

जमा करवाया गया। वहां पर सैकड़ों लोगों ने जाकर ढाई ढाई सौ रुपये जमा करवाये। इसके बात पता लगा है कि नवभारत टाइम्स के 9 तारीख के अंक में निकला है कि इस नाम की न कोई फर्म है और न कोई स्कूटर का कारखाना है और न ही कहीं पर स्कूटर बनाने की कोई बात चली है राजस्थान सरकार की तरफ से। महोदय, इस स्थिति में हजारों लोगों ने स्कूटर पाने की आशा से जो ढाई ढाई सौ रुपये शेयर खरीदने के लिये जमा करवाये, उनके वह पैसे खटाई में पड़ गये हैं और ऐसा लगता है कि उनका पैसा धोखे में फंस गया और लुट गया। मैं जानना चाहता हूं कि क्या उनका पैसा सचमुच में वापस मिल जाएगा। अब विशेष रूप से यह प्रश्न इसमें से उठता है। इसलिये कि भरतपुर की पुलिस कार्यवाही कर रही है, यह समाचार छपा है, लेकिन दिल्ली में अगर पंजाब नेशनल बैंक में काउन्टर खोला गया और उसके लिये कोई एकाउन्ट खुला, स्पेशल काउन्टर बना तो उस बैंक को इस बात की जानकारी होगी कि वह कौन सी फर्म है, उसके डाइरेक्टर कौन हैं और वह एकाउन्ट कैसे खुला। और अब अगर भरतपुर की पुलिस कार्यवाही कर रही है तो दिल्ली में जो दफ्तर इस फर्म ने बनाया था, वह तो गायब हो गया, जंगपुरा में उसका दफ्तर बना था, वह अब वहां नहीं है, लेकिन जिन्होंने पैसा जमा करवाया पंजाब नेशनल बैंक में, वह पैसा वहां जमा है। मैं जानना चाहूंगा कि इससे सरकार के वित्त मंत्रालय का संबंध आता है या गृह मंत्रालय का, और जिस मंत्रालय का इससे संबंध हो वह जांच करे। जिन लोगों ने यह पैसा जमा करवाया है वे छोटे-छोटे लोग हैं, यह उनकी गाढ़े पसीने की कमाई का पैसा है और उन्होंने जल्दी स्कूटर पाने की आशा से यह किया है, तो मैं चाहूंगा कि सरकार की ओर से हमको आश्वासन मिले कि जो रुपया पंजाब नेशनल बैंक में जमा हुआ है या किन्हीं और बैंकों में जमा हुआ है, उस रुपये को सील किया जाय और यदि सचमुच में कहीं ऐसी कोई फर्म नहीं है तो जिन लोगों का रुपया है उनको वह वापस दिलवाया जाय और जो लोग इस धोखाधड़ी के लिये जिम्मेवार हैं उनके खिलाफ कानून के जरिये वाक्यादा कार्रवाई की जाय। तो इस धोखाधड़ी की तरफ

मनों में जो आशंकाएँ और चिंताएँ पैदा हो गई हैं, उनको दूर करे।

#### DISCUSSION ON THE WORKING OF THE MINISTRY OF DEFENCE

SHRI LAL K. ADVANI (Delhi) : Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, for the Ministry of Defence, this year, 1971-72, has been the most important year in the last 25 years, and perhaps the most glorious one also. The Ministry in general, and our Armed Forces in particular, have earned gratitude and appreciation for the amazing manner in which they have acquitted themselves. I deem it my duty on this occasion while initiating this discussion, to offer my tearful tributes to the gallant soldiers, sailors and airmen who have laid down their lives for the freedom of Bangla Desh and for the defence of the nation's integrity and sovereignty. The entire nation is proud of them. Because of them, India's credit with the world community has risen very high.

This, however, is not an occasion to indulge merely in congratulating them or ourselves on what we have done. I think it is time that we overcame the euphoria that naturally followed in the work of that victory and did some hard thinking about the situation, about the problems that have arisen now and the problems that we see before us. When I refer to the problems before us now, I must refer to this morning's report in which it is stated that five pickets that we had captured in the last war have been recaptured by Pakistan.

Only last week there were the incidents of Tithwal and a series of border violations in Jammu and Kashmir. This morning's papers also report that there have been continuous violations in the Shakargarh Sector also. I am really amazed how these incidents are being viewed casually by the Government of India. As it is, it appears that they are being taken very lightly because even while all these violations, all these border incidents are going on, there is serious and earnest talk about the proposed summit.

Mr. Deputy Chairman, I am reminded of 1960 when everything was set for the US-Soviet summit at Paris and there was a small incident of a U-2 spy plane. It was a small

[Shri Lai K. Advani]

had been going on for a long time; only the Soviet Russia came to know of it then. That is, when the plane was shot down. I am reminded of it because Soviet Russia's reaction to that episode was entirely different. Khrushchev, who was the then head of the State, reacted to the episode in a very firm manner. Because of that episode, he abruptly called off the summit. I am surprised as to why the Government of India, which is prone to emulate and copy the Soviet Russia in so many matters of much less significance, has been hesitating to take a leaf out of Soviet Russia's experience; in such a very important matter there is need to take lesson from their experience and let Pakistan know. Let Rawalpindi know that its misconduct is not going to be taken in a casual manner and that there will be no summit unless these five pickets and the two Tithwal posts are handed over to us and the cease-fire line restored to what it was on the 17th December, 1971. Any occupation thereafter has to be restored before we talk of the summit or before we enter into any talks.

Sir, our army perhaps is the world's fourth largest army in terms of manpower. Considering the strength of our army, I would say that it is rather ill-equipped. We make very little investment for capital equipment, considering the size of the army. I am not mistaken, we spend something like 15 per cent of our Defence budget on our capital equipment which, for a country like ours, with problems like ours, is a very low percentage. For comparison's sake, I might point out the case of small Rumania in Europe which has an army of 1 lakh and 30,000 and has 1700 tanks whereas with our army of nearly one million, that is 10 lakhs, we have just 1200 tanks. This is an example which I cite to show that our equipment is not commensurate with the strength of our army. There is need to increase our outlay on capital equipment for the army.

There is another sphere of defence activity which, I think, needs more attention than it now receives and that is research. The Report mentions that we spend something like 1.8 per cent of our defence outlay on research. This is a very low percentage. I compared it to the research outlays in other countries and I find that ours is extremely low. Perhaps this is so because research never brings about immediate results. Research takes a long time to produce results and, therefore, naturally there is an inclination to go in for investments which bring about immediate results. But

needs to be done in the field of research than what we are doing now. A more complicated problem in this is that there is little co-ordination in the various spheres of research that is going on. I am told much of the space research pertaining to propellants, propulsion systems, etc. is done under the aegis of Atomic Energy Ministry and there is very little co-ordination between the Defence Ministry, which requires these systems, this know-how and the knowledge for the development of its missiles, and the Atomic Energy Ministry. Of the three wings of the Armed Forces, till now the Navy has been a kind of Cinderella, always neglected. It was perhaps presumed that our strategic needs did not require that we expand the Navy so much. But the last war has proved us wrong. And in this last war the Navy has acquitted itself with great credit. Of course, all the three wings did their best, but the Navy far excelled even the expectations that we had made of them. Its seige of the Karachi harbour, and the manner in which it blockaded Bangla Desh was really creditable for the Navy. I think, we should pay more attention to it. Today we spend only about 6% of our Defence outlay on the Navy. must be augmented. And this must be augmented particularly because the Indian Ocean has become the great arena of rivalry and competition between both the super-powers. I notice that in the Ministry's Report this year very pertinent facts have been noted about what the United States has been doing in the Indian Ocean. It has been said that the United States is building a communication base in Diego Garcia in the Chagos Archipelago, and that it has concluded an agreement with Bahrain for the use of the old British base by the U.S. Middle-East Fleet. But nothing is mentioned about Soviet Russia except a passing reference to great power rivalries. I think, there is need for this House to be taken into confidence as to what Russia is doing in the Indian Ocean. To my knowledge, Russia is as actively building its bases and building its strength in the Indian Ocean as the USA is. We should be concerned with both and we should try to see that our present Navy is absolutely restructured. Only today's morning papers carried a headline saying that the ships of the Indian Navy are running on "borrowed time". This Report itself has admitted that "except for some acquisitions over the last five years the fleet continues to consist of aging warships which continue to maintain their effectiveness but present difficult problems of refit and reequipment". I am sure that the Minister, while replying to this debate, would enlighten the House as to what he proposes to do in order to make the Indian Navy a modern and up-to-date instrument of

Now let me turn to the field of defence production, about which the Minister for Defence Production has announced in the other House that we are in a position even to export defence hardware. Much has been said about achieving self-reliance in this field. I remember, on the 15th of August last, Mr. Vidya Charan Shukla said that we would be able to achieve complete self-reliance in the field of sophisticated weapons "in the not very distant future." I do not know how close is this not distant future, but this I do know that there is one important weapon, field gun, about which we launched a project about five years back. But little progress seems to have been made in these five years. It is quite likely that the supply of 100 or 130 field guns, which we have received from Russia, has somewhat made us complacent in this field and we are not devoting as much attention today as we should.

Similar is the case with marine diesel engine. There is mention in this Report also that it would go into production shortly. But this project also had been launched long back and it was expected to take shape much earlier than now. But it appears that the assistance that we received from Soviet Russia for which we are very grateful to that country has made us slightly complacent, and indifferent to the needs of self-reliance and indigenisation. There is a feeling, particularly among our neighbours, that in India a sort of umbrella complex has been growing vis-a-vis Soviet Russia.

It is imperative that we do away with this complex. Our efforts towards self-reliance must proceed on a brisk pace. India must be self-reliant not only in wheat and fertilisers but also in military hardware.

I just referred to the statement of the Minister of Defence Production about the export of hardware. I am sure he will concede that the export of weapons and armaments cannot be conducted on a purely commercial basis. It has to be synchronised with the policy of the country. I do not know to which countries they have sent or propose to send arms. The Government may be having some mechanism. It is quite likely that unless we are careful about it, Ministers, who go here and there to various countries, will be confronted with demands for military hardware and they may make some commitments which may not quite fit in the policy of the Government. Therefore, important countries, particularly democratic countries, have always evolved a sort of special mechanism for the conduct of export trade in the field of

started exporting arms, there is need for ensuring a systematic machinery which looks after this field.

There is another field also in which much needs to be done and that is the field of aircraft manufacture. In the last war, our aircraft proved very efficient, but those in the Air Force, connected with it, have always been complaining that we are somewhat lagging behind in respect of striking in aircraft. In that respect much needs to be done. This Report itself admits it. It says : While the efforts in the direction of 'indigenisation,' of aircraft materials and stores have achieved some success in this vast and complex field much remains to be done. Much which could have been done has not been done. The difficulty, of course, is there. It has to be removed.

I think, every year some 60,000 people from the Services retire. Of them 45,000 are able-bodied, middle-aged perhaps in their thirties who are willing to serve the country in various capacities. Therefore, it is the duty of the Government to see that they are absorbed in the main stream of national life. Till now, the arrangements are absolutely inadequate. The only mechanism that we have for this purpose, is the Directorate of Resettlement and the Soldiers, Sailors' and Airmen's Board. I think, I am revealing no secret when I say that these Boards are absolutely ineffective. This Report itself has admitted that the Boards are not functioning satisfactorily. My information is that the failure of these Boards is to some extent due to the fact that they are not able to secure the co-operation of the State Governments or the district authorities to the extent necessary. I do not know what is the reason, but it strikes me that it would be very useful if we have a parliamentary committee to attend exclusively to the problems of ex-Servicemen. Just as we have a parliamentary committee to look after the interests of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, a similar parliamentary committee could be constituted to look after the interests of the ex-Servicemen. If this recommendation is accepted, I am sure that committee can find ways and means of seeing that the district authorities and the States themselves extend all the co-operation that is needed.

As to the present Services, I have had occasion just before the war and after the war to visit some of the posts and talk to some of the personnel. I found a feeling of dissatisfaction

[Shri Lai K. Advani]

of (he officers in respect of the emoluments that they receive. It was rather an unhappy experience. While going to a post in a jeep, I asked the jeep driver what he was receiving. It was a forward post in Punjab. He said he came from Kerala. He had been in service for nine or ten years and he was receiving something like Rs. 119 or Rs. 120 plus, of course, rations. It struck me that if he had been in Delhi and had been working as a driver or a chauffeur, he might be receiving Rs. 200 or more, certainly more remuneration. If a Jawan in the Army receives such a small sum, I think, it is not fair to the Army and the jawans. Of course, it is not possible to make any financial computation of the risk and responsibility that they undertake. But we owe it to them to see that they receive an adequate salary. It is highly improper for our assessment of (he emoluments to be based on the assumption that the Jawan is a semi-skilled worker or a semi-skilled labourer. This is not a proper way of looking at things. I would draw attention to the recommendation made by the Army Headquarters and the Air Force and Naval Headquarters about the formulation of pay scales and emoluments of the Jawan and officers. I think, this needs to be accepted. They made this recommendation in January last and it would be proper if we accept this recommendation in the wake of this war.

In the Lok Sabha while replying to the debate, the Defence Minister said that the possibility of underground nuclear explosions for peaceful purposes was being examined. I do not understand why it was thought necessary to put the words 'peaceful purposes'. This is a matter in which the Government of India need to shed all sorts of false phobias and false notions and come out frankly and openly and say that the country needs to have a nuclear bomb of its own and that we will manufacture a nuclear bomb. I recall that in the year 1960 or 1961 when I was a pressman I happened to attend a press conference addressed by Dr. Homi Bhabha. I put a question to him : "If the Government were to decide today to manufacture a nuclear bomb, how long would it take for us to manufacture such a bomb ?" Without a moment's hesitation, Dr. Bhabha replied that it would take just two years. I now recall this reply of his and I feel that we have wasted ten precious years. I would plead with the Defence Minister not to waste a moment more and declare unambiguously

nuclear bomb. In these ten years China has taken gigantic strides in this field and has been rubbing shoulders with Soviet Russia and America. I think, we should have no more hesitation.

As I said at the outset there is no scope for any relaxation in our vigil on the borders, particularly in view of the incidents that have now happened. And we should also take note of the fact that the victories that we have achieved in the last war are due to the chivalry, gallantry and valour of the soldiers and the armed forces, to the Ministry and the Government and to the country as a whole but they are also due to several other circumstances. Pakistan's own blunders have contributed also to this victory. Above all, I would say that in this last war, we had an adequate notice. Gen. Yahya Khan served notice as early as March 25, 1971. It was an eight months' notice. We may not have any notice in any subsequent war. In this connection, I would like to quote from a writer on military affairs, (Retd.) Major-General D. K. Palit, who has said—

"In 1962, with six weeks' response time, we walked into a military disaster. In 1965, with four months between Kutch and Kashmir, we barely got away with a favourable stale-mate. In 1971, we conducted a copy book campaign to victory, but it took eight months' response time, 10 million refugees and possibly a million lives...."

Major-General Palit says it is one million lives. But Sheikh Mujibur Rehman says it is three million lives. He says three million people had been butchered and massacred during this period of eight months. Whatever it is, it is a hard fact that our response time has been rather long. If, for instance, we are confronted with a sudden attack, are we in a state of readiness ? Or is the small incident, reported this morning, indicative of the shape of things to come, the incident in which, because we were not ready, because we assumed that the Pakistanis would not do anything, we quit those five pickets since there was snowfall and we returned only to find that (he Pakistanis had entrenched themselves in those pickets ? Therefore, I say that these incidents of the last two weeks or so are an ominous warning that if 1971-72 had been a glorious year for the country, the coming year 1972-73, can be a still more trying year for the Defence Ministry. I would like the Defence Minister to reassure this House that the Government and the army are fully prepared for such an eventuality.

SHRI M. S. ABDUL KHADER (Tamil Nadu) : Mr Deputy Chairman, Sir, at the outset, I do congratulate the hon. Prime Minister and the hon. Minister for Defence for bringing out peace and prosperity in the land of Bangla Desh. And while I am supporting the demands of the Defence Ministry, I would like to make a demand for a proper perspective in the Defence Ministry, taking in view all the difficulties faced by the whole nation, to elevate our motherland to the status of "The land of peace and prosperity". Of course, we have friends and foes encircling our nation. We have to build our defence strength in order to ensure the existence of only our friends. By saying this, I do not mean that we should kill all our enemies, because India is committed to peace the stable peace. Our national defence with proper perspective should never be a short-term programme but a long-term prepare-ness.

We are aware of the power rivalry in the Indian Ocean, the U. S. base at Diego Garcia, the British and American bases at Madagascar and of course, there may be the Russian bases, as the hon. Member suggested just now, in the Indian Ocean which we are not aware of. We are also aware of the American imperialism, sometimes posing as our friend and always inducing Pakistan to wage war against us. We are also aware of the nefarious games played by China and Pakistan. News-papers say that Pakistan has created two new divisions, fully equipped by supplies from China and America. I would request the Defence Ministry to take note of the fact that Pakistan is fast making itself much stronger. Vigilant we are, of course, and we must be. We have a very vast coastal area and I doubt if the Indian Navy is adequate. Our naval ships are 20 years old and our Vikrant, the aircraft-carrier, is also 20 years old. If we compare our ships with those of the Russians, even their oldest ships are only 10 years old. So, my humble request is that we should modernise the Indian Navy. In regard to ship building facility to build our naval craft, the Hindustan Ship-Yard is not able to meet all the requirements of the Navy. Even today, we have to depend upon Poland for the supply of Turbo engines. I would request the honourable Minister just to look at Japan, such a tiny piece of island; she stands on her own legs. She does not depend upon any other country. India, even after a quarter of a century of independence, depends upon foreign countries for her military strength and it is a shame on us. Defence strength should not be dependent upon foreign countries. If this

that the sense of slavery in our minds has not yet been extinguished. We talk of much of self-reliance and self-existence, but in action we do not carry them out. Indian Air Force is a mighty service. But it has to be modernised with the latest equipments. Maritime aerial survey has been manned by Air Force on behalf of the Navy. At this juncture, I would like to suggest that this must be manned by Navy itself. As for Indian Army, the mobility should be increased. Experienced army personnel say that we ought to have got Dacca in seven days, not in fourteen days. Full production targets of the Defence Production Factories must be achieved and there should be no idle capacity at all. Our jawans—while talking of them I really feel sorry—are ill-paid, ranging from Rs. 70 to Rs. 100 a month. In this connection I would like to say a few words. Immediately after the cessation of war, some of our honourable Members of the Parliament had been to the forward areas to cheer up the jawans and enthuse the officials who have brought us this victory. One of the MPs told me just this morning that he had a heart-to-heart talk with those jawans and the general sense the general opinion, prevailing there among them was something painful. Our jawan, of course, all of us know, is a determined soul, a dedicated chap, a devotional man, completely and fully loyal to his country. He is there to safeguard the integrity, the solidarity and the sovereignty of this nation. But with mental anguish it seems that the jawans were reported to have said that they are remembered, embraced and kissed even, only at the time of war and once peace is announced, they are conveniently forgotten. What a pathetic life are our poor jawans leading? This sort of dejection and mental agony should be removed from the minds of our heroic Jawans who are the real backbone of our country's strength and stability.

There is a diversified opinion with regard to the use of nuclear weapons. Some say we must produce nuclear weapons since our neighbouring countries like China and Pakistan are possessing them. Pakistan is being supplied with these nuclear weapons by the American imperialism. Unless we produce and possess nuclear weapons, the world, particularly these neighbouring nations, would think low of us and consider us cheap and weak and always try to dominate us; so we must produce and possess nuclear weapons although not for usage. And there are some others who say that we must not go in for producing nuclear weapons since ours is a poor country and we must

[Shri M.S. Abdul Khader]

poverty is so vast and the magnitude of unemployment is so big and when the economy is facing a crisis. The burden of producing nuclear weapons will become so heavy on the economy that it cannot bear it and the entire economy will collapse. And if the economy collapses, social tensions are bound to develop in our country. In that case, however sophisticated weapons we produce, national defence will be hampered on account of internal factors. It is not the weapon, but the people that go to decide the future of the country. When people totally join together for a great cause, no nuclear weapon could put them under slavery. What is happening in North Vietnam enunciates this truth. What happened when the American Seventh Fleet entered the Indian Ocean during the recent war? Our moral superiority and the cause for which the whole nation stands are more powerful than any nuclear weapon.

I entirely agree with this kind of opinion and support the policy of the Government of India to use nuclear power for peaceful purposes.

