हूँ अभी किसी माननीय सदस्य ने मार्शल रेसिज के खिलाफ खासकर नीरेन घोष जी सिक्खों के खिलाफ जहर उगला है। मैं सदन के अंदर इतना कहना चाहता हूँ कि इन्होंने ही 1965-71 में सब प्रकार की कुर्बानी करके देश की सुरक्षा की थी।

मैं एक निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ मंत्री महोदय से कि जैसा अभी जगदीश जोशी जी कह रहे थे कि शैड्यूल्ड कास्ट और शैड्यूल्ड ट्राइब्स और गोरखाज में जाति के मामले में किसी प्रकार का अंतर नहीं होना चाहिए। मैं सरकार से निवेदन करना चाहूंगा कि क्या सरकार ने सो-काल्ड मार्शल रेसिज की हाईट, वेट और चैस्ट ग्राम जनता के मुकाबले ज्यादा रखा है ताकि इस आधार पर उनका नम्बर कम हो जाए ? क्या सरकार का यह दृष्टिकोण वाजिव है ? अगर सरकार कोमन पैटर्न लेकर चले कि फिजिकल फिटनेस में इतनी लम्बाई होनी चाहिए, इतना वेट होना चाहिए तब तो उचित होगा और अगर आप रीजनील बेसिस पर, कम्युनिटी बेसिस पर हाईट, वेट और चैस्ट के बारे में कोई सीमा निर्धारित करेंगे तो मैं समझता हूँ आरमी में इसका निश्चित रूप से बुरा असर पड़ेगा। मैं इस बारे में सरकार का विचार जानना चाहता हूँ।

श्री राजनारायण (उत्तर प्रदेश) : मैं एक प्रश्न पूछना चाहूंगा सरकार में। असम में 71-72 में नेवी में 26 और एयर फोर्स में 237 मैं पूछना चाहता हूँ ऐसा क्यों ? इसी तरह केरल में 180 नेवी में और एयर फोर्स में 293 क्यों ? मेरा सवाल है ऐसा क्यों है ? क्या कारण है कि नेवी में 26 केवल और एयर फोर्स में 237 है। इसी तरह से बंगाल में नेवी में 100 और एयर फोर्स में 386 है। मेरा कहना है कि जिस प्रोपोसिनेट में पश्चिमी बंगाल में एयर फोर्स की संख्या ज्यादा है उसी प्रोपोसिनेट में हरियाणा में क्यों नहीं है, पंजाब में क्यों नहीं है। इसका कारण क्या है सरकार इसका उत्तर दे।

SHRI VIDYA CHARAN SHUKLA: Sir, the various points that have been raised and some queries that have been raised here will represent the varying opinions that hon'ble Members have regarding this all important question. I would say that we have taken a balanced view of this question and we have tried, while not impairing the defence preparedness or the viability of our Defence forces, to see that proper representation is given to all regions and all classes of our society. This I have said earlier, and I may repeat it so that the diametrically opposed views that have been expressed here—if we had more time probably we would have heard a greater variety of these views diametrically opposed to each other—are answered. I would not say that one point of view is more valid than the other or the other point is less valid than the third point or that the point raised by Mrs. Margaret Alva is not valid. I am saying that all these points have to be taken into account and then a balanced and rational approach has to be made in such a way that it does not suddenly upset the efficiency and the fighting ability of our armed forces. This is what I have been trying to say.

Shri Rabi Ray asked as to when we took these decisions. We took these decisions immediately after the independence and we have been implementing them. If he cares to see the various answers that have been given in this House in this session and in the last session he will find that what used to happen before is not happening now. We are giving more and more representation to such areas and such classes which did not get representation earlier when the pernicious theory of so-called martial races was being implemented by the British rulers in India. That is not so now. Mr. N. R. Choudhury wanted to know why we do not have a Bengal Regiment when we have the Sikh or the Punjab Regiment. It is a peculiar question and I am surprised that an intelligent Member and a well-informed Member like Shri N. R. Choudhury should ask a question like this. Does he expect us to repeat the mistakes that were made in the past? We have made mistakes during a time when

we were not ruling our own country. Mistakes were made when the regiments were raised on the regional basis like the Punjab Regiment or the Garhwal Regiment and so on. Now the only thing that we have done is we have not disbanded these regiments but at the level of foot soldiers . . .

SHRI N. R. CHOUDHURY: Why do you not remove these classes?

SHRI VIDYA CHARAN SHUKLA: I have clearly stated . . .

श्री श्याम लाल यादव (उत्तर प्रदेश) : श्रीमान् मेरा एक व्यवस्था का सवाल है। अभी अपने मंत्री जी ने कहा कि जब मैं आप शासन में आया है तब से इस प्रकार की रेजिमेंट्स नहीं बनाई गई है। मैं यह जानना चाहता हूँ कि क्या यह सही नहीं है कि इंडिपेंडेंस के बाद नागा रेजिमेंट बनाई गई है।

SHRI VIDYA CHARAN SHUKLA: We have said several times in this House that this is the only exception that has been made. After independence only Naga Regiment has been raised. That is all. There is no other thing that the hon'ble Member can point out. It is not something that has been hidden from the country or the Parliament.

