

THE

Dated 25.11.2014

PARLIAMENTARY DEBATES

(Part II—Proceedings other than Questions and Answers)

OFFICIAL REPORT

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HOUSE OF THE PEOPLE

Tuesday, 24th March, 1953.

The House met at Two of the Clock.

[MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER in the Chair]

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

(See Part I)

3 P.M.

LEAVE OF ABSENCE

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: I have to inform hon. Members that I have received the following letter from Shri A. Nesamony:

"I am unable to attend the House due to the serious illness of my wife who has been in bed since 6th January, 1953, due to B Cell infection of the kidney.....etc. Her condition is still causing anxiety and therefore I request you to grant me leave of absence during the current session of Parliament."

I have received another letter from Shri R. P. Nevatia, which reads as follows:

"As I am going out of India for attending the Eighth Congress of International Society of Sugar Cane Technologists to be held in British West Indies, I request you to kindly grant me leave of absence from the House for the remaining period of the current session."

Is it the pleasure of the House that permission be granted to Shri A. Nesamony for remaining absent from all the sittings of the House during this Session, and to Shri R. P. Nevatia from all the sittings of the House for the remaining part of the Session?

Hon. Members: Yes.

Leave was granted.

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PAPERS LAID ON THE TABLE

NOTIFICATIONS ISSUED UNDER THE CENTRAL EXCISES AND SALT ACT, 1944

The Minister of Finance (Shri C. D. Peshmukh): I beg to lay on the Table a copy of each of the following notifications in accordance with Section 38 of the Central Excises and Salt Act, 1944, namely:

- (1) Central Excises Notification No. 2, dated the 20th January, 1953.
- (2) Central Excises Notification No. 3, dated the 20th January, 1953.
- (3) Central Excises Notification No. 5, dated the 28th January, 1953. [Placed in Library. See No. S-14/53.]

GENERAL BUDGET—DEMANDS FOR GRANTS

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: The House will now take up the Demands for Grants under the head Defence Ministry.

DEMAND NO. 11—MINISTRY OF DEFENCE

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Motion is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 23,92,000 be granted to the President to complete the sum necessary to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1954, in respect of 'Ministry of Defence'."

DEMAND NO. 12—DEFENCE SERVICES, EFFECTIVE—ARMY

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Motion is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 1,50,06,70,000 be granted to the President to complete the sum necessary to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the

[Mr. Deputy-Speaker]

31st day of March, 1954, in respect of 'Defence Services, Effective—Army'."

DEMAND NO. 13—DEFENCE SERVICES, EFFECTIVE—NAVY

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Motion is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 10,37,56,000 be granted to the President to complete the sum necessary to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1954, in respect of 'Defence Services, Effective—Navy'."

DEMAND NO. 14—DEFENCE SERVICES EFFECTIVE—AIR FORCE

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Motion is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 23,64,30,000 be granted to the President to complete the sum necessary to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1954, in respect of 'Defence Services, Non-Effective Charges'."

DEMAND NO. 15—DEFENCE SERVICES; NON-EFFECTIVE CHARGES

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Motion is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 14,36,31,000 be granted to the President to complete the sum necessary to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1954, in respect of 'Defence Services, Non-Effective Charges'."

DEMAND NO. 16—MISCELLANEOUS EXPENDITURE UNDER THE MINISTRY OF DEFENCE

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Motion is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 4,58,000 be granted to the President to complete the sum necessary to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1954, in respect of 'Miscellaneous Expenditure under the Ministry of Defence'."

DEMAND NO. 114—DEFENCE CAPITAL OUTLAY

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Motion is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 16,50,00,000 be granted to the

President to complete the sum necessary to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1954, in respect of 'Defence Capital Outlay'."

Utilisation of the army for the socio-economic programme of the country envisaged in the Five Year Plan

Shri Sivamurthi Swami (Kushtagi): I beg to move:

"That the demand under the head 'Ministry of Defence' be reduced by Rs. 100."

The anti-South Indian bias of the Army, Navy and Air Force Selection Board

Shri N. Sreekantan Nair (Quilon cum Mavelikkara): I beg to move:

"That the demand under the head 'Ministry of Defence' be reduced by Rs. 100."

Necessity for introducing military training in schools and colleges

Shri N. Sreekantan Nair: I beg to move:

"That the demand under the head 'Ministry of Defence' be reduced by Rs. 100."

Necessity for setting up a Parliamentary Committee to go into the ways and means of effecting economy

Shri N. Sreekantan Nair: I beg to move:

"That the demand under the head 'Ministry of Defence' be reduced by Rs. 100."

Policy

Shri P. N. Rajabhoj (Sholapur—Reserved—Sch. Castes): I beg to move:

"That the demand under the head 'Ministry of Defence' be reduced by Rs. 100."

Anti-South Indian bias of the Army, Navy and Air Force Selection Board

Shri P. N. Rajabhoj: I beg to move:

"That the demand under the head 'Ministry of Defence' be reduced by Rs. 100."

Necessity for introducing military training in schools and colleges

Shri P. N. Rajabhoj: I beg to move:

"That the demand under the head 'Ministry of Defence' be reduced by Rs. 100."

Necessity for getting up a parliamentary committee to go into the ways and means of effecting economy

Shri P. N. Rajabhoj: I beg to move:

"That the demand under the head 'Ministry of Defence' be reduced by Rs. 100."

Top-heavy cost of the Secretariat of the Ministry of Defence

Shri Gopala Rao (Gudivada): I beg to move:

"That the demand under the head 'Ministry of Defence' be reduced by Rs. 100."

Policy

Shri Frank Anthony (Nominated—Anglo-Indians): I beg to move:

"That the demand under the head 'Ministry of Defence' be reduced by Rs. 100."

Failure to adopt modern trends of defence organization so as to ensure economy while increasing efficiency

Shri U. C. Patnaik (Ghumsur): I beg to move:

"That the demand under the head 'Ministry of Defence' be reduced by Rs. 100."

Necessity of building up citizen forces to form second lines of defence for the Army, Navy and Air Force

Shri U. C. Patnaik: I beg to move:

"That the demand under the head 'Ministry of Defence' be reduced by Rs. 100."

Failure to provide for the training of defence personnel to help the nation's socio-economic development drive

Shri U. C. Patnaik: I beg to move:

"That the demand under the head 'Ministry of Defence' be reduced by Rs. 100."

Failure to make use of the defence forces for productive purposes

Shri Nanadas (Ongole—Reserved—Sch. Castes): I beg to move:

"That the demand under the head 'Ministry of Defence' be reduced by Rs. 100."

Failure to eliminate waste and extravagance in defence expenditure

Shri Nanadas: I beg to move:

"That the demand under the head 'Ministry of Defence' be reduced by Rs. 100."

Necessity of extending the National Cadet Corps to all schools, colleges and other institutions and expanding its activities further

Shri Nanadas: I beg to move:

"That the demand under the head 'Ministry of Defence' be reduced by Rs. 100."

Desirability of encouraging the scheduled castes, scheduled tribes and backward classes to join the defence services

Shri Nanadas: I beg to move:

"That the demand under the head 'Ministry of Defence' be reduced by Rs. 100."

Necessity of opening Army and Air Force training centres in Andhra State

Shri Nanadas: I beg to move:

"That the demand under the head 'Ministry of Defence' be reduced by Rs. 100."

Utilisation of the defence services in the economic reconstruction of the country

Shri Sivamurthi Swami: I beg to move:

"That the demand under the head 'Defence Services, Effective—Army' be reduced by Rs. 100."

Reorganisation of the Defence Services

Shri T. K. Chaudhuri (Berhampore): I beg to move:

"That the demand under the head 'Defence Services, Effective—Army' be reduced by Rs. 100."

Complete Indianisation of all command posts in the Defence Services

Shri T. K. Chaudhuri: I beg to move:

"That the demand under the head 'Defence Services, Effective—Army' be reduced by Rs. 100."

Policy of building and maintaining an efficient Army

Shri T. K. Chaudhuri: I beg to move:

"That the demand under the head 'Defence Services, Effective—Army' be reduced by Rs. 100."

Building of defence industries and import of arms from abroad

Shri Gopala Rao: I beg to move:

"That the demand under the head 'Defence Services, Effective—Army' be reduced by Rs. 100."

Maintenance of the ordnance factories and the condition of labour employed in them

Shri Gopala Rao: I beg to move:

"That the demand under the head 'Defence Services, Effective—Army' be reduced by Rs. 100."

Possibility of full production of acetone and acids in the Cordite Factory, Aruvangadu to satisfy the country's needs in full

Shri Nambiar (Mayuram): I beg to move:

"That the demand under the head 'Defence Services, Effective—Army' be reduced by Rs. 100."

To explore the possibilities of manufacturing civilian goods in ordnance and clothing factories for internal consumption and to avert large scale retrenchment

Shri Nambiar: I beg to move:

"That the demand under the head 'Defence Services, Effective—Army' be reduced by Rs. 100."

Proposal for retrenchment of 4,000 employees in the Ordnance Factories Technical Development Establishments, Depots and the M.E.S.

Shri Nambiar: I beg to move:

"That the demand under the head 'Defence Services, Effective—Army' be reduced by Rs. 100."

Urgent need to implement the agreed recommendations of the Kalyanwala Committee's Report

Shri Nambiar: I beg to move:

"That the demand under the head 'Defence Services, Effective—Army' be reduced by Rs. 100."

Denial of trade union rights to the civilian employees of the defence establishments

Shri Nambiar: I beg to move:

"That the demand under the head 'Defence Services, Effective—Army' be reduced by Rs. 100."

Need for a judicial enquiry into the cases of unsatisfactory treatment of trade union leaders in the civil establishments

Shri Nambiar: I beg to move:

"That the demand under the head 'Defence Services, Effective—Army' be reduced by Rs. 100."

Discrimination shown in the grant of hill allowance to the workers of the Cordite Factory, Aravangadu—Nilgiris

Shri Nambiar: I beg to move:

"That the demand under the head 'Defence Services, Effective—Army' be reduced by Rs. 100."

Low Scales of Pay of the Other Ranks of the Army

Shri Nambiar: I beg to move:

"That the demand under the head 'Defence Services, Effective—Army' be reduced by Rs. 100."

Hardships of the Other Ranks in respect of allowances, housing, food, clothing, medical-aid, leave and pensions

Shri Nambiar: I beg to move:

"That the demand under the head 'Defence Services, Effective—Army' be reduced by Rs. 100."

Large-scale reversions of the Havildar Clerks

Shri Nambiar: I beg to move:

"That the demand under the head 'Defence Services, Effective—Army' be reduced by Rs. 100."

Failure to form suitable reserves and to expand the potential reserves

Shri U. C. Patnaik: I beg to move:

"That the demand under the head 'Defence Services, Effective—Army' be reduced by Rs. 100."

Failure to organise ordnance factories and other defence industries so as to minimise purchases from outside

Shri U. C. Patnaik: I beg to move:

"That the demand under the head 'Defence Services, Effective—Army' be reduced by Rs. 100."

Corruption and wastage in the purchase of stores and in the construction of works

Shri U. C. Patnaik: I beg to move:

"That the demand under the head 'Defence Services, Effective—Army' be reduced by Rs. 100."

Failure to provide for the rehabilitation of ex-service personnel in civil life

Shri U. C. Patnaik: I beg to move:

“That the demand under the head ‘Defence Services, Effective—Army’ be reduced by Rs. 100.”

Desirability of starting ordnance factories in Royalaseema and thus developing the industrial potential of that famine stricken area.

Shri Nanadas: I beg to move:

“That the demand under the head ‘Defence Services, Effective—Army’ be reduced by Rs. 100.”

Need for an immediate decision for the establishment of a Boys’ Training School at Visakhapatnam

Dr. Lanka Sundaram (Visakhapatnam): I beg to move:

“That the demand under the head ‘Defence Services, Effective—Navy’ be reduced by Rs. 100.”

Utilisation of the defence services in the economic reconstruction of the country

Shri Sivamurthi Swami: I beg to move:

“That the demand under the head ‘Defence Services, Effective—Navy’ be reduced by Rs. 100.”

Complete Indianisation of all command posts in the Defence Services

Shri P. N. Rajabhoj: I beg to move:

“That the demand under the head ‘Defence Services, Effective—Navy’ be reduced by Rs. 100.”

Hardship of the Navy personnel Other Ranks in respect of pay, allowances, food, medical-aid, clothing, leave and pensions

Shri Nambiar: I beg to move:

“That the demand under the head ‘Defence Services, Effective—Navy’ be reduced by Rs. 100.”

Reinstatement of affected Navy personnel connected with the R.I.N. demonstrations of 1946

Shri Nambiar: I beg to move:

“That the demand under the head ‘Defence Services, Effective—Navy’ be reduced by Rs. 100.”

Need for mobilisation and training of coastal sea farers for coastal industries and for coastal defence through appropriate naval reserves or auxiliaries

Shri U. C. Patnaik: I beg to move:

“That the demand under the head ‘Defence Services, Effective—Navy’ be reduced by Rs. 100.”

Failure to organise sufficient units of the Navy Wing of the National Cadet Corps

Shri U. C. Patnaik: I beg to move:

“That the demand under the head ‘Defence Services, Effective—Navy’ be reduced by Rs. 100.”

Failure to formulate legislation for the Indian Navy, and for Naval volunteer reserves and auxiliaries

Shri U. C. Patnaik: I beg to move:

“That the demand under the head ‘Defence Services, Effective—Navy’ be reduced by Rs. 100.”

Failure to utilise the Chilka-Gopalpur area for naval defence and boys training establishment

Shri U. C. Patnaik: I beg to move:

“That the demand under the head ‘Defence Services, Effective—Navy’ be reduced by Rs. 100.”

Utilisation of the defence services in the economic reconstruction of the country

Shri Sivamurthi Swami: I beg to move:

“That the demand under the head ‘Defence Services, Effective—Air Force’ be reduced by Rs. 100.”

Hardships of the Air Force personnel in respect of pay, allowances, food, medical-aid, leave and pensions

Shri Nambiar: I beg to move:

“That the demand under the head ‘Defence Services, Effective—Air Force’ be reduced by Rs. 100.”

Discontent among Air-Force men due to unsatisfactory treatment meted out to Other Ranks

Shri Nambiar: I beg to move:

“That the demand under the head ‘Defence Services, Effective—Air Force’ be reduced by Rs. 100.”

Failure to appreciate the vital role of air defence in modern warfare

Shri U. C. Patnaik: I beg to move:

"That the demand under the head 'Defence Services, Effective—Air Force' be reduced by Rs. 100."

Failure to organize sufficient units of the Air Wing of the National Cadet Corps

Shri U. C. Patnaik: I beg to move:

"That the demand under the head 'Defence Services, Effective—Air Force' be reduced by Rs. 100."

Delay in forming the Air Reserves and the Auxiliary Air Force and formulating rules for them

Shri U. C. Patnaik: I beg to move:

"That the demand under the head 'Defence Services, Effective—Air Force' be reduced by Rs. 100."

Utilisation of the defence services in the economic reconstruction of the country

Shri Sivarmurthi Swami: I beg to move:

"That the demand under the head 'Defence Services, Non-Effective Charges' be reduced by Rs. 100."

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: I would submit to the consideration of the House, particularly the Opposition Members, that they may concentrate on a few cut motions. For if every individual Member moves something like twenty cut motions, I do not know if the House is going to have the time to go through every one of them. Normally, therefore, the four Groups may meet and say "this Group is interested in a particular motion"; and four or five, at the most, may be concentrated upon.

Now all these demands and the cut motions, which have been moved, are before the House for discussion.

Shri U. C. Patnaik: In moving these cut motions I seek to focus attention on certain important organisational matters with respect to the biggest spending department of our country—in fact the biggest spending department of every country in modern times—namely Defence, which is consuming more than 50 per cent. of our national expenditure every year.

Our objection is not to the amounts that are spent on Defence but to the way in which the amounts are being spent; it is to the manner in which the Defence expenditure is incurred, without regard to modern trends of Defence

organisation which ensure economy as well as efficiency in organisation.

Firstly, regarding the organisation of manpower, the modern approach is to build up reserves and the potential reserves of the country. The standing forces are there merely as a sort of shock-absorbers; they are to receive the initial shock till all the potential reserves and regular reserves of the country, both in manpower and in material supplies are brought into action. Citizen Forces, therefore, have to play a very vital role in Defence matters. They are of great importance not merely from the Defence point of view but also from the view point of imparting discipline to the individuals, of giving them training for the nation's socio-economic development drive, and for all other matters concerned with building up of character and building up of the nation.

Citizen forces as 'second lines' should, therefore, be associated with the Army, the Navy and the Air Force. Regarding the Army, the Citizen Forces consist of various types, for instance the Territorial Army, the National Cadet Corps or the Cadet forces, the Civil Defence organisation and so on.

Regarding the Territorial Army, the Indian Territorial Force Act of 1948, which repealed the earlier Act of 1920, has not provided for certain things which even the earlier Act had provided. For instance, Advisory Boards are not provided for; the new Act has not appreciated the geographical boundaries of different Zones; there is no co-ordination with the States; the period of training is such that very few people could join, and so on. Government of India have rightly recognized this defect and last year they have constituted a Central Territorial Army Advisory Committee. Suggestions have been put forth through the Committee and we hope Government will take notice of them.

Regarding the University Training Corps, which was formerly a part of the Territorial Force, it was separated from the Territorial Army and Cadet Organisations were built up through the National Cadet Corps Act of 1948. It became a separate organisation and it was not integrated with the Territorial Army. But there is one safeguard, which the Territorial Army did not have till recently: it has provided for a Central organisation and Provincial or State Advisory Boards, and so on.

Regarding Civil Defence, in 1939 there was a Civil Defence organisation, though confined to urban areas. We had the Civic Guards, the A.R.P., First Aid,

Railway-Protection Forces, and Fire Fighting. The first three were abolished in 1945 when England abolished its Civil Defence organisation. But although England revived its Civil Defence organisation in 1948 with redoubled vigour, we have not yet cared to think of this Civil Defence organisation and revival thereof in India which would have given us an opportunity to defend our country on modern lines.

The Indian Air Force Volunteer Reserve Act was passed in 1939. Reserves were built up and these reserves which were built up in 1939 were subsequently absorbed in the regulars. So today, in the Indian Air Force, about 90 per cent. of the personnel—subject to my being corrected—about 90 per cent. of the officer cadre of the Indian Air Force today are from those reserves that were built up in 1939. But for some reason or the other the reserves, that is the auxiliary Air Force, were given up and we have no auxiliaries now. Last Year the hon. Minister was very anxious to get the Auxiliary and Reserve Air Force Bill passed. It was passed, but till now we have not had the pleasure of going through the Rules. The Rules have not yet been placed before the House.

The Deputy Minister of Defence (Sardar Majithia): They are being gazetted and will be laid on the Table of the House in a couple of days.

Shri U. C. Patnalk: I am grateful to the hon. Minister for saying that the Rules have been formulated and will be laid before the House, and we wish Government every success in building up Citizen Forces as auxiliaries to the Air Force.

Regarding the Navy, there was the Naval Forces Discipline Act in 1939 which provided for naval auxiliaries. It provided for Fleet Reserves, Naval Reserves, Naval Volunteer Reserves and Naval Communication Reserves. That was in 1939, and although several years have passed, that Act is there, with slight modifications in 1942, more or less as a dead-letter on the statute book. And U.K. officers, who are in charge of our Navy, have not yet thought fit to advise us to have real auxiliaries, real naval volunteer reserves as a second line to our regular naval forces which would have strengthened our coastal defence forces.