I appeal to the government that we must have perspective to build up India by removing poverty and unemployment. We should make Indian economy free from crisis. We should attain self-sufficiency and self reliance. In this connection, I would say that heavy defence expenditure should be gradually reduced. Year by year defence expenditure is increasing. Our economy cannot bear this heavy strain of defence expenditure. More defence expenditure means more tax on the masses. In 1960-61 our defence expenditure was only Rs. 280 crores. Now it has risen to Rs. 1,408 crores. And the major share of this expenditure is transformed into big business booster in capitalist society. It is the private companies and private capitalists that derive benefit out of this defence expenditure in a large measure. For instance, defence clothing and other materials are being supplied by private companies. It is the Mahindra and Mahindra supply the jeeps. Trucks are supplied by Tatas and I am told that Tatas are getting about Rs. 4,000 as profit per truck. Poor man's money is thus going to Tatas and other capitalists. In conclusion, I would like to state that in the name of Defence, we must not make our land poor by making a dozen

**श्रीमती लक्ष्मी कुमारी चूडावत (राजस्थान):**

उपसभापति जी, आज जब हम डिफेंस के ऊपर बहस करने लगे हैं, तब हमें उसके हर एक पहलू के ऊपर विचार करना है। अभी कुछ महीनों पहले हमारे देश के ऊपर हमला हुआ और अचानक तौर पर हमला हुआ। लड़ाई हमेशा खौफनाक होती है लेकिन जब दो मुल्कों ने, चीन और अमेरिका जैसे मुल्कों ने पाकिस्तान को हर तरह से मदद दी तो हमारे लिये चिन्ता का और दुःख का कारण हो गया था। हमें खुशी है कि उस चौदह दिन की लड़ाई में हमारी फौजों ने एक शानदार जीत हासिल की। यह जीत हमारी सेना की थी ही, लेकिन यह जीत हमारे हिन्दुस्तान के सारे उन नागरिकों की जीत थी जो कि एकमत के साथ अपने देश की रक्षा के लिये भारत की सरकार के पीछे खड़े रहे और यह शानदार जीत उन मजदूरों की भी थी, जिन्होंने आधुनिक हथियारों से हमारी सेना को लैस किया और इसके ऊपर यह जीत थी हमारे कुशल नेतृत्व की कि इतना शानदार नेतृत्व दिया कि हम बहुत बड़ी लड़ाई को बड़े फख के साथ जीत सके।

हम अपनी इस जीत के ऊपर संतुष्ट हैं, लेकिन अभी पिछले दिनों में जो कुछ वाक्यात गुजरे, अभी जो बार बार हमारी सीमा के ऊपर हमले हो रहे हैं, तिब्बत में जो घटना हुई और उसके साथ-साथ हमारी चिन्ता इसमें और बढ़ जाती है कि हम आये दिन देख रहे हैं कि चीन पूरी तरह से पाकिस्तान की फौजों को हथियारों की मदद कर रहा है, खुले तौर से पाकिस्तान की सेना को सुसज्जित कर रहा है।

इसलिये आज जब हम इस बहस के ऊपर विचार करने के लिये बैठे हैं तो हमें इस संदर्भ के साथ यह देखना पड़ेगा कि आगे के लिये हमें अपनी तैयारियां किस तरह से करनी चाहिये। आज जो अन्तर्राष्ट्रीय लड़ाई की स्थिति है, उस स्थिति को देखते हुए और जो कुछ पिछले वर्षों में हमने लड़ाईयां लड़ी हैं, उनके कटु अनुभव के आधार पर और सुखद अनुभव के आधार पर भी, हम इस नतीजे पर पहुंच चुके हैं कि हमें अपने ऊपर आत्मनिर्भर होना नितांत आवश्यक है। आत्मनिर्भरता के बिना हम अपने देश की रक्षा नहीं कर सकते।

इसलिए मुख्य चीज आत्म-निर्भरता है। इसके लिये मैं यही चाहूंगी कि हमारा देश आत्म-निर्भरता की ओर बढ़े। जब हम आत्म-निर्भरता की बात कहते हैं तो अपने आप हमारे दिमाग में एक सवाल पैदा होता है कि क्या हमारे कोरापुट में जो मिग इंजिन हवाई जहाज के बनाये जा रहे थे, उसमें हम आत्म-निर्भरता की ओर बढ़ रहे हैं? हम जानते हैं, हमारे उस कारखाने में हमारे देश के कच्चे माल से मिग हवाई जहाज के इंजन सफलता पूर्वक बनाये गये थे। लेकिन मैं यह जानना चाहूंगी रक्षा मंत्री से कि क्या हम अपनी पूरी क्षमता के अनुसार और क्या अपने देश की आवश्यकता के अनुसार उस कारखाने में मिग हवाई जहाज के इंजन बना रहे हैं। उसी तरह, जब हमारा दुर्गापुर का स्टील प्लांट लगा था, तब यह कहा गया था कि विजयंत टैंक जैसे टैंक के लिये एक आरम्भ फ्लोट की आवश्यकता होती है, वह आरम्भ फ्लोट उस दुर्गापुर के कारखाने में बनाई जायेगी। क्या वह फ्लोट हम बना पा रहे हैं और जितनी हमारी टैंकों की जरूरत है उस जरूरत को क्या पूरा किया जा रहा है? मैं यह भी जानना चाहूंगी रक्षा मंत्री से कि भारत इलेक्ट्रॉनिक्स में जो माइक्रो राडार बनाये जा रहे थे, क्या उसमें हम आत्म-निर्भरता की ओर बढ़ रहे हैं? अपनी पूरी शक्ति के साथ, अपने पूरे साधनों से हम उसमें आगे बढ़ रहे हैं या नहीं बढ़ रहे हैं।

अभी पिछले युद्ध के दिनों में जब अमरीका का सातवां बेड़ा हमारे हिन्द महासागर में उतरा, उसके उतरने के साथ सारे मुल्क में जो बेचैनी पैदा हुई, जो एक गंभीर खतरा आया, वह हमें इस बात का संकेत देता है कि हमने नौसैनिक बेड़े का विकास करना है, विस्तार करना है, उसको मजबूत बनाना है। नाविक बेड़े में भी, सभापति महोदय, मैं पनडुब्बियों की ओर ज्यादा ध्यान देना चाहूंगी। आज हमारे पास सबमेरीन बहुत कम है, हमें नितांत आवश्यक है कि हम अपनी सबमेरीन की ताकत को बढ़ाएं। जब मैं इन हथियारों की ओर साफिस्टिकेटेड हथियारों की ओर जिक्र कर रही हूँ तो मैं यह भी जानती हूँ कि बहुत से मामले ऐसे हैं कि जिनको न मैं इस हाउस में कहना पसन्द करूंगी और न हमारे रक्षा मंत्री इतनी बारीकी के साथ हथियारों के ऊपर जवाब देंगे, न यह सम्भव है, न उचित है। इसमें कोई संदेह

नहीं कि हम आत्म-निर्भरता की ओर पिछले वर्षों में बढ़े हैं। जहां तक छोटे हथियारों का प्रश्न है, जहां तक मीडियम साइज के हथियारों का सवाल है, हम बहुत कुछ आत्म-निर्भर हो गये हैं, लेकिन जब प्रश्न आता है साफिस्टिकेटेड हथियारों का, बड़े हथियारों का, तो हमें चिंता जरूर व्याप्त रहती है इसमें दो राय नहीं कि जब हमें जरूरत पड़ी तो हमारे कुछ मित्र राष्ट्रों ने और खास तौर से रशिया ने इस मामले में सहायता दी। लेकिन आत्म-निर्भरता ही वह चीज है जिसके ऊपर हम विश्वास कर सकते हैं और हमें पूरी आत्म-निर्भरता के साथ आगे बढ़ना चाहिये।

आत्म-निर्भरता की ओर एक-दो बातें जो बाधक पड़ रही हैं, उनकी तरफ भी मैं ध्यान खींचना चाहूंगी। एक कारण यह है कि जिस तरह से, रुटिन डंग से सरकार का काम चलता है उसमें रेड-टेप बाधक साबित होता है और जिस स्पीड के साथ काम करना चाहते हैं वह कर नहीं पाते हैं, जो इफिशियेंसी चाहिये वह ला नहीं सकते। चाहे वह कारखाने का काम हो, चाहे ऐसे हथियारों का जो हमें बाहर से मंगाने पड़ते हों, उनका काम हो, हर एक काम में हर एक मंजिल के ऊपर, हर एक कदम के ऊपर रेड-टेप के कारण रुकता है। सरकार के प्रशासन में रेड-टेप सभी जगह व्याप्त है। लेकिन जब यह रेड-टेप डिफेन्स के काम में आड़े आता है, तो हमें और भी बुरा लगता है; क्योंकि हमारे जितने भी काम डिफेन्स के हों, वे बिल्कुल इफिशियेंसी के साथ होने चाहिये।

अगर इसी तरह से एक दिन की भी देरी हो जाती है तो न जाने क्या-क्या नतीजे देश को देखने पड़ सकते हैं। आज जो लड़ाई का सारा का सारा बेसिस है वह हार्डली टेक्नीकल हो गया है। हमें इसके बारे में एक नये ढंग से और विशेष तरीके से इस हार्डली टेक्नीकल चीज का विस्तार करना होगा।

आज युद्ध में जितना मशीनगन का महत्व है, जितना टैंकों का महत्व है, उसके साथ ही साथ मिसाइलमैनों का भी महत्व है। जहां लड़ाई में वायरलैस-मैनों का महत्व होता है, पायलट का महत्व होता है, उसी के साथ इंजीनियरिंग-कोर के एक-एक व्यक्ति का महत्व होता है। आज हमें

[श्रीमती लक्ष्मी कुमारी चूडावत]

अपनी टैक्नीकल चीजों का विस्तार करना है, उसको डेवलप करना है और आज जो बजट में राशि इस चीज के लिये रखी गई है वह बहुत कम है। जिस रफ्तार से इन चीजों का हमें विस्तार करना चाहिये था, दुर्भाग्य से हम अभी तक नहीं कर पाये हैं। इसलिये मैं अर्ज करना चाहूंगी कि इस संबंध में हमें एक रिसर्च बिल कायम करना चाहिये, जो विस्तार के साथ इन बातों को डेवलप करे, जो डिफेन्स में प्रोडक्शन करे और आपरेशनल स्टेज में करे। अभी तक इस तरफ जो ध्यान दिया जा रहा है वह केवल लैबोरेटरी स्टेज पर ही ध्यान दिया जा रहा है, लेकिन लैबोरेटरी से बाहर निकल कर फील्ड में जो आपरेशन्स होते हैं, जो स्ट्रेटेजी है उसको व्यवहार में लाना नितान्त आवश्यक है और इसके ऊपर बजट में अधिकतम राशि खर्च की जानी चाहिये।

जब हम हथियारों का जिक्र करते हैं, युद्ध का जिक्र करते हैं, तो हमारी नजर अपने आप हमारे सैनिकों की तरफ चली जाती है। आज जो सुविधा सैनिकों को मिलनी चाहिये, दुर्भाग्य से उतने कंसेशन आज हम उनको नहीं दे पा रहे हैं। आज जो हमारे जवान हैं, अगर सबसे कम तनखाह किसी की है तो उनकी ही है, आज वे पूअरली पेड हैं। आज हमारे जवानों की तनखाह चपरासियों से भी कम है। उनकी जो बुनियादी तनखाह है वह 55 रु० से शुरू होती है। आज हमारे जवानों के रहने के लिये मकान नहीं हैं। आज हमारे जो जवान हैं, उनके लिये केवल 6 प्रतिशत तक ही मकान की व्यवस्था है। उनसे जो कुछ उँचे आफिसर हैं, उनके लिये कुछ रहने की जगह है, लेकिन जवानों की फेमलीज के लिये रहने की बहुत दिक्कत है।

इसी तरह से जो हमारे कमिशनड आफिसर हैं, जब हम उनके स्टेटस की ओर ध्यान देने हैं तो उनके मुकाबले में जो दूसरी सर्विसेज हैं उनका स्टेटस ज्यादा है। अगर आज आई०ए०एस०, आई०पी०एस०, आई०एफ०एस० की मेजर, ब्रिगेडियर और कर्नल के साथ तुलना की जाय, जो उनको रियायतें मिलती हैं, जिस प्रकार से वे आगे बढ़ सकते हैं, उनकी तरफ से हमें भी कुछ करना चाहिए।

इनके मुकाबले में हमारे कमिशनड आफिसरों की तरक्की नहीं होती है। एक लै० कर्नल 20 वर्ष तक मैदान में काम करने के बाद, न जाने इस बीच उसे कितनी तकलीफ उठानी पड़ती है, उसे बर्फ के ऊपर सोना पड़ता है, रेगिस्तान की गर्मी में अपना जीवन व्यतीत करना पड़ता है और इस तरह से 20 साल का कठिन परिश्रम करने के बाद उसकी जो तरक्की होती है, उसमें एक डिप्टी सेक्रेटरी के मुकाबले उसका स्टेटस नहीं हो पाता है। उनकी जो तरक्की होती है, वह बहुत ही धीमी गति से होती है। इसलिये मैं निवेदन करना चाहूंगी कि हमारे फौजियों के लिये, हमारे सैनिकों के लिये यह जरूरी है कि उनके जीवन निर्वाह करने के लिये उनकी तनखाह बढ़ाई जानी चाहिये। मैं सोचती हूँ कि सरकार इस ओर सोच भी रही है, लेकिन मैं यह सुझाव दूंगी कि जो उनकी तनखाह बढ़ाई जाती है, उससे उन्हें कोई फायदा नहीं होता है। वह इसलिये नहीं होता है; क्योंकि जितनी तनखाह उनकी बढ़ती है उतने ही बाजार में चीजों के दाम भी बढ़ जाते हैं। इस तरह से जो उनकी तनखाह बढ़ती है उससे उन्हें वस्तुस्थिति में कोई लाभ नहीं पहुंचता है। इसलिये मेरा सुझाव यह है कि इन कमिशनड आफिसरों की तनखाह बढ़ाने के बजाय उन्हें फ्री राशन दे दिया जाय। इसी तरह से जो उनकी कैंटीन्स हैं, उनके ऊपर राज्य सरकारें अपनी-अपनी तरफ से टैक्स लगाती हैं और सरकार की ओर से भी कई टैक्स लगाये जाते हैं। इन कैंटीनों के ऊपर से सारे के सारे टैक्स एग्जम्प्ट कर दिये जाने चाहिये ताकि वे लोग सस्ते दामों पर चीज प्राप्त कर सकें।

इसी तरह, उपसभापति महोदय, हमारे जवानों के लिये कई तरह के ऐलान किये गये हैं कंसेशन के राज्य सरकारों ने भी किये हैं, केन्द्रीय सरकार ने भी किये हैं, लेकिन मुझे अफसोस के साथ कहना पड़ता है कि उनके ऊपर अमल नहीं हो पाता है, कहीं हो रहा है, कहीं नहीं हो रहा है। इसका बहुत बुरा असर हमारे सैनिकों के दिमाग पर पड़ता है, इससे उनमें असंतोष जागृत होता है। इसलिये जो कुछ हम उनके लिये कंसेशन दें, उनका इम्प्लीमेंटेशन एफीशिएन्सी के साथ और तेज से हो जाना चाहिये।



दूसरी दिक्कत हमारे सैनिकों के सामने यह है कि जब उनका तबादला होता है, अपने बच्चों को लेकर जाने हैं तो उन्हें स्कूलों में और कालेजों में भरती करने के लिये जगह नहीं मिल पाती, साल-डेढ़ साल तक इन्तजार करना पड़ता है, तब तक कहीं और तबादले की तैयारी हो जाती है। इसलिये जो हमारे सरकारी कालेज और स्कूल हैं, उनमें 10 फीसदी स्थान सैनिकों के बच्चों के लिए रिजर्व कर दिये जाय ताकि उनको आसानी से जगह मिल सके।

उपसभापति जी, एक विशेष बात की ओर मैं रक्षा मंत्री जी का ध्यान दिलाना चाहती हूँ। हमारे सैनिकों की नींव या बुनियाद अंग्रेजों के जमाने में रखी गई थी और अंग्रेजों ने उनको उस सांचे में ढाला था, जिससे उनको फायदा पहुंचे। उन्होंने एक बिल्कुल योजनाबद्ध तरीके से हमारे सैनिकों को जनता से अलग-थलग रखा था। उनके लिये लिटरेचर जाता है, किस ढंग का लिटरेचर उन्हें पढ़ना चाहिये, किस ढंग का लिटरेचर नहीं पढ़ना चाहिये, इस तरह अंग्रेजों ने अपनी कूटनीति के अनुसार जनसम्पर्क से उन्हें वंचित रखा। अंग्रेजों की मंशा थी कि हमारी फौजें मर्सीनरी फौजें हों, वास्तव में देखा जाय तो हमारी फौजें मर्सीनरी फौजें ही रहें। मैं यह सुझाव दूंगी कि हमारी फौजों को मर्सीनरी से कांशस आर्मी के रूप में लाया जाय, हम नये तौर-तरीकों के ऊपर विचार करें, हमारी फौजों में कांशसनेस हो, वे यह समझें कि आज का हमारा नवोदित राष्ट्र किस दिशा की ओर बढ़ना चाहता है। आज का हमारा भारत समाजवाद को कायम करने के लिये कृतसंकल्प होकर खड़ा है। इस तरह का ज्ञान, इस तरह का विचार, इस तरह की जानकारी हमारी सेनाओं में पैदा होनी चाहिये।

आज तक हमारी सेनाओं ने जो लड़ाई लड़ी है वह केवल युद्ध के लिये युद्ध किया, लेकिन इस बार, पहली बार, बंगला देश की लड़ाई में एक उद्देश्य को लेकर हमारी सेना लड़ी। इस समय हमारी सेना समझी कि उद्देश्य के लिये भी लड़ा जाता है और वह उद्देश्य के लिये लड़ी, वह मानवतावादी उद्देश्य की पूर्ति के लिये लड़ी, धर्म निरपेक्षता के

लड़ी और साम्राज्यवाद के खिलाफ लड़ी। इसका नतीजा यह हुआ कि बंगला देश की मुक्ति सेना ने हमारी सेना को मित्र सेना के रूप में अंगीकार किया। मैं इसे अपनी एक बहुत बड़ी विजय मानती हूँ। युद्ध में जीतना-जितना महत्वपूर्ण है उतना ही इस तरह के उद्देश्य की पूर्ति के लिये लड़ना और आम जनता द्वारा एक मित्र सेना के रूप में अंगीकार किया जाना हमारी एक बहुत बड़ी सफलता थी। इसलिये मेरा निवेदन यह है कि हम इस तरह के तौर तरीके अपनाएं कि आज के युग के अनुसार हमारी सेना कांशस आर्मी के रूप में विकसित हो सके। रक्षा मंत्री जी की जानकारी में होगा कि कई देशों की सेनाओं में पोलिटिकल कमिस्सार रखे जाते हैं, वे उनको पोलिटिकल ट्रेन्ड बताते हैं। हमें भी अपनी सेना को, आर्मी को बताना चाहिए कि आज के थिंकिंग ट्रेन्ड क्या हैं? हमारे मुल्क के आगे उद्देश्य क्या हो सकते हैं? इस प्रकार की जानकारी दिया जाना नितान्त आवश्यक है।

अन्त में मैं यही निवेदन करूंगी कि जो कुछ बजट हमारे सामने रखा गया है, यदि आवश्यक हो तो इस बजट की रकम और बढ़ाई जाय, लेकिन हमें अपनी आर्थिक निर्भरता के लक्ष्य की ओर पहुंचना है। हमारी सेना को—किसी भी वक्त किसी तरह की आपत्ति आ जाय—उसके लिये अस्त्र-शस्त्र और हथियारों से लैस रहने के लिये पूरी ताकत लगा देनी चाहिये और हमें खास तौर से जो अपनी सोफिस्टिकेटेड हथियार और बड़े हथियार हैं, उनकी टेक्नोलोजी को प्राप्त करना है, उनके लिये कारखाने स्थापित करने हैं और जो कारखाने स्थापित हो चुके हैं, उनमें पूरी क्षमता के साथ देश की आवश्यकता के अनुसार रेडटेपिज्म को और रूटीन को काट कर हमें आगे आत्म-निर्भरता की ओर बढ़ना है, इसी दृष्टिकोण से देख कर ही हमें आज के डिफेंस बजट पर विचार करना है।

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : The House stands adjourned till 2.00 P. M.

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

The House reassembled after lunch at two of the clock, MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN in the CHAIR.

