

Saturday,
13th March, 1948

THE
CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY OF INDIA
(LEGISLATIVE DEBATES)

Official Report

VOLUME III, 1948

(5th March to 18th March, 1948)

SECOND SESSION

of the

CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY OF INDIA (LEGISLATIVE)

1948



THURSDAY, 11TH MARCH, 1948—

PAGES

Declaration by Members	1869
Starred Questions and Answers	1869—1900
Short Notice Questions and Answers	1900—01
Delhi and Ajmer-Merwara Land Development Bill—Extension of time for presentation of report of Select Committee	1901—02
Indian Railways (Amendment) Bill—Introduced	1902
Railways (Transport of Goods) (Amendment) Bill—Introduced	1902
Protective Duties Continuation Bill—Introduced	1902—03
General Budget—List of Demands	1903—54
Demand No. 23.—Ministry of Works, Mines and Power	1903—31
Utilisation of Water resources and policy of Central Water-Power, Irrigation and Navigation Commission	
Policy re building of houses and quarters	
Policy re development of mineral resources	
Demand No. 16.—Ministry of Education	1903, 1931—54
Adult education	
Provision for increased facilities for technical training	
Need for a uniform language policy	
Demand No. 50.—Education	1903, 1931—54
Policy re grant to universities	
Policy re admission of students in universities on communal basis	
Appendix	1935—61

FRIDAY, 12TH MARCH, 1948—

Starred Questions and Answers	1963—99
Short Notice Questions and Answers	1999—2000
General Budget—List of Demands	2000—55
Demand No. 30.—Ministry of Relief and Rehabilitation	2000—56
Demand No. 34.—Ministry of Communications	2000, 2027—55

SATURDAY, 13TH MARCH, 1948—

Indian Tea Control (Amendment) Bill—Introduced	2057
General Budget—List of Demands	2057—60
Demand No. 28.—Ministry of Defence	2057, 2064—2104
Recruitment of Officers to the Armed Forces	
Unsatisfactory policy of Government re creation of National Militia	
Re-organisation of the army	
Cantonment boards	
Matters re policy and re-organisation in order to increase efficiency	
Military situation in Kashmir	
Demand No. 74.—Defence Services, effective army—economy	2057—60, 2063—2104
Demand No. 77.—Defence Services, effective—supplies and stores—	2057, 2063, 2065—2104
Re-organisation of Ordnance factories	
Demand No. 25.—Ministry of Transport	2057, 2104—14
Statement re report of the National Cadet Corps Committee	2060—63

MONDAY, 15TH MARCH, 1948—

Declaration by Members	2115
Starred Questions and Answers	2115—48
General Budget—List of Demands	2143—92
Demand No. 1.—Ministry of Home Affairs	2143—78
Demand No. 27.—Ministry of States	2144—78
Demand No. 27.—Relations with Indian States	2144—78
Administration of Chief Commissioners Provinces	
Security measures in Centrally Administered Areas and re-organisation of Central Intelligence Bureau	
Suppression of Civil Liberties	
Demand No. 14.—Ministry of Information and Broadcasting	2144, 2178—92

CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY OF INDIA (LEGISLATIVE)

Saturday, 13th March 1948.

The Assembly met in the Assembly Chamber of the Council House at a Quarter to Eleven of the Clock, Mr. Speaker (The Honourable Mr. G. V. Mavalankar) in the Chair.

INDIAN TEA CONTROL (AMENDMENT) BILL.

Mr. Speaker: Four different Demands are coming up before the House today. Before I place them before the House, there is a Bill to be introduced by the Honourable the Commerce Minister.

The Honourable Mr. C. H. Bhabha (Minister for Commerce): Sir, I beg to move for leave to introduce a Bill further to amend the Indian Tea Control Act, 1938.

Mr. Speaker: The question is:

"That leave be granted to introduce a Bill further to amend the Indian Tea Control Act, 1938."

The motion was adopted.

The Honourable Mr. C. H. Bhabha: Sir, I introduce the Bill.

GENERAL BUDGET—LIST OF DEMANDS—*contd.*

SECOND STAGE—*contd.*

Mr. Speaker: As stated by the Honourable the Defence Minister yesterday, a copy of the Report of the National Cadet Corps Committee is placed in the Library of the House today, and, I understand, copies are also placed on the table of members. In case a copy is not available to any Honourable Member, he can have it from the Secretary.

Now I shall place the demands before the House.

DEMAND No. 28—MINISTRY OF DEFENCE.

Mr. Speaker: Motion is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 32,65,000 be granted to the Governor General to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1949, in respect of 'Ministry of Defence'."

DEMAND No. 74—DEFENCE SERVICES, EFFECTIVE—ARMY

Mr. Speaker: Motion is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 66,42,30,000 be granted to the Governor General to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1949, in respect of 'Defence Services, Effective—Army'."

DEMAND No. 77—DEFENCE SERVICES, EFFECTIVE—SUPPLIES AND STORES

Mr. Speaker: Motion is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 32,75,77,000 be granted to the Governor General to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1949, in respect of 'Defence Services, Effective Supplies and Stores'."

DEMAND No. 25—MINISTRY OF TRANSPORT.

Mr. Speaker: Motion is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 21,06,000 be granted to the Governor General to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1949, in respect of 'Ministry of Transport'."

DEMAND NO. 74—DEFENCE SERVICES, EFFECTIVE—ARMY.

Mr. Speaker: According to the agreed time-table, 2½ hours are allotted to this Demand and 1½ hours for the next Demand on Transport. But we have got more time today by one hour.

Shri H. V. Kamath (C. P. and Berar: General): Half an hour more for each Demand.

Mr. Speaker: The question is whether there should be half an hour for each or whether we should give that one hour for Defence.

Shri Mohan Lal Saksena (U. P.: General): I think we may have one more hour for Defence because this is the first time we are discussing Defence in the changed circumstances.

Shri Biswanath Das (Orissa: General): That is necessary, Sir; it is a very important question.

Mr. Speaker: Does the House agree?

Several Honourable Members: Yes, Sir.

Mr. Speaker: What I propose to do is that, on the assumption that the Honourable Minister will require ¾ hour for reply, I will call upon him for reply at 3 O'clock. That means we shall be able to take up the other Demand at 3.45 p.m. The discussion on the present Demand will continue up to 3 O'clock.

Then I understand that the same procedure as yesterday's will be followed except that there is an economy out by Mr. Santhanam which might be moved formally.

Economy.

Shri K. Santhanam (Madras: General): Sir, I move:

"That the demand under the head 'Defence Services, Effective—Army' be reduced by Rs. 5,00,00,000."

Mr. Speaker: Cut motion moved:

"That the demand under the head 'Defence Services, Effective—Army' be reduced by Rs. 5,00,00,000."

Pandit Lakshmi Kanta Maitra (West Bengal: General): Could I move a cut under Demand No. 77, that is a cut to deal with Ordnance Factories?

Mr. Speaker: Which particular cut he is referring to?

Pandit Lakshmi Kanta Maitra: That is on page 18 of the consolidated list, cut No. 119.

Mr. Speaker: The Honourable Member knows that the understanding for the last two days has been that, members will be speaking on all the agreed cuts without formally moving them, because the difficulty that was felt was that when each cut was moved each member had necessarily to be given a chance of speaking for 15 minutes on that cut, which left practically no time to the other sections of the House. The whole Demand is under discussion, even matters outside the cuts can be referred to and members will restrict themselves to the cut motions because the Honourable Minister is obviously more prepared with those matters. So that is how we propose to proceed.

Mr. B. K. Sridha (C. P. and Berar: General): Yesterday of course we agreed to that proposal and at least I took it that it was only for yesterday. My point was that yesterday one Honourable Member, Mr. Chattopadhyaya, had a cut motion and it so happened that he did not get an opportunity even to move his cut motion. It is unfair; just as the Honourable Minister is prepared to

reply, the Honourable Member also is prepared for his cut motion to be moved and I would therefore suggest that the cut motions should be allowed to be moved by the Honourable Members. If you do not allow even that, the movers of cut motions should have the preference of speaking, otherwise those members who have studied the subject are deprived of the opportunity of speaking.

Pandit Lakshmi Kanta Maitra: With regard to the particular cut I was referring to, Sir, you will perhaps see that it is more in the nature of a technical cut. If you would permit I would formally move it and you may give me a chance later on.

Mr. Speaker: It is not a question of my permitting or not permitting, the arrangement as referred to by the Honourable Member, Mr. Sidhva was not only for yesterday; we started with that arrangement the day before yesterday.

Mr. B. K. Sidhva: But I took it was only for yesterday.

Mr. Speaker: That was a misapprehension on the part of the Honourable Member, if he took it as only for yesterday. As I pointed out, the difficulty was about time for other members. There is also some kind of dissatisfaction on the part of members who do not belong to the Congress Party, that they get no opportunity of saying anything, because, I find, all the agreed cuts are those of the Congress Party. In fairness, therefore, to other members outside the Congress Party, it is necessary that all members should have an occasion of expressing their views and not only the members of a particular Party who come prepared. That ground of preparedness of a member does not appeal to me so much, though I would like to respect it as much as possible. I am not against the moving of the cuts; they may be formally moved, I have no objection to all of them being moved. But then, the moving of a cut does not necessarily imply the right of speaking in respect of that cut. On that understanding, I am prepared to have them moved, because the other members also must have a chance—we found that in the first three or four days, members outside the Congress Party had had very little time to discuss or express their views in respect of a Demand.

Shri H. V. Kamath: May I suggest, Sir, that as among members of the Congress Party those who have tabled agreed cut motions may get precedence over others?

Mr. Hussain Imam (Bihar: Muslim): May I suggest one thing, Sir? We can have a sort of self-denying ordinance. If the Honourable Members will confine themselves to ten minutes, I think it will be possible for the Chair to accommodate all the members. In cases where he feels that a member is making a useful contribution he may extend the time to say fifteen minutes. We shall leave it to the Chair.

Mr. B. K. Sidhva: That I agree.

پلڈت تھاکر داس بہارگو : ماتھے اسپیکر صاحب ! میں اسپر صرف استدر عرض کرنا چاہتا ہوں کہ جن ممبر صاحبان کو آپ اجازت تقریر کرنے کی نہیں تو انکو زیادہ عرصہ عدلیت فرمائیں کہ وہ اپنے خیالات کا اظہار کر سکیں میں اس میں یقین نہیں رکھتا ہوں کہ دس منٹ کا وقت محدود کر دیا جائے کہونکہ اسطرح بولنے کا کوئی لطف نہیں کہ کھلتی بجی اور دم خشک ہوا۔ لہذا مہری ادب سے گزارش ہے کہ آپ جس کو موقع نہیں کافی موقعہ نہیں۔

(English translation of the above)

Pandit Thakur Das Bhargava (East Punjab: General): Mr. Speaker, Sir, in this connection I would like to request you to kindly allot more time to the members whom you permit to speak to enable them to express their views. I do not believe in this that the ten minutes time-limit should be fixed. Because there is no pleasure to speak in this manner. As soon as the bell rings, we lose our nerves. Therefore, I respectfully submit that you may kindly allot sufficient time when you permit anyone to speak.

Shri K. Santhanam: I want to point out that there is no question of all the cuts being moved. Even in the other cases only the cuts selected by the Party Secretary were to be moved. If all the cuts were to be moved, there are about 100 cuts.

Mr. Speaker: What I meant by saying 'all the cuts' was 'all the agreed cuts'. That is what I meant.

As far as the suggestion of the Honourable Member, Pandit Thakur Das Bhargava is concerned, my personal opinion has always been that, instead of having a larger number of speeches, it is better to have a fewer number of precise and effective speeches, criticising the Department after a thorough study of the subject. That has been my own reaction in the matter. But if Honourable Members want to have a larger number of speeches and merely to touch upon or mention points, it is a matter for them to consider. I am entirely in the hands of the House. I should not like to take the responsibility of judging whether a particular member is making an effective contribution or not, as I do not claim to have studied all the subjects that are coming before the House. It will be for the Honourable Members themselves.

As regards the time-limit, I was feeling a real difficulty. Generally, Honourable Members know that I give two minutes warning. Sometimes I have noticed, and it is very natural, that the bell is not heard by the member speaking, as he is so much engrossed with his own speech and ideas. Then, when I ring the bell second time they think that that is the warning bell and some Honourable Members ask for a minute or two and their minute or two consists of more than sixty seconds. These are all difficulties and I am trying to accommodate as best as I can, but it is essentially a matter for the Honourable Members. Yesterday, there were three speeches, and I believe in these three, two Honourable Members exceeded the time—one got twenty minutes and another twenty three minutes, and one Honourable Member, who spoke in between, got a shorter time than ten minutes. However, this is a matter for the Honourable Members. We will now proceed with the business, as we have already taken fifteen minutes.

Shri Mohan Lal Saksena: Before you call upon the Honourable Members to speak, may I submit, Sir, that I understand that the Government have taken a decision on the recommendations of the National Cadet Corps Committee. Therefore, I suggest that the Honourable Minister may be requested to make a statement, so that while speaking members may bear that in mind.

Pandit Hirday Nath Kunzru (U. P.: General): Sir, I support that view.

STATEMENT RE REPORT OF THE NATIONAL CADET CORPS COMMITTEE.

The Honourable Sardar Baldev Singh (Minister for Defence): Sir, I think it will serve a useful purpose for the Debate if I announce the Government's decision on the Report of the National Cadet Corps Committee.

For sometime the public has demanded that military training should be given to the youth of the country both in national interests and for moulding the character of our youngmen on right lines. This demand very naturally became more insistent since we attained our freedom. The popular mind was reflected in this House and Honourable Members have made pressing enquiries from time to time.