SHRI SHYAM LAL YADAV: In one case you have done that.

SHRI VIDYA CHARAN SHUKLA: We have done so and we have said that we have made exception. But this does not mean that we must make a rule that since the Punjab Regiment continues we must also make a Bengal Regiment or Madhya Pradesh Regiment or a Mysore Regiment. Therefore, what I am saying is that historical mistakes need to be corrected and it will be wrong to repeat them. There might be justification for hon'ble Mr. N. R. Choudhury to say that there should be a Bengal Regiment because that will satisfy his sentiments . . .

SHRI N. R. CHOUDHURY: I did not say that. My point was, if you are retaining

these class regiments and carrying on the British legacy, either you remove that legacy . . .

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI BIPIN-PAL DAS): Please hear him first in full. Before you hear him in full, you go on repeating.

SHRI VIDYA CHARAN SHUKLA: I can assure the hon. Member that there would be no repeating of the mistakes that were committed earlier. Now, Shri Jagdish Joshi raised an important point, to which I had the occasion of replying earlier although there was not sufficient time, about the height and other physical standards that have been prescribed for various classes of our people. The hon. Member, Shri Shekhawat also raised this question whether it is going to do any good for us to discriminate on the basis of physical standards. According to him, it will militate against the physical fitness of our Armed Forces and it will also discriminate against the classes who have been fighting for the security of India. May I say that it will not discriminate against them, because when we prescribed certain standards, it was done after a great deal of thought, a great deal of experience. We get the physical standards in a common way in various regions. For instance, we know the Gorkhas are short-statured. Whether they are well fed or they are very strong, they are short-statured. You cannot find a Gorkha who is over 6 feet in height. It may be an exception if you find a Gorkha who is over 6 feet. Therefore, if we prescribe for Ahirs, Gujars, Jats, Rajputs and Sikhs a height of 168 cms, it is not that we are trying to keep away the bulk of the Ahirs, Gujars, Jats, Rajputs and Sikhs from the Armed Forces, but we do get a great number of these people in this height with a chest measurement of 81 cms and a weight of 54 Kgs. In the same manner, we have prescribed for various regions, on the basis of experience, on the basis of deep study, various physical standards.

Now, coming to the point raised by Shri Jagdish Joshi, his anxiety is well understood. What he says is not wrong. We must encourage the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes people to get into the Armed

Forces in greater number. Even if it means going out of the way, we must do it. But when he says that everybody's height should be reduced to 152 cms, which comes approximately to a little less than 5 feet, it would mean that the chest and weight ratio will have to be reduced accordingly. It would mean that people coming from Shri Shekhawat's area or people coming from Shri Ranbir Singh's area, with a height below 5 feet will have to be taken even if the chest is small and the weight is very little; even sub-standard people will have to be taken if you were to prescribe a uniform scale of height, weight and chest ratio all over the country. Then Mr. Shekhawat will not feel happy because it will be a limited number which can be taken from these various sources every year. And if there is no physical discrimination or if various qualifying physical standards are not prescribed, then it will mean a tremendous confusion and also impairing of physical standards in our Armed Forces. Therefore, what has been prescribed is not with a view to making any discrimination, but it has been prescribed in order to see that every class of our society can get into the Armed Forces according to the existing circumstances. And there is the least amount of discrimination, there is the least amount of rejection, because of the various heights and physical standards that have been prescribed. For the information of the honourable Shri Jagdish Joshi I will say that we have prescribed for Adivasis, Bhils, Gonds, and Santhals and Mahas various, differing, physical standards. These belong to Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. And these have been carefully worked out to see that they do not discriminate against the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes people. I come from Madhya Pradesh from where Shri Joshi comes. I know certain of our Adivasis have very little height. In height standards they might be as good as Gorkhas. But it is not so. If you take the all-India picture of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, it is not so. Therefore, I would not say that even for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes we might distinguish on the basis of various regions. We have prescribed an average physical standard and there is no complaint about any discrimination because

[Shri Vidya Charan Shukla.]

of the physical standards. Therefore, Mr. Jagdish Joshi should be well assured that on this account at least there is no discrimination with the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes people.

The other point that has been raised is whether people coming to officers' class in the various armed forces come from various public schools, Doon Schools and places like that. I would say that most of the people, most of the boys today, that come and join the armed forces, are not coming from these public schools. They come either from Sainik Schools or they come from general competitive recruitment. That is the main point here. I am glad to say that they represent a very good cross section of our society. It would be wrong to say that these officers today are coming from a particular class or a particular region. If you see the recruitment list of officers that have been recruited in the army, navy and air-force for the past several years, you will find that there is a good distribution of these officers and they have come from various segments of our society and not necessarily from the affluent segments of our society. Shri Jagdish Joshi raised this point about promotion of foot soldiers to the rank of General. This is a matter which has been given deep thought and which has been debated not only in our country, but in various other countries. We have followed a pattern, and I think this is a pattern which is followed—I am speaking subject to correction—in most of the countries which have standing armies. Where they have a system of mobilisation, in countries where they do not maintain a standing army, there they may have a different pattern. But in countries which maintain standing armies of the size that we have, I think this is the pattern that they follow, two or three segments of officers: non-commissioned officers, then commissioned officers and then junior commissioned officers. I cannot go into the details of how these foot soldiers are promoted to various ranks of junior commissioned officers or non-commissioned officers or how they come into commissioned officers. But I would say that the system that we have devised is working absolutely satisfactorily and there is no resentment in the army or air-force or navy

against the system that we have today. I can make a categorical statement on this account. Therefore, I do not think that the present system that we are following or the promotion policy that we are following calls for any change . . .

