

SHRI SALMAN KHURSHEED : Sir, I introduced the Bill.

THE VICE CHAIRMAN (PROF. P.J. KURIEN) : Now, we shall take up discussion on the working of the Ministry of Defence. Shri Balbir Punj.

श्री अवतार सिंह करीमपुरी (उत्तर प्रदेश) : महोदय, मंत्री जी ने जो बिल इंट्रोड्यूज किया है, उस पर हमारा यह कहना है कि इस पर डिस्कशन कराई जाए और इसको पास कराया जाए, चूंकि कमेटी ऑलरेटिड एप्रूव कर चुकी है।

उपसभाध्यक्ष (प्रो. पी.जे. कुरियन) : इंट्रोड्यूज हो गया, डिस्कशन के टाइम पर आप बोलिए।

श्री अवतार सिंह करीमपुरी : सर, इसमें डिले नहीं होनी चाहिए, पहले ही इसमें बहुत डिले हो चुकी है।

THE VICE CHAIRMAN (PROF. P.J. KURIEN) : The Government would look into that. Now, Shri Balbir Punj.

DISCUSSION ON THE WORKING OF MINISTRY OF DEFENCE

श्री बलबीर पुंज (ओडिशा) : उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, मैं आपका बहुत आभारी हूँ कि आपने इस महत्वपूर्ण विषय पर बोलने का अवसर दिया। उपसभाध्यक्ष जी, जब मैं सदन में इस विषय पर बोलने के लिए तैयारी कर रहा था, तब मुझे पिछले सोमवार को अर्थात् 30th April को रक्षा मंत्री जी ने सियाचिन पर दूसरे सदन में एक वक्तव्य दिया था। उस वक्तव्य में यह कहा था कि भारत सरकार पाकिस्तान के साथ एक बहुत मीनिंगफुल डायलॉग कर रही है, जिससे कि सियाचिन के क्षेत्र को **de-militarize** किया जा सके। यह वक्तव्य आपने पिछले सोमवार अर्थात् 30 अप्रैल, 2012 को दूसरे सदन में दिया था।

उपसभाध्यक्ष जी, सियाचिन की एक बड़ी पृष्ठभूमि है और रक्षा मंत्री जी ने जो कुछ दूसरे सदन में कहा, वह अपने आप नहीं कहा, पिछले तीन-चार वर्षों से सरकार की जो एक नीति चली आ रही थी, उसी के तहत कहा। उपसभाध्यक्ष जी, 15 जुलाई, 2005 को प्रधान मंत्री जी सियाचिन गए थे और सियाचिन के बेस कैम्प में भाषण देते हुए जो कुछ उन्होंने कहा, उसमें से एक वाक्य को यहां उद्धृत करने की इज़ाजत चाहता हूँ। प्रधान मंत्री जी ने तब कहा था कि **"Siachen is called the highest battlefield where living is difficult. Now, the time has come that we make efforts that this is converted from a point of conflict to a symbol of peace."** उपसभाध्यक्ष जी, 12 बार भारत व पाकिस्तान के बीच बातचीत हो चुकी है और इस वर्ष भी सचिव स्तर पर इस तरह का वार्तालाप का कार्यक्रम है। सर, सियाचिन का इतिहास रहा है, 1984 में गुप्तचर एजेंसियों ने भारत सरकार व सेना को यह सूचना दी थी कि सियाचिन में साल्ट्रो पहाड़ी, जो सब से ऊंचा रिज है, उसके ऊपर पाकिस्तान कब्जा करने वाला है। सेना सतर्क हुई और 13 अप्रैल, 1984 को सेना ने सियाचिन में एक ऑपरेशन किया जिसका नाम "ऑपरेशन मेघदूत" था। साल्ट्रो की पहाड़ी पर हमारा कब्जा हो गया और तब एक सेना के अधिकारी ने बताया कि **"Technically and strategically, holding these heights is to India's interest."** और साल्ट्रो की रिज के ऊपर से हमारी सेना पाकिस्तान व चीन की गतिविधि पर नज़र रखती है। उपसभाध्यक्ष जी, यह भी खबर है कि पाकिस्तान ने गिलगिट और बालतिस्तान के बहुत बड़े भाग को चीन के हवाले कर दिया है। वहां पर हजारों चीनी **labourers, technicians, engineers** निरंतर निर्माण कार्य कर रहे हैं। 1984 से लेकर आज तक सियाचिन हमारे कब्जे में है और यह भारत

[श्री बलबीर पुंज]

सरकार का आंकड़ा है कि उसके ऊपर 5 करोड़ रुपए रोज खर्च होते हैं अर्थात् 1825 करोड़ रुपए एक वर्ष में और 27 वर्ष में लगभग 50 हजार करोड़ रुपए भारत सरकार ने सियाचिन को अपने कब्जे में बनाए रखने के लिए किया है।

उपसभाध्यक्ष जी, मैं प्रधान मंत्री जी के बयान का जिक्र कर रहा था जो उन्होंने वर्ष 2005 में दिया था। उन्होंने कहा था कि **"Now, the time has come that we make efforts that this is converted from a point of conflict to a symbol of peace."** सर, इस में ध्यान देने वाला वाक्य है, **"Now, the time has come."** अब समय आ गया है कि हम पाकिस्तान के साथ शांति की बात करें। अब यह कैसा समय आ गया है, किस तरह से प्रधान मंत्री जी इस निर्णय पर पहुंचे कि पाकिस्तान की जेहाद की मानसिकता बदल गयी, किस तरह से प्रधान मंत्री जी इस फैसले पर पहुंचे कि अब पाकिस्तान, भारत के साथ शांति चाहता है? यह बयान उन्होंने वर्ष 2005 में दिया और 26.11.2008 में मुम्बई के अंदर क्या हुआ, यह हम सब लोग जानते हैं। उसके बाद से कसाब अभी भी मुम्बई में है। वह पाकिस्तानी है और भारत सरकार का एक आंकड़ा है कि उसकी देखभाल पर सरकार शायद 25 करोड़ रुपए खर्च कर चुकी है। क्या पाकिस्तान बदल सकता है? मुझे याद है, जब एन.डी.ए. की सरकार थी जब 1999 में अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी जी बस यात्रा लेकर गए थे, शांति यात्रा पर गए थे। उपसभाध्यक्ष जी, हम पाकिस्तान के साथ शांति चाहते हैं, हम युद्ध नहीं चाहते, परंतु पाकिस्तान का रवैया कैसा रहा? उसी साल 1999 में जनरल मुशर्रफ, जो 1984 में स्कॉर्डू के ब्रिगेडियर थे, उन्होंने उसका बदला लेने के लिए ऑपरेशन कारगिल किया। हम शांति की बात कर रहे थे और उन्होंने ऑपरेशन कारगिल किया। उपसभाध्यक्ष जी, आज तक का पाकिस्तान का रिकॉर्ड क्या रहा है? पाकिस्तान ने भारत के साथ 1947 से लेकर आज तक जितने भी मौखिक या लिखित समझौते किए हैं, उनमें से किसी का कभी पालन नहीं किया। सरकार की ओर से क्या कोई इस बात की गारंटी ले सकता है कि भारतीय सेना अगर सियाचिन को खाली करती है, तो उसका फायदा उठाकर पाकिस्तान दुबारा उसके ऊपर कब्जा नहीं कर लेगा? प्रधान मंत्री जी आप मानते हैं कि पाकिस्तान बदल गया है, शांति का समय आ गया है और उस पर विश्वास करने का समय आ गया है। आप शायद ये सब बातें करके नोबल शांति पुरस्कार, नोबल पीस प्राइज के हकदार तो हो सकते हैं, परन्तु भारत के लोग इसे कभी नहीं मानेंगे। भारत के लोग इस बात को तब मानेंगे कि पाकिस्तान की मानसिकता बदल गई है, पाकिस्तान की नीयत बदल गई है, जब पाकिस्तान अपनी धरती पर जो टेरर फैक्टरीज चलाता है, जो टेरर कैम्प चलाता है उनको सदा के लिए खत्म कर देगा। भारत तब पाकिस्तान के ऊपर विश्वास करेगा, जब पाकिस्तान आतंकवाद को प्रायोजित करने वाली अपनी कूटनीति का आवश्यक हिस्सा मानने से मना करे। भारत पाकिस्तान के ऊपर तब विश्वास कर सकता है, जब जमात-उद-दावा के मुखिया हाफिज सईद और दाउद इब्राहीम को वह भारत को सौंपे। भारत पाकिस्तान पर तब विश्वास कर सकता है, जब पाकिस्तान इस्लामाबाद, कराची और बाकी जगहों पर जो भारत की नकली करंसी छाप-छाप कर यहां निर्यात कर रहा है, उसे बंद करे। पाकिस्तान के ऊपर हम तब विश्वास कर सकते हैं, जब वह अपने स्कूलों में पढ़ाई जाने वाली जो शिक्षा है, जिसमें भारत और हिन्दुओं के खिलाफ विषममन होता है, जहर भरा होता है, उसे बंद करे। मैं सरकार को चेतावनी देता हूँ कि सरकार सियाचिन को पाकिस्तान के हवाले करने की कोशिश न करे, क्योंकि सियाचिन को खाली करना, वहां से सेना को हटाने का मतलब होगा कि सियाचिन को पाकिस्तान को वापिस करना। मैं यह भी कहना चाहता हूँ कि इस बात को हमारी सेना भी स्वीकार नहीं करेगी, क्योंकि अगर सरकार ने 50 हजार करोड़ रुपए खर्च किए हैं तो सेना ने भी वहां पर बहुत त्याग किए हैं। भारत सरकार को चाहिए कि इस मुद्दे पर वह अपना रुख साफ करे और देश को विश्वास में ले।

उपसभाध्यक्ष जी, अब मैं रक्षा मंत्रालय के बजट की ओर आता हूँ। रक्षा मंत्री जी ने और दूसरे बहुत से लोगों ने, जो सरकार के नजदीक हैं, कहा कि सरकार को देश की रक्षा की बहुत चिंता है और इस बार सरकार ने रक्षा मंत्रालय के बजट में 17 परसेंट की वृद्धि की है। अगर सच में देखा जाए तो इससे बड़ा असत्य कोई नहीं हो सकता। यह सारा आंकड़ों का खेल है, सारी धोखे की पट्टी है, क्योंकि जब हम आंकड़ों को एनालाइज करते हैं, उनका विश्लेषण करते हैं तो पाते हैं कि इस साल का बजट पिछले साल के बजट से भी कम है। यह जो 17 परसेंट की फिगर की बात होती है, वह बजट एस्टीमेट के हिसाब से होती है, परन्तु अगर आप पिछले साल के रिवाइज्ड एस्टीमेट का खर्चा देखें और इस साल का बजट एस्टीमेट देखें, तब यह इन्फ्रीज मुश्किल से 13 परसेंट की बैठती है। फिर बजट के अंदर रक्षा मंत्रालय को जो राशि आवंटित होती है, उसमें से आधे से भी कम यानी 79,500 करोड़ रुपए सेना को हथियार खरीदने के लिए, उसके मॉडर्नाइजेशन, आधुनिकीकरण करने के लिए उपलब्ध होता है। अगर आप डॉलर टर्म्स में देखें, क्योंकि भारत की 70 प्रतिशत से अधिक जरूरतें, 70 परसेंट ऑफ रिक्वायरमेंट इम्पोर्ट होती हैं, आयात होती हैं, इसलिए जो आवंटन है उसका रुपए में ज्यादा अर्थ नहीं है, वह डॉलर टर्म्स में कितना है, उसका अर्थ है। पिछले वर्ष जो राशि आवंटित हुई थी उस समय एक डॉलर का रेट था 44 रुपए 45 पैसे, तो वह राशि जाकर 15.56 बिलियन डॉलर बैठती थी, अगर इस साल की राशि को डॉलर में परिवर्तित करें और डॉलर का रेट अगर इस वक्त 50/- रुपए है तो यह राशि जाकर 15-19 बिलियन डॉलर बैठती है। पिछले साल हथियारों के **modernisation** के लिए **dollar terms** में जितना पैसा उपलब्ध था, इस साल भी लगभग उतना ही पैसा उपलब्ध है, उसमें कोई बढ़ोतरी नहीं हुई और यह जो **17 percent** का आंकड़ा है, यह केवल **window dressing** और **public relations** के लिए है। हमारे यहां **indigenus production** के लिए, आपूर्ति के लिए, सप्लाई के लिए सेना के पास केवल एक ही सोर्स है - **DRDO**. **DRDO** के लिए जो आवंटन है, वह *in real terms* पिछले साल के आवंटन से भी कम है। पिछले साल जो आवंटन था, वह 4,628 करोड़ रुपए था। इस साल उस राशि में 12 करोड़ रुपए बढ़ा दिए गए और वह आवंटन 4,640 करोड़ रुपए हो गया, लेकिन अगर आप मुद्रास्फीति को देखें और उसके साथ-साथ **DRDO** के प्रोडक्शन में जो *import content* होता है, उसको भी देखें, तो **in real terms** इस साल **DRDO** को जो पैसा उपलब्ध हुआ है, वह पिछले साल से भी कम है।

उपसभाध्यक्ष जी, भारत एक बड़ा देश है और हमारी रक्षा की आवश्यकताएं भी बढ़ी हैं। वर्षों से हमारी सरकार रक्षा मंत्रालय को रक्षा के लिए सकल घरेलू उत्पाद का केवल 1.8 प्रतिशत या 1.9 प्रतिशत, यानी 2 परसेंट से कम पैसा देती है। हमें विश्व के अन्य देशों की ओर देखना चाहिए। अमरीका हमसे बहुत बड़ा देश है, उनकी अर्थव्यवस्था हमसे बहुत बड़ी है, अमरीका अपने सकल घरेलू उत्पाद का 4 प्रतिशत हिस्सा रक्षा पर खर्च करता है। चीन की अर्थव्यवस्था भी हमसे बहुत बड़ी है, वह अपने सकल घरेलू उत्पाद का 2.10 प्रतिशत हिस्सा रक्षा पर खर्च करता है। इसी तरह फ्रांस 2.30 प्रतिशत, ब्रिटेन 2.30 प्रतिशत, रूस 3.50 प्रतिशत और पाकिस्तान जैसा मुल्क भी अपने सकल घरेलू उत्पाद का 3 प्रतिशत हिस्सा रक्षा पर खर्च करता है। हमारा इतना बड़ा देश है, इतनी बड़ी चुनौतियां हैं, लेकिन हम अपने सकल घरेलू उत्पाद का 2 प्रतिशत से कम हिस्सा रक्षा पर खर्च करते हैं।

उपसभाध्यक्ष जी, अन्तोनो साहब यहां बैठे हैं। मुझे यह देखकर आश्चर्य होता है कि उन्होंने रक्षा बजट को बढ़ाने के लिए जोर नहीं लगाया। हम सभी लोग जानते हैं कि UPA में उनकी पहुंच top पर है और UPA में top क्या है, यह मुझे बताने की जरूरत नहीं है। सभी लोग यह भी जानते हैं कि इनको UPA के top का न केवल विश्वास प्राप्त है, बल्कि इनके ऊपर उनका पूरा-पूरा आशीर्वाद है, लेकिन इन्होंने उसका उपयोग नहीं किया। अगर ये चाहते, तो रक्षा मंत्रालय के लिए ज्यादा पैसा जुटा सकते थे। प्रश्न उठता है कि क्या बजट में पैसा केवल उन्हीं विभागों

[श्री बलबीर पुंज]

को मिलेगा जहां UPA को वोट मिल सकते हैं? चूंकि रक्षा मंत्रालय से वोट नहीं मिल सकते, इसलिए क्या इसका आवंटन नहीं बढ़ाया जाएगा? क्या वित्त मंत्री केवल उन्हीं लोगों को पैसा देंगे जो गठबंधन के मुख्य मंत्री हैं? जब उन मुख्य मंत्रियों का मूड होता है, वे हुंकार मारते हैं, बाजू मरोड़ते हैं और वित्त मंत्री जी की झोली में से पैसे टपकने शुरू हो जाते हैं। देश की रक्षा के लिए इस तरह की राजनीति ठीक नहीं है।

अब सवाल यह है कि रक्षा के लिए कितना पैसा मिलना चाहिए, कितना धन उपलब्ध होना चाहिए? सेना के लिए धन उपलब्ध कराना इस संसद की जिम्मेदारी है और यह इस बात पर निर्भर करता है कि हमारे देश के सामने कितना बड़ा **threat perception** है? हमारी उत्तरी और पश्चिमी सीमा पर पाकिस्तान और चीन हैं। पाकिस्तान ने अपने जन्म के 3 महीनों के अंदर यानी अक्टूबर, 1947 में कश्मीर के ऊपर पहले परोक्ष और बाद में प्रत्यक्ष हमला किया। मैं कश्मीर की उस घटना का जिक्र करना चाहता हूं। उस समय कश्मीर भारत का हिस्सा नहीं था। वहां एक बहुत देशभक्त महाराजा थे - महाराजा हरी सिंह। जब आक्रमण हुआ, तो महाराजा हरी सिंह ने **Commander-in-Chief of The State Forces of Jammu and Kashmir**; ब्रिगेडियर राजेन्द्र सिंह को बुलाया और उनसे कहा कि **fight the enemy to the last man and to the last bullet**.

उपसभाध्यक्ष जी, ब्रिगेडियर राजेन्द्र सिंह जी की सेना के आधे से ज्यादा सैनिक सांप्रदायिक कारणों की वजह से शत्रु के साथ मिल गए। ब्रिगेडियर के पास फौज ज्यादा नहीं थी, लेकिन देशभक्ति का तकाज़ा था। ब्रिगेडियर गए और उरी के पास उन्होंने मोर्चा लगाया। उनको आदेश था - **fight to the last man and to the last bullet**. तीन दिन तक उन्होंने शत्रुओं को रोके रखा। सेना समाप्त हो गई, असला समाप्त हो गया, वे खुद घायल हो गए। उनको कहा गया कि आप पीछे चले जाएं, उन्होंने इंकार कर दिया। एक रिवॉल्वर के साथ वे डटे रहे, आखिरी गोली तक उन्होंने उसका उपयोग किया और जो वचन अपने महाराजा को उन्होंने दिया था, उस वचन का पालन किया। **He fought to the last man and to the last bullet**. देश ने उनकी शहादत को स्वीकार किया, recognize किया और स्वतंत्र भारत में शौर्य का जो सबसे बड़ा सम्मान है - महावीर चक्र, यह भारतीय सेना के किसी अधिकारी को नहीं, बल्कि **J & K State Forces** के ब्रिगेडियर राजेन्द्र सिंह को सबसे पहला महावीर चक्र मिला।

महोदय, आज उरी में ब्रिगेडियर राजेन्द्र सिंह का एक छोटा सा स्मारक है। हममें से कोई भी जब कश्मीर जाए, तो मेरी सबसे प्रार्थना है कि उस स्मारक पर दो फूल ज़रूर चढ़ाए, क्योंकि वह उस लाल का स्मारक है, जिसकी वजह से आज कश्मीर भारत का हिस्सा है, क्योंकि उन तीन दिनों के अंदर ही भारत के साथ **Instrument of Accession** साइन हुआ और भारतीय सेना को समय मिल गया कि **they can fly to Srinagar and protect the valley from Pakistanis**.

उपसभाध्यक्ष जी, जब मैं ब्रिगेडियर राजेन्द्र सिंह जी का जिक्र करता हूं, तो मैं भावुक हो जाता हूं, क्योंकि वह स्वतंत्र भारत का प्रथम शहीद था।

"शहीदों की चिताओं पर लगेंगे हर बरस मेले,
वतन पर मर-मिटने वालों का बाकी यही निशां होगा।"

महोदय, 1962, 1965, 1971 और 1999 - कारगिल का मैं ज्यादा जिक्र नहीं करना चाहता। 1962 में "हिन्दी-चीनी भाई-भाई" - सेना की तैयारी नहीं थी और हमें बहुत ही शर्मनाक हार का

सामना करना पड़ा। 1965 तक हम संभल चुके थे और पाकिस्तान को हमने मुंहतोड़ जवाब दिया, परंतु शास्त्री जी को खोना पड़ा। वे बहुत बड़े देशभक्त और सच्चे इंसान थे। वे ताशकंद गए, परंतु वहां से वापस नहीं आए। आया, तो उनका मृत शरीर आया, वे ताशकंद से वापस नहीं आ सके।

महोदय, 1971 में जब पाकिस्तान ने दोबारा बदमाशी की, तो श्रीमती इन्दिरा गांधी ने बहादुरी से देश का नेतृत्व किया और वह दिन स्वर्ण अक्षरों में लिखा जाएगा, जब जनरल जगजीत सिंह अरोड़ा के सामने जनरल नियाज़ी को अपने एक लाख पाकिस्तानी सैनिकों के साथ हथियार फेंकने पड़े थे। हमने न केवल पाकिस्तान को पराजित किया, न केवल तोड़ा, बल्कि हमने बंगलादेश नामक एक स्वतंत्र राष्ट्र की रचना भी की, परंतु ग्यारहवीं शताब्दी का पृथ्वीराज चौहान **syndrome** दोबारा जीवित हो उठा। युद्धभूमि में सैनिकों ने अपने रक्त के साथ जो जीता था, श्रीमती इन्दिरा गांधी ने पाकिस्तान के प्रधान मंत्री भुट्टो की बात पर विश्वास करके, कि पाकिस्तान आगे से अब ठीक रहेगा, जो जीता था, सारा का सारा वापस कर दिया।

महोदय, 1962 की घटना पुरानी हो गई और लोग कहते हैं कि 1962 को याद मत कीजिए, परंतु 1962 के बाद भी चीन का रवैया बदला नहीं है। अरुणाचल प्रदेश, कश्मीर और बाकी स्थानों पर किस तरह से चीन की लालच भरी दृष्टि बनी रहती है और किस तरह से अरुणाचल प्रदेश के बारे में वह बार-बार यह बताने की कोशिश करता है कि अरुणाचल प्रदेश चीन का हिस्सा है, हम सब लोग जानते हैं।

Mr. Vice Chairman, Sir, along with Pakistan, China has been arming, training, funding and motivating subversive forces in North East, what we call the 'red terror'. Sir, the Maoists are China's foot soldiers. They are Indian by birth, but they work to destroy India at China's instance. आज जो चीन है, उसकी तैयारी आप देखिए। भारत का रक्षा बजट 40 बिलियन डॉलर है और चीन का 106 बिलियन डॉलर है। चीन जो है, उसने अपने हथियारों को पैदा करने की क्षमता इतनी विकसित कर ली है कि आज, विश्व के जो सबसे बड़े आर्म्ड एक्सपोर्टर्स हैं, उनमें उसका नाम आता है। दूसरी ओर भारत का नाम, जो सबसे बड़े आर्म्ड इम्पोर्टर्स हैं, उनमें आता है क्योंकि हथियारों के उत्पादन के बारे में हम लोग आत्मनिर्भर नहीं हैं। महोदय, मैं आपसे जिद्ध कर रहा था कि हमारा रक्षा का बजट कम है। जले पर नमक छिड़कने वाली बात यह है कि रक्षा बजट तो कम है ही, जितना बजट है, वह भी पूरा खर्च नहीं होता। आप पिछले आठ साल का औसत निकालें, कम से कम पांच से छः हजार करोड़ रुपए प्रति वर्ष रक्षा मंत्रालय सरेंडर करता है। महोदय, मेरी तो इस बात की एक ओर जानकारी है कि चूंकि वित्त मंत्रालय का अपना बजट गड़बड़ा रहा था, फिस्कल डेफेसेट बढ़ रहा था, इसलिए अंतिम दिनों में वित्त मंत्रालय द्वारा रक्षा मंत्रालय को तथा सेना, वायुसेना, इन सबको कहा गया कि इस बार सौदे 31 मार्च 2012 के बाद करना जिससे हमारा बजट ठीक हो सके। इसके कारण इंडियन एयरफोर्स ने 1300 करोड़ रुपए सरेंडर किए, जिसमें **Medium Multi-Role Combat Aircraft** और **Basic Trainer Aircraft** का सौदा अब शायद अगले हफ्ते हस्ताक्षर होगा। उसको पोस्टपोन कर दिया गया। फौज ने करीब साढ़े चार हजार करोड़ रुपए सरेंडर किए। नेवी ने एक डील कर ली और इस कारण जितना उनका बजट था, उससे करीब 27-28 करोड़ रुपए ज्यादा खर्च कर लिए, लेकिन आर्मी और इंडियन एयरफोर्स, दोनों ने मिलकर इस बार 5727 करोड़ रुपया सरेंडर किया। यह अपने आपमें बहुत शर्म और चिंता की बात है कि जब सेना को जरूरी हथियार चाहिए, गोला-बारूद चाहिए, हम उनको न खरीदकर, वित्त मंत्रालय का बजट ठीक रहे, इसलिए पैसा सरेंडर करते हैं।

[श्री बलबीर पुंज]

उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, यह जो पैसा सरेंडर किया जाता है, पैसा खर्च नहीं होता है, इसका क्या असर होता है, मैं इसके एक-दो उदाहरण देना चाहता हूँ। वायुसेना प्रति वर्ष डेढ़ सौ पायलट्स को ट्रेन्ड करती है। जो ट्रेनिंग है, वह तीन स्टेजेज़ में होती है। पहली स्टेज **HPT-32 rookie aircraft** पर होती है, दूसरी किरन ट्रेनर एयरक्राफ्ट है, उस पर होती है और तीसरी कॉम्बेट पायलट्स के लिए होती है और **simulators** पर होती है। महोदय, मैं आपके माध्यम से इस सदन को राष्ट्र को बताना चाहता हूँ कि जुलाई 2009 के बाद आज तक भारतीय वायुसेना के जो ट्रेनी पायलट्स हैं, उनको पहली स्टेज की ट्रेनिंग नहीं दी जाती, वे सीधे दूसरी स्टेज की ट्रेनिंग में भेजे जाते हैं। कारण यह है कि 31 जुलाई 2009 को दो पायलट्स एयरक्रैश में मारे गए और 70 के 70, जो **HPT-32 rookie aircraft** थे, वे ग्राउंड कर दिए गए। उसके बाद, जो ट्रेनी पायलट्स हैं, उनको सीधा का सीधा सेकेंड स्टेज में भेज दिया जाता है, प्रथम स्टेज उनकी होती ही नहीं है। यह तो बिल्कुल वैसा ही हुआ कि कोई विद्यार्थी अपनी स्कूल की पढ़ाई पूरी न करे, स्कूल में जाए ही नहीं और सीधा उसको मेडिकल कॉलेज के अंदर आप डॉक्टर बनने के लिए भेज दें। ऐसा करने पर वह किस तरह का डॉक्टर बनेगा, उसी तरह के ये पायलट्स बनते हैं। महोदय, स्टेज-2, जो किरन एयरक्राफ्ट के ऊपर पूरी होती है, उसकी स्ट्रेंथ 234 होनी चाहिए। **234 Kiran aircrafts should be there to train 150 trainee pilots but, the strength has been reduced to 81 aircrafts.** 234 की जगह 81 एयरक्राफ्ट्स के ऊपर आप किस तरह की ट्रेनिंग कराते होंगे, उसका निर्णय आप खुद कर सकते हैं। आपको 434 ट्रेनर्स चाहिए। उसके बदले में आपके पास केवल 255 ट्रेनर्स उपलब्ध हैं। **You are compromising on the quality of training for the pilots for want of resources.** महोदय, क्या यह सौ करोड़ का देश डेढ़ सौ पायलट्स को ठीक से ट्रेनिंग नहीं दे सकता है? यह एक बहुत बड़ा प्रश्न है। इतना बड़ा मुल्क, **BRICS** का मेंबर, **an emerging economic power** होने के बावजूद आप डेढ़ सौ पायलट्स को ठीक से ट्रेन्ड नहीं कर सकते? क्या यह सबके लिए लज्जा की बात नहीं है? महोदय, मैं रक्षा मंत्री जी को कोट करता हूँ। पिछले बुधवार 2 मई को रक्षा मंत्री जी ने इसी सदन में बताया था कि हमारी जो मिग कॉम्बेट की फ्लीट थी, जिसमें 872 जहाज थे वह आधे से भी कम रह गई है क्योंकि बाकी सब के सब समाप्त हो रहे हैं। **Out of 872 planes MIG Combat Aircraft, we are left with less than half.** बाद में, मंत्री जी ने यह भी कहा कि **Both human error and technical defects are responsible. On 19th March,** उन्होंने राज्य सभा में बताया, इसी हाउस में बताया कि **"46 per cent of the crashes are because of human error."** यह **human error** कहां से आता है?