Moreover, there is no co-ordination in the matter of these different Citizen Forces in our country as they have elsewhere. We are very often told that our Defence organisation is being built up on the U.K. model. But U.K. has got a perfect system by which all these different Citizen Forces are being co-

ordinated and integrated,—County Associations, County Joint Associations and Auxiliary Force Associations. It is these organisations consisting of civilian and military personnel in each locality and in the Centre who are being financed by the Centre with equipment and instructors provided by the war department and it is these local organisations which are responsible for the administration of all types of Citizen Forces there and in spite of the fact that we have U.K. officers, they have not yet told us anything about correlating these different aspects of Citizen Forces which should be properly built up not only to save money but also to increase the efficiency of our Defence Organisation, because in a modern war the whole country and all the Citizen Forces have got to be brought into the Defence Organisation. At least a major part of our patriotic citizens have got to be brought into this Defence Organisation, if not for military defence which is of course their duty today, but for increasing the output of production in various fields. We hope that the new Minister, who has been appointed to look after organisational matters, will pay attention to this aspect of our organisation, see that Citizen Forces are being properly organised for the Army and Navy and the Air Force and give our young men, our patriotic citizens, training for national defence as well as for development of our national resources.

Then I come to the other side, namely, the organisation of material resources from the defence point of view. A very large part of defence expenditure is incurred for the purchase of stores, for organisation of Ordnance Factories and defence industries and for construction of works. The hon. Minister for Defence Organisation will also see not only to the organisation of our man-power but the organisation of our material resources because the biggest complaint is against the expenditure on the purchase of stores for defence industries from outside. You know, Sir, that the Committee which serves as the watchdog of the Parliament regarding large amounts of expenditure every year, the Public Accounts Committee, while examining the defence accounts of 1948-49, has given a scathing criticism of the defence expenditure and the purchase of stores, on the organisation of Ordnance Factories and so on. Although, under article 151 of the Constitution, we are expected to have the reports of the Comptroller and Auditor-General of India relating to the accounts of the Union placed before Parliament every year, since 1949-50, 1950-51, 1951-52, we do not have the

[Shri U. C. Patnaik]

favour of looking through these Defence accounts and the Defence audit report. It is really unfortunate that though the Public Accounts Committee had supported the audit report and made some criticism about the expenditure upto 1948-49, we are not given an opportunity to know about the expenditure since 1949-50 onwards. We do not know whose mistake it is, but we hope, whosoever's mistake it may be, that the Appropriation Accounts for 1949-50 onwards will be placed before this House and the Members will have an opportunity to discuss the expenditure, to see how far our Defence experts have been right in increasing the expenditure on purchase of stores, on purchase of jeeps, on purchase of war materials, how far we could have avoided these purchases from outside, how far we could have saved foreign exchange, how far we could have avoided corruption in these and allied matters.

Sir, I will not take more than a couple of minutes. With your permission, I will give the House an idea, I will not go into the details of Ordnance Factories because I would not place Government in an embarrassing position by going into such details, but I would say this much that during war period, there were 36 Ordnance Factories. Now it is said there are 20. We have got U.K. officers as Superintendents in most of these Ordnance Factories who started their life as infantry officers. Then, they came to the Ordnance Department and they are now in charge of Ordnance Factories. I could even mention names of these people and they have not been able to see that all materials are being produced here. We have got Ordnance Factories and Tanneries under the Army Headquarters. I need not mention their names but some of those tanneries have been closed down, workers have been given notice because they are "surplus". We are having hides and skins in India which are being exported to other countries. But even our ammunition boots which every soldier wears, which every member of the Citizen Forces wears, which every Member of the Home Guards and other organisations wears are being purchased from a British firm in the same place, Kanpur, where we have our biggest harness and saddlery factory. In Kanpur one of our Ordnance Factories was closed down, tanneries there and elsewhere are being closed down; and we are having a British firm—I need not go into names—which is supplying the most essential things for our soldiers, for our policemen, for our Home

Guards viz. the boots to stand upon. Our postal bags could be manufactured in the various leather works so that the workers may not be retrenched on the ground that they are "surplus". To put our Ordnance Factory workers in a sort of insecure jobs, not to give them security of service and to expect them to be faithful to us is not proper. We have to give them security of service. We have to give them more work. We have to expand our Ordnance Factories and it is only then that we will be able to save a lot of money on goods and help production in our country.

There is another small example. You see everywhere the head constables upwards as well as military people having revolvers as part of their uniforms. We are not having revolvers manufactured in our factories. Those Ordnance Factories which have been closed down or where production has been stepped down could manufacture revolvers. We are importing Webley—Scott and Colt revolvers but we are not having revolvers manufactured. In 1950, we produced a double barrel breach loading gun in one of our factories and it was sent to U.K. for testing and the U.K. people with a view to safeguarding the B.S.A. manufacture of arms which are being sent to our country, did not approve of it. So our factories which could manufacture rifles and breach loading guns, single barrel or double barrel, for civilian and military use could not do that. Similarly, we are purchasing hand grenades from outside, from companies which have no capital but still we do not manufacture our own hand grenades though there are certain Ordnance Factories where we could do it. The whole trouble with these Ordnance Factories is that on the one side, some U.K. officers are there—I do not impute any motive to them—and we have to examine how far they are responsible for sabotaging our Ordnance Factories. Secondly we have got officers at the top who are interested in certain trade interests outside, who also ought to be taken notice of. There are mill-owners in our country who are anxious to see that our products including hand made things do not step up. A variety of factors are coming in to see that our Ordnance Factories do not do proper work. There is a cry that the work in certain Ordnance Factories should yield place to handlooms and cottage industries. All this has to be taken with a bit of caution because it is emanating from very big millowners. I, therefore, suggest through this House to the hon. Minister to ensure that

these Ordnance Factories are properly examined, to see that the country gets the fullest use of them. It would be dangerous now to depend upon foreign supplies. We want our defence requirements, as far as possible, to be manufactured here; and through the co-ordination of the Defence Ministry with the Planning Commission, with the Ministry of Industry and with the Ministry of Railways, we should see that we produce everything as far as our military and civilian requirements are concerned. That is very important. I will not take more time but I would suggest that these aspects be examined by the re-organised Ministry.

The Minister of Defence Organisation (Shri Tyagi): The hon. Member said that officers at the top of the Ordnance Factories are in league with the commercial interests or something. I would request him to pass on the information to me.

Shri U. C. Patnaik: I could pass on the information through this House but once I refer to it, I will have to place it on the Table of the House and I am not going to embarrass the hon. Minister by doing so. But if the hon. Minister wants the information, I will pass on to him a list of the 20 Ordnance Factories that are now existing, who are the officers in charge of them, what was the production during the war, what is the production now, how many people have been retrenched and what is the outlook of these Ordnance Factories. If the Minister agrees I will pass this on to him personally.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: For every small point, there is a long debate.

Shri U. C. Patnaik: If he wants. I will give it now.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Hon. Members need not talk across the floor of the House.

Shri Gadgil (Poona Central): The traditional functions of the Indian army, before Independence, consisted of two things: (i) the use of the defence forces for the purpose of maintaining law and order when the ordinary police forces were found inadequate, and (ii) to prevent any aggression or resist it. Since Independence, the first function is fast growing less and less. Since we are governed by a democratic Constitution, whatever differences there are between the political parties, they are, under the Constitution, to be resolved by an appeal to the people. In other words, the decision of the ballot box is to be preferred to the decision of the bullet.

Very recently another discovery has been made to resolve such differences: that is, coalition without concord or co-operation without collective responsibility. Whatever it may be the fact remains that so far as the defence forces are concerned, their task *vis a vis* maintenance of law and order has decidedly decreased and this is all to the good.

The task as regards resistance to aggression and resistance to foreign invasion is the supreme task and there is no measure by which we can say that any particular standard will be adequate. The adequacy will always depend upon the circumstances that prevail in the world. In the present circumstances, it is very desirable to be cool in judgment and considerate in statement. Nobody can say with any assurance or air of certainty how six months hence international forces will arraign themselves and what part India will have to play. What I am concerned with is this: that we must have certain things fixed up as pointers for our guidance in the immediate present as also in the distant future. One thing is abundantly clear; that in this world we cannot remain in isolation. A second thing is equally clear that inasmuch as we cannot remain in isolation, we have our definite, our modest part to play in the international affairs. Thirdly, we should be able to sift what is essential from what is non-essential. Fourthly, we must be reasonably ready to meet any contingency.

From these points of view, I entirely agree with the foreign policy of our Government. Although it is described as active neutrality or dynamic neutrality, the connotation of activeness or of the dynamic character will only be explicit when circumstances actually overwhelm us. A few days ago, a suggestion was made while the Budget was under general discussion that there should be a system of joint defence between Pakistan and India. I do not want to challenge the *bona fides* of the hon. Member who made it, and also the *bona fides* of an eminent personality like Mr. Tandon, who supported it. But, my own feeling is, and I owe it to myself that I must give it out frankly, that not in the near future, at any rate, we can entertain any thought of having a joint system of defence with Pakistan. There are so many outstanding questions between the two countries, some dating before the Partition, some becoming explicit during the Partition and some coming into existence thereafter. Not one of them has been satisfactorily solved. Only in yesterday's papers a news item appeared that Pakistan

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is preparing for *jehad*. These warmongers, or whatever may be the term by which we can describe them, may be exaggerating, they may be doing harm to their own country. For my own part, in the context of these circumstances, it is a matter for serious consideration whether we should at all entertain a proposal of that character.

Further, knowing, as we do, the foreign policy of Pakistan, which is definitely in favour of one of the blocs, what will be the implications if we enter into a system of joint defence? In the first place, we will have to depart from our policy of non-alignment with any of the two major blocs in the world. In the second place, if it is a system of joint defence, it means exchange of arms, exchange of information of a very confidential character, information of scientific discoveries, discoveries in the matter of arms and other things and also allowing the use of each other's territories for certain purposes. As I think more and more about the implications of such a proposition, the more determined I am not to entertain it. Therefore, the point remains that in the circumstances in which we find ourselves, it is necessary that we should be reasonably equipped, and that we should put our defence organisation on a proper basis both with respect to the personnel, with respect to stores and equipment and last but not least, with respect to the morale of the defence forces and the civil populations.

I listened to what my hon. friend Captain Patnaik said. He wanted the whole country to be organised on war footing. It would be wrong to do that. But, I appreciate that in order to instil discipline and put the whole thing in an orderly manner with respect to production and other matters and surely that is something which the Government will take into consideration. So far as the organisation itself is concerned, I find from the reports that have been presented to this House that every effort is being made to have reserves. An Auxiliary Air Force is provided for in the present estimates. Similarly, we have the Army Reserve, the National Cadet Corps, 78,000—it is a very good progress—as well as the Territorials. In the matter of Territorials, except for the urban section, the progress has been up to the sanctioned strength. And even in the matter of urban section, the Southern Command is up to the mark, though the Eastern and the Western Commands are not yet up to the mark. The causes must be investigated, and

not only should the territorial army be taught in the matter of actual fighting, but also in the matter of training in industrial craft, so that they may be useful for other purposes.

The other aspect which my learned friend referred to was about the purchase of stores and equipment. (Out of the total sum estimated as expenditure for the next year's budget, viz., Rs. 199.84 crores, Rs. 81.44 crores are estimated to be the cost of stores and equipment. It is a pretty big sum, and I feel that although we are not an aggressive nation by instinct or by temperament or even by leadership—our own feeling is much against it—yet it is necessary, as I said, we must be reasonably prepared in this matter. My definite suggestion is that there should be a programme—there is a programme as is evident, but the programme should be intensified so as to make India self-sufficient in the matter of the most important part of equipment and stores, viz., arms and ammunitions. I understand that there are more than 60,000 items which are required by the defence forces. During war time as a result of the pressure of war, many industries came into existence which were necessary for the manufacture of some of these things. After the war was over, many industries have closed down, and very recently, the Defence Ministry is making attempts to start a few. They have a research section and laboratory and scientific workers and so on, but I find that although they are doing good work and asking some of the manufacturers to manufacture things which are absolutely necessary, which cannot be imported or cannot be imported of the same quality and also from the point of view that India should be self-sufficient—yet, at the same time, I find that the Supply Wing of that Ministry is placing orders abroad for articles which are manufactured here, and which are of better quality than that manufactured in England. I will, therefore, very respectfully plead that the whole policy of supply should be clarified once more, and must be rigorously executed. The main principle should be that so far as the essential things are concerned, if we cannot manufacture them, a scheme must be drafted so that we can send our people and learn the know-how and start manufacturing here—but, in other matters, if there is a five per cent. margin in the matter of quality or in the matter of price, definitely we should go in for our own articles. In this respect, I entirely agree with the suggestion made by Capt. Patnaik

Shri U. C. Patnaik: May I interrupt, Sir? I do not claim any military rank, Sir.

Shri Gadgil: All right, I will give one if I have the power. I will call him as Mr. Patnaik.

My own suggestion is that all the equipment and stores required by the defence forces must be manufactured in co-ordination with what has been visualized by the Planning Commission. If the whole thing cannot be dovetailed into it, at least, there should be complete and workable co-operation between the two.

Thirdly, there are industries which the Five Year Plan has left for the private sector to work in. Immediately the Defence Ministry or the authorities should get into touch with private industrialists and, in co-operation with them, so arrange the further industrial expansion of this country that at any given moment, whatever is being manufactured for civilian use today, that machinery or plant can be immediately switched on for the manufacture of warlike stores. Now, such a thing was done in England between the two war years, and this is being done again. I do not see any reason why it should not be done here in India. In other words, there should be a complete co-operation between the Defence Ministry and the Planning Commission and the private sector of industry, not only for the manufacture of things which are required immediately and continuously, but to provide for a contingency in case war comes and we are involved in it. I do not pretend to say that we will not be involved at all, but at the same time, I have got confidence that so long as we have our great leader here, we will not be actually involved in any war; but, there are forces which overwhelm both great men and great nations. So, I am only providing for that contingency. In that contingency, if it at all comes men can be trained in three or six months, but material equipment cannot be manufactured within the twinkling of an eye. At any rate, special machinery cannot be imported because, in those circumstances, import will be impossible. Therefore, from here and now, we must have machinery which will be of multipurpose use. It can first work for meeting civilian needs, and in case of a contingency of the type I have just mentioned, it can be easily switched on for the manufacture of war-like stores.

That is so far as the question of production is concerned. Now, the last question is the question of morale.

So far as the defence forces are concerned, I have nothing but praise for them. They have done very well. In fact, the tensions that were evident after the partition when, the whole defence organization was split up, have been overcome, and we have definitely turned the corner, and the organization is improving. It is not suggested that it is perfect, but every endeavour is being made, and should be made to perfect that organization. But the last factor, and which, according to me, is of the utmost importance, is the factor of morale—not of the Army and of the defence forces alone, but of the civilians. Now, everybody loves his country, but everybody expects that his love should not be exploited too much. If today, in my own country, I find myself, in spite of my ability, without employment; I find that I am ill because I have no money, I have no access to any hospital; I have got bright children anxious to learn, but no provision for education; in fact, the very primary needs of food and housing and clothing and opportunities to learn and expand the personality and improve the mind—if they are wanting, how can we tell them, that you fight for this country? They will only say that to fight for this country is to fight for the *status quo*, so that the major part of the national wealth and dividend should be reserved for the few and the fat,—unless we give them a definite stake, a material stake, an economic stake, that if India is attacked, it is their house that is attacked; if anyone anywhere in this country is attacked, it is as if they are attacked. That oneness and unity of feeling can only be got if we go on expanding; and as I have said on many occasions, the success of the whole thing will depend upon the success of the Five Year Plan. We have been talking very much—at least I have been talking very much; I do not want to accuse other people—we are very much dynamic in thought, but very anaemic in action, and the result is our life remains almost static. It is the need of the hour that this whole order should change. It should change in such a manner that the thing must start moving, and once we give an initial push, I have not the slightest doubt as it goes on it will develop its own mechanism and dynamics, and in the end, we will create that feeling, that morale which was in evidence when Stalingrad was attacked, when Moscow was attacked. When everything was destroyed, nobody felt anything like a personal interest in the sense that it was his own only and exclusively. No. They destroyed villages after vil-

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lages because they know that villages after villages could be created and rebuilt, because it was the State that stood guarantee for it. Similarly if we have that progress achieved in the economic field, we will be able to build the necessary morale, and the last factor, which, according to me, is not the least, will have been well looked into.

Shri Keshavalengar (Bangalore North): I rise to take this opportunity to welcome our sometime Second Lieutenant of the First World War as our Minister today for Defence. I am sure that with his experience and ability in administrative matters, he would prove to be a strong asset for this branch of our administration and very soon learn the language of his Department. I would also take this opportunity to tender our grateful thanks to all the gallant men of the ramified sections of our Indian forces, for the meritorious services they were pleased to render recently during the unheard of floods in the north and the severe famine in the south.

I need not bring home to the hon. Members of this House that war, now more than ever, is a social problem, for any major conflict is sure to affect the entire national life, and all classes of citizens in the country. In the same way, I feel that there is also a great amount of influence brought about on our military efforts by the civilian population as well. The position of the army, its strength, and the approach to the question of the army administration depend on a very large degree upon its outlook.

Of course, when we are considering this aspect of the matter, I feel we have to take into consideration for a while the background we are placed in. Till very recently, our army was being administered by the Britishers and many a time, the training and the equipment were all meant for the armies being sent out as expeditionary forces, for their own imperialistic intentions. But now, on the dawn of freedom, the whole picture has altered, and we have to take absolutely a different outlook altogether. The army has no doubt, got to spend a lot as had already been stated by my hon. friends. None can draw a line and say 'This much is enough', for defence. It was gratifying to note, when general discussions on the Budget were going on in this House, that not even one discordant voice was heard as regards the quantum of the amount allotted for defence. The chief point for consideration, when we are on this matter, is, I feel, not the quantum but

the method of expenditure involved. Of course, when a large part of the State's revenue is absorbed in this expenditure, it is bound to create some discontentment. But this discontentment can only be overcome or combated by our enlisting the national pride in the people, and our gratification of the national aspirations. I think it is only that way that the salvation lies. The more the people are taken into confidence, the more will be the scope and activity of the defence department widened, and the less the discontentment. I would like to suggest that it is not so much the material that matters. Of course, our equipment for our armies must be the most modern ones, just the same ones we find in other independent countries. But yet we have got to take into account the conditions prevailing in our country. It is not so much the material that matters, but it is the spirit that fights with that material. Of that fighting spirit, I suppose, there is any amount in our country. We have to carefully and cautiously nurture that spirit, and enlist the same for the services of defending our borders. We may take for example, the question of the Japanese army. They were not spending so much, as we are prone to do, on the equipment. We have to take into consideration very deeply the condition prevailing in our country, and suit the defence arrangements to that set up.

Considering these aspects in this way, I would like to appeal to the Defence department and also to our people in general that we should devote more attention to the organisation of the auxiliary, territorial and other allied forces. In fact, if I am not disclosing a secret, when a proposal was made to start a rifle class for the benefit of Members of Parliament...

Shri Frank Anthony: To shoot themselves?

Shri Keshavalengar:...There was a certain amount of enthusiasm prevailing in that quarter, and it was really most welcome. I would like to suggest that every effort should be made to enlist that kind of voluntary effort to become defence-minded.

Shri Nambiar: Non-violently defence-minded.

Shri Keshavalengar: There cannot be any absolute non-violence anywhere. There can only be an admixture of violence and non-violence, and it is only the State that can practice violence in the largest

measure and combat any other violence that comes about in our country.

