

[Shri T. T. Krishnamachari]

February, 1953. [Placed in Library. See No. S-15/53.]

I also beg to lay on the Table, a copy of each of the following papers, under sub-section (2) of section 16 of the Tariff Commission Act, 1951:

(i) Report of the Tariff Commission on the Reduction of Import Duty on Meta-Aminophenol used in the manufacture of Para-Aminosalicylic Acid; and

(ii) Ministry of Commerce and Industry, Resolution No. 2(1)-T.B./52, dated the 14th March, 1953.

[Placed in Library. See No. IV.R.11a (24).]

#### REPORT OF DAMODAR VALLEY CORPORATION

The Deputy Minister of Irrigation and Power (Shri Hathi): I beg to lay on the Table a copy of the Annual Report of the Damodar Valley Corporation, Part II, for 1950-51, under sub-section (5) of section 45 of the Damodar Valley Corporation Act, 1948. [Placed in Library. See No. IV.M.4 (8).]

#### PEPSU BUDGET

The Minister of Finance (Shri C. D. Deshmukh): I rise to present a statement of the estimated receipts and expenditure of the Patiala and East Punjab States Union for the year 1953-54. [Placed in Library. See No. IV. O. 1(7a)]

This House is aware of the circumstances in which this Budget has to be presented to Parliament instead of to the State Legislature. The basis on which the estimates have been framed is explained in detail in the White Paper which was circulated with the Budget documents. The Budget has been framed on the existing basis of taxation and expenditure. It is difficult to say at this stage when the General Election in that State would be held and a Ministry start functioning. The Budget now presented will ensure the carrying on of the administration of the State till then. As the time available before the commencement of the new financial year is very short, I propose to invite the House to approve a Vote on Account to cover the expenditure for the first four months of the year and to pass the corresponding Appropriation Bill. As the Budget and the Demands for Grants will come up for detailed consideration of the House

at a later stage I do not propose to make a detailed speech while presenting these estimates.

#### SUPPLEMENTARY DEMANDS FOR GRANTS FOR 1952-53—PEPSU

The Minister of Finance (Shri C. D. Deshmukh): I present a statement showing Supplementary Demands for Grants for expenditure of the Patiala and East Punjab States Union for the year 1952-53. [Placed in Library. See No. IV. O. 1(79e).]

#### SUPPLEMENTARY DEMANDS FOR GRANTS FOR 1952-53

The Minister of Finance (Shri C. D. Deshmukh): I present a Supplementary Statement of Expenditure of the Central Government (excluding Railways) for the year 1952-53. [Placed in Library. See No. IV. O. 1 (72f).]

#### DEMANDS FOR GRANTS

DEMAND No. 11—Ministry of Defence

DEMAND No. 12—Defence Services, Effective—Army

DEMAND No. 13—Defence Services, Effective—Navy

DEMAND No. 14—Defence Services, Effective—Air Force

DEMAND No. 15—Defence Services, Non-Effective Charges

DEMAND No. 16—Miscellaneous Expenditure under the Ministry of Defence

DEMAND No. 114—Defence Capital Outlay

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: The House will now proceed with the further discussion and voting on Demands Nos. 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16 and 114 for Grants under the control of the Ministry of Defence, moved on the 24th March, 1953.

Shri Frank Anthony (Nominated—Anglo-Indians): May I make a request to the Leader of the House? We have got just half an hour for the Defence discussion. It is rather an important subject. Would he therefore consider keeping over his reply till tomorrow? There is only half an hour left, because many things have been squeezed in today.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** It is not a question of reply. The guillotine has to be applied at five o'clock. Therefore, without the reply the guillotine will be applied. I do not think it is possible. In Budget matters it is difficult to do so.

**Shri Frank Anthony:** So far as the Education Ministry was concerned, it was done. It can be done. Otherwise, a whole lot of people who hoped to talk on Defence will not have an opportunity.

**The Prime Minister and Leader of the House (Shri Jawaharlal Nehru):** It might make some difference, of course. I do not mind. But it would upset completely the programme for tomorrow which is very important. We have to consider two or three very important things; and if we carry over till tomorrow today's work, I do not know what will happen to tomorrow's work.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** We will sit till eight today.

**Shri H. N. Mukerjee (Calcutta North-East):** As far as tomorrow is concerned, we are voting Vote on Account and Supplementary Demands at very short notice, and actually the Finance Minister has said that we shall have a later opportunity of going into the PEPSU Budget. So, tomorrow we do not object to the Prime Minister taking an hour, because it would give a greater opportunity to the Opposition to discuss the Defence budget today.

**Shri Jawaharlal Nehru:** Sir, I am in your hands. I am not wholly acquainted with tomorrow's programme. I do not quite know.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** On Vote on Account there will not be any discussion. Then there is the PEPSU Budget. The hon. the Prime Minister, if he is present and if there is no inconvenience to him, can reply tomorrow.

**Shri Jawaharlal Nehru:** Well, Sir, I shall defer it till tomorrow—immediately after the Question Hour, I take it?

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** Yes, immediately after Question Hour.

**Shri H. N. Mukerjee:** May I seek a clarification from you, Sir? You said that on Vote on Account there will be no discussion. But the Rules provide for it. Only, it may not be very wide and comprehensive.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** I only took it from the Leader of the Communist

Party that there may not be much discussion. Not that the Rules do not permit it; the Rules permit it. But he himself suggested that these things are so small and the hon. the Prime Minister may do so. I am repeating what he said. But now he is taking exception to it.

**Sardar Hukam Singh (Kapurthala-Bhatinda):** The time for the other business should not be taken from tomorrow.

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** Very well. We have decided. But if it is the will of the House that we may put off the Question Hour...

**Hon. Members:** No, no.

**Col. Zaidi (Hardoi Dist.—North-West cum Farrukhabad Dist.—East cum Shahjahanpur Dist.—South):** If the discussion is to finish at five o'clock, can there be a speech tomorrow?

**Mr. Deputy-Speaker:** It will be reserved only for the reply of the hon. Minister.

**The Minister of Defence Organisation (Shri Tyagi):** At the very outset I should like to assure the House that the intense interest shown by the hon. Members in the Defence problems of the country has not only helped me to educate myself in the task assigned to me but it has also, I am confident, heartened soliders in general. The soldier is essentially a bundle of emotions and he loves to be noticed and talked about. Parliament is unanimous in its desire that the soldiers, wherever they are, whether on ground, sea or sky, are always happy and contented. Their trust is great indeed. It is difficult normally to appreciate the services a soldier renders to the nation. So long as there is peace, people are apt to forget the value and worth of a soldier. It is only those who are either abroad or on the border that appreciate the blessings of the freedom of their mother country. I want to remind politicians that in the ultimate analysis it is their standing army which enables them to pursue their ambitious plans for the welfare and progress of their people. I should like to take this opportunity and send our warmest greetings to every individual soldier, wherever he is.

Before I enter into the discussion of the various points raised in the House yesterday I, as Minister in charge of their organisation, wish to give one assurance to all soldiers and officers engaged in our Army, Navy and Air Force .....

**Shri U. M. Trivedi (Chittor):** On a point of order. Can a Minister read out?

**Hon. Members:** Oh, yes.

**Shri Tyagi:** .....that their happiness and the well-being of their people and property which they have left behind shall ever remain as our foremost concern.