उपसभाध्यक्ष जी, **human error** आता है, क्योंकि ट्रेनिंग पूरी नहीं होती है, जो मैंने पहले सिद्ध किया है। देखिए, 171 पायलट इन एक्सिडेंट्स के अंदर मारे गये। ये एक्सिडेंट्स नहीं थे, ये हत्याएं थीं। जो युवा लड़के-लड़कियां बहुत गर्व के साथ, बहुत उम्मीदों के साथ इंडियन एयरफोर्स को ज्वाइन करते हैं, वे देश के लिए तो शहीद होना चाहते हैं, परन्तु वे यह नहीं चाहते कि एक प्लेन में डिफेक्ट हो, उनकी ट्रेनिंग पूरी न हो और इसलिए वे एक **flying coffin** में कर जाएं, क्योंकि जब एयरक्राफ्ट इस तरह का हो जाता है, तो वह एयरक्राफ्ट नहीं रहता, **that becomes a flying coffin.** वह **flying coffin** के अंदर वह मर जाएगा। मैं तो कहूंगा कि आगे से आप इनको एक्सिडेंट्स मत कहिए, उनको मर्डर्स कहिए। उन पायलट्स के खून में किसके हाथ रंगे हुए हैं, इसका भी फैसला होना चाहिए, इसका भी पता लगना चाहिए।

[1.00 PM]

सर, अपनी एयरफोर्स की हालत क्या है? जो हमारे पास फाइटर जैट्स की इनवेंटरी है, वे सारे के सारे 30 साल से ज्यादा पुराने हैं। All of them are more than 30 years old. Most of the variants of MIG-21 वे 40 साल से भी ज्यादा पुराने हैं। MIG-27 and MIG-29 इंडियन एयरफोर्स के पास 20 साल से ज्यादा के हैं। हमारे एयरफोर्स की जो स्ट्रेंथ है, वह 42 squadrons होनी चाहिए। हमारे पास 800 से ज्यादा जहाज होने चाहिए। लेकिन हमारे पास वास्तविक स्ट्रेंथ आज बची है, वह 31 squadrons की बची है। We have been left only with 31 squadrons. जो हमारे पास 50 मिराज 2000 थे, those have been grounded, fifty of them, two and a half squadrons since 5th March, this year. By 2017, MIG-21 and MIG-27 will have to be replaced. Those have to be phased out. Those have to be replaced by SU 30 MK-I, Medium Multi-role Combat Aircraft, but the deal has not yet been inked. Light Combat Aircraft IS is still waiting; and fifth generation fighter aircraft is still on paper. You have to phase out the old aircraft. You have virtually no plans to replace them and with the result you strength which is already down from 42 to 31, it will go down further. Even if you finalise a deal of \$18 billion, about Rs. 90,000 crores, for 126 French Rafale Aircraft, it would take three years for the first aircraft to come and fly into India.

सर, सेना में वर्षों से अधिकारियों की कमी चली आ रही है। आपकी ऑथराइज्ड स्ट्रेंथ 47762 ऑफिसर है, you have a shortfall of 10,526 as on date. इतनी शार्टफाल है। यह कोई नई डेवलपमेंट नहीं है। यह वर्षों से चली आ रही है। रक्षा मंत्री जी जब तक आप सेना के अधिकारियों की सुख-सुविधाओं का इंचार्ज सेना भवन में बैठे हुए बाबुओं को बनाए रखेंगे, तब तक आपके half-hearted measures से सेना की कमी कभी पूरी होने वाली नहीं है। If the Army which is short of 25 per cent of sanctioned strength, how do you expect it to fight?

सर, मैंने जैसा कि पहले निवेदन किया था कि भारत में रक्षा संसाधनों का उत्पादन DRDO में होता है। यह 1956 का इंडस्ट्रियल पॉलिसी रिजोल्यूशन है और सेना को जिन हथियारों की और जिन सुविधाओं की आवश्यकता होती है, उसके उत्पादन की लगभग इनके पास monopoly है। हम लोग पृथ्वी, अग्नि, ब्रह्मोस इत्यादि की उपलब्धियों पर गर्व कर सकते हैं। बहुत सी चीजें हैं जैसे त्रिशूल, आकाश, नाग और Light Combat Aircraft, ये बरसों पीछे चले गए और उनमें कितना cost and time overrun हुआ है, मैं यहां इसकी चर्चा नहीं करना चाहता। मैं केवल दो उदाहरण देना चाहता हूं।

THE VICE CHAIRMAN (PROF. P.J. KURIEN) : Mr. Punj, how much time will you take? It is 1 o' clock.

SHRI BALBIR PUNJ : Sir, I will take five to seven minutes more.

THE VICE CHAIRMAN (PROF. P.J. KURIEN) : Then, let us sit up to that.

श्री बलबीर पुंज : सर, 1980 में Assault rifle बनाने की बात हुई और उसमें पन्द्रह वर्ष लगे। मैं यहां पर पूरी कहानी नहीं सुनाना चाहता हूं। सन् 1995 के अंदर Assault आई। वह इतनी defective थी कि सेना ने उसको लेने से मना कर दिया। वह 2005 व 2007 में बनवाई, मैं इसकी डिटेल में

[श्री बलबीर पुंज]

नहीं जाना चाहता हूँ। आपने इसको नेपाल को दिया, लेकिन नेपाल ने उसे वापस कर दिया। आज उसकी कीमत तीस हजार रुपए प्रति राइफल है। हमने कश्मीर में समस्या के समय बुल्गारिया से एक लाख AK47 राइफल्स मंगवाई थीं। उसकी कीमत केवल 93 डॉलर है अर्थात् 2700 या 2800 रुपए।

इसी तरह से जो बेटल टैंक, अर्जुन है। रक्षा मंत्री जी ने स्वयं यहां बताया था कि उसकी कीमत 7.4 million U.S. dollars per piece है। हम रशिया से 647 तो मंगवा चुके हैं और एक हजार manufacture होने की बात हो रही है, जो comparable tank है, उसकी कीमत one-third है, that is, 2.2 to 2.5 millions US dollars.

रक्षा मंत्री जी, 1956 में जब Industrial Policy Resolution पास हुआ था तब से भारत बहुत आगे चला गया है। निजी क्षेत्र में बहुत सी capacity build up हुई है और विविध क्षेत्रों में हुई है। आप क्यों नहीं प्राइवेट सेक्टर और पब्लिक सेक्टर का tie-up करवा कर, आप बयान देते रहते हैं, मैंने वे बयान सुने हैं, परन्तु वे बयान कभी भी take a practical shape. उसका कारण है कि यहां पर जबर्दस्त lobbies हैं, import lobbies हैं, जो कभी भी यहां पर domestic production नहीं होने देंगी। उनके pattern केवल डिफेंस मिनिस्ट्री में नहीं बैठे, बड़ी ऊंची-ऊंची जगहों पर बैठे हैं। मैं यहां ऊंची जगहों का नाम नहीं लेना चाहता। हमारे रक्षा मंत्री जी बहुत ईमानदार व्यक्ति हैं और बहुत ही प्रामाणिक छवि के इंसान हैं। मैं आप से एक प्रश्न पूछना चाहता हूँ कि जब जर्नल सिंह ने आपको टेद्रा के बारे में रिश्त की बात बताई थी, उस वक्त आपने केवल माथा तो यूँ पीटा था, फिर आपने क्यों नहीं वह सब किया, जो अब आप कर रहे हैं, जबकि विषय सार्वजनिक हो गया है। आप उस समय चुप क्यों रहे? यह एक यक्ष प्रश्न है और आप से देश इस प्रश्न का उत्तर चाहता है। यहां पर टेद्रा की बात हो रही है। मैं दो बड़े मजेदार उदाहरण बताना चाहूंगा कि टेद्रा की डील 1986 में हुई थी। यह डील उसी समय हुई थी, जब बोफोर्स की डील हुई थी। उस समय श्री राजीव गांधी प्रधान मंत्री भी थे और रक्षा मंत्री भी थे। सन् 2004 में Massimo नाम के एक सज्जन थे और जिनके पिता का नाम क्वात्रोची है, जिसके बारे में सभी जानते हैं। उन्होंने 2004 में बेंगलुरु में एक दफ्तर खोला। BML की फैक्ट्री से यह दफ्तर केवल 35 किलोमीटर दूर है, जहां इन ट्रकों को assemble किया जाता है। रक्षा मंत्री जी, मैं जानता हूँ कि आपका काम बहुत कठिन है। अगर आपने देश को आत्मनिर्भर बनाना है, तो आपको इन import lobbies के साथ लड़ना पड़ेगा, लेकिन वह इतना आसान नहीं है। मैं आपको एक बात बताना चाहता हूँ। Our jawans are matchless in valour. Our officers are second-to-none in the battlefield. They lead from the front. Their talent and professionalism are recognized world over. Army as an institution is still highly respected all over the country. उपसभाध्यक्ष जी, मैं कंकलूड कर रहा हूँ। रक्षा मंत्री जी, मेरा आपसे निवेदन है कि आप पार्टी में अपने कद का सदुपयोग कीजिए और आपका right quarters पर जो प्रभाव है, you have rare access to Mrs. Sonia Gandhi. उसका उपयोग करके, देश के रक्षा मंत्रालय के लिए जी.डी.पी. का 3 प्रतिशत दिलवाइए। आप हिम्मत से काम लीजिए और उन चेहरों को बेनकाब कीजिए जो सैनिकों का धन चुराते हैं और उनके शस्त्रों के नाम पर कमीशन खाते हैं। जैसे हमारी सेना के अधिकारी फ्रंट से लीड करते हैं, इसी तरह से आप रक्षा सौदों के मामले में भी फ्रंट से लीड कीजिए और नायक बनिएं। समितियों पर समितियां और उस पर और समितियां, यू.पी.ए. की यह जो परम्परा है, उसको तोड़िए। मुझे तो ऐसा लगता है कि अभी एक समिति और

बनने वाली है, जिसका काम यह होगा कि यू.पी.ए. ने कितनी समितियां बनाई हैं, वह उसकी गिनती करे और वे क्या काम कर रही हैं, इसका हिसाब रखे। मुझे लगता है कि शायद उस समिति के अध्यक्ष श्री प्रणब मुखर्जी जी होंगे।

THE VICE CHAIRMAN (PROF. P.J. KURIEN) : Please conclude.

SHRI BALBIR PUNJ : Just one minute, Sir. रक्षा मंत्री जी, इस डर से कि आपके ऊपर कोई अंगुली उठाएगा, केवल इस डर से आप फैसले करने से मत डरिए। काम नहीं, तो गलती नहीं, वाली यह जो बात है, 'no work, no mistake and clean image' इसको छोड़िए। यह dangerous फिलॉस्फी है। 'No work, no mistake and clean image' is a dangerous philosophy. अन्तोनी साहब, आप कमीशनखोरों के खिलाफ कठोर कदम उठाइए और निर्णय लीजिए। आप सेना के अधिकारियों और जवानों को बाबूओं की दया पर मत छोड़िए, उनको उनके शिकंजे से निकालिए, सेना के अस्त्र, शस्त्र उत्पादन के मामले में आत्मनिर्भर बनाइए, सेना के जवानों और अधिकारियों को न्याय दीजिए और वन रैंक, वन पेंशन कीजिए। मैं तो कहता हूँ कि आपके इस फैसले पर यह सदन और पूरा देश भी आपके साथ होगा। वंदे मातरम्, जय हिंद।

THE VICE CHAIRMAN (PROF. P.J. KURIEN) : The House is adjourned for lunch for an hour.

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

The House re-assembled after lunch at eight minutes past two of the clock.

THE VICE CHAIRMAN (PROF. P.J. KURIEN) in the Chair.

THE VICE CHAIRMAN (PROF. P.J. KURIEN) : We will continue with the discussion on the working of the Ministry of Defence.

Now, Mr. Gill will continue.

DR. M.S. GILL (Punjab) : Thank you, Sir.

Sir, I grew up with the armed forces of India, the army in particular. All my childhood was spent with the Tank Regiments, some most famous ones from Ahmednagar to Jhansi, to Meerut, to the Punjab Cantonments. Naturally, having a passion for reading, I spent a lot of time reading into this. You would be surprised to know that I sat for the National Defence Academy test and got selected. General Shankar Roy Chowdhary, the former Army Chief, was my classmate at Mussorie. At night, at the last minute, I did not go from Delhi to Dehradun. Khadakwasla came up later, because somehow I thought I was lacking in education, so try and study a bit more. All earlier generations of my family were in the army. They were mostly in the cavalry, horses and tanks. And, I take a deep interest in the army. It is just one of the subjects that I enjoy reading, right from the Roman Wars, Julius Caesar to the Greek Wars, Alexander and current wars.

Sir, in February, I was in Pakistan. I spent a week with my friends in Lahore. I found there a book by General Mahamood, who is now retired. He wrote, after ten years of deep research, a comprehensive study, from their point of view, on the 1965

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War. I participated in the 1965 War between India and Pakistan. I was Deputy Commissioner in Punjab and had been to each front. I have all these interests. And, therefore, I take this subject very, very seriously. India has a sea border of about four-and-a-half to five thousand kilometers, right around the country. ...*(Interruptions)*... If I took at it from Siachen, where I have been, right down to the last point on the Line of Control, looking on to their side on the Shyok river, going into the Indus, from there up to Burma, Lohit, the North-eastern side where Burma, India and China meet, it is, again, three-and-a-half to four thousand kilometers; you have a desert border, again, from the Northern-most Kashmir down to Kutch - plenty of desert in it - and you finally have a tropical border with Bangladesh. All added up, it must be about seven to eight thousand kilometers, roughly. We have an Army of a million-and-a-half, perhaps, even more. It is one of the largest armies - and it has responsibilities, which are vast. There are tensions, external, and internal. Reference has been made to those, off and on, in the Rajya Sabha. And, the army have to operate in the Himalayas, I am a mountaineer. I am familiar with being a picket. Picket Bana, or any other picket on the Saltoro Ridge, is 21,000 to 23,000 feet. It is a serious thing, to climb up peaks as high as 23,000 feet, and climb down quickly. You try holding a gun at 21,000 feet or try standing there, it is a sharp ridge! The Himalayas are sharp ridges; they are not rolling hills, as in Tibet. So, it is really something impossible to ask. But they are on Siachen since 1984. And they have been there.

The Army has to operate at all levels. You had even started making cantonments in Central India, for other concerns and responsibilities. The army is a group of people of every caste, creed, religion, anything and everything. And that is why, they maintain a very strong brotherhood. The bonding which they have, is even beyond what any of us have, even in our own Parties, if I may say so. ...*(Interruptions)*... And the reason is very simple. When you go out to fight, and I am with the man from Andhra, I am from Amritsar, my life is in his hands and his in mine! Therefore, that bonding has to be there. The Army can't operate without that, or for that matter, any of the Forces. That bonding should never be disturbed by us, by any direct or indirect method, or in the manner of our conduct.

Sir, defence is a national concern. They have been here. We are here. Before that, others have been there. Mr. Deve Gowda has been there; Mr. Gujral has been there. The turn keep coming and that is the strength of democracy, with which I have had something to do in the past. There is a rotation, and these things happen when they happen because the people want it. And, therefore, defence is a national concern. I respect all that has been said by my friend from Gurdaspur; we are neighbours, from Amritsar and Gurdaspur. We are both border-people. I respect all that. Of course, we have a bonding. He knows it and I know it. Therefore, we are not to take defence as a

sectional interest of any side of the House. I have been watching for a long time inside this House and outside. Frankly, I say loud and clearer, that all parties have done their best for the defence of the country, because that is what India wants; that is what every party, every person, every Minister of Defence and every Prime Minister wants. Within our resources they give the maximum.

A reference was made that we spend 1.9 per cent of GDP and Pakistan spends 2.8 per cent; America may be spending 4 per cent. First of all, since we love to talk of only in terms of India-Pakistan relationship, यह रिश्ता जाता नहीं है। जब यह मीठा नहीं होता, तब भी यह नहीं जाता है और न ही यह जा सकता है because we are neighbours. We have to live with each other, and in friendship. Their GDP surely is far less - it is my guess, Sir - of 1.9 per cent of India's GDP. India's GDP is growing and vibrant, in spite of all world difficulties. That is conceded by everybody. Once again, all predecessors of the present Finance Minister and the Defence Minister are aware of it, and they have contributed their mite. Therefore, I would say in this Budget that the Government is giving the maximum they can, within their overall situation. They are aware of the need to give more. I do not think anybody doubts it in this Cabinet or the last one. But, you need to match it to many, many priorities. It is not a question of a weak or a strong Defence Minister. I have been there for a little while. Whatever Departments we have, we all try to fight. But, I think, in the Supreme Panchayat of India, if I may call it so, you are told, "No, only this much and you cannot get more." Mr. Pranab Mukherjee has had difficult days, and so have his distinguished predecessors. Therefore, we have to keep that in mind. But, I think, no Defence Minister is stingy the Defence Forces, and no Prime Minister either, in my thinking.

I am aware that China has more forces, has more Budget; my friend quoted it. I have travelled all my life, as a mountaineer, a lot just out of my interest, plus as a civil servant. I had been up these valleys; I had been to Tawang; I had been to the whole Siachen Valley right down to those and beyond. We are all aware that we need to do more. Please remember that we are on the sharp side of the Himalayas. China today, coming from that side, have built a rail right up to Tibet. There, it is all a plateau. From there, they are looking downhill. We have to go up. In 1962, that was a big problem. I was around. Those who build roads there, have to try hard. I would say that the Border Roads Organisation does a great job. I have seen them all over the northern areas. Work is more expensive for us, it is more time-consuming. Every monsoon, there is a great destruction; every winter, in the higher reaches is a great destruction. I was the Deputy Commissioner in Lahaul & Spiti, what is now Himachal Pradesh. In that place or other areas, the snow destroys all your roads. Please go to Rohtang and see. When it gets destroyed, you have to again build it. The Himalayas are soft mud mountains; they are not granite. They have risen from a sea million of years ago.

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So, these are the difficulties the House must understand. But, within the resources, they try to do as much as they can. Whatever China has, I do not think that our men and our officers are frightened. They are prepared. They are ready. Our resources and our administration try to make sure that they keep the best foot forward. That is what we are doing all the time, and, I think, this should not be doubted.

Now, my friend referred to shortages. I have also read that Report. Yes, for example, if I talk of the Army, there is a shortage of Light Helicopters; whose number is 49, at the moment, it should have been 125. Advanced Weapons Helicopters, we still have to buy 60. Then, there is the heavy artillery. The much maligned Bofors Gun, everybody knows, and everybody agrees, that it is a very fine Gun, and it has proved itself in Kargil, where we had a crisis. Now, the problem has been there since then, whatever be the reasons; I don't want to go into those. But for 25 years, one, the technology could not be transferred; and second, we have not found a new gun. Now, I read in this Report that the Defence Production, our public sector, is trying to make a similar gun, and they have made some progress. But, as a person, who is almost a soldier, I would put to the Defence Minister, that we have to worry because Armies need tanks and Armies need artillery. ...*(Interruptions)*... बाद में कर लेंगे। Please don't mind. आपने बहुत बोल लिया।

SHRI BALBIR PUNJ : I want to add one thing. In regard to the Bofors Gun, the situation is so bad that half of them have been cannibalized, and only half of them are available. The half of them which are available have been made serviceable by cannibalizing the other ones.

DR. M.S. GILL : Yes, I can answer that, but please don't raise these because then I get diverted. I will answer that every easily for you. When we have not been able to buy more of the same, we could not produce due to other factors, the only intelligent thing, whether you have aircraft or guns, to keep going, you cannibalize. That is normal. You will agree. But my point is, a heavy gun, as soon as possible, is needed. We have waited too long. I would worry about the fact, that they are about to now produce a new one. This also ties in something, which I will talk about later, procurement, which is a major problem. The Defence Minister, the other day, answering a question, here, had answered, but I would like to say something on that, because procurement is very much linked to the difficulties of the Army.

Now, in the six international companies which have been blacklisted for ten years, unfortunately, there happens to be a company which produces the best Ak Ak Guns. There was one company or two companies from somewhere else, which had good guns. But now they are out. Now that, as far as we are concerned, for Defence, compounds our difficulties, because the Army cannot wait to have the weapons. So,

we have to think about that. What are we going to do? The same thing goes for things like tank shells or other equipment or rifles. Yes, that particular Calcutta Rifle was not good enough. These things happen, particularly, when, in India, there is a great mantra for producing everything in the country. It does not have to be. But, if it is, and if that was produced, and is found to be something less than ideal, then, we have to spend money and get the new ones because the soldiers must have them. The soldier must have what he can fight with. You can't expect him to risk his life, or, give his life with the second best. That we can never ask. But I think that will be done.

Now, as for this business of procurement, I want to say something. You see, today, we have tightened the system as I heard, the other day, from the Defence Minister. On the one side, democratic India with all the segments, whether it is the Press, whether it is the Opposition, whether it is us, even on this side, that total probity must be maintained. People should not filter out part of the money. Everybody agrees. Fine. But there is the other side of it. The processes, in my rough thinking, watching from outside, have become so involved, that the Army first gives what they require. What do they need? What is the specification of the weapon? Then that comes here. Then tender document has to be made. By the time it is going there, they start fighting over whether that requirement was wrong or right because lobbies of purveyors of weapons, are also working and any other interest. The result is every thing gets clogged and above all this is the worry. And this in my judgment is leading to delay in getting the weapons into the soldier's hand in time. If we cannot do that, then there is going to be a problem. Now how to balance that, and I am sure they have as much of a dilemma, when they are in power as we have, and the Ministers today have. How to balance that, because all I know is that the Army must get the weapons, and they must be weapons of quality, because you cannot fight with the other man who has the finest Jet in the world, and you got something less, or you got a cannon which is not good enough, and somebody has dramatic stuff. They must be given to the Armed Forces in time, so that they are always ready. A crisis is not going to ask us when it is coming. So, on these kinds of things, that is all I would say, that we have to find out a method. I cannot give you the answer; I am not qualified to give the answer. But some kind of method has to be found, by which we can order, and we can obtain weapons with speed, without being blocked here or blocked there. And remember, we have every kind of media, we have legal methods also, and every other method. Therefore, I sympathise with the Ministers, who frankly have to deal with it. I sympathise with them, because it is not an easy thing. I would say one thing in all this in favour of the Defence Ministry, from the top to the junior officers, that credit is given by all sections of the House. My friend said a few amusing things, but he did not mean them seriously. I checked with him earlier, we were talking to each other and that is that for six years now this regime has been in place in the Defence Ministry, they are standing tall and clear for probity, I do not think anybody doubts him, I do not think we doubt him.

[Dr. M.S. Gill]

Now, that is not a small gain, Sir. I mean, I go back looking all the way back to Nehru's time. Let us leave it at that. That is not something which is easily achieved nor should it be put away casually. But, yes, I agree that there has to be a method found, by which the necessary weapons are ordered in quick time, procured, and no interference is allowed to block it. That is something which I hope the hon. Minister will certainly look to.

The Air Force is a mighty important component of any fighting machine. In fact, today the Air Force is, perhaps, more vital. You see in Afghanistan the Americans are using more Air Force, more drones. There again the concerns are valid and they are in the report. So, my friend was quoting from the report, I have also read the report, and in the training of pilots there is a problem, 70-80 planes have been grounded, because those two pilots who died they were instructors, senior officers. If they died, something was serious in the plane at that moment. Therefore, of course, they have to be looked at. We have a shortage of trainers also. I think the best trainer we have is the Hawk which is, I think, from England. Many years back, after a long delay it came. I remember 60 and more have been ordered. I hope they come. But we have to have all the necessary planes to do all the training. There are no two ways about it. That has to be. The training has to be intensive. I will give you one example. Israele, they are a small country, whatever force they maintain, they are still a tiny force. But they have the highest training for their pilots. And, therefore, they give them beyond average achievement, even against any other advanced country in the world. This is well known in the warfare they have had, in the things they have done, and the secret is training. Therefore, we also must focus on it as intensively as we can, with all the planes that we need brought in quickly.