In the last Session of this House, I stated that the Government were aware of public sentiment and were taking steps to meet this demand. The Government have now been able to arrive at a decision. One of the steps by which we propose to impart military training to our youth is to implement immediately the Report of the National Cadet Corps Committee. Honourable Members of the House have been provided with a copy of the Report and it has also been released to the Press along with the decisions which Government have taken on it. I think it is in the fitness of things that I should give to the House a brief outline of the Scheme and what we propose to do.

A Committee was appointed in July 1946 to consider and make recommendations for the establishment, on a nation-wide basis, of a National Cadet Corps Organisation for our Educational institutions, both Schools and Universities. The Honourable Pandit Mirday Nath Kunzru was its Chairman and among its members were some of our highest Armed Forces Officers and prominent publicmen. This Committee took evidence, toured various Universities in India and some of its members went abroad to examine particularly in Great Britain, how the Corps had been organised elsewhere. Its Report was submitted to Government in July 1947. I should like here to pay my tribute to the Chairman and the members of the Committee for the labour they put in and the valuable report they submitted. Their recommendations are based on sound lines, which, when implemented, should enable us to have a really good National Cadet Corps in India.

Due to various problems that faced the Country and in particular the very serious strain we all went through soon after the Report was submitted, it was not possible to consider the Report as early as the Government would have done in normal times. We just did not have sufficient opportunity to study the Report. The Provincial Governments and the Standing Advisory Committee for the Defence Ministry, had also to be consulted. This has now been done. The Government have carefully considered the opinions of the Provincial Governments and of the Standing Committee. They have on the whole accepted the recommendations of the Committee.

The Committee recommended the formation of a National Cadet Corps consisting of three Divisions:

- A Senior Division, intended for the Universities and Colleges in which the University Training Corps will be merged;
- A Junior Division for Schools and boys of School going age;
- A Girls' Division.

The Committee suggested a strength of 82,500 for the Senior Division and 1,35,000 for the Junior Division. The Government have decided to accept these recommendations and the basis of strength, as a first step. This is a beginning. It does not amount to a scheme whereby military training could be imparted to the youth of the Country as a whole. But there are very serious practical limitations, both financial and technical, which make it impossible for Government to undertake a wider and bigger scheme in present circumstances. The House will appreciate this, I am sure. But there is no limit to the future development of the Corps. All I wish to ensure is that we must not allow our enthusiasm to over-run our present capacity and resources. The Cadet Corps will, I hope, provide a fruitful source of recruitment

[Sardar Baldev Singh]

for our future Officers in the Armed Forces. We have one of the finest fighting equipment in the world. We are all proud of it. It is natural therefore that the Cadet Corps also should be a first class Organisation. It should come up to the standard of our first class Armed Forces. The House will, I am sure, agree with me that whatever we do, we should do it well.

An important objective in raising the National Cadet Corps is to develop character, comradeship, ideal of service, and power of leadership in our Youth. It also aims at stimulating interest in the defence of our Motherland. These objectives are as broad-based as they can be. Very naturally therefore it will be the endeavour of the Government to take advantage of every avenue of development, within the limitations in which we find ourselves.

The Government have decided that enrolment in the National Cadet Corps should be entirely voluntary and without any liability for service in the Armed Forces. They are of the opinion that the enthusiasm of the Youth in general for serving the Country is sufficient guarantee that the response in Colleges and Schools will be satisfactory. Much depends on public opinion and the outlook of parents. As long as we all feel that the Corps will benefit not only the Cadets but also the country, I feel that youngmen will join in sufficient numbers and make the Scheme a great success. If unfortunately the response is indifferent, the Government will, after due consideration, consider the desirability of introducing compulsion.

The Government have come to the conclusion that there should be no direct financial inducement to those who join the Corps. Cadets will however be provided with uniforms. They will be paid railway fare to and from the Camps when they attend these. They will also be given free rations in camps or when free rations are not allowed, a suitable allowance to cover cost of rations.

The Senior Division will be officered by at least some regular Military Officers in addition to the Selected Members of the Staff of Colleges. The Junior Division as well as the Girls' Division will be officered by members of the Staff alone. All non-Military Officers of the Senior Division will be granted Military Rank and the pay of the Rank for the period they are in camp. Officers of the Junior Division and Girls' Division will be paid an honorarium.

The National Cadet Corps Committee's recommendations regarding the courses of training etc. have been generally accepted by Government subject of course to any change that may be found necessary as a result of experience.

The National Cadet Corps will be under the general control of the Ministry of Defence. This is necessary not only so that the Corps may be truly national but also in order that the standards of training, discipline etc. may be uniform throughout the country. The Provincial Governments, I am assured, will give every help and co-operation and will take an active interest in the Organisation within their respective jurisdictions. The Provincial Government have generally agreed to bear the financial liabilities of the Scheme within their areas except the cost of the Central Organisation which will be borne by the Government of India.

It is proposed to extend the Scheme to those of the Indian States who have acceded to India and who wish to join the Scheme on the same terms as the Provinces.

It has been decided to set up immediately a Central Advisory Committee. The Defence Minister will be the Chairman. Its members will be the Defence Secretary, the Education Secretary, the Financial Adviser (Defence Ministry), the Commander-in-Chief, Indian Army, the Flag Officer

Commanding, Royal Indian Navy, The Air Marshal Commanding, Royal Indian Air Force, and seven non-Official Members. The Provincial and other Committees recommended by the Committee will also be set up.

I am advised that legislation may be necessary in order to give effect to the proposals as sanctioned by the Government of India. I propose to introduce a short Bill during this Session for this purpose, if on expert legal examination, it is found that formal legislation is necessary. Meanwhile steps are being taken to implement the decisions taken and instructions are being issued to all Provinces to go ahead with the scheme.

As I have said, Sir, this is a very small beginning, but in the circumstances I have explained, it is a move in the right direction with immense possibilities for the future. The anxiety expressed in this House and by the public at large for the military training of our Youth is justified. None of us has any designs of aggression behind this demand. Our entire tradition, historic and cultural, is peace-loving. But we cannot fail to recall the misery and horror inflicted on so many of our innocent fellow countrymen, women and children when hordes of well armed tribesmen and others trained in the use of arms were let loose on our civil population from the neighbouring dominion. These tribesmen have perpetrated shameful crimes without any check. Therefore we have to proceed to train our nationals in the use of arms so that our citizens shall never again be exposed to such risks and dangers. That, Sir, is the intention of Government and if I may say so, the mind of the House. We cannot and shall not tolerate violence against our citizens and designs on the security of our Motherland by anyone and from any quarter. I cherish the hope that the Youth of the Country whom we shall train in military arts will receive this training in this spirit.

Pandit Lakshmi Kanta Maitra (West Bengal: General): What will be the provisional strength of the Girls' Division?

The Honourable Sardar Baldev Singh: Details are given in the report that is with the Honourable Member.

GENERAL BUDGET—LIST OF DEMANDS—*contd.*

SECOND STAGE—*contd.*

DEMAND No. 77—DEFENCE SERVICES, EFFECTIVE—SUPPLIES AND STORES. *Reorganisation of Ordnance Factories.*

Mr. Speaker: Does the Honourable Member Pandit Lakshmi Kanta Maitra wish to formally move his cut then?

Pandit Lakshmi Kanta Maitra: If you would only permit me to move, Sir.

Mr. Speaker: I am leaving it to him.

Pandit Lakshmi Kanta Maitra: All right, Sir.

Sir, I beg to move:

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

Mr. Speaker: Cut motion moved:

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

Mr. Frank R. Anthony (C.P. and Berar: General): May I move my cut motion?

Mr. Speaker: I do not mind any cut motions being moved, as I said, with this reservation, that it will not necessarily mean the right to speak in support of it.

DEMAND NO. 28.—MINISTRY OF DEFENCE

Recruitment of Officers to the Armed Forces.

Mr. Frank E. Anthony: Sir, I move:

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

Mr. Speaker: Cut motion moved:

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

Unsatisfactory Policy of Government re creation of National Militia.

Pandit Thakur Das Bhargava: Sir, I move:

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

Mr. Speaker: Cut motion moved:

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

Reorganisation of the Army

Shri E. V. Kamath: Sir, I move:

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

Mr. Speaker: Cut motion moved:

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

Cantonment Boards.

Mr. R. K. Sidha: Sir, I move:

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

Mr. Speaker: Cut motion moved:

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

Shri K. Santhanam: Mr. Speaker, Sir, I have moved that the Defence demand be cut down by 5 crores. It may appear to be a large sum, but, as I shall show, it is a very moderate cut. Before I proceed to make my point, Sir, I should like to suggest

Pandit Hriday Nath Kunzra (U. P.: General): May I know, Sir, whether you will allow any other motion?

Mr. Speaker: Yes, if it is desired to be moved.

Pandit Hriday Nath Kunzra: Since that is the procedure that has been followed, may I claim the privilege or the right, whatever one may choose to call it, of moving a motion standing against my name.

Mr. Speaker: What particular motion is the Honourable Member referring to?

Matters re Policy and Reorganisation in order to increase Efficiency.

Pandit Hriday Nath Kunzra: Sir, I move:

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

Mr. Speaker: Cut motion moved:

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

Military Situation in Kashmir

Pandit Hriday Nath Kunzra: Sir, I move.

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

Mr. Speaker: Cut motion moved:

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

Shri K. Santhanam: Sir, I think it is not quite right that the Defence Budget should be treated as one demand among so many other demands. I feel that the Defence Budget should be presented as a separate budget, like the Railway Budget, and separate time should be allotted both for general discussion as well as for cut motions, because defence expenditure is more than 50 per cent. of the expenditure of the Central Government, and three or four hours allotted to it in eight days does not do justice to the problems involved.

Sir, before I proceed to point out how the Defence Budget has swollen, I wish to make it clear that I do not want my cut motion to be understood as an attempt to reduce the defence forces. I would like to point out to the House the difference between the budget estimates for 1968-69 and those in the booklet given to us now. The present booklet does not contain even the minimum information essential; for instance it does not give the number of officers, the number of men and other particulars which are necessary to give us even an approximate estimate of the defence forces of this country today. Sir, every country's defence forces should be fixed in accordance with its needs and I suggest that our forces should be at least three times the forces of Pakistan, because today we have to apportion our defence forces solely in relation to our immediate needs. I do not suggest that we should have any plan of aggression. I do not want a single Indian soldier to step into the boundaries of Pakistan. At the same time, I want to make the Indian people assured that if there are any elements there who are thinking of a *jihad* our army should be strong enough to ensure them a safe and quick passage to Heaven which they deserve.

Sir, the Pakistan defence budget is Rs. 37 crores; while our budget is 186 crores. That means our budget excluding capital expenditure is 8 and 1/3 times the Pakistan's budget. We are paying 8 and 1/3 times the Pakistan's budget for twice the Pakistan's army.

The Honourable Sardar Baldev Singh (Minister for Defence): May I inform the Honourable Member that our Army is not twice the Pakistan's Army. It has gone up—I am sorry I cannot disclose the exact figures. But our Army is not what it was immediately after the partition.

The Honourable Shri R. K. Shanmukham Chetty (Minister for Finance): Let us not discuss the numbers.

Shri K. Santhanam: What I am driving at is that three times the Pakistan's budget should give us more than three times Pakistan's Army—it must be four or five times—because as the size of the army increases, the overhead charges and other fixed charges must proportionately decline. I am going to give you figures which will show that in many respects we are paying much more than we should for the Army.

Sir, let me take some of the items of the Defence Budget, as given in pages 6 and 7 of the memorandum given to us and compare them with the figures for 1968-69. The pay, etc., of the fighting services was Rs. 15.6 crores in 1968-69; it is now Rs. 16.6 crores. That is nearly the same. The administrative expenses were Rs. 7 crores in 1968-69; they are Rs. 23 crores in 1948-49. The headquarter staff cost Rs. 2 crores in 1968-69; it now costs Rs. 4 crores. The head under 'Transport, etc.' has increased from Rs. 2.7 crores to Rs. 8.6 crores; Military Engineering Services from Rs. 8.9 crores to Rs. 11.8 crores; Military Stores from Rs. 3 crores to Rs. 25 crores; and Air Force which cost Rs. 2 crores is now estimated to cost Rs. 13 crores and the Royal Indian Navy which cost Rs. 82 lakhs is now estimated to cost Rs. 5.8 crores.

Sir, let me take first of all the last item, the Royal Indian Navy. In extravagance, it is more royal than the King himself. It hopes to be Indian some day and as a Navy, at present it has made only a small beginning in that direction. Sir, I do not mind the increase in expenditure from Rs. 82

[Shri K. Santhanam]

lakhs to Rs. 5.8 crores, provided there is a proportionate increase in strength. If you look up the actual details of this Navy (page 58—59) you will find that it consists of one cruiser, 8 destroyers (which are to be brought, they are still far away from our shores), four sloops and some minor items. If you look up the Defence statement of 1938-39, you will find that all these items except the cruiser and destroyers were there and yet the cost was only Rs. 82 lakhs. They now cost Rs. 5.8 crores. In 1938-39 (page 60) the Naval Headquarters consisted of only 9 officers and 30 ratings; now there are 101 officers and 101 ratings—the number of officers is equal to the number of ratings in the Naval Headquarters. I think there is no justification for this expansion. Again, if you look up page 60 you find there are 595 officers, 4,529 ratings and 1,614 other ranks for educational establishments for the Navy which consists of 188 Commissioned and warrant officers and 1,780 ratings. Sir, I would like to know where and what training is given by these 595 officers to the 1,780 ratings for there is hardly any officers' training institution in this country. I think here also the war-time establishment has been continued without any justification.