The previous Minister for Defence, the late Gopalaswami Ayyangar. I think, was pleased to accept the suggestions made in this House and said that he would look up the matter and see what best could be done in that regard. We have not yet had any opportunity to see the result of his efforts. I would appeal to the present Minister, Mr. Tyagi, to pursue those efforts persistently and see that something good results therefrom. Of course, I need not reiterate the suggestion made by Mr. Gadgil that it must be definitely planned. We must be in a position to switch over the industries of peace time for production of the necessary equipment in war-time, if necessary. Thus there must be that kind of hearty coordination between the industrial sector of our country and the Defence department.

One other matter that I may not fail to take this opportunity to mention is with regard to the State of Mysore. At the time of the integration of the army, our erstwhile Chief Minister of the Mysore State, who is now Production Minister here, was pleased to assure the military personnel that their interests were absolutely safe after integration. It so happened that soon after the army was integrated we learnt that a very large number of our young men in Mysore had been discharged and disbanded. Discontent is growing. I would like to suggest that the matter may be investigated and all efforts made to find out ways and means of enlisting their services, if possible, whenever recruitment is made against, or even otherwise as a second line of defence or in enlisting them in the other forces that are available and in that way try to give satisfaction and settle the grievances of this band of young men.

With the submission of one other point, Sir, I would finish my speech. I think we need not devote our attention very much to production of big Battleships or bombers and the like. We are not interested in any aggressive intentions. We have no foreign enemies. (*Interruptions*). We are only interested in defending ourselves and directing our forces against a daring aggressor—if there were to be any. I would like to suggest that a big flotilla of small naval crafts may serve the purpose of even safeguarding and keeping open and safe the lifeline of our coastal activities. As a navy, of course, we have very little forces and till now we were depending upon the British Navy and the British Air

Force. Our own forces have got to take their place, but perhaps in a different form, keeping in view that we have got to concentrate on the aspect of defending our territories in case of any aggression.

Shri G. S. Singh (Bharatpur-Sawal Madhopur): Sir, with your permission, I will read one paragraph—I cannot quote you the author—

“Peace is the one thing that the common man in every country wants, but at the moment all he gets is the wood hurled at him from every conceivable direction. Unfortunately, it happens to be a fact that any political fraudulency can secure a hearing if it merely breathes the word. People are so frightened of putting themselves in the position of being accused of not furthering the cause of peace, that the most crooked appeal ensures a hearing and even cooperation.”

I would warn the Government not to be misled by these appeals for peace. The world is in such a situation today that we cannot ignore the happenings that are going on around us. We have to borrow a phrase of the Prime Minister—the ‘most amazing and fantastic suggestion’ to enter into a joint defence programme with Pakistan. But will these gentlemen who made this suggestion realise—and I am happy to say that no less a person than ‘General’ Gadgil has supported me in this...

Shri Jaipal Singh (Ranchi West—Reserved—Sch. Tribes): Air Marshal,

Shri G. S. Singh: Will these people realise that we are in Kashmir at a state of war with Pakistan? We have accused Pakistan in the forum of Nations—in the United Nations—of being an aggressor and an intruder on Indian territory. For us to conceive of a joint defence with Pakistan at the present juncture is in my humble opinion, a day dream and if these gentlemen insist on day dreaming why do they not dream further and think of joint communications and a common foreign policy? Then Pakistan can have its own bag, it can have its own Constitution and we can rename the whole continent, Bharat, that was, India!

I would like to congratulate the Defence Ministry on its recruitment of a new battalion of Cabinet Ministers. Whether the armed forces are to be congratulated or not remains to be seen. I welcome the fact that the Prime Minister himself is going to

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take over-all charge of this, but I humbly submit that the Prime Minister has so many irons in the fire that he must find it a little difficult to keep them all hot. It has been said over and over again in this House that matters like foreign policy and defence are of national importance, and not of party or political importance. I do submit that the Prime Minister, only if he looks into it, can find an elder statesman to take over the portfolio of defence as a responsible and fully-fledged Cabinet Minister. And I do feel that in this he has been led by his own party considerations.

I come now to one or two suggestions which I have to make with regard to the expansion of what I might term our Cinderella services. I have complained about the step-motherly treatment of the Defence Ministry towards the Air Force and the Navy. And now that the Prime Minister is in charge of the Defence portfolio, I can think of no person better fitted for the role of Prince Charming for the benefit of the Cinderella services.

In spite of what the hon. Member who spoke just now said, I do feel that we should expand our Air Force. I think even our Army Generals will realise the importance of air support in a modern war. There is unfortunately a tendency on the part of some of them to out-Blimp the original Col. Blimp and they stick to their own old traditions, and they cannot and do not like what they consider a junior service becoming more and more prominent in the defence of this country. I do feel that the allotment for the Air Force is not sufficient. We are at the moment, I submit, equipped with obsolete Liberators—war-weary veterans of the last war. We have before us an example of what might happen. The other day some Egyptian pilots came all the way from Egypt in a Lancaster aircraft—another war-weary veteran of the last war. They arrived here and they were fcted. They went back and all of them were killed. I submit, that it was because they were in an obsolete aircraft and I think that the same thing might happen here. We are, very young in aviation in this country and those of us in aviation are young also. Our voice might be considered as that of an over-greedy school boy asking for more pie than he can eat. But I do submit that it is essential for us to expand our Air Force, and with it, Civil Aviation, which is its main reserve. We cannot afford to dilly-dally now because if we dilly-dally now, we will never make up the leeway in

times of emergency. We have to import our aircraft; we have to import all the main components of aeroplanes. It was said the other day—I think it was rather misleading—that we have produced 90 per cent. of the HT2, but we import the engine. Nobody considers the engine to be only ten per cent. of the aeroplane. However, that is a matter of opinion.

4 P.M.

Sardar Majithia: What is the value?

Shri G. S. Singh: My friend, Sardar Majithia says, 'what is the value?' That happens to be only because he has managed to get about 100 engines for £ 150 each but the current market price is £ 750. However, we must expand our Air Force. The plea of economy and finance cannot be tolerated any more. I agree there is need for financial economy but let us economise in the Army. There is one way of doing it. I have this humble suggestion to make. We cannot afford to be orthodox. The Air Force has to buy trucks for the movement of its ground troops and for the movement of its equipment outside the Army. It comes out of its own budget. Then why should not the Army foot the bill for these transport squadrons, which will be used for the transport of troops and Army equipment also. In this way we can get some money.

In view of the nationalisation of the air lines, the main reserve of the Air Force, the Civil Air Lines will now be organised on a better footing. Any aircraft that we do purchase must be purchased with a view to its being the main reserve of our Air Force and that they will be easily convertible for military purposes. I again submit to the Cabinet that the D.G.C.A. should be transferred as a civil department of the Defence Ministry, because you cannot think of the Air Force and civil air lines as separate. They are all entirely the same. I once again submit, let us get cracking now. Let us get organised now, let us have more modern aircraft. I am sure that our brave young men who are air pilots have no desire to become recipients of posthumous awards in the event of emergency.

Another suggestion I have to make is that I would like the Government to consider amending the Territorial Army Act to bring it in line with the Auxiliary Air Force Act which brought into being the Civil and Air Defence resources, which made it obligatory for certain people with certain quali-

fications to register for service, and to undergo training if necessary. If the Territorial Army Act was amended on these lines, it would make available to the government at very short notice trained personnel because you have a great many ex-service men, demobilised after the last war and demobilised on the integration of the State Forces with the Indian Army. You would have these men immediately available if wanted. I agree that the argument might be put forward that we are a peace-loving nation. We have no need to go to this extreme for measures of defence. But to be prepared, I do not think, can be termed warlike measures under any circumstances.

I would like the Government to consider the possibility of introducing legislation for compulsory military training in Universities, compulsory recruitment to the N.C.C. if you like. This would not only mean giving a very valuable asset in time of emergency but would divert the abundant energy of our youth from subversive channels. They would not be allowed to fall a prey to propaganda. They would learn to become disciplined and I earnestly request the Government to consider this proposal.

Another thing which I consider as very important is the setting up of an Air Raid Precaution and a Civil Defence Organisation on a voluntary basis or any other basis. I leave it to the imagination of the Members to imagine the chaos and the havoc that would be caused even if a few bombs were dropped in any of the overpopulated areas of our big cities. The evacuation problem itself would not only be a very big administrative problem but would present a tremendous military hazard. Those Members who were in Calcutta during the last war when the Japanese made comparatively light raids on Calcutta, could realise the panic that ensued. It had only to be seen to be believed. I do earnestly request that the Defence Ministry take this matter in hand. Again the argument might be put forward that we have no fear from anybody, and these preparations would be termed warlike. But, I do feel that considerations of public safety outweigh these arguments.

I now want to plead the cause of ex-servicemen. They have, in my opinion, got a raw deal. I understand that the U.P. Government has refused to pay its contribution to the Soldiers, Sailors and Airmen's Welfare Board. These Boards have done a great deal of work in the rehabilitation of ex-servicemen. I would like the Govern-

ment to consider, if feasible, the possibility of issuing instructions or even advice to the effect that class III and class IV services should, as far as possible be reserved for ex-service men. This would not only be an incentive to recruitment but would be an indirect recognition on the part of the Government of their services to the country and would show that the Government appreciate their work.

We have had a great deal of talk about scandals, the Jeep Scandal etc. Everybody will turn round and say why are you bringing this up now? I understand now that the Government has at last decided that they are going to write off Rs. 25 lakhs, because litigation would be throwing good money after bad. All right. But let the Government decide who is responsible for that. We have heard nothing about that. We have been given repeated assurances—even before I came to this House the former Defence Minister assured the House—but nothing has happened.

We have had reference to the purchase of sealand Air-craft. My friend, Mr. Jaipal Singh knows probably more about it. But, technically speaking, as a person who knows a little about aeroplanes, I cannot possibly conceive of the use of these planes. I am told that they will be used as flying class rooms, we have the Dakota which would make better flying class rooms. If the Admiral wants one for ship to shore communication, let him have one, why so many? I am told we are concentrating on HT2 or HT10. But we have got 73 of these Percival Prentice. They were all rejected by the British Air Force.

Sir, I would like in all humility to remind you of the Prime Minister's words. He said that a great many of us are in the habit of speaking of things we do not know about. In these cases, I do not feel that I come under that category. These Percival Prentices were rejected by the R.A.F. because they were under powered as primary trainers. I have spent two and a half years in primary training and side by side seating is psychologically wrong for training. Why did we acquire them? We are told that nothing else was available. I see this mentality everywhere. I see it in the lobbies when my colleagues have tea.

They say "केक लाओ" and when the bearer says, "केक नहीं है", they turn round and say "तो रुमोना ही से जाओ".

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This mentality we must be got rid of. We must save our money. We must not be put off with the second best. If we cannot get what we want, let us wait until we can get what we want.

In conclusion, I would earnestly request the Defence Minister and the Defence Ministry as a whole to consider bringing the Armed Forces and the people closer together. There is a tendency on the part of civilians to look on the Armed Forces as something different from themselves, and this in turn makes the Armed Forces divorce themselves from the people. We know how proud we are of our Defence Forces. We forget sometimes that these Defence Forces are our own Defence Forces and that they are manned by our own brothers, fathers, uncles or nephews. They are ours, and when we get criticism about the Defence Forces sometimes one wonders whether one is discussing our own Defence Forces or the Defence Forces of some occupying country. I wish the Defence Minister would consider bringing closer together the Army, Navy and Air Force and the people. You saw with your own eyes that millions of people enthusiastically flocked to see the parade on Republic Day.

One more word, Sir, and I am done. There is a tendency to label everything connected with defence as secret. This funny little pamphlet which we are given is itself marked "Confidential". There is this tendency to say "it is not in the public interest." Everything seems to be not in the public interest. Regarding this policy of secrecy, all I can say is that while I agree that where unavoidable you must keep some things secret, there are so many things that do not have to be kept secret. We were told that we cannot be given information about our Vampire Aircraft. But two journals called *Flight* and *Aeroplane* give me more detailed information than the Defence Minister can ever give. I do feel that this should not be overdone. It makes one feel that this secrecy is a cloak either for inefficiency or corruption. Therefore, it should be avoided.

In conclusion, I would like to say that our Five Year Plan, our multi-purpose projects and our dams will be of no use to us if we cannot defend ourselves. Under no circumstances must we allow our defence organisation to get to such a level that we cannot defend the integrity of our country.

Dr. S. N. Sinha (Saran East): Defence is a comparatively delicate and

rather dangerous subject to deal with. One has to maintain restraint despite provocations and remain constantly alert about his own responsibilities. All other Ministries need only some sacrifice of money, which is easier to make, but defence involves some sacrifice of blood also, which is more difficult to suffer.

As it is the case with any other free country in the world, the purpose of our defence is to guard the freedom, neutrality, and the territories of India from any type of armed attack. In order to achieve this aim, we maintain our Armed Forces. But we cannot put all the burden of defence on our Armed Forces alone, and feel ourselves free of all duties towards our country. The last two Great Wars have shown that wars turn into total wars, and therefore, when we think of our defences, we cannot but think in terms of total defences. But total defences I mean the mobilisation of all our human and material resources. According to changing times, we have to go on improving, developing and modernising these resources, always keeping in mind the defence of the country. Only with this object in view, I would like to throw some light on some aspects of our defence problems and defence organisations.

If we compare our Defence Department with other Departments, we will find that it has remained more or less static compared to others. When the change-over of power came, for some valid reasons, we placed the Army organisation under the general supervision of the Civil Services. During the last few years, this supervision and control has become stronger and more rigid. As a consequence, the growth of our Armed organisations has suffered adversely. If I may suggest to our Prime Minister, it is high time that the Armed Forces are placed under the direct control of political leadership without the intermediary apparatus of the Civil Services. Today, there is an unnecessary interference by the civil servants in the further growth of our Armed organisations. Even on ceremonial occasions, we have seen that instead of Military Commanders, the civil service heads take the salute, at which they are neither very smart nor impressive. The present-day British model in this respect is quite an efficient one. There, the Secretary of State for War—equivalent to our Defence Minister—has his Military Advisers and leaves the actual control of the Armed Forces to them. In our country, the Defence Minister is

advised by a civil service man—the Defence Secretary—and leaves the actual control of the Armed Forces in his hands. This is a very important and fundamental difference, and for the future efficiency of our defence apparatus it is necessary that we make the required changes. I am sure, the readjusted change will create a good atmosphere and bring enthusiasm among the public and also in the Army, and it will make our defences stronger.

Another important matter is about the fire power of our Armed Forces. Today, our defence problem is not merely to recruit, train and equip Armies. The problem is to maintain the standing Army; to bear the cost of it. This maintenance cost consumes a large amount of our Defence Budget, and little is left for the replacement of old equipment by new ones. We must give serious consideration to this matter and see to it that our Armed Forces have at least the necessary fire power befitting their assignments and needs. Fire power, in its turn, is a matter of more money, but as it is very essential, I request the Finance Minister to allot some more money for our defences.

Naturally, modern defences cost more money, because the whole conception of defences has changed. It is not the same as it was during the First World War. The Second World War also brought about some improvements, but even they have become now obsolete, and we cannot today think in terms of the Maginot Line, Seigfried Line, Mannerhiem Line or Stalin Line. The whole conception has changed, and the spirit working behind these changes is the pace of modern technology. For this reason, it has become a very costly affair. Of course, we cannot think of building up our defences the way the Americans and Russians have built theirs, but within the framework of our own resources we have to do our very best. It is no use consoling ourselves with the thought that we are going to remain neutral in any future conflict. Even for maintaining our neutrality we shall have to go through all possible sacrifices. What we lack in technology, we shall have to make good through the morale of our Armed Forces, and the people in general. We shall have to make our people defence-conscious. In this respect the sooner a lead is given to the country the better it is. There are a number of people in our country who think that so long as there are the

Himalayas we need not think much of our defence. Taking into account the modern warfare, this way of thinking is just like taking opium to forget all one's problems and worries. Technically speaking, there are no geographical barriers—let it be the Himalayas, let it be the North Pole—which a modern army cannot overcome. Factors of greater value than geographical barriers today which count more, are the industrial resources, the fire power, the military skill and the morale of the people. It is the development of these factors ultimately which preserves the freedom of the country. As a general rule, in the present day world, a country having no industrial resources and inferior fire power, inferior military skill, and inferior morale always invites attack from those countries which are superior in these respects. The defence preparations of a country mean, in other words, the life and death of a nation. At this stage it will not be out of place to compare our fire power with some of our neighbours. Some neutral experts have calculated that taking only fire power as the criterion, four years ago, ten Chinese soldiers equalled to one Indian soldier; but today, they say, two Indian soldiers may be equal to one Chinese soldier. According to this rough estimate we have been lagging behind in fire power. It is high time we corrected this mistake and once more surpassed our Chinese friends in this healthy competition. It should not be very difficult for us to achieve this aim, since we have better industrial resources than the Chinese.

Secondly, there is a definite smell today of gunpowder in the International arena. A number of burning spots stretch right from the Far East to Western Europe. Further more, there are concrete indications that the fire points have a tendency to spread southwards. Therefore, the matter connected with our defence has become one of grave concern to us. The world is changing today at an alarming rate. We cannot afford to remain static, to remain helpless witnesses of these changes will mean inviting disaster. Let us be more concrete in our observations. For a minute let us look beyond the Himalayas—towards the Kremlin. There is no use denying the fact that Kremlin has been a great factor in influencing the defence budget of a large number of countries of the world. Being our neighbour it is a good thing for us to throw a glance at it. Today my eyes are focussed at two figures: one is Marshal Sokolovsky, Chief of the

[Dr. S. N. Sinha]

General Staff of the Soviet Army and second, Comrade Suslov, the Head of the Cominform Organisation. I am glad to mention that Comrade Suslov's organisation has not forgotten our country even after the death of Marshal Stalin. In their main organ published from Bucharest on the 13th of March under the heading "Stalin's Cause is Immortal!" they mention about a resolution adopted at a meeting in Telengana which reads:

"On the day of the passing away of Comrade Stalin, we vow to intensify the struggle....."

For what?

"...for a stable and lasting peace, for democracy and Socialism,"

which in the usual vocabulary of the world means insurrection, intervention, or civil war. So the Cominform today still thinks of intensifying Telengana bloodshed. I can only comment: it is an unfriendly expression towards a very friendly country.

Now, let us turn to Marshal Sokolovsky, Chief of the General Staff of the Soviet Army. I am an admirer of his talents. I had personal occasions to see and admire his great organising capacity during the Berlin Blockade. India was very far away at that time from the sphere of his command, but the Marshal took good care of some future eventuality. He was kind enough to train some Indians who could be utilised on occasions like Telengana.

Let me make one point clear. I do not know about any large scale preparations going on beyond our borders. But I must say that we should keep a very sharp eye on the agents of a foreign general staff who may pave the way for some sort of foreign intervention. In this electrified atmosphere the danger of foreign infiltration or foreign intervention cannot be totally ruled out. The history of a number of countries has shown that wars connected with intervention are more brutal than others. For this reason it is necessary that we remain quite alert in matters of our defence. In this connection, I would like to draw the attention of the House to a leading article in today's *Hindustan Times*, where it mentions about communist explorers' actions in the Himachal Pradesh. That is one of the loveliest localities of our country,

no doubt, and the Leader of the Communist Party of the Upper House is indulging in the affairs there.

Shri Raghaviah (Ongole): It is a false charge.

Dr. S. N. Sinha: What are these affairs? I will not waste the time of the House by reading the whole article, but shall read only a few lines:

"...it is a matter of wider import when it holds out a potential threat to the security of our frontier."