The second component is 'maintenance'. Yes, we talked about the MIGs over a long period. A lot of them have crashed and gone. And, yes, every time there is an accident; all of us are disturbed, and, I am sure, the Ministers are more disturbed than us, because it is not something that we want. Occasionally, the pilot also dies. A pilot is very precious because it takes ages to produce a great fighter pilot. He is not just driving a motorcar. He has got to be brilliant, that he can match up to the other man. Therefore, the second component of the Air Force, in my eyes, is very clear. It is maintenance because what was referred to as failure, all points to, in my eyes, maintenance. And, the Air Force must be focussing on the highest quality. Give them everything they need. We have to focus on the maintenance. If you have high training and high maintenance, then, nothing is going to be wrong with the planes. I don't hear of frequent crashes in Israel or England. It is as simple as that.

There is a shortage of officers. A reference was made to 10,000 odd, which we have been reading for many years. In Air Force, unfortunately, there is a shortage of

420 officers, put by the Committee. In the Air Force, you can't afford not to have enough highly trained pilots. There is similar such shortage in the Navy. Why is it so? My personal view is, that the Government has upgraded salaries frequently, all around. And, they have also improved promotional avenues. Actually the conditions are very good for a young man to go in. But why don't they go in? One reason, I suspect, is that if you get too many *babus* to design recruitment methods, they give you an impossible condition for recruitment. I won't go into specifics because I may then be led into other things. I will give you one example. Let us be clear, the Punjab is no longer in your Armed Forces. It is on the margins. They are not even coming in. I am not saying that only *Punjabis* should come in, or only the Sikhs should come in. But the point is that you need people. And, if good people are there, they should come from every corner. But the fact is that you are getting them from nowhere. While there is unemployment of a certain level, why is it happening? It needs a higher level of thinking, not the Committees, or, even the UPSC. Normally, boys and girls would apply in this or that service and the prospects are very good.

Now, I come to the DRDO. They have a grand building. It was built sometime back. The only building built in this capital complex. I used to say to the Urban Development Minister, right from Shri Jagmohanji to Shri Jaipalji that it is strange that after sixty years, in the capital complex, as in Washington or in Moscow, we still have barracks, which were built for four years in the Second world Years. I have been there as a Joint Secretary to meet friends and they are behind the PM's office, they are behind the South Block. जिस में डिफेंस वाले बैठते हैं। They are a cesspools of dengue, rats. I even wrote to the successive officials to demolish them. This is an area meant for high-value buildings of the nation, which are built, once in a while, after a great thought by the Cabinet, the Parliament and the country; it is not done just like that. But that is not happening. You all should take some interest in this. Just go and look at those barracks. Then, you will come to know what I mean. They were meant for four years life. Are we so poor, that we can't knock down all those, even if we need more offices for Defence? They don't have to be all in the Capital complex. This is my view. ...*(Interruptions)*... Army people, their Colonels and Majors, are sitting in that. Please go and see them. We can put up new blocks. Of course, my personal view would be that in today's India, that land has to be protected for hundred years, to put up new buildings in the Capital complex. It is not a land to be given to any *daftar*. They have got vast land in the Cantonment and elsewhere. You can put them anywhere.

But those are matters of detail. Anyway, let me get back to the DRDO; that is the only building that we have. That is a nice building. The DRDO is linked to the idea that we will be self-reliant. It goes to our past. Life has chanced, times have changed, economies have changed, and policies have changed. But they go on, sometimes, - I

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hope, I am not unfair - wanting to do everything and more. All Departments of Governments, in which I have been, like to spread themselves. † अच्छा रहता है and, therefore, they stretch out. But I will give you three examples which are important for us. For example, the Light Combat Aircraft (LCA). As a college student, I saw Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru going to Bangalore and being photographed and the German Scientist was Kurt Tank. We thought it was coming tomorrow. Our lives have gone. I see it has still a long way to go. I have another suspicion, that if you want to make the most advanced technology in the world, which you have to, to compete with the Rafale, to compete with the Americans, or anyone else in Europe, then, you need a complex of industry and technology. You can't, just in one organisation of the Government, say that we will make it. That is why, when we make it, we cover the fact, that most of its vital parts, electronics, avionics, so on will come from somewhere. Let us talk about engines. The Kaveri engine. The other day I read that it was going for test to Russia. It goes on and on. First of all, you want to manufacture everything. If you want to do, then, you will have to build an industrial base of a variety of things. A plane or this kind of a thing, does not come out of one item. An aircraft jet engine is going to take a lot. The Arjun Tank. Since I grew up with tanks, I have followed that very closely. Its cost kept on going up and up, year after year, year after year. It is now in a Regiment of the Army. But I think they had to be persuaded to take it. It was too heavy and could not cross the bridges of Punjab or wherever it is to go. I learnt in Islamabad once that they had made a Khalid tank. It is a production. A reference was made to the Russians. We have purchased a lot of Russian equipment and good robust equipment जो बिल्कुल देसी आदमी इस्तेमाल करता है और वे भी देसी हैं और हम भी देसी हैं; that is what a soldier needs. He is not an advanced technician from America or Japan. Our T-72s, T-90s which have come from Russia are fine. In 1965, we had British Centurions; they all have gone now. I can tell you Sir, during Khemkaran crisis, when their whole armour attacked Amritsar corner of Khemkaran. It was the Centurions which helped, of course, besides the brilliance and bravery of our men and officers. Therefore, we have to worry about this - the weapons can't be something about which the soldiers are not enthusiastic. That's all I would say on this.

Then, take the Navy. We have a vast coast. Just take any of the classics on Naval Warfare. There used to be one by Admiral Mahan. The British history, the Portuguese history, the Dutch history of Empire, etc., have all been built by the Navys. We have a vast coast. We are projected our power because we have to do it for our own protection. If others are doing it, we have to do it, and we are all aware that in the Bay of Bengal, so and so is coming; and so and so is coming on our Western Coast. We have to worry

about that. Therefore, the Navy, in my view, also needs a very high priority in release of funds and shipbuilding. Everything that can be done should be done, for them because we are going to need it, and there is ultimately the possibility of projecting India far beyond our shores.

Again, going back to the DRDO and the Defence production factories, I would say, what was said by Shri Punj was actually my idea, but, unfortunately, he took it ...*(Interruptions)*... मुझे इन्होंने सेकेण्ड चांस दिया। अब क्या करूँ, मैं? ...*(व्यवधान)*...

SHRI BALBIR PUNJ : Sir, I take it as a compliment.

DR. M.S. GILL : Okay. You are welcome.

SHRI BALBIR PUNJ : I take it as a compliment that आपका आइडिया मैंने ले लिया।

डा. एम. एस. गिल : घर दी गल है। You see that the Indian industry has much to commend it today. They are doing remarkable things. In this Report, I read of Larsen and Toubro. I will name only one; and they are doing a major part of the work, even for DRDO and others. I say that that's a great achievement. I am very clear that if you want to manufacture in our own country and not buy from any one - because unfortunately we are the largest buyer of weapons in the world; then the answer is this very sophisticated burgeoning Indian industry - patriotic as anyone else - and they are already doing many things. I compliment the Minister that many things have been given to them and they are now contributing a lot. Once upon a time, there was nothing; nothing at all. Now, they are doing it. They are going to contribute to your atomic plants because, frankly, the simple solution lies there. Take, for example, Krupps of Germany. All of Germany's achievements have been on the Krupps, even today, perhaps. But the simple thing is, if they manufacture in Maharashtra or Gujarat or anywhere else - wherever they do and whichever company does it - well, let them manufacture what they can, of course, with your permission, and after getting licence from you. But the sale of those weapons will be controlled by you, very tightly. That's all. Then, you are the master of those weapons. They can't send it to the wrong people where India's won't send them. ...*(Time-bell)*... Sir, I will wind up. The same thing is about atomic plants tomorrow. Your industry is going to manufacture them. I read the other day, that the cost of our atomic plants is already lower than plants in Japan and America. So, we will see that achievement coming, but in Defence I would like to see much more of this happening.

Sir, on the welfare of the Forces, I would make just one small point because I keep reading of it. Our soldiers, even with the extended age that you have given to them in the past, still retire very early, and they have to find some place to go and earn because you don't given them the Moon in pension. It is the case with everybody. A public servant can't expect something which will sustain him only on

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pension, civil or military, no matter how much you increase it - and you have increased it. Therefore, there are two things. One, please don't allow them to go on cribbing about 'One Rank One Pension.' I have not studied it in detail because it is not my job. But I think this should be redressed suitably to their satisfaction. The second thing, now, in another context of another problem that came up, which was mentioned by the hon. Member from Gurdaspur - I like bringing Gurdaspur on the record in the House! - that in trucks - because certain cases are going on, we should now block these officers from getting any jobs for five years. Now, Sir, they too have got human rights under the Constitution as the rest of us. Did they make a mistake in joining our forces? Is anybody ensuring that they will be reasonably able to live a respectable life after retirement, as a Major or Colonel, or even a Major General? I know this business. So, don't immediately jump to impossible solutions, which are not solutions but which only make the situation worse. If one man has done something somewhere, or one case is there, we have the tendency to apply it and say, जल्दी rule बनाओ; नया कानून बनाओ। If we could save India by laws - India has the highest GLP in the world, that is, gross laws per person. GLP - यह मेरी बहुत पुरानी invention है - फिर तो रामराज्य आ जाता। क्या रामराज्य आया? So, there is a time, Please don't do this.

Finally, on Siachen, since my friend started from there. Actually, Sir, I was very much worried in the beginning. When he started on this, I said, "My God! This is a foreign policy debate and, I must have made a mistake, and I am reading this report, which I shouldn't have read. What am I going to do?" Sir, a large part of what he has said - and I respect his concerns. Every other Indian has got a view. Last night, one channel had a one hour debate, with even a Pakistan Air Marshall, and our people participation in it, and yes, you can have your views and concerns. But that is, essentially, a foreign policy matter with the Prime Minister. Yes, the Defence Minister is involved because he is in the High Committee. But, please remember one thing. Since 1984, it is 27 years now. We are there at 21-23000 pickets. I could see all the limitations in what General Kayani said or what others have said, but the point is, we are not there; neither is it right to say that this Government is about to give away everything. No. Nothing is being given away, nor is being taken away. But, I think the idea, that we must have a dialogue is necessary. And he and I should know more, or should feel more about it, because we were the two people on the border. I had been there during the 1965 War and the 1971 War; and he had been there, and thank God the chances of such a thing have lessened, but you never know on your borders. We must find a solution, solution satisfactory to us. A former, very high political figure - I won't name him or even indirectly hint at him - said to me once, many years ago when we were

discussing this very thing, on India and Pakistan, "मिस्टर गिल, यह नहीं होगा; यह agreement कभी नहीं हो सकता। मैंने पूछा, क्यों? He said, "Because if you want and want and give nothing, then how do you balance it? Then nobody is going to make an agreement." The point is, I am not saying, give anything; I am not saying, take anything. I am nobody in all this business. But I think it is sensible to discuss and have a dialogue, and see if you go forward in a satisfactory way. I would give you one final warning. All people, not in this House but in the other House, go for votes. It was interesting for me to find on the channel, where they had this one hour debate on Siachen that I saw all the older people - I don't name them; some Generals and some civilians, all the old people were saying this, this, this "उनको यह कर दो, ऐतबार नहीं करना, उनकी बिल्कुल मत सुनो। and then, they took a cross-section of young people. They were all below 25 years of age or thereabouts; and they all thought you should talk.

Thank you, Sir.

श्री अवतार सिंह करीमपुरी (उत्तर प्रदेश) : सर, आपने मुझे डिफेंस मिनिस्ट्री की वर्किंग पर बोलने का मौका दिया, इसके लिए मैं आपका शुक्रिया अदा करता हूँ।

मान्यवर, डिफेंस का जो issue है, यह बहुत sensitive है और पूरा देश इस issue पर हमेशा बहुत ही संजीदगी और इज्जत के साथ बात करता है। एक राइटर ने लिखा है कि जो लोग इतिहास भूल जाते हैं, वे नया इतिहास नहीं लिख सकते। तो आज हम जहां खड़े हैं, हम चाहते हैं कि डिफेंस के क्षेत्र में हम मजबूत हों। दुनिया के सामने हम मजबूती से खड़े हो सकें, इसमें कोई दो रायें नहीं हैं, लेकिन आज हम जहां खड़े हैं, इसके लिए मैं थोड़ा सा इतिहास को आपके सामने रखना चाहता हूँ। 15 अगस्त, 1947, जिसको हम आज़ादी का दिन कहते हैं, जिस दिन पावर का ट्रांसफर हुआ, उसको हम celebrate भी करते हैं कि अंग्रेज़ों के शासन का अंत हो गया और हमारे शासन की शुरुआत हो गई। लेकिन हमें यह देखना चाहिए कि अंग्रेज़ों का शासन यहां क्यों हुआ? हमारा मुल्क हज़ारों साल गुलामी में क्यों रहा? भारत को लंबे समय तक गुलाम क्यों रहना पड़ा, उसके पीछे क्या इतिहास है, उसका क्या कारण है? इतिहास यह बताता है कि इस देश में हज़ारों मन्दिरों को विदेशी हमलावरों ने तोड़ा। इस देश की बहू-बेटियों को गज़नी के बाज़ारों में नीलाम किया गया - यह कमज़ोर डिफेंस का सबूत है, लेकिन हमारा डिफेंस कमज़ोर क्यों हुआ? हम इतने वीक क्यों हुए कि हम न तो अपना ईमान बचा सके, न इज्ज़त बचा सके। इतिहास में जब हम खोजते हैं, तो पता चलता है कि इस देश का जो सोशल सिस्टम था, उसने इस देश के डिफेंस को बड़ा भारी नुकसान पहुंचाया, क्योंकि यह कहा गया कि डिफेंस के लिए सिर्फ क्षत्रियों की ड्यूटी है। विदेशी हमलावार आए, तो क्षत्रिय उसके साथ युद्ध लड़ेगा - जो आज भी भारत में चार-पांच परसेंट से कम हैं। जब पाकिस्तान हमारे पास था, बंगलादेश हमारे पास था, मैं समझता हूँ उस वक्त तो ये तीन परसेंट से ज्यादा नहीं होंगे। अब इसमें डेढ़ परसेंट तो औरतें हैं और बाकी डेढ़ परसेंट क्षत्रियों को जो ड्यूटी दी गई, जो सामाजिक व्यवस्था हम पर थोपी गई, उसके मुताबिक यह था कि क्षत्रिय विदेशी हमलावरों के साथ युद्ध लड़ेंगे और उसमें बच्चे और बूढ़े और physically handicapped भी थे। जब विदेशी हमलावार आए, तो लड़ना सिर्फ क्षत्रिय को था, बाकियों को सिर्फ लुटते हुए मुल्क को, लुटती हुई आबरू को देखना था, इसलिए क्षत्रिय विदेशी हमलावरों को फेस नहीं कर पाए, जिसका रिज़ल्ट यह हुआ कि आज हमारे देश में जो कहा जाता है कि हज़ारों मन्दिर लूटे गए, इस देश की बहू-बेटियों

3.00 PM

[श्री अवतार सिंह करीमपुरी]

को बेआबरू किया गया, तो यह हुआ और देश टूटा। जिसे हम आज़ादी डिफाइन करते हैं, हमने उस रात को पाकिस्तान को **lose** किया, जो आज पाकिस्तान है और आज हम **celebrate** करते हैं कि बंगलादेश हमने बनवाया। लेकिन हम कभी यह नहीं सोचते कि हमने इसको खोया है। ऐसा क्यों हुआ? क्योंकि हमने अपनी डिफेंस को जाति के आधार पर, वर्ण के आधार पर तय किया। आज़ादी के बाद, आज भी हम देखते हैं कि जो हमारे देश की सेना है, उमें माइनोंरिटी की रीप्रेजेंटेशन कम हो रही है। यह हमारे लिए चिंता का विषय है। अगर हम डिफेंस फोर्सज़ में भी जाति और धर्म का गणित तैयार करके अपनी फोर्स तैयार करेंगे, तो मैं समझता हूं कि आने वाले समय में हमारे लिए फिर एक बार यह बड़ी चिंता का विषय हो सकता है। हमें कम से कम अपनी डिफेंस फोर्स, किसी भी किस्म के जाति और धर्म के भेदभाव से ऊपर उठकर तैयार करनी चाहिए। जब हम कह रहे हैं कि हमने हजारों साल गुलामी काटी है, गुलामी को सहा है, हमारे देश का धन और धरती लूटी गई है, उसका रीज़न गैर-बराबरी वाली सामाजिक व्यवस्था है। महोदय, बाबा साहब डा. भीमराव अम्बेडकर जी, जो भारतीय संविधान के निर्माता थे, उन्होंने इसके लिए स्टैंड लिया था कि डिफेंस फोर्स, एक जाति या वर्ण के आधार पर नहीं, बल्कि फिज़िकल फिटनेस के आधार पर तैयार होनी चाहिए। उसकी जाति क्षत्रिय हो या न हो, यह देखना जरूरी नहीं है बल्कि देखना यह चाहिए कि उसकी छाती में जान है, उसकी बाजू में जान है, उसकी आँख ठीक है, दुश्मन ठीक से नज़र भी आ रहा है, क्या वह उसका मुकाबला कर पाएगा, उसके सामने खड़ा रह पाएगा? मैं समझता हूं कि बाबा साहब डा. भीमराव अम्बेडकर जी ने जो प्रावधान भारत के संविधान में किया, उसके लिए आज हम डा. अम्बेडकर को यह क्रेडिट दे सकते हैं कि जब से उनके इस सिद्धांत को कुछ हद तक माना गया, उसके बाद कम से कम विदेशी हमलावर इस देश के मंदिर और आबरू को तोड़ने और लूटने का कार्य नहीं कर पाए। महोदय, आज हमारे पास जो आंकड़े हैं, उनके अनुसार, एयरफोर्स में भारत के पास जो फाइटर प्लेन्स हैं, उनकी संख्या 600 है, जबकि चीन के पास 1800 फाइटर प्लेन्स हैं और पाकिस्तान के पास 550 हैं। हमें जो श्रेत है, वह चीन से है। चीन 1800 फाइटर प्लेन्स लेकर बैठा है और हम केवल 600 लेकर बैठे हैं। ऐसे में हम चीन का मुकाबला किसी मंत्र या तंत्र से नहीं कर सकते हैं कि अगर चीन 1800 फाइटर प्लेन्स लेकर आएगा तो हम कोई मंत्र पढ़ देंगे और वे वहां पर गिर जाएंगे। ऐसा होने वाला नहीं है। हमें वहां अपने आपको उस लैवल पर खड़े करना पड़ेगा, हमें अपने आपको उस लैवल पर तैयार करना पड़ेगा, हमें अपने बजट को इन्क्रीज़ करना पड़ेगा, हमें अपने अंदर विल पॉवर लानी होगी। महोदय, डिफेंस मिनिस्टर को बेखौफ और निर्भय होना चाहिए, उसको किसी किस्म का डर नहीं होना चाहिए। जब तक हम इस बात से डरते रहेंगे कि हमारी ईमानदार छवि पर कोई सवाल न उठ जाए, तो हम अपनी छवि तो बचा सकते हैं, किन्तु शायद देश की छवि को हम खतरे में डाल देंगे। महोदय, हमारे सामने 2007 से 2012 तक एक प्रपोज़ल था कि 1 लाख 86 हजार बुलेट प्रूफ जैकेट्स खरीदनी है। पांच साल में 1 लाख 86 हजार बुलेट प्रूफ जैकेट्स में से आपने कितनी खरीदीं? जो हमारी जानकारी है, जो आंकड़े हमारे पास हैं, उनके मुताबिक वह संख्या शून्य है। आप अपनी जान बचाते-बचाते नौजवानों की जान से कब तक खेल सकते हैं? ऐसी व्यवस्था को कब बदला जाएगा। इसका टाइम पूरा हो गया है। इसके अलावा दूसरी टर्म 1 लाख 67 हजार खरीदने की थी, उसमें आप कितना आगे बढ़े हैं, यह आप जानें या खुदा जाने। लेकिन स्थिति चिंताजनक है। जो पार्लियामेंट्री स्टैंडिंग कमेटी ने बताया कि 18 चीता हेलिकाप्टर की शार्टेज़ है और 76 एडवान्सड हेलिकाप्टर की शार्टेज़ है और **60 weapon system integrated ALH** की शार्टेज़ आर्मी एविएशन के पास है। जो हमारे पास हैं, वे पत नहीं कहाँ गिर जाते हैं?

वे थोड़ा-सा ऊपर को जाकर गिर जाते हैं, तो खबर छप जाती है कि हमारा मिग गिर गया। ऐसी हालत में रक्षा मंत्री जी, आपके ऊपर बहुत बड़ी जिम्मेदारी है। इस शार्टेज से हमें देश को उबारना है। हमारी फौज के पास, एयरफोर्स के पास **ammunition** की भी कमी है। हम अपनी रिक्वायरमेंट का 70 परसेंट इम्पोर्ट करते हैं। जब युद्ध होगा, तब हम विदेश से **ammunition** खरीदने के लिए भागेंगे, उस समय उनकी मर्जी होगी कि उन्होंने वह हमें देना है या नहीं देना है और किस **cost** पर देना है, यह कारगिल में हो चुका है। गिल साहब ने बहुत अच्छी तरह से सारी बातों को रखा है। गिल साहब ने देश का **environmental** और **geographical** जो उनका तर्जुबा था और फौज में जो टेक्निकल **lacking** थी, उस पर भी चर्चा की। यह कोई क्रिटिसिज्म का इश्यु नहीं है, यह **contractive thought** है कि हम सब मिलकर इन कमियों को दूर करने के लिए आगे आएँ।

सर, इसके अलावा **DRDO** का **self reliance** मिशन था। सन् 2005 तक 70 परसेंट जो डिफेंस की रिक्वायरमेंट है, उसका हम इंडिया में प्रोडक्शन करेंगे। जबकि 2012 में हम 70 फीसदी इम्पोर्ट कर रहे हैं। सर, मैं 10 मिनट में खत्म कर रहा हूँ।

उपसभाध्यक्ष (प्रो. पी.जे. कुरियन) : आपके बोलने का टाइम खत्म हो गया। आप पांच मिनट का समय और ले लीजिए।

श्री अवतार सिंह करीमपुरी : सर, डिफेंस का इश्यु है। इसके लिए कौन जिम्मेदार है कि जो हमारा टारगेट था कि हम 2005 तक 70 परसेंट रिक्वायरमेंट लोकल से पूरी कर लेंगे, जबकि 2012 में हम 70 परसेंट इम्पोर्ट कर रहे हैं। इसके लिए किसी न किसी को रेसपांसेबिलिटी तय करनी पड़ेगी। हम अपने आपको बढ़िया साबित कर रहे हैं। हम हैं भी बढ़िया, इसमें हम कोई सवाल नहीं खड़ा करना चाहते हैं। लेकिन कुछ करने के बाद अगर बढ़िया रहें, तो अच्छा रहेगा। अगर हम कुछ भी न करें और हम क्लीन रहें, जब हम कुछ करेंगे नहीं, तो हम क्लीन तो हैं ही। अब आपको कुछ करना ही पड़ेगा। मिनिस्टर साहब, आपकी ड्यूटी नेशन की सेफ्टी की है। मैं कहता हूँ कि आपने जो वैपन्स नहीं खरीदे हैं या जिन रिक्वायरमेंट्स को पूरा नहीं किया है, इसके पीछे खतरा है, क्योंकि पहले भी कई बार घपले, भ्रष्टाचार की बातें उठती रही हैं और उठ तो अब भी रही हैं। अगर आपको यह खतरा है कि हमारे ऊपर कोई दोष न लगे, तो हम आपको सुझाव देते हैं कि आप अपोजिशन के नेता को **confidence** में ले लें। इसके लिए आल पार्टीज की कमेटी बना लो। कम से कम नेशन सेफ्टी के लिए हमें जाति, धर्म और राजनैतिक विचारधारा को रुकावट नहीं बनने देना चाहिए। हमारा इसके लिए एक मात्र एजेंडा होना चाहिए कि हम अपने नेशन को कैसे सेफ कर सकते हैं, हम दुश्मन के सामने अपने आपको कैसे मज़बूत बना सकते हैं। यदि हम एक एजेंडा बनाकर चलेंगे, तो मैं समझता हूँ कि आपको सब सहयोग देने के लिए तैयार होंगे। आप इस पर आगे बढ़ने की कोशिश करें। वैसे तो हमारी सलाह को शायद न भी माना जाए, क्योंकि आपको इशारा किया गया है कि सलाह किस की मानी जाएगी। अगर नेशन की सेफ्टी के लिए इसके ऊपर गौर कर लिया जाए, तो यह कोई बुरी बात नहीं है।

इसके अलावा मैं यह कहना चाहूँगा कि आप अपने नेशन के **talent** को संभालिए। आज हमारे साइंटिस्ट, हमारे पॉयलट और हमारे इंजीनियर्स विदेशों में **settle** हो रहे हैं। अगर वे विदेशों में अच्छा काम करते हैं, तो हम उसको यहां **celebrate** करते हैं। समाचार पत्रों में आता है कि भारतीय मूल के एक लड़के या लड़की ने **USA** में यह रिसर्च की है, तो हमारे लिए यह **celebrate** का **issue** बन जाता है क्योंकि वे भारतीय मूल के हैं। जब आप भारतीयों के **talent** को नहीं संभालेंगे, तो **USA** या **other nations** तो संभालेंगे ही। यदि उनके द्वारा तैयार टेक्नीक को आने वाले समय में, हमारे

[श्री अवतार सिंह करीमपुरी]

खिलाफ ही इस्तेमाल किया जाएगा, तो हमें इस पर गंभीरता से सोचना चाहिए। हमें यह भी सोचना चाहिए कि आज हमारा **talent** हम से दूर क्यों हो रहा है तथा क्यों हमारी पोर्टेंशियल हमसे दूर हो रही है? जब तक हम अपनी **internal security** को मजबूत नहीं करते तब तक हम अपने देश को मजबूत नहीं कर पाएंगे। मैं आपको नक्सलवाद का एक उदाहरण देता हूँ। हमें एक **DM** को मुक्त कराने के लिए दो वार्ताकारों को ढूँढना पड़ा और कुछ उन नक्सलियों की शर्तों को भी मानना पड़ा। हमें पहले भी एक विधायक को छुड़ाने के लिए, इसी प्रकार से कुछ करना पड़ा था। मैं कहता हूँ कि आप इसका कारण भी ढूँढिए। अगर आपको एक **DM** को छुड़वाने के लिए घुटने टेकने पड़ते हैं, तो इससे हमें अपनी **defence** के बारे में तो पता चलता ही है, लेकिन हमें इसका कारण भी ढूँढना चाहिए कि देश के 270 जिलों में नक्सलवाद क्यों आगे बढ़ा है? हमें उसको सही तरह से **diagnose** करना चाहिए। हमारे देश का जवान देश की सरहद पर खड़ा होना चाहिए। अगर वह देश के अंदर **internal security** के लिए **thrust** बन गया है, तो हमें उसका कारण जानना चाहिए कि क्या उसका **financial** शोषण हुआ है, क्या उसका **social exploitation** हुआ है, क्या उसका **political exploitation** हुआ है या वहाँ रिसोर्सेज़ को लूटा गया है? हमें इन सब बातों पर विचार करके, इस बेचैनी को दूर करना चाहिए। जब हम अंदर से मजबूत होंगे तभी हम बाहर की **defence** को मजबूत बना सकेंगे और दुश्मन से लड़ पाएंगे। इसके साथ ही हम अपने बजट को सभी सेफ कर पाएंगे। आज हम जो बजट उनके ऊपर लगा रहे हैं, वह बजट हम राष्ट्र की **defence** के ऊपर लगा सकते हैं।

THE VICE CHAIRMAN (PROF. P.J. KURIEN) : Please conclude.