Let me now take up the huge item of "Stores" expenses which has increased from a small amount of Rs. 3 crores to Rs. 25 crores. Sir, some figures are to be found in page 70 of this memorandum. Here the major criminal is sub-head (C)—R.I.A.S.C. Stores. It was 2.5 crores in 1938-39; it has now swollen to 18.4 crores. I should like to know how much of these 18.4 crores is temporary or permanent. If we are going to put in an annual recurring bill of these 18.4 crores I think it is a matter that requires serious inquiry. I suggest to the Finance Minister that he should immediately appoint a small committee to go into this question of stores, and find out whether so much is required. I do not think more than half or even more than one-third will be annually necessary as recurring charges. If not, I should like to know why it has been brought in as recurring expenditure; it should be brought in as capital expenditure or suspense expenditure. But to show it as permanent recurring expenditure suggests that our supply of stores will be of this order year by year. I should like to know if that is the intention and if that is the estimate of the military authorities.

Then let me take the administrative services, which are to be found on page 14. Here again it is the I.A.O.C.—sub-head (F)—which has suddenly multiplied itself nearly 5½ times between 1938-39 and 1948-49. I should like to know why suddenly this particular head, on which a cut motion has been given notice of by my Honourable friend Pandit Maltra, has become so much swollen. Then military accounts offices cost only 97 lakhs in 1938-39 and now it is 3 crores and 84 lakhs. I can understand a doubling or even a trebling of this expenditure, but the present figure is wholly indefensible from any point of view. There must be a lot of idle people in these military accounts offices to require such a heavily swollen expenditure.

Then the story of the military engineering services is equally scandalous; it is to be found on page 48. This item has gone up from 3½ crores to 15 crores. The figures of engineers, etc. are not given and so I have not been able to compare them. I should like the Defence Minister to tell us why these military engineering services should today cost us five times the pre-war figure,—if these engineers have suddenly become great experts and acquired great proficiency, and why their number should increase three or four times the pre-war number, and whether they have work to do. I can understand the military engineering services being swollen during war-time; at that time we cannot have too many engineers. It may be that then we have four engineers and only one may be available at a particular point. But

that cannot be the case in peace-time. I do not think the present army can possibly require all these engineers; and really in order to judge the adequacy of this figure you have to consider that another 3½ crores are there for mechanical and electrical engineers under the head of Administrative Services. If you take them all together, we find that we are paying more for the engineering section of the army than for all the entire effective forces put together, the fighting services both in the army, navy and air force.

Taken on the whole, I am quite convinced that at least one-fourth to one-third of the present expenditure consists of our war-time legacies which could be pruned down without reducing the strength or the efficiency of the army. It is only if we reduce the expenditure and effect economy that there is a possibility of expansion of the army. At the present swollen figure if the army consumes 136 crores there will be no scope for making the force more effective. Therefore even for the future expansion of the army and future increase of strength and efficiency it is absolutely essential that a drastic pruning should be undertaken; and I suggest that it cannot be done by a single economy committee. Every item should have its economy committee. There should be one economy committee for these administrative charges, one for the stores, another for the navy and another for the air force. It is only if we have four or five small committees working at the same time and working intensively and giving their reports in three or four months that we can have real economy in these Defence services. I hope the Finance Minister and the Defence Minister will put their heads together and convince us either that these swollen items are justified and absolutely essential in the interests of the country or that they are taking steps to cut them down to their proper proportions.

Sir, I hope these points will be considered by the Honourable Ministers and the House.

Pandit Hirday Nath Kunzru: Sir, I propose first to refer briefly to my out motion relating to Kashmir. During the budget debate I referred to what I regarded as the shortcomings of Government in regard to the operations which are being carried on in Kashmir. I do not want to cover that ground again. But as I received no reply from the Defence Minister during the budget discussion it is necessary that I should draw his attention briefly to the points that I raised then.

Sir, our troops which were sent to Srinagar at very short notice did such good work during the first two or three weeks of their arrival as to drive the enemy back from Srinagar to Uri. Both our army and our air force have played a part in this connection which will be remembered for years to come by the grateful people of this country. We expected, therefore, that the momentum gathered by the troops would enable them to drive the raiders completely out of the Kashmir valley. Unfortunately, however, the troops were unable to advance beyond Uri and the deadlock still continues. It may be that Government were at that time unable owing to the commencement of operations in the Jammu province to send more troops to Kashmir. Another difficulty in their way might have been created by the change of weather. But if during the great war the weather did not prevent the army of any country from carrying on such operations as the military authorities considered necessary, I submit that the comparatively minor obstacles with which Government were faced in Kashmir offered no valid reason for their inability to send sufficient help to Kashmir to enable our troops to advance from Uri to Kohala. Again, Sir, take the province of Jammu. We hoped when operations were commenced there that the well-equipped Indian troops would be able to protect a large part of the districts where the raiders were carrying on their nefarious activities. But the general impression is, and I believe that this impression prevails in at least some military circles also, that the Government in the beginning under-rated the

[Pandit Hirday Nath Kunzru]

magnitude of the task which confronted them. And when at last they woke up and found what the reality was, it took them some time to send more troops there. During the last few months no more progress has been made in the Jammu area than in the Kashmir Valley.

Sir I will again refer to the weather which has undoubtedly created difficulties. But it seems to me that the weather does not rully explain the failure of the Government to take more decisive action. We read communiques daily about the activities of our troops in Jammu, but I wonder whether anybody takes the slightest interest in them. They mean nothing whatsoever from the larger point of view. They may place before us examples of the gallantry and devotion of our army, but they do not show that any progress whatsoever is being made. If, however, our troops have advanced, and if they now find themselves in new positions which are either more defensible or which increase the striking power of our army, then Government have to blame themselves if they have not made this clear in their communiques.

Lastly, I should like to refer once more to the Madhopur-Jammu Road. This is the only road by which troops and supplies can be sent to Jammu and Srinagar. Its importance will be obvious to every member of this House. It was expected that the construction of this road, which is in a very bad condition at present, would be taken in hand very soon: but so far to the best of my knowledge very little has been done to metal it; and I shall not be surprised if the rain that we had a few days ago has made the road almost impassable for vehicles. This road should have been constructed under military management. Military engineers should have been set to work on the construction of the road. But its construction has been entrusted to the civil authorities, and I understand that this has neither promoted efficiency nor speeded up the construction of the road. Perhaps the same thing might be said with regard to the airfield at Srinagar. We should have thought that Government would take some steps to improve the aerodrome there in order to establish better air communications between India and Srinagar. But here again I understand that for some reason, which is not clear to the public, the Government have taken hardly any action in this direction. The result of all this, Sir is that our people, who are looking up to us for protection, have received no help from us, though it should have been our foremost duty to keep up the morale of the people of the Jammu and Kashmir States. We have been so slow in helping our troops and in taking such action as would have enabled them to finish their job quickly as almost to have destroyed the morale of the people in the districts of Mirpur and Jammu. What has happened is that this has produced repercussions in other parts of the Kashmir State which we all regret.

I hope, Sir, that my Honourable friend, the Defence Minister, realizing the responsibility which the Defence Ministry owes to the country, will take us into his confidence today and tell us why, at least apparently, there has been a lack of proper organization and a failure to grasp the nature of the problem which the country is faced with.

And now I shall say a few words about my second motion.

I was glad to learn yesterday from my Honourable friend, the Defence Minister, that Government proposed to establish as soon as practicable a combined institution for the training of the cadets of all the three Defence Services, and that in the meanwhile, the cadets of all these services would receive their basic training at the Indian Military Academy at Dehra Dun. This is a step in the right direction, for if the last war has made anything clear to us, it is that though there may be three defence services, the object

of all of them is the same. It is obvious therefore that the officers must develop feelings of camaraderie among themselves and a common point of view. Nothing can initially promote this better than training at the same institution. But I hope that Government are taking steps to follow up this principle in other spheres also.

Military experts have been laying stress for sometime on the development of an integrated higher staff and an integrated higher command. The Government of India may not have had much time, because of the crisis which unfortunately they have been faced with during the last 18 months, to give close attention to this problem but I hope it is receiving their consideration. We cannot afford to have three separate services and to give them such instruction as might be necessary to make them co-operate among themselves after a war breaks out. It is not merely necessary but, in my opinion, urgent that steps should be taken to bring into existence a unified higher command and a unified higher staff.

We discussed here the other day the question of giving military training to the youth of the country. I agree with my Honourable friend the Defence Minister that it is not possible for us at the present time to take in hand the military training of the entire youth of the nation. But I think the Government ought to make a move in this direction at least in certain provinces, namely the East Punjab and the U. P. The position in the East Punjab, at least in the border districts, is not a very easy one. If we want to instil confidence into the people and at the same time to have an organisation auxiliary to the army, then in my opinion it is necessary that we should make arrangements which will enable the military authorities to give military training to a sufficient number of young men there. The question may be considered later in other provinces but I think the needs of East Punjab should receive immediate attention. I personally think that the system that I am advocating should be extended to the Delhi province and the U. P. also. But if a step in the direction suggested by me is taken in the course of the next year in the East Punjab I shall think that a good beginning has been made by the authorities.

There is just one more point that I should like to deal with before I sit down. Before I deal with it I shall put a question to my Honourable friend, the Defence Minister. He has laid before us the report of the National Cadet Corps Enquiry Committee. It is pleasing to note that the Government have in the main accepted the recommendations of the Committee. As the carrying out of these recommendations will involve some expenditure, may I know whether provision has been made for it in the next year's budget? If it has not been will a supplementary demand be brought forward in order to enable the Government to take action without further loss of time on the Committee's suggestions?

Lastly I should like to draw the attention of the House to the importance of developing a proper research organisation in the army. There is there a Directorate known as the Technical Development Directorate but this directorate carried out hardly any research in the past. All real research was carried out in England and practically the sole task of this directorate has been to apply the results of the researches made in England to India. Our past dependence on England in this respect must not continue any more. It is realised everywhere in the world that in defence as in other matters we cannot do without the fullest application of science to our needs. I should like to know what steps Government are taking to build up an adequate research organisation. I suggest that we should invite the help of a few well known scientists to help the authorities in framing a scheme for carrying out such research as is connected with defence. It is not enough that military officers who have received training in scientific work should be employed in this organisation. It is necessary that Government should invite the help of scientists particularly those who are connected with researches in

[Pandit Hirday Nath Kunzru]

fundamental problems, because the experience of other countries shows that it is only in this way that adequate arrangements can be made for the investigation of defence problems.

We have just become responsible for the Government of our country. We are faced with many and difficult problems. We have to think of those economic problems on which the prosperity of the people depends and it is ultimately on the solution of our economic problems that our capacity to defend our country will depend. But it is nevertheless necessary that the military authorities should begin to devote their attention to those basic problems on which the future strength of the army will depend. No expenditure on this account should be grudged and I am sure the Government as a whole, whatever their needs may be, will regard the defence of the country as one of the most vital problems which must engage their attention, even before the economic problems of the country have been solved.

بلدیت تھاکر داس بہارگو : جناب سیکر صاحب ! آج جو سٹیج آنریبل ماسٹر آف فینانس نے ہاؤس کے سامنے انہیں کیڈت کیڈ کے بارے میں ذکر کرتے ہوئے دی ہے۔ اسکو سنکر مجھے بڑی تکلیف ہوئی۔ جناب والا ! بہت عرصہ سے اس ہاؤس میں بجٹ کے وقت فینانس اکیسپینڈیچر آئٹم (Expenditure items) آتے تھے تو وہ سب کے سب یا آگے بھتر حصے نٹروڈ (Non-Voted) ہوا کرتے تھے۔ اور ملدوساتہیں کو ان اخراجات کے بارے میں vote دینے کا کوئی حق نہ تھا۔ اب جبکہ ہم سب کو پورا اختیار ہے Defence Budget پر ہر نو ہزارا لکھ ہے کہ ہم سارے items کو دیکھیں اور جانچیں کہ خرچہ ٹھیک اور مناسب طور پر کیا جاوے۔ میں سڈہام صاحب کی تائید کرتا ہوں کہ آئندہ ایسا کلپیشن ہو جس سے فینانس کا بجٹ انگ ہو اور سارے Item ہاؤس کے سامنے آئیں۔ جب سڈہ ۲۸ لاکھ اور سڈہ ۳۹ لاکھ لیکرس مسٹر سڈہام نے ہمارے سامنے موجودہ لیکرس کے سڈہ مائے تو اسہیں شک نہیں کہ کئی معاملے ایسے ہوں چلئے اندر پتچ پتچ چہہ چہہ کلا زیادہ ہو گیا ہے جو ہمارے سڈہ کے باہر ہے۔ میں یہ ماننا ہوں اور جوسا ایسے کلپوز صاحب نے فرمایا کہ اس گورنمنٹ کا فرض ہے کہ اس دیکھ کا ٹھیک بچاؤ کرے۔ اسلئے اگر فینانس کا بجٹ اس موجودہ بجٹ سے لکر بڑھ گیا ہے تو یہ ہاؤس سٹیج نہیں کھٹا اور اس بجٹ کو منظر کرنا۔ لیکر نا ہم چنٹک اس بجٹ کو ٹھیک طور پر نہ سمجھیں ہم اپنی ایسی رائے نہیں دے سکتے جو کونشینس (conscientious) رائے ہو کیونکہ موجودہ صورت میں یہ بجٹ سڈہ میں نہیں آیا اور وجوہات خرچہ بڑھنے کے صاف طور پر ظاہر نہیں کئے گئے ہوں۔ کہ کہیں نہیں کور ڈیوہ سے پلندہ کور ڈیوہ انجمنرنگ میں بڑھ گیا اور کہیں اور مدوں میں بڑھ گیا۔ اسلئے آئندہ بجٹ منصدہ اور پرسی وجوہات کے سڈہ بڑھ ہونا چاہئے۔ اب میں اپی معبول کی طرف آتا ہوں لیکر میں نے اصول (Divide and Rule) کی بلہاد پر ایک ملٹی کاسٹ قائم کی اور اس ideal کے ماتحت انہیں نے مابشل اور نئی مابشل کی سڈہ قائم کردی اور