Further it comes to the conclusion:

"Since the integrity of our frontier areas spells the stability and security of the country, it must be safeguarded at all costs."

Again it says:

"...neither the Central nor the Himachal Pradesh Government can relax the slightest in their vigilance."

I agree with the comments of this Editorial. In what respect do we find the difference in our country? The difference is, they—the communists have come to action. To stop their action one has to do something. If we study their tendencies in our country, we will find one thing very apparent, and that thing is, they have been indulging more and more in the military affairs of this country. Well, they have indulged also in Dum Dum bullets, Dum Dum landings. They have indulged in military affairs more and more. And their line of argument has been the same always. I would not like to go into details and waste the precious time of the House. But one thing I would like to mention. With fantastic facts and figures every time they come here. What fantastic facts and figures, we can very easily find from an article which appeared in the newspaper of their headquarters in Bucharest. A couple of weeks ago (on the 30th January), the same paper which I have quoted before—which stands "for a Lasting Peace," which really means "for consistent war,"—published this item under "Facts Expose..." (Oh! what beautiful words):

"Growing Suicide Rate in India.

Nearly 6,000 people committed suicide in the past five years in the Uttar Pradesh province alone..."

I like Uttar Pradesh very much. I have been educated there.

The news item reads further:

"Statistics show that suicides are mounting (Then the figures are given.)The reason for the suicides according to the newspapers, is poverty, hunger, unemployment."

If we were to believe such things, of these suicides, none of the Members of Uttar Pradesh would have been left behind here. Everybody from Uttar Pradesh should have committed suicide by now. But they are all living today; and all our friends are here. So, we have nothing to believe in what they say; what we have to take care is about their actions. The action which they have adopted is, of course, in this explosive world, very detrimental to the defence of our country. We have made much progress. We have made progress in the field of economy. We have made progress in the field of the organisation of other departments. But in the matter of defence we are lagging behind. And we have no right to lag behind. Because, as I mentioned to you, Sir, a few minutes earlier, the country which lags behind today in fire power, in military skill, or in industrial resources invites attack from a superior country in these respects. Therefore it is high time that we were alert and we looked after our defences, that they were not broken from any side. About Marshal Sokolovski, and what I mentioned of his actions and other things, I cannot go into much detail here, because one has to give too many reasons. But one thing is clear in this world, that any General Staff which is on the border of another country always thinks, always calculates about the fire power of the neighbouring country, and always tries to surpass it. So in this healthy competition, I will say, if we calculated the fire power of the Soviet forces, there is no reason why we should not enter into a healthy competition with them. They were also not in this state from the very beginning. They were far behind us. Only, maybe, for two dozen years they are so. Before 1925 perhaps they were far behind us. But today when they have surpassed us,—it is a very healthy competition and we have to give a lead to the country as a whole. We have to come to this line of thinking when we think about our defences. And when we compete with other countries there is no harm. I mean no harm to them. I do not say they are going to attack us. But we

invite attack if we are weak in fire power or in other things.

Without any repetition I would like to add only one word in the end, that today we have to look to our frontiers and look to our defences in such a way and to build them so strong that we can make a counter-challenge. The present situation, either internal or external, is only a challenge to us to stand up to the occasion. And we must stand up to the occasion, and get so strong that we can say—anybody who dares to introduce our Indian Garden will break his head.

श्री एम० पी० मिश्र (मुंगेर उत्तर-पश्चिम) : उपाध्यक्ष जी, भाषण शुरू करने के पहले मैं चाहता हूँ कि अपनी तरफ से और मैं समझता हूँ कि इस सदन की तरफ से भी, अगर मुठ्ठी भर लोग छोड़ दिये जावें, हम अपनी शानदार फ़ौज को, अपनी सेना को, एक सलामी भेजें।

हम उस हिन्दुस्तानी को हिन्दुस्तानी सोच ही नहीं सकते, उस देश भक्त को देश भक्त नहीं समझ सकते जिस को हिन्दुस्तान की सेना के लिए कोई अभिमान, कोई शौरव, कोई नाज न हो। हम समझते हैं कि आज इस बारूद से भरे हुए जमाने में हमारे ३६ करोड़ देशवासी अपनी आजादी के लिये निश्चित हैं, इसलिये कि वे जानते हैं कि उन के देश में एक शानदार फ़ौज है, जिस की देशभक्ति पर कोई संदेह नहीं कर सकता। इस देश के लाखों गांवों में करोड़ों किसान रात को अपने घरों में अपने बाल बच्चों के साथ निश्चित सो पाते हैं इसलिये कि वे जानते हैं कि उनके देश की सेना उनकी हिक़ाजत कर रही है। इस देश का कारोबार चल रहा है, हमारे शहरों में हमारे कारख़ाने चल रहे हैं, हमारे रोजगार चल रहे हैं, हमारा देश चल रहा है, इसलिये कि हथेली पर जान रख कर हमारी सेना के सिपाही हमारी सरहदों की हिक़ाजत कर रहे हैं, हमारी नौ सेना के लोग हमारे समुद्रों की हिक़ाजत कर रहे हैं, हमारे जांबाज हवाबाज हमारे आस्मान

[श्री एम० पी० मिश्र]

की हिफाजत कर रहे हैं। इतनी बड़ी हमारी फौज है और इस शानदार फौज के लिये हम में से हर हिन्दुस्तानी को अभिमान होना चाहिये। यह बात दूसरी है कि लोग इसकी खामियों को बतायें, यह बात दूसरी है कि उसकी नुक्ताचीनी इसलिये की जाय कि हम उस की तरक्की करें, उस को बढ़िया बनावें। लेकिन हम नहीं सोच सकते कि कोई भी इस फौज के लिये बेरुखी का ख्याल रखे या उसको नुकसान पहुंचाने की सोचे। हमारी फौज की, हमारी सेना की बहुत सी आलोचना की जाती है। अभी कुछ लोग उठेंगे और कहेंगे कि इस फौज में अभी भी अंगरेज भरे हुये हैं, और कहें कि यह इंग्लैंड और अमरीका की साम्राज्य-शाही का पुछल्ला बना हुआ है, मैं जानता हूँ कि हमारी फौज के अन्दर अंग्रेज अफसर हैं, विशेषज्ञ हैं, लेकिन मैं कहता हूँ कि लाल सेना भी जब बनाई गई थी तो उसको किस ने तैयार किया था, उस को किस ने ट्रेन किया था? उसकी ट्रेनिंग शुरू शुरू में जर्मनी के सिपहसालारों ने की थी। जो लोग चीन से लौट कर आये हैं, वह कहते हैं कि चीन में अभी रूसी अफसर वहाँ की सेना को ट्रेनिंग दे रहे हैं। चीन के अन्दर रूसी अफसर और विशेषज्ञ भरे हुये हैं। मेरी राय में चीन के भीतर रूसियों की वही स्थिति है, वह उसी प्रकार से विदेशी हैं, जैसे हिन्दुस्तान में अंग्रेज। और हमें इस बात को कहने में जरा भी संदेह नहीं कि जो लोग कहते हैं कि अब भी अंग्रेजों के साम्राज्यवादी इरादे हैं, वह मूर्ख हैं, पागल हैं, या बेईमान हैं। अंग्रेज लोगों ने जब कि इस जमाने में नये साम्राज्य उठ खड़े हो रहे हैं, नये लोग दुनियां को जीतना चाहते हैं, अपने साम्राज्य को छोड़कर वह काम किया है जो इतिहास में पहले किसी ने नहीं किया था। बहुत पहिले रोमनों ने किया

था। इसीलिये आज अंग्रेजों के प्रति हम में इज्जत है।

एक बात और है जो लोग भूल जाते हैं कि समाज की दृष्टि से जो समाज आज इंग्लैंड में है, वह जितना समाजवादी है, वह जितने मानवाधिकार जनता को देता है, उतने शायद आज कहीं नहीं हैं। हम भूल जायें कि अंग्रेज हमारे शासक थे अंग्रेजों ने हमको आजाद करके वह चीज भुला दी और आज सब से पहले उन के साथ ही हमारी दोस्ती होनी चाहिये। और आज हमें खुशी है कि अंग्रेज विशेषज्ञ हमारी फौज को ट्रेनिंग दे रहे हैं। हम उन अंगरेज अफसरों के शुक्र-गुजार हैं कि वे पैसे के लिये हमारे यहाँ नहीं आये हैं, वह आये हैं हमारी मदद के लिये। और हमें उनकी इस मदद को सिर झुका कर कुबूल करना चाहिये।

हां, एक चीज है जिस के लिये हमें बड़ी तकलीफ है कि हमारी फौज को अपने हथियारों के लिये, अपने सामान के लिये दूसरों का मोहताज रहना पड़ता है। वे हमारे दोस्त ही क्यों न हों, लेकिन हमें मानना पड़ेगा कि फौज का दूसरों पर सामान के लिये निर्भर रहना बड़ा खतरनाक है। अभी कुछ ही दिन हुए मुझे फौज के एक अफसर से बात करने का मौका मिला था। उन्होंने कहा कि हमारे नौजवान, हमारे सिपाही दुनियां में किसी देश के नौजवानों से देशभक्ति में, जांबाजी में, रण कौशल में पीछे नहीं हैं। लेकिन साथ ही उन्होंने कहा कि एक चीज बड़ी खतरनाक है कि जब हमारे अफसर और सिपाही यह देखते हैं कि जो हथियार उनके हाथ में हैं वह उनके देश के बने हुए नहीं हैं, जिस हवाई जहाज में जाकर वे हमारे आसमान की रक्षा करते हैं वे उनके देश के नहीं हैं, हिन्दुस्तान खुद उनको नहीं बनाता

है, तो वे वैसे ही मुरझा जाते हैं जैसे कि नाचने वाला मोर अपने पांवों को देखकर । यह बड़ी खतरनाक चीज है और हमारी सरकार को जितनी जल्द हो सके इस पर ध्यान देना चाहिये । यह चीज हमारे अफसरों की हिम्मत पर एक गांठ बनाती जा रही है । और हम जितनी जल्दी इस संबंध में विदेशियों से आजाद हो जायें, आत्म निर्भर हो जायें, अपने पैरों पर खड़े हो जायें, उतना ज्यादा अच्छा है ।

इस के साथ इधर से एक दोस्त ने और उधर से कुछ दोस्तों ने कहा कि हमको फौजों पर कुछ ज्यादा खर्च करना चाहिये । हमारे दोस्त सत्य नारायण ने कहा कि दूसरी मिनिस्ट्रियों से भी कुछ पैसा बचाकर फौज पर खर्च किया जाना चाहिये । मैं बड़े अदब से इस बात का विरोध करता हूँ । मैं भी चाहता हूँ कि फौज बड़ी होनी चाहिये, और आज जो हम दो सौ करोड़ रुपये उस पर खर्च करते हैं उस के बजाय दो हजार करोड़ खर्च करना चाहिये । लेकिन हमारी इच्छाओं से कुछ नहीं होता है । देश की जो आर्थिक हालत है, आज हमारे देश की जो स्थिति है उस के मुताबिक, हमारे साधनों के अनुसार यह दो सौ करोड़ रुपये मेरे ख्याल से बहुत ज्यादा है । मैं समझता हूँ कि फौज का काम सिर्फ यही नहीं होता कि वह देश की राजनैतिक सुरक्षा की व्यवस्था ही करे, आर्थिक स्थिति को भी देखना और देश में आर्थिक दृढ़ता लाना भी, उसका उद्देश्य होना चाहिये । आज ऐटम के युग में फौज नहीं लड़ा करती, जनता लड़ा करती है और फौज के पीछे अगर एक संतुष्ट और सुखी जनता न हो तो वह फौज देश की रक्षा नहीं कर सकती, वह फौज अपने देश को बचा नहीं सकती ।

इसलिए इस देश, की जनता को सुखी रखना है । अभी तीन चार दिन हुए कि हमारे शिक्षा

मंत्री जी रोते थे कि उनको एक करोड़ रुपये की जरूरत है शिक्षा को बढ़ाने के लिये । लेकिन हमारे वित्त मंत्री जी उनको फौज के खर्च में से एक करोड़ रुपया काटकर नहीं दे सके । हम समझते हैं कि फौज के खर्च को कम किया जाय और कम किया जा सकता है, इसलिए कि देश की आर्थिक स्थिति उसके साथ मेल नहीं खाती ।

इस मौके पर मैं एक बात की तरफ ध्यान दिलाना चाहता हूँ । हमको सोचना चाहिये कि हमको किससे लड़ना है । जिन पर राष्ट्रीय सुरक्षा की जबाबदेही है उनको यह सोचना चाहिये कि हमको किससे लड़ना है । हमारे कुछ दोस्त उठकर यह कह देंगे कि हमको पाकिस्तान से लड़ना है क्योंकि काश्मीर का झगड़ा चल रहा है । लेकिन मैं तो यह कभी सोच भी नहीं सकता कि हमारी पाकिस्तान से लड़ाई होगी । काश्मीर का झगड़ा जरूर है लेकिन हम समझते हैं कि वह अगर आज नहीं तो कुछ दिन बाद तै हो जायगा और हिन्दुस्तान की पाकिस्तान से लड़ाई नहीं होगी । और अगर होगी भी तो उसके लिए इतनी बड़ी फौज की जरूरत नहीं है । हम तो समझते हैं कि वह दिन नहीं आयेगा लेकिन अगर आया भी तो उसके लिये बहुत थोड़ी फौज की जरूरत होगी । तो दूसरा खतरा हमें किस से हो सकता है ? दूसरा खतरा हमें उधर से हो सकता है जिसका इशारा, जिसका जिक्र हमारे दोस्त डाक्टर सत्यनारायण जी ने किया, अर्थात् रूस की तरफ से । हमको यह बात साफ साफ कहनी चाहिये । यह बात हमको साफ सोचनी है । यह मैं मानता हूँ कि पहली लड़ाई के बाद शेष संसार के मुकाबले जरमनी की जो स्थिति थी वही स्थिति अब इस दूसरे युद्ध के बाद रूस की है । लेकिन एक बहुत बड़ा फ़र्क भी है । वह यह कि जरमनी के पास सिर्फ अपनी फौज की ताकत

[श्री एम० पी० मिश्र]

थी, वह अपनी फौज पर ही मुनहसिर था, लेकिन रूस का और जो दूसरे कम्युनिस्ट देश हैं उनका रास्ता ही दूसरा है। उनकी फौज की लाल सेना की एक अप्रवाहिनी होती है जो कि हर एक देश में है। हमारे देश में भी है। वह कम्युनिस्ट पार्टी है। और अपने सिद्धांत के मुताबिक वे देश अपनी फौज पर पहले भरोसा नहीं करते बल्कि वह अपनी अप्रवाहिनी पर ज्यादा भरोसा करते हैं। आप चीन में देखिये कि वहां लाल फौज कभी देखने में नहीं आई लेकिन जब मंचूरिया पर उनका कब्जा हुआ तो हयियार वगैरह से सब तरह की मदद रूस से मिली। इसलिए आज हमको उनकी अप्रवाहिनी से लड़ना है। आपको भालूम है कि यूरोप के विशेषज्ञ मानते हैं कि आज रूसी फौज चाहे तो मास्को से चलकर दो हफ्तों में सारे योरोप पर कब्जा कर सकती है। लेकिन अभी तक ऐसा नहीं हुआ और तीसरा महायुद्ध नहीं हुआ। इसकी वजह यह है कि उनका रास्ता दूसरा है। तो हमको सोचना है कि हमको इस अप्रवाहिनी से मुकाबला करना है। यह अप्रवाहिनी बहुत खतरनाक है। देश देश में उसका एक झंडा है, एक नेता है। वह समझती है कि दुनिया में उसका राज कायम होकर रहेगा। और उनसे लड़ने के लिये हम कहते हैं कि हमारी पंचवर्षीय योजना एक बहुत बड़ी फौज है बजाय हिन्दुस्तानी फौज के। तो मैं अदब से यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि जो खर्च इस वक्त फौज पर हो रहा है उसमें से हम कम से कम २५ करोड़ रुपये हर साल निकालें और उस रुपये को कोसी योजना, भाखड़ा-नांगल योजना और दामोदर घाटी योजना पर लगायें। हिन्दुस्तान की तीन सरहदों पर यह जो तीन योजनायें हैं अगर यह पूरी हो जाती हैं तो यह कई डिवीजनों का काम देंगी। इसलिए मैं चाहता हूँ कि हमारे प्रधान मंत्री पंडित जवाहरलाल नेहरू इस बात को सोचें कि हमारे

देश को इतनी बड़ी भूमि सेना की जरूरत नहीं है। हमारी आर्थिक स्थिति उसका साथ नहीं दे सकती। मेरा कहना है कि हम अपने घरेलू मोर्चे को ज्यादा भजबूत करें। किसानों को सुखी करें, मजदूरों को सुखी करें और मध्य वर्ग को सुखी करें। मैं निवेदन करूंगा कि यही वह बारूद है जिसको हाथ में लेकर रूसी सेना की अप्रवाहिनी इस देश को बरबाद करने की कोशिश करेगी। इसलिए हमको घरेलू मोर्चे को देखना है। हम २५ करोड़ रुपया हर साल अपनी फौज के बजट में से आसानी से बचा सकते हैं और इसको बचाकर हम और बड़े बड़े काम कर सकते हैं। हमारे मौलाना आज़ाद को, जो कि आज हुकूमत के दूसरे नम्बर के आदमी हैं शिक्षा के लिये एक करोड़ रुपया नहीं मिल सका। यह क्या बात है ?