श्री अवतार सिंह करीमपुरी : मैं **conclude** कर रहा हूँ। सर, मैं यह भी कहना चाहूँगा कि जो हमारे सैनिक भाई हैं, वे बहुत कठिन ड्यूटी करते हैं। उनकी वन रैंक, वन पेंशन की डिमांड है। मैंने इसी संदर्भ में, इसी सदन में स्पेशन मैन्शन रखा था, तो मुझे जवाब आया कि सरकार के पास धन नहीं है। ...**(समय की घंटी)**... अगर देश की रक्षा करने वालों के लिए हमारे पास धन की कमी होगी तो फिर हम देश के लिए लड़ने का जज्बा पैदा नहीं कर पाएंगे। ...**(व्यवधान)**...

THE VICE CHAIRMAN (PROF. P.J. KURIEN) : Please conclude.

श्री अवतार सिंह करीमपुरी : हमें उनके लिए वन रैंक, वन पेंशन के ऊपर भी विचार करना चाहिए। महोदय, आपने मुझे बोलने का अवसर दिया। मैंने आपकी आज्ञा से दो-चार मिनट ज्यादा लिए हैं। अंत में हम डिफेंस मिनिस्टर साहब से यह कहना चाहेंगे कि आप हिम्मत से आगे बढ़ें। आदर्श सोसायटी जैसा जो घोटाला हुआ है, ऐसे घोटालों का, टाट्टा के घोटालों को और फौज को जो क्वालिटी फूड नहीं मिल रहा है, ऐसे जो सभी छोटे-छोटे इश्यूज हैं, आपको इनके ऊपर पर भी ध्यान केन्द्रित करना चाहिए। हमें फौज के अंदर अच्छा environment देना चाहिए, ताकि वे बेस्ट ड्यूटी कर सकें। इसके साथ ही समाप्त करता हूँ, आप सभी का धन्यवाद। जय हिंद, जय भारत।

SHRI T.K. RANGARAJAN (Tamil Nadu) : Sir, this is a very important discussion. Everybody in this country has got a lot of respect for the Defence. And I respect our Defence Minister. So far, he refused to permit 100 per cent FDI in the Defence. There are some so called patriots in this country who want 100 per cent FDI in the Defence. But he did not permit that. I thank him for that. There are multinational companies

which wanted to have special economic zone for war equipment, military products. That also he did not permit. I thank him for that also. He must maintain that position.

Sir, today, you can't ignore the Press or the electronic media. Today, even people in tea shops are talking about the Defence. What is happening today? The recent controversies highlighted by the media have raised a question mark on the functioning of the Ministry of Defence. The controversy relating to age of the Army Chief further raises concern about the system of maintaining personal records of the officers of the Services. Every man has got a fundamental right to move the court. But here the Army Chief moved the Court against the Government. The *Shakti* is fighting against the *Shiva*. It is very good in the *Puranas*. It is interesting to see this in TV serials. But when the Chief of the Army moves the Court regarding the issue of his own age, it shakes our confidence. The recently-leaked letter of the Army Chief to the Prime Minister is another matter. How do you explain these things? What will the people think about the political class? We are managing the Defence. You cannot ignore *The Hindu*. You cannot ignore *The Hindustan Times*. You cannot ignore the English newspapers or any vernacular paper or the electronic media. The people are daily watching that. Our systems in the Defence need proper review. The Minister is capable to do that.

Sir, one magazine wrote, "India seems to be at war with itself as army personnel and civil servants wage a battle for supremacy." These are not my words. It was published in a magazine. I don't want to mention the name of magazine. Another daily only highlighted the growing mistrust by saying, "That both sides, the Army Chief and the Defence Ministry, have mishandled the situation is an understatement. It looks as if the two have been going out of the way to hurt each other. They don't realize that they are hurting the nation." Sir, they don't realize that the common man is worried about the Defence, our civil servants, and our men in uniform. When we see the people in uniform marching, we are proud of them. Today, ordinary people are worried. Sir, they don't realize that they are hurting the nation. Sir, the nation is worried.

Corruption in Government deals has become talk of the day. You take any Department, you will see corruption there. When corruption comes to our defence acquisition, it not only affects country's military preparedness but our image also is affected internationally, and the important acquisition for the forces are being delayed thereby causing huge time and cost overrun. The Standing Committee on Defence, in its various reports, has highlighted it. The Committee, in its 12th Report presented to the House on 3rd August, 2011, has raised a serious concern over the delay in some of the projects of the Navy. Mr. Gill talk about how important Navy is and how Dutch and Portuguese were able to occupy the space in the world. It was because of their strong Navy. Such projects as highlighted in the Committee's Report are at page 15, 15A and 17. The Committee, in the Report, has said that the cost of escalation in

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respect of the aforesaid projects has, in fact, been four times of the initial estimated cost. The C&AG, in its Report No. 20 of 2011-12, has further revealed about the delay in some of the important acquisitions for Air Force and Navy.

Sir, the said C&AG Report has reported flawed approach in acquiring 16 MiG 29K Aircrafts, at a cost of Rs. 3405.61 crore without finalising the associated package with the procurement of the aircraft in January 2004, which led to delivery of six aircrafts in December 2009 without weapons. Aircrafts was delivered without any weapon. Subsequently, five more aircrafts were delivered in May 2011. The armaments for aircrafts were contracted for only in March 2006, which led to non-delivery of weapons till October 2010. Besides, the C&AG also referred to the abnormal delay in procurement of Precision Approach Radar, procurement of urgent aviation stores through Indian Embassies and inordinate delay in installation of SPL Plotting Tables on submarines. The Standing Committee, in its 14th Report presented to the House on 26th March 2012, has rightly observed that procurement of such sensitive equipment has a chain of reaction, which compromises Defence preparedness at the ground level. The Committee has also raised the issue of penalty clauses to be included in each of the contracts. The Government did not accept that; the Defence Ministry did not accept that. You must put a penalty clause. If delay occurs, why should we pay for it? Why should we wait for it?

Sir, it is a known fact that a major portion of our armaments, aircrafts and other equipment required for our services is imported from various countries. The country, even after passage of more than 60 years of Independence, is still highly dependent upon imports, thereby depriving our industry of a great opportunity. Today, we are the number one arms importer in the world. Although millions are unemployed here, you give employment to people in America, Germany, UK, etc. You don't want to give employment to qualified Indian people. Sir, there is an urgent need to give more emphasis to make our public sector undertakings capable of producing armaments and other high-tech products for our services. In this context, there is a need to enhance our R&D capabilities through our premier organisation DRDO as well as our public sector units and ordinance factories.

Sir, our Defence Minister told me that we are modernising all defence industries. It is a very good thing. Sir, our DRDO is not an ordinary thing. I had interaction with them. They are very good people; we have very good scientists. Sir, DRDO was established in 1958. It has got a lot of experience. At present, we have about 8000 scientists. Many of them are maintaining stores. They do not do work in labs because you do not given them work. Around 2800 technical officers and 9500 technical staff, totalling around 35000 persons, are working in DRDO. I think it is second to none in the world. The work which can be done in the technical manpower is outsourced. You

can work but your outsource to the private companies at the huge cost, whether you get 2 per cent GDP or 3 per cent GDP from our Finance, it is all outsourced at high cost. Look at the real situation we have about 30 major DRDO labs. The workshops are modernised. The work which can be done by the technical manpower, why don't use them fully, 100 per cent? DRDO has got a credit of success programme like side projects, the value of system, products, technologies developed by our DRDO and inducted into services. DRDO successfully developed missiles like Prithvi, Agni, Astra, Prahaar, Helina, Saurya, the latest missile Agni-V, Intercontinental Ballistic Missiles, including Aeronautical System, Radar, Radar Naval System, Nuclear Chemical Biological warfare system, etc. Our people are putting on everything their brain. They have wonderful brain. But what do we do? We can understand how our DRDO is capable of producing this type of modern items for our defence.

Sir, in this background, the same Government, the same Ministry what they do? Without encouraging indigenous scientists, without encouraging our workforce, without encouraging our industry, Shri Rama Rao Committee was appointed in January, 2007 by the UPA-I Government. It is a secret document, you cannot see that. But contractors can see that. ...*(Interruptions)*... The foreigners can see that. But we Members of Parliament cannot see the Rama Rao Committee's report. That is a confidential document. I am searching for that document for the past six years. Neither I am able to see Rama Rao nor his report.

Sir, the Rama Rao Committee was appointed by the UPA-I Government. It recommended large scale tie up with foreign military companies in Israel, the USA, the UK, Germany, Italy and France. Your own Committee, your own Indian, they don't believe 8000 Indian scientists. They don't believe the DRDO. They don't believe our public sector. As my hon. friend, Dr. M.S. Gill said, there are private sectors also, they can also produce certain things. Why are you going in for a tie up with a company in the U.K.? You are talking so much about China. China is producing everything in its country. They are importing. According to a report, China imports certain equipment from Russia and Ukraine. You are giving employment to those countries. You are giving money in the form of dollars. But we are starving. ...*(Time-bell rings)*... One minute, Sir. You have given a go by to the self reliance and indigenous development against the vision of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru. UPA are grand children of the Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru. Shri Gill has already mentioned that we have a shortage in the Army, Navy and the Air Force.

Then, Sir, coming to Sainik Schools, which can help in bridging the gap between the retired and existing strength of officers in service, these schools are ailing from various problems. The State Governments have expressed their inability to provide financial assistance, and the Union Government is not coming forward to fully support these schools. Sir, there is a casual attitude of the Ministry towards the recommendations

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of the Standing Committee on Defence, which is an important Committee. They don't bother about the recommendations of the Standing Committee. Today, the Defence has got more than 20 lakhs of acres of land. Now all that we want is that there must be a regulator for this land. If you don't want a regulator, then, all these things happen. The military goes and removes small huts in put by poor labourer in their lands. But Generals are constructing houses, multi-storeyed buildings...illegally.

THE VICE CHAIRMAN (PROF. P.J. KURIEN) : Please conclude.

SHRI T.K. RANGARAJAN : The Ministry has not implemented the recommendations so far. Finally, Sir, 'one rank one pension' is a very important thing. I want the hon. Minister to kindly consider all these things and he should save the nation. Thank you very much.

श्री शिवानन्द तिवारी (बिहार) : उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, आपका धन्यवाद। आज मुझे बहुत खुशी हो रही है कि आज आप उदारता के साथ, समय के बारे में बड़े लिबरल होकर काम कर रहे हैं। मैं उम्मीद करूँगा कि उसी तरह की उदारता आप मेरे साथ भी दिखाएँगे, क्योंकि मेरा समय महज 8 मिनट का है।

महोदय, मुख्य विपक्षी दल की तरफ से बलबीर पुंज साहब ने जब इस बहस की शुरुआत की तो मैं उम्मीद कर रहा था कि कम-से-कम वे इस बात की चर्चा करेंगे कि 1962 के युद्ध का यह 50वाँ साल है। 50 वर्ष पहले 1962 में चीन के साथ हमारा युद्ध हुआ था। उस युद्ध में हमारे देश की क्या गति हुई थी, इसकी भी चर्चा कम-से-कम मुख्य विपक्षी दल के नेता की ओर से बहस की शुरुआत में होनी चाहिए थी, जो नहीं हुई। उन्होंने ज्यादातर समय पाकिस्तान पर ही लगाया।

सर, अब मुझे बड़ा आश्चर्य लगता है, जब कोई पाकिस्तान के बारे में चर्चा करता है। पाकिस्तान में तो खुद ही आग लगी हुई है। जिस आतंकवाद का जिक्र हम लोग कर रहे हैं, उस आतंकवाद में वहाँ अभी तक 35 से 40 हजार आदमी मारे जा चुके हैं। वहाँ हिन्दुओं के साथ गलत व्यवहार की चर्चा होती है, लेकिन यह नहीं बताया जाता कि वहाँ शिया मुसलमानों के साथ भी यही हालत होती है, अहमदिया लोगों के साथ भी यही हालत होती है और ईसाईयों के साथ भी यही हालत होती है। पाकिस्तान की हालत तो ऐसी है। अब उसके बारे में कोई यह बताने की कोशिश करता है कि हिन्दुस्तान को उससे खतरा है, तो मुझे लगता है कि वह एक कमजोर आदमी है। असल में चर्चा तो हम लोगों को यह करनी चाहिए कि चीन के साथ हमारी जो लड़ाई हुई थी, उस लड़ाई के बाद संसद ने एक संकल्प पास किया था कि हम अपनी एक-एक इंच जमीन चीन से वापस लेंगे। यह संकल्प पार्लियामेंट में पास हुआ था। हमें याद है कि अखबारों में वह खबर छपी थी। उसके बारे में आज क्या हालत है, इसके बारे में डिफेंस मिनिस्टर साहब क्यों, प्रधान मंत्री जी को बताना चाहिए।

उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, कभी-कभी मुझे आश्चर्य होता है कि इस देश को चलाने वाले लोग कितने लापरवाह हैं, कितने गैरजवाबदेह हैं। अभी हमारे यहाँ के जो मुख्य सेनापति हैं, जो हमारे देश के पिहसालार हैं, उनकी उम्र की भी बात छपी। लम्बे समय से उनकी उम्र का विवाद चल रहा है। यह विवाद क्यों चल रहा है? डिफेंस मिनिस्ट्री के पास कोई उम्र तथा फौज़ में कोई उम्र। आपने इसे क्यों चलने दिया? यह परिस्थिति कैसे आ गई? आप किस तरह से Defence Ministry

चला रहे हैं? आप किस तरह से देश चला रहे हैं? इतने लंबे समय तक उम्र का विवाद क्यों चलता रहा? इसको या तो डिफेंस मिनिस्ट्री को सुधार लेना चाहिए था या जो रिकॉर्ड मिलिट्री के यहां रहता है, उसमें सुधार कर लेना चाहिए था, लेकिन यह हमारी आदत है। मुझे याद है, जब चीन की लड़ाई हुई थी, तब 1962 के पहले 1955-56 में ही सिकयांग से लेकर ल्हासा तक चीन ने सड़क बना ली थी। वह सड़क एक साल में बन गई थी। चीन की मंशा क्या है, इससे वह साफ स्पष्ट हो चुकी थी। उस समय हमारे फौज के जनरल, जनरल थिम्मेया थे, जो बड़े शानदार जनरल थे उनको लेकर बड़ा भारी झंझट हुआ था। उस समय डिफेंस मिनिस्टर थे, हमारे नामी-गिरामी, **intellectual, colossal intellectual**, बी.के. कृष्णा मेनन साहब। उनके बारे में जवाहर लाल नेहरू जी कहते थे। फौज के जनरल प्रधान मंत्री से मिलने गए और उन्होंने पंडित जी को जाकर कहा कि इनके साथ न तो हम और न ही हमारे बाकी सेनापति काम कर सकते हैं। थिम्मेया साहब का इस्तीफा हो गया। यह खबर अखबारों में लीक हो गई। जैसे अभी प्रधान मंत्री जी की चिट्ठी लीक हुई, उसी तरह से थिम्मेया साहब ने जो **resignation** दिया था, वह चिट्ठी लीक हो गई। इसको लेकर बड़ा हंगामा हुआ।

अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी जी उस समय यानी 1957 में लोक सभा में जीत कर आए थे और उनके नेतृत्व में यह निर्णय हुआ कि जो देश की स्थिति है, चीनके साथ क्या हो रहा है, इसके बारे में देश को जानकारी मिलनी चाहिए। इसके लिए व्हाइट पेपर निकलना चाहिए। इस पर व्हाइट पेपर निकला और उस व्हाइट पेपर से संसद के बहुत सारे माननीय सदस्यों को सही बात की जानकारी मिली कि क्या हालत है, किस तरह से चीन के साथ विवाद चल रहा है और इस विवाद के लक्षण की शुरुआत 1950 में ही हो गई थी, जब कि चीन ने तिब्बत पर कब्जा किया था। सरदार पटेल और जवाहर लाल नेहरू के बीच में जो खतो-किताबत है, अगर आप उसको पढ़ेंगे, तो आपको यह पता चलेगा। उस समय चीन को लेकर वकालत हो रही थी। पंडित जी ने कहा कि यह सपने में भी नहीं सोचा जा सकता है कि चीन हम पर हमला करेगा, जब कि पटेल कह रहे थे कि हम चीन पर भरोसा नहीं कर सकते हैं। कुछ लोग यह कह रहे थे कि यूनाइटेड नेशन्स में **Security Council** की मैम्बरशिप सिर्फ हमें मिल रही थी और हम लोगों ने चीन को यह मैम्बरशिप दे दी। उस समय इसको लेकर बड़ी जबर्दस्त लड़ाई हुई थी।

पंडित गोविन्द बल्लभ पंत, जो कि उस समय दिल्ली में मिनिस्टर थे, ने भी कृष्णा मेनन के बारे में कहा कि अगर आप इनको मंत्रिमंडल से नहीं बाहर कर सकते हैं, तो कम से कम इनको डिफेंस मिनिस्ट्री से हटा दीजिए, लेकिन उन्हें नहीं हटाया गया। बाकी सब लोग कह रहे थे कि इनको मंत्रिमंडल से बाहर कीजिए। जब थिम्मेया साहब बी.के. कृष्णा मेनन साहब को बता रहे थे कि हमारे पास श्री नॉट श्री रायफल है, जो द्वितीय विश्व युद्ध में चलती थी, अब हमको बेल्जियम की ऑटोमेटिक रायफल लेनी चाहिए। इस पर उस समय के डिफेंस मिनिस्टर ने कहा कि यह नाटो का औजार हमारे देश में नहीं आएगा। अमेरिका के नेतृत्व में यह जो नाटो बना है, उसका औजार हमारे देश में नहीं आएगा। इस तरह से हमारे देश में जो लापरवाही होती है, उसके बारे में क्या कहा जाए?

1962 में जो कुछ हुआ, मुझे याद है, उस समय मेरी उम्र 18 या 19 वर्ष थी और 1962 के युद्ध के दरम्यान ही हमारे घर में पहली दफा रेडियो आया था। पंडित जवाहर लाल नेहरू ने राष्ट्र को संबोधित किया था और मैंने खुद उस भाषण को सुना था, बोलते-बोलते नेहरू जी का गला रंध गया था। यह बात अखबारों में भी छपी कि वे रोने लगे और अखबारों में मीमांसा की गई कि जब द्वितीय विश्व युद्ध हो रहा था और जर्मनी इंग्लैंड पर हमला कर रहा था, तब इंग्लैंड के प्रधान मंत्री चर्चिल ने जो भाषण दिया था, लोगों ने उसको याद किया कि जब यह संभावी हो गया कि इंग्लैंड की जमीन

[श्री शिवानन्द तिवारी]

पर अब लड़ाई होगी, तब चर्चिल ने कहा था कि यहां हम मजबूती के साथ लड़ेंगे, क्योंकि इस जमीन का इंच-इंच हम जानते हैं और जर्मनी विदेशी लोग हैं, वे इस जमीन से परिचित नहीं हैं। हम उनको यहां परास्त करेंगे। यह हालत हमारे देश में रही है।

जिस ढंग से देश की सुरक्षा के साथ हम लोगों ने खिलवाड़ किया है और आज भी हम कर रहे हैं, हम कहेंगे कि हमें कोई भी योजना चीन को सामने रख कर बनानी चाहिए। चीन को सिर्फ हमें सामरिक शक्ति से ही नहीं देखना चाहिए। हम देख रहे हैं कि चीन और हमारे बीच क्या स्थिति है, बाकी चीजों को छोड़ दीजिए कि उसके पास कितने हवाई जहाज हैं, उसके पास कितने सबमेरीन हैं, उसके पास कितने टैंक हैं, इन चीजों को छोड़ दीजिए। आज अपने देश में हम लोग एक हेक्टेयर जमीन में लगभग तीन-साढ़े तीन टन अनाज पैदा करते हैं, जबकि चीन एक हेक्टेयर जमीन में छः टन से ज्यादा अनाज पैदा करता है। हमारे यहाँ खेती की जो जमीन है, वह चीन से ज्यादा है। चीन के पास खेती के लायक जमीन करीब 1.48 मिलियन वर्ग मीटर है और हमारे पास यह 1.79 है, लेकिन उसका अन्न का उत्पादन कितना है? वह प्रति वर्ष 408 मिलियन टन अन्न का उत्पादन करता है और हम प्रति वर्ष 210 मिलियन टन उत्पादन करते हैं। उसके यहाँ प्रति वर्ष लोहे का उत्पादन 280 मिलियन टन होता है और हम प्रति वर्ष 45 मिलियन टन उत्पादन करते हैं। चीन सीमेंट का उत्पादन प्रति वर्ष 650 मिलियन टन करता है, जबकि इंडिया 150 मिलियन टन प्रति वर्ष उत्पादन करता है। वह कोयले का उत्पादन प्रति वर्ष करीब 1300 मिलियन टन करता है और हम 300 मिलियन टन उत्पादन करते हैं। बिजली में भी यही हाल है। एक-एक चीज़ में यही हाल है।

हम अमर्त्य सेन साहब का एक आर्टिकल पढ़ रहे थे, जिसमें उन्होंने चीन के साथ हमारे देश की तुलना की है। अगर आप ह्यूमन डेवलपमेंट इंडेक्स भी देखेंगे, तो पाएँगे कि वहाँ लोगों ने औसत उम्र 73.5 वर्ष हासिल कर ली है, जबकि हमारे यहाँ 64.4 वर्ष है। चीन में प्रति हजार पर 17 बच्चों की मौत होती है और हमारे यहाँ यह आंकड़ा 50 है। चीन में प्रति हजार बच्चों में पाँच वर्ष से कम उम्र के बच्चों के मरने की संख्या 19 होती है, जबकि हमारे यहाँ यह 66 होती है। चीन में प्रति एक लाख औरतों में प्रसव के दरम्यान 38 महिलाएँ मरती हैं और हमारे यहाँ 230 महिलाएँ मरती हैं। उनके यहाँ वयस्क शिक्षा का परसेंटेज 94 है, जबकि हमारे यहाँ यह 74 परसेंट है। यह हालत है। उनके यहाँ लड़कियों में शिक्षा 99 परसेंट है, हमारे यहाँ 80 परसेंट है। वह हर क्षेत्र में आगे है। वह कैसे आगे है? हम आपको बताना चाहेंगे और लोगों को याद होगा कि सन् 1959-60 में चीन में भयानक अकाल पड़ा था। उसमें लगभग तीन करोड़ लोग मर गये थे और उस चीन ने यह उपलब्धि हासिल की है। उसने यह कैसे हासिल की है? उसका कारण है। अभी एम.एस. गिल साहब यह बयां कर रहे थे कि डीआरडीओ का भवन बहुत ही सुन्दर है। हम पहले सुन्दर भवन बनाते हैं, उसके बाद मशीन खरीदते हैं और तब वैज्ञानिक खोजते हैं, जबकि चीन पहले वैज्ञानिक खोजता है, उसके बाद मशीन लाता है और तब वह भवन बनाता है। हम लोग दिखाऊ लोग हैं। हमारे यहाँ एक से एक भवन बन जाए, लेकिन भवन में जो काम करने वाला है, उसको हम भवन बन जाने के बाद तलाश करते हैं, जबकि चीन में यह उलटा है। हमको याद है, जब हम लोग छोटे थे, उस समय चीन का प्रभाव हम लोगों पर भी था। हम लोगों के बीच माओ की "रेड बुक" बहुत पॉपुलर थी। चीन के बारे में उस समय जो सबसे ज्यादा जानकार माने जाते थे, वे एडगर स्नो थे। उनकी "रेड स्टार ओवर चाइना" एक बहुत ही पॉपुलर किताब थी, जिसको हम लोग पढ़ते थे। चीन में जो लुहार लोग थे, उनको ट्रेनिंग देकर और उनकी

स्किल को अपग्रेड करके चीन ने गाँव-गाँव में स्टील बनाना शुरू किया, जबकि हमारे देश के छः लाख गाँवों में कम से कम 10-15 लाख लुहार होंगे, लेकिन हम लोगों ने उनका कोई इस्तेमाल नहीं किया। हम लोग तो भिलाई बनाने और बाकी सब चीजों में रह गये। आज उसका नतीजा है कि चीन के पास जो अपनी स्किल थी, उसके पास जो अपने साधन थे, उसके पास जो अपनी पूँजी थी, उसके सहारे उसने देश को यहाँ तक आगे बढ़ाया और हम, हम तो कह रहे हैं कि एफडीआई हमारे देश में नहीं आ रही है। इसके मायने यह कि हम चिन्तित हैं कि हमारे यहाँ जो विदेशी पूँजी थी, वह भाग रही है। हम फाइनेंशियल डेफिसिट के बारे में चिन्तित हैं, हमको एथिकल डेफिसिट के बारे में चिन्ता नहीं हो रही है। आप कुछ भी कर लीजिए, अगर इस देश को बनाना है, तो इस देश के लोग इसको बनाएँगे, अमेरिका या इंग्लैंड आकर इस देश को नहीं बना सकते हैं या एफडीआई से यह देश नहीं बन सकता है। हमको ताज्जुब होता है कि इस देश को चलाने वाले जो लोग हैं, इस देश के जो अर्थशास्त्री हैं, जब वे यह कहते हैं कि सुधार नहीं हो रहा है। हमने कौशिक बसु का बयान पढ़ा, वे कह रहे हैं कि यह 2014 के बाद होगा। क्यों? क्योंकि सुधार से जनता को तकलीफ होगी। यह कैसा सुधार है, भाई? ...**(समय की घंटी)**...

उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, जिस सुधार से जनता दुःखी हो, जिस सुधार से जनता का कष्ट बढ़े, उसके बारे में हमारी सरकार चलाने वाले जो लोग हैं और सरकार चलाने वाले लोगों के जो अर्थशास्त्री या विशेषज्ञ हैं, अगर वे यह कहें कि यही सुधार है, तो मैं यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि देश की स्थिति बहुत खराब है। मैं इस पक्ष में नहीं हूँ कि देश का रक्षा बजट बढ़ाया जाए। हमारे यहाँ 42 प्रतिशत बच्चे कुपोषित पैदा हो रहे हैं। अभी एनएसएसओ का जो सर्वे आया, वह कह रहा है कि 60 परसेंट लोग गरीबी रेखा के नीचे हैं। हम उसको भी नहीं मानते हैं, हम अर्जुन सेन गुप्ता की रिपोर्ट को मानते हैं कि इस देश में 80 परसेंट लोग गरीबी रेखा के नीचे हैं। उस देश में गोला-बारूद पर इतना पैसा खर्च किया जाए, उस मामले में डिफेंस पर इतना पैसा खर्च करने की बात हो। क्या उनको हम चाहते हैं कि जो 80 परसेंट गरीब हैं, वे 90 परसेंट हो जाएँ। उनको जो हम दे रहे हैं, सहायता देने की कोशिश कर रहे हैं, उसमें से हम काट करके बन्दूक, तोप और गोला खरीदें, यह जो एन्टी कन्द्री काम होगा।

उपसभाध्यक्ष (प्रो. पी.जे. कुरियन) : तिवारी जी, खत्म करें।

श्री शिवानन्द तिवारी : इसलिए मैं इसका विरोध करता हूँ और मैं यह कहता हूँ कि यह जो रक्षा मंत्रालय है, यह जिस ढंग से काम कर रहा है, जिस लापरवाही के साथ काम कर रहा है, आप इस प्रवृत्ति को जब तक नहीं छोड़ेंगे, तब तक काम चलने वाला नहीं है। आपने DRDO भवन बना लिया है। आप अधिकांश आयात कर रहे हैं। हमको लगता है कि चीन का जो DRDO भवन है, उसका भवन आपसे खराब होगा। लेकिन उसका उत्पादन आपसे कहीं ज्यादा आगे है। वह इसलिए कि आपकी एप्रोच गलत है। इस एप्रोच को जब तक आप नहीं बदलेंगे, तब तक आप देश की सुरक्षा की गारंटी देश के लोगों को नहीं दे सकते हैं। जो नेशनल स्टेट अपने देश की सुरक्षा की गारंटी नहीं दे सकता है, उसको देश नहीं माना जा सकता है और उसके शासकों का राज करने का अधिकार नहीं माना जा सकता है। इसी के साथ मैं अपनी बात समाप्त करता हूँ। बहुत-बहुत धन्यवाद।

SHRI D. BANDYOPADHYAY (West Bengal) : Sir, it is difficult to speak on Defence without being branded either as a xenophobic jingoist or aconscientious objector, pacifist. Protecting country's realm, country's territory and its statehood, is the fundamental function of any sovereign state. So, every Indian citizen should be deeply concerned about defence. Sir, there cannot be any defence policy independent of foreign policy. If we have a very imperialistic and aggressive foreign policy, our

[Shri D. Bandyopadhyay]

defence policy would change accordingly. If we have a very passive foreign policy, the defence would be to protect the realm and to prevent any further aggression. But, that should not result in developing the Panipat syndrome that Indian history has seen. Always will Delhi allow the foreign elements to come to Panipat; only one day's march. Then they will send their troops; then, they will lose the battle and Delhi would be lost. So, unfortunately, our defence mechanism is such that we do not react unless it is right at our borders, right at our gates. This is something that should not be there. When I was young, in school and college days, there used to be a very challenging subject for debate, "Gun versus butter", which is good and which is bad. Is it the gun or the butter? Sir, we were told in the earlier days that the more you spend on guns, the less you spend on the butter. In other words, the more you spend on defence, the lesser economic growth you had. In a sense, it is correct; in another sense, it is not so simple. Guns do generate butter if you can use it properly. There is no direct casualty between the lack of growth and defence spending. Much of it depends on the quality and the quantity of defence spending and also a balance between our general planning of our economy and planning of our defence. In fact, in our general economic planning, we always talk about the capital expenditure and not about revenue expenditure and never talk about the defence expenditure as it is a revenue expenditure, but there is a great deal of need to enmesh the two together so that the total planning takes into account both the economic development and the defence development because we cannot live without defence. I don't want to sound jingoistic and say, raise our defence expenditure beyond three to four per cent of the GDP. To that extent, I do partially support Shivanand Tiwariji by saying we may have to increase marginally but not the extent of having a large change there. Our 2 per cent of the GDP expenditure, in our economic growth, is not that small. But, it is not big too. Sir, the most important point about this is that in big countries like India, Russia and China, the people do not talk about international relations at all in their normal life. A truck driver in Bulgaria or Hungary, if he drives two-and-a-half hours in either way, he crosses a border. Therefore, he has to go through the issues of passport, visa, foreign exchange and other things. So, it is a part of their life to think about foreign relations. But, we are not bothered. Even two-and-a-half hours' journey in a jet airliner, in north-south direction or east-west direction, you never cross a border. So, traditionally and historically, the ruling establishment in India always looks inward, hardly ever looks outward. That tradition, unfortunately, continues even today.

Sir, another thing that has been plaguing us is the complacency in our defence. In the last sixty years, we have muddled through all the crises, except in one, 1962, with the Chinese debacle. We thought, somehow or the other, we would be able to meet our challenges. But, unfortunately, we failed to take full advantage of our stunning

victory of 1971 when we could have, perhaps, solved the Kashmir problem. If we had pressed for that, at that moment, when we had in our bag 94,000 Pakistani soldiers and officers, we could have solved that. Perhaps, we could have solved the Kashmir problem. But, we almost gave it away. We got nothing and we have the festering sore even today.

Sir, it is a historical fact that every nation makes mistakes some time or the other. We had our 1962-mistake. The U.S. had Pearl Harbour; most of their captive ships in the Hawaii were bombed and sunk. They did not know that the Japanese had come in. But, the point is not of making a mistake. The point is what we learnt from the mistake. Here, the U.S., immediately after the Pearl Harbour, started recouping themselves. They developed nuclear weapons; they carried the war to the Japanese soil; more wrongly than rightly, they bombed two Japanese cities out of existence and made Japan surrender unconditionally. But, did we do anything?

Our Jawans went to the 1962-battle – I cannot say war - absolutely unprepared, ill-equipped; with their gun, they went up to 14,000 feet not in the ammunition-proof boots, but in the canvas shoes! That was the equipment! We lost. There was Henderson Brooks Report. Today, 30 years are over and all those should be made open. We would like to know what the Henderson Brooks Report said. What went wrong? If we do not look into our own faults, then how do you think that we can change? Sir, in this context, I do not have to bring about the controversy of the General and the Ministry. But, it is a fact that a letter of the Army Chief to the Prime Minister described the unpreparedness. I do not know whether it is correct or incorrect. But, I wonder that even after sixty years, if we are at the same position as it happened in 1962 where our Jawans went and fought and died totally unprepared.

Sir, one of the major reasons for our unpreparedness, as was mentioned here in this House, is the total dependence of the defence procurements on imports. I have got some figures. The Army's import dependence is plus or minus 60 per cent; the Navy's is plus or minus 70 per cent; and, the Indian Air Force's is plus or minus 80 per cent. How can a fighting machine fight when it has to depend on imported procurement of the weaponry? It happened in the Bangladesh War when the Americans issued a sanction. As it happened in Kargil skirmish - I do not say it was a war; it was a battle - we had to scramble all over the world to collect our ammunition, spares and something else. So, how can the fighting machine come to the real top fighting spirit unless we can develop our own indigenous production system? Here, I would earnestly request the Ministry of Defence to come out of it? The bourgeois, all over the world, is seeking profit; the Indian bourgeois is seeking profit. But they are not unpatriotic. So, bring them in, given them the authority; give them some incentive, so that they can produce the machinery or the material that we require. ...(*Time-bell*)... Sir, there is a point which arose about the DRDO. I am not going to do much about it, but the point is, this

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is the only major institution which we have for Defence research. They have some good points and some bad points. Their attrition rate is very high. Young scientists are being taken in, and they are going out because the multi-nationals give them big jobs and they go. So, we can't retain them.

Secondly, Sir, in the last ten years, they took 180 projects, and they could complete 99 projects. Since two of the major projects have already been mentioned, I am not going to mention them again. One of them is the Light Combat Aircraft. It started in 1983 to replace the MiG-21. Even today, we do not have a full Squadron of the Light Combat Aircraft - TEJA or something like that - from the HAL. So, you must do something to indigenize our production process so that the Army, Navy and Air Force can depend on our own men and material. I mentioned it earlier, and I am mentioning it again, that we are the biggest important in the world. The Swedish International Peace Research Institute, in short, SIPRI, in its recent Report of 2011 says that India is the largest importer of arms in the world. Sir, we absorb 99 per cent of the total import trade. So, it is good that we upgrade our machinery, but following the long winding procedure by which we procure it, by the time the machine arrives, by the time the Forces assimilate them, they become obsolete. And, again, we start the same old rigmarole cycle of delay and delay, and by the time that comes, we are also obsolete. So, we have near obsolete machinery and weaponry with which our Jawans are fighting. So, you have to do something about it.

Sir, about the threat perception from Japan - I need two-three minutes more - I am not going to talk about Pakistan because it has already been said.

THE VICE CHAIRMAN (PROF. P.J. KURIEN) : Mr. Bandyopadhyay, you have already taken four minutes more than your time.

SHRI D. BANDYOPADHYAYA : Sir, the greater threat is from our sleeping giant in the North. Something has been said about it, and I will repeat it. Sir, whatever we do, they have always looked at it as askance. They are trying to surround us by having strategic port development at Sittwe, in Myanmar. Chittagong in Bangladesh and Gwadar in Bauchistan in Pakistan, apparently to keep their sea lanes open. But in case of difficulty, they can use these against us.

THE VICE CHAIRMAN (PROF. P.J. KURIEN) : Yes, please conclude. Be brief and conclude.

SHRI D. BANDYOPADHYAYA : Sir, I will just end up by mentioning three more points. Sir, the DRDO has done ...*(Interruptions)*... It is good that it has developed the Inter Continental Ballistic Missile. I would request the Defence establishment to use it in a way to carry the war to the adversary's territory. Sir, while assessing our possible

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external threat, one need not develop paranoia. But while we should do tango with our neighbours to maintain good neighbourly relations, we must keep our powders dry. In case of breakout of any hostility ...(Time-bell)... any serious hostility, our endeavour should be to carry the battle to the territory of our adversary and defeat them there. Thank you, Sir.

प्रो. राम गोपाल यादव (उत्तर प्रदेश) : उपसभाध्यक्ष जी, आज जिस मंत्रालय के कार्यकरण पर चर्चा हो रही है, वह देश की सुरक्षा से संबंध रखता है। इसलिए मैं इसमें किसी तरह का **political mileage** लेने वाली बात नहीं करूंगा और आपसे भी यह उम्मीद करूंगा कि आप पार्टी के आधार पर समय की घंटी न बजाएं, क्योंकि मैं **conscience** के आधार पर और **as a non-political man** बात करना चाहता हूं। यह देश की रक्षा से जुड़ा हुआ मामला है। आज हिंदुस्तान की सारी सीमाएं **exposed** हैं। यदि जरा भी लापरवाही बरती गई, तो अरब सागर से हिन्द महासागर और बंगाल की खाड़ी तक कहीं से भी दुश्मन हमारे यहां आ सकता है। इसके बाद बंगला देश, चीन, नेपाल और फिर पाकिस्तान हैं। इसलिए सारी सीमाओं पर हमें बहुत ही **vigilant** रहने की आवश्यकता है। आर्मी का इसमें विशेष रोल है, लेकिन हमारे यहां समुद्री सीमाएं भी बहुत लंबी हैं, इसके चलते नौ की भूमिका भी बहुत महत्वपूर्ण हो जाती है। युद्ध में एयर फोर्स की भूमिका वैसे भी बहुत महत्वपूर्ण होती है। सारी दुनिया जानती है कि 1968 में जरा सी लापरवाही के चलते इज़राइल ने आधे घंटे के भीतर मिस्र और सीरिया की सारी एयर फोर्स को समाप्त करके दोनों देशों के आकाश पर कब्ज़ा कर लिया था और इज़राइल की सेनाएं सीरिया में **Golan Heights** तक और मिस्र में **Suez Canal** तक पहुंच गई थीं। जब सीरिया और मिस्र की एयर फोर्स खत्म हो गई, तो इज़राइल की **armed forces** को कोई रोकने वाला नहीं था। इसलिए उनकी युद्ध में बहुत महत्वपूर्ण भूमिका होती है।

जैसा पुंज साहब ने कहा, इसमें कोई दो रायें नहीं हैं कि हमारा रक्षा बजट नाकाफी है, **insufficient** है, अपर्याप्त है, इसके बावजूद वह खर्च नहीं हो पाता। क्यों खर्च नहीं हो पाता? बहुत सोचने के बाद मैं इस निष्कर्ष पर पहुंचा हूं कि एक घटना हुई थी, जिसका बहुत **propaganda** हुआ - बोफोर्स मामले का, उसका हमारे अधिकारियों से लेकर रक्षा मंत्रालय तक जुड़े लोगों के मन पर बहुत ही **adverse** असर हुआ। हमारे एक रक्षा सचिव को जेल जाना पड़ा। हमारे यू.पी. कैडर के बहुत ही अच्छे अधिकारी थे - भटनागर साहब, वे बहुत ही अच्छे अफसर थे और हम व्यक्तिगत रूप से उन्हें जानते थे। **He had to go to jail and he died.** इसलिए जब कभी कोई निर्णय लेने की बात आई, इस बोफोर्स मामले के बाद किसी विषय पर निर्णय लेने में अधिकारियों के मन में चिकिचाहट पैदा हुई और मेरा यह मानना है कि बोफोर्स विवाद के कारण हिंदुस्तान की सेना की **preparadness** में हम दर्जनों साल पीछे चले गए। कोई निर्णय नहीं लिया गया। कितने ही वर्षों तक हम कोई नयी युद्ध सामग्री नहीं ले सके। हम भारत में जो थोड़ा बहुत उत्पादन कर सकते थे, वह हमने किया। हमारी कोशिश यह होनी चाहिए कि हमें बाहर से कुछ लेना न पड़े, लेनि जब तक आपके पास नहीं है, तब तक आपको लेना पड़ेगा।

उपसभाध्यक्ष जी, मैं डिटेल्स में नहीं जाना चाहता हूं, उस वक्त बोफोर्स तोप के बारे में बहुत कुछ कहा गया था। 1984-85 के चुनाव के दौरान ऐसे दिखाया गया था, जैसे इस बोफोर्स तोप की नली से बाजरा निकलेगा, लेकिन सोच तो यह है कि कारगिल की लड़ाई में इसी बोफोर्स तोप ने हमें विजय दिलाई। **Such an excellent gun it is,** लेकिन इससे मनोबल तो गिरा है। महोदय, मनोबल का बहुत महत्व होता है और युद्ध कभी भी हथियारों से नहीं जीते जा सकते।

अगर हथियारों

[प्रो. राम गोपाल यादव]

से युद्ध जीते जा सकते, तो फिर अमेरिका को विएतनाम से वापस नहीं जाना पड़ता। यह मनोबल होता है - सेना का मनोबल और जनता का मनोबल। इस देश में कई ऐसी घटनाएं हुई हैं, जिन्होंने सेना और जनता, दोनों के मनोबल को गिराने का काम किया है। इसका latest example है, जिस तरह से हिंदुस्तान के आर्मी चीफ के पत्र को लीक किया गया और जनता में यह बात आई कि यह-यह-यह स्थिति है। उसको पढ़कर जनता demoralize हो गई कि अगर हम आणविक शक्ति वाले देश न होते, तो पूरी संभावना थी कि चीन और पाकिस्तान, दोनों की तरफ से उनके forces हिंदुस्तान की तरफ advance कर जाते। जब दुश्मन को यह पता चल जाए कि आपकी स्थिति बहुत खराब है, तो फिर आप कभी युद्ध नहीं जीत सकते, लेकिन इस देश का दुर्भाग्य है कि हमारे यहां सेना के movement तक को television पर दिखाया जाता है। जब इस पार्लियामेंट पर attack हुआ, उसके बाद हमारी सेना ने movement किया। अटल जी ने सारे political leaders की मीटिंग प्रधान मंत्री आवास पर बुलाई, जिसमें मैं मौजूद था। उस समय मैं लोक सभा में अपनी पार्टी का नेता था। मैंने इस बात पर एतराज किया कि राजस्थान में और कश्मीर की तरफ जो हमारी फौजें जा रही हैं, एक-एक movement को television पर दिखाया जा रहा है। हमारी सेना कहां लगाई जा रही है, कहां तोपें लग रही हैं, कहां Armoured Division लगाया जा रहा है, यह अगर दुश्मन को मालूम है, तो आप दुश्मन को पराजित कर ही नहीं सकते। अगर दुश्मन की शक्ति का सही अंदाज लग जाता है, तो फिर उसको हराने में बहुत आसानी होती है - हम खुद बता रहे हैं। अटल जी ने कहा है कि यह गलत हो रहा है, इसको तुरंत रोका जाए। उन्होंने स्वीकार किया।

महोदय, हमने एक बार अखबार में पढ़ा कि atomic weapons से लैस हमारी एक ऐसी पनडुब्बी बंगाल की खाड़ी में है। उसमें यहां तक बताया गया कि वह हमारा जो atomic weapon है, वह पनडुब्बी के किस हिस्से में रखा गया है। माननीय रक्षा मंत्री जी, अगर ये चीजें सार्वजनिक होंगी, तो मुझे लगता है कि यह बात ठीक नहीं है। कई चीजों को रक्षा की दृष्टि से, देश की सुरक्षा की दृष्टि से गोपनीय रखना ही होगा, चाहे कोई कुछ भी कहे, लेकिन गोपनीयता रखनी ही होगी - रणनीति यह कहती है और रणनीति का यह तकाजा है।

जहां तक सैन्य अधिकारियों की कमी का सवाल है, मैं यह जानना चाहता हूं कि ऐसा क्यों है? सैनिक से लेकर Non-Commissioned Officers रैंक तक के जो अधिकारी हैं, वे एक सिपाही के रूप में भरती होते हैं और फिर promotion होकर वे हवलदार या उससे आगे वाली पोस्ट तक जाते हैं। इनमें कभी भी कमी नहीं हो सकती, क्योंकि जब आप भरती करते हैं, तो कभी-कभी stampede हो जाता है - इस कदर नौजवान आर्मी में जाना चाहते हैं। तो आखिर क्या वजह है कि इतने बड़े पैमाने पर अधिकारियों की कमी है? और अधिकारियों से भी ज्यादा निचले स्तर के जो सिपाही या Non-Commissioned Officers हैं, उनकी ज़रूरत पड़ती है। अगर आप चाहें, तो इनकी कभी कमी नहीं हो सकती, लेकिन अगर आप बजट में provision नहीं करेंगे, अगर पदों को sanction नहीं करेंगे...अभी आपकी रिपोर्ट में तो केवल यही आ रहा है कि बड़े अधिकारियों को...लेकिन निचले स्तर पर जो असली लड़ाई लड़ते हैं, जिनकी अंगुली राइफल के trigger पर होती है, उनकी तो कहीं चर्चा ही नहीं है कि कितनी कमी है? जो सियाचीन की ड्यूटी पर रहते हैं, अधिकारी भी रहते हैं, लेकिन बड़े पैमाने पर सिपाही रहते हैं, उनकी संख्या में कितनी कमी है, इसका कोई जिक्र नहीं है। कोई बात नहीं, अच्छा है कि कहीं कोई जिक्र नहीं है, लेकिन मैं यह कहना चाहता हूं कि इस देश में बड़े पैमाने पर नौजवान आर्मी में जाना चाहते

हैं, जितने चाहो, उतने नौजवान अवेलेबल हैं, इसके बावजूद सेना में कमी है तो कहीं न कहीं भर्ती के स्तर पर या रक्षा मंत्रालय के स्तर पर कमी है। वह कमी पूरी की जा सकती है, इसमें कोई लापरवाही नहीं होनी चाहिए।

महोदय, मैं एक चीज़ और कहना चाहता हूँ कि आर्मी के अधिकारियों और कर्मचारियों के मन में जो आक्रोश होता है, वह उसे कह नहीं पाते हैं। अनुशासन के नाम पर वे कभी अपने मन की बात नहीं कह पाते। कई बार ऐसा होता है कि पूरा प्रमोशन का बोर्ड, जिसमें लेफ्टीनैंट जनरल और अन्य अधिकारी होते हैं, वे प्रमोशन के लिए किसी के नाम का प्रपोज़ल करते हैं, उसके बाद उसकी फाइल पर रक्षा मंत्रालय का एक बाबू ऐडवर्स एंट्री करके उसे रोक देता है। अतीत में अनेक बार ऐसा हुआ है। बोर्ड में बहुत सीनियर ऑफिसर्स की सिफारिश पर छोटा सा क्लर्क कुछ लिख देता है और फाइल पड़ी रह जाती है। महोदय, आपका विभाग ऐसा सेंसेटिव विभाग है, जिसमें बहुत ही क्विक डिस्मिशन की जरूरत होती है, आपको अनिश्चय की स्थिति में नहीं रहना चाहिए। मैं आपको आधे मिनट में एक कहानी सुनाना चाहता हूँ। एक साधु के दो शिष्य थे। वे सड़क से गुज़र रहे थे। उन्होंने देखा कि हिरन के दो बच्चे सड़क पर दौड़ रहे हैं। एक व्हीकल आ रहा था। उनमें से एक उसे देखकर रुक गया और दूसरा भाग गया। वह हिरन, जो रुक गया था, **It was run over by that vehicle.** उनमें से एक शिष्य ने अपने गुरु से पूछा कि गुरुजी, एक तो निकल गया और दूसरा मर गया, इसका क्या कारण है? तब गुरु ने उत्तर दिया कि जो मारा गया, वह दुविधा में था, असमंजस में था और जो बच गया, वह असमंजस में नहीं था, उसका दिमाग स्पष्ट था। इसलिए किसी निर्णय को लेते हुए कभी असमंजस में मत रहिएगा। अगर देश का रक्षा मंत्री या रक्षा मंत्रालय असमंजस में रहेगा, तो देश सुरक्षित नहीं रह सकता है। आप डिस्मिशन लीजिए और बिना किसी परवाह के डिस्मिशन लीजिए। **...(समय की घंटी)...** अगर आप सीएजी की रिपोर्ट की वजह से डिस्मिशन टालते रहेंगे तो फिर कोई इस देश को नहीं बचा सकता है। दोनों तरफ दुश्मन बहुत मजबूत है। आपको असली खतरा चीन से है। मुलायम सिंह यादव जी जब रक्षा मंत्री थे, तब रक्षा मंत्रालय की रिपोर्ट में यह स्पष्ट कहा गया था कि हमें असली तैयारी चीन की दृष्टि से करनी चाहिए। उस हाउस में जार्ज फर्नांडिस साहब ने रक्षा मंत्री के रूप में उसी रिपोर्ट को पढ़कर बताया था, जब यह कहा गया था कि हमें असली खतरा चीन से है। महोदय, मैं तिवारी जी की बात से पूरी तरह से सहमत हूँ कि पाकिस्तान से कोई खतरा नहीं है, असली खतरा चीन से है। चीन के लोग बढ़ आते हैं, आपमें यह हिम्मत नहीं होती है, आपके अधिकारियों में यह कहने की हिम्मत नहीं होती कि हां, हमारी सीमा में इन्होंने प्रवेश किया है। **...(समय की घंटी)...** रोजाना आपकी सीमा का उल्लंघन होता है, रोजाना अरुणाचल प्रदेश को कहते हैं कि यह हमारा है। अगर इतना मनोबल गिर जाएगा तो काम नहीं चलेगा। हमारा देश बहुत बड़ा देश है। छोटे-छोटे देशों ने बड़े-बड़े देशों की, बड़ी-बड़ी ताकतों की परवाह नहीं की। क्यूबा कितना छोटा देश है। उसके बगल में अमेरिका है, म्यांमी से आधे घंटे के अंदर उनके जहाज आ सकते हैं, हवाना पर हमला कर सकते हैं। क्या कभी उन्होंने अमेरिका जैसी बड़ी शक्ति की परवाह की? कभी परवाह नहीं की। चीन आपके पास में है। हमारा देश कोई ज्यादा छोटा देश नहीं है, आबादी की दृष्टि से लगभग हम बराबर ही होने वाले हैं। जो **Inter Continental Ballistic Missile**, अग्नि-5 तैयार की गयी है, उसके लिए मैं रक्षा मंत्रालय और खास तौर से डीआरडीओ को बधाई देना चाहता हूँ कि वह एक बहुत अच्छी चीज़ है। इस तरह की मिसाइल्स आपके पास हैं, आपके पास ऐटोमिक वेपन्स हैं, आप दुनिया की ऐटोमिक शक्ति हैं। इसके बाद भी अपनी सीमा की रक्षा के नाम पर अगर आपके मन में कहीं संदेह है और किसी देश से डर है तो यह अच्छी बात नहीं है। देश की जनता, जब-जब देश पर संकट आया है, तब सारे राजनैतिक मतभेदों को भुलाकर, जो भी सत्ता में हुआ, उसके साथ हमेशा एक मत रही है। जब भी देश की रक्षा के लिए कोई बात आएगी, तो हमेशा लोग एकमत रहेंगे। फिर भी, इतने बड़े देश के रक्षा मंत्री को, इतने

[प्रो. राम गोपाल यादव]

बड़े देश की इतनी बड़ी सेना को चीन जैसे देश की, जो रोजाना हमारे देश की सीमा का अतिक्रमण करता है ...**(समय की घंटी)**... उसका खंडन करने की भी शक्ति नहीं है। यह बात हिन्दुस्तान के लोगों के मन में चिंता की बात है और इससे लोगों का मनोबल गिरता है। उनके मनोबल को उठाने के लिए, देश की सेना के मनोबल को उठाने के लिए, आपको बहुत strong बनना पड़ेगा, अपनी बात को शक्ति के साथ कहना पड़ेगा। बड़े-बड़े देशों की कई छोटे देश परवाह नहीं करते, आपका तो बड़ा देश है। इस देश का इतिहास बहुत लम्बा है। श्रीमन्, मैं आपको धन्यवाद देते हुए, अपनी बात खत्म कर रहा हूँ कि आपने मुझे पांच मिनट का समय ज्यादा दे दिया। लेकिन मैं यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि आप निर्णय लीजिए, सेना में बड़े पैमाने पर भर्ती कीजिए, जितने भी हथियारों की जरूरत है, उनकी पूर्ति कीजिए, जितना पैसा मिलता है, उसको खर्च कीजिए, बजट को बढ़ाइए। देश रहेगा, तो सब कुछ रहेगा और देश नहीं रहेगा, तो कुछ नहीं रहेगा। धन्यवाद।

SHRI D.P. TRIPATHI (Maharashtra) : Thank you, Mr. Chairman, Sir. I am speaking in this House for the first time. I thank all the hon. Members, especially those who have spoken before me. They have made my task very easy. And I would not like to be repetitive. The points made by the hon. Members were very good.