I am proud of the opportunity the Leader of the Nation has given me to come in the closest touch with those lakhs of souls who have pledged their bones and flesh to the cause of the nation's freedom. I know that I am taking a very great responsibility on my shoulders when I broadcast this overall assurance to all soldiers, sailors and airmen. I am confident that in this task I shall have the willing and ready co-operation from all the State Governments and their officers who will extend to the members of our Defence Forces, both past and present, their full sympathy and understanding in dealing with their affairs. Time was when each member of the Army, Navy or Air Force was considered to be the subject of a special concern of district and provincial authorities. Now a feeling is growing among our men that they are not paid the same attention which they had under their alien employers. It may be an unfortunate impression, but the impression is there. And I think it is time that we assure our boys, who are prepared to lay down their lives in the defence of the country when the call comes, to be free from the common anxieties and concerns in respect of their domestic land and property.

to reduce the expenditure of the Army

I need hardly emphasise the fact that while the present day warfare has begun to be based more and more on scientific advancement and mechanisation of all weapons of war and ammunition, the ultimate victory does still depend on the morale, physical and spiritual equipment, of the soldiers. A happy army always gives happy results. For well-nigh a century, politicians in India have, for political reasons, no doubt, decried the army as mercenary and have thereby divested the soldier of the little pride of his uniform. My Friend, Shri Gopala Rao asked me yesterday as to what steps had been taken to change the character of the Army I think it is quite pertinent for Parliament to know what change has been effected. An army's character mostly depends upon the objectives for which it is enrolled, its mode of training and the manner in which its officers conduct themselves. There is another factor which I consider to be of greater importance and it is the attitude of the people at large towards a soldier. There are many in this House who have fought for about

30 years under the leadership of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and have had the experience of a number of battles with the foreigner, and they will bear me out when I say that it was not only the intrinsic spirit of patriotism among them that enabled them to win their final battle for freedom but the greatest factor was the goodwill of the people as a whole. Surely it was not the lust for money or comforts that millions of Congress volunteers underwent all types of deprivations but it was the universal praise and admiration for their deeds that they sustained such a long-drawn battle.

Coming to the Defence Forces again, I must at once congratulate the officers in charge of the Army, Navy and Air Force that immediately as India became independent they rose to the occasion and adapted themselves promptly to the changed circumstances during the critical period of transition and after. Just imagine the number of British officers in command who had to leave suddenly. A number of gaps was created not only by the British officers who left but also quite a large number of other efficient officers, under the influence of communal fury chose to go across the border and our Defence forces were suddenly left as if they had paid a toll of a severe war. Alert to their duty, the Indian officers took up the command and re-organised their ranks with the result that by now we have rebuilt a force the like of which it is difficult to find near about. In certain respects we are recognised to be the best Army.

On the 1st of April 1948, there were 244 British officers including six Generals, 12 Brigadiers, 21 Colonels, 59 Lt. Colonels and 146 Majors, etc., in the Army. Today we have only 57 British officers—one Lt. General, two Majors General, six Brigadiers, four Colonels, nineteen Lt. Colonels and twenty-four Majors, etc. Of the 57 British officers today, 52 are speciallists holding technical appointments in engineering, signal, electrical and mechanical engineering, technical development or training establishments. A planned programme of reduction has been drawn up according to which there would be no British officer left by 1955 except a few EME Technicians.

In the Navy, of course, complete Indianisation will take a longer time. While in July 1949, the Royal Indian Navy had 89 officers, we have only 46 British officers today and only nine in the Air Force. The above figures do not include civilians in the three services who are employed in instructional and technical establishments. Their

number is as follows: Army 17, Navy 10, and Air Force 54.

Some hon. Members have mentioned that the Navy and the Air Force have not received the attention they deserve. I would invite attention of the House to the progressive increase in expenditure on these two services year by year. The expenditure on the Air Forces in 1951-52 was about Rs. 15 crores. The estimated expenditure during the current year is about Rs. 19 crores and the next year's budget is Rs. 25 crores. The House will agree that there has been substantial increase year by year. In the case of the Navy also, the expenditure has increased from year to year. In 1951-52 it was about Rs. 7½ crores and the current year's expenditure is likely to be about Rs. ten crores. In the next year it is about Rs. eleven crores. The development of these two services is proceeding according to plans. It will be appreciated that the speed of development depends on the availability of trained personnel and equipment. While the general attitude of hon. Members on both sides of the House has been one of admiration for the Defence Forces and they are concerned about their well-being, and they have also expressed a desire that Members of the Defence Forces should all feel contented. I am surprised at some friends who have indulged in heroics about hardships and conditions of service in the Army, about the salaries and allowances and other amenities of the personnel. I am afraid that they have not yet attempted to digest the information which my Ministry has given them from year to year on the improvement in conditions which we have already made. Although I admire the spirit which persuades them to emphasise these questions, I must warn my friends against the danger which this type of advocacy for the cause of the soldier might lead the nation into. I would very much like the soldier to retain the overall confidence that his sincere devotion to duty will always merit a fair consideration of his general interest at the hands of the Government. During the last five years, we achieved a suitable revision in the pay scales of the forces. We have provided them with some accommodation. We have devised suitable scales of accommodation. We have been trying to make their ration more scientific and bearing in mind the resources available in the country, we have tried to give them a balanced diet. With two-thirds of the forces coming to our share after partition, we got only one-third of land and accommodation. The position is much easier now as we have built appreciable accommodation for our

troops. In terms of actual statistics what we have done is as follows. We have built accommodation for 1386 married and unmarried officers, JCOs and other ranks and 2087 are under construction. We have also raised the entitlement of married Havildars from one to two roomed quarters and of married JCOs from two to three roomed quarters. Electric lighting has been authorised for all ranks. JCOs, Havildars and other ranks are authorised free use of electric fans which have already been installed and I propose to allow every year Rs. 4½ crores for accommodation. Although the sum is inadequate, considering how urgent other needs are, we hope that with these funds, we shall be able to break the back of the problem of accommodation in 15 years or so. We have also under our consideration a scheme for attracting private enterprise to supplement Government funds and efforts in the direction of buildings. Some State Governments have been able to promote building programmes under well considered schemes in this respect, and I am examining if it is possible for my Ministry to do the same.

**Health:** We have increased the facilities for the health and recreation of the personnel. Treatment of families is also allowed at the station and sick quarters and in M.I. Rooms. Treatment of families of air men in TB sanatorium is also arranged. Our sickness rate is the lowest in the World—below two per cent.

**Leave:** It is uniform in all the three services. Thirty days casual leave and 60 days annual leave is being given as a rule. In addition, sick leave is granted which counts as duty if spent in a recognised hospital.

**Pensions:** A feeling of hardship does not subsist in the services on account of pension rates. The matter is under immediate consideration of Government. My hon. friend Mr. Jaipal Singh mentioned that there was a wide disparity between civilian and service pensions in respect of certain categories. I do not know how he arrived at these figures but I do not want to say much on the subject of service pensions as the whole question is now under consideration of Government. However, I would like to explain that a straightforward comparison between civilian and service pensions of other ranks is not possible. The civil rules, for instance, contemplate the civilian employees entering service at ages varying from 20 to 25 and completing 25 to 30 years of permanent service before being placed on the retired list. The position is, however, entirely different in respect of sepoy and nalks. These—together with JCOs and NCOs constitute more than 80 per cent.

[Shri Tyagi]

of the soldiers in the Army—join the service at an early age of 17 or 13 on a 15-year engagement. They thus retire at the age of 35 or less, when they are quite hale and hearty, and have had, besides the benefit of army training, in a number of cases, the benefit of technical training. They can therefore, reasonably be expected to earn their living by their own efforts, the Army pension constituting some financial aid. Mr. Jaipal Singh also suggested that the service personnel should not be placed at a disadvantage *vis a vis* the recommendations of the Gadgil Committee. This question also is under the consideration of Government, but all that I can say at this stage is that in respect of the overall pensionary benefit to the soldiers, it will be my endeavour to see that they are treated fairly and reasonably.

*Socio-economic use of Defence Forces:* Quite a lot has been said about the socio-economic use of the Defence Forces. There seems to be an impression that the Defence Forces can undertake the work of national development without any detriment to their training during peace time. The example of China has often been quoted in support of this contention. My submission in this connection is that the example of China is not quite relevant because the Chinese Peoples Liberation Army is not a small force like ours. When you have an Army just enough for your defence requirements, you cannot afford to detract it from its main task of defending the country. Training itself is a continuous affair. It is a different matter if you have resorted to a large scale conscription. Even in China where they have a large army, it is laid down in article 24 of the Common Programme of the Chinese Peoples Political Consultative Conference:

"The Armed Forces of the Peoples Republic of China shall during peace time systematically take part in agricultural and industrial production to assist in national construction work on the condition of not hindering military task."