एक बात और कहना चाहता हूँ। वह यह कि बिहार के हमारे सूबे के एक हिस्से में पूर्वी कमान का सदर दफ़तर चला आ रहा है। अब सुना जाता है कि वह वहां से हटाया जाने वाला है। पिछली लड़ाई में जब जापान से खतरा था तब वह कमान वहां रहा लेकिन आज लड़ाई समाप्त होने के पांच-६ साल बाद उसको रांची से हटाकर लखनऊ ले जाने की बात सुनी जा रही है। जो लोग फौज के लिए जिम्मेदार हैं उनसे मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि फौज के लिये तो रांची के जंगलों में रहना ही ज्यादा अच्छा है। वहां पहाड़ों के बीच उन्हें बहादुरी की शिक्षा मिलती है। उनको लखनऊ में क्यों ले जा रहे हैं जहां वह नवाबों के किस्से सुनेंगे जो कि अच्छी चीज नहीं है। इसके साथ ही एक बात और है। वह यह कि हमारे प्रांत का छोटा नागपुर का हिस्सा और रांची का हिस्सा बड़ा गरीब है। इस जगह ६ वर्ष से फौजों के रहने की

वजह से हजारों लोगों को रोजी मिल रही है। इसलिए भी मैं कहता हूँ कि फौजों को लखनऊ ले जाना अच्छा नहीं है। उनका रांची से जाना बहुत खतरनाक चीज होगी। और मैं एक बिहारी होने के नाते और आदिवासियों के हित के नाते भी इसका विरोध करूँगा। सुरक्षा-विभाग में उत्तर प्रदेश के अभी तीन-तीन मंत्री हैं। इससे और भी गलतफ़हमी बढ़ सकती है। मैं उन तीनों से निवेदन करूँगा कि एक गरीब प्रदेश के नाते रांची से पूर्वी कमान को न हटाइये। कल को लोग कहेंगे कि दानापुर से भी फौज को हटाया जाय। तो यह चीज अच्छी नहीं है। हमको फौज को एक ही जगह केन्द्रित नहीं कर देना चाहिये बल्कि देश के सारे हिस्सों में उसे रखना चाहिये। इसलिए मैं कहूँगा कि रांची से फौज को न हटाया जाये।

आखिर में मुझे आपसे एक और बात कहनी है। हमको यह बात मालूम है कि हमारी फौज बहुत अच्छी है और उसमें बहुत अच्छा अनुशासन है। लेकिन यह अच्छी बात नहीं है कि हमारी फौज के अफसर छोटे छोटे सिपाहियों से अच्छा सलूक नहीं करते हैं। हम यह नहीं कहते कि अनुशासन कायम न किया जाय लेकिन इसका यह अर्थ नहीं है कि हमारे जनरल राजेन्द्र सिंह जी और एक सिपाही के बीच भाईचारे का संबंध नहीं स्थापित हो सकता। हमारे सिपाही को यह चीज बहुत ज्यादा खटकती है कि उसके साथ उसके बड़े अफसर गुलामों जसा व्यवहार करते हैं। आज हिंदुस्तान में कोई गुलाम नहीं है। अगर मुझे मालूम हो कि उनके साथ ऐसा व्यवहार नहीं होता है और मैं गलत हूँ तो मुझे खुशी होगी। मुझे इस बात की खुशी है कि हमारे डिफेंस मिनिस्टर श्री त्यागी जी सैकिंड लैफ्टीनेंट रह चुके हैं। यह अच्छा हुआ कि वह तरकी पाकर बड़े अफसर नहीं हूँ ए नहीं तो वह भी सिपाहियों के प्रति

वही भाव रखते जो कि एक सिपाही अफसर होने पर रखता है। तो वह एक सैकिंड लैफ्टीनेंट रह चुके हैं, इस कारण एक सिपाही की तकलीफ को और उसकी मनोवृत्ति को अच्छी तरह से समझ सकते हैं। वह ऐसा करें कि फौज के अन्दर अनुशासन रहे, लेकिन छोटे सिपाहियों के साथ भाईचारे का व्यवहार हो ताकि वह भी यह समझें कि हम भी भारत के स्वतंत्र नागरिक हैं। अगर ऐसा होगा तो बहुत अच्छा होगा।

[SHRI PATASHKAR in the Chair]

आखिर में मैं एक बात और कहना चाहता हूँ। हमारे देश में राष्ट्रीय अनुशासन की जरूरत है। किसी देश के लोग किस तरह से बैठते हैं किस तरह से चलते हैं किस तरह से बात करते हैं इन बातों से उस देश की सभ्यता मालूम होती है। मुझे बड़ी खुशी है कि यह चीजें हमारे फौज के लोगों में काफी पायी जाती हैं। यह एक बहुत अच्छी चीज है। तो मेरा यह सुझाव है कि हमारे फौज के अफसरों को कभी कभी स्कूलों में जाकर, कालिजों में जाकर और गांवों में जाकर लोगों को यह चीजें बतलानी चाहिए। वह वहां जाकर उनसे राजनीति की बात न करें पर यह बात तो कर ही सकते हैं। इन चीजों से राष्ट्र बनता है। इसलिये मेरा यह सुझाव है कि वह इस काम को करें। जयहिंद।

Shri Gopals Rao: I have been closely following my hon. friend who spoke just before me; but unfortunately he was speaking in Hindi. I think he was pressing on the wrong side.

Now, I come to a very important item of the Budget proposals. I say it is important for two reasons. First, a sum of Rs. 216 crores or almost 50 per cent. of the total Budget amount, is allotted for defence purposes and the second reason is, we, to whatever party one may belong, are very anxious to build up a strong peoples army. That is why I say that when you take up this item you must think in a broader perspective. It is not simply a question whether this big amount of 216 crores is

[Shri Gopala Rao]

warranted by the situation; it is not only a question whether this amount is being spent properly. But, on this occasion, I want to refer to some bigger issues, basic fundamental problems which are involved in this matter.

It is a fact that we are all anxious to build a strong peoples army to defend our frontiers and protect the rights of our people. We all know that this army in India was built on a different footing, on a different concept and on a different method. Many of our hon. Ministers, leaders and Generals speak often that our army is efficient and effective and can guard the rights of the people. They are praising the army like anything. I frankly ask the hon. Prime Minister and the rest of the Ministers what steps they have taken in the last six years to change the character of the army. We all know that the character of the army was different and that it was brought up on a different basis, different education and different discipline, which was savage and brutal, with ulterior motives. When the army was built up, and developed, it was the intention of the British imperialists to expand their territories, to maintain their hold on the territories and smash the peoples national movement. On that basis, with that concept the whole army was built. After all, during the last six years, is there any radical re-organisation in our army, are they being educated differently, are they being treated differently? Is our army built on a new concept, with new principles and new enthusiasm? These questions must be answered by the responsible Defence Ministers. That is why I say that when we are all anxious to build a peoples army, certain basic changes, both organisational and other changes, must be made by the Government if they are serious about the situation.

But when you come to the Budget allotment, I do not think that the fundamental character of the Budget also is any different. It is lop-sided and our dependent characteristic is fairly reflected in this Budget. Look at this Budget. Out of 216 crores, 163 crores have been allotted for the Army 25 crores for the Air force and eleven crores for the Navy. When you look at the percentage of money allotted to the Air Force and the Navy, it is very insignificant. Our main base will be again the same old infantry men. Out of this amount, 15 crores and 66 lakhs have been allotted for Defence ser-

vices, Non-effective purposes. Nearly a sum of six crores is provided to be given to retired British officers. I cannot appreciate this step, this provision for the officers who served long ago in India, not for developing India or for the benefit of the Indian people, but simply to maintain their imperialist glory and maintain the imperialist rule in India. Is there any justification still to continue this payment for those people under whose rule the Indian people suffered a lot, those people who were plunderers? Is there any justification to continue to allot this money for this particular purpose?

The other important item is, you find some charges in England. This comes to almost 25 crores or so. This is mainly intended to buy almost obsolete equipment for our army from the United Kingdom. Besides, I do not know how much out of the capital outlay of 18 crores is going to be spent to buy some other second hand machinery from the Britishers. That is why I say this shows our dependent character in relying on them for our main stores. Instead of developing our own industry, we are totally depending for our Armed Forces on the British imperialist defence industries. It is dangerous to depend on the British imperialist defence industries. We have to take into account this matter and think over it very seriously.

Coming to the other aspects, money allotted for officers' pay and allowances, Rs. 10,53,00,000 have been allotted for officers' pay in the Army and 31 crores for the whole ranks. In the same manner, in the Air Force, nearly two crores for officers and three crores for the ranks, that is, air men. From this, what I want to conclude is this. When you see in terms of our army, there are about four lakhs people. Three and a half lakhs belong to the rank and file in the Army and 15,000 or 16,000 in the Air Force. For these 370,000 people we give more than 30 crores as pay and allowances and for a small number of a few thousands,—I can say there are about 7000 or 9000 officers—we pay Rs. 10,53,00,000. The position is the same in the Air Force. If you take the percentage or relative scales, a new recruit will be getting only Rs. 22. Generally a soldier used to get Rs. 25 or 30 as pay, whereas an officer's salary runs to Rs. 2000 or 3000 or 4000. Really it is a startling disparity which should be taken into

account. There is a wrong impression.....

Shri Jaipal Singh: I am sorry to interrupt my hon. friend. May I know in which Army they start the officers with Rs. 2000?

Shri Gopala Rao: In this Army.

Shri Nambiar: In the Army they get a maximum of Rs. 3000.

Mr. Chairman: The hon. Member may go on.

An Hon. Member: Any sepoy can become a General.

Shri Nambiar: A sepoy gets Rs. 25.

Mr. Chairman: Hon. Members will not interrupt. The hon. Member may go on.

Shri Gopala Rao: A sepoy starts with Rs. 25; there are officers who are drawing thousands per month.

There is a wrong impression that huge amounts are also being spent for feeding the soldiers, air men and ratings. That is not at all true. I can say a very insignificant amount is being spent in this respect.

Coming to the other question of the supply of defence materials for our Army, it is very important and the whole House will have to think it over before they come to a decision on this Budget. The most important question is, what percentage out of this total Budget is allotted for the development of defence industries in this country. We can say, practically a very insignificant amount is allotted. In a country, the real strength of the net work of defence forces lies in the independent strength of the defence industries. But complete reliance on foreign industries leads to very dangerous results. If you analyse our defence industries, there are nothing but a few arsenals, not even capable of manufacturing complete rifles or elementary type of explosives. We have to import every modern arm, whether it is a tank or whether it is an armoured car or whether it is any automatic weapon or a bit complex explosive. We have to rely on the imperialist market, i.e., the British market.

5 P.M.

When you come to the strength of our Air Force and Naval Force and how these forces are being built up, it is a very ridiculous matter. Because there are no heavy industries, even for repairs now and then we have to send our big ships or aircraft to England. I came to know that

every month a courier is being sent to make some minor purchases in order to keep our Air Force running. As to the strength of the Air Force, it is said that some 15 squadrons or so are there, but hardly one squadron is equipped with modern aircraft I can say. Out of these, almost a considerable percentage is out of order, whether you say they are Tempests, Vampires, Jets, Spitfires or Liberators. I have not got a complete knowledge of them, but my friend who has spoken just before me has mentioned these names. But, I came to know that all these aircrafts are out of date and obsolete. That is why even spare parts are not available at times. That is why all the squadrons are not functioning properly. A part of every squadron is kept idle due to this obsolete condition.

If you take the Naval Force, the same condition prevails there also. Important ships like *Delhi*, *Rana* and *Rajput* are but a scrap of the British Navy. When they were about to condemn them after the Second World War, hurriedly our people ran, and in some form or other, they repainted and renovated the ships, and our people were forced to buy all these things, which are quite out of date, at an exorbitant rate. In this respect, I think that most of the Members also accept this: how our Air Force and our Naval Force are equipped with out-of-date, worn-out things, condemned by the British Navy and the Royal Air Force. We are buying all these things as first-hand things and incorporating in our Forces. So, unless heavy industries are built, there is no scope for an independent political policy.

It is curious enough that one of the papers in India says—I want to read a quotation from that; it is very interesting—

“It has been a melancholy thing that since independence no constructive plans for extending our Defence Industries have been put into operation. At the slightest provocation, defence purchasing missions are sent abroad, and the dependence of the Indian Army on foreign industry is greater than it was at the termination of World War Two..... The Government must see to it that our whole military potential is not at the mercy of foreign suppliers.”

This is what one of the important papers in India has written.

The Minister of Defence Organisation (Sri Tyagi): What is this paper?

Shri Gopala Rao: This is only the *Eastern Economist*. One of the British officers working in our Air Force also has stated.....

Mr. Chairman: The hon. Member has already taken about 20 minutes. I think he should finish. So many other Members are anxious to speak.

Shri Gopala Rao: I have taken only 14 minutes.

Mr. Chairman: He started at 4.47. I will allow him three minutes more.

Shri Gopala Rao: In this regard, there could be no more candid confession than the one made by Group Capt. Robinson, a Britisher himself, who is the Director of Technical Services of the Indian Air Force. In his essay which won him this year's C-in-C Prize for the essay competition, he says:

"The I.A.F., it is true, continues to fly, but its ability to do so is becoming increasingly uncertain. dependant as it sometimes is on 'last minute' delivering of essential items by the slender link of the courier services to U.K."

And again:

"So long as the I.A.F. remains dependant so largely on overseas supply, its 'adequacy' as an Air Force must be in doubt."

Last year the Defence Minister stated, "We are the people who lay down correct policies", but can any country, dependant completely on imperialist defence industries, claim that it is following independent policies? Certainly not, whatever the country may be. A country completely relying on foreign industries, i.e., imperialist industries, cannot think of independent policies—political or defence policies. It is due to this weakness that we are forced to join the Commonwealth Defence system. We are forced to agree to so many things. A number of British officers who were working for so long a time, are taking the important places. See our Air Force, Naval Force and Army. In every strategic place this Government is forced to accept the British imperialist proposals to put their own men. This is an important point on which the Government have to think, and the people also have to think. When the main defence industry is lacking and we are depending upon foreign industries, we cannot develop our people's Army which must have a close link and relation with the people, which must serve the people and

not a few individuals, not the capitalists, not the British interests. There is a lot of material with me to show how strategic places are taken up by certain people who are interested not in India, but are prepared to lead our country into very dangerous situations. That is why I say the defence policy, the whole structure and set up of the Armed Forces must be reorganized in a new light.

श्री बी० जी० देशपांडे (गुना): मिस्टर चेयरमैन, हिंदुस्तान जैसे विशाल देश की सुरक्षा का प्रश्न मेरी समझ में अत्यन्त कठिन और महत्व का विषय है। सुरक्षा प्रबन्ध म भारतवर्ष का जो अर्थ संकल्प है उसके बारे में यह जानना कि उसका कितना परिमाण है और परसेंटेज है, ठीक है, लेकिन मुख्य ध्येय तो परसेंटेज का नहीं है बल्कि देश की सुरक्षा का प्रश्न है। देश को बाह्य आक्रमणों से सुरक्षित रखना है और भारतवर्ष पर शत्रु का आक्रमण होने पर तो हमें उसका जोर से और बलपूर्वक मुकाबला करना है और खदेड़ना है, न कि यह देखना है कि अर्थ संकल्प पचास परसेंट पड़ता है या चालीस परसेंट पड़ता है। परसेंटेज के बारे में मालूम करने से खतरा तो आपका कम नहीं हो सकता। मेरी समझ में इस विशाल देश में जहां करोड़ों लोग बसते हैं और भिन्न भिन्न भाषा बोलते हैं और भिन्न भिन्न प्रांतीयता के लोग यहां रहते हैं, यह आवश्यक हो जाता है कि हम इस देश की सुरक्षा के प्रश्न पर और यहां की आवश्यकताओं को देखते हुए भूमि, समुद्री और हवाई सेना का संगठन करें और यह सुरक्षा का प्रश्न कोई आसान प्रश्न नहीं है। सिर्फ आपके यह कह देने से कि हम लोग तो शांतिवादी हैं, हमारा झगड़ा पाकिस्तान से हुआ तो पाकिस्तान की फौज कोई बड़ी भारी नहीं है, उसके लिये कोई हमें बड़ी भारी तैयारी नहीं करनी है, काम नहीं चलने वाला है या अगर कम्युनिस्टों की तरफ से कोई खतरा आया तो हम यह समझ लें कि हमने प्रीवेन्टिव डिटेन्स

एकट तो पास ही कर लिया है, उसके जरिये सब मामला खत्म हो जायेगा, मेरा कहना है कि इस तरह समझने और कहने से आप देश की सुरक्षा का प्रश्न वास्तव में हल नहीं करते हैं।

आपको देखना पड़ेगा कि दुनिया की वस्तुस्थिति क्या है, आप ने कितने लैक्चर दिये, आपने कितने व्याख्यान दिये, कि देश में जागतिक युद्ध होने वाला है, मगर वस्तुस्थिति को आपको ध्यान में लेना पड़ेगा आप यह सोचकर न बैठिये कि आगे चल कर रूस से आपका युद्ध होने वाला है मैं समझता हूँ कि अमरीका, इंग्लैंड और आपके दम्यान भी लड़ाई हो सकती है। पाकिस्तान के बारे में मैं ने देखा है कि जब कश्मीर का प्रश्न आया तो इंग्लैंड और अमरीका ने पाकिस्तान का साथ दिया है, और वह आगे भी उनको मदद देते रहेंगे। वह आप जैसे पुराणमतवादी रिजर्वेशनरी, अध्यात्मवादी व्याख्यानवाजी पर विश्वास रखने वाले नहीं हैं। Enlighten Self-Interest प्रगतिशील आत्महित यह उनके राजनीति का निर्णायक तत्व है। आप जैसी प्रवचनशास्त्र की शक्ति उन में नहीं है। इसी कारण यदि अमरीका और इंग्लैंड यह समझेंगे कि पाकिस्तान का हित करना उन के हित में है तो वह पाकिस्तान का साथ भी कर सकते हैं। मेरे कहने का उद्देश्य यही था। मैं यह नहीं कहता कि इंग्लैंड या अमरीका या रूस के साथ लड़ाई की जाय। मैं तो इतना ही कहता हूँ कि आप समझ लीजिये कि लड़ाई होने वाली हो या लड़ाई होने वाली न हो तो भी अमरीका और इंग्लैंड आदि देशों में जिस तरह बड़े पैमाने पर सुरक्षा के प्रश्न पर बहुत ज्यादा खर्च किया जा रहा है, उसी प्रकार से आपको भी सोचना होगा। मेरी शिकायत यह नहीं है कि आप सुरक्षा के लिए दो सौ करोड़

खर्च करते हैं। मैं ने तो पहले ही कहा कि शायद आप को सुरक्षा के लिये दो सौ करोड़ से भी ज्यादा खर्च करना होगा, लेकिन वह खर्च करके भी देश की सुरक्षा होगी यह मैं मानने के लिए तैयार नहीं हूँ।

इस देश की सुरक्षा के लिये कई प्रश्न हैं जिन को आप को हल करना पड़ेगा। पहले महत्व का विषय है कि आपके सैनिक संतुष्ट हों। दूसरे महत्व का विषय यह है कि दुनिया में आप किस को मित्र बनाते हैं और किस को शत्रु बनाते हैं। यहां आने वालों में आपका शत्रु कौन है और मित्र कौन है। और इस देश में रहने वाले लोग आप के प्रति कितना निष्ठा रखते हैं, जब इन सब प्रश्नों को सोचेंगे तभी सुरक्षा की बात आप कर सकते हैं। अब तक आपने क्या किया? आप ने अपने हाथ से ५५ करोड़ रुपये दिये, फौजें दीं, टैंक दिये, और आज वही आपके दुश्मन बने बैठे हैं और वह भी दुश्मन ऐसा कि जो एक तरफ आपकी सरहद्द पर आगया है, दूसरी तरफ बंगाल की तरफ से बिलकुल मध्य में जिस प्रकार से हृदय में खंजर धोपा जाता है, उस प्रकार से पाकिस्तान आ बैठा है। आपके बीच में ऐसे आदमी हैं जो आपके साथ लड़ाई कर सकते हैं क्योंकि उन्होंने आपसे लड़ाई की है और आपका मुल्क छीना है। मैं बधाई सेना को तो देता हूँ मैं सेना को तो प्रणाम करता हूँ लेकिन सरकार को बधाई देने की मेरे हृदय में इच्छा नहीं होती है। इस देश का एक हिस्सा दुश्मनों के हाथ में चला गया है और हमारी फौजें खड़ी हैं। कश्मीर का एक हिस्सा देश के बाहर चला गया है। इसका बड़ा डिमारेलाइजिंग इफेक्ट होता है हमारे लोगों पर, कि हमारी सरकार हमारे प्रदेशों की रक्षा नहीं कर सकती। अभी एक रिपयूजी ने अपनी दशा मुझे सुनाई। उसने कहा कि आसमान मेरे ऊपर गिर

[श्री वा० जी० देशपांडे]