Sir, talking about the nation's defence policy and performance of the Ministry of Defence, one has to go back to the basics of defence of the land, nation, or a State. I would not like to quote very much from the scriptures of ancient wisdom, but very briefly, I would point out just a couple of things. It is surprising to know that a mantra of Atharva Rishi in Atharva Veda enunciates some basic tenets of defence.

(THE VICE CHAIRMAN (SHRI TARIQ ANSWAR) in the Chair)

He says, "सत्यम् वृहत् ऋतम् उग्रम् दीक्षा, तपो ब्रह्म यज्ञः पृथ्वीम् धारयन्ति" - Truth, vastness of territory, rules, aggressiveness, purposeful training, discipline, sincere hard work and good deeds sustain and protect the land. This is what is there in Atharva Rishi's Mantra. We talk often about Kautilya and his Arthashastra and mostly mention while talking about defence, vigilance, caution, intelligence, spies and rigorous mode of punishment. But there are fundamentals on which Chanakya speaks in the Arthashastra, which are essential for any defence structure, mechanism, policy, planning and forces. The points which have been raised just now by hon. Prof. Ram Gopal Yadav, hon. Shri Shivanand Tiwari, and, at the very outset, by hon. Shri Balbir Punj and later, by Dr. M.S. Gill. So, the point that Chanakya raises in Arthashastra is just in two shlokas. It talks about all the basic points. If a nation has to emerge stronger to defend itself, that is

प्रजासुखे सुखं राज्यः प्रजानां च हिते हितम्
नात्म प्रियं हितं राज्यं प्राजानां तु प्रियं हितं

In the happiness of the subjects is the happiness and the strength of the State. The interests of the State are really in the interest of the subject. The State and the

Ruler don't hold any self-interest dear. Only the interests of the subjects are dear. Such a nation or such a State is in a position to protect and to defend itself from all adversaries and possible enemies. Even if it is surrounded by all of them, it gives that inner will about which Prof. Ram Gopal Yadav just talked about of a nation. Dr. Ram Manohar Lohia addressing one of the Sessions of Lok Sabha once said it in a different way. "That the fist will be clenched and powerful if the arms are powerful." "भुजाएं मजबूत होंगी तभी मुट्ठिया तनी रहेंगी और फौजें तभी मजबूत होंगी जब देश मजबूत होगा।" On this, Chanakya says again, "तस्मान्नित्योत्थितो राजा कुर्याद् अर्थानुशासनम्। अर्थस्य मूलम् उत्थानम् अनर्थस्य विपर्ययः।।" The Ruler rises always who enforces economic discipline; wealth is the source of progress, and not having wealth is its opposite. This is what Chanakya wrote about as the fundamentals of defence of a State. When we come to our defence system, policy, planning and training and functioning of the Ministry of Defence, I am very happy to state here that, after hearing all these debates and hon. Members from all sides speaking, this gives me a great pleasure in saying that this debate itself reflects the broadest possible consensus of various opinions in the House and, therefore, outside the House and the consensus among the political parties about one determined defence system for the country. No one has any difference of opinion on fundamentals as far as national defence is concerned. Therefore, I must say that defence can never be managed by sitting on the fence and, therefore, I must admire all the Members of the Standing Committee of the Parliament on Defence 2011-12. Actually, they deserve a standing ovation by this august House by giving that Report. Why do I say this? I have read the entire Report. I am not repeating the points from the Report, but I must state certain points, which are really important. The Report is very objective and critical. It supports the Government; it is with the Government and, of course, with such an honest, transparent and dedicated leader like Mr. A.K. Antony as Defence Minister of India, the country is proud of him and we, as Members of Parliament and political activists, are also proud of him because in his political life he has set up the example of honesty and transparency. Sir, this Standing Committee Report talks about all the details of our defence planning, policy, functioning of the Ministry, of the various Forces, of shortcomings, of what are the needs - how should short-term needs and long-term needs are planned - and what are the problems about budgeting. But one point which this Report makes is extremely important when it talks about the conventional and non-conventional modes of challenges, dangers and threats facing the country. And there it talks about not merely the conventional warfare, land-focussed border, but the non-conventional realities of cyber war, of space war, of new-technological warfare, of terrorism, of proxy wars, of maritime security. These are very, very important factors which this Standing Committee talks about. I would be coming back to the Standing Committee Report and its recommendations, time and again, in this very brief presentation. But I must say

[Shri D.P. Tripathi]

one thing which really pains me. Read last two lines of page 21 of this Standing Committee's Report. In the last two lines, the Defence Secretary tells the Committee that though it is integrated procurement system, and I am quoting, "There are delays. I cannot pinpoint exactly who is guilty; who is not guilty." Now, this statement appears to me, to say the least, lacking the sense of responsibility and accountability. There are delays; delays which affect the national interest and security of the country and are not ordinary matters, but nothing can be pinpointed. No one can be held accountable. Now, this is something which is astounding to me, to say the least.

Now, I come to other two aspects. The first was made, in this House, for a study of the functioning of the Ministry of Defence, or any other Ministry for that matter, on 20th September, 1963, by the illustrious Defence Minister of India, late Shri Y.B. Chavan, whose birth centenary is being celebrated this year. My appeal would be that to inspire the new avenues for improving the functioning of the Ministry of Defence, the memory of Shri Y.B. Chavan is very important, and, therefore, his birth centenary should be celebrated at the national level. Nonetheless, the point that he made in Rajya Sabha on 20th September, 1963, was, "Self-criticism is an essential ingredient to improve our Defence system, policies, planning and the entire management and to rectify the mistakes." He goes in detail. I am not going into the detail. And, the second is the speech of a Defence Minister, which I remember not because he happens to be the President of our Party, but he also happens to be an illustrious Defence Minister of India, Shri Sharad Pawar, when he talked on 5th September, 1991, in Lok Sabha, I believe, on the need to gear up our Defence system and capability build-ups in accordance with the changing international situation. You see, in 1991, the international scenario was undergoing a fundamental historic transition and, therefore, our Defence functioning systems and policy planning had to be adjusted and refined in accordance with the changing international scenario.

I come to a bit of Defence Budget. I will come to our neighbours later, but our Defence Budget is Rs. 1,93,407.29 crores. Of course, there is 17.6 per cent increase this year. I am not repeating those statistics given by other hon. Members in their speeches, like Shri Balbir Punj, who questioned the very increase also. But, it is 13 per cent of the total expenditure of the Central Government. After interest payments and Central subsidies, it is the third largest sector, as far as expenditure is concerned, and this does not include the expenditure on the Coast Guards, the Rs. 39,000 crore pension bill of the Defence personnel which is 60 per cent of the Central Government's pensions bill, and border roads which come under the Border Roads Organisation and other Civil Wing expenditures of the Ministry of Defence. Budget, of course, is not adequate. For that matter, no country in the world is in a position to spend as much money as it wants to do on its Defence, but certain countries, of course, are spending

more money and that comparison has also been given in the Standing Committee Report even in terms of percentage of the GDP.

I want to raise certain issues which have not, so far, been made in this debate, but they are very important. One is about our elongated strategic choke point. We have not thought about this Siliguri corridor. This is a very small corridor, but it is strategically very important for the country because it controls that point which is our connection, road and rail connection, with the entire North-East. It also connects us to whatever domestic oil and gas we have. Therefore, Siliguri Corridor is strategically very important but, unfortunately, so far, there are no specific Army divisions for total concentration on this corridor. This elongated strategic choke point is extremely important because China is on the other side, Bangladesh is there, and, then, of course, some small countries, friendly countries, are also there but nonetheless it is the choke point, which is important.

Second factors, of course, is about the Armed Forces. Some points like the shortage of personnel, officers and equipments have been mentioned. In short term, there are three important aspects about the Defence Forces. Shortage of personnel, shortage of spares and ammunitions, and, third is logistics. Logistics is of extreme importance because if you look at merely the Border Roads Significant, it has been doing very good job. They have 700 road projects spread over a length of 28,000 kilometers plus they maintain roads of 22,000 kilometers. They maintain seven airfields in good condition, and, there have been 14 railway lines, approved as strategically important linkages with the border areas.

Mr. Vice Chairman, Sir, there are 73 road projects which have been identified as strategically priority areas. Out of the 73 road projects, only 16 have been completed so far, 38 would be completed by the year 2013, and, 19 would be completed by the year 2016. This is one example about the logistics. As far as spares, arms and ammunition are concerned, there is a serious condition. I say, there is a serious condition because the procurement process is very lengthy. Even after the Defence Procurement Procedure, which was released in January, 2011, many of the procedures are lengthy, and, they, sometimes, work as obstacles through various stages, and, it takes time, years and decades, and, by the time, it is approved by all agencies, you come to a situation that the weapon, that you have to buy, has become already outdated. It is a very serious matter. On many occasions, the fast track procurements are made and weapons are procured by the inter-Governmental Agreements, where the procedures do not matter. Therefore, we have to make the procedure definitely transparent.

SHRI BALBIR PUNJ : Sir, has the Government become powerless?
...(Interruptions)...

SHRI RAVI SHANKAR PRASAD (Bihar) : If we cannot have electricity in the House, how will they provide it to the Army and the Armed Forces? ...*(Interruptions)*...

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री तारिक अनवर) : देखिए, उनको डिस्टर्ब मत कीजिए, यह उनकी मेडन स्पीच है।

SHRI BALBIR PUNJ : Sir, how can we throw light on the subject, which we are discussing? ...*(Interruptions)*...

THE VICE CHAIRMAN (SHRI TARIQ ANWAR) : He is making his maiden speech, and, you are disturbing. ...*(Interruptions)*...

SHRI D.P. TRIPATHI : Sir, I am making specific points so that you can contribute to it. I really took points from your speech. Anyway, I was mentioning about the procurements. All the hon. Members have mentioned about it, and, therefore, I will not be repetitive on this. But, Sir, it is important to know whether the guns have reached conditions of critically, or, whether they are updated or not. All these are important questions, and, therefore, we have to go by these considerations. For this, what is very important, the point which has been made by hon. Members, is the research and development in the area of defence, research and development including the Defence Research and Development Organisation, DRDO, which has done a wonderful job. Today again is a happy day because we have read the report that our scientists in DRDO have successfully tested the missile defence shield which will protect our cities from any possible missile attack. This is a wonderful achievement after Agni-V. This shows how gloriously our scientists have built these missile technology weapons and how important that achievement is for Indian defence forces and for the Ministry of Defence. *(Time-bell)*.

THE VICE CHAIRMAN (SHRI TARIQ ANWAR) : Please conclude.

SHRI D.P. TRIPATHI : Can I take just three more minutes because I have not taken up many points?

THE VICE CHAIRMAN (SHRI TARIQ ANWAR) : You have already taken twenty minutes. ...*(Interruptions)*...

SOME HON. MEMBERS : Sir, let him speak. ...*(Interruptions)*...

THE VICE CHAIRMAN (SHRI TARIQ ANWAR) : Okay. Please conclude within two-three minutes.

SHRI D.P. TRIPATHI : Chekhov said 'brevity is the elder sister of wisdom'.

Anyway, I am coming to a comparison with our neighbours now. That is very important, especially India and China, India and Pakistan. With respect to India and China, you read the Standing Committee Report. It mentions that in year 2000, roughly, in dollar terms, China spent on defence a little more than 33,000 million US dollars

and we, in India, spent a little more than 25,000 million US dollars. In 2011-12, China is spending more than 1,29,000 million US dollars on defence and we are spending a little more than 44,000 million US dollars. Now, this is the position. The Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (SIPRI) says that actually China's current budget is not merely 106 billion US dollars. It is an understatement. SIPRI says it is more than 120 billion US dollars. It says that in the last 15 years, the growth of Chinese defence budgeting has been more than 10 per cent and this year it is more than 11 per cent, and the Jane's Defence Weekly says that in the year 2015, China's defence budget would be, according to the information gained from the Chinese establishment, 238 billion US dollars. And, where would we reach? This is not to say that there should be any antagonism between India and China. I am for friendship between India and China, but you have to state facts for your own preparedness, for your own readiness because the Chinese Military General, strategic thinker and philosopher Sun Tzu said in his celebrated work, the Art of War, "invincibility lies in defence; possibility of victory in attack". This being the situation, we have to be very conscious and careful about all these things. We were talking about research and development. We spent 0.13 per cent last year and this year we are going to spend 0.9 per cent on research and development. We spent a total of 2 billion US dollars and China spent 32 billion US dollars on research and development which is very vital for proper functioning, new ideas, new mechanism, new weapons and all these things.

Finally, let me come, in conclusion, to three things. Our think-tanks should be involved in continuing debate on the reports given by various committees. First, by the Kargil Review Committee under K. Subrahmanyam and then by a Group of Ministers which consisted of Shri Lal Krishna Advani, Shri George Fernandes, Shri Jaswant Singh and Shri Yashwant Sinha in 2001-02 which made three major recommendations. One, which is very crucial for integration, coordination, joint action activities even for reducing the cost and increasing the effectiveness of our defence forces, is Chief of Defence Staff which can be worked out under any way like K. Subrahmanyam has suggested Chief of Joint Defence Staff with a full-time Chairman. This suggestion was made. I am happy to note that the other two suggestions, which were made by the Group of Ministers, have been implemented by the Government. They are : The National Technical Research Organisation and the Multi-Agency Centre. The NCTC emanates from the latter which is still being debated. The recommendations of the Vijay Kelkar Committee Report talked about restructuring of the defence production and the increased role of private sector and FDI. Hon. Members, one point which I don't understand is this. I stand here for self-reliance in defence production and proper restructuring of defence industry relationship. The PSUs, which fail to fulfil their target, should be brought to book, and the private sector should be involved in a big way, not merely in defence production but in research and development also. All the great think tanks like the Institute for Defence Studies and Analyses should be

[Shri D.P. Tripathi]

involved. It is fully funded by the Ministry of Defence. It has the best mind, but they are still underutilised. The Centre for Air Power Studies, the Centre for Land Warfare Studies, the Centre for Joint Warfare Studies, and the National Maritime Foundation should debate our defence policies and perspectives.

Finally, while congratulating our scientists, I pay homage to our martyrs who laid down their lives. They are the real beacon lights for an effective and correct scientific plan, policy perspective, and effective defence system in our country. We should take inspiration from those martyrs.

Mr. Vice Chairman, I thank you and conclude by quoting two lines written by the Great poet Faiz Ahmad Faiz.

"That those who laid down their lives for the defence of the country or for the country were not naive; therefore, the preacher and those who wish to show the path should understand the terrain they had to traverse."

I want to raise a point here because Siachen has been discussed. I want to tell the House that one of the most moving and brilliant pieces on Siachen were written by one of the hon. Members of this House, Mr. Tarun Vijay. He talks about the tears and tribulations of our soldiers and officers in Siachen who face continuous death, destruction, disappearance, and yet defend the national interest. Therefore, in conclusion, I quote Faiz :

ऐसे नादां तो न थे जाँ से गुजरने वाले।
नासिहों, राहबरो, राहगुजर तो देखो।

SHRI SHASHI BHUSAN BEHERA (Odisha) : Sir, I thank you for having given me this opportunity. I thank the Chair again for it gave the opportunity to Shri D.P. Tripathi to make his maiden speech which had enlightened this House. And Shri D.P. Tripathi is getting a lot of congratulations.

Sir, it is a serious discussion. I am also sharing my views on it. Members, cutting across party lines, discuss the working of the Ministry of Defence. It was started by Mr. Punj. At some point, both the Treasury benches and the Opposition complimented each other. This is the spirit of this House. Everybody speaks in the interest of the nation.

Shivanand Tiwarji, a very senior Member of the House, talked about the Chinese War. It reminds me of the slogan '*Jai Jawan, Jai Kisan*' of 1965 given by Shastriji. It touched the millions of minds of the Indians. He had appealed for fasting. It was one day in the week. At that time, I was a school student. Budgetary deficiency is never a constraint during the time of war. I want to remind that to our hon. Minister, Shri Antony. Ladies donated their ornaments. They donated for the war. They donated for

the budgetary constraints. So, each and everyone, right from poor to rich, did that and the whole nation was united. I remember how ladies from middle class donated their ornaments for the war. It's my compulsion to speak in the interest of the nation that now this Ministry is not keeping up that spirit and is not carrying the people of the nation with it. It is in the mud of shabby corruption. It is facing allegations.

Sir, Shri Antony is a Minister with impeccable personal integrity. But, it is very difficult on his part to defend the Defence Budget. Sir, the Union Budget for 2012-13 presented to the Parliament is hiked with a growth of 17.63 per cent. This growth is the highest if you exclude 2009-10 which was the year when the Six Pay Commission was implemented. For that, it was higher. But, from the prospects of Defence allocations, the GDP has marginally increased. But, you will see that India's Defence Budget remains lowest in the world in relation to GDP. In India, it is 1.9 per cent of GDP. Speakers have spoken about the comparison with China and other developed countries in relation to Defence Budget and its spending. It is the Capital Budget. In many years, because of bad management of the Department, we have to surrender most of the Budget allocated to this Department. So, budgetary management should be improved. You are a very efficient Minister. You have proved that and administratively, you were a very able Chief Minister. So, a large chunk of the Budget is surrendered because of this bad management.

Sir, I want to remind about a thing. What is the scenario of our country? India is surrounded by seven neighbouring countries, that is, China, Bhutan, Bangladesh, Nepal, Pakistan, Sri Lanka, Myanmar and Afghanistan. We should not take it very easily because we are expecting dangers and disturbances from all the surrounding countries for destabilising our country. So, we must be alert. We are always getting threats. If you see the past, we are always getting threat from Pakistan, from the terrorist organisations set up or functioning there. We are feeling the impact of it. China is always a threat to us which is continuous even if we were interested in bilateral friendship with this country. We are working on this process but, still, this risk is there. Pakistan still continues to be a cause of concern due to the undiminished activities of terrorist organisations, which are growing there day by day.

Sir, when preparing Budget, we should have a vigilant eye on the neighbouring countries. So, China is pursuing an unprecedented level of military modernization with an annual increase of budget for the last two decades. India's defence expenditure will be \$40 billion if we think of coming 5 or 10 years, in relation to China's annual budget of \$106 billion. So, you can visualize the difference. Regarding budgetary management you have to take a lot of care. If we think about arms production, we are not sufficient in the indigenous production. We are importing much of our requirement of arms; and major amount of our budget is going towards that. Regarding the pattern of spending, the Minister must explain to the House how the Ministry is spending the

[Shri Shashi Bhusan Behera]

budget for the Army, Navy and the Air Force. The Government must think of what should be the industrial policy and technological development wherein we can go in for developing our own defence products indigenously.

Our Armed Forces are doing commendable job. In addition to external security, they are taking care of internal security. Our jawans are also fighting against the Left Extremist Wing. They are doing a lot of commendable relief work and other things. We must think about their welfare also.

I would like to mention a few words about my State, Odisha. As my hon. friend, Mr. Karimpuri has said, while recruiting personnel to the Armed Forces, we should not talk about the caste and creed. That is the background of the Odisha peasantry militia. During the Kalinga War, they fought with Emperor, the Great Ashok. They are peasantry militia. At the time of cultivation, they did peasantry work; and at the time of war, they fought for the country. The Paika community were also above the caste and creed. They protected the last fort of the Khurda district. Therefore, I urge upon the Government to create a regiment in the name of Kalinga; and another regiment in the name of Paika. This will glorify the people of Odisha. They will not only be encouraged with the naval-based and defence industries in Odisha, but also they should get an opportunity to join the "Kalinga and Paika regiments". Thank you.

SHRI A.W. RABI BERNARD (Tamil Nadu) : Mr. Vice Chairman, Sir, I rise to register my views on the working and performance of the Ministry of Defence. At the outset, I salute the men and women in uniform who dedicate themselves in the defence of the motherland. Those 1.2 million men and women through their patriotism, commitment and bravery make us all feel safe day and night. I salute them with admiration and reverence. A number of hon. Members were comparing China with India, Chinese military spending and its strength. In my opinion, this comparison should not be made, and it is irrelevant. Our strength is not our military but our democracy. Does China spend as much as India does on various elections? China may spend and enrich its military to control its own people. Our military does not have that responsibility, I suppose.

Sir, I have observed an admirable distinction and dignity in the behaviour among the youth of certain countries where a systematic, compulsory military training is provided in schools and colleges. In this 21st century, a century of social networking, internet addiction and 'kolaveri music', I feel some level of military training will regiment our studentry and ignite patriotism and discipline among our youth. At least, a universal N.C.C. programme must be implemented. When I was younger, that is, when I started my profession as a journalist, it was the Bofors Gun deal which was an academic reference on how the investigative journalism must be and could be used as

a tool to change the system and cleanse the order. It really saddens me to note that even after 25 years, change has not happened and the system remains unclean. When I was a young journalist, I spoke about Bofors, and when I am a young Member of Parliament, I have to mention about the Tatra Vectra deal, which means the system has not been corrected at all. May be, due to the costly lessons learnt from the Bofors issue, the Government of India has ordered a CBI investigation into all the aspects of the Tatra Vectra deal, including its complex shareholding pattern. But had a logical, believable, trustworthy conclusion been arrived at, after the Bofors issue came to light, the Tatra Vectra deal would not have happened at all. We read newspaper reports on the shortage of officers in the Indian military. If we lack arms and ammunition, through additional financial allocations, the situation can be corrected. But if we lack human resources, how are we to handle the crisis? Low salary, slow promotions, tough life style, absence of recognition and small families seem to be the reason for not getting youngsters for the armed forces. It seems the Army is short of around 11,400 officers. It was due to the events of 1987 that a severe shortage of officers happened, and the situation continues even today. In 1987-90, around 1,200 India soldiers were killed in action and several thousands were wounded beyond our shores. Most of the casualties were of young, promising middle level officers. And the consequences are far-reaching and said. Thank God, the 'Operation Green Hunt' did not happen as proposed by the UPA Government in 2009. A recent defence survey says that the Indian Army needs a total of 46,615 officers. This anomaly should be corrected and resolved at the earliest. Our defence forces need to be modernised as quickly as possible. I quote one Mr. A.K. Mathur, a retired Major, who said, "Among the many things that our Army really needs, but cannot articulate, are better and lighter rifles, modern form of web equipments, say, pouches, etc., better water bottles, more powerful and lighter binoculars, comfortable boots, GPS equipments, computers to accurately fire 81 mm mortars, more lethal grenades, replacements for the archaic one-ton vehicles which guzzle fuel. If we can somehow bring about these changes, then, the Indian Army, the Indian Infantry, will be revolutionised. Thank you, Sir.