اس طرح سے انگریزوں نے تیسرے سو سال تک یہاں حکومت کی ہمارے دماغوں میں انگریزوں نے یہ بات ڈال دی کہ ہم کسی اور مٹی کے بلے ہوئے ہیں اور دوسرے ہمارے بھائی کسی اور مٹی کے بلے ہوئے ہیں اب یہ چہر تبدیل ہو چکی ہے اور ایسی تبدیلی ہو چکی ہے کہ اس میں ہم کو شبہ نہیں ہے۔ آج جب یہ خیال بالکل ہم میں سے ختم ہو گیا ہے تو ہندوستان کے ایک ایک آدمی کا فرض ہے کہ ماتری بھومی کے لئے ایسا فوض ادا کرے اور ملٹری قیوتی قبول کرے اور اس پر قربان ہونے کے لئے تیار ہو جائے۔ یہ کھٹی جسکا ذکر کیا گیا ہے ان Ideals کے لئے ۱۵ جولائی سنہ ۱۹۴۶ء کو وجود میں نہیں آئی تھی۔ جناب والا! یہ صرف اس فرض کے لئے بلائی گئی تھی کہ افسران جن میں لیڈر شپ اور دیگر صفات کی کمی ہے اے کھونکر پورا کیا جائے اور پہلے بھی بڑی خرابی کے بعد سنہ ۲۱ میں ایسی کھٹیں بلائی گئیں۔ اور Auxiliary اور Territorial force بھی بلائی گئیں اور سوچا گیا کہ افسران میں جو تعلیمی کمی ہے اسکو کس طرح سے پورا کیا جاوے۔ میں ادب سے عرض کرونگا کہ کسی ملک کی فوج اسوقت تک اچھی نہیں ہو سکتی جب تک کہ کڑھوئی کو درست نہ کیا جاوے۔ اور ہر ایک شخص کو اپنے فوجی حقوق اور ذمہ داریوں کا احساس نہ ہو۔ عام level کہے سے بڑھہ سکتا ہے جب تک کلٹری کا ہر شخص اپنے فرض کو نہ سمجھے محض افسران کے اچھا کرنے سے ہی کام نہیں چل سکے گا۔ اگر آپ اچھے افسران نہیں چاہتے ہیں تو سب سے پہلے فرض یہ ہے کہ کلٹری کے اندر ایسی ملٹری spirit پیدا کیجئے کہ افسران کی ذہنی اور دماغی حالت تھک ہو تاکہ وہ اچھی طرح سے دوسروں کو ٹریننگ دے سکیں اسکے بغیر جو آپکا مقصد ہے وہ پورا نہیں ہوگا۔ جناب والا! ٹینٹس مسٹر صاحب کی مہربانی سے مجھکو یہ رپورٹ پہلے ہی مل گئی تھی کہونکہ میں Standing Defence Committee کا ممبر ہوں میں نے اسکو اچھی طرح سے پڑھا ہے میں اسکو صاف طریقہ سے عرض کرنے کے لئے تیار ہوں اسکے صفحہ تین اور سات کو پڑھئے تو معلوم ہوگا کہ اسکا ہر جگہ پر ایک ہی مطلب ہے یعنی ایجوکیشنل تعلیم کو پورا کرنے کا مطلب ہے۔ افسروں کے اندر جو کھیاں ہیں ان کو دور کرنے کی ضرورت ہے۔ ایسی اور دوسری problems جسکے لئے میں چاہتا ہوں کہ نیشنل ملٹری قائم ہو اس رپورٹ میں اس کو ہاتھ نہیں لگایا گیا ہے میں ان وجوہات کو جلی بنا پر ڈاکٹر پٹابھی صاحب نے بحث کی تھی national militia کے بارے میں اسکو دہرانا نہیں چاہتا ہاؤس کو وہ وجوہات اچھی طرح سے معلوم ہیں ممبر صاحبان اگر انکی سوچ پر سو کرکے تو اس پر کافی روشنی پڑیگی جو Statement ٹینٹس مسٹر صاحب نے آج پڑھا۔ میں ہوگا ہوگا یہ مانئے کہئے تیار نہیں ہوں میں یہ نہیں مانتا کہ نیشنل ملٹری قائم کرنے کہئے روپہ نہیں ہے یا اسکے لئے آج موقعہ نہیں ہے۔ اسوقت نیشنل ملٹری اور تھریٹوریل فورس قائم کرنے کی سخت ضرورت ہے آج وہ دن ہے کہ فوراً نیشنل

[پلڈت تھاکر داس بھارگو]

ملیشیا شروع کر دیا جائے اگر آپ آج نیشنل ماڈرنا نہیں شروع کرینگے تو مجھے کوئی وقت نہیں نظر آتا کہ پورے آئندہ نیشنل ملیشیا قائم کیا جائے گا۔ میں منسٹر صاحب سے ادب سے عرض کروں گا کہ سارے قومی ideal پر اور جو قومی گت پلڈتے ماترم ہے آپ اس پر دھیان رکھیں جو بتلایا ہے

त्रिशांकोटि कंठ कलकल निनाद कराले,

द्रि त्रिशांकोटि भुजंभृति खर करवाले ।

कथयन्ति जनान्त्रयाम् कथं मातः अबला

बहुबल धारिणी तमामि तारीणि रिपुदल वारिणीय मातरम् ॥

ہو ایک آدمی کو جب تک ملگری ٹریبلنگ نہیں ہوگی یہ معاملہ حل نہیں ہوگا۔ اگر آپ نے ایسا نہ کیا تو دنیا یہ کہے گی کہ جو مارشل اور نان مارشل کی تہذیبوں نے کی تھی جس سے وہ تیز ہو سوس نکل ہندوستان پر حکومت کرتے رہے وہی رول آج آپ رکھنا چاہتے ہیں اور اس میں کوئی تبدیلی نہیں کرنا چاہتے۔

آنریبل سردار بلدیو سنگھ : مارشل اور نان مارشل کی اب تہذیب نہیں ہے اور اب آہا لی گئی ہے۔

پلڈت تھاکر داس بھارگو : جناب والا! آرمی میں ختم ہو چکی ہے یا اس میں ختم ہو چکی ہے میں کہنا چاہتا ہوں کہ اگر آج بھی آپ دیکھیں کہ آج آپ کا رگولمنٹ کس طرح ہو رہا ہے تو آج بھی وہ اسی Basis پر ہو رہا ہے مارشل ذات کے علاوہ آج کون بھرتی کے لئے آتے ہیں اسی ذات والے آتے ہیں میں آپ سے ادب سے عرض کرنا چاہتا ہوں کہ یہ صرف کالڈ پر نہیں ختم ہوا ہے میں پوچھنا چاہتا ہوں کہ یہ مہاجن لوگ یا دفتر میں قلم چلانے والے باہو آپکی فرج میں بھرتی ہونگے کیسے بھرتی ہونگے پہلے ہی آپ کالڈ پر سے ہٹا دیں اور اس سے کہا ہوگا اسکی ترکہب یہ ہے کہ آپ باہو اور مہاجن کے دل سے تو نکل دیں اور انہیں ایسے Level پر لائیں۔ انہیں Military level پر لائیں صرف ایک ہی ترکہب ہے جس سے یہ خوف دور ہوگا میں عرض کر رہا تھا کہ قیڈس آف دی کنگری ہی سب سے بڑا مدرسہ ہے جسکے اندر ہم سب کو یہ سکھا سکتے ہیں ابھی ہمارے قیڈس منسٹر صاحب نے یہ ذکر کیا تھا کہ ہمیں تو ہے کہ Tribesmen کا حصہ ہو جائے گا میں نہایت ادب سے پوچھنا چاہتا ہوں کہ Tribesmen جو آتے ہیں کھمبہ میں کتنی تلمی انہوں نے مچا دی تھی آج ٹرائبسمین ایسے پنجاب پر حملہ کر دیں ویسے بلنگل پر حملہ کر دیں وہ تو اس ناک میں بیٹھے ہی ہونے میں تو مجھے بتاتے ہیں کہ آپ اپنی تہذیب سے فرجوں کو کتنی جگہ لہجائوں کے اس وقت تلمی ہو جائے گی یا نہیں آج آپ خود ذکر کرتے ہیں ان ٹرائبسمین کا مہرے سب سے پہلی عرض ہے کہ اگر آپ کو Internal اور External قیڈس دونوں کا سامنا کرنا ہے تو اسلئے لگے سب سے اچھی ترکہب نیشنل ملیشیا ہی ہے خرچ بھی آہٹا زیادہ نہیں ہوگا میں آپکی اپنی مہیج کھٹ طرف توجہ دلتا چاہتا ہوں جس میں آپ نے خود بتلایا تھا کہ ہمیں سے پچیس برس تک کے نوپوچوں کو لیا جائے گا جس میں دس لاکھ آدمی ہونگے اور خرچ صرف پچیس کروڑ کا ہوگا ابھی مہرے دوست کلرڈ صاحب

نے توجہ دلائی ہے کہ ضروریات تو کی جائے۔ ایسٹ باجواب سے شروع یا ویسٹ باکال سے شروع کریں مجھے کوئی اعتراض نہیں ہے۔ ۲۱ سے ۲۵ سال کے نوجوانوں سے شروع ہو اگر انہی کو آپ لیں تو آپکا بہت خرچہ نہیں ہوگا اور سب کو ٹریننگ مل جائے گی آپکو آج خطرہ ہے آپ R.S.S. اگلی دل، نیشنل گارڈ سب کو بند کر دیں لیکن ان کے پاس فوجی اسپرٹ ہے انکا سارا enthusiasm آپکے پاس موجود ہے۔ اگر آپ اسے فائدہ کرتے ہیں تو آپکی مرضی ہے۔ میں چاہتا ہوں اسکو Canalise کیجئے سبکی فوج بلانگہ۔ یہاں جب ایک فوج میں آئیگی تو جیسا کازرو صاحب نے فرمایا ہے کہ جہاں سب ایک طرح سے Comrades کے طور پر بن جاویں گے اور ایک جگہ ہتھیار لگے اور ایک جگہ کھانسی لگے تو انہیں قومی سورت محدود طرح کا پیدا ہوگا جیسا جی سہاہ چاند بوس کی آرمی کا فلم جو ہمیں دکھایا گیا اس سے ظاہر ہوا کہ یہاں کوہ، مسلمانوں کوہ ہندوؤں کو ایک Kitchen میں کھانا دیا جاتا تھا ایک تھالی میں کھاتے تھے۔ میں چاہتا ہوں کہ اسی طرح سے سارا آرمی بلے اور ساری تہذیبیں جو ایک دوسرے سے کی جاتی ہیں دور کر دی جاویں تو سب کے سب بڑی Fine آرمی بنائے جائیں گی۔ یہ ہندوستان کا سب سے پہلا مسئلہ ہے۔ آج صوبوں سے جگہ جگہ سے یہ شکایات آ رہی ہیں کہ ہندو یہ کر رہے ہیں، سکھ یہ کر رہے ہیں، فلان یہ کر رہے ہیں، فلان وہ کر رہے ہیں یہ سب شکایات ہندو جاتوں کی سب سے بڑی چیز جو نیشنل باکالنگ کی ہے وہ یہ ہے کہ ہم نیشنل ملوہیا ہندوؤں اس اصول کو تسلیم کریں اگر آپ اس طرح سے ہر ایک نوجوان کو گیکر ایک Kitchen میں کھانا دیں گے اور کچھ عرصہ تک وہ ساتھ رہیں گے تو انکے سارے اختلافات دور ہو جائیں گے اور ہندوستان کے اندر ایک اچھی آرمی بن جائیگی اور ہندوستان Invincible بن جائیگا اس لئے میں ادب سے عرض کرنا چاہتا ہوں کہ آپ سے کم سے کم اس اصول کو مان لیجئے میں اس بارے میں یہ بتانا چاہتا ہوں کہ ولایت میں کہا ہو رہا ہے میں کہا آپکی توجہ اس رپورٹ National Cadet Corps Committee کی طرف دلا سکتا ہوں جس میں open units کا ذکر ہے۔ سوائے ان لوگوں کے جو کالج اسکول میں پڑھتے ہیں اور جنکا Closed units ہوتا ہے جو یونیورسٹی اور مدرسے میں نہیں پڑھتے ہوں انکا Open unit ہوتا ہے اور ان نوجوانوں میں بھی نیشنل ملوہیا کے طور پر تعلیم دینے کی کوشش کی گئی ہے۔ ولایت کے اندر اور دوسرے ممالک میں ہر ایک نوجوان شخص کو قومی تعلیم کا موقع دیا جانا ہے اور ذمہ داری عائد ہوتی ہے۔ صرف تعاونی اداروں میں ہی یہ ذمہ داری نہیں ہے آپ اسکو صرف سکول اور کالج تک محدود رکھنا چاہتے ہوں یہ بہتر ایسے وقت کی میں جب ہم آزاد نہ تھے۔ Bureaucratic Creed اور Want of imagination نو آپ نے inherit کہا ہے اسکو بھول جائے۔ میں دیکھتا ہوں کہ تھیٹریس کی جو چیز ضروری ہے وہ یہ ہے کہ آپ Army کی اصل Foundation مضبوط کریں آرمی اس