जाय मैं उसकी चिंता नहीं करता हूँ, कौन सी मुसोबत मैं सहने के लिये तैयार नहीं हूँ लेकिन भगवान मुझे ऐसी सरकार न दे जो कमजोर हो और नामर्द हो। इस देश के लोगों में ऐसी भावना बढ़ रही है कि हमारी सरकार हमारी रक्षा नहीं कर सकती है कश्मीर का एक हिस्सा दुश्मनों के हाथ में चला गया है तब भी आप कुछ नहीं कर सकते हैं मैं यह बात मानने के लिये तैयार नहीं हूँ। मेरी सब से बड़ी शिकायत इसके लिये नहीं है कि आपने अपना मुल्क खोया और उसे गुलाम बनने दिया, गुलाम बनना या मुल्क खोना इतना बड़ा दोष नहीं है। जर्मनी के प्रदेश दूसरों के कब्जे में है इंग्लैंड भी गुलाम हुआ था। लेकिन आपके पास कोई योजना नहीं है, सेना का संगठन आपने क्या किया है? यह रिपोर्ट की किताबें आप ने हमें दी हैं पिछले साल का भी ब्रीफ स्टेटमेंट मैंने पढ़ा। यह कहा जाता है कि अंग्रेजों के जमाने में हमारी सेना का सेनापति एक व्यक्ति होता था और आप का विमान दल था, नाविक दल था और भूमि सेना थी, सब का समन्वय (CO-ordination) वह कमान्डर-इन-चीफ करता था। अब वह प्रथा बन्द हो गई और कमान्डर-इन-चीफ के बजाय डिफेंस मिनिस्टर ने सब का समन्वय कर दिया है। यह डिफेंस मिनिस्टर कैसे समन्वय करेगा, पहले तो इसका पता नहीं कि डिफेंस मिनिस्टर कौन हैं, डिफेंस मिनिस्टर सैकिंड लेफ्टेनेंट है या लैफ्टेनेंट जनरल है इसका कुछ पता नहीं। बात यह है कि उनका समन्वय करने के लिए आपने डिफेंस मिनिस्टर को रक्खा। पहले तो एक कमान्डर-इन-चीफ होता था लेकिन चूंकि अब विमान दल का और नाविक दल के प्रमुख योरोपियन हैं इसलिये वह हिंदुस्तानी सेनापति का अधिपत्य मानने को तैयार नहीं। इसलिये मिनिस्टर को रक्खा। इसके बाद आपने

मिनिस्टरों की भी एक बटालियन बना दी है, उनका समन्वय कौन करेगा इसका मुझे पता नहीं है।

आगे चल कर आप देखिये कि इतना बड़ा देश है लेकिन उसके अन्दर पुर्तगाल और फ्रांस की छोटी छोटी पाकेट्स हैं। पाकिस्तान की तरफ से और गोवा से हैदराबाद में एम्प्युनिशन भेजा गया था। यह पाकेट्स खतरा पैदा कर सकते हैं। आप कहते हैं कि पाकिस्तान की तरफ से आप को खतरे हो सकते हैं, लेकिन तब भी इस देश के अन्दर डिफेंस के लिये कोई अच्छी योजना रख कर तैयारी करने के लिए सरकार तैयार नहीं है। मैं कहता हूँ कि जरा सोचिये तो सही मैं ने आपकी फाइव इअर प्लैन ए टू जैड पढ़ी, उस में भारत सेवक समाज है, बर्थ कंट्रोल है, फैमिली प्लैनिंग है, लेकिन इस देश के डिफेंस की प्लैनिंग आप की पंच वर्षीय योजना में नहीं है। दो हजार करोड़ रुपये आप इसके लिए खर्च करने वाले हैं, लेकिन पांच वर्षों के अन्दर डिफेंस के लिये क्या होगा उस के लिये आप ने कुछ सोचा नहीं। इस देश में कोई वार इंडस्ट्री नहीं है। वार इंडस्ट्री के लिये प्लैंट बाहर से आने में देर हो जाती है पैसा देने में देर हो जाती है, खास कर इस प्रकार की इनएफिशिएन्ट सरकार हो तब तो बहुत ही देर हो जाती है। यहां के लोग इसको जानते हैं। यहां के नाविक दल और विमान दल की हालत हम देखते हैं, लेकिन हमारी सरकार ने १६३ करोड़ भूमि सेना के लिये रक्खा है ११ करोड़ और पच्चीस करोड़ एअर और नैवी के लिये है। लेकिन इतना खर्च करके भी इस प्रकार से पुरानी चीजें ला करके देश की रक्षा हो सकेगी यह मैं समझने को तैयार नहीं हूँ। इस तरीके से आप ने इस देश के अन्दर काम किया है। इतना ही नहीं आप के डिफेंस के लिये खतरा ही खतरा है हम जिधर

देखते हैं खतरा ही नज़र आता है। डा० अम्बेडकर ने 'धाटस आन पाकिस्तान' में लिखा है कि :

"For the safety of the country whether you want a safe army or a safe frontier?" You have neither safe frontiers nor safe armies.

आप देश की सुरक्षा के लिये सुरक्षित सरहद्द और सरकार चाहते हैं या सुरक्षित सेना चाहते हैं ? उत्तर मिला हम सुरक्षित सरहद्द और सुरक्षित सेना चाहते हैं। आप जान लीजिये कि इतना सामान पाकिस्तान के हाथ में भी है। और अपने देश की सुरक्षा के लिये यह भी आपको सोचना चाहिये कि देश के अन्दर निष्ठावान लोग कितने हैं। आप को यह सोचना चाहिये कि आपके सरहद्दों पर पापुलेशन कैसी होनी चाहिये। किस तरह से उसका संगठन होना चाहिये। आप कहते हैं कि आप की स्टेट सेकुलर है इसलिये मैं तो इतना ही बतलाना चाहता हूँ कि जैसे कि मराठी की कहावत में है कि सच को ज्यादा नहीं बतलाना पड़ता है। मुझे बहुत ज्यादा बोलने की जरूरत नहीं, हम देखते हैं कि बंगाल की सरहद्दों पर लोग दूसरी तरफ से आते हैं और जाते हैं। पचास मील का सेफ्टी जोन है। उस की सेफ्टी के लिये आपने ठीक ढंग से प्रबन्ध नहीं किया है। मैं समझता हूँ कि सब समाजों और सब जातियों को समानाधिकार देकर आप रखना चाहते हैं, लेकिन सेफ्टी इज दी फर्स्ट कंसीडरेशन। सुरक्षा की दृष्टि से सब कुछ करना चाहिये। मैं ने देखा कि यहां लोगों ने खड़े होकर निष्ठा की शपथ ली और उसके बाद पाकिस्तान चले गये। इस चीज़ को देखकर आपको सेना का संगठन करना चाहिये।

आप देख रहे हैं कि आप की सेफ आर्मी और सेफ फ्रंटियर नहीं है। आगे चल कर इस देश की सुरक्षा के संबंध में मैंने देखा है कि

कश्मीर के संबंध में यहां प्रश्न पूछे गये और कश्मीर मिलीशिया जो है, जो कश्मीर की नेशनल मिलीशिया कही जाती है, उस के बारे में डिफेंस मिनिस्टर की जगह पर श्री कृष्णमाचारी जी थे, उन्होंने कहा कि फारेन ऐग्नेशन को नेशनल मिलीशिया डील नहीं करती है फारेन ऐग्नेशन के समय नेशनल मिलीशिया से काम लिया जाता है। उन्होंने कहा कि यह स्टेट की पुलिस फोर्स है और फारेन ऐग्नेशन के समय मुकाबला करती है, लेकिन इस से हमारा काम चलेगा यह मैं नहीं समझता हूँ।

मैं चाहता हूँ कि इस देश में एक संतोष की भावना हो, लेकिन मिलिटरी तक मैं भी मैं देखता हूँ कि संतोष की भावना नहीं है। मैं अपने मित्र श्री गोपाल राव से सहमत हूँ कि यहां के सोल्जर संतुष्ट नहीं हैं। लेकिन मैं इस में उन से सहमत नहीं हूँ कि आफिसरों को बहुत तनखाह मिल रही है। मैं देखता हूँ कि मिलिटरी में ऊपर से लेकर नीचे तक असंतोष है। ड्रेस का ऐलाउंस है। पहले जिनको ड्रेस ऐलाउंस मिलता था उन को पांच रुपया देकर ड्रेस का देना खत्म किया जा रहा है, लेकिन कपड़े का भाव कम करने की ओर ध्यान नहीं है। अफसरों की तनखाह ज्यादा नहीं है। मैं ने सुना है कि मिलिटरी में ऐसे बहुत कम मेजर हैं जिनकी सर्विस पच्चीस साल से ज्यादा नहीं है। आपको मिलिटरी में सबको संतुष्ट रखना चाहिये। मैं यह नहीं मानता हूँ कि सोल्जर को मेजर या कैप्टिन के खिलाफ बगावत करने को कहा जाय। नेपोलियन कहता था कि हमारी फौज पेट पर चलती है पांवों पर नहीं चलती। तो आपको देखना, चाहिए कि आप हमारे देश में सुरक्षा के लिए किस तरह से काम कर रहे हैं। आप ऐक्स सोल्जर के साथ अच्छा व्यवहार नहीं कर रहे

[श्री बी० जी० देशपांडे]

हैं। जो हमारी सरहद पर रहने वाले, जैसे जम्मू, या काश्मीर या राजस्थान में रहने वाले जो हमारे सैनिक जाति के लोग हैं, ऐक्स सोल्जर हैं, उनके रिहैबिलीटेशन के लिये आपने कुछ नहीं किया है। आपको डिफेंस के इस प्रश्न को जिस प्रकार से देखना चाहिये उस प्रकार आप नहीं देख रहे हैं। हम इस देश की सुरक्षा के लिए जिस देश पर निर्भर हैं, वह इंग्लैंड है। यहां कहा गया कि यह तो समझीता है। हम इंग्लैंड के कामन वेल्थ में हैं। इसकी बात में इस समय नहीं कहना चाहता। इस कामनवेल्थ की हंड इंग्लैंड की रानी क्यों है? लेकिन इस झगड़े में न पड़ते हुए मैं आपसे यह पूछना चाहता हूं कि सुरक्षा के लिए आप अकेले इंग्लैंड पर क्यों निर्भर हैं। हमारा युद्ध का सामान उनके यहां से आता है अफसर वहां से आते हैं। मैं समझता हूं कि इससे एक समय हमको धोखा हो सकता है। आप अकेले अंग्रेजों के पास क्यों जाते हैं? जर्मनी के पास जाइये, इटली के पास जाइये, तीन चार देशों के पास आप अपनी आवश्यकताओं के लिए जाइये, अगर आप स्वयं उनको पूरा नहीं कर सकते। अगर अकेले इंग्लैंड पर आप भरोसा करेंगे तो धोखा हो सकता है। खास कर हाल में अंग्रेजों का जो पाकिस्तान के साथ रुख रहा है उसको देखते हुए आपको इस तरफ खास तौर से ध्यान देना पड़ेगा। यह कहने के पश्चात् मैं फिर से अपने प्राइम मिनिस्टर साहब से, जो कि शायद आजकल डिफेंस मिनिस्टर भी हैं, और उनके सैकिड लैफ्टीनेंट मिनिस्टर साहब से प्रार्थना करता हूं कि उनको इस देश की सुरक्षा के प्रश्न को सबसे ऊपर रखना चाहिये। इस प्रश्न में हर एक दल का सहकार्य होना चाहिये और मैं तो कहूंगा कि इस देश में अगर कोई दूसरा कार्यक्षम राजनीतिज्ञ मिनिस्टर का काम करने

के लिए न मिले तो हमको किसी सरविस के आदमी को, जैसे जनरल करिअप्पा हैं, या जैसा कि मैंने पहले कहा था श्री जगन्नाथ भौसले को रखा जाय। लेकिन शायद हिंदु महासभा वालों की ओर से उनका नाम लेने की बजह से वह खराब हो जाय। इसलिए मैं किसी का नाम नहीं लेना चाहता। लेकिन मेरे कहने का तात्पर्य यह है कि आप मिलिटरी के विशेषज्ञों को बुलायें और सबको साथ लेकर बैठें और उनके सामने इस सुरक्षा के प्रश्न को रखें और फिर सुरक्षा का बजट बनायें।

Shri Joachim Alva (Kanara): When I heard my hon. friend, Mr. Deshpande, speaking about the unsatisfactory condition of our soldiers in the Army, I felt that he was throwing a kind of bomb in the way of our Army, an Army of order and discipline, consisting of the best fighting forces in this land. I was almost reminded that he does not come far from Gwalior, or at least he represents Gwalior, from where a visitor one night repaired to Delhi, and we know the historical event when that visitor fired a shot at our greatest man, Mahatma Gandhi.

I want to refer to his speech because the Army represents our best fighting material. The Army is composed of well trained, contented and patriotic men. No doubt, they carry about 75 per cent. of our expenditure on defence. We cannot sow therein the slightest amount of disaffection and a Member of Parliament cannot under the cover of privileges of Members make a speech about disaffection in the Army which, if he made outside, would land him in the clutches of the Court of law. I shall not say more.

I shall also refer to my friend, Mr. Gopala Rao, who talked about the salaries of the higher officers of the Defence Forces. I shall quote the salaries: The General of the Army gets Rs. 3000, the Admiral gets Rs. 3000 and the head of the Air Force gets Rs. 3000. If that salary is high, let us start with pruning the Civil Services equally with the Army. It is only when you shall have to prune all the Services that we shall be able to have some kind of equality and then touch the Army. Is it too much to

give Rs. 3,000 to a General, the Chief of the Army, the Head of the Air Force or to the Head of our Navy? No doubt in the Navy only when you go three or four officers down you get an Indian. Therefore, you cannot touch the highest point until we are able to touch the salaries of the highest Civil Services whose salaries have been guaranteed. We are no doubt dissatisfied with the salaries they are drawing, but if it is going to be settled let us apply the axe at one stroke simultaneously over all the heads and let us also provide them means whereby they shall not have temptations.

Sir, I shall not refer more to this because I have numerous points and I crave your indulgence to speak at least for 20 minutes to cover the Air Force, gliders, the Navy, the National Cadet Corps, the Poona National Academy, the foreigners in our Army, our coast liners for defence, and about the principle of expenditure in our defence forces. I shall start by saying that I join in the chorus of congratulations to Shri Mahavir Tyagi who has become the Minister for Defence Organisation. The Prime Minister has robbed one of the most colourful and valiant men from the back benches by promoting him from one place to another. I hope with his sound judgment, fighting skill, and courage to stand up to anybody he will be able to put the defences in a proper spirit. I must also congratulate the Prime Minister for having nobly resisted the idea of getting a serviceman into our Ministerial post's. We shall not have any servicemen in any of our Cabinet portfolios.

An Hon. Member: Why not?

Shri Joachim Alva: For the simple reason that we shall then have the serviceman's idea dominating our military affairs. They would dominate the affairs of the country as is done by the Pentagon in the USA, as is done under the National Service Act by the Generals of the United States of America where they dictate the political and defence policies of the USA. We shall then see the end of our great foreign policy of being neutral, our policy of 'love thy neighbour as thyself', a policy where we shall even extend a helping hand to our worst enemies.

I say we shall neither adopt the policy of the Anglo-American bloc or of the Russian bloc. I shall quote one statement of ex-President Truman. He

said in 1941—I am quoting from the *New York Times* of June 24, 1941:

"If we see that Germany is winning, we ought to help Russia and if Russia is winning we ought to help Germany and that way let them kill as many as possible, although I don't want to see Hitler victorious under any circumstances."

This was what one Senator Harry Truman said in the year 1941! Let us go back to the year 1939, when Joachim Von Ribbentrop shook hands with Molotov in the Berlin Chancellery, when the Nazi-Russian Non-Aggression Pact was signed. We shall not have any of that policy which was either enacted in the Chancellery of Berlin in 1939 or enunciated by ex-President Truman when he said, 'let them kill as many Russians as possible'. We shall have our own policy in our own land. Our policy is the result of our foreign policy, a policy by which our law and order is supreme. If there is no law and order and disorder prevails, it will be to the detriment of all democratic forces; when a Noguib may jump out of our Army and end our democratic way of life. Let us think ahead along these lines and develop our policy.

I have a word to say to our new Minister for Defence Organisation. He has to play his role of Minister of Defence Organisation in a manner that he shall be able to establish priority, sound thinking—clear thinking—that he will be able to balance the forces of the Army, the Navy and the Air Force. The Air Force today gets hardly twelve and a half per cent. of our defence expenditure; the Navy gets hardly five and a half per cent. of same and our Army gets over 75 per cent. This percentage has to be shifted in the proper manner so as to put it on a rational basis. The Army getting 75 per cent., the Navy getting five and a half per cent. and the Air Force twelve and a half per cent. of our defence budget—these percentages have to be rearranged in a proper manner sooner or later in the interests of our land. We shall have to build up an Air Force; we shall have to build up a strong Navy; no part shall be in any way an inferior force. Look at the map of India. The world today has flung out the maps from the class rooms. We are now hugging globes only. It is all a global strategy or global warfare with the terms of 'conditional surrender' coming out from the Heads of States. Maps are considered useless now as everyone

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thinks in terms of globes and global warfare. And in that globe, see how we are surrounded by about seven neighbours, Afghanistan, Iran, Pakistan, Russia, China, Nepal, and Burma. **Our Air Force shall have to be so strong that it shall be equal to the striking power of any one of our neighbours.** That is a maxim which Winston Churchill laid in the House of Commons and that was the safety of the British race, an island so small, and they said that 'our Air Force shall not be inferior to the striking power of any one of the neighbouring countries'. That should be our maxim; we cannot therefore afford to neglect our Air Force. At the end of the First War, France had 5000 planes. How many have we? I shall not put the question. We have somehow cloaked everything with secrecy. Look at the American Congressional Record of 1952. You will find in that they have given the figures of all their Defence Forces. You will find the figures of their Naval, Air and Armed Forces. If we ask one of our officers for an ordinary piece of information, they say it is not available. This document, the Congressional Summary of the Proceedings of U.S.A. is in the Library June-July 1952. We can see what sort of Forces they have got, how many people are in their Army, how many people are in their Navy and how many are in their Air Force. It is issued by the Commonwealth Parliamentary Association. The size of the American Armed Forces maintained—total is 3,690,605 persons: 1,550,000 in the Army; 835,875 in the Navy; 243,730 in Marine Corps and 1,061,000 in the Air Force. Here, however we are unnecessarily clouding ourselves in a number of secrecies which are not in the interests of our country.

Then, Sir, you remember one of the surprises of the last War was that an enormous number of parachutists were trained in Russia. Our ex-Viceroy Lord Wavell was watching the manoeuvres in 1935 in Moscow. Air borne troops were carried from Moscow to Vladivostock. Today we need many transport squadrons have we got? and pieces of armament. How many transport squadrons have we got? You know, Sir, the Kashmir operations were saved by the Civilian Air Force coming to the rescue in taking them from Delhi to Kashmir or from one place to another. Unless we build up our transport squadrons, our Air Force will not merely be not the best but absolutely helpless. The Red Army

has been described as an Army of quality in an Army of quantity. You know what General Von Runstead said. He said when they went into Russia they were stultified. He was told that Russia had a beautiful city on this side and a town on that side but he found nothing but mud. King. Mud had the final triumph on behalf of the Russians *versus* the Nazis. When the Russians pushed back they had a million parachutists while the Germans were not able to have more than 5000 who pounded Rotterdam and the Hague. We have enough young men parachutists; we have to build them up and train them. I am afraid the Defence Department is unnecessarily shrouding things. It shrouded the identity of the plane that came over Delhi and created so much consternation and even panic. They should have told us from where the plane come so that our young men and our population as a whole may be ready in times of difficulty. Under the cloud of secrecy, we shall run here and there in panic, in great cities like Delhi, Bombay or Calcutta. I was referring to General Von Runstead's observation of Russian roads. When the Nazis overran Russia they could not have a look or peep into their installations or defence preparations. In our country it is an open forum. Our country will not be conquered in six months or six days but almost in six hours or six seconds. Unless we stop the foreigners in their increasing numbers from helping us and ban their peeping into our defences,—**have they helped us during the past 150 years—we will not be helped in our difficulties.** Even today they are creating so many difficulties in the Kashmir front. I would suggest that in a year or two it should be possible for all these foreigners to quit or be asked to quit from the highest posts in the Army or Navy or Air Force and that no installation be available for inspection. Unless we do this our country will be an open forum and it will be an open road to every foreigner. Our country is so vast, our roads are so open and plain, that foreigners can play havoc with our defences.