Having the same caution in mind, wherever it was possible, our armies have also come forward with hatchet and spades. I would give a few instances. One: Wherever there is land available, soldiers are required to grow foodgrains. The total area under such cultivation is 7500 acres and last year the produce was 4000 tons. Two: Troops were employed in the Rayalseema and the Tamilnad, Madras from

April to August 1952 on deepening of wells etc.

**Shri Raghavaiah (Ongole):** But, they have denied lands to ex-servicemen.

**Shri Tyagi:** Three: After the earthquake and floods in Assam, troops were employed to render aid in various ways to the people affected. Minor repairs to roads were undertaken. The Air Force dropped supplies wherever necessary. Four: In the Srinagar floods, Engineer units were employed in Kashmir in September-October 1950 for repairing and maintaining bunds, etc. Five: Anti-locust campaign in Rajasthan in 1951 as well as in 1952. Six: Construction of roads, canals and bridges on a number of irrigation projects in Punjab. Seven: Helped in the Beas bridge project. Eight: Helped in the Assam Rail link project. Nine: They are still constructing certain strategic roads and air fields on the eastern frontier. Ten: Also whenever there are big strikes like the one of transport service in Bombay, or dockyards, our troops have gone to their rescue.

**Shri Nambiar (Mayuram):** To break the strike.

**Shri Tyagi:** Of course, yes, to break the strikes when they are not needed.

**An Hon. Member:** Noble work.

**Shri Tyagi:** *Ammunition boots:* My hon. friend Mr. Patnaik mentioned yesterday that ammunition boots were purchased from a British firm and were not manufactured in the Ordnance factories. I have enquired into the matter, and I am informed that tenders were invited for the supply of ammunition boots and the lowest tender was accepted. In the Ordnance Factories, we have no special machines which could manufacture ammunition boots.

*Revolvers and small arms:* Mr. Patnaik also mentioned about the manufacture of rifles and guns for civilian use. Long ago, when I was in the Finance Ministry, I had suggested that our Ordnance factories should take up the manufacture of small arms for civil use. They have sent me a sample of a rifle which I hope will be liked both for quality and price by the people. I can assure the hon. Member that this point is already receiving Government's attention. The factory is now getting ready for manufacturing small arms for the use of the public.

My hon. friend Mr. Gadgil suggested that we should draw up a plan whereby in the time of emergency private industries might switch on for manufacture of defence needs. I think my Ministry already has some such plans to look further into this question.

My hon. friend Mr. Girraj Saran Singh, who has good experience of the Air Force, impressed me to be deeply biased by the patriotic instinct of strengthening defence. I thank him for his speech and for his enthusiasm. I have noted a number of points out of his speech. My colleague Mr. Majithia has already replied in detail to the question of Sealands which he and Mr. Jaipal Singh had raised. Mr. Girraj Saran Singh also pressed that training in Air raid precautions should be given to the public at large. I am afraid it would create unnecessary alarm in the public mind. I think, situated as we are, today, there is the least danger of any power trying to trespass our skies.

Mr. Gopala Rao objected to our standing by our past undertaking to pay pensions to those British officers who have retired from service. I regret that I do not see eye to eye with him in the assessment of moral value.

He also said that our big ships were sent to the United Kingdom for repairs. It will be enough for me to say that his information is incorrect.

4 P.M.

Then, about Air squadrons. Lest some foreigner might believe Mr. Gopala Rao that we have only one squadron of Air Force, I hurry to contradict him. But it does not mean enough provocation to me to be drawn into giving out the exact number of our Air Force squadrons. It will suffice to say that there are many more than what my friend expects.

**Shri Frank Anthony:** That they already know. The Communists must know.

**Shri Tyagi:** Shri Alva read over the comments of President Roosevelt about the utility of small ships. He will be pleased to know that ours are mostly small ships. He also objected to our buying old British ships. When the market for new ships is closed altogether, we have to resort to old ones, but before we took any, we thoroughly examined its seaworthiness. He will be pleased to know that we are now going in for brand new ships. Smaller ships are manufactured in the Visakhapatnam Shipyard. He also mentioned about tankers. I share his anxiety. The Ministry of Transport are already considering to go in for three tankers and my Ministry is also negotiating for one which we will soon have in our possession.

My enthusiastic friend Shri Jaipal Singh made mention of Post-war Reconstruction Fund. I wonder if he also

knows that these funds were not to be spent all at once. They were to be spread over 30 years. If my friend has something more to say, I will be glad to make further enquiries in the matter.

He also wanted to know as to what we mean by Rs. 43 lakhs for hire of transport. Out of this Rs. 43 lakhs, about Rs. 16 lakhs or so were spent on porters and ponies engaged in Kashmir and the rest is the hire of motor transport in East, West and South Commands. Here again, there is some element of transport of goods between Jammu and Kashmir. It is sometimes cheaper to hire motor transport than to use our own precious vehicles.

A demand has been made that all young men and women should be given compulsory military training. I wish it could be possible. But, as the House well knows, our finances would not permit such an ambitious enterprise. We have, however, given enough encouragement to the organisation of the National Cadet Corps which consists of three main wings, viz., the Junior Division, the Senior Division and the Girls Division. The present strength of the Corps is 2,500 officers and about 78,000 cadets. The Central Government bears expenditure on the training staff and the supervisory organization, and also provides the equipment. Uniforms and other things are provided by the State Government. They bear the cost of the Uniforms and the running expenditure. Our policy is to increase the size of the National Cadet Corps as funds become available. Some State Governments are very keen on developing the organization and are prepared to find additional money, while other States are finding it difficult to put in more money in this direction. So that our auxiliary reserves may not be limited to urban areas, we have started another experimental scheme which we have named as the National Youth Movement. My hon. colleague, Shri Satish Chandra, is taking a keen interest in this organization. It has been started in certain rural schools where young boys take to mass drill and physical training etc. A cheap uniform costing less than rupees ten only has been provided, generally at the cost of the institutions and the movement is catching imagination. Personally, I am of the view that it would perhaps be better if the educational authorities could agree to enforce some elementary rules of military discipline in all educational institutions. It would then create a general atmosphere of discipline in the country and raise the morale of the people.

(Shri Tyagi)

Shri Patnaik laid stress on creating auxiliary reserves. I am afraid the commitments of the Five Year Plan which my hon. colleague to my left, the Finance Minister, has already undertaken would not permit any fresh commitments. As soon as the political situation eases down, perhaps we may be able to make substantial savings from the Defence budget which could then be diverted to these fresh pursuits. My hon. friend Shri Patnaik is already on the Central Advisory Committee for the Territorial Army. I shall always look forward to his advice in the matter.

[PANDIT THAKUR DAS BHARGAVA in the Chair]

Turning now to defence industries, I am glad to observe the interest shown by the House in this subject. There is no difference at all between the Government and the critics as to the objective of producing all our de-equipment in the country as quickly as possible. Our achievements in this direction, which have not been publicised for obvious reasons, have been by no means negligible. Since 1948, our production for defence in our ordnance factories has increased in value from Rs. 8.3 crores to Rs. 27.5 crores. Over sixty new items including various types of ammunition, fuses, grenades etc., have been developed, and 40 more are under development. The speed of progress in this direction has been quite gratifying, and will increase further. We have succeeded in training more personnel, and they have gained more experience. In fact it is because the ordnance factories have been so successful in meeting many of the requirements of the services during the last three or four years that some question of retrenchment of labour has now arisen.