**श्री नवल किशोर (उत्तर प्रदेश) :** उपसभा-पति जी, पहले इसके कि मैं डिफेंस मिनिस्ट्री के बजट के संबंध में कुछ कहूँ, मैं सुरक्षा मंत्री जी और उनकी डिफेंस फोर्स के जो तीनों विस्स हैं, एयर फोर्स, नवी और आर्मी, उनके अपसरान को और उनके बहादुर जवानों को अपनी प्रशंसा और हार्दिक बधाई देना चाहता हूँ। उन्होंने अपना बहादुरी से, अपने मोरेल और स्टेडी से और जिम प्रकार से तीनों विस्स ने कोऑर्डिनेशन किया, उसने हमारी आर्मी के इतिहास में एक नया अध्याय खोला है। श्रीमन्, इतना ही नहीं कि हमारी जीत हुई, बंगला देश आजाद हुआ, बल्कि सारे विश्व की दृष्टि में हमारे देश, हमारे राष्ट्र की मर्यादा, हमारी शान और हमारा सम्मान बढ़ा है। इतना ही नहीं, बल्कि नये किस्म की ह्यूमेन वैल्यूज हमारे सामने आई हैं। हमने साबित किया है कि दुनिया के अन्दर अपने दोस्त की मदद बिना अपने किसी स्वार्थ के भी की जा सकती है। आज हिन्दुस्तान साउथ और साउथ ईस्ट एशिया में एक शक्ति, एक ताकत के रूप में उभर कर आया है। आज एशिया ही नहीं बल्कि दुनिया के और भी देश जो अपनी आजादी के लिये संघर्ष कर रहे हैं, वे आशा, विश्वास और इत्मीनान के साथ हिन्दुस्तान की तरफ देख रहे हैं। उनको भी एक नई शक्ति मिली है। उनका जो मोरेल है वह भी उंचा हुआ है।

श्रीमन्, इसमें कोई शक नहीं कि ढाका में पाकिस्तान के 70 हजार से ज्यादा फौजियों ने हथियार डाले और इस तरह इस जंग में करीब-करीब 93 हजार या 94 हजार सिपाही और अपसरान ने आत्म-समर्पण किया हमारी फौज और मुक्ति बाहिनी की ज्वाइंट कमांड के सामने। लेकिन आज भी कोई अधिक संतोष और ज्यादा खुशी मनाने का मौका इसलिये भी नहीं है कि आज भी जो पाकिस्तान का रख है और पाकिस्तान के पीछे जो बड़ी ताकतें हैं, खास कर चीन और अमरीका उनका सब अभी भी दोस्ताने का नहीं

भूटो साहब भी एक अजीब हस्ती हैं, जिनके ऊपर ज्यादा विश्वास नहीं किया जा सकता, कभी वे गरी की बात करते हैं, कभी नर्म की बात करते हैं। एक तरफ वे चाहते हैं कि हिन्दुस्तान से उनकी दोस्ती हो और दूसरी तरफ वे यह भी एलान करते हैं कि हम एशिया की सबसे बड़ी शक्तिशाली और शानदार फौज का निर्माण करने जा रहे हैं। उन्होंने दो नई डिवीजन बनाई हैं, जिनको सुसज्जित किया गया है उन हथियारों से जो चीन, अमरीका या दूसरे देशों से उनको प्राप्त हुए हैं। श्रीमन्, इतना ही नहीं, वे इस बात की भी कोशिश कर रहे हैं कि इन सब बातों से हमको भुलावे में रखा जाय; क्योंकि खास मकसद उनका यह है कि 93 हजार कैदी जो हिन्दुस्तान के पास हैं, वे किसी तरह से रिहा कर दिये जाय।

आज भी यह बात सही है कि अमरीका ने यद्यपि बंगला देश को मान्यता दे दी है, लेकिन अभी तक वह इस बात की सत्यता से कि यह एक नग्न रियलिटी है, अपने को एटजेस्ट नहीं कर सका है और चीन ने आज भी न बंगला देश को मान्यता दी है और न उसका ऐसा कोई विचार ही है। जैसा कि यहां कई बार कहा गया, 17 दिसम्बर को 7 बजे सीज फायर हुआ था, मगर शुक्ल जी ने शायद 9 मई को इस हाउस में यह बयान दिया था कि तब से अभी तक 310 वायलेशन्स सीज फायर के हो चुके हैं और तीन दिन के बाद ही उन्होंने यह एलान किया कि उन 310 को छोड़ कर 49 वायलेशन्स और हो गये हैं। यह 12 तारीख को उन्होंने बयान दिया था और उसके बाद 12 से अब तक कितने और ज्यादा हो गये होंगे, मैं जानता नहीं, मगर औसत अगर दस, पन्द्रह का भी मान लिया जाय तो 50 के करीब हो गये होंगे। इसके मायने हैं कि 410 वायलेशन्स इतने टाइम में हो गये और हमको ऐसा महसूस होता है कि ज्यों-ज्यों समिट की बात नजदीक आती है और जोर पकड़ती जा रही है, पाकिस्तान की ओर से सीज फायर लाइन के वायलेशन्स ज्यादा होते चले जा रहे हैं। हम को बताया गया कि 1948 की जो सीज फायर लाइन थी वह समाप्त हो गई, वह अब एक्जिस्ट नहीं करती है और यूनाइटेड नेशन्स के जो आब्जर्वर्स हैं, उनकी कोई लोकस-स्टैंडर्ड हिन्दुस्तान की गवर्नमेंट की आंखों में नहीं है।

आपने कही कि यू०एन० आब्जर्वर्स की कोई लोकल-स्टैंडर्ड नहीं है, मगर क्या सरकार ने सरकारी तौर पर यूनाइटेड नेशन्स से इस इश्यू को उठाया है कि अब अपने आब्जर्वर्स को विदड़ा करे; क्योंकि हिन्दुस्तान अब उनकी आवश्यकता महसूस नहीं करता। श्रीमान्, उस दिन बताया गया था कि 5 मई को जो झगड़ा हुआ तिथवाल में उसमें दो पोस्ट हमारे हाथ से चली गयी। आज आडवन्-वाणी साहब बता रहे थे कि 5 पोस्ट हमारे हाथ से और निकल गई हैं और उनको पाकिस्तान से वापस लेने की कोई बात नहीं हुई है। मैं एक बात यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि हमारे सुरक्षा मंत्री जी ने दो बातों को हिन्दुस्तान की जनता से कहा था। एक बात तो उन्होंने यह कही थी कि अब की जंग पाकिस्तान की सरहद में होगी। उनकी यह बात पूरी हुई। उसके लिये मैं उनको बधाई देता हूँ। मगर उन्होंने यह भी कहा था कि हिन्दुस्तान ने इस जंग में जो हिस्सा पाकिस्तान का जीता है, वह हिस्सा वापस नहीं किया जायगा और किसी कीमत पर भी ताश्कन्द के पैटर्न पर दूसरा समझौता पाकिस्तान के साथ नहीं होगा। श्रीमान्, जब यह कहा जाता है कि 1948 की सीज फायर लाइन खत्म हो गई और जहाँ सीज फायर हुआ था 17 दिसम्बर को उसी सीज फायर लाइन को बेसिस मान कर पाकिस्तान से बात होगी और कोई नई इंटरनेशनल बाउंड्री बनेगी, तो मैं यह जानना चाहता हूँ कि जो चौकियाँ हमारी छिन गईं, तो इन सात चौकियों को अगर हमने वापस नहीं लिया और समिट की तारीख, जैसी कि उम्मीद है, अगर वह हुई तो जून के आखिरी हफ्ते के पहले नहीं होगी। तो इन दो महीनों में तमाम चौकियाँ अगर पाकिस्तान हमारे हाथ से वापस ले ले और समिट के टाइम में यह फेड-एक्प्ली हुआ कि 1948 की ही सीज फायर लाइन अब है तो उसका जवाब हमारे पास क्या होगा? तो मैं यह जानना चाहता हूँ कि जब शुक्ल जी ने कहा कि हमने अपने कमांडर्स को यह आदेश दे रखा है कि जहाँ वे मुनासिब समझें रिटेलियेट कर सकते हैं, काउन्टर ऑफेंस कर सकते हैं तो जो हमारी 7 चौकियाँ चली गईं उसके बदले में हमने क्या 14 या 15 चौकियाँ पर कब्जा किया या नहीं या हम केवल लखनऊ शराफत में बैठे हुए हैं कि कोई झगड़ा नहीं बढ़ाना है और काउन्टरऑफेंस करने के लिए तैयार हैं।

दर्द हमारे दिल और दिमाग में है। मैं यह चाहता हूँ कि हमको मजबूती से बात करनी चाहिये। मैं इस विचार से तो गहमत नहीं हूँ कि समिट मीटिंग जब हो जबकि गव चौकियाँ वापस हो जायें। मैं इस बात से भी इतिफाक नहीं करता कि मीटिंग के साथ शर्त रखी जाये, मगर यह बात सही है और मैं यह चाहता हूँ कि समिट के लिये आपकी तैयारी एक तरफ हो, मगर साथ ही जो चौकियाँ हम से छीनी गई हैं वह चौकियाँ वापस ली जायें और उसके बदले में मय सूद के पाकिस्तान की भी नई चौकियाँ हम को वापस लेनी चाहिये। और समिट के वक्त—हालांकि यह मसला डिफेंस मिनिस्ट्री का नहीं है—मैं यह बात साफ कर देना चाहता हूँ कि इस बात का भी ध्यान रखा जाय कि आज जो काश्मीर का हजारों मील का हिस्सा पाकिस्तान के गैर-कानूनी कब्जे में है, उसको यदि किसी भी कंसीरेडेशन में पाकिस्तान के हाथ में छोड़ दिया गया तो मैं समझता हूँ कि इसको देश और देश की जनता बर्दाश्त नहीं करेगी।

श्रीमान्, मैं जो कहना चाहता था वह यह है कि आज जो हमारा डिफेंस का प्राबलम है, इसको इस कांटेक्ट के अन्दर देखना है कि पाकिस्तान का हास्टाइल एटीट्यूड है, पाकिस्तान की तरफ से वायलेंस हैं, चीन का रुख आज भी हमारी तरफ अच्छा नहीं है। चीन एशिया में एक बहुत बड़ी पावर बन कर सामने आया है और अपना इन्फ्लुएंस, अपना प्रभाव बढ़ाना चाहता है और आज जो न्यू-क्लियर पावर है उसमें भी उसकी प्रगति होती जा रही है, वह भी एक अंदेश की बात है। बावजूद हमारा बहुत कोशिशों के और बहुत से देशों की कोशिशों के कि इंडियन ओशन एक पीसफुल ज़ोन हो, शांति का ज़ोन हो, वहाँ जो रशियन और अमेरिकन नैवल कार्यवाही है वह तेजी से बढ़ती जा रही है और स्वयं आपने इस रिपोर्ट के अन्दर यह लिखा है कि सेवेंथ फ्लीट का जो ज्यूरिस्डिक्शन है वह इंडियन ओशन के अन्दर बढ़ गया है और बढ़ता जा रहा है। तो यह एक दूसरा खतरा है। और तीसरा खतरा यह है कि हिन्दुस्तान के सब-कांटीनेंट में चीन और अमेरिका का इंटरवेंशन का जो तरीका है और जो रुख है उसमें कोई कमी नहीं आई है। तो इन कांटेक्ट्स को सामने रखते

[ श्री नवल किशोर ]

सुरक्षा व्यवस्था है वह कैसी हो और किस प्रकार की हो।

मुझे इस बात की खुशी है कि इस साल कुछ बजट आपका बढ़ा है। मैं एक बात और कह दूँ। शुक्ल जी मुझसे इतिफाक करेंगे कि सुरक्षा के संबंध में सीक्रेसी का, गोपनीयता का जो ब्रिटिश ट्रेडीशन था, वह आज भी डिफेंस के मामले में उसी प्रकार चल रहा है। इतिफाक से मैं डिफेंस मिनिस्ट्री की कंसल्टेटिव कमेटी का मेम्बर भी हूँ, तो कभी-कभी शुक्ल जी से तो कुछ मालूम हो भी जाता है, उनकी कभी कभी कुछ मेहरबानी हो जाती है लेकिन जगजीवन राम जी तो ऐसे कहते हैं कि इस मामले में उनसे आप कोई बात पूछना चाहें तो न तो आप उनसे पूछ पायेंगे और न वह बतायेंगे लेकिन शुक्ल जी कभी-कभी अपने डिफेंस प्रोडक्शन के बारे में कोई बात बता देते हैं, लेकिन उस कंसल्टेटिव कमेटी का मेम्बर होने के बावजूद भी मेरी मालूमात में कोई इजाफा हुआ हो ऐसी बात नहीं है, बल्कि मैं तो समझता हूँ कि इस किताब में ज्यादा दे दिया है। ऐसा नहीं है कि शुक्ल जी उस कंसल्टेटिव कमेटी में ज्यादा बताते हों। तो मैं इस बात को कहना चाहता हूँ कि इस सीक्रेसी को वहाँ तक मेनटेन कीजिये, जहाँ तक कि नेशन की मिक्थोरिटी पर उसका एफेक्ट पड़ता है, लेकिन मेम्बरों को अगर आप कांफिडेंस में नहीं लेंगे तो मैं इस बात की मांग करूँगा कि डिफेंस मिनिस्ट्री की कंसल्टेटिव कमेटी को ही ससपेंड कर दिया जाय, डिमिशन कर दिया जाय, उसकी कोई यूटिलिटी नहीं है। तो मैं कह रहा था कि आपने बजट बढ़ाया है, शायद 1,400 करोड़ का बजट पास हुआ है, शुक्ल जी बतायें कि क्या उनका बजट 1,400 करोड़ रुपयों का है। शुक्ल जी कुछ अटेंशन आपकी हमारी ओर भी होनी चाहिये। मैं यह कह रहा था कि आपका बजट बढ़ा है, लेकिन आज भी वह बजट 3.8 परसेंट है जो ० एन० सी० का, नेशनल प्रोडक्शन का और 1963-64 ई. में यह 4.5 परसेंट था। दुनिया के और भी बहुत से देश ऐसे हैं जो कि इससे कहीं ज्यादा परसेंटेज डिफेंस पर खर्च करते हैं। तो मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि जहाँ आपने इस बजट को बढ़ाया है, वहाँ यह बात भी

सही है कि इसमें और भी बढ़ाने की गुंजाइश है बशर्ते कि जो हमारा जेनरल इकानामिक सेट अप है, उसे ज्यादा डिस्टर्ब न किया जाय। यह बात सही है कि हम लड़ाई जीते, लेकिन शुक्ल जी मुझसे इतिफाक करेंगे कि इक्विपमेंट और वीपम के मामले में हम को बहुत ज्यादा सुपीरियर पाकिस्तान से नहीं थे, कुछ थोड़े बहुत ही ज्यादा थे लेकिन कुछ चीजों में वह भी हमसे आगे थे, यह तो सिर्फ आपकी आर्मी की जो लीडरशिप थी और जो पोलिटिकल एडमिनिस्ट्रेटिव स्तर पर कोऑर्डिनेशन था और जो जवानों की बहादुरी थी उससे आप जीते। तो मैं चाहता हूँ कि साफिस्टीकेटेड इक्विपमेंट और वीपम के मामले में हमें तेजी से आगे बढ़ना है।

श्रीमन्, यह खुशी की बात है कि हमारी जो डिफेंस ऑर्डिनेंस फैक्ट्रीज हैं, वे अच्छा काम कर रही हैं। मगर जैसा कि मैंने कहा कि हमको यह भी पता नहीं श्रीमन्, कि उनका कैपिटल इन्वेस्टमेन्ट कितना है और उसका प्रोडक्शन कितना है, इसी-लिए उसकी सही इकानामिक्स को जानना बहुत आसान बात नहीं है। अगर यह चीज हमारे सामने होती तो हम ज्यादा अच्छी तरह से रिव्यू कर सकते थे। मगर फिर भी जो यूनिट्स मैंने देखे, मुझे इस बात की खुशी है कि वे अच्छा काम कर रही हैं और इस बात की भी खुशी है कि हमारे विद्याचरण शुक्ल यंगमैन हैं और वे उसमें काफी इन्टरेस्ट लेते हैं। लेकिन उसके साथ ही साथ यह भी बात सही है कि आज भी सबकी पूरी कैपेसिटी का, कुछ यूनिट्स आपकी ऐसी हैं, जिनका फुल यूटिलाइजेशन नहीं हो रहा है और आज जब डिफेंस का इतना महत्व है, तब मैं चाहूँगा कोई यूनिट ऐसी न हो जिसकी कैपेसिटी का वेस्टेज हो या वे अनयूटिलाइज्ड रह पाएं।

श्रीमन्, शुक्ल जी ने शायद कहा या मैंने कहीं पढ़ा कि इस जंग में भी यह देखा गया कि बहुत से मुल्कों ने हमारी बार मैटीरियल की सप्लाई में अड़चनें डाली जैसा कि 1962 में और 1965 में हुआ था। यह साबित करता है कि हम बहुत इन्मीनान के साथ दूसरे देशों पर डिपेन्ड नहीं कर सकते। इसलिए हमको आत्म-निर्भर होना पड़ेगा, सेल्फ रिलायन्ट होना पड़ेगा और सेल्फ सफिशिएन्ट होना पड़ेगा और इस तरह के कुछ

कदम बढ़ाए भी गए हैं, मगर उनको और तेजी से बढ़ाने की जरूरत है।

श्रीमन्, मुझे इस बात की खुशी है कि जहां आपके उत्पादन में इंडियन कॉन्टेंट 30-32 प्रतिशत होता था वहां वह बढ़ कर 60-62 प्रतिशत हो गया है। मगर जरूरत इस बात की है कि यह इंडियनाइजेशन का जो आपका प्लान चल रहा है प्रोडक्शन में, इंडिजिनस स्पेयर पार्ट्स को बढ़ाने का और ज्यादा से ज्यादा चीजें हिन्दुस्तान में बनाने का, उसको और तेजी के साथ आगे बढ़ाया जाए, क्योंकि कोई देश हमारा कितना ही दोस्त हो, चाहे रूस हो, चाहे कोई और देश हो, जो मुल्क अपनी मिलिटरी सप्लाय के लिए दूसरे देशों पर डिपेंड करेगा, निर्भर होगा, तो वह इन्टरनेशनल वॉर्ल्ड में, अन्तर्राष्ट्रीय जगत में बहुत ज्यादा आज़ादी के साथ अपनी राय या अपनी स्वतंत्र विचारधारा रख नहीं सकेगा। इस बात का ध्यान रखना चाहिए।

जैसा कि मैंने कहा श्रीमन्, हमारा इन्वेशन पाकिस्तान से नहीं होना चाहिए। हमको यह सोचना चाहिए कि हम एशिया में एक बहुत बड़ी शक्ति के रूप में उभर कर आए हैं। जब कभी हमारी टक्कर होगी, इन्फ्लूएन्स में या यूं भी, तो चीन के साथ होगी। दुनिया के और विशेषकर एशिया के तमाम मुल्क हमारी तरफ देख रहे हैं और सोच रहे हैं कि वह हिन्दुस्तान की तरफ हाथ बढ़ाएं या चीन की तरफ हाथ बढ़ाएं। इसलिए हमें अपना डिफेंस उसी हिसाब से मजबूत करना पड़ेगा और आगे बढ़ना पड़ेगा।

श्रीमन्, मैं आइंनेन्स फैक्ट्रीज के बारे में एक बात और कहना चाहता हूं। हम समाजवाद की बात कहते हैं, और सही बात है, मगर कहीं समाजवाद की रूप रेखा या उसकी कोई तसवीर हमारे डिफेंस की वर्किंग में भी आए तो ज्यादा अच्छा हो। तो मैं चाहता हूं कि जो उसका मैनेजमेंट है या जो डिफेंस है। प्रोडक्शन बोर्ड है, उसके अंदर भी मजदूरों की नुमायंदी होनी चाहिए।

श्रीमन्, इसी सिलसिले में जहां नेवी, एयर फ़ोर्स और ग्राउन्ड फ़ोर्स, इन तीनों को भी मजबूत करने की जरूरत है, वहां हमें यह पहला मौका देखने को मिलता कि जब एयरली बॉस में नेवी ने की

अपने कुछ कारनाम कर दिखाए। यह खुशी की बात है कि जितनी निर्भीकता से और जिस खूबी से नेवी ने बंगला देश के संघर्ष में अपने कारनामों को कर दिखाया और जिस खूबी के साथ करांची पोर्ट का बॉम्बार्डमेंट किया गया, उसको पैरेलाइज किया गया, मैं समझता हूं कि हिन्दुस्तान की हिस्ट्री में क्या वॉर्ल्ड की हिस्ट्री में वह एक करियमे की चीज हुई है, एक ताज्जुब अंगेज चीज है।