श्री देवेन्द्र गौड टी. (आन्ध्र प्रदेश) : धन्यवाद, उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय। डिफेंस मिनिस्ट्री बहुत important मिनिस्ट्री है। डिफेंस फोर्सस हमारे बॉर्डर की रक्षा करने और peace maintain करने वाले फोर्सस हैं। It is the primary responsibility of the Government of the day to protect our borders and maintain peace in the country for we have very lengthy borders with China. It is almost 4000 kilometres. We also have borders of about 1000 kilometers and more with Pakistan, in addition to whatever coastal lines we have. It is a big responsibility on our soldiers. मगर इस मिनिस्ट्री के लिए 1 लाख 93 हजार करोड़ रुपए इस बजट में दिए गए हैं, it is around 17.8 percentage growth, मगर आप inflation व दूसरी चीजें if we take that into consideration यह उतना ज्यादा increase भी नहीं है, मगर देश के जो दूसरे डिपार्टमेंट्स, particularly, welfare departments हैं, क्योंकि आज भी कंट्री में 60 परसेंट लोगों को दो टाइम का खाना नहीं मिलता है। It is shameful to all of us that half of

5.00 P.M.

[श्री देवेंदर गौड टी.]

the illiterates of this world live in this country. अभी तक हम उन्हें पढ़ने की फेसिलिटी नहीं दे पाए हैं। इसके साथ ही no basic infrastructure is provided in the villages. Naturally, in these conditions, the Finance Department will have a lot of pressure. There are a lot of pressures from the other Departments also for more funds. Hungler is the biggest enemy. It is more than anything else. We have to fight against it also. We don't require a lot of funding. We can understand. Ultimately, they allocated Rs. 1,93,000 crores. I think it is quite a good amount. Still people and experts say that we must spend more than three percentage of our GDP. I agree with them, but we have other problems also. The Minister for Defence is an honest man, we are all very proud of him, but we are also worried and our country is also worried that in the recent past, scams are a routine thing in the UPA Government. Every time, every three months a lot of scams are coming out. Unfortunately, Ministers are in Tihar Jail. Officers were sent to the Tihar Jail. This is an unfortunate situation in the country. But when it comes to Defence, corruption in Defence is really an alarming thing. Every month somebody is talking, something is coming out of this Defence Ministry; it is really a worrying factor. One of the magazines these days carried out an article, "Army Chief declared a war against his own people." It is very alarming. We should not allow these kinds of reports, this kind of a situation. Anyhow, we have to rectify these things. With regard to spending of your Ministry also, in most of your wings, I know from my little experience, Budget is not prepared by the Defence or somebody else working in any particular unit of the Ministry. Every wing of the Armed Forces sends their proposals to the higher-ups. Ultimately, they consolidate them and then send them to the Ministry of Finance indicating that we required this much amount for this kind of activity. When you have such clarity in the process and ultimately get the Budget, why are you not able to spend that amount within the time? It speaks volumes - either they may not be serious about sending their proposals or your indecisiveness is causing this kind of a situation. The CAG has clearly pointed out, many a time, you should always keep two important things in your mind. The first one is, most of your officials in your Ministry are spending money at the fag end of the financial year. It always leads to corruption and some other problems in the departments; you must avoid it. When you have planned it in advance, when you have sent your proposals in time, you must have clarify as to what for you have sent proposals, how much money you have asked for, how are you going to spend it and by what time you are going to spend it. There must be some clarify in the Ministry. So, Sir, whatever is sanctioned to you, you must see that it is spent judiciously and you must take appropriate action within the time.

Sir, one important observation I made. It is not only me, but other hon. Members of the House and also outside has mentioned this. It is a common perception outside. The Minister of Defence is honest. But, everybody says, "साहब, आपको मदद देंगे, आप हिम्मत रखिए, आप डिजीजन लीजिए।" Sir, you have given an impression to the nation that somewhere you are hesitant to take action against corrupt officers. Somehow, you are hesitant to take timely decisions as well. This is the impression you have given. Why should everybody say, 'We are with you. We are supporting you. You act swiftly.' It means you are not acting. You are not taking any timely decision on many issues. Sir, this country never wants its Defence Minister to be a mute spectator to corruption under his nose. Sir, can we imagine that the Army Chief writing a letter to the hon. Defence Minister saying that somebody came to his office and tried to bribe him. He said that he has informed the Defence Minister. And, how does he think that his responsibility is over? This itself is an irresponsible act on the part of the Army Chief. But, when it has come to your notice, you should have acted upon it. Sir, you are saying that Chief was not particular about taking further action on it. I don't know how. You should have acted on it immediately without waiting to reaction from the Army Chief. When it came to your notice, is it not your duty to take action immediately? Whatever may be the opinion of the Army Chief on this. A piece of information is saying that the Army Chief had informed that there is corruption. So, is it not your responsibility to look into that? I want to know about it from the hon. Minister. I think, the hon. Minister has already instituted a CBI enquiry. We would like to know the progress of the enquiry. It should not go like Bofors case which continues years-after-years and ultimately you burry the truth. It should not happen in this case.

Sir, regarding purchase of weapons, I would like to submit that it is unfortunate that this country has become a market for armed manufacturers. It is really shameful to us. Small countries like Israel are suppliers to us! Last week, I was listening to the reply of the hon. Defence Minister saying that big countries are involved. Why are you worried? Whichever may be the country, ultimately, you are the purchaser and it is your prerogative from whom you want to purchase. Sir, my request is to indigenize it. Deliberately इसका मार्केट बनाया गया। हमारे यहां atomic power बन सकती है, nuclear power बन सकती है। When the nuclear embargo was imposed on this country, our scientists could find out a lot of alternatives. जब आप अग्नि मिसाइल बना सकते हैं, तो इस देश में आप ट्रक नहीं बना सकते? What is going on? In order to achieve, you must have a roadmap as to by what time you would want to indigenize. Seventy to ninety per cent of the all the defence requirements which are being imported now should be manufactured within our own country. If possible, we should export to other countries too. We should have been in that position by this time. But, unfortunately, we missed it.

[Shri Devender Goud T.]

Sir, I do not want to take much of your time. I just would like to say one or two things to the Defence Minister. Sir, on the system of an Army Officer joining as a liaison officer for defence equipment supplies, I disagree with my previous speakers's suggestion. You must ban it. There are so many other opportunities for him; let him work somewhere, but not with the defence suppliers. On this, I seek an appropriate action so that the corruption is minimized.

Sir, delayed decisions are a matter of concern. We are really worried. Even in our Standing Committee's report also it is mentioned that we do not have proper ammunition for our Forces. It is really a matter of concern. Kindly take appropriate decision to acquire ammunition.

Lastly, the Kargil Review Committee recommended significant reforms on issues relating to higher defence management system, the intelligence apparatus and the border management system. May I know how many of the recommendations have been implemented?

On all these points, I expect the Defence Minister to answer. I expect him to take my suggestions seriously. Thank you very much, Sir.

SHRI H.K. DUA (Nominated) : Mr. Vice Chairman, Sir, thank you for giving me the chance to speak on a very vital debate on the Ministry of Defence.

About four decades ago, I was a young correspondent and Dr. Vikram Sarabhai called a few correspondents - my office had assigned that meeting to me - to unveil India's space programmes, ISRO's programme. It was a privilege to sit with Dr. Vikram Sarabhai. It was the only time I could meet him, as a young correspondent, to be explained about the profile of the nation's space programme of the next ten years and followed by another ten years profile; that and so on, our space scientists had been updated thus been updating. He gave us a great copy. When we were having tea afterwards, I asked, "Dr. Sarabhai, can these rockets you are talking about be used for defence purposes?" He replied : "These are not Diwali rockets." When Agni-V was launched recently, I thought of that day how right he was. Here is a defence weapon which has been created by our own scientists and technologists, which has a reach of 5,000 kms. to give us a very potent weapon of 'defence', I would like to call it. We are proud of our scientists, technologists and experts in rocketry who have created Agni-V. We joined the five major nations who have that technology to reach across 5,000 kms., and possibly more. Of course, the Chinese have speculated that we are underplaying our own achievement and they are saying that it has the range of 8,000 kms. But, I think, we should go by 5,000 kms. There is no need for us to tell a lie. Even a missile of 5,000 kms is a very, very impressive achievement. I would like to,

frankly speaking, envisage a situation when we don't have to use Agni-5. This is the demonstration of our missile strength.

(THE VICE CHAIRMAN (PROF. P.J. KURIEN) in the Chair)

We need more, possibly, a couple of more demonstrations; and possibly, we will need to acquire some more Agni-5 Missiles for a possible contingency that may arise. Most probably, it will not arise. Ultimately, the Defence, these days, is based on deterrence, not necessarily on inviting a war-like situation and winning a war. We should have a very effective deterrent based on high technology, so that nobody can dare to have an evil eye on India. This deterrence was possible because of high technology. Combined this deterrence with our nuclear strength, it sends a message to the rest of the world that India cannot be taken for granted. It will help us also to remain on our track to become a major economic, political and nuclear power of the 21st century. We have the potential, and we can go forward. But, there is a message also in the development of this technology i.e. we need to spend more money on research. The Defence Budget, this time, allocates only six per cent on defence research of its total Budget. I think, we need to spend much more for developing more missiles, more aircraft of our own and better weaponry for the Army and much more on the Navy.

Sir, any Defence Policy is based on what kind of scenario we have around us. Many members have made reference to China and Pakistan, and joint threat from both these countries. It is, certainly, a very serious joint threat; both are nuclear powers; both don't mean well for us; both don't like our rise to a level when we can become a major power of the 21st century. But I don't think that we need to make noises that are either scary or are jingoistic. We are not in 1962 situation. There were references to 1962, earlier made by several Members. We are not the 1962 nation any longer. Between then and now, much strength has been acquired by India. We can look to the future with great confidence. In 1962, our morale was down. Now now. It is not easy for Pakistan or even for China, which is acquiring or developing, advanced weapons for their Army, Navy and adding to its nuclear and missile strength at a tremendous pace. They have more money and they are spending more. But their own threat perceptions are also larger. They have the entire Pacific; they have to deal with other Pacific countries. They have the South East Asia. We have also great responsibilities, but we don't need to feel panicky about the situation. Our defence has to be based on deterrence and some self-confidence in ourselves. The stronger we are, I think, that itself is a message to China, Pakistan and other nations which could think ill of us.

Sir, lately, I find there is some increase, in the Defence Budget, of 17.5 or 17.6 per cent. I don't think this is much of an increase. A chunk of it essentially is in salaries, pensions; and the price increase always cuts into any increase. There will be only a limited amount left for research, a limited amount left for the Army, for Air Force and

[Shri H.K. Dua]

the Navy. For Army, it is 13 lakh Army we have - the ideal Army should not have too many men but should have greater fire power. So, what we need to do is, to add more teeth to the Army's strength. (Time-bell) Sir, I will just take three-four minutes more, and I will be as brief as possible. The Army's, I think, teeth have to be made sharper, more effective; the range of their weaponry has to be much longer, and it has to be more effective. But the Air Force, missiles and the Navy, I thought, would require greater emphasis. The Navy, I find from the Budget Papers, is no longer a distant cousin. For the last two-three years, it has been given more money. But its responsibility is tremendous. Look at its responsibilities. We have a vast coastline which has to be more effectively defended, particularly now. Even terrorists are attacking our coastlines judging from 26/11. But vast coastline adds to a lot of responsibility, plus, there are our island territories from Lakshadweep to the Andaman and the Nicobar. So, the Nicobar are close to Indonesia. Then we have to defend our trade links. Most of our oil supplies come through the Indian Ocean. So, the responsibility of the Navy starts from the Straits of Mallacca – which is every strategic from our point of view – and goes right up to the Suez. The Navy has an additional problem on hand – it is piracy. Who is to tackle that problem? It is the Navy. The Entire Indian Ocean, our Exclusive Economic Zone where we have to dig for minerals, ...(Time-bell rings)... I will take just two-three minutes more and be done with this. Now the entire zone which is our Exclusive Economic Zone has to be defended because there is mineral wealth under the sea which belongs to us and we may need naval protection for carrying out our mineral extractions. There is also a situation like the Maldives which arose suddenly. I hope there is no surprise for us again. This time we were taken by surprise. I hope in future our vigilance is so sharp that we should not be taken by surprise. But my real worry is about the West Asian situation which the country needs to think about. Our border is no longer with Pakistan; our security border is much, much beyond that. The Situation is fairly volatile in West Asia. Even if you do not anticipate an immediate breakout of a conflagration, there can be a possibility - which has been talked about - about an Israeli strike on Iran or Iran's nuclear facilities. We are not for Iran's nuclear programme; we do not want them to have nuclear arms. We have too many already nuclear powers around us – Pakistan, China and now what if Iran has nuclear weapons. But, at the same time, any conflagration in West Asia will be creating serious complications for us: one, because there are about 5.5 to 6 million Indian in this region who will have to be airlifted. There is a danger of Straits Hormuz getting closed and as Iran has talked about it, it will be closed if there is an Israeli strike. Most of our oil comes from Straits of Hormuz. What will happen to our oil supplies? No country keeps a large oil reserve. I do not think our oil reserve is beyond three or four weeks needs. We have to remain vigilant considering our naval responsibility. ...(Time-bell rings)... One more point, Sir, with your due indulgence. It is about Afghanistan which

is part of our security border, strategic border, I would say. The Americans are going to withdraw from 2014. We are not clear how many thousands of their troops will be left behind. Now, we have made a lot of economic investment for Afghanistan's economic development. You need to think about a Post-US withdrawal situation.

THE VICE CHAIRMAN (PROF. P.J. KURIEN) : Please conclude.

SHRI H.K. DUA : Sir, I am on my last point. No Defence is effective without a deterrent and internal cohesion. I think there is a need for consensus which my friend, Mr. D.P. Tripathi talked about and many other colleagues have also talked about. We need consensus on four-five issues which I will not elaborate: security - internal and external - terrorism, foreign policy, etc. We need consensus on these issues and it is possible to evolve such a consensus. Thank you, Mr. Vice Chairman.

THE VICE CHAIRMAN (PROF. P.J. KURIEN) : Hon. Members, I think the luxury of being liberal did not work because there are ten more speakers and we have to finish the speeches of all the ten today itself. Therefore, I request that every Member may please confine himself to six to seven minutes. ...*(Interruptions)*...

SHRI RAJEEV CHANDRASEKHAR (Karnataka) : Can you be liberal to me next time? ...*(Interruptions)*...

श्री शिवानन्द तिवारी : सर, इसको कल तब बढ़ा दीजिए क्योंकि रिप्लाइ भी होगा तो कम से कम दो ढाई घंटे और लग जाएंगे। ...*(व्यवधान)*...

उपसभाध्यक्ष (प्रो. पी.जे. कुरियन) : रिप्लाइ कल होगा।

SHRI RAJEEV CHANDRASEKHAR : Can you enforce the rule of being liberal next time?

THE VICE CHAIRMAN (PROF. P.J. KURIEN) : It is only a request, no enforcement. ...*(Interruptions)*... Reply will be tomorrow, but we have to finish the speeches of the hon. Members.

SHRI RAJEEV CHANDRASEKHAR : Mr. Vice Chairman, Sir, my colleagues have spoken in detail on the working of the Defence Ministry and have touched upon a number of issues, ranging from weaknesses in Defence R&D to the urgent need for modernizing the Armed Forces and also bringing in transparency into procurement.

Sir, from security point of view, as a nation, we are faced with unprecedented transformations and challenges around us with some of our neighbours representing significant security challenges to us, of varying forms, be it to our shipping lanes, be it to our geopolitical influence or through proxy terrorism attacks.

Sir, some of my colleagues have already said, and I add to that, that countries that are engaged in a proxy war with India will eventually fail - faced, as they have so far been, with the determination of all Indians, but more specifically with the

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indomitable and undefeatable spirit of patriotism and service of many generations of our servicemen and women and their families. These men and their families form the backbone of this nation's efforts at providing a stable and secure country for all our people.

Sir, it is about these men and women and their families that I wish to speak about today.

Sir, a number of my colleagues have said, and I add that, our Defence Minister is one of the most decent and unassuming persons I have met during my short period in politics. I am sure he realizes that as Defence Minister and civilian custodian of the Defence Ministry, he is, in effect, the trustee of the great institution, that is, the Indian Armed Forces and the millions of men and women that have served and are serving and will serve this nation in times of war and peace and their families.

Sir, it is to this role as trustee of the Armed Forces that I address him today.

Sir, he is aware that our nation has had to fight and defend itself against many aggressions and wars and is being challenged almost everyday on various fronts.

Sir, he is aware that over the last many decades, the country has asked thousands of young men and women and their families to a call of duty and to sacrifice life and limb to protect our nation.

He is also aware that almost every day, since Independence, till today, some families somewhere in India, are asked to go through the pain and trauma of having to deal with losing their loved ones in the service of the nation.

He is also aware that despite all this, we, the people of India, and indeed, the Government of India, have failed in our duty and continue to fail to build a National Military Memorial in our nation's capital to honour their sacrifices and service to the nation. Every nation honours its heroes who have perished on the battlefield with a memorial, excepting us.

Sir, my State Government of Karnataka has undertaken the project of a memorial and it will be completed soon. It will be inscribed with the names of each and every son of Karnataka who died in the service of our nation. But a National Memorial for all the sons and daughters of India, who have perished, is still missing in Delhi.

Sir, this is a shame and embarrassment which should not be allowed to continue. I urge him, as I have been urging the Government of India for several years, to act on this. Do not leave this in the hands of a group of insensitive bureaucrats to comprehend the deep emotional need for the country, and indeed, the families of those who have perished, to have such a memorial.

Sir, let me take up the second issue, that is, One Rank One Pension.

This is a deeply emotional issue of honour for many thousands of retired soldiers and their families. We must not forget that our veterans have serviced this country under the most trying of economic and security challenges over the last many decades. We must not forget that whilst all around us in our region, militaries subverted democracies, the men of our Armed Forces protected it and helped it grow into what we are today. Honour, unfortunately, is not a concept that is very well understood or respected in the corridors of Delhi, but, Sir, I urge you to recognize honour and pride which is what makes a man put his life on the line for the nation.

Sir, the Standing Committee on Defence has recommended One Rank One Pension. Recently, the Committee on Petitions, Rajya Sabha, comprising of all Parties, has, after detailed consultations and hearings on the matter, tabled its Report in the Parliament on 19th December, 2011, recommending the immediate implementation of One Rank One Pension and constitution of a separate commission to determine pay and other service conditions and benefits for the Armed Forces. But even now, the Defence Ministry refused to act on this, and the old excuse trotted out by the bureaucracy that all other Central services will ask for it, certainly, holds no merit, because of the very different nature of serving in the Armed Forces. The right thing for the hon. Minister to do is to respect the views of Parliament and the MPs, as has been communicated to him on more than one occasion. Ignoring the sense of Parliament on this issue would be wrong and a big error on his part. Sir, both these issues are not about money. Given the amount of money that is wasted or frittered away or even looted from the Government - these amounts for 'One Rank One Pension' and a National Military Memorial are almost nothing. In an overall Defence Budget of Rs. 1,94,000 crores, this will be insignificant in terms of cost but very, very powerful and significant in terms of the message it communicates to the men and women in uniform. This is about our determination or lack of interest to do the right thing by our servicemen and their families.

Sir, lastly, before I conclude, let me touch on another issue. A few months ago, I had written to the Prime Minister and the hon. Defence Minister and also raised a Special Mention in Parliament about nominating Armed Forces Veterans to the Parliament who can be the voice of over one crore ex-servicemen and their families. I was given a classic answer saying 'the Constitution doesn't permit it.' Be that as it may, Sir, if the Government can consider Cricket, Business and Film Stars as icons of National service, I would urge the Defence Minister to consider nominating these Veterans to, at least, one of the Nominated Seats in Parliament. I think, he would agree that battlefield service in Kargil and Siachen ranks, at least, as high as cricket stars, movie stars or business stars.

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Sir, as we move forward as a nation, our Armed Forces need to continue to attract the best and most motivated of our young generation in service of our country. Let us do these basic fundamental duties by the generations that have served us. Let them, in turn, inspire the future generations to serve. Let them be confident that the country and the people haven't forgotten their service and will value their service to the country.

Sir, in ending, I would like to quote, as Shri Tripathi had quoted, my own Kautilya statement. The great political strategist wrote to Chandragupta Maurya centuries ago - and I quote: *'The day the soldier has to demand his dues will be a sad day for Magadha. For then on that day, Chandragupta, you would have lost all moral sanction to be the King.'* Thank you, Sir. *Jai Hind.*

THE VICE CHAIRMAN (PROF. P.J. KURIEN) : Shri Shantaram Naik. ...*(Interruptions)*... Your Party is left with twenty-one minutes. So, you can take fifteen minutes. ...*(Interruptions)*...

SHRI SHANTARAM NAIK (Goa) : Sir, I rise to ...

SHRI PRAKASH JAVADEKAR (Maharashtra) : Sir, it was Shri Ramakrishna's turn. He was supposed to speak after that.

THE VICE CHAIRMAN (PROF. P.J. KURIEN) : Oh; I see.

Shri Balbir Punj : And, Sir, this man represents both 'Rama' and 'Krishna'. सर, इनके नाम में राम और कृष्ण दोनों हैं। ...*(व्यवधान)*...

SHRI SHANTARAM NAIK : I am also 'Shantaram'. ...*(Interruptions)*... I am also 'Shantaram.'

THE VICE CHAIRMAN (PROF. P.J. KURIEN) : Mr. Ramakrishna, I will call you after him.

SHRI RANGASAYEE RAMAKRISHNA (Kartanaka) : Okay, Sir.

THE VICE CHAIRMAN (PROF. P.J. KURIEN) : Right. He is permitting. Yes, Mr. Shantaram Naik.

SHRI SHANTARAM NAIK : Sir, I rise here to speak in this august House on the working of the Ministry of Defence.

At the outset, I would like to salute Dr. Tessy Thomas, the lady scientist who led 400 scientists and got us this achievement of Agni-V. She deserves all the praise - a lady scientist of this country who led a team of 400 scientists and got pride for the nation. I think she deserves the salute of the entire country. Sir, even China - after our experiment with Agni-V - has taken this incident in the right spirit and they have said

that there is no danger to China. They have not criticized India after this incident. Sir, there is a spirit of patriotism in this country which is very relevant. The spirit is :

हर करम अपना करेंगे,
ऐ वतन तेरे लिए।
दिल दिया है, जां भी देंगे,
ऐ वतन तेरे लिए।

This is the spirit which carries us throughout our activities. Sir, this country, a long time back, was known as a country where existed Golden Chidya. इस देश में सोने की चिड़िया बसती थी।

जहाँ डाल-डाल पर सोने की चिड़िया करती है बसेरा
वो भारत देश है मेरा।
जहाँ सत्य, अहिंसा और धर्म का पग-पग लगता डेरा
वो भारत देश है मेरा।
ये भारत वो, जहाँ ऋषि, मुनि-जपते प्रभु नाम की माला
जहाँ हर बालक एक मोहन है और राधा हर एक बाला।
जहाँ सूरज सबसे पहले आकर डाले अपना डेरा
वो भारत देश है मेरा।

This is the pride of India that we all have inherited. I have mentioned this song to describe the pride of India.

Sir, our real deterrent is not Agni-V, although we are proud of our achievement. Our real deterrent, the real weapon, is patriotism. This 'bomb' of patriotism is the real deterrent that we have. Members from various parties have said that India must become an economically strong country. Chanakya had emphasized, as has been said by Mr. Tripathi and others, that if India became a strong economic power, that would be a real deterrent. I had read it somewhere about a month back that China would overtake the US in 2020. ...*(Interruptions)*... मैंने पढ़ा है। ...*(व्यवधान)*... मैं आप जितना विद्वान नहीं हूँ ...*(व्यवधान)*... मैंने पढ़ा है ...*(व्यवधान)*...

THE VICE CHAIRMAN (PROF. P.J. KURIEN) : Please address the Chair. We are running short of time.

SHRI SHANTARAM NAIK : It also said that India would overtake China in 2050. If this is the perception, let us leave it at that.

Sir, people say that we are not that strong and well-equipped a country, but we have an Army of 1.32 million active personnel, 1.15 million reserve personnel and 2.28 million paramilitary personnel. For a country like ours, I don't think this is an insufficient number. It is true that people are not joining the Forces today, but as far as the strength of the military is concerned, this is fine. We regret that our Defence Budget is only two per cent of the GDP while in other countries it is three or four per cent. But

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is it something that goes to the credit of the country to increase the Defence Budget? Or is it a matter of discredit? Why do we need to increase the Budget? You do that when you can't live in peace? That is not something that is creditable. Our target should be to reach a time when we reduce our Defence Budget. That aspect needs to be borne in mind. Today, we are one of the biggest importers of defence equipment; almost nine per of the import in the world is done by India. As far as our Air Force is concerned, we basically depend on Russia, Britain, Britain, Israel, France, etc. But nowadays, modernization is the mantra. We are going in for modernization and, therefore, we have manufactured our own aircraft including Teja by HAL and, then, Dhruv, a multi-use helicopter, which we even export to Burma, Nepal and Ecuador. We have now developed missiles which can destroy enemy's missiles. As far as the Navy is concerned, we have a strong fleet of 58,030,50 men and women including naval aviation. There are two nuclear submarines, with two more to come. We would be adding two more aircraft carrier. We must be very proud that during Tsunami, our Navy played an important role; 35 ships were sent to various countries by the Indian Navy to meet with the situation. That was an important role played by our Navy. As far as nuclear science is concerned, India possesses an arsenal of nuclear weapons and maintains 'No first use' and 'No use' against non-nuclear nations. Indian nuclear missiles include Prithvi, Agni, Shaurya, Sagarika, Dhanush, etc. India has long-range strategic bombers like Tupolev Tu-22 and Tupolev Tu-142; fighter jets like Sukhoi Dassault 2000, MIG-29 and one manufactured by HAL, that is, Tejas. Therefor, our strength is improving. We are going in for modernization, which is a matter of pride for us. We have Indian Coast Guard. Coast guards look after our sea borders and they play an important role to protect our fishermen. Their anti-smuggling role is quite known. However, sometimes they fail in it. But one of the important roles that they have to play in this. Sometimes, passers-by ships discharge pollutants in the sea. Coast Guards keep an eye on it. In my State, Goa, you will see that black tar has spoiled the entire beach. Coast Guards do their best to locate ships which discharge pollutants. However, it is very difficult to locate them, but this is one of their duties to protect the environment of the entire coast of India. This is very important job which Navy has to do. There is another important role that the Navy is doing. When pirates capture ships, many of our sea-farers are entrapped on ships and they remain on ships for months together. Indian Navy is playing on effective role today in this connection. They send their own ship and in case they see the ship, which has been captured by parties, they try to capture pirates and release sea-farers. As far as various Operations are concerned, I would like to mention one thing about it. When Goa was liberated, that Operation was named 'Operation Vijay'. Kargil Operation was also named 'Operation Vijay'. I raised this issue last time, but there was no answer even from the Ministry. Sir, I would like this to be corrected. If a question comes in an examination, 'Write a short note on

Operation Vijay', will the students write it on Kargil or on Goa? Why doesn't the Ministry of Defence correct this record? 'Operation Vijay' is already there as far as Goa is concerned. Therefore, records have to be corrected. As far as defence is concerned, we are very proud of it. But as far as the Defence Ministry is concerned, we can have our grievances. It is not that it is sacrosanct and we can't say anything about it. If our judiciary is weak, we can say something about judges without imputing motive. Today even the President of India is questioned by people, but without imputing motive. Similarly, if you get complaints against the Defence Forces, you can certainly mention it. Therefore, I would like to mention one or two points for the consideration of the Defence Minister. One is, Goa Government gave an island, Anjediva Island, to the Navy years back and they took the possession of the island. There was a commitment from the Navy, especially to the Christian community there, that they would be allowed to visit that Island every year. There is a written contract. After allowing them for some years, the Navy has banned people going there in the name of security. Indian Navy is very big. If they think that there may be some security problem, they can carry people under security, let them worship and bring them back. What is wrong in it? Such issues have to be addressed. People are not saying anything because it is Navy; it is one of our Defence Forces. Therefore, this aspect has also to be taken into consideration. What can be the consequence of this? The consequence is this. We have got an airport, Mopa Airport, which is going to be built now. Dabolim Airport is under the Defence. The Government has committed that Dabolim Airport will not be closed down. But people say that if, after giving commitment, the Navy can do what it has done to Anjediva, how can it be ensured that Dabolim Airport will not be closed down? Therefore, there is an agitation in South Goa. There is a strong demand that we don't want Mopa. Although we require big airports, there is an apprehension in the mind of the people that some Forces do not ...*(Time-bell)*... Sir, I have got time.