[بلذت تھاکر داس بہارگو]

وقت تک مضبوط نہیں ہو سکتی جب تک اسکی فاؤنڈیشن solid اور مضبوط نہیں ہو
اسلئے ہر آرمی کی Foundation مضبوط ہونا چاہئے۔ نیشنل ماہشہا کا اگر خیال
آپ چھوڑ دیں گے تو قیادت کی فاؤنڈیشن ٹھیک نہیں ہوگی اور ہماری فوجوں کمزور
ہوجائیں گی۔ ڈاکٹر بتا رہی صاحب نے جو ریپوزیشن پڑھی کیا تھا اس پر آپ نے فرمایا
تھا کہ ہم اس پر غور کریں گے۔ ڈاکٹر پتھاری صاحب بد قسمتی سے اس وقت یہاں نہیں
ہیں ہم لوگوں کو اختیار ہے کہ ہم اسکے اوپر کچھ کہیں۔ میں نہایت ادب سے عرض کرونگا
کہ دو ماہ کا عرصہ گزر گیا کہ ابھی تک کوئی ایسی چیز نہیں دکھی گئی۔ مسٹر صاحب
نے فرمایا ہے کہ ہمارے رستے میں دکانوں میں لڑکائیوں ہوں لیکن ہم پھر بھی ٹریبونل
فورس اور آرمی کے لئے دیکھنا دیکھنے لیکن انہوں نے ابھی تک کوئی دیکھنا نہیں دیا
مجھے اس سے بہت نادم ہوں کہ آپ جو آرمی بلڈوں اسکا نام دی تو ٹریبونل آرمی رکھوں
یا نیشنل ماہشہا رکھوں۔ مگر ہر آدمی کو جو دو بازو رکھتا ہے اسکو اپنے دیش کو اچانے
کھلئے موقع دیں تربیت دیں کہ وہ اپنے دیش کا بچاؤ کرے اور جو آزادی دشمنوں کا
مقام کئی مصیبتوں کے بعد مای ہے اسے ہم خون سے۔ ہلچوں ہم یہ نہیں چاہتے کہ
وہ متحدہ فورس بن جائے رہیں باقی کچھ کریں یہی۔ اگر وہ کہوں کہ ہمارے لوہے سے
اچھے ہیں اسلئے کوئی خطرہ نہیں ہے تو میں کہوں گا کہ یہ سوال تیسوگریسی کا ہے
ہماری گورنمنٹ جو ہے وہ سب دیش واسیوں کی ہے سب ان لوگوں کی ہے جو یہاں
رہتے ہیں اسلئے ان سب کی ذمہ داری ہے کہ اپنے دیش کو اچانوں لیکن میں عرض
کرونگا کہ جب تک ساری زمین اسی لہول پر نہ پہنچے کہ سب آدمیوں کو فوجی تعلیم
حاصل ہو تب تک کام نہیں چل سکتا اگر آپ چاہتے ہوں کہ اس دیش کی آرمی
اچھی ہو تو اسکا ایک ہی طریقہ ہے کہ اسکی فاؤنڈیشن درست ہو اور اسلئے میں عرض
کرونگا قیادت مسٹر صاحب سے کہ آپ نیشنل ماہشہا منظور کریں میں ساری
گورنمنٹ کی خدمت میں عرض کرونگا کہ اس نیشنل ماہشہا کے اصول کو آپ کم سے کم
ماتیں اور اسکو جتنا جلد ممکن ہو شروع کریں۔ میں جانتا ہوں کہ آپ لگ ابھیست
پہنچاؤ میں نیشنل ماہشہا قائم کر دینگے تو ایسے بہت سے لوگ ہوں گے جو اس میں شامل
ہونگے اور اگر وہ سب مل جائیں تو ایسے قلم کریں گے تو بھی بہت سے شامل ہو جائیں گے۔
آہستہ آہستہ اسکو ہمارے ملک میں جاری کر دیں۔ یہ سب کافی ہے۔ لیکن میں
عرض کرونگا کہ اسکو قائم کرنے کا اس سے اچھا وقت نہیں ملتا جبکہ پاکستان میں ہو
وقت دلی چاہو کی آواز گونج رہی ہے عورتیں کہتی ہیں کہ ہمیں فاروس میں مستقل
اور روٹنڈو دو عم اور کچھ نہیں مانگتے فورس کے اس پاس اور وقت پہنچانے کے لئے
میں ہتھیار ہاتھ کئے ہیں۔ میں راز منکر نہیں ہوں لیکن میں لڑنا بھی نہیں ہوں

لیکن جب تک ہسکو خود پر کا نغذس نہیں ہم تغلف نہیں کرسکتے اگر ہم میں طاقت ہوتی تو یہ چوالیس فیصدی ہلدو اور سکھ گھر ہار چھوڑ کر سارے ہلدوستان نہیں آجاتے۔ لہذا مہرا کہنا ہے کہ اسوقت ملہشیا کا احوال ہی internal danger کو دور کرنے کے لئے اور Proper atmosphere قائم کرنے کے لئے کام میں لیا جاسکتا ہے اسلئے National Militia قائم کرنیکی کوشش کوجائے اور خرچ کو mind نہ کہا جائے آپ جب روپہ خرچ کر ہی رہے ہیں تو نیشنل ملہشیا جو بلہادی چیز ہے اسکے لوہے ۲۰ کروڑ روپہ خرچ کرنا بہت ضروری ہے۔ میں عرض کورتا کہ آپ کہتے دل سے فور فرمائیں اور ہسکو ملیس نہ کہیں کہ آپ نیشنل ملہشیا کے لئے کوئی بھی خرچ کرنہکھائے تہا نہیں ہیں۔

(English translation of the above speech.)

Pandit Thakur Das Bhargava: Mr. Speaker, Sir, I was pained to hear the speech delivered before the House by the Honourable the Defence Minister about the Indian Cadet Corps. Sir, for a long time it has been the practice that all or most of the items of Defence Expenditure presented to the House at the time of Budget used to be 'non-voted'. We had no right to vote this expenditure. Now when we have full control over our Defence Budget, it becomes our duty to examine and scrutinise all items and to see that the money is spent properly. I agree with Shri Santhanam that there should be a convention for a separate Defence Budget and all items of this Defence Budget should be placed before the House. The comparison of the figures of 1938-39 with those of this year made by Shri Santhanam has clearly revealed that expenses on certain items have increased five to six times. We cannot understand it. I agree with Shri Kunzru that it is the duty of our Government to make proper arrangements for the defence of the country, and I am sure the House will not mind voting the Budget even when the estimates of Defence expenditure are in excess our last years expenditure. We cannot however, give our conscientious opinion on this Budget so long as we do not fully understand it. We have not been able to make out the Budget as it stands at present, because reasons for the increase in expenditure have not been made clear. What has led to the increase from three crores of rupees to fifteen crores under the Engineering; and why have expenses increased under other heads? In future, therefore, the Budget should be presented separately and with full details and explanations.

I would now come to the main subject. The British had created a military cast based on the policy of Divide and Rule. On the basis of this policy they made a distinction between the martial and the non-martial classes. That is how the British ruled over this country for 150 years. Thus they created a feeling in our minds that we were made of a different stuff from our brethren. Now it has changed, and changed to such an extent that there is no room for doubt that this feeling of discrimination has disappeared. Every Indian is now duty bound to serve his mother land as a soldier and to sacrifice his life for her sake. Sir, the committee of which mention has been made and which was constituted on the 15th July 1946, was constituted only to find how to inculcate leadership and other qualities in officers who lacked them. Earlier, after the end of the first Great War, such committees were constituted in 1926 and Auxiliary and Territorial Forces were brought in existence. Ways and means were devised how to make up the educational deficiency of the officers. I would submit respectfully that no armies of any country can be improved so long as the whole atmosphere is not changed and

[Pandit Thakur Das Bhargava]

so long as every individual is not made to realise his rights and responsibilities. How can we raise the general standard of people as long as every citizen does not understand his duty towards his country. Merely increasing the efficiency of officers will not do. If you want to have good officers, then the first requisite is to inculcate a military spirit in our people and to improve the mental outlook of officers so that they can train others properly. Without this your aim will remain unrealised. Sir, through the kindness of the Honourable Minister for Defence and as a member of the Standing Committee for Defence, I had received a copy of this report. I have carefully read it and I am prepared to state clearly that if you read pages 3 and 7, you will find that its object is one and the same throughout, i.e. to improve the standard of education. The shortcomings and drawbacks of the officers have to be removed. This and such other problems for which I want the establishment of a National Militia, have not even been touched in this report.

I do not want to repeat the reasons which formed the basis of Dr. Pattabhi's arguments in connection with the formation of a National Militia. The House is familiar with them. Enough light will be thrown on the subject if Honourable Members go through his speech carefully. I am not at all prepared to accept the statement made by the Honourable Minister for Defence today. I do not believe that funds are not available for raising a National Militia at that time is not ripe for it. Today National Militia and territorial force are urgently required. It is high time to start organising a National Militia and I think of no other better occasion for organising a National Militia if it cannot be done now. I would invite the attention of the Honourable Minister to our national ideal and to our national anthem of *vandemataram*.

त्रिसंकोटि कंठ कलकल निनाद कराले हि त्रिसंकोटि मुञ्जवति सट कसाले ।
कथयन्ति जनास्तदाय कथं मानं अवलोक्य बहुबल धारिणीं नमामि तथीणि रिपुदल
धारिणीयं मातरम् ॥

So long as every Indian is not trained as a soldier, this problem will remain unsolved. Failure to do this on your part will force people to say that you are not only to continue the same old rule by continuing the distinction between martial and non-martial classes which was introduced by the British and which enabled them to govern India for 150 years and do not want to make any change.

The Honourable Sardar Baldev Singh: There is no distinction between martial and non-martial classes now. It has been removed.

Pandit Thakur Das Bhargava: Sir, where does it not exist? In the army or in the country? I may say that even today if you see how recruitment to military is going on, you will find that it is being done on the same old basis. Who else except martial classes are coming forward for recruitment? Only the martial classes are offering to serve in the military. With respect I would say that it has not been removed in practice. You may well remove this distinction on paper but may I know how will business men and clerks offer themselves for service in the military? The way to do this is to dispel the fear from the minds of business men and clerks and to bring them to the level of military men. There is only one remedy for putting an end to this fear.

Sir, I was saying that Defence of the country is the biggest school wherein we can teach this to all. Just now our Honourable Minister for Defence had referred to the fear of an attack by tribesmen. With great respect I want to ask how much destruction and devastation has been wrought by the incursors in Kashmir? If these tribesmen raid East Punjab or West Bengal—they are on the outlook of an opportunity—may I know how will you be able to distribute your meagre forces on so many fronts? Will it not lead to destruction then? Today you are yourself referring to these tribesmen. If you want to face the internal and external dangers, my first suggestion and the best remedy is to raise a National Militia. It will not cost much. I would like to invite your attention to your own speech wherein you had yourself stated that youngmen between the ages of 20 and 25 will be recruited, and the force would comprise of 10,00,000 men and cost only Rs. 25,00,00,000.

My friend Shri Kunzru has just now asked us to make a beginning. Whether you begin it in the East Punjab or in the West Bengal, I have no objections to it. But it should be commenced with the recruitment of youngmen between the ages of 21 and 25 years. If you confine yourself to these men you will not incur heavy expenses and you will be imparting training to all. You are in danger today. You may dissolve the R.S.S., the Akali Dal, the National Guards and others, which have a military spirit. Their entire enthusiasm is at your disposal. It is upto you to use it or to waste it. I wish you could canalise it by organising an army. When they join the army, these youngmen will be, as Pandit Kunzru has stated, comrades in arms. When they will sit and dine together, they will develop the true spirit of nationalism. The film of the army under Neta Ji Subhas Chandra Bose that was shown to us made it clear that Hindus, Muslims and Sikhs dined together. I wish we could organize the whole army in this manner, and end all present class distinctions in the great Indian army. This is the first and the foremost problem of India. This will put an end to all complaints that are pouring in from provinces today regarding the behaviour of Hindus and Sikhs, etc.

The first requisite of nation building is to accept the principle of organising a National Militia. If in this manner you make all youngmen dine in the same kitchen and live together for some time, it will remove all their differences and India will have an efficient army and our country will become invincible. I would, therefore, request you at least to accept this principle.

In this connection I want to tell you what is happening in Great Britain. May I invite your attention to this report of the National Cadet Corps Committee which mentions of 'open units'? With the exception of those youths who are receiving their education in the Army Cadet Corps and who belong to Colleges and Schools and are known as 'closed units', attempts have been made to impart education to these youngmen, who are not attending any universities, schools or colleges and make open units on the lines of National Militia. In Britain and other countries every young man is given the opportunity of receiving military training and this responsibility is not limited to educational institutions only. You want to confine the scheme to schools and colleges only.