आज जरूरत इस बात की है कि हम नेवी को और ज्यादा मजबूत करें। यह बात सही है कि नेवी पर कुछ पैसा बढ़ाया गया है, क्योंकि अभी तक नेवी को नैगलेक्ट किया गया था। इस बात को भी मानना चाहिये कि जितने भी जहाज हमारे पास नेवी में हैं, वे 20 साल पुराने हैं। इसमें कोई शक नहीं है कि मंजगांव का जो डाकघाट है, वह बहुत अच्छा काम कर रहा है। उसने एक नया फ़िगेट निलगिरी बनाया है और अब हर साल वह एक वारशिप बना कर नेवी को दे देगा।

हमारा जो विक्रांत जहाज है, उसने भी पिछली लड़ाई में बड़ा कमाल दिखलाया। कभी-कभी जो बूढ़े होते हैं, वे काफी कमाल करके दिखलाते हैं और बूढ़ा होने के बावजूद भी उसने कमाल करके दिखलाया। मैं चाहता हूं कि जो हमारे एयरक्राफ्ट कैरियर हैं उनकी तादाद बढ़नी चाहिये। हमारी सबमेरीन की तादाद भी बढ़नी चाहिये। जब मैं बम्बई गया था तो बतलाया गया कि हमारी कैपिबल्टी इतनी है कि हम सबमेरीन भी बना सकते हैं, हम व्यापारिक जहाज बना सकते हैं, तब मैं चाहता हूं कि नेवी के मामले में जितने भी साफ़िस्टिकेटेड तथा लेटेस्ट वारशिप्स हैं, मिसा इल्स बोट हैं तथा दूसरी चीजें हैं, उन्हें हमें जल्द से जल्द अपने यहां बनाना चाहिये।

श्रीमन्, हमारे इंडियन एयर फ़ोर्स ने भी कमाल करके दिखलाया और इससे भी बढ़ कर जो हमारे पायलट्स हैं, उन्होंने हर किस्म के जहाजों को बड़ी खूबी के साथ चलाया, उनको इस्तेमाल किया और इसके लिए उन्हें क्रेडिट दिया जाना चाहिये। बंगला देश में हमने देखा कि जहां पर (Logistical) लाजिस्टिकल पोजीशन हमारे फ़ेवर में नहीं थी, वहां पर हमने हेलिकोप्टर का इस्तेमाल किया, हमने लैंडिंग गियर के बिना ही जहाजों को उतार दिया।

[ श्री नवल किशोर ]

चाहता हूँ कि हिमालय के पहाड़ों में जहाँ ऊँचाई पर हमारे डिफेन्स हैं, वहाँ पर मॉबिलिटी पैदा करने के लिए हेलिकॉप्टरों का इस्तेमाल किया जाना चाहिए और इसके लिए आवश्यक है कि हमारे देश में हेलिकॉप्टरों की तादाद बढ़ाई जानी चाहिये। हमारे पास एयरक्राफ्ट है, लेकिन हम चाहते हैं कि जितने भी एयरक्राफ्ट हों, वे सुपर-सौनिक किस्म के हों और उनकी तादाद बढ़ाई जाय। मैं इन चीजों के बारे में और ज्यादा नहीं जाना चाहता हूँ।

श्रीमन्, जो हम मिग 21 को डेवलप कर रहे हैं, उसको जल्द से जल्द डेवलप करना चाहिये। मुझे मालूम हुआ कि 1970 में हमने फ्रांस की एक कंसर्न एस०एन०आई०एल०एस० से हेलिकॉप्टरों के निर्माण करने के बारे में एक एग्रीमेंट किया था, मुझे मालूम नहीं उसके बारे में क्या हुआ? आर्म्ड कैरियर बनाने का भी एक प्लान बना था तब। मैं जानना चाहता हूँ कि इसके बारे में क्या हुआ? श्री शुक्ल जी से मैं एक बात यह भी जानना चाहता हूँ कि जहाँ उन्होंने इतने अच्छे काम किये हैं, वहाँ मुझे यह जानकर ताज्जुब हुआ कि आपका जो डिफेन्स का सप्लाय विभाग है, उसको 94 करोड़ रुपये के आर्डर मिले थे, जिसमें से वह 14-15 करोड़ रुपये के आर्डर पूरा कर सका। यह जो कमी आई वह क्यों आई? इस चीज को देखने की जरूरत है और इसमें जल्द से जल्द सुधार लाना आवश्यक है।

जहाँ आर्मी के एक्सपेंशन की बात है, वहाँ यह बतलाया गया कि कोई 4,600 अफसरान की जगहें खाली हैं और जब हम इस बारे में भर्ती की मांग करते हैं तब उतनी अच्छी रेसर्पोस नहीं आती जितनी कि आनी चाहिये। इसकी वजह यह हो सकती है कि जो हमारे पे-स्केल जवानों के लिए हैं वे इतने अच्छे नहीं हैं। आज पे-स्केल जो आफिसरों और जवानों के लिए हैं, उनमें काफी डिसपैरिटी है। गवर्नमेंट ने 1965 के बाद एक स्कीम बनाई थी "सेलेक्टिव कान्सक्रिप्शन आफ दि युनिवर्सिटी ग्रेजुएट्स" की। (Selective Consccription)। मुझे पता चला है कि उस स्कीम को डाप कर दिया गया है। उस स्कीम को क्यों

डाप कर दिया गया, यह बात मैं जानना चाहता हूँ?

मैं इस वक्त भर्ती के संबंध में दो बातें कहना चाहता हूँ कि हर एक स्टेट के हर सेक्शन को फ़ौज में भर्ती का बराबर मौका मिलना चाहिये। यह खुशी की बात है कि जब से बाबू जगजीवन राम जी ने डिफेन्स का कार्यभार संभाला तब से जांत-पांत का जो भेदभाव था, वह दूर हो गया है। अंग्रेजों के जमाने में कुछ मार्शल रेसेज थी और उन्हीं तक भर्ती सीमित रखी जाती थी, लेकिन आज यह बात नहीं है। यह बात सही है कि आज इस प्रकार के आदेश दे दिये गये हैं कि कोई भी नई रेजीमेंट जाति के आधार पर नहीं बनाई जानी चाहिये। लेकिन आज जो भी रेजीमेंट जाति के आधार पर चल रही है, उनकी कुछ हिस्टोरिकल बैकग्राउंड है, जिसको चेन्ज करने में बड़ी दिक्कत होगी। लेकिन उन रेजिमेंटों को ब्राडवेस्ट कर दिया जाना चाहिये कि किसी भी रेजीमेंट में एक ही जाति के आदमी नहीं लिये जायेंगे, बल्कि हर जाति के आदमियों को खुले तौर पर लिया जायेगा। अगर इतना ही करके उनका शेप बदल दिया जाये तो काफी बदलाव आ आयेगा।

एक सवाल उठता है बार-बार न्यूक्लियर आप्शन का। कहा जाता है कि हमको एटमिक हथियार बनाने चाहिए। श्रीमन्, इसमें दो ओपी-नियन हैं, एक तो यह कि इकानामिक स्थिति हमारी ऐसी नहीं है कि हम इतना खर्च कर सकें, दूसरी तरफ यह भी है कि जापान जब इतनी तेजी से न्यूक्लियर वर्ल्ड में आगे बढ़ रहा है, चीन बढ़ चुका है, इन देशों के साथ जब हमको रहना है तो हमारे पास भी न्यूक्लियर पावर, सबमेरीन्स और न्यूक्लियर वेपन्स होने चाहिये और जब होने चाहिए तो हम खुद बनाएं या दूसरों से मांगें और जैसा मैंने कहा दूसरों से मांगने में हमको उन पर डिपेंडेंट होना पड़ेगा। तो मैं यह चाहता हूँ कि जहाँ तक यह बात सही है कि शांतिपूर्ण कार्यों के लिए हम एटमिक पावर को इस्तेमाल करना चाहते हैं, वहाँ यह बात भी है कि हमें दोनों आप्शन सामने रखने चाहिए, मुझे यह समझ में नहीं आता कि यह क्यों कहा जाता है जोर से कि हम एटम बम



नहीं बनाएंगे, यह बात कहने की क्या जरूरत है, न हम यह कहें कि एटम बम बनाएंगे। हम अपनी टैकनीक को डेवलप करें और जरूरत पड़ेगी तो जरूर बनायेंगे, हमने कोई कमम नहीं खा रखी है, किसी धर्म की किताब में नहीं लिखा है कि हम नहीं बनाएंगे। तो मैं चाहता हूँ कि इस एटम बम बनाने के मामले में दोनों आप्शन हमारे सामने रहें।

जो रिटायरमेंट की एक 35 साल की है या 15 साल की सर्विस की है, उसे 35 से बढ़ा कर 40 या उसके आगे कर दिया जाय।

आपका कोआर्डिनेशन बहुत अच्छा हुआ, मगर बाबू जी इस बात को देखें कि क्या यह मुनासिब नहीं होगा कि हम एक टाप कोआर्डिनेटिंग एजेंसी बनाएं ताकि पीस टाइम में भी कोआर्डिनेशन चलता रहे। वह एजेंसी रेस्पॉन्सिबिल हो डिफेंस मिनिस्टर को, केबिनेट को। यह बात आपके सोचने की है।

फेमिली स्टेशन आज भी बहुत कम हैं, हालांकि 30 करोड़ रुपया आपने नये क्वार्टर्स बनाने के लिए रखा है। यह अच्छी बात है। मगर इधर भी आप ध्यान दें।

रिसर्च और डेवलपमेंट के बारे में भी मैं दो बातें कहना चाहता हूँ। उनका काम बहुत अच्छा है, मगर उन पर जो पैसा खर्च किया जा रहा है, वह उस अनुपात में जितना उसकी आवश्यकता है सोफिस्टिकेटेड इक्विपमेंट के लिए, डिफेंस इंडस्ट्रीज को मोडर्नाइज करने के लिए वह पैसा बहुत कम है, उसके लिए अधिक पैसा रखा जाय।

ये जो सोलजर्स एन्ड एयरमैन ब्रॉड हैं, ये ओर्नामेटल हैं, ये ज्यादा ठोस काम नहीं कर पाते हैं। इसलिए मैं चाहता हूँ कि इन ब्रॉड्स को फिर से रिआर्गेनाइज किया जाय, ज्यादा एक्टिवाइज किया जाय।

जहां इतने अच्छे-अच्छे काम इस जंग में हुए—मैं डिटेल् में नहीं जाना चाहता—मगर जो कमियां महसूस की गईं, या सामने आईं, जो कमियां थीं, उन पर खास तौर पर ध्यान दिया जाय, उन कमियों को ठीक किया जाय।

जैसा कि मैंने कहा, हम पाकिस्तान से, अमरीका और चीन से भी, सभी से शांति चाहते हैं और दोस्ती का हाथ भी बढ़ाते हैं, लेकिन पाकिस्तान एक तरफ दोस्ती का हाथ बढ़ा कर दूसरे हाथ से बदमाशी करता है, तो बदमाशी का जवाब सख्ती से देना चाहिए, रिटेलिएशन फोर्स से करना चाहिए। अगर हमको शांति की आवश्यकता है, तो पाकिस्तान को भी उतनी ही शांति की आवश्यकता है।

आखिर में मैं यह कह कर अपनी बात समाप्त करता हूँ कि तीनों फोर्सेज में जो कोआर्डिनेशन है उस कोआर्डिनेशन को एडमिनिस्ट्रेटिव और पोलिटिकल लेवल पर भी ज्यादा मजबूत किया जाय।

हमारे कुछ कैदी पाकिस्तान में हैं, हालांकि उनकी तादाद कम है। जो पाकिस्तान के कैदी हमारे यहां हैं, उनके संबंध में हमने जेनेवा कन्वेंशन की सब बातें मानी, उनके अप्सरों को स्टैनो भी दिये, खाना बहुत अच्छा देते हैं, मगर उधर से जो खबरें मिल रही हैं, उनसे मालूम होता है कि हमारे कैदी जो वहां हैं, उनके साथ ट्रीटमेंट अच्छा नहीं हो रहा है। मैं यह नहीं कहता कि आप रिटेलिएट करें, अपनी शराफत छोड़ दें, मगर मैं यह चाहता हूँ कि आप रेड क्रॉस को कहें, हर एजेंसी को टेप करें ताकि जो हमारे कैदी वहां हैं, उनके साथ ह्यूमन ट्रीटमेंट हो। इन शब्दों के साथ मैं अपनी बात समाप्त करता हूँ।

SHRI N. G. GORAY (Maharashtra) : Sir, I am entirely one with those who have expressed their gratitude to the Armed Forces and who have praised their courage and their sacrifice. But I would like to point out that the hope that after this conflict Pakistan will be in a chastened mood has belied itself. It seems that Pakistan is having a two-pronged attitude. One is that of President Bhutto who has been talking off and on about peace on this subcontinent and is showing his readiness to meet the Prime Minister to settle all the outstanding disputes between the two countries. But at the same time it seems that this Chief of the Army, General Tikka Khan, is following altogether a different policy. Many Members in this House have referred to what happened in Tithwal and what is happening almost everyday on our border. We have been told by the Minister

[Shri N. G. Goray.]

violations. But I would not like to equate what happened at Tithwal with the other violations which were of a local nature. We were told that at Tithwal a whole battalion was involved and it was supported by artillery. This really means that this particular action must have been cleared at the highest quarters and it must have been with their blessings that this particular action was launched. And the result was that we had to vacate or to withdraw from two posts. We are again told that five of our posts have been captured by the Pakistani troops. Now, all this taken together creates a particular pattern of policy. Therefore, I would like this House very much to go on record, this House should have gone on record already and should have condemned in no uncertain terms this action on the part of Pakistan and should have told its Prime Minister or the Defence Minister that what has been happening will not be tolerated. Not only that. If they try to seize two posts, we shall hit back and try to take more posts than they tried to take from us. This ought to have been or policy and I think this euphoria or this complacency that has come over us after this conflict should be no longer there. I would like to say that after this war we have to concentrate on two or three fronts which are likely to become the arenas of conflict. For a long time after independence Pakistan was the only potential opponent or enemy. Unfortunately, after 1962 the Himalayan frontier also heated up, and we have always to look to that, and the collusion between China and Pakistan has become so intimate that every time we have to deal with Pakistan, we have to take care of our Himalayan frontier also. And that is why I do not agree with my friend, Mr. Advani, who perhaps wanted to suggest that our response during the December conflict was a little slow. I know that there is a body of opinion outside which has accused the Government of having reacted rather slowly to the challenge that came from Pakistan. I myself was thinking on those lines for some time. But I think when we look back we will realise that it was a correct policy that we allowed ourselves a little time for organising our forces and we saw to it that it was not possible for China to come down the passes. When it suited us we took action. Had it been that our Armed Forces were not prepared, then I would have said that our reaction was slow. But I do not think so. We were ready, but we wanted to choose our time and our area of conflict. We wanted to see to it that they shall have to fight primarily on one front. Therefore,

or charge is correct. But at the same time, would like to say that when we look to the future, an impression should not be given that we have become complacent. Therefore, would like to point out certain defects which I think we must recognise.

One defect that I could find out was that our intelligence was not upto the mark. I am not referring to what happened to Ghazi which sneaked upto Vishakhapatnam on a mission to wipe out our Eastern Naval Command. We detected that in time and destroyed it. That is to the glory of our Navy. But it will have to be admitted that at Longewallah we wanted to proceed in the direction of Rahimyarkhan. We were taken by surprise by a whole regiment of Pakistani Army. They could sneak through the desert about 70 to 80 miles and were almost on the point of destroying our left flank, but for some mistake on the part of the Pakistani Commander. He rested there for the night and it was our sheer luck that though two of our trucks that were going in that direction were destroyed, the man in the third one was able to reach the headquarters and could tell the Army Command that the enemy was somewhere there. This was a very grave mistake on our part. The enemy could have destroyed the entire Division which was trying to penetrate in that particular bulge. Therefore, our intelligence was not adequate.

Another instance is, till the last day of the war, our Army could not find out where the two Armoured Divisions of Pakistan were. We were trying just to guess where they could be, but we could not succeed.

The third instance is that whole Division came down from the Peshawar area and joined the war. Only after it joined the war, we knew of its existence. I am not saying these because I want to pick holes. But I sincerely want to point out that our intelligence seems to be lacking and that is why exactly every time on the Western Front right from 1948 upto this time, they have taken us by surprise. We have reacted sometimes with success; sometimes with stalemate and sometimes we walked into their territory and as the Defence Minister promised, this time the war was fought on the Pakistani territory. That is true. But at the same time, if our Intelligence had been better, we could have claimed more of their territory and broken off contacts between Lahore and Karachi and taken hold of their railways and most probably Pakistan would have been



Then, I would like to point out that this particular area right from Kashmir down to Kutch is likely to be the future area of conflict. And, Sir, we have found that this desert area, especially on the Rajasthan frontier, has always given us a lot of trouble. There, the logistics are difficult—there are no communications and there is dearth of water and on the side of Pakistan, they have got all the advantages just as we are told that so far as the Chinese are concerned, because they are on a higher plateau, they have got the advantage. So, Sir, here the Pakistanis have got the advantage because of the fact that the green belt of the Indus Valley is on the other side. If this is going to be the trouble spot every time, I would certainly plead with the Defence Minister to try to find out how we can meet the challenge with more success and with more effect.

Then, Sir, the other area which is likely to be of danger to us is the Indian Ocean. Many times, Sir, on the floor of this House we have expressed the desire that we want the Indian Ocean to be an area of peace. But, at the same time, I would like to say with all the emphasis at my command that this is not going to be an area of peace. Why? Because, Sir, it is the Indian Ocean which provides all the traffic lanes for all the Big Powers and however much we may wish, we are not likely to succeed in persuading either the USSR or the USA or Japan or the UK to give up patrolling these areas because their interests are there and therefore, our strategy must be based on this hard fact that the sea lanes on the Indian Ocean are always going to be crowded and this area is not going to be an area of peace at all.

Sir, a lot of debate goes on here as to whether the USA has more ships here or the USSR. Sir, a very interesting piece of information I would like to quote here. It all depends on how you look at it and from what angle. For your information, Sir, I would like to quote it here. It was broadcast on the Peking Radio on the 14th June, 1969. The Peking Radio has said like this

"The Indian Ocean is the vortex of the Soviet revisionists' expansionist moves from the East and the West. To speed up turning India into an important base for the Soviet revisionists' expansion on sea. Soviet revisionist chieftain Kosygin, Commander-in-Chief of the Soviet Navy, S. G. Gorshkov, Chief of Staff of the Black Sea Fleet, Me/in, Commander of the Pacific-Fleet, N. N. Amelko, visited India conse-

Grechko went to India this year to make covert connections with the Indian reactionaries. In February last year, that is, in 1968, a naval agreement was signed secretly, for fear of the opposition of the people, between the Soviet revisionists and the Indian reactionaries. The Soviet revisionists promised to supply naval warships to the Indian reactionaries in exchanges for the right to use a number of naval bases in India. The Soviet revisionists are preparing to gang up with the Indian reactionaries to 'fill the vacuum' resulting from the withdrawal of the British Navy from regions east of the Suez. A Soviet fleet of 14 vessels stationed permanently in the Indian Ocean often operates off the West Coast of India in the Arabian Sea. Besides, S. G. Gorshkov disclosed that a Soviet nuclear submarine has made a four-month 'cruise' in the Indian Ocean."

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : What is that book?

SHRI N. G. GORAY : This is a publication by the Institute for Defence Studies and Analyses. They have quoted from the broadcast of the Peking Radio. So, Sir, this is how the Chinese look at it. May be that it is a tissue of lies and we do agree that it may be a lie and it is quite possible also. But, this is how the Chinese look at it and if the Chinese look at it from that point of view, their reactions will be based on that point of view. Therefore, I say that if the Indian Ocean is not going to be an area of peace, the Chinese are going to react violently to it, and they too would like to have a finger in the pie.

Now, what about the Japanese? Sir, I have got another paper which says that the Japanese are now launching Four Defence build-up programmes. What are those defence build-up programmes? Here if you read this programme, you will find that they have provided for everything further, it is stated;

"Further, the Maritime Self-Defence Force will substantially increase its offensive power by the addition of 8,000 ton class anti-submarine aircraft carriers, PX-L submarine spotters, high-speed hydrofoil missile boats and offensive submarines, while the Land Self-Defence Force will have a strength of 180,000 men and be equipped with large quantities of newly developed tanks...