We cannot shut our eyes to the point of so many foreigners in the foreign firms in our country. In 1951, in Parliament I listed 13 foreign firms and mentioned their names and said that in those firms there were not enough of our men drawing a salary of more than 1,500 rupees. I gave a number of facts but no paper

in India would publish my speech for fear of losing their advertisements. My own paper, the *FORUM*, published to with the result that we were cut out of foreign advertising. I am developing this point because if we allow a number of foreigners in these foreign firms to come to India, in times of emergency, every foreigner will be a fifth columnist. I urge this without restraint, without any question of soreness. We have friends in America, and Russia and everywhere. We shall not allow our country to be an open forum. If we looked through Russian eyes, we could appreciate why they did not allow any foreigner to go beyond Moscow because they had all sorts of defence installations and arrangements, which they were not prepared to exhibit to outsiders. Otherwise they would never have finally resisted the Nazi invasion especially when Nazis inflicted great harm on Russian towns and villages where 25 millions were rendered homeless; yet they were able to build and recoup their fattered land.

I shall refer to the Navy. The British Navy has been described by one of their illustrious Sea Lords. The late Lord Fisher as a Navy travelling first class. I am afraid, our Navy travels third class. Our soldiers are first class, our Air Force is first class in its personnel, our men in the Navy are first class, but our Navy is indeed third class. Recently our men were sent for training to Malta. The training of our Naval aviators was such that they could bring the sea planes to land on the British ships in such a way that put even the Britishers into a kind of pessimism. We have got men; as I said, our men are first-rate men. We have got first class material. We cannot allow these men to be without the latest and best weapons. I would like to conclude. Sir, with what President Roosevelt said, about small ships. Let us build small, fast and well-armed ships. In a letter to Churchill, the late Franklin Roosevelt said:

"My Navy has been definitely slack in preparing for this submarine war off our coast. As I need not tell you, most Naval officers have declined in the past to think in terms of any vessel of less than two thousand tons. You learnt the lesson two years ago. We still have to learn it. By May 1st, I expect to get a pretty good coastal patrol working from Newfoundland to Florida and through the West Indies. I

have begged, borrowed, and stolen every vessel of every description over eighty feet long—and I have made this a separate command with the responsibility in Admiral Andrews."

Letter dated March 18, 1942 from Churchill's Second World War Vol. IV.

If that were the statement of small ships by Roosevelt, then what should be our stand? Four hundred years ago our sailing ships were going up to Europe. The British Parliament came and ordered that our ships could not only not ply the coastal traffic, but that they shall never ply across the seas. I would like the hon. Minister for Defence Organisation to lay emphasis on small ships so that they could be armed and run quickly to points of danger and save our people and thus the Navy would find its feet deep in our waters. As I said, our Naval officers are the best; but we shall have to guard ourselves against one danger and that danger is that of buying worn out British ships, almost the junk of the British Navy. Capt. Liddel Hart in his book "DEFENCE OF THE WEST" refers to how Britain tried to maintain a "Home Fleet" and a "Mediterranean Fleet", each centred round a battleship. When the war ended, they decided to preserve one battleship in full commission, H. M. "Vanguard" and he says: "It might more appropriately have been christened H.M.S. 'Rearguard'." What we are trying to do is to have ships of this type—turn their vanguards into our impotent Rearguards! We do not want our money to be wasted in buying these old men-of-war which will sink at the first strike of the offensive. We must have small ships, so that we can build up our Navy and give training to our men, so that they may even know the art of anti-submarine warfare. Russia has grabbed the best designers and makers of submarines before the Second World War closed. Since we are on friendly terms with West Germany, we should take their experts to help us to build up a good submarine force and teach our boys anti-submarine warfare. The Joint Chiefs of Staff of America warned ex-President Truman that the year of danger will be 1954 and if they crossed that year, perhaps they would be able to stave off a Third World War. We must therefore arm ourselves against the possibility of a war in 1954. We should put our defence organisation in perfect trim. We should not run like a man in the dark who runs with blind eyes in a dark room on a dark night looking out for a dark cat!

[Shri Joachim Alva]

We should transfer our industrial centres to underground spots. We should not congregate them all in Bangalore or crowd them all in one place or town. We should spread them all over the country. We should build aircraft factories. They should not be like the Hindustan Aircraft Factory, where the heart of the aircraft, viz. the engine, is not manufactured. Messerschmidt, the German designer it appears approached Dr S. P. Mookerjee when he was the Industries Minister with a scheme for building aircrafts. We either spurned that offer, or did not take kindly to it. Messerschmidt went away to Franco's Spain and built an air force for them. The time has now come when we should take help from wherever it comes. We need not be tied to the Anglo-Saxon or the Anglo-American camp. It is time we went to the Czechs or the Hungarians or the Austrians or the Germans even the Russians. Unless we change this 150-year old mode of warfare, and technique and method of procurement, we have no future and will be lost.

I shall now turn to the radar. Radar is a very important factor in defence. The British were able to stave off danger to their island by building up a chain of radar stations in 1939 for just over a million pounds. Today America is trying to build up a network of radar from Sanfrancisco to New York, from Greenland to Alaska so that they will get a warning of six hours, instead of fifteen minutes which we, in India are not getting now. Our stations for radar have to be built in such a way that we shall be able to have warning in time about unidentified planes of which we have had such terrible and timely warning nearly four years ago. Only then can we place our men and women above the mercy of these unidentified planes, whether they be from friendly countries or from the countries of our foes. Here, I want to quote what Churchill has said:

"The possibility of using radio waves scattered back from aircraft and other metal objects seems to have occurred to a very large number of people in England, America, Germany and France in the nineteen-thirties."

Hence they were able to establish their defensive supremacy against Nazi onslaught.

One more point, Sir. The Germans had built their research stations in wooded forests. I had sent a book on this subject to the authorities concern-

ed to have a good look at it. We are today surrounded by huge laboratories, but the age of the huge machines is gone. These are days of mobile, swift warfare and if we have some little structures and machines in thickly wooded forests, where no harm can come to them, we shall be in a strong position. Our research must grow and grow in quiet spots. Air research must advance.

What about tankers? I was shocked the other day to find that the Deputy Minister of Transport Shri Alagesan did not know how many tankers we possessed. I should say that it was a gross failure of duty on his part not to be able to give this information. We have to get oil from other countries and you ought to know how many countries used to suffer during war-time as a result of tanker shortage. Hitler was gaining victories against England, but at one time he had no ships to bring him oil, and when that happened Hitler lost his air supremacy. We must have tankers, buy or build them so that foreign countries may not black-mail us during years of crisis by refusing to give or transport oil to us.

Now, I turn to the National Cadet Corps. I happened to be a member of the National Cadet Corps Committee from Parliament. It is a very big organisation—this N.C.C.—consisting of twenty-five thousand senior boys and 50 thousand junior boys. Though some of them are less than matriculates, they will constitute the cream of our defence forces in the future. We should find enough money for this N.C.C. Whether we like it or not, whether the States contribute or not, we should find the money. We have air divisions and naval divisions. They are doing good work. They have neither the weapons and equipment they need, nor do they have other big materials. We should put our hands into our pockets to allot them generous monies for their expenditure, and this Parliament must somehow find that money.

One word about gliders and I shall sit down.

Mr. Chairman: He has already taken twenty minutes. I shall give him two more minutes, but he must definitely finish within that time.

Shri Joachim Alva: The Defence and Communication Ministries and even this House seem to be unaware of the importance of gliders.

Some Hon. Members: No, no.

Shri Joachim Alva: Germany has about seven hundred and fifty clubs and thirty-five thousand members. I doubt whether we have even half a dozen clubs. Gliders are the reservoirs of our air force and we must build them up and this can only be done by establishing more gliding clubs and also flying clubs.

Shri Lakshman Singh Charak (Jammu and Kashmir): Six years of freedom have changed men's outlook in this country as nothing else has done during the last one thousand years. The change is remarkable and is most unparalleled, particularly as far as our outlook on the Armed Forces is concerned. I have been going through the proceedings of the Budget Session of the Central Legislature before the war, during the war and after the war. The most usual criticism—and that too from the representatives of our people—was that the Indian Army was a mercenary one and was officered by foreigners, and that a good percentage of our Budget—as much as 50 per cent.—was frittered away on the Defence Forces to the detriment of the Nation-building activities. What is the change that we see today? Everyone congratulates the Government, and the Army is at last a national one. It is certainly national. There is no doubt about that. The difference between martial and non-martial races has ended. I do agree that the Army can be even more on a broader basis. Everybody who is a citizen of this country has an inherent right to serve in the Armed Forces and contribute his mite, physically speaking, to the welfare and defence of the land—whether it is the people of the Kasi Hills or the Iyers and Ayyangars of Tamil Nad, or the Banerjees of Bengal, or the Joshis of Gujarat, or the Rajputs and Sikhs of the Punjab and Rajasthan, or the Dogras and Kashmiris of Jammu and Kashmir. All of them have an inherent right to serve and safeguard their Motherland against internal disorders and external aggression. No one has any business to take away that right. I am sure the Army Authorities would propagate this view even more greatly amongst the recruiting officers, consistent of course with the standard of physical, mental and other requirements set up by the Armies of the world everywhere.

Coming to the expenditure part of it the great change that we see is that apart from the Communists and a few friends here and there like Mr. Misra, almost everyone in the country feels that we could spend even a little more on the Army and the Army is by no means taking away too much of it. There is always room no doubt

for healthy criticism and difference of opinion as to whether the money has been properly allocated or spent and whether the various branches of the Army have been properly equipped and provided for. There is no doubt a certain amount of justifiable criticism that our Navy and Air Force could be even better and have to be expanded in the interest of the country. I have been myself a soldier by tradition and by avocation as well. The Indian soldier today, I can talk with all the confidence under my command, is free from communalism and communism. He is a good and true man. If he errs at times it is not on account of any fault of his own. Whatever mistake he may do is very largely, if not wholly due to the system and methods which have been perpetrated.

I regret I have to point out one serious grievance to which the Government of India have not yet given any consideration, not to speak of sympathetic consideration. There are officers in the Defence Forces, Army and Air Force, who are well qualified, properly trained, and experienced who have put in ten or more years of service and yet are not given the treatment which they deserve. I am talking of those Short Service Regular Commissioned Officers and the Emergency Commissioned Officers who were enrolled in the beginning of the Second World War. All these officers have, as I already stated, put in a decade or so of their life. Their service records are good and the Commanding Officers have made good remarks of their competency and work and that has been the reason for their retention so far. But there is no security of tenure or permanency in their service, nor the usual privileges accompanying the regular cadre. Let us now compare how the officers of this category are treated in Pakistan. We can even take the good points from Pakistan. I have on undoubted authority that the latest facilities are:

- (1) Non-Regular Officers who have completed ten years' service shall be eligible for retiring pension;
- (2) If they have not completed ten years' service they will get gratuity which will be assessed in relation to the length of the service;
- (3) Non Regular-officers who have completed fifteen years' service or more will receive the same rate of pension as given to the regular officers; and

[Shri Lakshman Singh Charak]

(4) Officers who have between ten and fourteen years of service will be given the option to elect for pension or gratuity whichever they prefer.

In India, however, the picture is entirely the reverse. While the alien Government did not discriminate or unjustly treat army personnel, somehow, by a strange freak of fate the National Government have done a great injustice and discrimination. These men have given the best years of their life and it is not up to the Government to talk of technicalities to escape the moral and material duty which they owe to them. If they wriggle out of their obligations to treat them fair and square, their enthusiasm, loyalty or free voluntary service could not be depended upon when the next emergency arises.

It is also a very unfortunate fact that while some of the experienced and qualified men belonging to these two groups, namely, S.S.R.C. and E.C.O. officers are being released after serving for ten to twelve years, fresh recruitment is going on. Where is the logic or sense in all this?

Another injustice of the worst type that is being done today is the disbandment of the Army of the former Indian States, particularly in Rajasthan. I know it for certain that about 10,000 *javans* have been thrown out of employment in Rajasthan and two Dogra units in Jammu and Kashmir, for no fault of their own, following the integration of the State forces. Surely the Indian Army could absorb them. If for any reason they could find no place in the Army, the Indian Police, Armed Constabulary or similar forces in the various States of the country should be made to find room for these people. To throw them out means to let loose the irresponsible elements amongst them into the hands of dacoits, robbers and anti-social elements.

I would like to give a bit of advice to Indian soldiers and Army men and what is more I would like the Defence Minister to make a note and to pass it on to the Commanders-in-Chief of the three services. A few of our Army officers have yet to learn that they have to move with the times. They want to maintain their artificial standard of living and naturally are not satisfied with the present salaries they get,—all because they have to maintain the old habit of ball-room dancing and evening parties. The evil legacies of the British regime have unfortunately lingered on. Whatever the present Government may tolerate,

no future National Indian Government will tolerate these. Let no Indian Army officer forget that they have done very well since independence in pay, privileges and in promotion. Let me remind the House that in 1939 there were only eleven Indian "Majors" in the whole of the Indian Army. In reply to a question in the Central Legislature then it was stated that no Army officer could be promoted to the rank of 'Major' unless he has put in seventeen years of service. May I ask the Defence Ministry and the Army officers who grumble about their salaries that none of the Majors, or for that matter full Colonels, have put in that much of service to justify their promotions? Let them think carefully and thank their stars and above all be grateful to the heroes of Indian independence to whom they owe their promotions.

6 P.M.

Sardar Majithia: To begin with I must thank my friend Shri Uma Charan Patnaik for giving us some very healthy suggestions. My other friend from Bharatpur also mentioned about the Prentice aircraft and another aircraft, the HT-2. I should only like to mention that HT-2 is a trainer aircraft designed by one Shri Gatke who is an Indian. And all my praise to him for producing such a wonderful aircraft which can even do a bund known as an inverted loop. My friend being a flier himself, I should not like to dilate on this except to say that an aircraft which can do a bund—well, there is nothing wrong with it.

About the other point which was not only mentioned by him but also by my worthy friend Shri Jaipal Singh in the general debate—about the 'scandal' of the Sealands—I think that temporarily he lost a certain amount of his balance which he generally has. If I remember aright he said that the Sealands are worthless, that no navy in the world has accepted them, and that they were ordered by one Captain Ranald without the consultation or concurrence of either the Finance or the Defence Ministry. And he wound it up by saying that the Ministry excels in giving false, ignorant and even stupid answers.

Shri Jaipal Singh: Quite true.

Sardar Majithia: My friend says it is quite true. But after I have thrown some light I hope he will change his mind!

Firstly, about the Sealands being worthless, I really do not know what he means by it. Does he mean that

they are no good aircraft? Because, one of the N.A.T.O. Commanders to-day uses this very aircraft for his own use; and surely he will not be using it if it is worthless and no good.

He made a particular point about Captain Ranald. To begin with, I do not know how far he was correct in running down a person who was not here to defend himself. But in any case, the facts of this purchase are that in 1947 a ten year plan was prepared by the Navy for expansion and it was proposed to buy two aircraft carriers. Before the purchase of aircraft carriers it was natural that we should explore and equip ourselves by training our naval chaps in this specialised form of flying. It was therefore in 1948 that we did approach our High Commissioner in the U.K. to explore the possibilities of getting hold of a suitable aircraft for our Fleet requirement unit. After a good deal of discussions it was told to us that the requirements of the Royal Navy are such that they cannot give us any aircraft to equip our Fleet requirement unit. This necessarily took us on to a modified plan of ours for the Navy. We then decided that, rather than sit back as my friend over there suggested and not buy any aircraft and wait for the right type to turn up—and if we had followed that advice I am quite sure that we would never have entered into any contract to get a suitable aircraft, because we never would have got the first line of aircraft from any of these countries—we should form a small unit which should form the nucleus for our future requirements, which should be capable of rapid expansion as and when we could afford it. With that end in view we checked up what our requirements were. And we found that we wanted an aircraft which should be capable of doing the following things which I am just going to mention:

Firstly, high angle anti aircraft gunnery;

Secondly, close range weapon firing;

Thirdly, radar interception of enemy aircraft;

Fourthly, radar plotting of enemy aircraft and fighter direction;

Fifthly, radar calibrating and height finding exercises;

Sixthly, shadowing and course reporting exercises;

Seventhly, bombardment spotting;

Eighthly, air sea rescue;

Ninthly, limited ship to shore and inter-station communication.

And on top of that, A.S. Patrol, which my friend will know means anti-submarine patrol.

For this particular kind of work we naturally explored the aircraft that we could lay our hands on and that were suitable. And we found that this Sealord was the only aircraft available and it could ably carry out the limited objective which we had in view. These aircraft are no doubt slow but well constructed. Engines are again not what you call new engines but well proven; and to top all these this was the same engine which we have in one of our communication aircraft and therefore the cost of overhauling and getting the necessary spares would all have been very much less—because we already had them—than we would have had to buy in case we went in for another aircraft having another engine. This overall saving on our maintenance plus its suitability in carrying out these limited requirements left no doubt in our minds that we could safely go in for this aircraft and not regret it. I personally feel that we did the right thing. If we sit back and go on hoping for the aircraft to turn up, that would have been a suicidal policy. In case we wanted to expand we have found that we have not only not got the men who could carry out these exercises, not only not having any aircraft but we would not have been able to buy a new aircraft and put our men on that. It was with this in view that we did go in for them and we are now well on our way to establishing the small F. R. Unit. Again, these aircraft are amphibians by which I mean that these are aircraft suitable for landing on sea as well as on runways, i.e., on land—another advantage to a country like India which has got large lakes, which has got a number of airfields. We wanted something of this type. Perhaps my friend would like to know that this particular type of aircraft is so sturdy that even in squally weather with winds of the order of 45 knots it has been landed safely on rough seas. If he still has any doubt about its airworthiness, about its suitability, well he can go and have a personal look at them.

Shri Jaipal Singh: I would like to know the name of the Navy that has accepted this aircraft. My third question is "Why the Indian Air Force was not consulted?"

Sardar Majithia: I admit that no Navy has got these aircraft for its use and I never said it was being used by any Navy.

Shri Jaipal Singh: I am afraid your colleague said that in reply to a question.

Sardar Majithla: We are not all experts.

The Deputy Minister of Defence (Shri Satish Chandra): What I said was that I required notice and that so far as I knew they were being used sometime before. I never said that they are very modern.

Shri Jaipal Singh: Records are there.

Shri Algu Rai Shastri (Azamgarh Distt.—East cum Ballia Distt.—West): Is it necessary that all secrets must be given out here?

Sardar Majithla: As my friend wanted a clarification, I only referred him again to my opening remarks, that one of the N.A.T.O. Commanders is using this aircraft for his use, and therefore they are not out-of-date. In any case my main argument is this that for our particular requirements which we had in view and still have in view, this aircraft is absolutely suitable. Whether any other Navy uses it or not is a different matter. We have this aircraft which is ideally suited for our work. If that argument is carried forward probably he will come round and see HT2 trainers not being used by anybody. Well, it is one of the very rugged trainers that we have produced and as I said my appreciation and all our praises of this country rightly go to this man Gatke for the wonderful job that he has done in producing this HT2 aircraft. He is a real genius.