On this question, I would say that I am starting a drive for the maximum utilization of the capacity of our factories which is surplus to immediate defence requirements for the production of goods for other Departments of Government, and even for the civil industry. In this way, I hope that it will be possible for us to absorb a greater proportion of our labour which might otherwise have become surplus. But if, even after these measures, some labour remains surplus whether in ordnance factories or in ordnance depots, the Government cannot afford to go on paying idle time, and the unpleasant necessity may have

to be faced. Not only is it my intention to minimise retrenchment of labour in ordnance factories if possible, but I mean to ensure that this labour works with maximum efficiency, and as a disciplined force. The importance of such a disciplined labour force for defence production so as to secure maximum efficiency and economy cannot be over-emphasized, and for this purpose, Government may have to consider how far such labour can be allowed to be exposed to various types of political exploitation.

Finally, in regard to defence production, I would only add that our speed is sometimes slowed down by the fact that civil production in the country is not yet sufficiently advanced to produce all the basic materials, components and semi-manufactured parts which are required to complete defence production. From this point of view it has been our constant aim to expand civil production in directions which will be helpful also to meet the defence requirements of the country in an emergency. I think I have amply dealt with the points raised by Kaka-saheb Gadgil and other Members about self-sufficiency of defence requirements.

Now, I come to economy. During the last two to three years, various proposals have been considered for effecting economy in defence expenditure. In December, 1951, Government appointed a Committee to explore the possibilities of economy by re-organisation of the Defence Forces without affecting their efficiency. The Committee submitted its interim report in April 1952. The recommendations were examined by our late lamented Defence Minister in consultation with the Service Chiefs and the Financial Advisor, and some decisions were taken. It will take some time before the decisions give their full effects. Here I am reminded of the liberties which I was taking till late as Minister of Revenue and Expenditure. In my enthusiasm to reduce the expenditure of the Army, I had once remarked on a file that I would rather disembowel myself than agree to such a huge expenditure. It is an irony of fate that I am now expected to swallow my remarks and face the realities of the situation. I can assure this House that in spite of the change of my room from North to South Block, I shall make my best efforts to effect economies without reducing the effectiveness of the Armed

Forces. The total saving which has been agreed to so far will eventually come to about Rs. 8.50 crores. I know that so long as the overall total of the Defence budget does not show any substantial reduction, hon. Members would continue doubting my claims of economy. But equipment and expansion of the Air Force, which we have taken in hand, are many times more fold to consume the savings which are effected.

The Defence Committee of the Cabinet have directed that the possibilities of further economies in Defence expenditure should be reviewed every six months. I am asking this Armed Forces Reorganization Committee to pursue their efforts.

In the end, I only wish to assure the House and the people outside, that our Defence Forces today are well-equipped, well-trained and well-disciplined. It will be my constant endeavour to maintain and improve their efficiency as a strong fighting force. They have got a difficult role to perform, and while it is not my intention to withhold any information from the House, which can be given to it without detriment to the safety and security of the country, the House will appreciate that imparting of all kinds of information sometimes adds further to the difficulties of the Armed Forces. I would therefore commend a certain amount of self-restraint to be exercised by hon. Members when they ask for information.

**Mr. Chairman:** About 42 minutes more remain. There are very many speakers who are anxious to speak. Therefore, I would request hon. Members to take as short a time as possible. I would suggest that each hon. Member shall finish within ten minutes.

**Shri Nambiar:** While thanking you for the time given, I have to request you that I should be given the full quota of my time. It is my lot to speak just after Mr. Tyagi's long typed-out speech, in which he had made certain references to the life, living and service conditions of the army personnel. I have also to make a mention about Sardar Majithia's references yesterday wherein he said that the O.R.'s in the Armed Forces are getting a pay of Rs. 40 to Rs. 50 a month. But I have to tell him that what he said is absolutely wrong. It is unbecoming of a Minister to make a statement without going through

his own Ministry's publications. On page 117 of the Defence Service Estimates—published by his own Ministry it is stated, a trained soldier in Group F in Class three gets a pay of Rs. 25 only. I would request him to read it again. He might have become a Minister only very late, and so may not know the truth. On that page, it is stated:

“(v) Other Ranks and Non-combatants (Enrolled:—

(a) Trained Soldier Pay:—  
(Lowest Rank)

Group	Class 3	Class 2	Class 1
F	25	30	35”

In the footnote on the same page it is stated:

“Increment of pay for man's service is admissible to Other Ranks excluding JCOs and WOs but including Non-Commissioned Officers at the rate of Rs. 2-8-0 per month after five years man's service, and a further Rs. 2/8/- per month after ten years man-service”

He says that the total emoluments of an O. R. at present are Rs. 135 including the shaving allowance, the barber's allowance, and the washerman's allowance. Are not this Government ashamed to say that including the barber's and the washerman's allowance, the O. R. is getting about Rs. 135 or so? They are only confusing the people with wrong information. I can quote with authority, that 50 per cent. of the O.R.'s in the Army get a pay between Rs. 25 and Rs. 45, and an allowance which is just at half of the rate which the civilians get. So also for the Navy, 70 per cent. of the ratings are, in Group 'C'—the hon. Minister may not know what Group 'C' is—or less, getting a pay of Rs. 44. In the case of airmen, the majority are in Groups III, IV, and V starting with a pay of Rs. 32. A clerk of the lowest rank gets Rs. 48 and a technician airman who is highly skilled gets Rs. 60/- only, whereas a highly skilled artisan outside gets above Rs. 100.

**An Hon. Member:** He has his own clothes and his own food.

**Shri Nambiar:** They are boasting about the clothes and the food that they are giving, and at the same time saying that the army is not to be called a “mercenary army.” But if you do want the army to be reduced to a



[Shri Nambiar]

mercenary army, then boast about the food and clothing you give. It is absolutely your duty to feed them. They have come some 2000 to 3000 miles away from their homes and are serving in distant places, and do you want them to pay for their rations from their own pay of Rs. 25? You claim that we are paying them, we are feeding them, and we are giving them clothes. I ask you: In what country are rations included in the pay? In no country is it like that. So let us not confuse the people saying this. Pay is different from allowance, and ration allowance is different. Do not confuse it. This is the real situation. The analysis of your own figures shows that the ordinary O. R. in the army gets only thirteen times less than an officer on an average. That is an officer is paid thirteen times more than an O. R. He starts with a pay of Rs. 350, ending with Rs. 3000. Sardar Majithia disputed the point saying 'Where does the army officer get Rs. 3000?' Let him open his eyes and go through these books, and he will see that.

**The Deputy Minister of Defence (Sardar Majithia):** I never said that. I said that these officers start off at a very much lower scale. It is only the higher ranks that get more.

**Shri Nambiar:** You have stated that, and it is there on record. Let him read it again. So what I say is let us not confuse the issue. The army personnel would help the country better, if they are well looked after, and if there is contentment among them. Let not hon. Members think that we are grievance-mongering here in order to create a situation. There is the situation already created, which is there.

About their food, the less said the better. They are given the worst quality of food. The contractors and certain corrupt officers are minting money out of these rations. Let the Government understand this. There is no use of forgetting it or bypassing it, for it is a reality. There are certain mess committees, but these so-called mess committees never function, and even if they meet, no armyman is allowed to raise his finger against the mess management. If he does so, he is punished and victimised. I can quote to you several cases, but unfortunately I have not got the time to do so.

As for the quarters, it is said that they are given good accommodation.

But I shall give you the facts. The family quarters of naval ratings in Bombay are located 15 miles off, without any transport. In IAF Station, Julundur, family quarters are located 16 miles off from camp, without any transport. In Signal Centre, Jubbulpore, men live in asbestos sheds with uncemented flooring. At Santa Cruz, Bombay, married quarters are just thatched huts condemned by M.E.S. At Palam Delhi, there is one latrine for 15 to 20 families. That is the position of the quarters of the airmen here. It is only a few miles away from here, and let Sardar Majithia go there and see what is the position.

So far as medical aid and maternity facilities are concerned, the medical aid given is such that no army man under normal circumstances will go to the military hospital. For families of the O.R.'s, there is nothing like a maternity air for them. Several deaths have been reported. In family wards of Poona Military Hospital, children are kept in chains, and parents are not allowed to go there.