I am very well equipped in the near future

[Shri N. G. Goray.]

That is why I would say that our policies of defence must be very realistic. We cannot say : Well, it is USSR and USA. It is not like this. China is coming here. Japan is coming here. We heard that France has also sent some of its warships. Therefore, I would like to point out, Sir, that so far as our naval strength is concerned, we must step up our naval defence to at least three to four times of what we have today. Sir, we have got only four submarines. It is good. With that force of submarines we succeeded in defending our coast-line. It is to the credit of our naval forces. But I would say that we must have at least twenty, because we have a vast sea to patrol, right from the Andamans to the Rann of Kutch. And, therefore, the submarine force must be increased. I would say, Sir, that patrol motor-boats may also be increased. We have got only eight. Very good. It is they which destroyed Karachi water front. They were very successful. It is quite true. But these eight boats are hardly sufficient.

Now, Sir, about nuclear weapons, I really would like this House to debate it in depth. It is no use saying from this side that let us have nuclear weapons, and the other side saying, "No; we are determined not to produce them". But why ? Is it because of cost ? Is it because of some principle ? Is it because you think that at the crucial time some other power is going to help us and to protect us ? All these problems ought to be thrashed out here because all of us are not here as School Children. When a student asks a question and the teacher says, "No, you are wrong". It should not be that sort of thing. We would like to know why is it that India chooses to remain without any nuclear arms when the Chinese across our border are well-equipped with them ? I put a question to the Defence Minister. It is all right to say that because a country has nuclear weapons, that country does not necessarily use it is quite true. The Americans have it. The Russians have it. The Chinese have it. The French have it. Perhaps the British also have it. But they are not using it. It is quite true. But when we are faced with a country like China which, if you remember, had jibed the USSR for not using nuclear weapons when it came to the question of Cuba, and suppose tomorrow or the day after or five years hence, China comes to a point where it is in a position to threaten Russia or America, when such a balance between the USSR, U. S. A. and China is struck will they hesitate to threaten

must see to it. We know, Sir, that China, in spite of its colossal strength and all its cries of revolution everywhere, has not gone directly to the help of Vietnam. It did not help Pakistan, because it wanted to save itself, because it did not think it was sufficiently strong. But when it becomes sufficiently strong, when it becomes equipped with nuclear weaponry, and when it finds that neither America nor Russia is going to intervene at their own cost, what will prevent them, unless it is our own strength ?

Therefore, I say, let us think about it in depth. One party says, let us have nuclear weapons and you from your side say "No, we have decided not to have them." Let us try to find out why we do not want to have nuclear weapons or why we must have them. So, a debate at this level is very necessary.

Then I go to the next question : What about our research and development ? Some of my friends have pointed out that we are spending only two per cent and, remember, in 1960-61 we were spending only one per cent. From one per cent during a whole decade we have come to two per cent an increase of one per cent during ten years. What are the other countries doing ? You will find that the U. K., a small country, is spending 11 %, and there are countries which are spending more. China is spending 20% and we are spending only 2%. Why is it so ? Let us take it to at least 5% which is not much. France is spending about five to six per cent and even countries like Czechoslovakia and Rumania are spending four to five per cent. Why do we not raise it from 2% ? Our needs are vast. We have a big continent to defend. And now we have not only to defend ourselves but Bangla Desh also. If that is so, then should we not spend at least 4 or 5 per cent of our Defence budget and try to gear up our research and development activities ? I think that is necessary. If you look at the map of India you will find the northern frontiers, the vast western frontiers and the Indian Ocean. All these will have to be taken into consideration. Any single arm or wing of our Defence forces lagging behind the others will weaken our defence effort to that extent. Therefore, I say, gear up our national defence and gear up our air force also.

Now we have got 625 planes; that is the figure given: maybe it is 650. But I say that we must have a thousand planes. I am not talking

8,000 to 10,000 planes. I say that we should have a well-integrated, sophisticated, well-planned and well-coordinated defence system and then we will certainly be in a position to defend not only ourselves but defend the entire Indian Ocean littoral. This is the duty that history has thrown on us. Again I am not being chauvinistic but I say that because our country is big—55 crores of us—and because we have proved our merit, more and more responsibility will be thrown on us. People will expect us to act and, therefore, I say that our defence forces must be geared up and everything must be done for that. There should be no stinginess about it at all because these are things which inevitably come to a big nation and the big nation must act as a big nation. That is all I would like to say.

THE MINISTER OF STATE (DEFENCE PRODUCTION) IN THE MINISTRY OF DEFENCE (SHRI VIDYA CHARAN SHUKLA) : Mr, Deputy Chairman, Sir, as we have often stated in the House, it is our policy to achieve progressive self-reliance and self-sufficiency in matters of defence requirements. We have also stated here that in the modern context of fast development of technology and science it is very difficult for any country, even the super-Powers, to be completely self-reliant in all matters of defence requirement. Nonetheless, to be self-reliant and self-sufficient in at least conventional weapons and to keep pace with the production of sophisticated weaponry and equipment is our aim and we are going rather well with our aims and objectives in this respect. We have continuously taken various steps to expand and modernise our defence production units both in the departmental undertakings, i.e. ordnance factories, and also in the defence public sector undertakings. In this we have had invaluable help from the Defence Research and Development Organisation. As hon. Member, Shri Naval Kishore, pointed out, although we have not given enough resources to our Defence Research and Development Organisation, they have within their limited resources done very good work. If we have not been able to give resources to the R and D Organisation, it was not because of our lack of realisation of the importance of research and development, but in the overall context whatever we could afford to invest in our Research and Development Organisation we have done and we know that whatever is invested, every paisa that is invested in research development pays itself back at one time or other. Even then, in spite of this reali-

limitations. That we have done and, therefore, we have not been able to provide such budget to the Defence Research and Development Organisation that we would like to, but we are looking forward to giving our scientists more and more resources and opportunities to help us to produce sophisticated weaponry and equipment in aeronautical, electronic and engineering fields.

Sir, I mentioned about the performance of Department of Defence Supplies and hon. Member, Shri Naval Kishore, also wanted to know why they could deliver so little when so many orders were pending with them. He mentioned some figure of Rs. 93 crores worth of orders that are pending with the Defence Supply Department and that they could supply only against Rs. about Rs. 13 crores worth of orders. Sir, there seems to be some misconception about the role of Department of Defence Supplies. The main work of the Department of Defence Supplies is of import substitution. Wherever we have been manufacturing the defence equipment with imported components or we have been even importing the whole item, the Department of Civil Supplies have been helping the entrepreneurs not only in the private sector, but also in certain cases in the public sector, to set up production units here in those fields in collaboration with the Defence Research and Development Organisation and then we place orders on various suppliers and manufacturers to manufacture those things which we were hitherto importing. The hon. Member will realise that the time lag in case of new items is larger and in case of simpler items the time lag is not much, but the Department has done very good work and I have stated already that they have indigenised a large number of items and the value of items indigenised since its inception, when it was set up in 1955, runs over Rs. 1,000 crores. Sir, here

I would like to state that our ordnance factories have been producing not only the weapons and ammunition required for our army, the navy and the air force but also they have been producing these various items required by our defence forces to the highest and the most stringent specifications that were laid down by the service headquarters. Shri Naval Kishore was also pleased to say that even though the quality of our production was good it was not much better than what Pakistan had. Sir, it would not be a very fair comparison if the hon. Member were to compare our equipment made here with the sophisticated equipment that Pakistan may have had from

**श्री नवल किशोर :** मैंने यह नहीं कहा । मैंने इंडियन-मेड वीपेन्स का विदेशी वीपेन्स में कम्पेरीजन नहीं किया । मैंने यह कहा कि साफेस्टीफिकेटेड वीपेन्स जो इंडियन आर्मी के पास थे वे पाकिस्तान के पास जो थे उनसे सुपीरियर नहीं थे । यही मैंने कहा था ।

**SHRI VIDYA CHARAN SHUKLA :** I was saying that our army, air force and the navy did not have any complaint whatsoever about the quality of the weapons or the equipment that vvc produced for them. There were certain areas of weaknesses discovered or located during the last war and we will take steps to rectify those areas of weaknesses and wherever we found there was scope for improvement we shall certainly embark upon those improvements.

I must say that in the last year our factories and the public sector undertakings did a marvellous job by not only meeting the targeted production but also exceeding it in several cases and the total value of production which was Rs. 94.25 crores in 1970-71 rose to Rs. 120 crores in 1971-72 . This is not a very small achievement and this has happened in a very short span of time and with machinery which is not always modern. Although we have now taken up a lot of modernisation projects and projects to augment our capacity, most of this achievement was with the old machines in old establishments and without using—not in all cases but in most cases—the augmented capacity or the capacity that is to be augmented. We have also, as I informed the House some time back during Question Hour, embarked upon various new projects. One hon. Member—I think it was Mr. Advani who is not here—mentioned that the Indian field gun was inspired by Russian designs and that Russia had made it for us. I did not want to say this because my friends of the Jana Sangh feel very irritated but they have a Russia phobia in their mind and they always make a wrong statement in this regard. The House has been told several times officially and categorically that (the Indian field gun 105 has been entirely conceived, designed and produced by our technicians and engineers. It is our design, our production and it is entirely an Indian gun; it has nothing to do with Russia. My friend Mr. Advani has just walked in and I must say that his information about the development and production of the Indian field gun is not correct. We have developed it ourselves and from next year we shall start production of this gun and in about three

bulk production of this gun which will ultimately replace the 25-pounders, the current Field gun in use both in the Indian army and also in the Pakistan army, which is, of course, of British origin. As I stated in the other House when the Demands for the Defence Ministry were under discussion, vvc have already in our Defence Research and Development Establishment started work in the Mark II version of the Indian field gun, and we hope that when this Mark II version is completed it will be much lighter and more efficient than the gun that we are going to produce just now. And this we are doing because we want to keep pace and we want to always remain modern as far as our artillery requirements go.

In the field of air power, as the hon. House knows, we have taken up the production of an improved version of MIG-21 now. From next year we hope to deliver to the Air Force the improved version, MIG-21 M. This will considerably help the Air Force to do its duty towards the air defence of the country.

Towards anti-aircraft defence, we have taken a big step to establish the bulk production of a very sophisticated anti-aircraft gun, that is, L-70 40 mm gun with a very high rate of fire with remote radar control and radar-aiming device which is mostly made in the country. There are certain imported components but we are trying very hard to see that we indigenise this production to the highest extent possible.

We have also taken a very important step recently, Sir, to establish a special steel and alloy plant in Kanpur. Work on that has started, and when it is completed, our dependence on various foreign sources for raw materials for this special steel and alloy plant which are required for various weapons or bombs or mortars, or for the various other things that we make, will cease and we shall be able to supply the raw materials to our ordnance factories and the defence public sector undertakings from our own sources.

We have also not fallen back in the case of propellants and explosives. With the new developments, we have started construction of a new factory in Madhya Pradesh, where these explosives will be manufactured, and they will substantially meet our requirements. Our Heavy Vehicles Factory, which manufactures Vijayanta in Avadi, has done very good work in the last year which is under review in this House at present. They hit their target and the indigenous content in Vijayanta is at present

be able to achieve the target of 85% indigenous content in our Vijayanta by 1973-74. Since this factory has been doing very useful work and fulfilling the very emergent requirements of our Armed Forces, we have undertaken an augmentation project at a cost of about Rs. 7 crores, which will give added capacity to this factory to produce the badly needed tanks.

Hon. Member, Naval Kishoreji also wanted to know what are we doing about the Armoured Personnel Carrier Project. I informed the House sometime back during Question Hour that the Avadi factory has successfully developed the prototype of a completely Indian Armoured Personnel Carrier. This prototype can be used for various purposes. We can use them as armoured personnel carrier. We can use them for self propelled guns which can be taken into the field. It can be used as an armour recovery vehicle. Also, it can be used as a tank carrier. Put the tanks and it should carry them rather than the tanks be run on the ground.

SHRI NAWAL KISHORE : It is multi-purpose.

SHRI VIDYA CHARAN SHUKLA : It is going to be a multi-purpose project, although basically it is an APC project. This could be enlarged in various kinds. It can be used by the infantry because the trend in the world is to give greater and greater mobility to the infantry forces. This project will help us in this respect.

SHRI N.G. GORAY : What is being manufactured at the 512 Command near Poona They had also some project.

SHRI VIDYA CHARAN SHUKLA : That is a kind of trailer. A prototype has been made there. I was speaking about the APC. We have also developed the engine, the transmission and the cooling system which are vital parts of this project in collaboration with certain firms which have done pioneering work in this respect. We are going fast with this project and we hope that we will be able to establish this project very soon.

Rather than take a lot of time of the House I will quickly go through our achievements and what we wish to do in future. In the defence public sector undertakings, the total value of production in 1969-70 was Rs. 146.28 crores. This has now increased this year to Rs. 176.36 crores. This is the estimate that we have made

just passed. We hope to increase it still further in the current financial year. Whereas we are increasing the total value of production, we are also going ahead vigorously with the 'indigenisation' of our products. We have made satisfactory progress, but I would say that more efforts are needed to 'indigenise' various things that we are making here. We are paying greater attention to this aspect, particularly after our experience during this war. As I said earlier, because of our experience of the 1965 aggression, the Department of Defence Supplies was set up for import substitution. The same experience more or less was repeated during the 1971 conflict. Every time it brings home to us the need for more and more self-reliance and greater and greater 'indigenisation' of defence production in our country. We have also started construction of a factory which will produce a new helicopter SA-315. We are already, as the House is aware, making the Alouette helicopter with French collaboration. The other helicopter that we are making will add further to our mobility and our Air Force's capacity to deal with various problems and new requirements.

HAL has been able to do very good work as far as the development of aviation and aviation products is concerned. They have recently test flown an agricultural aircraft which was designed and produced by our scientists and technicians. As you know, every year crops worth crores of rupees are destroyed in our country because we do not have enough aircraft or helicopters to air-spray and destroy the pests. With this development we hope that we will be able to supply to the department of agriculture, to the various State Governments and other private parties who are engaged in this kind of crop-spraying work, so that this deficiency is also removed. HF-24 which is a strike plane which has been developed by India in Hindustan Aeronautics Limited, is being further improved and we are looking into the question of making it more useful to the Air Force.

The Gnat, as the House will be glad to know, is being improved and we are already examining the question of producing Mark 11 version of this aircraft. I stated in the other House, when our Demands were under discussion, that at one point recently the Air Force was thinking of phasing out the Gnat from their fleet altogether. But this aggression came and the Gnat performed very well again. There are a few snags which need to be removed and we hope that after removal of those snags, this improved I version of the Gnat will continue to serve the

[Shri Vidya Charan Shukla]

HAL has also undertaken to develop the military Freighter version of HS 748, that is the Avro plane. They have been tested by the Air Force and they have been found satisfactory. This also fills in a big gap in our requirement and the successful development of this military Freighter version gives us further strength and it constitutes a further one more important item which is being produced in India.

The Lucknow Factory which is being set up as one of the units of HAL is going to manufacture such sophisticated equipment which was so far being imported from outside, like hydraulic controls, the under-carriage, pressurisation system, air-conditioning system and many kinds of things which were not so far made in our country. Now, the Lucknow unit of the HAL will make these for the various kinds of aeroplanes that are being made in our country.

Sir, on the 3rd of June this year, that is the next month, we are going to hand over to the Navy the first warship that we have made in the Mazagaon Docks. This is Frigate Nilgiri. It is a good ship that has been built and has been built almost with 50 per cent indigenous content. Because of our anxiety to depend more and more on Indian sources for building such equipment, our Frigate Project has been delayed and it is behind schedule. But we are trying to catch up with it and we hope that very soon the Mazagaon Docks Limited will be in a position to deliver one frigate a year and ultimately, making two frigates a year for the Navy, frigates or other kinds of naval ships or warships. Because these war ship designs and operational requirements undergo changes, we also keep on trying those changes, as desired by our Navy.

In the case of Bharat Electronics, there has been some complaint by some Members about the foreign collaboration agreements and there is a general impression that Bharat Electronics is not producing many things which are either designed here or manufactured in India. But it is not a fact. As it is, we are producing in Bharat Electronics the various kinds of sophisticated equipment, various kinds of radars and other kinds of equipment and the overall indigenous content of all these equipment taken together is about 75 per cent and we hope to make it 82 per cent indigenous by next year. This is of course a very important aspect which

Electronics in Ghaziabad near Delhi where various sophisticated radar and micro-wave equipment will be produced.

Apart from doing this good work, our Defence public sector undertakings have also been contributing to the national exchequer in terms of profit. With the exception of Praga Tools, which has not been able to come over the surface because of the general recession in the machine tools market, the other public sector undertakings under the Department of Defence Production have contributed Rs. 16.18 crores during the last financial year to the national exchequer. And we hope to increase this contribution of profits to the national exchequer in the coming years.

Sir, there are many more points to be covered, but I will now come briefly to the various points raised by hon. members and this will pretty well cover the various departments and activities which I look after. Sir, some reference was made to the export of arms and ammunition that we have started in a small way and which we went to increase in the coming years. The hon. Member, Nawal Kishoreji, was saying that this could not be done on a commercial basis. It surely can be done on a commercial basis. But it will have to be conditioned and fully regulated by political considerations.

**श्री नवल किशोर : शुक्ला जी, यह बात मैंने नहीं कही ।**

**SHRI VIDYA CHARAN SHUKLA**  
**नहीं कही, तो वह बात आप मूल जाइये ।**

I Within our overall political considerations, we will try to do as best as we can in making commercial exports of these surplus commodities; ties or such commodities which may be exported. Questions have been raised, although not in this House but elsewhere, whether, taking into consideration the moral values, India should also join the list of countries which do arms trade and sell lethal weapons to other countries. It has not been raised here, but I would like to say that there is nothing immoral in selling arms and ammunition because if somebody proceeds on the assumption that the arms and ammunition will be used only for aggressive and destructive purposes, he is very wrong. It all depends on to which countries the arms and ammunition go. If countries which are peaceful and which want to be ready for their self-defence and to

to India, I see nothing wrong and nothing immoral in selling arms to them. And this is our exact intention. We do not want our arms and ammunition to be misused for aggressive purposes or bad purposes or for purposes which will go against the interests of our country. Therefore, we will be very careful about this matter. But nonetheless, if we have to maintain a certain tempo and a certain capacity is our Defence Production units, it is inescapable that we export arms and ammunition and various other items of defence for which we have to keep the capacity going in the country.

Sir, Shri Abdul Khader of the D. M. K. mentioned about private sector firms supplying defence stores and making huge profits. This is not a fact because, first of all, whenever anything is ordered upon private sector firms, it is done through the Director-General of Supplies and Disposals and they have a rate contract which is much lower than the market prices of those particular items, and we see to it that nobody makes any unconscionable profits on the supplies that are made to our Armed Forces.

Nawal Kishoreji was also mentioning about the economics of ordnance factories and the investment in ordnance factories. I can give the figures of total investment made in the ordnance factories, but I do not think it is proper for us even to consider the question of economics because these ordnance factories are not based in economic considerations.

Economic considerations must be kept in mind. I agree there. You cannot give up economic considerations completely. But the overriding consideration is what we need, and what we need in what way. Even if a certain equipment is needed which cannot be produced in an economic manner but which can be produced by the raw material and expertise in our country and though it can be imported probably cheaper from outside, rather than importing it from outside, we shall make it in ordnance factories in our country in a proper way so that we do not have to depend on foreign imports of such purpose although it should be our effort to see that the value of production or the cost of production is as much as the imported product, if not less than that. I agree there. But we cannot really put the same economics in the departmental undertakings as we do in the case of commercial establishments. In the last, I would like to pay my compliments to the defence workers and officers and many other

production efforts and I hope that with the encouragement that is being given to us by this honourable House from time to time, we shall be able to do better in future.

SHRI NAWAL KISHORE : You have not spoken about participation of labour in your management or in your defence production boards.

SHRI VIDYA CHARAN SHUKLA : We have full determination to follow the policy that the Government lays down in this respect. We will not make any exception as far as possible for public undertakings. But as far as departmental undertakings, go, that is, our ordnance factories, we will have to follow a different policy in that respect.