This smacks of the days of our slavery. You have only inherited the bureaucratic creed and want of imagination. Forget it. I find the essential for defence is to strengthen the foundations of the army. Without solid and strong foundations you can not have a strong army and therefore the foundation of our army should be strong. A neglect of National Militia will mean weak foundations of defence and will weaken our forces. In connection with the resolution of Dr. Pattabhi it was stated that Government would consider it. Unfortunately, Dr. Pattabhi is absent. We have the right of speaking on it. With great respect I would say that two months have elapsed

[Pandit Thakur Das Bhargava]

but no such thing has so far been brought before the House. The Honourable Minister had stated that notwithstanding the obstructions and difficulties in his way, he would attend to the Territorial Force and army, but he has not given any thought to it so far. I do not want to insist that you should name this army as Territorial Force or as National Militia, but every man, who has two arms, should be afforded an opportunity of service for the defence of his country. Youngmen should be trained to defend their country. Let us spare no sacrifice to maintain our hard won freedom. We do not want mere promises for consideration of the matter. Government must take practical steps. If it is said that we have good leaders and so we need not have any fears, I would submit that it is a question of democracy. Our Government is peoples' Government. It is the Government of all Indians. It is therefore the duty of every one to defend his country. But I would say that as long as the entire nation does not receive military training, it is not possible for us to do real work. If you want India to have a good army there is only one way for it and this is to build it on proper foundations. I would, therefore, request the Honourable Minister and the whole of this Government to accept at least the principle of National Militia and to start it as soon as possible.

I know if you raise a National Militia in the East Punjab, many people will volunteer themselves for service. If it is organised in the West Bengal even then many men will enlist themselves. By and by it can be introduced all over the country. I may say that a better opportunity than the present will hardly be found again. Pakistan is reverberating with the cries of 'Delhi Ohalo'; women want nothing but pistols and revolvers in their dowries and arms have been distributed round about Lahore and in the districts of West Punjab. I am not a war monger and I am not afraid either. But I must say that as long as we do not have self confidence, we cannot defend ourselves. Had we been strong, the 44 per cent. of Hindus and Sikhs would not have deserted their hearths and homes and fled to India. I would therefore emphasise that it is only the principle of National Militia which can be utilised for meeting the internal danger and for creating a proper atmosphere. Efforts should therefore be made for organising a National Militia unmindful of expenditure. When we are already spending so lavishly, it is imperative to spend Rs. 20 crores on National Militia which is a basic necessity. I would request you to consider it with an open heart and not disappoint us with the feeling that Government are not prepared to spend anything on the establishment of National Militia.

Mr. Hussain Imam: Mr. Speaker, Sir, I had no intention of intervening in the debate until I heard the speech of Mr. Santhanam. That gave me the opportunity to speak on this occasion. I regret that he compared the figures of 1938-39 with this year's figures. The more comparable figure would have been the figure of last year's budget which was presented by the Honourable the Defence Minister himself, when he would have found whether things have changed for the better or for the worse, or have remained stationary. I find that in the last budget year the total net amount demanded by the Defence Department was Rs. 204 crores, and on the ratio of 2:1 in which the defence forces have been divided up, the quota for India comes to Rs. 136 crores, which corresponds to the figure which he has demanded this year. But there is this difference, that whereas the last year's budget included provision for the B.O.Rs. also, this year they have been replaced by I.O.Rs. The result is that without increasing the Budget he has been able to increase the strength of the Army because the I.O.Rs. are less expensive than the B.O.Rs.

I find another thing which is rather regrettable. While the Defence Budget of the last year, when India had not acquired full sovereignty, contained information much more elaborate than what we have been accustomed

to receive during the war years, this year's Budget is more like the British Government's Budget of 1940-41 when very little information was available to us. I think this is a strange fruit of freedom that we are getting. For instance, in the last year's Budget he gave a full enumeration of the number of personnel serving in each branch of the Army. This year we find no mention made, under any head, of the number of officers, other ranks or followers. This, Sir, I regard as a bad change.

Another feature which I cannot understand is the change in the Major and Minor Heads. The last year's Budget had a different orientation as will be apparent by comparing the General Estimates given on page 6 of this year's Budget and page 8 of the last year's. This change of Heads has made it difficult for us to compare the like with the like and we do not know exactly where the expenses have increased.

In this connection I would draw the attention of the Honourable Minister to the fact that we on this side do not know exactly, and have never been told either by the Finance Minister or by any of the other Ministers, how our expenses for the 5½ months when India remained united compared with the revised figures or accounts for those 5½ months which are charged to the joint revenue and for which there is no other forum than this to discuss. This information has not been given to us. We do not know how some of the items which were severely criticised last year have fared. For instance, I would refer to the expenditure of Rs. 10 crores which the Honourable Minister had asked, on page 40 of his last year's Estimates, for new works. It was vehemently criticised in both the Houses of the Legislature, and we would have liked to know whether that criticism had any value, whether any provision has been made somewhere this year, too, for a lump sum grant as he asked for last year.

Sir, I think the House should be taken into confidence and the Defence Standing Committee should be associated more and more with this part of the work too. Although it is really the power of the Standing Finance Committee to sanction the estimates, Defence being such a big subject it is necessary that the Legislature should be associated in some form or other in the formative stages as well.

I would also like to endorse the suggestion of Mr. Santhanam about having an Economy Committee to deal with the different parts of Defence expenditure. It is very necessary, Sir, that we should get sixteen annas value for every rupee that we expend. There is no question of grudging expenditure, but there is every question of stopping squandering and expenditure on inflated Headquarters staff which has become a kind of a vested interest and which it would be very difficult to uproot. I may mention, Sir, that there are about four or five members of the old guard left in this House who were members of the Retrenchment Committee of 1951; two are on the Treasury Benches—Mr. Shanmukham Chetty and Mr. Neogy were on the old Retrenchment Committee; two or three are on this side of the House. I think we might benefit by the experience of those years and if we would form a Retrenchment Committee it would not mean in any way a vote of no-confidence on the Defence Department or the Defence Minister but it would only mean that we are anxious to see that every care is taken to safeguard the tax-payer's money.

Sir, I rather fear to tread on a difficult ground. I refer to the feeling of insecurity felt both by India and Pakistan. The feeling is there, no one can deny it. How to end it is the question which is paramount before us. I think, Sir, war-mongering by either side would be ruinous to both. It is not so much by expending more and more on defence that you safeguard the interests of the country as by cultivating better relationships and removing the points of friction. The formation of the Organisation of the United

[Mr. Hussain Imam]

Nations of the world is really meant for this purpose: that these quibblings and quarrels may not assume harsher proportions. I would therefore earnestly solicit the Governments of both the countries to try and meet each other half-way and to remove as far as humanly is possible, the possibilities of friction. As a measure of security, I would suggest that it will be better if we on our side had introduced an element of conscription. I am against increasing the standing Army—I think it is wasteful expenditure—but to prepare the country for defence, it is much better to have a short compulsory training period of one year for all able-bodied youngmen of India, and reduce the Army to that extent—reduce the number of years which they have to serve in the Army so that they may really form an element of veterans who could, immediately on the outbreak of war, be promoted to the higher ranks—other ranks might be promoted to V.C.Os., V.C.Os. into officers and so on, so that you will have a kind of an arrangement ready to put on a war-footing not 500,000 or 600,000 men but two or three million at once within a period of five years. It would be much better if we did this.

I would also draw attention to such rumours as are current outside in the market. For instance, it is said that the Ordnance Factories are today busier than they were during the war years. We are told in the bazaar that arms are being imported in Pakistan because they have got no armaments factory of their own. We are told that our Defence Secretary, Mr. H. M. Patel, went over to England for such purposes. Well, these are the rumours which are current in the market. I do not attach much importance to them but I just draw attention of the House and the Ministry to the fact that things are getting from bad to worse and it is time we did something constructive towards introducing a more amicable relationship between the two countries, at the same time preparing for every eventuality in a manner which would make it impossible for any country to attack India with impunity.

I therefore suggest, Sir, that India's defence is the primary concern not only of the Ministry but of all the people, and we all like to be associated with this defence and in a manner in which no money will be wasted and every care will be taken to have the credit for our defence.

Shri H. V. Kamath: Sir, this is the first occasion on which this House is discussing the organisation of free India's Army. It is well that we should do so, for not only has the partition of a slave united India into a free divided India somewhat upset the mechanism of the Army and given rise to new problems, but also the Western world is turning itself more and more into armed camps day by day and the menace of war is increasing. Here, Sir, is the latest report by Reuter from Brussels:

"It is reported that the draft of the Defence Pact of the five countries, namely, the Benelux countries of Belgium, Netherlands and Luxembourg, and Britain and France provides for the re-organisation of armies and the standardisation of re-armaments."

Let us therefore also, Sir, proceed to set our own house—the Army—in order and be prepared to meet all eventualities. We cannot afford to do otherwise, for, though we are eager for universal disarmament and the reign of Ahimsa on earth, taking into consideration the world as it is constituted today,—a world which is armed to the teeth,—if we are unprepared and inadequately armed, we are sure to go to the wall. We shall not, we do not and we have not pursued, as the Honourable Minister rightly said, the path of aggression at any time of our history, but, Sir, surely we must strain every nerve to defend our newly won freedom which we have wrested from powerful alien masters after decades of struggle.

Sir, the task of military organisation is a two-fold one. We have to build the body and mould the soul, for to every Army there is a body and a soul as General Ian Hamilton has so aptly pointed out. The body may in other words be styled the structure of the Army and the soul, its morale or spirit.

Moral force to physical force is as three is to one, as Napoleon, one of the greatest military geniuses, said. So, when we consider the reorganisation of the Army we have to apply our minds to its psychic re-orientation no less than to its physical reconstruction. The Indian Army, during the long nightmare of British rule in our country, was a mercenary instrument, suited to the purposes of British imperialism. It was an army of conquest in the first instance and later it became an army of occupation, an army for the suppression of our people at home and for fighting other people abroad, all for the promotion of British interests, for the consolidation and preservation of the British Empire. It was, however, impossible that in the course of our freedom struggle the entire Army could remain impervious to the pervasive influence of patriotism and national ideals. As a result, there was considerable ferment in the Army, during the last thirty years in particular. There were also sporadic revolts inside the Army, but they were mostly abortive and nothing came of them. But gradually, as our freedom movement gathered momentum and reached its climax, and as during the last world war the Indian National Army under the inspired leadership of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose fought valiantly against Anglo-American imperialism, this had tremendous repercussions on the British Indian Army here. When the British Government realised that the Army in India was no longer a reliable instrument,—and of course they had already known that the people were against them—, when they realised that it was not a reliable instrument for the furtherance of imperialist greed and domination, they beat a hasty retreat from this country, not however in good grace, but after dividing the people, dividing the country and dividing the Army.

The present organisation of the Army is like the proverbial curate's egg "good in parts".

The first essential in reorganisation of the Army is that it has to become a People's Army or a truly National Army in the best sense of the word. Referring to the I.N.A., the Honourable Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel said some two years ago that it could very well become the nucleus of a free India's Army. Our Army should function not aloof from the people, not hostile to the people, as it has very often done in the past, but actively fraternising with the people. The Army must be imbued and indoctrinated with new ideals—the ideals of national service and lofty patriotism—so much so that our people must feel that the Army is of them, for them, and will stand by them in times of war as well as in times of peace in the same way as the I.N.A. became dear to and one with the Indian people at home and abroad. There is only one supreme mantra for a free people's Army. That is the mantra which was taught by Shri Krishna to Arjuna. It has been acclaimed as the greatest mantra even by eminent masters of scientific warfare in the West. Here is a book by Karl Von Clausewitz, a German military writer of genius who became the teacher of many Prussian militarists during the last one century. The introduction to the book ends on the superb note which is contained in the teaching of Shri Krishna to Arjuna. This is what Clausewitz, that German author of "on War" says:

"I know of no more inspiring advice than that given by Krishna to Arjuna ages ago when the latter trembled before the awful responsibility of launching his Army:

"Dying thou shalt attain to Heaven;

Conquering thou shalt rule the Earth;

Therefore, O man, thou son of Kunti,

Bring thine arm for battle.

Have thy heart to meet,

As things alike to thee; Pleasure or pain;

Faith or ruin, victory or defeat.

Be minded, gird thee to the fight, for so

Thou shalt not sin."

[Shri H. V. Kamath]

In Sanskrit, Sir, it is:

हतो वा प्राप्स्यसि स्वर्गं जित्वा वा भोक्ष्यसे महीम्
 तस्मादुत्तिष्ठ कौतेय युद्धाय कृतनिश्चयः ॥
 नूनं दुःखे समे कृत्वा लाभालाभौ जयाजयौ ।
 ततो युद्धाय युज्यस्व नैवं पापं भवाप्स्यसि ॥

Here, Sir, is the supreme mantra for the People's Army to fight really for the people, work for the people and for the freedom and in the interest of the people. Shivaji some three centuries ago and Netaji in modern times in the East, and Washington and Garibaldi in the West, modelled their Armies on this firm foundation and that is why their armies, inspite of poor equipment in material, became formidable fighting forces. The Armed Forces must be rooted in the nation; they should form a constituent part of the nation. In modern totalitarian war, the strength of these Forces will be increasingly in proportion to the physical, moral and psychic strength of the people. It is above everything else the psychic strength which creates the unity of the Armed Forces and the people, and it is psychic strength again that is required in the vital struggle for the preservation of a nation in a protracted war. This psychic strength and psychic unity cannot be had by mechanical means. The means employed should be of a spiritual character. A man of the eminence of Ludendorff the German General who was prominent in the First World War said that the means employed in this connexion should be of a spiritual character. But, Sir, I do not mean by 'spiritual training' any 'religious training', but a training that is intended to keep up the morale and spirit of the Army.

Here, Sir, in the Budget Estimates, turning to pages 17 and 19 of the Explanatory Memorandum which deal with military training and educational training, I find there is no reference to the type of training I have mentioned. I would request the Honourable Minister therefore to give earnest attention to this matter about the spiritual training and the maintenance and heightening of the morale of the Army on the right lines. Here, Sir, the officers of the I.N.A. who have had such training will come in very useful. I am sure, Sir, if our present Indian Army is remodelled on this foundation and with such a soul-transformation, then our Army will welcome the officers of the I.N.A. back into their ranks.