**Sardar Majithia:** That is not a fact, Sir.

**Sari Nambiar:** Many more things you are going to hear. With regard to the working hours, there is nothing like fixed hours of duty. They are asked to work continuously for days and nights together. Whenever an armyman understands that an officer or a Minister is coming there for a visit, he is very much afraid of it, because he will have to undergo all sorts of parades. So he will only curse the Minister who goes there, and say 'Let him not come'.

With regard to the security of service. I can say that for no reason whatsoever, for flimsy reasons, they are discharged from service. Yesterday I told Mr. Tyagi that there are instances of discharge for the slightest reason. I have got a case here. I have got a letter from my friend from Bangalore. It reads thus:

"AC Narayan Kutty, Driver Motor Transport of Training Command, IAF Bangalore, was discharged sometime in January 1953 for the simple reason that he met Anandan Nambiar. MP from Tamilnad".

Here is another instance, on the same matter.

**Shri G. P. Sinha** (Palamau cum Hazaribagh cum Ranchi): On appoint of order, Sir. I would like to know whether he is his political friend or personal friend.

**Shri Nambiar:** A rule of terror and victimization is let loose inside the Armed Forces which has sent a wave of alarm among the ranks leading to their demoralization, and a sense of insecurity prevails. All the left parties have been specifically notified as subversive. "A serving personnel was sacked because he dared to meet Anandan Nambiar MP—a typical example of witch-hunt."

Men have been forced to make statements against themselves under torture. Men complaining about officers using abusive language were hauled up on charges of being disrespectful, and disobedient to officers. Men have been discharged from the services without being given any reason, without being given a chance to prove their innocence before a properly constituted court.

These are the facts, Sir. I have taken only eight minutes.

**Mr. Chairman:** Ten minutes.

**Shri Nambiar:** I am taking the apportioned time of my Group.

**Mr. Chairman:** There is no question of apportionment per speaker. The apportionment is, I should say, on an over-all view of the matter and does not mean that every Member can claim that he is entitled to so many minutes. I want to see that at least three other Members speak. There is now time only for three Members. I rang the bell after ten minutes.

**Shri Nambiar:** I have said.....

**Mr. Chairman:** Other Members will have to speak. They will not be able to speak. I will allow the hon. Member two minutes more.

**Shri Nambiar:** About discipline and punishment much is stated. I can say that there are instances where within 24 hours the men concerned were removed from the barracks without giving them any opportunity to argue the case before a court martial. The so-called court martial they have is not a court martial in the real sense of the term and he is not given any chance to reply. He is treated to third-degree methods. Even near the Parliament Building there was a recent case of a Havildar being beaten. I know the case, and we brought it to the notice of this House also through a question.

The relation between the officer and the OR. I have submit, is not very good at all. It is far from satisfactory. The O.Rs. are treated by the offences as slaves. I do not mean that every officer is bad, but I say a large number of officers are still of the old bureaucratic type and they are following the same tradition. It will be ridiculous to see that an officer's wife will not mix with an OR's wife. That is the sort of separation. That is the sort of relationship between the OR and the Officer. Such being the case, I do not know how this Army is going to be an army with morale. I am all for having a good army with a better morale. But that morale is not there and something must be done.

I am finishing Sir. I have to submit the following programme to improve morale:

(1) An Inquiry Commission composed of all sections of this House should be set up to go into the living and service conditions of our army men.

(2) Security of service—proper defence in enquiries—the present set-up of court-martials should be radically altered.

(3) Change of rules of pensions, Provident Fund, Gratuity, Release benefits and other allowances.

(4) Abolition of the present Pay Code rules—Guarantee of reasonable pay and allowances.

(5) Regular and periodical promotions—downgrading to be stopped—the question of the downgrading of 4000 Havl-Clerks to be reviewed.

(6) Total daily working hours to be not more than eight hours.

(7) Accommodation to be improved—together with family quarters and proper facilities to the family members.

(8) Civic rights and proper democratic functions of the welfare committees, mess committees etc.

(9) Radical change of the attitude of the officers towards ORs—Officers misbehaving towards ORs should be punished—sense of security to be instilled in the minds of ORs, and

(10) Witch-hunt and spying in the name of fighting subversive activities should be ended.

[Shri Nambiar]

These are the ten points which I submit to the Ministry with the hope that our Army must be improved and something must be done, not with the hope that our Army must be disrupted.

Then, it is said that we on this side are against a good Army. It is not so.

Mr. Tyagi said yesterday that there would be no retrenchment of the civilians employed in Defence Establishments. But you might have seen in today's papers that 5000 employees are threatened to be retrenched. If he is prepared to give me an assurance that they will not be retrenched, I am prepared to accept it.

I have certain points to make about the hill allowance to be given to ordnance employees. In the hill areas, especially in Arvangu in Madras State, the hill allowance has to be increased and paid to all employees. The Acetone Plant at Arvangu should be fully utilized so that retrenchment can be avoided. I am prepared to give him a memorandum containing the grievances of the ordnance depot staff and I hope that he will go through it and see that their grievances are redressed.

**Mr. Chairman:** Mr. Frank Anthony, I will request him to finish within the apportioned time.

**Shri Frank Anthony:** I feel that this Defence debate has been largely unreal. The fault has not been ours. It has been due to the way in which the Defence estimates are usually presented to this House.

This House has been asked to pass a budget sum which comprises almost half our total Budget, and yet in this very brief statement that has been supplied to us we have not been given any real facts. I say this with all respect that this statement which has been supplied to the Members of this House constitutes little short of an insult to this House. I am sorry neither the Prime Minister nor the Defence Minister is here, but this statement seems to be conceived in a spirit of: "Well, why should we supply the necessary information to the Members of Parliament?" After all, some Members of the Treasury Bench will trot out the usual hackneyed bogey of secrecy and public interest and so on and the House will pass it. It may have been conceived in an even more reprehensible spirit—after all, the majority of the Members of this House are non-violent vegetarians who are not supposed to know anything about Defence.

I respectfully submit—I am sorry that the Prime Minister is not here—that this House is the ultimate guardian of Defence. We have the right to know a certain minimum of detail and if the Prime Minister thinks that Defence should not be discussed in an open House, then we should adjourn to an *in camera* session. I think that civilian consultation is absolutely vital, if we are not to continue the old pattern and psychology and the old policy with regard to the Army. I know I am racing against time. But I respectfully submit for the consideration of the Prime Minister that the whole concept of Indian defence must change. In the past, necessarily our defence was tied to British standards and the British concept of strategy. But I have an uncomfortable feeling that our Defence Department still continues to be tied to the British concept of defence. I feel that the time has come for a radical change. Our policy must now be tied to Asiatic theories and must be suited to Asiatic conditions. What is the British concept of defence? Because there is an acute shortage of manpower in Britain, the emphasis is less on men and more on equipment, because theirs is a highly industrialised society. This is also the concept of American defence—less emphasis on manpower, more emphasis on equipment. But we cannot possibly emulate either the British or the American example. Let us not talk glibly in this House or outside of fire power. The pre-requisite of fire power is industrial power, and until we have adequate industrial power, there is no good people repeating glib phrases and clichés about fire power. That does not mean that we cannot build up an adequate and effective defence machinery. We can do it if we follow the Japanese, and the more recent Chinese, example. What have the Chinese people achieved in Korea? They had no air support. They had very little artillery. I was reading an article where it was said that the Americans had fire power about ten times that of the British and 100 times that of the Chinese 'gooks', as they call them. Yet the 'gooks' without any air support, without any artillery, not only stopped the Americans but they overran them.

And they did it by placing emphasis on superiority in man-power, on small arms and on manoeuvrability. In this respect, I want to know whether we are placing sufficient emphasis on these aspects of defence which suit us, whether there is sufficient emphasis on small arms. I am sorry that Mr. Tyagi is not here but this

House has the right to know what is the small arms position in India. Are we producing our own rifles, are we producing our own ammunition, are we producing our own automatic weapons, are we producing our own hand-grenades? We have a right to know this. And, if we are not producing them, I want to know why we are not producing them. When I was a member of the National Defence Council in 1944. I visited the railway workshops and they were turning out thousands and thousands of shells and hand-grenades. In six months we were capable of doing it. I visited Tatas. They were turning out first class steel. But only because it was an Indian firm. The Australians, while they were producing inferior steel were being asked to manufacture tank frames for the Army but Tatas were not given the same facility. I want to know what the Small Arms position is. Is there any shortage of material, is there a lack of necessary energy in the country? I should like to know this.