SHRI JOACHIM ALVA (Nominated) : Sir, I regret that I have to apologise to you. Though our popular Minister of Parliamentary Affairs was good enough to put me as the first speaker on behalf of the Congress Party and you, Sir, were kind enough to call me—I am grateful to you—I could not speak. Anyhow, I have got my chance now. In the first and the foremost place I would like to pay my humble tribute in this debate that is taking place after the last war. U may be very formal. We have to pay a tribute to our Armed Forces who have won the war for us. But I regret to say that at the last Indian Air Force display at Palam—it was a big display; there were twenty one Member on the Parliamentary Committee for Defence and I am the oldest Member of that Committee except myself and another Member who is a former IAF officer, now a DMK Lok Sabha member, all the eighteen or nineteen Members were absent there. That is not the way of the sense of highest patriotism. I have got to say this because the Indian Air Force men look to us for patriotism and encouragement. I say this with all humility. It may be that for us to go to Palam it costs Rs. 25. But whether you beg, borrow or steel, we have got to go there. The Prime Minister and the President of India were present with the gallant forces there. I may also say that we Members of Parliament do not yield our sons to the defence forces. I was the second speaker on Defence in 1950 when I came into the Lok Sabha. I was the second speaker after the late K. M. Munshi. And then Minister of Parliamentary Affairs, Shri Satyanarayan Sinha, came up and asked me to speak. But I was not ready. At that time they asked us : Why don't you give us your sons ? I have had two sons. My first son went to the Air Force

[Shri Joachim Alxa]

wants me to be a Chemical Engineer. And so he was rejected. He was meant for the Air Force, but he was not taken into it. My second son, when he was five months old, went to jail with his mother. As a youth he hitch-hiked from Amritsar to London. My only daughter a graduate of Delhi and London universities worked for six weeks under Israeli planes on behalf of Arab refugees in Jordan. What I am saying is this. In the British House of Commons there are Members whose sons have joined the defence forces and some of whom have lost their legs, some their hands. I lunched in British Parliament with a tall man, off with one leg due to war. He was Viceroy Irwin's son. He recently came to India as a British Minister. Heaps of such cases in British Parliament. A time will come when others will take our places here. What type of patriotism do we show them? They are entitled to come here. I may pay a humble tribute to our great Defence Minister, a very popular national leader, who has been in office for the longest period, for having led the Defence Forces of India to victory under the inspiration of the Prime Minister of India, of the President of India. And our Prime Minister's popularity was tremendous as a woman. In Mother India Baburao Patel wrote a nasty article about the Prime Minister from beginning to end, but he ended with this remark: "No woman in the history of the world in the last 2000 years has become as popular and powerful as the Prime Minister of India." Now, Sir, we all owe to the Defence Minister for his courage and lead. We also owe to the Defence Ministry and to all the associates of the Defence Minister. We particularly owe to one of the ablest of Ministers, the Minister of State and who has given a very good account of his Ministry. I am referring to Shri Shukla. We owe to the Secretariat and above all to the men in the lower circles who run to show—the thousands of Jawans. We owe so much to all of them. Now, I come to the point.

Now, Sir, I want to mention one important point and that is about the ICS Secretary in the Defence Ministry. I am not meaning of present one. The Defence Secretary draws about Rs. 1,44,000/- every year. It is a lot of money. My salary is only Rs 500; sometimes I get Rs. 120/- a month after deduction. Do not worry about my salary. I am worried about others. There are 136 Class IV employees and together they do not draw as much as the Defence Secretary. Thov Iviv.- t,i ho Irv^L ,,,i ,rt... TU-.-\_

In my first speech on Defence in 1950 I paid a tribute to Shri H. M. Patel, then Defence Secretary. I am mentioning his name. I have nothing against anybody. But when Mr. Patel resigned his job, he became a Swainra Parly louder. He said once: "Why do you bother to make aircraft and other implements? Why do you build up these things? Why don't you buy them from America?" After Shri Patel, one of his successors was Shri Shankai. I have nothing against him either. He was a very active member of the ICS. When he left his office, he became an open advocate and champion of the Princes who have been liquidated. Then there is another ICS gentleman. One foreign Ambassador told me: "We are paying Rs. 8000/- as rent for this building". That house belonged to then a Secretary of the Defence Ministry. I won't give his name. If you ask me, I will give it. Then of course Shri Lall has now come in. He is a very able and patriotic man. I hope on retirement he will search new pastures and I hope he will give us good results.

Now, I come to the Air Force. It is my very favourite subject. Sir, I attended the British Farmbofough Airshow on the invitation of the British Aircraft Manufacturers and also the Paris Airshow at the invitation of the French Aircraft Manufacturers. I know nothing of science. Whatever it is, in 25 years what has Shri Shukla produced? Some MIG and other aircraft. This is nothing. I am glad that he is going to put up our aircraft in the International Air Show. I suggested this to the late Jawaharlal Nehru because our boys would be educated. I am glad Shri Shukla will now do it.

Now let us see how other countries have developed their air power. Let us see how fast Russian have grown. Even under the feudalist Czar, Russia's Airforce was better than the German Airforce. But we in India are all the time playing with big business. I had a discussion with one of the Chief Ministers on how Big Business went to buy up States public sector units. Why don't they hand over them to our numerous Talented industrially trained boys. The Public industry can absorb them. Coming back to Russia, I want to quote from a booklet on Soviet Air Power. "This History of Soviet Air Power" by Robert Kilmark. On page 33 of that book it is said that in "1923-28 the number of aircraft in the Red Force unit rose from 400 to 1,080". However, we do not have



them were purchased from abroad. By 1928, about 600 aircraft could be considered reasonably low. The Soviet Air Force was about equal in strength to Great Britain by 1928. On page 86 it is stated that the aircraft of Soviet design based largely on foreign development entered production especially during the years of 1930-32. My humble submission, Sir, is that we must build up an Air Force of a hundred squadrons. Now, Sir, Pakistan and their friends are talking about having the best fighting force. So, whether we like it or not, we have to place all the cards on the table and say that we are going to build up an Air Force of a hundred squadrons. For this, Sir, we must have the money, we must have the machine and must have the power and that will be the guarantee for our safety.

Then, Sir, I would like to quote what the great American General said. Gen. Nathan Twing, Chief of Air Force of the USA, said in 1956 :

"The Soviets have more combatant air power than the US—in the past three years the Soviets have out-produced the US in modern combat aircraft. Russia has a thousand more aircraft in combat units than the US."

Sir, these are the opinions of the people and it is time that we did something about ours also, we must also build up our Air Force like this. The Hindustan Aircraft Factory in the greatest air factory in Asia and also in Africa. Our Air Force units should be able to deliver the goods. Sir, on the last occasion, I quoted from a book written by the War Minister of Hitler. Mr. Speer. He was for twenty years in jail and he wrote a book in jail which has come out now. In Speer's Book, "Inside the Third Reich", on page 407, he says that during the last phase of the War, 12,720 fighters were delivered to the troops of Germany which had started the war in 1939 with only 770 fighters ! Germany in 1939 started the war with only 770 fighters which we in India do not have in the year 1972. Sir, 12,700 fighters Germany produced during the course of the war ! There are the figures and we must learn from them. Sir, there are first class pilots with us. Air Marshal Lai is one of the finest men in our Air Force and so also Gen. Manekshaw, a great leader of men, who fought so bravely and brought the recent war to a glorious end. We have also got daring men in our Navy headed by enterprising Admiral Nanda. But, Sir, we must do something for

them twelve submarines. China has fifty submarines. Now, my friend, Shri Goray, who preceded me, said that we should have 20 submarines to start with. But, we are arguing, "Shall we have submarines or not !" and we are arguing, "Shall we have this or that ?" and we go on arguing for ten to fifteen years till Pakistan has got them from Italy, from France, from America. I think we have also some, two or three, or five ! I think so; less than five ! This is not the number that will be enough for us. We need at least 25 submarines to strengthen our Navy. Sir, we are entitled to take as much as we like from others. However, I plead for a self-supporting independent and dynamic defence policy. We shall have to rely on ourselves and we shall have to build for ourselves. We shall buy from wherever we like & take from whomsoever we like if it is given with grace. But we have to follow a self-supporting, defence policy. Otherwise, we will have to be at the back and call of other people as some had to be during the course of the 25 years of Independence. They said, "We shall not supply you oil", and the air machines did not move and Hitler was also in final trouble. The German Air Force did not work and the war was lost. This is the lesson we have to learn from history.

Sir, in the "Time" Magazine—I think some of you might have seen the ratio of the Russian warships to the ones of the NATO is given as 6 to 1. This is the figure given in that magazine. In about twenty five or fifty years we have been able to build up only a very small warship and we have not gone anywhere near them. So, our Ministers need greater courage than they have shown before and our Secretaries have to be far more dynamic and not bureaucratic—(Time-bell rings) — and only then can we get along. Now, Sir, about the warships, I think we have one warship. We are very happy that we have produced one warship at the Mazagon Dock which is truly an efficient industrialised unit. Poland, which has less than for million population, after the Nazi slaughter has produced ships for all the world. I have been in Poland and also to the latter consists Belfast of less than four districts of India. It has produced ships for all the world. Secretaries have to tell the Ministers. Ministers have to decide. Parliament never denies them any money. Sir, we have to build more warships.

Once again I go back to Hindustan Ship-building yard at Vizagapatnam which has been headed by an ex—CB1 Officer. I wonder

[Shri Joachim Alva]

rings). But a Police Officer cannot run a ship building yard.

These are my points. Then, Sir, we had a number of Hying accidents in the Air Force. We had too many Hying accidents in the Air Force. I have got figures. It would not be good to tell them here. We should do better. The sisters, brothers and the other relatives of many young men would not like to see many young men perishing in the Air Force.

Then, Sir, I come to the last point. Give me just two minutes. In the book "The Member of Marshal Zhukov" there is a passage, which I would like to quote :

"Staff Chief of Operations of the German Supreme Command Jodl admitted at the Nuremberg trial :

'If, back in 1939, we did not suffer a defeat, it was only because some 110 French and British Divisions stationed in the West against 23 German divisions during our war with Poland, remained inactive.'

Now, Sir, this is the kind of thing. We have instances where the USA blackmailed other nations like China and Russia.

Even a man like Eisenhower, whom we welcomed said : "We shall use atomic weapons against the Chinese." I must say that the great Russians, when Egypt was invaded, Mr. Bulganin—wrote, to Eden,—"We shall use rockets and atomic weapons against you ...". The French, the British and Israeli stopped further invasion of Egypt on Russian threat of nuclear weapons.

I think Mr. Pant, now a Minister was a member of the A. I. C. C. in Bhubaneswar. He said that he stood for nuclear weapons. He said that we should make nuclear weapons. I opposed it strongly on the ground that we are the followers of Maha^ma Gandhi : We might perish but we shall not make nuclear weapons.

Now, Sir, even in the matter of birth control a number of us have been opposed to it. But as one who is a practising Catholic, I have now come to the conclusion that with our population we have got to practice it. Normally, with regard to nuclear weapons we have different opinions. But we shall have to equip ourselves with nuclear capability of a high order. Do you know what Dr. Bhabha said ?—

made a very historic speech on the 24th October. Even I who opposed him in the Atomic Committee have to say this because he referred to the famous interview of Premier Chou En-lai in Bombay at the Atomic Energy establishment there. Bhabha told before then Prime Minister and members of the Atomic Committee :

"Chou En-lai said India had gone far ahead of China."

We now are behind ! They are far ahead of us. China is far ahead of us because they brought so many of their scientists from the U. K., the U. S. A., everywhere. I would like the House to remember this. As I said, even a Gandhian has to change his philosophy of non-violence. This is what Dr. Bhabha said in his Broadcast of 24th October, 1964 :

"On the other hand, at current prices of TNT, 2 million tons of it would cost some Rs 150 crores, making the use of that much explosive in one event totally impossible. This shows that atomic explosives are some 20 times cheaper and thermo-nuclear explosives more than 500 times cheaper than conventional explosives. Thus, on the basis of the figures given in the paper I have quoted, a stockpile of some 50 atomic bombs would cost under Rs. 10 crores and a stockpile of 50 two megaton hydrogen bombs something of the order of Rs. 15 crores. These expenditures are small compared with the military budgets of many countries. We may, therefore, well have to reckon with a number of countries possessing nuclear weapons within the next five or ten years, unless some important and tangible steps are taken towards disarmament." Thank you very much. Sir.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRIMATI PURABI MUKHOPADHYAY) : You started with "Sir" and you ended with "Sir" !

SHRI SASANKASEKHAR SANYAL (West Bengal) : Madam in the Chair, if the word "Sir" inadvertently slips out of my mouth, you will please interpret its meaning as "Madam".

In the year 1961-62 the budgetary provision was Rs. 280 crores. Now it is Rs. 1,408 crores. This has involved more and more taxation, taxation of the poor. And these taxes did not give, cannot give any relief to those who are seeking bread or employment. The question

of the country or are we defending those who are helpless in the country or are we defending the vested interests and the bureaucracy ? This question is very pertinent today because of the great mental change, the mental elevation we have acquired after we have made and set Bangla Desh free.

Madam, we for ourselves think that the real forces to be generated and collected are democratic forces inside and outside the country. Look at Vietnam. They are fighting there from 1945. They fought against France. From 1954 they have been fighting against America and America is the most powerful, nuclearly-equipped nation. But this nuclear strength has not been of any avail to them because heroic people are not yet demoralised. Madam, we on this side of the House are in entire accord with the Government's stand that we must not go in for nuclear weapons insofar as defence of the country is concerned. Defence of the country must not go the nuclear way. Madam, my good friend, Shri Advani, referred to it. My friend, Mr. Goray, has asked a question, "If the USA can go in for nuclear weapons, if Russia can go in for nuclear weapons, why for purposes of defence can India not go in for nuclear weapons or shall not go in for nuclear weapons ?" Madam, the answer is very obvious. America is sending astronauts to the space, beyond the space and to the planets, Russia is also doing that but we cannot do that. It is no use trying to do things merely for the sake of comparison or competition. We cannot give even one bread to our poor people. Our brothers and sisters are lying on footpaths. We cannot give them a word of consolation. We are poor people. We shall not indulge in the vanity of rich nations or powerful nations for going nuclear way.

SHRI MAN SINGH VARMA (Uttar-Pradesh) : Then wind up the whole army and distribute everything among poor.

SHRI SASANKASEKHAR SANYAL : Why ? After all, Vietnam is showing that way. Every-Vietnamese citizen's mind is a nuclear weapon. The will of a free citizen who is willing to defend the country against onslaught of imperialism and colonialism is itself a nuclear weapon. We have also to develop our mind the same way.

Madam, we have to go in for peace.- Having been victorious in the recent war, we have found

Ram, my fellow worker and fellow traveller at one time . . .

SHRI N. G. GORAY : Fellow traveller has a different meaning.

SHRI SASANKASEKHAR SANYAL : Well, it has its own meaning and I mean that only.

THE MINISTER OF DEFENCE (SHRI JAGJIVAN RAM): Have the literal meaning or that.

SHRI SASANKASEKHAR SANYAL : Literally, it means motional and emotional.

Now, he said, when the war was just impending, that if Pakistan attacked us, we shall attack Pakistan on their own soil. May I appeal to him to try to have an adventure of peace on their soil ? Formerly, we were sandwiched between two sides of Pakistan. One of the sides is now free and friendly and the other side is licking its own wounds. A vanquished power stands on prestige. A generous victorious power must stand on generosity. We have no prestige to lose. So we should seek to widen the area of peace and we shall try to come to some sort of understanding with Pakistan which will further enhance our prestige in the comity of nations.

Madam, we should also cultivate our friendship with China. Let the past be bygone. We have had some mis-understanding with Russia. Also we depended too much on the USA. The past history is over now. We have started a new chapter with Russia. With China we can also start a new chapter and, so far as the Indian Ocean is concerned, we have to cultivate afresh our relations on a more strengthened basis with Ceylon and Burma. Our efforts should be to have a collective sense of security by forming a Joint Council of Nations in South-Asian world so that we can rise or stand up together. This is the whole concept which I want to place before the hon. Defence Minister. And war has its own hysteria and its own dangers also. Reference was made to the capitalists, the Mafatlal Group, the Tata Group, the Mahindra and Mahindra group. It is an open secret that the Tatas made a profit of Rs. 4,000/- for every truck. The monopolists gained, the bureaucracy gained but the common people lost. Therefore, we are not for maintaining that budget, far less for augmenting that provision which will at the same time be impoverishing the poor further while

[Shri Sasankasekhar Sanyal]

One thing has not been referred to by any of my friends. The Minister is here. During the India-China war we heard of a lot of corruption. But things went underground and no enquiry was made. I want to make here a categorical complaint that in the name of building roads or repairing roads—I won't say fabulous—substantial sums of money have been spent on roads which were neither in existence nor brought into existence. Sir, my friend there is very kindly taking notes. May I ask him to have a parliamentary committee to go into this and get the matter enquired into?

SHRI JAGJIVAN RAM : I will have any enquiry but let my friend give some specific information as to where the road was constructed.

SHRI SASANKASEKHAR SANYAL : You will get it in your own files. Some roads were mentioned as having been repaired or having been constructed but no such roads have been constructed or no such roads have been repaired. Non-existent things are the subject of spending and investment of huge sums of money.

SHRI JAGJIVAN RAM : Does he mean during the 1971 war?

SHRI SASANKASEKHAR SANYAL : Yes, yes.

SHRI JAGJIVAN RAM : Unless I know something specific as to in which sector it happened, what can be done? You give the specific instance and I will certainly go into that.

SHRI SASANKASEKHAR SANYAL : Will you kindly go to one of the sectors in which your posts have been overrun by them? There was a demand for building roads so that there may be roads parallel to the bridges.

SHRI MAHAVIRTYAGN (Uttar Pradesh) : What is the name of the sector?

SHRI SASANKASEKHAR SANYAL : He ought to know that. I will now go to the oilier point.

SHRI JAGJIVAN RAM : Again I will reiterate that unless I get specific information as to where it happened...

SHRI SASANKASEKHAR SANYAL : It is in the Tithwal sector which is in danger

Then there is another matter. The disparity of income must be removed. One Secretary—is it necessary for me to mention the name of the Secretary—got Rs. 1,44,000 in one year which is equivalent to 136 grade IV employees of the army. In Ahmedabad textile mills a sweeper gets more than what the jawan gets for fighting on the front. Recruits in the infantry get according to their categories not more than Rs. 50/- to Rs. 90/- per month. And do you know the number of casualties they suffer? In infantry, in the Second World War the casualty was 73.5 per cent. In Jammu and Kashmir war it was 95.27 per cent. In the Sino-Indian war it was 73 per cent and in the India-Pak war it was 82.67 per cent. These people die like rats and cats. But there is no provision which provides even the barest minimum amenities needed for them.

Then there are non-combatants. General Mane kshaw in his statement has deprecated this distinction between combatants and non-combatants. He said it is atrocious; it is medieval, it is feudal, it is very unjust and inconsiderate, stern with the social concept. Now, the cooks barbers, washermen and sweepers 4 P. M. coming from the lower class constitute 1/22 of the Army's total strength. Formerly, Madam, you know that all Nawabs were going to the war front with musicians, dancing girls, couriers and courtiers and the latter were all non-combatants. Now-a-days also in the modern days also, our Army has to go there with non-combatants who die like fleas. Is it not time when our Defence Minister, who is a votary of socialism and social justice, should do away with the pernicious classification which obtains in the Army between combatants and non-combatants, and between different types of men in the Armed Forces, for the various reasons which have been referred to by them? But there is one other pernicious aspect in the whole matter. Now-a-days, when four persons are demobilised, out of them three are reemployed but one remains unemployed. Now-a-days, when people die, ex.gratia emoluments are promised, but all of them are not paid. There is no guaranteed pension to a soldier fighting on the front. Discretion of the President on the advice of the Ministry of Defence is exercised and abused for granting some pension to widows, to widows only, not to the mothers or the lathers of the deceased. The widow, a young girl, marries very rightly and gets another husband, and

pension, they are stranded on the road. Why should not (here be a free and guaranteed pension when soldiers die on the front ? This is a matter which has got to be considered by them.

Now, Madam, dismissal is a dismal thing. As you may know, even the other day 32 persons have been dismissed. The reason ? It is said that they have Leftist leanings or their families have Leftist leanings. Do you know how they are dubbed as people having Leftist leanings ? They have got their families. They are all voters . They are constituents. They are having members. They fight on the front. But they have got their own politics, and on tin confidential reports of the local police or the C. B. I. that the families of these people have Leftist leanings, the members who are fighting on the front, they are dismissed. So, I put this question to my hon. friend, the hon. Defence Minister. During the last war, the whole nation fought and the Defence Minister got the credit. Rightly. The Prime Minister got the credit. Rightly. The Army got the credit. Rightly. But those who have not got the credit at all, rightly or wrongly, are the common men. We forgot all our differences. We stood behind the Government. We stood behind the Armed Forces. We wanted that the country should vindicate itself. We wanted that the eastern side of Pakistan be freed. We wanted to arrest the inroad of the West Pakistan people. We fought them back in their own territory and fought them beyond. Now, after the victory has been achieved, discrimination is being made between the Armed forces who have got moorings in the Congress Party and the Armed Forces on the front who have got moorings in another party. Shall I put this question to my hon. friend ? Do you think that only a party will light for the defence of the country ? Do you think that only one party will fight for the liberation of a country in distress !