As regards the structure of the Army, the first essential is the nationalization of the Army. Nationalization in its wider sense is not merely the replacement of British by Indians; but throwing open the Army to all classes and communities of the nation, and not merely confining it to certain aristocratic classes or to certain so-called martial classes.

Next comes the task of fortification of the frontiers, the defence of the country against air-craft and full preparation for the mobilization of the entire nation; these are the basic guarantees which a people desirous of developing in peaceful security should start acquiring. But, Sir, however solid the defence barriers may be, unless they are supported by a sufficient number of fully trained military forces, the safety of the country will always be in danger. Therefore, Sir, the plea put forward by my Honourable friend Mr. Bhargava for a National Militia is very timely. For our national economy, Sir, a small standing army, as was pointed out by Mr. Hussain Imam along with a nation-wide militia based on the territorial system will be most suitable from the point of view of our country's economic resources and this will not only reduce the enormous expenditure on the Army, but also give opportunities for all our citizens, men and women alike, to offer their best for the defence of the country.

Then, Sir, modern armies are moving in the direction of mechanization and motorization. I shall not deal in detail with these matters, because time is a stern master and I will have to conclude my observations very soon. But, Sir, the main direction in which all armies are moving today all over the world are mechanization and motorization, for speed and power on the battle-field. Then, Sir, there is the industrialization of the country which is intimately linked with this mechanization and then finally there is the integration of the entire armed forces, so that they can function as one unit in warfare, on the battle-field. Before the last war began, it was Hitler who said that within 15 years the old-time warfare had become obsolete. In the first World War, as you know, it was only trench warfare and in 15 years' time it became obsolete and Hitler said: "The next war will be fought with tanks and planes". Because he developed his new instruments and a new technique, he sprang a surprise on other nations and won his initial victories.

Here in this context the plea put forward by Pandit Hirday Nath Kunzru has great force. We must have a research Department, a very efficient research Department very ably manned by the best scientists. We may even appoint foreign scientists as our advisers to build better and more efficient instruments of warfare which will conduce to our safety, speed and power in combat. It is not merely for building a large quantity of armaments and guns and rifles, but today we are tending towards light ships and cruisers in the Navy, machines of an ever increasing range of action in the Air Force and in the case of the Army the guerillas have acquired considerable importance. Therefore, Sir, the raising of a National Militia and the training of guerillas for modern warfare are very important from our point of view.

In the end, I conclude on the same note with which I began, the same advice, the same supreme message that was given by Shri Krishna to Arjuna thousands of years ago.

.. Tasmditramuttishka yasho labhava

Jitoh shatran bhunksh'a rajyam samraddham

Mayaira ite nikatoh purameva

Nimittamdram bhava sayasadchin.

This great teaching, this great Mantra must be taught to every soldier in the Army and to every citizen of India. Let us all move, live and have our being in the spirit of this great Mantra. That should be the inspiration for every man, woman and child, every citizen of Free India. Let us all be mere humble instruments in the hands of Divine Destiny, which is shaping the future of India for the peace and well-being of man-kind. Let us build an invincible Army, with one arm raised to strike and the other to succour. Let us in this spirit go forward, so that our Army when it has vanquished the forces of evil, when it has vanquished our enemies, shall establish Ram Raj; the Kingdom of God on earth. Thus, Sir, shall we erect the worthiest monument to the memory of Mahatmaji, Netaji and our other countless martyrs who have suffered and died that India may live.

Shri Lakshmi Kanta Maitra: Mr. Speaker, Sir, within the few minutes at my disposal, I propose to deal with a particular branch of the Defence organisation, which has hitherto been neglected; this matter was never seriously investigated or considered by the House and this time, I hope we are going to seriously address ourselves to this aspect of the defence problem. Sir, I have particularly in mind the Ordnance factories with which are allied the defence industries of this country. The working of Ordnance factories, Sir, had been a sealed book to us so long and the whole branch was a close preserve of Britishers in this country. That was natural because the defence of India was not the exclusive concern of the Government of India, but it was a part and parcel of the plan and policy of defence of the British Empire of which India formed the most vital link. It is no surprise, therefore, that all the defence arrangements in this country, all the defence organizations, including the industries and factories under the Defence Department were fashioned after the policies formulated from Britain. Now, Sir, with the sudden withdrawal of the British there has been created a vacuum in the defence organization, which has to be filled immediately and effectively, unless there is to be a disaster to the country.

When I say 'vacuum' I want my Honourable friend the Defence Minister to understand that hitherto the whole defence policy had been the work of trained British strategists and militarists who formulated their policies 6,000 miles away from this place and the defence organization in this country was a mere spoke in the wheel which was gyrated from Britain. Now, with the changed set-up, we should immediately set about to readjust our entire defence system with all its ancillary branches,—ordnance factories and the like—to the needs of the altered circumstances and bring it up to the highest pitch of efficiency. The House is aware that India today has a very low industrial capacity. To build up a sound Defence structure with the requisite defence industries commensurate with the potential that we have in the country and its size, would be a herculean task; but this should not scare away the Defence Minister from tackling the problem with all the seriousness and earnestness at his command. We had a full-dress debate in the last session about raising of a National Militia. Today speaker after speaker has stressed the need of an excellent army and also for expansion of its size. That our Government has accepted the principle of this demand will be seen from the National Cadet Committee's report. Though it does not go far enough it makes a good beginning and seeks to create a very good nucleus around which the future militia of the country could grow. But I want to ask the House, has it ever seriously applied its mind to the question as to where and how it is going to have the sinews,—the arms and weapons with which to equip this army to defend the country against external aggression or to deal with internal commotion or disturbances? I do not want the Defence Minister to disclose any secrets to this House; I would like him to go carefully into the question of production of our armament factories, the ordnance factories. From what I know from information which very often comes to me and which I have no reason to disbelieve—at the moment we are manufacturing guns, small arms up to a certain calibre, up to a certain bore, light machine-guns, rifles, some shells and explosives. These are all that we are manufacturing now. We do not manufacture heavy guns or weapons. But even in what we produce the percentage of rejections is very high notwithstanding the fact that the most up to date machinery were installed in the armament factories during the last war. If the House realizes the enormity of the problem of supplying the defence units with the necessary equipment, it would be perfectly justified in asking the Defence Minister to go thoroughly into the question; and for this purpose I suggest to him that there should be a committee to examine this matter in all its aspects.

Sir, I was referring to the output of Ordnance factories. Does the Defence Minister or the House know the particularly wasteful procedure that is adopted in these Ordnance factories? Here is a factory in Ishapore near Calcutta; barrels of guns, rifles and shells are cast there. That process over, the whole thing is to be taken over to another factory—though it is also close to Calcutta—and that is Cossipore Gun and Shell Factory. There they have to be machined and bored. Having done that, these things will have to be transported for placing on carriages at Jubbulpore which is 700 miles away. At Jubbulpore Gun and Carriage Factories these things are mounted. That done, they are made to undertake another journey of 600 or 700 miles to Balasore and perhaps to Calcutta Test House for testing and passing them. This over, they are distributed all over the centres. Now, Sir, I seriously ask my Honourable friend the Defence Minister if he would allow his defence industries to go through all this dilatory, roundabout and wasteful process. I do not want our products to be globe-trotters. At a time when we are hard-pressed for shortage of transport this wasteful process must immediately cease. In the old days this might be done because then transport was plentiful and there were also alternative means of transport. But now those facilities are absent and consequently this assumes some importance from that point of view as well.

Sir, one point was touched by my Honourable friend Pandit Kunzru which I should like to develop at some length. At present all these Ordnance factories are managed and controlled by a class of persons who are not really first-class men. They are trained foremen and mechanics of British factories; they simply execute here plans and designs which are drawn up by military strategists in England. That has hitherto been the practice and it has not been changed. The result is that there is no scope for initiative but mere mechanical compliance with the blue-prints emanating from England. These people are in charge of these Ordnance factories. I am surprised at the way in which the production figures are shown. If I mention about the tremendous amount of rejections,—rejections of finished products, rejections of stores that had already been there—the House will be staggered. There were very valuable instruments and equipment in the Defence Department which were brought here during the last great European war,—like radar sets and sperrygyroscope. These are highly specialised types of equipment which in a modern war are absolutely indispensable. The House would perhaps be interested to learn that with the help of this radar equipment, in those days of *blitzkrieg*, Great Britain managed to defend herself and foil the attempts of Germany to raze Britain to the ground. With radar sets it is possible from a distance to detect the advent of aeroplanes and also make arrangements for checking their progress and getting them trapped. During the last war—when Japan came into it, a large number of radar sets were operated from Calcutta, Poona, Bombay and places near about. I do not want my Honourable friend the Defence Minister to disclose any secrets, but is he aware that these radar sets are nowhere to be found now in the military stores and depots of this country? All these have been sold out as surplus and useless stores. There have been fifth columnists at work in these factories and the stores departments. Sir, I have it on the authority of a very great scientist of international repute, Prof. M. N. Saha, that he recently contacted some important persons in England and in America and was told by them that these radar sets had been much in use during the last war. Coming here he tried to trace them, he traced parts of them in some private godowns and scrap-heaps. These things are going waste. I may tell the Defence Minister that at present even in peace-time the U.S.A. has banned the export of these appliances to any other country; not only radar sets but projectiles and certain essential chemicals and wireless transmitters also have been stopped from being exported. But we are throwing away a vast body of these valuable materials. So also is the case with sperrygyroscopes. These things you will not get from any other country now.

[Pundit Lakshmi Kanta Maitra]

Then you have a variety of valuable metals and alloys which are essential for defence industries. They are also being sold out as scrap. I do not blame my Honourable friend the Defence Minister for this; it is not humanly possible for him to know all these things. It is a highly technical matter and he is not expected to know all about it. But the time has come when we cannot but take stock of the situation and effectively husband all our available resources if he wants to build a really efficient and powerful defence organisation with its three branches of army, navy and air force.

Another matter I referred to was that we had no designs or a development section. My Honourable friend in reply to a question the other day said that we had one. I emphatically maintain that there is none. Does he know that during the last war the Britishers in their own self-interest utilised to the utmost the resources of Calcutta University Science College for their campaign against Japan or Burma? The entire scientific potential in the country was utilised by them. The facilities which are now available in the Science Institute at Bangalore and other science colleges are not being fully utilised. There is a reservoir of scientific talent in the country which must be tapped to the full. The number of technical personnel in our Ordnance factories is fairly large but they have been kept as temporary hands. These people have no security about their jobs. Ordnance Factory workers well-trained and efficient, have been retrenched by the thousand. Others are coming in for all manner of ill-treatment at the hands of officers as all these organizations are under the control of non-Indians. This is an important matter to be looked into. We have got all the 16 Ordnance factories which previously belonged to undivided India, and near about India, with the exception of Russia, there is not another country which has got that kind of valuable arms production organization. Our National Government in a fit of generosity made over Rs. 6 crores to Pakistan the other day for her Ordnance factories. But when the nation is called upon to foot a bill of Rs. 32 crores, I am entitled to ask the Finance Minister what he is going to do to set his own house in order. Is he prepared to appoint a Committee of scientists and military experts with wide terms of reference? I want that these important organizations are placed under the charge of Indian nationals. I do not say that we shall not keep experts, we must keep them. But I want them to be placed under the Indians. They should be acting there as experts only and nothing more. There should be research and development sections. There should be a thorough co-ordination between the defence and other industries in the country. Besides, there should immediately be brought into being new factories for the manufacture of synthetic petrol, synthetic rubber and other special chemicals and alloys, metals, which are absolutely necessary for armament production. Great Britain and America may not be willing to supply us with these precious materials in future. There is enough scope for their production in this country. But all these questions cannot be fully investigated unless my Honourable friend, the Minister for Defence, appoints a Committee. It will thoroughly explore all these possibilities, bring about a thorough overhaul of the operation of the ordnance factories with a view not only to increase efficiency but step up production of all types of arms and equipment, not only of a light nature, but heavy ones, like tanks, machine-guns, explosives, projectiles, radar sets, wireless sets and military telephone appliances. Without this full complement of military equipment you cannot build an efficient Defence force for you may have an excellent army of veteran soldiers or trained personnel, but it will have little striking power if it is not sufficiently armed with modern weapons.

Sir, the stores expenditure has now gone up to Rs. 32 crores from a small figure in peace time. I do not grudge a single farthing of this amount. All I want is that this department should be thoroughly reorganized and the fifth

columnists shown the door: Competent and honest Indians should be placed in charge of them; utmost secrecy should be maintained about production; the *modus operandi* changed, and the processes which are a handicap to development should be immediately put a stop to so that this organization might function in such a manner that the three arms of defence, the army, the navy and the air force may go about their jobs with full confidence that they will get all the arms and weapons they require to defend their country against external aggression or to put down internal commotions and disturbances.

With these words, I commend my suggestions to the acceptance of this House

The Assembly then adjourned for Lunch till Half-Past Two of the Clock.

The Assembly re-assembled after Lunch at Half Past Two of the Clock, Mr Speaker (The Honourable Mr. G. V. Mavalankar) in the Chair.

Mr. Frank E. Anthony: Mr. Speaker, my out motion referred to the question of the recruitment of officers to the armed forces. It is I feel one of the most urgent and vital matters which confronts the Minister of Defence. I do not propose, as my Honourable friend Mr. Kamath did, to venture into the regions of evangelism and Idealism. I feel . . .