THE VICE CHAIRMAN (PROF. P.J. KURIEN) : You can take two minutes more.

SHRI SHANTARAM NAIK : Sir, I have twenty minutes.

THE VICE CHAIRMAN (PROF. P.J. KURIEN) : No, I told you already that you have maximum fifteen minutes. There is one more speaker from your party.

SHRI SHANTARAM NAIK : Then, Sir, there is always a complaint. You are aware of it that Defence Forces have occupied land of the civilians. In Goa also, when they came for 'Operation Vijay' for liberating Goa, they got Goa liberated within 48 hours. Everybody thanks them for that. But, after 48 hours, they did not leave. They occupied the entire civilian airport. Even today, they are there. The entire land belongs to the Goa Government. They recorded that land in their name, and when we wanted the land for construction of Dabolim Airport, they refused to give that. Very slowly,

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some land is being given. Even today, they have not given the remaining land which is required to be given. Therefore, Sir, these are the issues we have to address.

Lastly, Sir, I would like to raise a point. Recently, I had gone to Kaiga. There is a problem in Seabird and Kaiga projects. These are two major projects where local people are not being employed. Either in Kaiga, or in Seabird, they can be given training or they can be employed. Secondly, the issue of compensation of land in the Seabird project has still not been resolved. A paltry amount has been given by the Land Acquisition Officer. Even that amount has been challenged by the Navy in the Supreme Court. Can you imagine people getting paltry amount against the land costing thousands and lakhs of rupees and why should the Navy challenge it in the Supreme Court rather than giving the farmers whatever is due to them?

So, these are the issues which the Defence Ministry has to resolve. Thank you, Sir.

THE VICE CHAIRMAN (PROF. P.J. KURIEN) : Now, Shri Rangasayee Ramakrishna. Is it your maiden speech?

SHRI RANGASAYEE RAMAKRISHNA : Yes, Sir.

THE VICE CHAIRMAN (PROF. P.J. KURIEN) : Take maximum fifteen minutes.

SHRI RANGASAYEE RAMAKRISHNA : Sir, as a bureaucrat, I used to frequent that Official Gallery for long years. Today, I would like to express my very deep sense of gratitude to my party for nominating me to this august House. I never anticipated that there will be a transition from that Official Gallery to the House. I am really grateful to the senior leaders in my party to make this transition happen.

Mr. Vice Chairman, Sir, our leader, Shri L.K. Advani, used to recount a courtesy call by late Benazir Bhutto, when she seemed to have mentioned to him that there are two things which distinguish India from the rest of the sub-continent. One is the professional Army which never dabbles in politics. Second is the Election Commission of India which keeps the democracy vital. It makes the democracy possible. Now, my intervention today concerns both these institutions and hence, I chose this preface. In the recently-concluded Assembly elections, particularly in Uttarakhand, we perceived certain disturbing trends which virtually amounted to disfranchisement of the soldiers. I shall revert to this phenomenon in the latter part of my intervention. Before coming to that, I shall now keep a proposal, which is a very novel proposal, for requesting the hon. Defence Minister to make the Defence Forces, particularly the Air Force, provide logistic support for the conduct and management of the elections in this country. As we are all aware, long distances and difficult terrains have to be covered and the political parties are put to substantial strain in procuring the aircrafts, helicopters, and,

getting permissions from the Districts authorities for take-offs and landings, particularly, night-landing, which is hardly ever granted, and, which further curtails the time available for the campaign.

Quality time, which ought to be spent in the conduct of the campaign gets diverted to logistics problems. Many a time, one faces last-minute glitches, compelling one to abandon flight and instead cover long distances by road, resulting in missing out on many vital constituencies.

Consequently, my request to the hon. Defence Minister is to kindly consider a proposal of Indian Air Force providing logistics support to election management on lines similar to the provisioning of such support already given by the Air Force in humanitarian assistance and disaster relief operations. This will enhance the quality of campaigns since we will be able to use night-landing facilities of the Air Force, air stations and helipads.

Sir, General elections are the greatest celebration of democracy, and, consequently, the participation of Defence Forces in the same cannot be considered as a low priority. Hon. Minister may like to accept the suggestion in principle, and, the modalities of giving equitable treatment to various parties in hiring of planes or helicopters can be worked out thereafter. If the Defence establishment has reservations in directly dealing with the political parties, then, the Election Commission can be authorized to act and serve as a facilitating nodal point.

Sir, I now come to the second issue. As I already stated, in the recently concluded Assembly elections in Uttarakhand, certain factors emerged, which literally constituted a virtual disenfranchisement of the Army jawans. As you know, Sir, unlike other voters, various alternatives are available to Defence personnel for exercising the franchise. A *jawan* can get enrolled as a voter in his native place or even in his station of posting. In fact, the Army headquarters, as recently as on 14th July, 2011, issued a letter to all the Field establishments for enabling jawans to register in the place of posting also. In fact, para 3 of the letter is very significant. It says, "The Raksha Mantri desires that no member of the Armed Forces should remain unregistered as a voter, and, that all service personnel, including those posted in far-flung areas, are made aware of the relevant provisions and are motivated to register as voters under the preferred category. A mission mode approach is to be adopted to achieve this".

I was quite encouraged by this thing, and, in fact, as my duty is the Party was to coordinate this type of work, I contacted various Army establishments to see that more and more people are enthused to come and register in their place of posting but the response was very, very tardy. This is another problem. A service voter would like to continue as a voter in his native place because along with the electoral right, you get the EPIC card which gives you certain privileges as an identity card. So, a *jawan* feels

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that for the short period, why he should shift it there. Sir, in the NDA regime, a very novel process of giving proxy voting rights to Army voters was thought of. But somehow due to various procedural hassles, this has not taken off at all although it is almost ten years since we innovated this thing. So, when all these things are exhausted, the only pattern for the service voter to vote is to resort to the postal ballot. States like Uttarakhand, which went to polls recently, and Himachal Pradesh, which will go to polls very soon, have large multitude of service voters. In Uttarakhand, this time, more than 1.2 lakh voters registered for this facility. But what happened? What happened was, hardly even 30,000 votes were included for counting. One can send a postal ballot from the date of withdrawal of candidature and it can go up to the date of counting. Normally, this period is about 15 days, but this time the polls took place on January 30th and the counting took place on March 6th, which means about fifty days were available for the postal ballots to reach. But what happened was just contrary. Many of you may know the reason. One major leader of a major political party lost his election last time only on counting of the postal ballots. He was on a winning spree when the counting took place, but when the postal ballots were counted, he lost the election. That started a fear psychosis. This is very unfortunate in our country. This is a country which gave *Advaita* to the entire world where we perceive every human being as a divine person and we see a dignity in each individual. That is what we do when we do *namaste* unlike the handshake of western countries. So, in a country where individuals have to be respected, we have, unfortunately, started a cult where we want a **herd-instinct** pattern of behaviour of groups of people depending on their gender, class, community, religion or profession. So, here is a very stray case where somebody lost the election and the conclusion was drawn that all army voters will be adverse to a particular person or a particular party. This is very unfortunate, and this is the real pitfall, if I may say so, behind all the various vote banks which we keep chasing. We never respect the individual behaviour. We respect a class or community behaviour. With this psychosis, a canard was spread, although the law permits that postal ballots can be received up to 8 a.m. on the date of counting, that the polling took place on 30th January and there is no point in sending the postal ballots now. I am sorry to say many defence establishments, many army cantonment officers believed this thing and then they choked the return transit of the postal ballots. Then came another thing, that is, the Representation of People Act and the rules framed thereunder, that is, the conduct of election rules. I will comment particularly on rule 54(a) which gives very elaborate checks and balances as to how a postal ballot should be opened and counted. There is nothing which you need to import in this because it already provides for the voter's signatures to be attested by the Commanding Officer. Despite this thing, the interested people started saying that 'no, the signatures on the postal ballots should be compared with the signatures of that voter when he applied for

registration as a voter', which means about 30 years, 40 years back. Normally, all *jawans* register for postal ballots the day they join service. Everybody knew that these documents could not be brought in time from the far-flung areas to the counting centres. This was an attempt to invalidate as many postal ballots as possible. I had to move heaven and earth to get these things disapproved by the Election Commission, and then these orders were countermanded. When all is said and done, the damage was done. In a land which boasted of '*Jai Jawan, Jai Kisan*', we are virtually disenfranchising the Service voters. This is not healthy for our vibrant democracy. There are many options available to the Defence Forces. But, unfortunately, there are various procedural hassles. A very peculiar psychology of the senior Defence officers is that if you allow them to participate in voting, you will encourage politicisation of the Forces. This is wrong. A large chunk of us, more than a million of Defence personnel, does not participate in the exercise of democracy. What type of democracy do we have? I would urge upon you to kindly coordinate this work relating to the facility being made available to the Defence personnel in future elections. Thank you, Sir.

DR. K.P. RAMALINGAM (Tamil Nadu) : Sir, I thank you for having given me this opportunity to speak on the functioning of the Ministry of Defence.

At the outset, I would like to point out that India must not give in too much. We easily believe our neighbours and always walk into trouble in the name of 'negotiations' and 'tasks'. This has happened with almost all our so-called 'friendly neighbours'. Recently, a proposal came from the other side of the border, Pakistan, about demilitarisation of the Siachen Glacier. I want to caution this Government that we must not give in easily. We fail to learn from history and that has become our weakness. Hence, I urge upon the Union Government that we must not yield to this, and we must not give up our fortification in Siachen. I strongly stress that in the name of 'talks', we must not give up our rights. We have shed our noble blood to safeguard Siachen. We must not forget that.

Our party, DMK, and both our founder leaders Anna and our present leader Dr. Kalaignar always expressed our faith in the unity and integrity of the country. We are second to none in upholding patriotism. During the Chinese War, in 1962, our leader, Anna, joined hands with Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru even though he was taken out of the Vellore Prison just then. His speech with patriotic sentiments to safeguard the boundaries of India is still echoing in the Vellore Fort. DMK was the first in mobilising funds for war during the period. DMK's contribution was not surpassed by any other political party as our cadre and public, through our mobilisation, contributed liberally. I remember, our leader Dr. Kalaignar addressed hundreds of fund-raising meetings. Such was the contribution of DMK right from the beginning.

When it comes to Defence, we are concentrating more on our northern, eastern and western borders and forgetting that we have southern borders too. This is why

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recently our fishermen were killed by some foreign vessels in the international waters very near our borders. It is also a continuing tale of sorrow on the other side where frequent attacks on Tamil fishermen were committed by the Sri Lankan Navy and Armed Forces. Even after so much of blood has flown down the Gulf of Mannar and Katchatheevu, the presence of our mighty defence is not at all felt there.

The Sri Lankan Armed Forces are going on attacking our fishermen. Even a threat perception has not been given by our mighty Indian Defence. I would like to give a forewarning that we must be very careful with our friendly neighbours. I need not point our Sri Lanka because we know the days of Chinese aggression.

We all pay respect and hold our Armed Forces in high esteem. But, it is saddening that our Army purchases land in controversies. I know that certain purchases cannot be open. But, they can always be done beyond criticism. The media and the so-called whistleblowers play havoc. There must be a strict enforcement of law, restraining the Press from reporting anything connected with our Defence. I feel that our Defence must be beyond criticism and no one should make irresponsible charges and frivolous comments. We must not give misleading information about our Army and our equipment. I urge upon the Government through this august House that we must have a relook at our media reporting Defence matters.

I fail to understand why the so-called national newspapers stoop low. Even without understanding what they are doing, they are lowering the image of our Armed Forces. High ranking officers in our Defence system must also avoid meeting the media often. I want to know whether they are playing at the hands of others and some vested interests even from across the border.

I would like to stress once again that our Southern borders must also be protected effectively. The happenings in Sri Lanka must be carefully watched. Our mighty Defence need not have close cooperation with them because it may weaken our nation in future. I would like to recall the lines from *Silappadhikaram*, the famous Tamil Epic, "*Thenpulam kaval en mudhal Pizhaithadhu*" says the Pandia King. The Pandia King Nedunchezhiyan realised too late that his study of things in the South was wrong and he had unwittingly mismanaged, is the meaning of that self-confession. Our Government too must not repent and lament like that in future.

Before I conclude, I would like to stress on modernisation of our Armed Forces. Nowadays, we find fantastic new look uniforms. Like that, uniformly, we should go for sophisticated weapons and suitable training. DRDO is sharing with laymen the fruits of its research. At this juncture, on behalf our Party, DMK, I would like to

congratulate DRDO scientists and the Defence Minister, and put on record our appreciation for the successful testing of the ICBM like Agni-V multi-warheaded missile. Our Defence must also come forward to share with our paramilitary forces its new innovation and techniques in intelligence gathering and training of armed personnel for which the fund should be flowing freely. With these words, Sir, I conclude. Thank you.

DR. ASHOK S. GANGULY (Nominated) : Thank you, Mr. Vice Chairman, Sir. I just have a few comments as usual. First of all, I think, we are extremely fortunate to have as our Defence Minister and the Minister of State who are people of few words and, therefore, they are sometimes misunderstood and misinterpreted. I would just say, through you, to the hon. Minister that please not let your word represent your actions and let your silence represent what you wish to do.

It is unfortunate that there has been a recent public controversy about India's Defence preparedness. I think, we are responsible for bring our country's reputation.

THE VICE CHAIRMAN (PROF. P.J. KURIEN) : Gangulyji, one second please. We have five more speakers. Please take five minutes each so that we can finish it today. Reply will be tomorrow. Now, please proceed.

DR. ASHOK S. GANGULY : Sir, I wish to recall two events before the 1962 humiliation on the North-East frontier. The hon. Defence Minister, at that time, had asked the Ordnance factory to stop producing arms and ammunition and instead to produce toasters and tea kettle. That was one of our fatal mistakes. Equally, I must remind ourselves that although we unconditionally collapsed in 1962, India won an unconditional victory in 1971.

(THE VICE CHAIRMAN (DR. E.M. SUDARSANA NATCHIAPPAN)
in the Chair)

I think, the biggest curse of procuring arms and ammunition is the plague of the middlemen. This is an international plague. It has nothing to do particularly with India. They are an unavoidable infection which must be fought so that we do not become helpless by their actions. In this respect, I urge the hon. Defence Minister and the Minister of State not to allow middlemen and lobbyists to become an impediment, but to recognise that Indian Private and Public Sector industries has moved into the 21st century, and are hugely capable of participating with the public sector, with the DRDO and getting into arms manufacture and ammunition manufacture in a very, very big way. The question is : why are we delaying this? I hope the civil servants who are sitting here in the official gallery, as well as, listening to the debate would take it seriously as a matter of urgency that cannot be delayed any further. ISRO has shown what is possible. I cannot pay the same compliments to the DRDO with all due respect, because over the years, many delays have has been there, whether it is a battle tank or

[Dr. Ashok S. Ganguly]

whether it is a light combat aircraft, etc. But DRDO is an asset that this country has and it has to be modernised. It has to be led. It cannot do all by itself. Kindly find a way of coupling it with the Indian private sector capabilities; and don't permit people to protect their turf in order to protect things which are not in the national interest. I don't think we should feel helpless at all. We should not feel negative at all. We should not feel negative at all. But we want to hear from the Ministry of Defence, the Minister of Defence and the Minister of State of Defence about India's defence plans in the next two or three years. I compliment them for blacklisting ten companies. I compliment them for sending out the word that middlemen will not be allowed to Interfere with India's arm purchase. Middlemen of Indian origin or foreign origin, will be barred from what India plans to do in the next two to three years. But Indian companies, Indian capabilities and where necessary foreign purchases should be negotiated directly with suppliers. This is going to be the route for restoring our self-confidence. I have heard a lot of very positive things from both sides of this House. I just want to request the Defence Minister to share with us his two to three year vision which says that we will get out of all this controversy whether in the media, whether in the political space, whether in the public domain or whether in the foreign media and declare that we are going to look after our interests, we are quite capable of doing it, we do not suffer from helplessness and we have all the capabilities in this country and we will bring them together in order to get our defence priorities right. Thank you very much.

THE VICE CHAIRMAN (DR. E.M. SUDARSANA NATCHIAPPAN) : Thank you. Shri M.P. Achuthan. Kindly confine to your time of five minutes. This is for all. There are four other Members among whom we have to divide the time.

SHRI M.P. ACHUTHAN (Kerala) : Mr. Vice Chairman, Sir, the working of the Ministry of Defence is being discussed widely in the media now. The people also took great interest in the working of the Ministry not for the good thing done but for two reasons. One is the series of scams. Another reason is the report about the inadequate preparedness of the Armed Forces. These two aspects worry our people. And who is responsible for these scams and the inadequate preparedness of our Armed Forces? I would say, the political leaders. The Government, not only this Government, but the previous Governments also. These scams are nothing new. The dealings on commission basis, with middlemen on arms purchases, is a continuous process. Everybody knows that there is commission paid. At times, 15 per cent commission is paid on purchases. The lobby, the arms purchase lobby, is so powerful that we cannot imagine it because thousands of crores is involved. In some deals, not only the military industrial complexes or companies, but also Governments are involved in the lobby. We have seen so many reports. When we had the contract with a French company for purchase of aircraft, what was the reaction of the British Government? Even the British Prime Minister has

spoken about it. It means that in the international scenario, now the military industrial complex is very powerful and they are trying to dictate terms to our country in our defence policy. So, we must be very careful.

Now, Sir, of late, another scam has emerged, and that is, the land mafia. Till now, defence scams meant dealings in purchases of arms. But now we have dealings of defence lands. We have seen this in Sukhna, then, in Pune, Jodhpur and Srinagar. And, in all these cases, what we see is a nexus between the political leadership, some of the Army officers and the middlemen. These three sets of people combine together and dictate terms. And the question is whether we can break this nexus, whether the Government has the political will to deal with it, whether it can take stringent action against those who are involved in these dealings. Today we are fortunate to have a political leader as the Ministry of Defence of our country, whose integrity cannot be challenged. I appreciate it. But the unfortunate aspect is that the clean image of Shri A.K. Antony is being used by the ruling political dispensation to cover up many scams. That is the tragedy. My request to the hon. Minister is to be bold and take action. And we see that many of the Army Officers, immediately after retirement, work as lobbies; they join private companies dealing with military equipments...

THE VICE CHAIRMAN (DR. E.M. SUDARSANA NATCHIAPPAN) : Kindly complete. Your time is over.

SHRI M.P. ACHUTHAN : Yes, Sir. So I propose that, at least, for five years after retirement, they cannot join any private company dealing with defence affairs. There must be more transparency and accountability in Defence dealings. The CAG has to be involved in the process of accounting and overseeing, and there should be more transparency. Now, we have got auctions. We have blacklisted some companies. The hon. Minister was also mentioning...

THE VICE CHAIRMAN (DR. E.M. SUDARSANA NATCHIAPPAN) : Okay, thank you very much. You can straightaway come to the point.

SHRI M.P. ACHUTHAN : We are blacklisting the vendors, the dealers, not the original Company who is paying this. Another thing is : how can we deal with this only, by indigenization alone. In order to have more defence productions within the country, we do have public sector undertakings. But many of public sector undertakings are for assembling, not for original production. For that, we need R&D. So, we must give more funds for R&D, and involve all the concerns, all those who are interested in producing...

THE VICE CHAIRMAN (DR. E.M. SUDARSANA NATCHIAPPAN) : Okay, thank you.

SHRI M.P. ACHUTHAN : Just one minute. One thing is, for modernization this year, 2012-13, the allotment was Rs. 66,032 crores. But, out of it, Rs. 54,839 crores was for a commitment made earlier. What the military gets is only Rs. 5,520 crores. So, for this, a one-time settlement has to be made.

THE VICE CHAIRMAN (DR. E.M. SUDARSANA NATCHIAPPAN) : Okay, thank you very much.

SHRI M.P. ACHUTHAN : Mr. Vice Chairman, Sir, just one minute.

THE VICE CHAIRMAN (DR. E.M. SUDARSANA NATCHIAPPAN) : You are having another Member also from your party.

SHRI M.P. ACHUTHAN : Sir, I will conclude with a saying in Malayalam. Since the Defence Minister is from Kerala, I want to mention that. There is a saying in Malayalam : *marman padichavan thallan polunnathu*. That means a man, who is well-versed in sensitive parts of the body, is going to beat. The story is about a man who knows the sensitive parts of the body. If he strikes there is instant death. So, one day when he was going, he saw a cow, in his paddy field, eating the paddy crop. So, he took a stick and went to beat the cow. When he tried to aim at it, he saw that it was a sensitive part. He thought, "If I beat there, the cow will die." In that way, every part of the body of the cow seemed to be very sensitive to him. And, he went back without hitting her. So, don't take such an attitude. Be bold. Take timely actions. There may be a risk, but only then, can you take the country forward. Thank you.

SHRI PANKAJ BORA (Assam) : Sir, with all humility, I say that I will agree to your proposal; I will confine myself to five minutes, though it is my first speech. I am a disciplined party worker; I will abide by your decision. Sir, I am talking about the subject of Defence. It is a very important subject. First of all, I would like to congratulate the hon. Defence Minister and the scientists and our technical personalities for successful launching of Agni-V missile. We are fortunate now to be a member of the elite ICBM club of five nations, and once again, I compliment you, Mr. Defence Minister. While I salute the great Jawans of Army, Navy and Air Force, for protecting the border, by land, sea and air, and also pay homage to all the martyrs who laid down their lives to safeguard the integrity and sovereignty of the nation. Now, I don't want to repeat whatever has been stated because the time is very short. I will go to the Defence Budget. Here in the Defence Budget, I have observed one thing about the outlay, both capital and revenue, we see that the revenue outlay is more and capital outlay is less. I understand, knowing that the Indian military machine is manpower-intensive, we have to look after our soldiers, airmen and seamen, and have to give them all the facilities. But, equally, at the same time, I feel, we have to prepare ourselves

with modernisation and other schemes. Sir, I humbly request the hon. Defence Minister, if the capital outlay and the revenue outlay can be on 50:50 basis in future, it would be better. I also compliment the hon. Finance Minister that in spite of economic slowdown, he has increased the Defence Budget. Also, in his Budget Speech, the hon. Finance Minister stated that this is for the present need. But, for future needs, he will enhance it. Through you, I also compliment the hon. Finance Minister.

Now, I come to the borders that we are having. We have a long border of 1,4000 kms. or more and the coastal border. Practically, every State of India is a frontline State, barring only Madhya Pradesh, Chhattisgarh, Jharkhand, Delhi and Haryana. All other States either have international border or a coastline, not to talk about the archipelagoes and the islands. Sir, the border management must be heightened, especially for us in the North-East where we are surrounded more than 95 per cent, by international border; only 4 per cent is connected with the main land by a narrow corridor of 56 kms which is known as 'chicken's neck.' And, we have seen what had happened in 1962. When I was a school kid, I observed what had happened. The refugees came from the northern township of Assam, Tejpur, to our hometown - Guwahati - because the Chinese came right up to Tawang and Bomdila. Today, the situation has changed. We have improved vastly in defence preparedness. But, at that point of time, we did not have even a single bridge over the River Brahmaputra. Sir, River Brahmaputra is one of the mightiest rivers in the world. Till then we did not have a single bridge over it. But, after the Chinese came here, we got a bridge. Now, that is why we shout, that is why we say you please go for more connectivity in the North-East with rail, road and air. It is not only for us but it is for the entire country, for the Defence of the country and also for the strategic needs. So, all the roads Rail connectivity should be improved. Also, border roads should be improved. We have a long border with China. I will not talk about that Government. I have very high regard for the people of China and also high regard for the people of Pakistan. But, the Governments and the matters that they are pursuing, the technique, the policy with a massive build up Defence budget, we are apprehensive in the North-East, because once we have been beaten twice we don't want to be shy. So, the North-East appeals to the hon. Defence Minister to increase the capability of our forces in the North-East, thereby, I did not mean that you should not increase the capabilities of force in the Western sector or the Northern sector. But, also, connectivity should be improved and the Look East Policy has to be given more thrust. It is because from Moreh in Manipur, you can go up to Myanmar then, through Myanmar, to Thailand to Malaysia.

So, Sir, these are the points I want to make. Thank you, Sir, for having given me this opportunity. Thank you.