Well, if that is the idea in their minds, the sooner they get rid of that idea the better it is for themselves and the country as a whole. Madam, please do not ring the bell.

SHRI JAGJIVAN RAM : How is the hon. Member importing this pernicious idea so far as the Armed Forces are concerned ?

SHRI SASANKASEKHAR SANYAL : Because hundreds have been dismissed—on what ground ?

SHRI K. P. SUBRAMANIA MENON (Kerala) : Because this help to families who

SHRI SASANKASEKHAR SANYAL : There are families against whom the charge is : You have contributed members to the Army who have got sympathies with the Marxist Party of India. Even the CPI has not been spared

SHRI JAGJIVAN RAM : Has it been done after the war ?

SHRI SASANKASEKHAR SANYAL : Yes.

SHRI JAGJIVAN RAM : Because they fought in the war ?

SHRI SASANKASEKHAR SANYAL : Yes. Even now they are doing it. You go and see.

SHRI JAGJIVAN RAM : I will not go. I know that character verification is done and if it is not satisfactory . . .

SHRI SASANKASEKHAR SANYAL : When verification is done they know that this particular person comes from a family which has got a particular political persuasion which is not consistent with the persuasion of the Congress Party.

SHRI JAGJIVAN RAM : Not of the family.

SHRI SASANKASEKHAR SANYAL : We have got facts and figures.

SHRI JAGJIVAN RAM : Give me the facts and figures.

SHRI MAHAVIR TYAGI : Give him any instances or names of those employees who were dismissed on account of this.

SHRI SASANKASEKHAR SANYAL : Do you think that we have to cook them up as if we have no eyes to see and ears to hear ? If there is no one to entertain our grievances, what can we do ? We have got instances. Do you not see that we have so many papers here ? There are some papers which it is not possible to disclose on the floor of the House.

SHRI MAHAVIR TYAGI : It is very serious.

SHRI SASANKASEKHAR SANYAL : It is very serious. I am equal to the seriousness. If my friend calls a conference and sits round a table, if he calls his own officers and calls me and wants me to give the materials, I shall place them and then if I cannot satisfy him, I shall come here on the floor of the House and say that I was wrong and I shall beg to

SHRI JAGJIVAN RAM : Entirely wrong. No person will be proceeded against because he belongs to the Communist Party family or any other family.

SHRI SASANKASEKHAR SANYAL : That shows your mind.

SHRI JAGJIVAN RAM : I know it for a fact. It is verification of the personal character of the individual.

SHRI SASANKASEKHAR SANYAL : What is the personal character ? Is it the personal character of the family and his political persuasion ?

SHRI JAGJIVAN RAM : Not of the family.

SHRI SASANKASEKHAR SANYAL : Is it your case that after the war nobody has been demobilised ?

SHRI JAGJIVAN RAM : Why, on grounds of discipline many would be demobilised.

SHRI SASANKASEKHAR SANYAL : Is it not a fact that somebody has been dismissed ?

SHRI JAGJIVAN RAM : I say that they will be dismissed if there are any disciplinary cases against them.

SHRI SASANKASEKHAR SANYAL : I am completing the picture that the disciplinary action against them has been taken not because they were guilty of army misconduct, but because they were guilty of belonging to a family who had different political persuasion.

SHRI JAGJIVAN RAM : Entirely incorrect.

SHRI SASANKASEKHAR SANYAL : All right, I am entirely incorrect, but...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRIMATI PURABI MUKHOPADHYAY) : There is no use your debating it. Please wind up.

SHRI MAHAVIR TYAGI : I would suggest in this case the hon. Minister might agree to just appoint an enquiry committee. Get facts from him and ascertain whether they are true.

SHRI JAGJIVAN RAM : What for an enquiry committee ? I say that against nobody is action taken because he comes from a family which belongs to one political party or another political party.

SHRI SASANKASEKHAR SANYAL : He contradicts himself. Madam, I can give the cases ....

SHRI K. P. SUBRAMANIA MENON :

finding out his political leniency ?

SHRI JAGJIVAN RAM : Nobody will be proceeded against because he belongs to a family with a particular political persuasion.

SHRI SASANKASEKHAR SANYAL : I say on the Boor of the House that I have 143 cases . . .

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRIMATI PURABI MUKHOPADHYAY) : Let me finish. It will be better for you to get the facts. If the facts in your possession are complete, please hand over the facts to the Minister, instead of raising this controversy on the floor of the House which you cannot prove.

SHRI MAHAVIR TYAGI : Will you kindly ask the Minister to ascertain these facts ?

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRIMATI PURABI MUKHOPADHYAY) : Of course, if you hand them over to him. He wanted it from you. You wanted it from him.

SHRI SASANKASEKHAR SANYAL : To my ears he said 'No'.

SHRI JAGJIVAN RAM : I have not said 'No' Any Member is free to write to me and they do write to me. Any Member of the House is free to write to me.

SHRI MAHAVIR TYAGI : Will the hon. Minister agree that, when allegation is received, he will make an enquiry and let the House know about it ?

SHRI JAGJIVAN RAM : Certainly I will make an enquiry, but I know it for certain that nobody is proceeded against only on the ground that he belongs to a family with one political persuasion or the other and if there is any case like that I will take suitable action.

SHRI MAHAVIR TYAGI : My hon. friend says that if there is an allegation the Minister must be open to look into that allegation.

SHRI B. T. KEMPALA (Mysore) : How does this question arise ?

SHRI SASANKASEKHAR SANYAL : Madam, as you know, on the floor of this House I have made certain allegations. I am accusing the Minister. In order to escape from the truth of the allegation, it is for him to invite a conference and a committee meeting. If he does not do so, he stands indicted before the bar of this House and

tf>HRI JAGJIVAN RAM : I cannot con-,  
cede a political aspect that is being utilised in  
this House, and I will not set up any  
equiry.

SHRI M. RUTHNASWAMY (Tamil Nadu): |  
While congratulating the Defence Ministry and  
the Defence Services on the well-organised  
campaign which led to rapid victory, may I j put  
some questions which have been raised in the  
mind of the common man ? One , of them is,  
why such a large number of casualties in such a  
short war ? In the west 1600 people were killed  
and in the East 400. Was it because there was a  
frontal attack instead of the indirect approach  
strategy which has been recommended by  
authorities like Liddel Hart ? Why were we not  
successful on the western front as on the eastern  
front ? Was it because no definite objective was  
laid before the Army on the western front ?  
What were they asked to do on the western front  
? Was it just to distract the attention of the  
Pakistani forces from proceeding to the east ?  
Was it in order to capture any particular post or  
point ? Why was not the army of the west asked  
to push out the Pakistani forces from that part of  
Kashmir which they have unlawfully occupied  
since the beginning of the trouble over Kashmir.  
We ask all these questions to be answered by  
the Defence Minister. Why was there also not  
any definite decision on the western front as we  
had on the eastern front ? There was almost a  
stalemate on the western front. We would like  
to know why it was so.

Then, with regard to the organisation of the  
three Services, there is one point which I would  
like to say and that is, the modern trend in a  
defence organisation is to reduce the number of  
persons in the Army and the other services and  
to increase the machinery, the equipment, the  
strength of equipment, so that smaller number  
of forces could b' deployed, because men cost  
much more than machines and it is a savings to  
the Defence Department if the number of  
personnel were reduced and the effectiveness  
of the machinery or the equipment were  
increased.

Mobility is a great expedient used now-a-  
days in armies, mobility of forces, a small force  
being sent to this part or that part of the front in  
order to deal with some specific objective,  
instead of having a large number of persons on  
the active list and having an equally respectable  
number of reserves. This direction of increasing  
the deadliness of our machinery and reducing  
the number of ner-

by the Defence Ministry. The poiDt is that  
machines ought lo be used to make the  
machines on the other side useless instead of  
men killing men either side. Let machines  
destroy machines instead of men killing men.

In regard to our Air Force, it is a small  
force with only 45 squadrons. But the Air  
Force should be so constituted that it might be  
a little more effective than it is at present. For  
instance, our transport planes, which make our  
army mobile, ought to be increased in number.  
Now helicopters are being manufactured, but I  
think helicopters are more costly than transport  
planes for the transport of troops from one side  
to the other. Then again we have not got  
enough number of reconnaissance planes. It is  
these reconnaissance planes that find out the  
whereabouts of the enemy forces and make  
both the Air Force and the army more  
effective.

The Navy also has proved its worth. It  
deserves a much better treatment from the  
Defence Ministry than it has. Look at the  
financial provision for the Navy. It is only Rs.  
68 crores in the Budget estimates of 1972-73 as  
against a total of Rs. 937 crores for the Army.  
But we have a very long coastal frontier,  
maritime frontier, 3,000 miles or so. I think we  
should make our coastal defence as effective  
and as strong as possible, because as Mr. Goray  
said and others said, we cannot monopolise the  
Indian Ocean or keep the rival navies away  
from the Indian Ocean. An ocean is a highway  
and the Indian Ocean is one of the greatest  
highways in the world connecting the east and  
the west ami north and south. Therefore, we are  
only making ourselves fit for contemptuous  
criticism when we call upon the great powers to  
keep the Indian Ocean free from navies. What  
we must do is to strengthen our own Navy and  
in this connection, it must be remembered it  
can only be for defence purposes. Our Navy  
cannot be expected to fight on the seven seas or  
even to protect our shipping all over the world.  
The main objective of our Navy is to defend  
our coasts and to prevent any hostile forces  
from landing on our coasts.

For the Navy, the first requirement would be  
to see what use can be made of our coasts and  
for that, a scientific, modern hydrogra-  
phic survey of our coasts is necessary. The Report  
also refers to the need for a hydro-graphic  
survey, but we are told that the ships that aie  
used for the hydrographic survey are verv old  
find thpv mnnnt <ipr\p an./

[Shri M. Ruthnaswamy]

to see that the hydrographic survey is conducted by well-equipped survey ships because there are a large number of creeks which have to be kept open in order that our small naval craft may take refuge in them and may remain there before they enter into action on the sea. And these creeks must be explored and kept free by frequent dredging so that our small craft like submarines and patrol boats may be ensconced there, away from the eyes of hostile naval craft. Then I would stress that the Indian Navy, as it is mainly for defence purposes, should have a large number of small craft like submarines and patrol boats and a new unit of which we have heard so much during the last World War, namely, motor torpedo boats.

Motor torpedo boat played a great part especially in the coastal defence of England. It would be a very useful unit to add to the Navy because it is a small craft and it is able to do as deadly a work as the submarine. It is not necessary to have any more aircraft carrier. We used the aircraft carrier in the last war. That was because we had not enough landing boats in order to land our troops on the Chittagong coast, and so the aircraft carrier had to be used. Aircraft carrier is a very expensive unit. It costs about Rs. 40 to Rs. 50 crores to buy it and it costs Rs. 4 to Rs. 5 crores to maintain it every year. One submarine could easily sink a big aircraft carrier. And there was a danger of it in the last war because hostile submarine was very near at Visakapatnam. And fortunately our Naval Force was able to sink it; otherwise, it would have gone to the bottom of the aircraft carrier in no time. So we must specialise in the building up of a number of small deadly craft like motor torpedo boat. A missile patrol boat is more costly than a motor torpedo boat.

[MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN in the Chair]

Then with regard to the defence science and technology department, no doubt many useful things have been done, discovered, invented, by the Defence Research Department. But I do not think anything, striking anything revolutionary, has been produced so far like the radar, for instance, which was discovered and invented in England during the last war. Their research department had invented such a useful device. It is because

produce such and such a thing—this is the kind of thing that we want? You should not leave them to their own devices and ask them to invent whatever is possible or feasible, it would be well for the Defence Ministry to put a certain objective before the Research Department, say, invent something that will reduce the number of troops. The other day we read in the newspapers a USA invention of what they call a spider mine unit. A spider mine unit is a sort of complicated mine which will do deadly work in the sea. It is some such device that we want our Research Department to discover and invent. And that is where the services of a civil Ministry come in. And I am always against an expert being appointed Minister because such people come with a made-up mind. An expert, as you know, is a man who knows more and more of less and less and therefore, he is an expert only in one particular branch or subject of knowledge, he has specialised only in that limited subject. A modern expert is an expert in only very minimal items. And therefore, it is necessary that a civil Ministry should give the Armed Forces experts an objective. And that is where Clemenceau's famous epigram that war is too serious a business to be left to Generals comes in, because Generals are specialists, experts, in their particular department, and if they were left to their own devices, they would try to exploit their particular speciality and leave the general defence organisation and equipment to go away.

I hope and trust that the Defence Ministry which has done well during the last war will place an objective before the Army and leave the Defence Forces to execute that objective instead of trying to dictate strategy from South Block as was done during the Chinese war. With these observations and remarks, let me conclude, once more congratulating the Defence Ministry and the Defence Services on the great work they have done in the recent past and I hope and trust they will improve on that work and make our defence organisation fully equipped, modernised and make it as effective as possible.

SHRI SANAT KUMAR RAHA (West Bengal): Mr. Deputy Chairman, joining with Shri Sanyal, I would request, through you, the honourable Defence Minister to take positive steps to look into the charges made by Shri Sanyal that some people have been



Coming to our Jawans. I can say that they are really suffering and I would suggest that their emoluments, economic standards and status should be raised so that they feel that they are the thick and thin of the society and we are their friends. This only can give them bright future and prosperity because ultimately we have to think of a world of peace and not of war.

Discussing defence matters, I would first of all say that peace is our best defence, we live in a world which is entering into peace. World war is not the slogan of today's world. It was a psychology of defence sometimes back that war to end war would be the slogan. This was a slogan of the imperialists, the slogan of the fascists, the slogan of monopolist and slogan of the vested interests. The slogan was war against war. That has changed. Today the position is that war can be stopped and peace can be brought about; war can be averted and it is no longer inevitable like fate. It is in this perspective that we are discussing defence matters in this House today. After three or four years of India's fight against aggression either by China or by Pakistan in collusion with imperialism, Indian Army has shown to the world the glorious role it played in the recent war. We have seen today that war is not the weapon which can rule people. Only peace, socialism, democracy and secularism can rule people of the world. India is proceeding towards that end. How national integration can be achieved was shown in Bangla Desh when people of Bangla Desh and people of India joined together and it was shown to the world that ours was like a people's army. That was the role of the Indian Army there. That is the correct role and this will be shown in future also.

Sir, we have seen that the small country, Vietnam is still fighting in spite of American instigation and we have seen how, in spite of the stooge government of South Korea being supported overwhelmingly by America, it fought and we have just now seen how Bangla Desh has been liberated within two weeks by 'Mukti Bahini' and forces of India. And, Sir, behind all these things, on the one side there was the American imperialism and there was the Chinese conspiracy and on the other side, there was India with the blessings of the Soviet Union and that was the history and the history of the Indo-Soviet Treaty

Therefore. Sir, in this background we are discussing Defence. Imperialism could not help South Korea; imperialism could not help South Vietnam; and imperialism could not help even fast Pakistan. So, people know that imperialism's last days are coming. Their world will not be there in future and this is the lesson to be learnt today. Even public opinion is being mobilised against war-mongers. We see that even the people in America are fighting against their own Government for peace. They are warning the US Government : "Do not fight the Vietnam war; repatriate all the soldiers bring all the soldiers back to our homeland. There should be only peace and there should be no war." Sir, these are the slogans of the people of the world today. So, it is in this context that we are discussing Defence today. In the Bangla Desh liberation struggle, the role of our Army, the 'Jawans' and Air Force, has been very highly looked upon by the people of India and has gone up in the estimate of the world. But, Sir, in regard to the Navy, people are also getting some apprehension that if there would have been no Soviet fleet against the Seventh Fleet of the USA, India could not have done anything. It is a lesson, a big lesson and a historical lesson which is before us that our Navy and other forces should be prepared well and should be equipped more fully and there should be technological advancement and there should be scientific advancement and there should be justified expenditure also. It is because, Sir, whether we want war or not, defence is essential and it is so essential that we cannot gamble with peace and war. We must always be prepared. Imperialists are always conspiring in the areas of peace, in the areas of socialism and in the areas of democracy and in the areas of the integrated countries of the third world.

Sir, the world is divided into three areas. Firstly, the imperialists' world is there which is always for money and monopoly and profiteering. Against them the socialist world is there and then, there is the third world also. India ranks herself amongst the nations of the third world. These three areas or blocks are there. We cannot make any parallel between the imperialists and the socialists. Sometimes our friends say that the USA and the Soviet Russia are at par. It is not so. I say, Sir, that the world is divided into three compartments or three blocks. One is held by the imperialists, another by the socialists and

[Shri Sanat Kumar Raha]

third world. Sir, the third world has got its own mission, has got its own vision, has got its own strategy. It is secularism, democracy and peace non-alliance, and not war. These four pillars of democracy, secularism, socialism, peace, and non-alliance of the third world should be maintained rigidly. These from our proper defence and these represent our shield and they will protect us against any aggression and threat. We are seeing that Vietnam has been protected by the Soviet Russia and we have seen how Bangla Desh has been helped and protected. This is the lesson which we should take seriously. These people have to play their role in the world politics, against world aggression, against world war. And, Sir, India has got its own positive role to play and that role is for peace, socialism, democracy and integration.

Lastly, Sir, I would like to say one thing. Some of our friends are advocating developing nuclear weapons. It is rather a luxury in the world today. In the world context, to day, not a single nation can light with another nation with nuclear weapons. The only thing needed today is this: Unity of atomic strength of people's hearts, socialism, equality, social justice, peace, not war. Tha will act like a nuclear weapon.

So, I would say, Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, that our House should discuss these Defence matters in the light of the world context today and in this background, India today occupies a special place in the world. We shall carry it forward. India should move forward psychologically, politically, philosophically, in this background. Any adjustment should be made in consistance with our strategy.

With these words, I would end my speech.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: The Minister.

SHRI JAGJIVAN RAM: Sir, I am grateful to the Members of the House for the handsome tribute they have paid to the Defence Ministry and to the Defence Services. The universal commendation and encouragement that have been given to the Armed Forces will no doubt give them the necessary strength to maintain the records that they have established and to improve upon them.

Sir, it should be quite clear what was our objective in the last Pakistan war. I am saying this because it has been raised in this House on the basis of some articles written

response time taken, was too long; and, therefore, I want that the House should keep in mind what was our objective in this war. The objective was to create conditions in Bangla Dcsh which would enable ten million citizens of that country, who were forced by the Pakistan army hoards to leave their hearths and homes and to seek refuge in this country, to return to their homes. Therefore, effort was being made that a political solution should be found which would create such conditions in that country. The Prime Minister made it clear times without number that we do not want to go to war with Pakistan; we want to find a solution for political settlement in Bangla Desh. Need I remind the House thai the prime Minister, with a view to arousing the conscience of the world, visited the capitals of several nations, not to seek assistance for the relief of the refugees who had come over to this country but to help finding a political solution in Bangla Desh '? Therefore, where was the question or response ? From the 25th March, when the leader of Bangla Desh, Sheikh Mujibur Rehman, was arrested and when the Pakistani hoards were let loose on the innocent and unarmed people of Bangla Desh, our response was that the parliament extended the support of the nation to the freedom fighters of Bangla Desh. we wanted to see that the students and the youths, who were fighting for their freedom and were determined to see that every Pakistani soldier was forced out of Bangla Desh, were supported.

We extended our support. We wanted that they succeeded In getting freedom for their country. Our military response came when the Pakistan forces actually attacked our country. Of course, we had made the preparations, when President Yahya Khan moved his soldiers from the cantonments to our western borders, our forces were also moved from our cantonments to the western borders. That was a precautionary measure and when on that fateful night of 3rd December they had the foolhardiness to bomb some of our airfields we reacted. And you know, Sir, how we reacted. Therefore, to say that the time we have taken for response was too long is not correct. Perhaps the retired Generals only think in military terms. they do not have a wider perspective. The wider perspective here was not the country's response from the 25th of March but the period during which we were making efforts—and some thinking nations of the world were also making efforts—to find a political solution

order to help secure the freedom of Bangla Desh, it was with a view to establish ordinary human norms in that country, And, it has been rightly pointed out by the last speaker that it was for the establishment of some of the valued objectives of civilised human society; and we succeeded in that.