**The Deputy Minister of Defence (Shri Satish Chandra):** The position is very satisfactory. We have got surplus stocks of small arms like rifles. We have produced them in large quantities.

**Shri Frank Anthony:** This is vague.

**Shri Satish Chandra:** This is not vague. Why the hon. Member is so much agitated over it? We are faced with the problem of retrenchment in the ordnance factories due to over-production in some of these articles.

**Shri Frank Anthony:** We want a categorical reply and not general, vague and unsatisfactory statements. I want to know from the Minister whether the money that we are spending on heavy equipment is being properly spent. There is a general feeling in this country that the tanks we are buying, the aeroplanes we are buying, the heavy equipment we are buying is only second best or even obsolete. Is obsolete equipment being bought only because we feel that there should be a complement of heavy equipment. Are we following the British? Even today the British government have cut down their defence expenditure. Under what plea? That if they produced their maximum of equipment this year, next year some of that equipment will become obsolete. We have no fear that our equipment will become obsolete next year. (*Interruption.*) Much of it was probably obsolete before the end of the last war. I want to know what our policy is. I feel that in this respect we could effect very great economies if the Government policy is

to concentrate on small arms. If we, like the British, postpone expenditure on heavy equipment, we can, I say, effect economies of many crores in our Defence expenditure.

With regard to the Air Force, I submit that what has been not told us is more important than what has been told us. Mr. Tyagi confirmed my suspicions. He refused to be drawn into stating how many squadrons we have got. I do not understand this shroud of secrecy. Even when the British were here they did not do so. When Mr. Chandulal Trivedi was the Defence Secretary he had no hesitation in giving us an answer that we had target of ten squadrons, but that we were moving very slowly towards that target because we could not get the right type of youngmen coming forward. Now when we are working as an independent country, we cannot get the necessary information. You will not tell us whether we still have a target of ten squadrons, whether it is less or more, whether we cannot get the necessary material, whether it is so because we cannot get the necessary men. We have to know these things before we pass the budget of about Rs. 200 crores.

I want to know what kinds of planes we are using. There is a general feeling in this country that the planes are somewhat obsolete; there is a feeling that our Air Force is only a token Air Force and, God forbid, that if we are attacked by China they will shoot our planes out of the skies in 24 hours. We want to know this. This House is the supreme guardian of the defences of this country. We have a right to know all these details, as I said, before we pass this budget.

You have not told us anything really about the Army. We read statements about the American and British Armies. They tell us how many units they have got, what is their strength and what their target is. You will not tell us anything. Why? Do you think that this disclosure of our strength will upset the balance of world power? I do not understand these things. How do you expect this House blindly, without knowing whether you have got a policy, to pass the budget of Rs. 200 crores? What is your policy? We have various types of commissions, the King's Commissioned Officers, ICOs and others. Why have you got these "Kashmir Commissioned Officers"? Why have you suddenly got this new type of officer? You give them a Commission for one year. Only the unemployed or unemployable will come forward for these Commissions for one year; you are getting these types into the officer ranks of the Army. Only third class

[Shri Frank Anthony]

people, Babus will come into your one year Commission. You can shake your head; I too can shake my head more vigorously, which will lead to no conclusion.

**Sardar Majithia:** We have first class men in the Army.

**Shri Frank Anthony:** Then I would refer to the Territorial Army. I say we cannot attempt to reduce our regular Army unless we are able to have adequate reserves. Our reserves are essentially synonymous with the Territorial Army. Once again, in this pamphlet you tell us nothing. As far as I am aware in 1951, the target for the Territorial Army was 130,000. It was a hopelessly inadequate and dangerously inadequate target. 130,000 people for a country like this. You have not told us whether the target fixed in 1951 has yet been reached. I do not say that we should emulate China. In 1951, according to an official statement, China had a regular Army of four million and a militia of five million. Today their first line strength is about ten million. We have a comparatively very small regular Army. We cannot reduce it. What is happening to the Territorial Army? Because you have got separate provincial organisations, the Prantiya Raksha Dals and the Home Guards. You will not be able to build up a Territorial Force. They are squeezing it out. There is also this danger. When you have different political parties in charge in the different States, these Raksha Dals are likely to become political armies. If the Prime Minister were here I would make an earnest and passionate appeal to him to scrap all these Raksha Dals and Home Guards and to concentrate on the Territorial Army and bring it up to a minimum figure of two million.

I am sorry that the Minister of Defence Organisation is also not here. I wanted to say a word about the disability and widow pensions. They are extremely inadequate and I feel that something will have to be done about these pensions. This applies not only to the officers but also to the men. An army officer is in a most unfavourable position compared with his opposite number in civilian service. Most of them will have to retire as Majors. There is a rule that unless they become substantive Lt. Colonels by the age of 45 they cannot go further. As Majors they should get at least half their basic pay, which is Rs. 700 as a pension. I want to say this to the Minister of Defence Organisation. Shri Tyagi. I think he was referred to as Second Lieutenant. The

remark was in bad taste. Whether he was a Second Lieutenant or a Naik or a Lance-Naik it does not matter. He has got what I value greatly sound common-sense

**श्री भक्त दर्शन (त्रिंला गढ़वाल—पूर्व व, त्रिंला मुरादाबाद—उत्तर पूर्व):** मैं अपना यह परम सौभाग्य समझता हूँ कि देश के प्रतिरक्षा-मंत्रालय के अनुदान के सम्बन्ध में मुझे आने बोलने का अवसर प्रदान किया है। आज इस अवसर पर मुझे भारतीय सेना के उज्ज्वल भविष्य की सुन्दर याद आती है और वह जमाना भी मुझे स्मरण हो आता है जिं जमाने में हमारी सेना अग्रजों की बेतनभोगी सेना थी; उस समय भी भारतीय सेना ने अपने देशप्रेम का अटूट परिचय दिया था और आज इस अवसर पर मैं अपने उन वीर भाइयों की याद करना चाहता हूँ जिन्होंने सि सन् १९३० के सत्याग्रह-अन्दोलन के अवसर पर पेशावर में निहत्थी जनता के ऊपर गोली चलाने से इन्कार कर दिया था, मेरा मतलब उन गढ़वाली सैनिकों से है जिन्होंने कि देश भर में सब से पहिले भारतीय सैनिकों के अन्दर देशप्रेम की ज्वाला को प्रज्ज्वलित किया था। उसके बाद भारत के बे सैनिक भी बन्दना के योग्य , जिन्होंने नेताजी श्री सुभाष चन्द्र बोस की अध्यक्षता में आजाद हिन्द फौज के अन्दर कार्य किया था।

और अब तो स्वाधीनता मिलने के बाद हमारा प्रत्येक सैनिक देश का एक प्रतिरक्षक सेवक बन गया है।

श्री हमारे मित्र श्री नम्बिआर साहब ने अपने भाषण के अन्दर बहुत सी बातें बतलाई कि हमारे सैनिकों के अन्दर तरह तरह के असन्तोष हैं। मैं स्वयं एक छावनी में रहने वाला व्यक्ति हूँ और उस इलाके का प्रतिनिधित्व करता हूँ जिस ने भारतीय सेना के लिये हजारों की संख्या में सैनिक दिये हैं।

समय-समय पर मुझे भी सैनिकों और अफसरों से मिलने का अवसर मिलता है और मैं विश्वास के साथ कह सकता हूँ कि आज भारतीय सेना के अफसरों के अन्दर और सैनिकों के अन्दर अपने देश के लिये त्याग और तपस्या और बलिदान करने की पूरी भावना विद्यमान है। वे इस प्रकार के असन्तोष के शिकार नहीं हैं, जिस प्रकार की बातें श्री नम्ब्रार सहाब ने यहां कही हैं।