After this I came across a certain criticism by my friends opposite about the bias. I should like to mention that we have a bias and that bias is on efficiency; the best that we can get hold of for our Defence Services, we do get hold of them. Besides this we have no bias at all. We do not recognise any difference between one Indian and another as certain of my friends opposite believe in. It is curious to note that in spite of this anti-South Indian bias, I have got figures and they show that whereas the percentage of rejection in the North is 75 percent., in the South it is only 58 percent. In other words there are less rejections in the Southern areas and by Southern areas, I particularise Madras, and Travancore-Cochin. I do not know wherefrom he got the figures. I should like to say they are not correct. So far as the method of selection is concerned, if my friends would only go and look at one of the Selection Boards which select officers, I am quite sure they will have no grouses. As a matter of fact, in 1949, some officials and non-officials did go and

see the working of these Boards. After they came back, they told us that there is no question of any bias and the selection over there is entirely on the basis of merit, as it should be. To give you a little more of the details, there are about eight officers in a Selection Board. Each one of them goes through a certain number of tests on every individual separately and they write down their reports separately. Then, after all the tests are over, they sit together and discuss and find out what the suitability of that individual is. In other words, eight officials together—both military and civil—form an opinion whether a person is suitable or not. I can assure you that it is very difficult to push recommendations; it is absolutely impossible. Therefore, the South-Indian bias, if I may say so, is entirely not there.

Coming across certain remarks made by my hon. friend opposite Mr. Gopala Rao, I was rather amazed to find out that he was still thinking of our Army, their pay and allowances and pensions, as they existed 20 years ago. He quoted a figure of about Rs. 25. I do not know where he got it from. But, if he wants the correct figure, I can tell him that our soldiers are being paid between Rs. 50 and Rs. 60 a month. In addition, the soldiers get a number of amenities in the shape of free rations, free accommodation, clothing, hospitalisation, free conveyance, free conservancy, cleaning, washing, etc. If we add up the figure, perhaps it might amaze my friend opposite that in so far as money is concerned, it comes to about Rs. 135 or 145 per month. My friend also mentioned the pay of our Generals and officers. Again, I do not know where he got the figure 2000 or 3000.

Shri Algu Rai Shastri: He simply provoked you to give out all the facts that you have got in your pocket and you are quoting the whole thing.

Sardar Majithla: I was actually hoping that he would give us certain figures from one of our neighbours. So much has been made of this disparity in our pay. Without running down any country, because we have the healthiest respect for each and every one of them, I would like to mention in passing that in Russia, a soldier, when he starts off gets 30 roubles and a Major-General gets 3600 roubles per month. Perhaps that may be revealing. In any case, we have to cut our coat according to the cloth that we have and should not go by somebody else's standard.

With these few remarks, as I have already taken the time allotted to me, I leave the other points to be dealt with by the hon. Minister when he replies.

Shri Jethalal Joshi (Madhya Sauroashtra): I rise to congratulate the hon. Minister on the Demands for Grants to the extent of 216 crores. There are so many pressing demands for a reduction of this amount. In support of this contention, it has been said that the country is so poor that we cannot afford to pay so much for our defences. It has been again said that it comes to about 50 per cent. of the General Budget. I may state that I believe in a strong Army, an independent Army, a well disciplined Army. By independent, I mean that it should not rely on personnel from foreign countries; by independent, I mean that we should not rely on equipment from foreign countries. When we take into account all these things I must say that our expenditure is inadequate; it is inadequate if we take into consideration the situation which may at any time arise, when any war, say the Third World War may break out, and we may be involved in it whether we like it or not.

When I am thinking of the defences of the country, my mind goes back to the history of the last seven or eight centuries. That history is very dark and dismal and it brings to my memory those stages of our disunity, disintegration and our dismemberment, resulting in our total slavery for so many years. From those dark days, we have come out and now we are independent. The responsibility of defending our country rests on us and therefore I say, the expenses that are met from our general revenues and our capital, are quite inadequate. Again, our frontiers are undefended: frontiers to the extent of 2000 miles. We have not even been able to build mud walls between our boundaries and Pakistan. And we hear the reports of so many shootings and firings and murders going on in the Pakistan area. Again we look behind the Himalayan borders, beyond those white cliffs, we see a sturdy people building roads constructing bridges and railways, and building Armed Forces. They are building Naval Forces, and now they are thinking of Air Forces also. And these people are reciting verses of peace. Now, that peace itself is afraid of going near them. Then, again in another direction, we have a whirlwind—a whirlwind of favours of uninvited affections and grants and aids. We do not know in the present context of things

who our friends are, and who our enemies are. Therefore, we have to be reliant on our own sources whether in men or in materials. It has been stated by a well-known poet that to be weak is miserable, doing or suffering. In the past, we had been doing at the instance of the foreign masters or we had been suffering. Now, we have none as our masters. We are our own masters, and we have to so shape our country that we cannot do without building our Armed Forces to a greater extent. It is true that we are economically poor. It is also true that every man in this country has to pay rupees five per year for maintaining these Defence Forces. The people, we can just say, cannot afford this because they are poor. But, after all, the liberty of the country must remain paramount within our minds, and no sacrifice is too big for the preservation of that liberty. If I may say so, it is so important that had Mr. Deshmukh, our Finance Minister, been here, I would have put in his mouth a verse, because he is so fond of Sanskrit literature, and when Mr. Tyagi, the Defence Minister had approached him for more grants, even more than Rs. 216 Crores, our Minister of Finance would have said:

साधर्मप्रचाराय रक्षामत्रि ! प्रतिष्ठिति !

वित्तं राज्यधर्म सर्वम् ददामि राष्ट्ररक्षणे ॥

That is, "Oh, Minister for Defence you who are just now appointed, where there is a question of the expansion of the Armed Forces, and where there is a question of the defence of our country, I shall give you not only the amount that you require, but also the whole wealth of the State of India."

But, in contrast to this, if our Education Minister were to approach him and were to ask from him only a few hundred coppers, then what he would have heard from the Finance Minister, Let me also tell you, although it is not relevant to this subject. He would have said:

विद्यावित्तयसंपन्न ! शिक्षानात्य ! प्रभान्वित !

वित्तं नास्तित्थनं चैव ददामि संचितमृणम् ॥

That is, "I shall give you the accumulated debt only. I have no other money to give you."

As I said earlier, I believe we must have a very strong Army, in the context of the present day political affairs, because we know that there are combustible matters lying everywhere, in every continent and in every nook and corner. We find that the Korean war is burning, we

[Shri Jethalal Joshi]

also find that the oil in Persia is burning; then there is the Suez Canal question which is yet to be solved; and then, the Kashmir and the MEDO questions. All these things are combustible matters, and they require only a spark to turn in to a conflagration. In such a state of affairs, I do not think that any country could remain separate or keep aloof from this conflagration. There is therefore the prime necessity to build up greater Armed Forces, a greater Navy and a greater Air Force.

Then I come to the question of Saurashtra. You know that Junagadh and those parts which were once under Junagadh Veraval and Mangrol, are hardly 300 miles away by water, from Karachi. What is a distance of 300 miles in this age of highly mechanised air services, when we are having jet planes etc. which can travel at the rate of about 1000 miles an hour? I would therefore request the Defence Ministry to lay greater stress on the building up of our Air Forces to a greater extent.

I now come to another question relating to Saurashtra. We have the Rajput Regiments, we have the Sikh Regiments, and we have the Assam Regiments, and so many other regiments. In Saurashtra, you will find many races, many tribes and many clans which are inherently martial. They have fought so many enemies in the past. If better training were given to them, I am quite sure that they would contribute more to our Army. We have the Rajputs, the Ahirs, the Mehars, the Waghers, the Miyanas and we have so many other races. They are now in a state of penury and poverty. If given support and proper encouragement, I am sure they would form a very good regiment in our Army.

Then I have a question before me—of two major ports of the past, I mean Jodia and Selaya in the northern belt of Saurashtra. Once these two ports were thriving from the sea-trade. It has been stated in history that these ports were pioneers in colonisation. But today they have fallen to the ground and the Khalasis or the sailor class also are reduced to great poverty. We have a School for the Navy in Jamnagar. I do not know what are the qualifications for admission into that School. But I am sure of their sea-faringness and fearlessness—these must be the two qualities that must be required of anyone joining a Navy School. I am sure these Khalasis or

Kharwas as we call them in our language or this sailor class have in them a greater degree of these qualities I mentioned. If young people from this class were taken up in that School by giving them stipends and scholarships and encouragement in other ways, I am sure they would form a good navy.

I do not want to take longer time. It is good that I have been given this much time after one year. Sir, I must, thank you for that. Also it is stated in the Gita that when we have to achieve some object, five things are required. At the end it is stated:

“Daivam Chaiva-Atra Pañchamam”.

That means, it requires *Daivam* also to help us. I may change those words and say:

“Wittam Chaiva-Atra Panchamam”.

With these words, I resume my seat.

Shri Jaipal Singh: It is very unfortunate that my friend, one of the Deputy Ministers, had to speak before I had my say because, I think, he would then have been in a better position to have met some of the points I still have to place before this House and the country.

I am not at all convinced by any of the technical arguments he has placed before this House in respect of the 'Sealands scandal'. With me the Sealands scandal remains still a scandal and will remain a scandal. As he has invited me to go and see things with my own eyes, I accept that invitation. All that I can say at this moment is that the engine he has been so eulogizing, the same engine in the Dove aircraft, nearly killed Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel in a forced-landing, it nearly killed four of the cream of our Generals in the Army and also nearly killed a Secretary of the Defence Ministry. I will leave it at that. Let them call it a wonderful engine. Yes, the frame of the Dove is excellent—I know that. But the frame, by itself, is not everything; you have got to take the aeroplane as a whole. He instanced the case of this Sealand aircraft, amphibious aircraft, being able to land in a squall. But I will ask my friend, as he himself is an airman, to do the landing in a squall. It is one thing for the N.A.T.O. Commander or somebody else to use it. I will leave the matter at that, because when the Finance Bill comes I shall have plenty to say about

this. But just now because my friend the Minister for Defence Organisation is here, I would just like to talk from a civilian angle, and it is this. I say we here and outside should think of our Armed Forces as our national asset. It does hurt one when people come and make accusations against the Armed Forces, as though they have not accommodated themselves to the new India that is today. Some people still seem to think they are a mercenary Army. They completely forget that on the Armed Forces depends the stability of our country. When we are debating Demands for the Ministry of Defence, we are thinking of the defence of the realm, of the security of the country. And it is very unfortunate that this body of men which perhaps is the biggest asset in this country today, a body of magnificently disciplined people, people who have again and again been provoked by speeches on the floor of this House, people who have not been able to defend themselves, should come in for completely unfounded criticism.

I find not only in this House but outside also, we have yet to learn. Our Provincial Ministers have yet to learn that Defence is a national matter. My friend on the left mentioned this question of the transfer of the headquarters of the Eastern Command Sir, do you know why the Eastern Command are moving to Lucknow? It is because of the stupid lack of co-operation of the Bihar Ministers. I repeat my remarks and my friends on the Treasury Benches may contradict my remarks. The Army wanted to be there. The Bihar Cabinet would not co-operate with the Defence Ministry in the matter of houses and the lands that will be necessary for the permanent services being based in Bihar. That is the reason why, completely disgusted, the Indian Army say, 'Well, if they will not give us proper quarters, proper land for us to have a permanent cantonment there, there is Lucknow, ready-made, although we know only too well, as a result of partition our strategic considerations have completely changed. Unfortunately, the Ministers of my own province of Bihar, I regret to say, have not yet woken up to the fact that by their lack of co-operation with our National Army, they are going to harm their own people. Poor people there in my own province are going to lose crores and crores. I ask the Deputy Minister here to convey it to the Leader of the House, to take this matter up very seriously again, because, I can assure him that every one of the 55 Members of Parliament, elected from Bihar, are with me in making this demand that the Government

should reconsider the situation and not permit the Bihar Cabinet to thwart the strategic demands of our Armed Forces.

The time is short and so I cannot go into every detail. People are inclined to think that the Army Officers have not adapted themselves. "They are busy dancing and so forth". I am surprised that such a statement should be forthcoming from the mouth of one hon. Member who claims to have been in the Army.

There is the question of pensions. Now, we talk a great deal about the Army being over-paid and so forth. I wish to come to this point in detail when the Finance Bill comes up before this House but I would just like to point out here that it is not merely a question—as my Deputy Minister a few minutes ago talked about—of additional amenities a soldier might get. Take two people coming from a village—one goes into civilian employ and the other gets into uniform. They both get the same salary; one runs the risk of his life and the civilian is generally in one place, comfortably settled and has very few difficulties, whereas the soldier is always on the move. They both get the same salary. Now, what happens in regard to pensions. Take the question of the civilian. Take the figure Rs. 150. Both of them, the soldier and the civilian drawing about the same pay at the end of 25 or 30 years. What is the pension the civilian gets. He will get, under the recommendations of Mr. Gadgil, Rs. 85. What does the much-maligned soldier, the soldier who is saving his country today,—this country is stable because of the Army—what will he be getting? He will be getting even under the proposed scheme only Rs. 51. Let us go to a higher figure. Let us go up to Rs. 250; the soldier getting a salary of Rs. 250; of course, he gets the ration, the uniform and other things. These two people go back to the village after retirement. The civilian gets Rs. 157/8/- whereas the ex-soldier gets only Rs. 95. In the I.A.F. Warrant Officers get Rs. 250 and under the new scheme their pension would be only Rs. 87, whereas their civilian counterpart will be getting double that figure. Now both these people are Indian citizens and yet look at the difference when they go back to the village. A soldier no longer has the benefits of free rations, uniform and all that. When these two people go back, one is handicapped. I only pointed out these instances to show to you that we do not appreciate the position of our soldiers. We accuse the Army of discriminating against the civilians. It is the

[Shri Jaipal Singh]

other way round. One Member said that it is high time that the officers mixed more freely. I think it is the other way round. It is high time Parliament Members mixed more freely with soldiers and officers, so that they may know their difficulties.

Shri Nambiar: But they are not permitted to come and see you. One Army personnel who had seen me in my house was discharged from service.

Shri Jaipal Singh: As far as I am concerned, I have found no difficulty whatsoever in mixing with our Armed Forces and they have had no difficulty in seeing me. As to what are the reasons why soldiers do not want to see my hon. friend, I really cannot say.

Shri Nambiar: They are punished when they meet me. They want to meet me, but this is the result.

Shri Tyagi. No, no. Anyway, they have never made any request to me for permission.

Shri Nambiar: I shall give you instances tomorrow.

Shri Jaipal Singh: Take another problem. Take this question of the post-war reconstruction fund. Crores of rupees were set apart during the war as money which would be given to the provinces of the region from which the men had been recruited, and the money was to be spent on them. Every province took the money when the war ended. Punjab got Rs. 140 lakhs. This was immediately after the war, but today Punjab has an unspent balance of Rs. 133 lakhs. This is so because they are ex-soldiers—just ex-soldiers. This is the sort of feeling that a martial province like Punjab has towards its soldiers when they return from the front. Again take Madras. Madras was given Rs. 186 lakhs and Madras has an unspent balance of Rs. 87 lakhs. I only wanted to show you through these two instances that it is high time that we began to think of the Army, which is our own. It may have been mercenary, but who was not mercenary before? Who did not have a different outlook before? Did my friends who are now sitting on the *gadis* opposite not have a different outlook before? Has there not been a transformation in their own outlook? Let us not think that the Army is still moving in the old rut. It is not. It has adapted itself very much indeed and I think it is grossly unfair that any Member of this House should make such insinuations against our Armed Forces.

What about the Army Commander of the Western Command? That General had to wait weeks and weeks before he could get a house. What have the Treasury Benches to say to that? Is there a single Secretary of Government who would be patient enough to wait for as many weeks and not make a noise? And yet this General, the hero of the Kashmir Campaign, bore it patiently. He had to undergo mental agony. He had to undergo the harassment of being in a house that was below his grade, where he could not have his flagstaff and where he could not have his guards. Did he ever complain? The moment an hon. Member becomes a Minister, the first thing that he does is to grab the biggest house that is available. What happened to this General? His habitat was in Queensway first. Then he had to shift to Tughlak Road, and even then he was entitled to a better residence. Only during the last few days he has got his entitled residence. So, let us be a little more realistic. There are these very fine men who are serving the country. Let us not run away with the idea that you and I are better patriots than they are. If anything, they are the people who are going to shed blood. We talk a lot, but they are men of action. Whenever the country passes through an emergency, whether it is famine, whether it is floods, or whether the civilian administration happens to find difficulty in maintaining law and order, there are our Armed Forces, a fine bunch of people, ever ready to serve. They do not even open their mouths though they may have legitimate grievances. Here is the question of pensions. I appeal to my friend there, who has just jumped from Finance to Defence Organisation to tackle this problem and not yield to the advice of people who have nothing to lose. I do not expect any sense of—shall we say—feeling from men who are not affected by any proposals that they consider. For example, we have the Imperial Service men. Now when they sit in judgment over the case of Provincial Service men, they have got nothing to lose. Something like that is happening in the matter of pensions that are before Government now. I do hope that they have not been finalised. I hope they will realise that while implementing the Gadgil Committee's recommendations the armed forces will be in no sense at a disadvantage *vis-a-vis* the civilians, because the soldier has a very much harder time than a civilian. The civilian has, to use an old expression, a 'kushi job',

whereas the soldier has to go wherever he is wanted. Let us not, therefore, put him at a disadvantage, only because under the Service Conduct Rules he is not able to go to Mr. Nambiar's house and complain. He cannot come to me and narrate his grievances, because immediately he is breaking the discipline of the Army. It is our duty, it should be our initiative to see that he receives his full share of justice in a democratic country where he is no longer a mercenary. He is as much a soldier as also a citizen with much greater duties than the average ordinary citizen.

There are one or two more things that I would like to say. I would like my friend when he is giving his reply tomorrow to tell this House what exactly is meant by Demand No. 12, sub-head A (f)—Rs. 40 lakhs under the item of "hired transport". The explanation given is: "The provision under this head represents expenses on hiring private transport generally on a contract basis for the movement of military personnel and stores on occasions when Government transport is not available." If I understand that language at all, it seems to me there is something wrong with our transport arrangements of the Armed Forces. How is it, how does it come about that Rs. 40 lakhs have to be set apart for hired transport. Why is it that no capital sum is provided so that our Armed Forces may have their own transport requirements. The moment I hear this expression "on contract basis" I begin to smell fish: there seems to be something fishy about it. I would like my friend to kindly remember and try to explain exactly what it means.

In the end I would like again to pay my own personal tribute to the Armed Forces for their excellent loyalty and the magnificent service they continue to render. I would also like, this being my first opportunity, to pay my personal tribute to the late Mr. Gopalswami Ayyangar, who just as he was beginning to tackle some of the big problems that independence has brought into the Defence Ministry passed away. I do hope his successors will not forget the commitments, the promises that he made to the Defence Forces. There are many things not in writing. But some of us from this side who were privileged to work with him in certain respects got to know the way his mind was working. He felt, he said it again and again that we must not let down the Armed Forces just because they have no representatives to espouse their cause.

7 P.M.

And I would end up by paying my own personal tribute to that magnificent General, General Cariappa, who has now retired from the Indian Army. I do hope that the Leader of this House will remember the beautiful words he said at a farewell party to General Cariappa. Beautiful words by themselves mean nothing if there is nothing else to follow up those beautiful words. I do hope that men of his type that we have and we shall have will not be lost in the wilderness and that this country will continue to make greater and better use of them.

The House then adjourned till Two of the Clock on Wednesday, the 25th March, 1953.