Professor Ruthnaswamy wanted to know what our objective on (the western front was. Our primary objective in this whole episode was to secure independence for Bangla Desh, and once some unprecedented thing happened—unprecedented in the history of the world—that as a result of the co-ordinated action of the Mukti Bahini and the Indian forces nearly 90,000 of the Pakistani soldiers had no alternative but to surrender to the joint command and Bangla Desh achieved freedom our objective having been fulfilled, we offered unilateral ceasefire on the western front. I am stating a fact and it is that our objective on the western front was to meet the attack launched upon us by Pakistan. And it is known to the House that our forces were advancing even in the western sector, but our objective having been fulfilled in the east, we wanted to show to the world that we did not want disintegration of Pakistan, we did not want annihilation or annexation of Pakistan. Therefore, we offered unilateral ceasefire which President Yahya Khan had no alternative but to accept, and the ceasefire was effected. Even after that some nations kept repeating that we wanted to disintegrate Pakistan or annex Pakistan. They may go on repeating that thing but the sensible world knows that we had no such designs. After the ceasefire our forces are lying on the ceasefire line. Occasionally, as I have said in the other House and in this House also, there have been violations of the ceasefire. And in most cases there have been flag meetings of the local commanders and the matters have been sorted out. It was in the case of the violation in Tithwal area that our forces in two posts were outnumbered. They fought bravely and gallantly. Because they were overwhelmed with a large number, they had to withdraw. So the two of our posts in Tithwal area were captured by the Pakistani forces.

Our objective after the hostilities and the ceasefire has been started in unequivocal term. by our Prime Minister. She offered that ways and means should be found for a durable peace in the sub-continent by bilateral

was going on from both sides, I advised my Army Commanders to get into touch with the Pakistani Army Commanders so that the firing should stop and the firing was stopped the next evening. Then, it was also suggested that, as usual, flag meetings should take place in this case also to solve the differences. As the House is aware, even during the period when the dispute was going on with Bangla Desh and when a novel type of aggression was perpetrated on India in the shape of thrusting 10 million refugees in this country, Pakistan was making constant endeavour to internationalise the various issues. After the ceasefire also the intentions of Pakistan had been to internationalise the disputes. As you are aware and as the House is aware, sometimes Pakistan brings in the Karachi Agreement. The United Nations Military Observers are the supervising authority of the ceasefire line under that Agreement. Well, the U.N. Military Observer was for supervision of the ceasefire line which was effected as a result of intervention of the United Nations Organisation when Pakistan indulged in aggression over Kashmir in 1948. As a result of this recent aggression of Pakistan, as the House is aware, that ceasefire line has been blurred at many places. The present ceasefire line, as I have already stated, was effected as a result of unilateral offer by India itself which was accepted later by President Yahya Khan. It was not at the instance or intervention of any third party and, therefore, our stand has been that whatever disputes arise or are existing between the two countries, they should be bilaterally resolved without intervention of any third country.

SHRI MAHAVIR TYAGI : After the violation of latter ceasefire, how do you call it to be a ceasefire? Ceasefire means that both the parties have agreed to it. Here, Pakistan is attacking everyday. Where is the ceasefire?

SHRI JAGJIVAN RAM : I am coming to that. I have said, if you have followed, that President Yahya Khan accepted the ceasefire and, therefore, ceasefire was effected. As I have said, there have been violations and they were resolved by joint flag meetings, one at Tithwal was a serious one. Here also we felt that the usual procedure should be followed and it should be resolved by flag meeting of the local Commanders. But they said that let the United Nations Military Observer take up this matter and we took the stand "No".

SHRI JAGJIVAN RAM : We will not permit any third party to intervene in negotiations or discussions on any point between India and Pakistan. Let it be bilateral, here have been since then a few violations and, as the House is aware, we have given clear instructions to our Armed Forces to effectively meet any violation of the ceasefire I again repeat it. We have given clear instructions to our Armed Forces on the border to effectively meet any ceasefire violation from the Pakistan Army.

SHRI LAL K. ADVANI: Does this mean that they have been instructed to recapture the seven pickets or posts which they have lost ?

SHRI JAGJIVAN RAM : If the hon. Member does not understand what I have stated I cannot give him understanding.

SHRI LAL K. ADVANI : But that is exactly the point which has to be made clear.

SHRI JAGJIVAN RAM : It is quite clear that our armed forces have instructions to meet effectively any cease fire violations.

SHRI MAHAVIR TYAGI : It is quite meaningful.

SHRI LAL K. ADVANI : What exactly does it mean ?

SHRI JAGJIVAN RAM : Don't bother. Whatever the interpretation, the language is quite clear and unequivocal.

SHRI MAHAVIR TYAGI : I hope it will deliver the goods soon.

SHRI JAGJIVAN RAM : I am afraid I cannot give an interpretation to please my hon. friend, over there.

SHRI SASANKASEKHAR SANYAL : You can make it more clear if you like.

SHRI JAGJIVAN RAM- It is quite clear.

On this occasion I will make an appeal to newspapers and news agencies in this country not to publish anything which has not been verified from authoritative source. It has appeared in the papers that there had been firing and violation in the Shakargarh area. There has been no firing or

five more posts have been captured by Pakistan. No posts other than the two posts in the Tithwal area have been lost by us. They are all in our possession. So I want to make it clear; when we are trying for a durable peace—and I know that peace is not unilateral—at times it is for the winning party to make efforts for peace and less for the losing Party. We will make efforts for peace and at this stage I

will not like to do or say anything which will, in the slightest measure, jeopardise the chances of peace in this continent. When I am saying this I am saying this having taken into consideration all the preparations which have been referred to in this House by hon. Members which have been made by Pakistan after the cessation of hostilities. Whether it be new Divisions or regiments that they have raised, whether it be arms and ammunition that they are said to have received from other countries either as gift or aid or through purchase, all these things have been taken into account in making our own defence preparedness but all the same it will be the endeavour of India to have bilateral discussions with Pakistan in order to solve all the differences that we have so that lasting peace can be established in this sub-continent. I entirely agree with my friend, Mr. Sanyal, that for a developing country like India, Bangla Desh and Pakistan, having the same kind of society struggling in tradition and poverty and wanting to establish an affluent society, it is not a desirable thing to have perpetual conflict which may call for armed confrontations. Therefore, we will persist that peace should be established in this sub-continent. It is gratifying when my Ministry receives universal support from all sides of the House for strengthening our armed forces, for modernising the army, for modernising the navy and for modernising the air force. It gives me added strength. We are taking certain steps for modernising the three wings of the Armed Forces. We are producing some of the arms and military hardware that we require. But to think that so far as the sophisticated weapons are concerned we have become self-reliant, well, it will be far from the reality. It will take time. And in this connection I would like to say that so far as our research and development activities are concerned, it will be my effort to see that the research and development activities are strengthened to the maximum

of both Houses, I am sure it will be possible to provide adequate funds for research and development. In many of the sophisticated fields, it is not only the question of funds, it is the question of acquiring the requisite know how as well. The House is aware that in many sectors our designing capability has not developed as much as we want it. But we are developing. Our scientists are quite good. They have done good work. The Navy has done good work, and we have to modernise our Navy. We have to add to its defensive and offensive capability, whether it is by additional number of submarines or frigates or warships, whether by adding to the number of helicopters that we have got, whether by adding to the patrol boats, or in other ways. All these action, several actions, will have to be taken, of course within the constraints of the overall economic resources of the nation. This is a very important aspect that has to be kept in mind. Similarly for the Air Force. I will not feel any hesitancy in saying that during the war we noticed certain weaknesses and shortcomings, and it shall be our endeavour to see that those weaknesses and shortcomings are removed—again, I will say, within the constraints of the overall economic resources of the country. I as Defence Minister would like to do these things very quickly, very early, but certainly everything will have to be taken into consideration while deciding the priority for the various sectors to be provided with funds subjects to the overall limit of our resources. I will not like to go into details. We have given many details in the Report.

Some Members have complained about the according to them unnecessary secrecy that is maintained within the Defence Ministry. Well, I have seen to it that this time we give as much information as we can safely give, and the Members will admit that this time in the Annual Report we have given many informations. But the House will bear with me that there are certain aspects which cannot be disclosed, not that I have any hesitation in giving that information to the hon. Members of the House. No. But giving it in the House means giving it to the world. Certainly I shall give the information to the Members, but I cannot give it to the world. So they will bear with me. If there are certain aspects which are not disclosed either in the Annual Report or in reply to questions or supplement.

the national interest that those informations should not be disclosed.

Our officers and jawans in all the three Forces, the Army, the Navy and the Air Force, have conducted themselves with that sense of patriotism which always brings success to the Armed Forces, and in the last conflict they had the support of the entire nation behind them. They had the support 5 p. m. of the workers in the ordnance factories and other factories. They had the support of the civilian employees not only in the defence forces, but also in the various undertakings of the Government of India and the State Governments, the Railways, the P and T and the transport operators. All these had to be co-ordinated in order to meet the mighty challenge from Pakistan. It was a wonderful co-ordination, not only between the three wings of the Armed Forces, but also between the various Ministries, the State Governments and even private individuals. Because of that we could achieve this spectacular success which so quickly enhanced the prestige of the country in the whole world. I wish that this will be maintained. Our Jawans have worked well and ever since I took over, it has been my endeavour to see that we ensure more and more benefits to the Jawans. I can inform the House that as a result of certain steps taken in the Defence Ministry we have added to the income of the Jawans and they get various benefits amounting to several crores. I will not go into the question of their salaries and emoluments because the whole question is being examined by the Third Pay Commission. This time some action was taken in the Defence Ministry. A cell was set up consisting of representatives of the three Forces to work out details to be presented to the Pay Commission. The members of the Pay Commission were good enough to visit certain areas, forward areas, even docks and ports to see actually the conditions of work of the personnel of the Armed Forces. As a matter of fact, when I was at Visakhapatnam I was told that the next day the members of the Pay Commission would be visiting Visakhapatnam. I instructed them that the members of the Pay Commission should be requested to enter a submarine and see under what conditions those who man the submarine have to work. I am happy and thankful to the members of the Pay Commission that they

[Shri Jagjivan Ram]

ture. I say these things, so that they can appreciate it. Otherwise what happens? One sees a class IV employee in the Central Secretariat and then one thinks that a class IV employee in a forward area and in a submarine also works under the same conditions as in the Central Secretariat and he makes a recommendation that all class IV employees should get the same benefits. Some objectivity and reality will have to be brought to bear and I am happy that the Pay Commission is going into that. I will not say anything more, but certainly I can say this much that whatever recommendations come from the Pay Commission so far as the personnel of the Armed Forces are concerned will be implemented. Now, to compare and say that they get less than a sweeper, well, I do not know wherefrom this information is got and Members accept it without questioning it. Of course, a large demobilisation takes place every year. Mr. Sanyal raised the question of combatants and non-combatants. I do not know whether he has read the report. Ever since I took over I was trying to do away with this distinction. Now, in the Armed Forces there are no combatants and non-combatants. All belong to the same category.

SHRI SASANKASEKHAR SANYAL : I am glad that my suggestion has been accepted.

SHRI JAGJIVAN RAM : Even the sweepers belong to the same category. That was done in January last. That distinction has been removed. Well, in the Army, due to historical reasons, there are class compositions in existence. There are certain regiments named after certain communities; there are regiments named after certain States or certain geographical regions. Well, it is an anachronism to have denominational regiments composed of certain communities in a State which is a secular democracy. As I have said, these are historical legacies. And I agree with my friend, Shri Nawal KJshore. And action in that direction have been taken to some extent to dilute, by the injection of some other communities, the pure class compositions of those regiments. But certainly it will take some time before we can say that none of our regiments are based on class distinction.

Of course, during this war. I got the useful experience that so far as the effectiveness in defending the country is concerned, it is the monopoly of no community, of no geographical area or of no State. Whether they

whether they were from Punjab or Maharashtra, all were competing with each other in defending the sanctity of our borders. And when I was looking into the list of those who have been given various awards. It gave me a very revealing reading. The myth of martial race or martial community had been exploded. So, that also leaves us to see that our Army really becomes a national Army which is broad based and which provides opportunities to all the citizens irrespective of caste or community or geographical region, to serve the mother-land, and that is the direction in which I am trying to take the army.

Well, there is demobilisation of a large number of persons every year and I think we demobilise nearly 50,000. Their resettlement is a big problem. There is no doubt about it. I have started with an experiment on a small scale. But it is my intention to do it for all those who are demobilised. To train those who are to be demobilised in some vocation-technical or vocational, so that when they are demobilised, they can settle down in some trade either as carpenters or blacksmiths or electricians or fitters or welders, things like that. Of course, some Member—I think it was Mr. Advani—raised the question of the closer coordination of the district authorities with the Soldier's, Sailors\* and Airmen's Board. Perhaps, he is not aware that usually District Magistrates are Chairmen of those Boards. So, already there is coordination. What is required is how to activate them. And we are taking certain measures so that these Boards become more active. Most of the State Governments have made reservations as we have done at the Centre, in the services for the demobilised personnel i.e. ex-servicemen.

Then, so far as pension is concerned, we have a very liberal scheme of pension for those who are killed in action or those who are disabled. So far as the casualties in the war are concerned, the House is aware—hon. Members must have read—that we have drawn up a scheme of pensions and various other forms of assistance which, I am told, nowhere in the world has been done.

We are going to provide three-fourths of the salary in the case of officers as pension to their widows. It was Mr. Sanyal who took objection and asked why we give only to widows. It is not the widows, it is whoever the officer or the jawan has given as his nominee

case of those who were not married, their parents or whoever their nominees are, will get it.

SHRI K. CHANDRASEKHARAN (Kerala) : Why don't you have some sort of a compulsory internal insurance so that the families of those killed will get a bulk amount ?

SHRI JAGJIVAN RAM : Well, I do not think it is necessary. I think a pension is much better than a bulk amount. That has been my experience. In the Air Force, so far as the pilots are concerned, there is insurance.

SHRI K. CHANDRASEKHARAN : That is what I have in mind. Why don't you extend it to the army and the navy also ?

SHRI JAGJIVAN RAM : No, there is no necessity. As I said, we have a very liberalised pension scheme in the armed forces. I think a recurring pension is much more helpful than a lump-sum amount.

SHRI SASANKASEKHAR SANYAL : Will this scheme be given retrospective effect ?

SHRI JAGJIVAN RAM : It is already in effect. I may inform Mr. Sanyal that the families of those who were killed in action were given full salary for the month of December, 1971 and the month of January, 1972 and this new pension scheme has been introduced from the 1st of February.

SHRI A. G. KULKARNI (Maharashtra) : One clarification.

SHRI VIDYA CHARAN SHUKLA : After the speech is over.

SHRI A. G. KULKARNI : I want only one clarification. The Prime Minister and you yourself had stated that those bereaved in this lighting would be treated very leniently and liberally by the Central Government as well as the State Governments. But my experience and the experience of various MPs at the district level has been that the State Governments are not taking adequate steps to give liberal assistance. That is the difficulty.

SHRI JAGJIVAN RAM : I have said, Sir, that whatever assistance will be given, will be given in addition to what we have given. In the case of jawans, the pension that will be available\* to their Families I

think, will be something more than what they were sending to their families. Public sympathy is there and some of the State Governments are giving them house sites, are giving them some money .....

SHRI A. G. KULKARNI : It is nothing.

SHRI JAGJIVAN RAM : Even if that is not given, what I am giving is adequate assistance. And whatever extra assistance can be given, we are trying to give them. We are trying to give them educational facilities. There is a scheme that for every personnel of the armed forces who was killed in action, a house will be provided. We have talked with the LIC and others. It will be done. I wanted to mention that it will be our endeavour to see that in the case of those who have been killed in action or been disabled, their families in the former case and the personnel in the latter case, are not worse off than if they had been in active service.

SHRI K. CHANDRASEKHARAN : The implementation is slow.

SHRI JAGJIVAN RAM : It is being implemented. Of course, it will take time.

SHRI SASANKASEKHAR SANYAL : How will the concept of family be defined?

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : I think Member should allow the Minister to complete his speech. Then you can ask.

SHRI JAGJIVAN RAM : Mr. Sanyal perhaps is not aware that every personnel of the armed forces indicates his nominee to whom the salary has to be sent. So whatever will be given, will be given to the nominee.

SHRI SASANKASEKHAR SANYAL : Wives ?

SHRI JAGJIVAN RAM : It may be wives. But he forgets that a large number of young officers who have been killed were not married. Perhaps he is not aware that those who are not married have no wives.

SHRI SASANKASEKHAR SANYAL : A large number of them, like the Defence Minister, are fathers of children.

SHRI JAGJIVAN RAM : I think I have covered most of the important points that have been raised. I am sure

[ Shri Jagjivan Ram ]

going into details, how it is propose to modernise the Army or the Navy or the Air Force. But I am happy that the support that has come from the Members of the House will facilitate our work in modernising them as quickly as we can do. Then I come to the important question that is raised every time. Prof. Ruthnaswamy raised the question that if we have more modernisation, we will require less men. Well, certainly as a result of modernisation we require less men, we have less men. That goes without saying, and it is out effort to modernise and my colleague has given you some details of what we are doing so far as production is concerned. Then questions have been raised about President Bhutto's speeches, our approach for summit talks and peace. Well, I would say when our effort is to work for the durable peace in this sub-continent, sometimes we will not have to take very literally even the contradictory speeches of President Bhutto; placed in a condition as he is, well, to some extent, that may be excusable. But our approach should be that. Mr. Goray raised certain question. As I have said, during this war we have noticed certain shortcomings or certain weaknesses, and we are taking steps to remove those shortcomings and fill up those gaps, I am not going into details, and I think he will not like me to go into details.

SHRI N. G. GORAY : I would like you to go into details at some stage, not at this stage. I just wanted to point out to you that only two or three days back one very important paper wrote an article saying that the quality of the debate here is so poor that nothing is gained by listening to the Members. Because we have so insufficient information, we also find it difficult to contribute.....

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : The honourable Minister is trying to give as much as he can.

SHRI JAGJIVAN RAM : By giving more information I cannot improve the quality of the debate. The quality of the debate can improve even if the Members—without meaning any disrespect to any Member—go through minutely all the information that

/tself. I think plenty of information has been provided.

SHRI JOACHIM ALVA : This is one of the best reports that has come out from the Defence Ministry.

SHRI JAGJIVAN RAM : Then I come to the last question, the most important question, which is always raised. Well I have nothing more to add to what has been repeatedly reiterated by the Prime Minister, by me, so far as our nuclear policy is concerned. But the House should be aware that we have a place among the scientifically advanced countries of the world so far as nuclear science is concerned....

SHRI K. CHANDRASEKHARAN: Very doubtful.

SHRI JAGJIVAN RAM: Of course, it may be doubtful to you, but it is admitted by those who are in a position to admit that. It may be doubtful to you, but it is admitted by the scientists of the world, by nuclear scientists of the world, and the nuclear scientists of India have a place of reputation among the nuclear scientists of the world. I am saying this because our scientific capability, so far as the nuclear science is concerned, is quite appreciable.

Then comes the question of manufacture of nuclear bombs. I will not like to go into details. Some arguments have been advanced against it by one or two or three Members of the House itself. I entirely agree with them so far as that is concerned. But I want to inform the House that so far as scientific pursuit of the nuclear energy is concerned, constant research is going on so far as India is concerned and we are going to have 2700 Megawatts of energy. As the House is aware and as I announced in the other House, our scientists are exploring the possibility of subterranean explosion of nuclear energy for peaceful purposes. I want to take the House into confidence so far as this is concerned. But so far as manufacture of bombs is concerned, we do not propose to do that. Our country primarily stands for peace and we took a leading part in the coterie of nations for disarmament and things like that. I do not want to go into all those details as the House is aware of all that. But our present policy continues what it has been. But so far as scientific researches are concerned, we want



need nuclear nations of the world and that we are doing.

I think I have tried to meet most of the important points that have been raised by the hon. Members of the House. In the end, I will again express the gratitude on my behalf of my Ministry and of the Armed Forces for all the compliments that have been paid to all of us and the Armed Forces and for all the encouragement that has been given to us. I have no doubt that this tribute by the hon. Members of the House will sustain the Armed Forces in a state in which they will give good account of themselves

whenever any challenge to our borders is made.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : The House stands adjourned till 11 A.M. tomorrow.

The House then adjourned at twenty-three minutes past five of the clock till eleven of the clock on Tuesday, the 16th May, 1972.