यद्यपि यहां पर प्रतिरक्षा-संगठन के मंत्री श्री त्यागी जी नहीं हैं लेकिन फिर भी मैं परोक्ष रूप में उन्हें बधाई देना अपना कर्तव्य समझता हूँ। उन का सैनिक जीवन का अनुभव इस बात को बतलाता है कि हमारी सेना की समस्याएँ बहुत अच्छी तरह हल होंगी। जो उन्होंने इस सदन के सामने अपना भाषण दिया है उस से भी मालूम होता है कि कुछ ही दिनों के अन्दर उन्होंने भारतीय सेना के संगठन का बहुत गहरा अध्ययन कर लिया है और हमें यह पूरी आशा है कि अपने सैनिक अनुभव के द्वारा, और उस से अधिक अपने वित्त विभाग के राज्य-मंत्री के रूप में जो कार्य वह कर चुके हैं उस के अनुभव के द्वारा वह अपने नाम को सार्थक करेंगे। उन का शुभ नाम है "श्री महावीर त्यागी"। उसी प्रकार हमारी सेना भी वीर है और मुझे विश्वास है कि अपने कार्यों से वह उस सेना को वीर से महावीर बनाने में सफल होंगे। इस के साथ ही साथ वह अपने त्यागी नाम को भी सार्थक करेंगे और कई करोड़ रुपया बचा कर हमारे देश के जो विकास-कार्य हैं उन में खर्च करने के लिये देंगे। इस आशा के साथ मैं उन को फिर बधाई देना चाहता हूँ।

मेरे पास समय बहुत कम है, इस लिये मैं केवल कुछ विषयों की ओर ही अपने प्रति रक्षा मंत्री का ध्यान आकर्षित करना चाहता हूँ। आज चीन की जो नई साम्यवादी

सरकार है उस के साथ हमारे देश के बहुत ही मित्रतापूर्ण सम्बन्ध हैं, लेकिन इस का यह मतलब नहीं कि उन के साथ हमारे सम्बन्ध कभी भी खराब नहीं हो सकते। आम लोगों की यह धारणा है कि उत्तर दिशा में जो हिमालय के उत्तुंग शिखर हैं वे अभेद्य प्राचीर का कार्य कर रहे हैं। पिछले जमाने में यह बात सच हो सकती थी, लेकिन आज जब कि वायु सेना का युग है तब हमारे हिमालय की अभेद्यता समाप्त हो चुकी है। मैं आप के सामने कुछ ऐसे तथ्य रखना चाहता हूँ जिन से आप को मालूम होगा कि हमारे हिमालय के दूसरी ओर बहुत से ऐसे कार्य इस बीच में हुए हैं जिन से हमारी सरकार को बहुत सतर्क होने कि आवश्यकता है।

कुछ दिन पहले आप ने समाचार-पत्रों में पढ़ा होगा कि तिब्बत की सरकार ने हिमालय का जो भारतीय मैदान है उस के कुछ हिस्सों के बारे में भी दावा किया है। आप को सुन कर आश्चर्य होगा कि श्री बन्नी नाथ पुरी, जो हमारे भारत वर्ष का इतना प्रसिद्ध तीर्थ स्थान है उस से भी दो मील नीचे कंचन गंगा स्थान तक तिब्बत के लोगों ने अपना झंडा गाड़ने की कोशिश की है। इस के साथ ही टेहरी-गढ़वाल की नीलंग घाटी के ऊपर भी उन्होंने अपना दावा किया है। इस के अतिरिक्त आप ने समाचार-पत्रों में पढ़ा होगा कि हमारे जो यात्री कैलाश मानसरोवर की यात्रा के लिये गये थे उन्होंने बतलाया है कि भारतीय सीमा से केवल तीन मील की दूरी पर ताकला कोट मंडी पर चीनी सेनाओं ने अपनी किलेबन्धी प्रारम्भ कर दी है।

कुछ और भी घटनाओं की ओर मैं आपका ध्यान आकर्षित करना चाहता हूँ। पिछली गर्मियों में शायद इस सदन को नहीं मालूम होगा कि हमारे देश के दो नागरिक गारतोक में नजरबन्द कर दिये गये थे। एक का नाम श्री बुद्धबोस था, जो कलकत्ते के प्रसिद्ध सिनेमा

[श्री भक्त दर्शन]

निर्माता है और जिन्होंने कैलाश—मानसरोवर के कई चित्रों का निर्माण किया है, उन को नजरबन्द किया गया था और हमारे वाणिज्य दत्त की लिखा-पढ़ी के फलस्वरूप उन को रिहा किया गया। इस के अतिरिक्त श्री हरिश्चन्द्र चन्दोला, जो कि "हिन्दुस्तान टाइम्स" के संपादकीय विभाग में काम करते हैं वह भी यात्रा के लिये गये थे उनको भी नजरबन्द किया गया था। इस प्रकार की घटनायें पश्चिमी तिब्बत में होती रहती हैं। मैं केवल यह निवेदन करना चाहता हूँ कि यद्यपि हमारे विश्वास है कि चीन के साथ हमारे बड़े मित्रता पूर्ण सम्बन्ध हैं, लेकिन इस कारण हम हिमालय की ओर अपने रक्षा साधनों को उन्नत न करें, इस गलतफहमी को हमें दूर करना है।

इस सम्बन्ध में मैं कुछ सुझाव रखना चाहता हूँ और वह यह हैं कि उत्तर में जो हमारे प्रसिद्ध दरें हैं जैसे जोहार, दारमा, नीति माण नीलंग, तथा हिमाचल प्रदेश के जो चीनी और लाहौल दरें हैं उन की ओर सुन्दर मार्ग बनाये जाने चाहियें। आप ने समाचार-पत्रों में पढ़ा होगा कि लासा, जो तिब्बत की राजधानी है वहां से मानसरोवर तक १२०० मील लम्बी सड़क तिब्बत की सरकार बनाने जा रही है। हमारे यहाँ यह हाल है कि जोशीमठ और बाम्पा के बीच ४२ मील सड़क बन गई है, लेकिन कोई मनुष्य या सैनिक उससे आगे नहीं जा सकता, जो जाता है वह अपनी जान को हथेली पर ले कर ही जाता है।

दूसरी बात यह है कि कम्प्यूनिक्शन अर्थात् संवाद-परिवहन की व्यवस्था वहाँ बहुत ही असुविधाजनक है। मैं आप के सामने इस बात को दोहराना चाहूंगा कि जोशीमठ से आगे जा कर आप ने बाम्पा में पोस्ट आफिस

बनाया है, दोनों के बीच की दूरी ४२ मील है वहाँ उत्तर प्रदेशीय सरकार का चैक पोस्ट भी है, लेकिन वहाँ हफ्ते में एक ही दिन आक जाने का प्रबन्ध है। भगवान न करे अगर कोई विपत्ति आ जाय तो कैसे वहाँ पर संवाद जल्दी से पहुँचाया जा सकता है? इस लिये मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि वहाँ पर संवाद-परिवहन की समुचित व्यवस्था की जानी चाहिये।

इसी प्रकार से मैं एक सुझाव और देना चाहता हूँ कि एक ओर पश्चिमी तिब्बत में स्थान स्थान पर वहाँ की नई सरकार क्लिबन्दी कर रही है। और दूसरी ओर आप को यह जान कर आश्चर्य होगा कि हमारे पर्वतीय इलाके की जितनी भी छावनियाँ हैं वह करीब करीब खाली पड़ी हैं। अभी उस दिन प्रश्नोत्तर काल में हमारे रक्षा मंत्री ने बतलाया था कि कई करोड़ रुपयों की योजना हमारी सरकार ने बनाई है जिसके द्वारा हमारे सैनिकों के लिये नई बैरक्स बनाई जायेंगी। मैं उनसे प्रार्थना करना चाहता हूँ कि आप नई बैरक्स तो बनाना चाहते हैं, लेकिन हमारे यहाँ जो बहुत सी छावनियाँ बरबाद हो रही हैं उन के लिये ध्यान नहीं दिया जा रहा है। मैं आशा करता हूँ कि उन के लिये उचित व्यवस्था की जायेगी।