SHRI JAGDISH JOSHI: What is the pattern in UK?

SHRI VIDYA CHARAN SHUKLA: Off-hand I would not be able to say, but I will let the honourable Member know what pattern UK follows. In any case, we need not follow everything that UK follows. We have our own peculiar requirements and we must decide our policy according to these requirements. Then, the honourable Shrimati Margaret Alva was very much exercised and the honourable Shri Rabi Ray raised the question of minority recruitment in the armed forces. I think it is very pernicious to say that there has been any discrimination of this kind. There is absolutely no discrimination whatsoever. There has been no discrimination whatsoever. As a matter of fact, we have very able and important officers coming from various minorities, particularly from Muslim communities, in our Armed Forces . . .

SHRI NIREN GHOSH: From religious minorities.

SHRI VIDYA CHARAN SHUKLA: Yes, there are senior officers holding very important posts and top secret assignments, belonging to all regions and religions in the country . . .

AN HON. MEMBER: General Maneckshaw.

SHRI VIDYA CHARAN SHUKLA: That is one instance. We have Air Marshal Latif who is in charge of Central Air Command. He was in charge of air operations during the war and he knew each air sortie and each plane deployed during 1971 when he was in the Air Headquarters. He conducted the operations in the most skilful and brave manner and he was promoted from the rank of Air Vice Marshal to Air Marshal's rank. There could be hundreds of such examples of bravery, devotion and patriotism shown by the so-called national minorities and

people belonging to various religions and regions. As a matter of fact, today nobody in the Armed Forces believes that any particular man coming from a particular region or particular segment of society has any particular claim to being a soldier or an officer. This belief has gone off right in the Armed Force itself. And I do not think this is generally believed in the country either. But it is a fact as one hon. Member pointed out that even in the general class regiment, some people from some areas still have an edge. I would be candid to admit it. It is not again because of any faulty policy or because we are not implementing our policy properly. It is because of certain historical reasons which continue. We have adopted policies to reduce their effect and we have, to some extent, reduced their effect. Still that effect has not been completely eliminated. But it has been reduced and in the coming years it will be further reduced. We can clearly foresee a day when no such distinction will be there and people from all parts of the country and from all sections of the society will be there in the normal manner, according to their calling and belief. If there is any lack of recruitment from any particular area, it is not because of any fault in the policy of the Government. It is probably because of lack of response. Hon. Members who come from various parts of the country can perhaps do a lot in creating an awareness among the able-bodied youngsters in their constituencies so that they could join the Armed Forces. Today they would like to go to private sector or public sector jobs or some cosy civil jobs. Good boys are not easily forthcoming for Army career. We require lot of them from all areas—Bengal, Assam, Tamil Nadu, Madhya Pradesh and other States—and they will be taken provided they fulfil the physical, psychological and mental requirements that have been prescribed. *There will be no discrimination.*

I think the points that have been raised have mostly been covered. I have taken note of the point raised by Shri Rajnarain. His question was why there are less people from Punjab and Haryana in the Air Force

and more from Kerala, Assam and Bengal, etc.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH: Representation must be there in proportion to the population.

SHRI VIDYA CHARAN SHUKLA: I have understood Mr. Rajnarain's point. Mr. Rajnarain makes his point well. I have understood that.

SHRI SHYAM LAL YADAV: What about representation in civil services?

SHRI RAJNARAIN (Uttar Pradesh): This is about representation in the Armed Forces.

SHRI VIDYA CHARAN SHUKLA: I am again making it quite clear that it is because of the enthusiasm created for various services that there is response to the recruitment and if there is greater enthusiasm for service in the Army or Navy or in the Air Force from certain areas or from all the areas, we will certainly get more people forthcoming. We do not have the system of draft where we can compel the people to come over. Everybody has to come voluntarily to the recruiting centres.

Therefore, Sir, may I conclude by saying that while we have taken note of the feelings of the honourable Members, I can assure you that we are following a policy wherein the concept of martial race has no place and the proportion of recruitable male population dominates the recruitment in the Armed Forces and this is the most justifiable basis that we have taken and, in course of time, given the due time, the historical mistakes will be eliminated and will be corrected and a truly balanced Armed Forces pattern will emerge?

THE VICE CHAIRMAN (SHRI BIPIN-PAL DAS): The House stands adjourned till 11.00 A.M. tomorrow.

The House then adjourned at seven minutes past seven of the clock till eleven of the clock on Thursday, the 5th September, 1974.