मेरा अंतिम सुझाव यह है कि हमें अपने युवकों और अफसरों को हिमालय के अभियानों पर जाने के लिये उत्साहित करते रहना चाहिये। पिछले वर्ष मेजर जनरल विलियम्स की अध्यक्षता में एक अभियान दल हिमालय के कामेट पर्वत-शिखर की तरफ गया था। हमें इस से बड़ी प्रसन्नता हुई थी। किन्तु उस अभियान-दल के एक सचिव लेफ्टिनेन्ट भगत का देहान्त हो जाने के कारण वह अभियान खत्म हो गया। उन के देहान्त

होने का कारण यह था कि उस अभियान-दल के साथ कोई डाक्टर नहीं था। अगर यह बात सत्य है तो मैं समझता हूँ कि यह प्रारम्भिक भूल थी और भविष्य में जब भी कोई अभियान दल भेजे जायें, और वह भेजे जाने चाहिये, ताकि हमारे युवकों की प्रवृत्ति इस और हो सके, तब इस बात का ध्यान रक्खा जाना चाहिये। आप ने समाचार-पत्रों में पढ़ा होगा कि एबरेस्ट की चोटी पर तरह-तरह के दल विदेशों से जा रहे हैं और अपने देशों के झंडे फहरा रहे हैं। मैं समझता हूँ कि हमारे देश की सरकार इस प्रकार की व्यवस्था करेगी कि हमारे देश के युवक ऐसे स्थानों पर जायें और राष्ट्रीय पताका फहरायें।

इन शब्दों के साथ मैं रक्षा मंत्रालय ने जो अनुदान की मांगें रखी हैं उन का हृदय से समर्थन करता हूँ।

**Shri Amjad Ali** (Goalpara-Garo Hills): When we begin to think of Indian defence, our attention is naturally revetted on our eastern border. To our east lies Burma, and in spite of Burma being a free and independent country and also a State friendly to us, she is our weak neighbour. She is frequently facing troubles from outside and is struggling to maintain quiet in the country. The entry of Chinese K.M.T. forces from the province of Yunan and the perpetual Karen troubles within her own territory are instances in point.

Only yesterday, I read a report in the *Statesman*, which gives the opinion of Mr. Bevan who recently visited Burma. This is what that message says:

"Obtaining first-hand knowledge of the activities of Chinese Nationalist Forces during his recent visit to Burma, Mr. Bevan is understood to have told the members of his party that he was convinced that the Chinese operating in north-east Burma were not Communists but received direct orders from General Chiang-Kai-shek.

According to Mr. Bevan's colleagues, he strongly believed that

the USA financed and encouraged General Chiang Kai-shek's forces and he viewed this act of the USA as amounting to helping a member State of the UN invade a friendly State.

Mr. Bevan estimated that there were nearly 10,000 to 12,000 Kuomintang troops in north-east Burma bordering Yunan province who had received reinforcements of men and arms from Formosa through Thailand.

He also feels, according to his colleagues, that pressure must be put on the U. S. Government by Britain to give urgent consideration to the situation in north-east Burma and help end violation of territory by member nations of the U. N."

The problem that faces Burma today will naturally have to be looked into in the interest of India also. The problem of defence of our eastern frontiers does not present much difficulty if only we look into it objectively. For, the defence of a region does not always depend upon armed forces. The contented and well-developed tribals in the frontiers are a powerful bulwark against any foreign aggression and a natural defence of borders. The entire eastern frontiers are inhabited by law-abiding, disciplined border tribes, like the Nagas, Khamtis, Lushais, Abors, Miri, Mishmi, Mikir, Aka and Dafa races. They are a sturdy, extremely loyal and loveable sort of people. The only thing they need is our humane treatment to them. Giving more attention to their development and future well being should be our concern. That will mean solid work. Let them feel that they are our own and India is their homeland.

The forthcoming meeting between the Indian and Burmese Prime Ministers on the Indo-Burma borders will surely throw spot-light on the feather-crested tribal nagas, eastern and Burma's North-west frontier. In this connection, I would read out an editorial comment from the *Hindustan Standard*:

"A joint tour of the Indo-Burmese border areas will, it is reported, be shortly undertaken by the Prime Ministers of India and Burma. One of the objects in view is consultation regarding demarcation of undefined boundaries between the two countries. Security problems are no less important, since there are active Com-



[Shri Amjad Ali]

unist elements in contiguous areas in both the countries. Besides these, tribal unrest has on occasions been manipulated by foreign interests. No serious threat to security may arise so long as India and Burma jointly maintain vigilance and avoid being drawn into the war in the Far East. The presence of so many diverse elements capable of causing trouble in these remote regions naturally calls for close coordination of security measures between India and Burma. The risks of infiltration are well-known; it is equally important to prevent such provocative incidents as might be exploited by foreign Powers against the interests of these two lands."

Closely associated with it is our relationship with China. Our relationship with China has been always friendly. But the ideological differences are there and in the event of world war III, the alignment of China may be with powers which may not be well disposed towards India in spite of her continued neutrality. When looked at from this point of view the newly acquired strategic importance of Tibet is likely to prove a serious disadvantage to India. I do not for a moment suggest that China will send down her military hordes to attack and conquer the eastern provinces of India through Tibet, but a move for a slow infiltration of anti-social elements into India through Tibet and the possibility of active Chinese support to them is not unthinkable. The need for constant vigilance on these frontiers on this score and for maintaining a rigid check and control on this side over persons coming to India even during peace times seems most imperative.

The problems of defence of the eastern frontiers examined from this point of view do not present much difficulty. The various campaigns in Burma and fierce battles, fought on the frontier during the world war II, have made it clear that no major campaign can be successfully carried out on the terrain without a well-equipped army. Moreover it should not be very difficult to organise a sound defence on the Assam frontier, a fact to which the battles of Imphal and Kohima can well bear testimony.

Again there are suitable spots on the Tibetan plateau for building air bases and the entire Gangetic plain with its prosperous crowded cities from

Delhi to Calcutta will then be within easy bombing range from such air bases in Tibet and requisite steps for countering such eventualities must be thought of in advance and duly provided for. Any unpreparedness in India in this respect will most adversely affect its morale and independence of action.

Look at our Navy. We are no doubt on our way to gradual but definite expansion and strengthening of our Navy, but our perpetual dependence on Britain, by our being a member of the Commonwealth, as a source of weakness should go. No doubt our big brother Britain reigns supreme in Indian Ocean with Singapore as its Naval base, but it will be to our national advantage and prestige that we should expand our Navy also.

For expansion of our Air Force nationalisation of the Air Transport is a move in the right direction. During the debate on Foreign Affairs we had occasions to hear about the possibility of a joint defence with Pakistan. This comes into prominence when we look into our Western borders—whether Western Pakistan as a buffer State between India and any major invading power will by itself be able to bear the brunt and successfully repel any enemy land route attack from the west. The continued hostility of some of the frontier tribes to Pakistan makes the problems of Pakistan's defence in that region all the more difficult.

The existence of foreign pockets are rightfully considered possible danger-spot to Indian defence. The danger of those being used as spring-boards and base cannot be ruled out of account and must be provided for.

Mr. Chairman: We shall now proceed to the next business of the House.

#### MOTION RE: DETENTION OF THREE MEMBERS AND OTHERS

Shri R. N. S. Deo (Kalahandi-Bolangir): I beg to move:

"That this House is of opinion that there was a failure on the part of the Delhi administration in keeping in jail three Members of this House and some other citizens without lawful authority and in clear contravention of the provisions of the Constitution and Law as disclosed in the proceedings before and in the judgment of the