Shri H. V. Kamath: On a point of information, Sir, I did not talk about evangelism.

Mr. Speaker: That is his interpretation.

Mr. Frank E. Anthony: It sounded like military evangelism to me. Sir, I feel that on the maintenance of the best possible system of recruitment, particularly to the officer cadre depends the strength of our armed forces and in this war-torn and troubled world on the strength of our armed forces depends in turn the strength of the country.

Sir, I would like, in this connection, to have some specific information as to what happened to the psychiatric tests in the matter of selection to the officer cadres of the armed forces.

The Honourable Sardar Baldev Singh: It is there.

Mr. Frank E. Anthony: My information is that either the test has been done away with in most cases or it has been watered down. I agree that there is a great deal of dissatisfaction with the psychiatric tests and that dissatisfaction in many cases is justified. My information is that on the selection boards, today, as psychiatrists we use fledgling doctors, persons of two or three years experience, who cannot by any stretch of imagination be said to have the knowledge and experience of real psychiatrists. My information also is that we have in India only two or three first class psychiatrists and I would ask the Honourable Defence Minister to enlist the services of these first class psychiatrists. All progressive countries in the world, I am told, are using and using, increasingly, the psychiatric method of selection of their army officers and I want it to be used increasingly in India, subject of course to the fact that we have real first class psychiatrists. One of my main reasons is this, that the army or the armed forces have been free, more than in other sections of our life, from communalism and I do not want any form of communalism, I do not want any form of nepotism, however remotely or indirectly to seep into the selection of officers for the armed forces. And by adopting or making the psychiatric test the determining test or the main test, we will cut across all considerations of caste or communal prejudices, all considerations of sectional or any other predilections.

[Mr. Frank R. Anthony]

In connection with this matter I want to know whether selection boards are being appointed specifically or even impliedly on a communal basis. I feel very strongly on this matter. Quite rightly we have never had communal proportions in the matter of selection to the officer cadres of the armed forces but I feel that selection boards are constituted on a communal basis. I think this is a retrograde and dangerous step. If we have no communal proportions in the officer cadres, I see absolutely no reason why selection boards should be constituted on a communal basis. A Hindu representing Hindus, a Sikh representing Sikhs and a Muslim representing Muslims. That is impliedly, if not specifically, the basis on which these selection boards have been constituted and I feel that the Minister of Defence should give an assurance to this House that since we do not recognise communal proportions for the army, we should also not recognise any form of communalism in our selection boards. I say this for this reason (because complaints have been reaching me increasingly) that if the selection boards are constituted either avowedly or impliedly on a communal basis, then the members of the selection board will be actuated by communal motives. If a Hindu is put there to represent Hindus he will inevitably seek to select only Hindus or if a Sikh is put there, he will seek to select only Sikhs. I say that the Defence Minister owes it to the House and the country to give us an assurance that these selection boards will be constituted on one basis and one basis only, the basis of the capacity, the basis of integrity and the impartiality of members and not on the basis of what community they belong to. I say this because I have been told that, increasingly, although there are no quotas on paper, yet in practice, the selection boards today are adhering to shadow communal proportions. The members of small minority communities who go before the selection boards are being told quite openly "On the basis of your numbers you have already got more commissions than you deserve." They are not being rejected because they are not qualified: they are being rejected because although as I say on paper there are no communal proportions, yet in practice the selection boards are implementing communal proportions. This is a retrograde and dangerous manifestation of selection to the armed forces. I want it to be done away with immediately.

Several of my friends in the House have urged that we do away with all these artificial and unwarranted distinctions between martial and non-martial classes. Scientific selection is the greatest guarantee of that. One of my greatest friends who commanded a composite unit in this country told me that all these distinctions are absolute poppycock. There was a feeling at one time that the banias and the Parsis were not martial classes. He told me that his best officers whether in peace or in war were Parsi officers, we have seen it as a result of this scientific selection not only in the case of Parsies but also of members of my own community who enjoyed the highest ratio of selection percentages—perhaps because of the advantages of a certain type of education and the fact that they also had certain advantages of physical and military training. My friends are perhaps not aware that the fighter squadrons of the Indian Air Force have between 50 to 60 per cent. of members of my community. In this respect I want to make a plea. There is a feeling among some sections of the House and the country that loyalty and patriotism are the monopoly of a certain community. That unity means uniformity. That unless a person belongs to a particular sect and dresses in a particular way his loyalty and patriotism are suspect. As I have said the record of the Royal Indian Air Force speaks for itself. I am very proud (and here I do not wish to plunge a sectarian furrow) of the part played by the Royal Indian Air Force in Kashmir where between 50 to 60 per cent. are members of my community. Because one community has had its loyalties divided that does not justify witch-hunting in respect of the loyalty of other minority communities. Their loyalty should not be subject to the slightest suspicion.

There is this tendency towards communalism in selection boards and I want the Honourable Minister to give us an assurance that communalism in any form will not be recognised.

Complainants have also come to me from senior army, airforce and navy officers, that individual nepotism showing signs of creeping into selection for the armed forces. Candidates go before selection boards flaunting testimonials or cunts from relative, officials or politicians. They say openly "I have got a chit from so and so. He is so and so either in Government or political circles. I am bound to get in." And he does get in. Therefore whatever people in this House may say, the British may not have given this country much except peace but they did give us something in the matter of our armed forces. They may not have given us the idealistic armed forces that Mr. Khamath has asked for. But they did give us armed forces with certain traditions of smartness and of discipline. And I feel that those traditions, where they are good, where they have produced perhaps one of the finest fighting forces in the world, forces which commanded respect and were feared in every battlefield, I feel that those traditions ought to be preserved where they deserve to be preserved.

I will conclude by making a very brief reference to two points made by some of the previous speakers. Pandit Kunzru referred to a feeling that the Government had not faced up to the Kashmir situation with a sufficient sense of urgency and realism. My own experience from talks with senior officers is that they endorse this feeling. They also felt that the Government did not appreciate the magnitude and the urgency of this problem. I have been informed—I do not know how far it is true—that for a long time this operation was tinkered with, it was not put on a war footing, the armed forces received no priority and still they are very badly off in the matter of food and other supplies. My feeling is that this Kashmir operation must be faced up to completely. It must be put on a complete war footing and also filled with sufficiently large forces. It must not be forgotten that we are purporting or trying to defend a border extending over 400 miles. You cannot send a boy on a man's errand or send one division where one or two army corps are needed. I feel in regard to this matter that sufficient perhaps is not being done by the general public and by our ladies in the matter of wounded soldiers. I do not think that the ladies realize their duties to the wounded *jawan*. I know the *jawan* is very easily satisfied and he does appreciate visits from ladies, wives of officers, he does appreciate socials and concerts organized on his behalf; it gives him a feeling that the country appreciates what he is doing, appreciates his efforts on behalf of the country generally.

Finally I want to refer to another point. My Honourable friend Mr. Santhanam has indicated, quite rightly, the possibility of waste and of extravagance. While I agree that all waste and all extravagance should be eliminated, I do ask that so far as our armed forces are concerned they should not be approached in a petty commercial spirit. Unnecessary and unwarranted niggardliness will undermine crucially the integrity and the quality of our armed forces. I have not time to elaborate but I would ask the Minister for Defence to go into the widespread complaint that the revised scales of pay as recommended by the Army Pay Committee have given our officers generally a niggardly deal. While those who are known as the King's Commission officers—Sandhurst men—are in receipt of one scale of pay which has not been touched by the Pay Committee's recommendations, our other officers doing exactly the same work have been put on a totally different and a much lower scale. As a Member of the Central Pay Commission which dealt with civilian scales of pay I feel that the scales recommended for the armed forces are niggardly and compare very unfavourably with the scales of pay for civilians holding less responsible positions. We have done away with all manner of allowances—house rent allowance, family allowance etc. A Captain who is married and who may have four or five children will get just Rs. 450. The scales compare

[Mr. Frank R. Anthony] most unfavourably with civilian scales of pay. It is a vital matter. It must be remembered that the army cannot strike as the railway men or the P. and T. men can do. But we owe them a duty to see that commensurate with the economic resources of this country and commensurate with their responsibilities they are paid scales of pay which will attract absolutely the best men to the officer cadres of the armed forces.

Mr. B. K. Sidava: Sir, my motion is quite distinct from the motions that have been moved by my Honourable friends on the armed forces. My motion relates to the Cantonment Boards. The Cantonment Boards are also under the administration of the Defence Department. I would like to tell the House that they should not mix up the Cantonments with the military. Although the area of the Cantonment is partially administered by the military authorities the Cantonment is quite distinct from the military administration. This Cantonment Board has been introduced for the purpose of administering the military and its operations. In many cities where military is stationed, they have occupied a large area of land. One section of that land is allocated to the military and in another section about two to three miles off from the military area the civilian population resides. The Cantonment Board comes in there. There is a special Cantonment Act which is more or less on the lines of the Local Self-Government Act. There are three kinds of Cantonments, first, second and third-class. The first-class is where there are ten thousand of population or over, the second-class is where there are five thousand and over and the third-class is where there are two thousand and above up to five thousand. The constitution of these Boards is all practically nominated except a few seats that have been given to the residents by elective methods. In the military area they get all the amenities, that is to say, they get the benefit of the hospital, dispensary, school, the benefit of the electricity—all this is given to our armed forces. That is quite right. It is certainly desirable that our armed forces should be kept quite content. But when you go to the Cantonment area where the civil population resides, all these amenities are denied to them. They do not get them either from the municipality, Sanitary Committee or Notified Area Committee or from anybody and they are left entirely at the mercy of this Cantonment Board which is governed mostly by the military authorities. The Officer Commanding is the President of the Cantonment Boards. Then there are six officers who are nominated—in those days by the Governor General in Council—and about four or five elected from the areas. All this civil population which should really come under local self-governing bodies is treated in a manner which we really ought to consider at this juncture when the new set-up has come into force. But what I would contend is that this Act which was enacted originally somewhere in 1896, to which a slight amendment was made in 1906 and 1924 ought to be thoroughly scrapped.

There is another thing. Under this Act, apart from the civic amenities to which I have referred, there are Cantonment Magistrates who have judicial powers. They are sometimes more than a High Court Judge's powers. Under Section 235 of the Act a Cantonment Magistrate can expel anybody he likes from that area. Today there are so many persons who have been exiled from these cantonment areas like Ambala, Meerut and Ferozapore Cantonments—I am mentioning a few. We do not know where they are. I put questions to the Honourable Minister the other day and I am expecting his replies shortly. They were exiled because they preached sedition. Of course in the past nobody was allowed even to enter the area of the military operations. My point is that these persons who were exiled, if they had been governed under civil administration, would have been freed after the attainment of our freedom. But because they are governed under military administration these people are denied that civic right. From all these points of view it is high time that a Committee should be appointed for this purpose. It

is not a small job because it is a big Act which requires to be thoroughly overhauled. I desire, and earnestly desire, that a Committee should be appointed by the Honourable the Defence Minister to go into this matter and the Cantonment areas which are governed by the military authorities should be separated from the military administration and given the same elective rights and the amenities which they ought to enjoy like sanitation, drainage, education etc. which are now denied to them.

Then the second thing which is most deplorable is this. Most valuable land in these cantonment areas in the past were given away to persons who were in the good books of the military authorities. They have got it at very nominal prices—sometimes Re. 1 per square yard, and sometimes as low as 8 annas per square yard,—and in some cases at a nominal rent of Re. 1 a year. Ordinarily in the adjoining civil area the prices are thirty or forty times more, and they have built houses on them. To some of the selected persons, because they were in the good books of the military authorities, the military authorities used to give them these lands absolutely free as patronage.

Pandit Lakshmi Kanta Maitra: In which cantonments?

Mr. B. K. Sridhva: In almost all cantonments in India. Sir, I can say that with authority. In civil areas we know that zamindari is to be abolished. When we are out to abolish zamindari, these people who have done good to the British administration have in return got lands. Government ought now to consider whether it is right that they should possess those lands in perpetuity. In several cases they have held these lands for the last sixty years with the result that some of them have sold them and they have made tons of money over these cantonment lands on which they have spent not one pie so far as the value of the land is concerned. They have built big buildings on these lands. I do not see why that kind of concession should be made now. Until you revise this Act all this will continue. The Honourable Minister replied the other day that leases of these houses have been 25 and 50 years. When I asked about the price, he had no information to give, but I can tell him that the information I have conveyed today as to the price at which these lands were given in the past is absolutely correct. This cannot be done away with unless this Act is revised. Unfortunately today the budget does not show anything separate for cantonments. Everything is mixed up. These Cantonment Boards have no budget. They have no control over the finances. It is the Military Officer Commanding who fixes up the annual budget and he carries on without even consulting the Cantonment Board for this purpose. Could this sort of thing be expected in these days when we are free. It may be argued that now we are a free government, the Defence Minister is our Minister and therefore you must consider these officers as your own? If that kind of argument is correct, then members of all the local bodies could be nominated by the Ministers, the Ministers could nominate all the members of the Legislature and they can say that this is our government, therefore the members also are our members. That kind of argument won't stand for reason. This is not democracy. Let me assure the Honourable Minister for Defence that the military administration stands absolutely on a different footing and you can do anything you like to frame your policy there. I do not dispute it. I quite appreciate that the military people require certain kinds of concessions and certain kinds of amenities. But this civilian population has nothing to do with the military. I would therefore humbly appeal to the Honourable Minister that he should not dismiss this matter by saying it is merely a small matter. It affects lakhs of people, I therefore submit that he must appoint a Committee to go into this Act and report to the Government whether there is justification for overhauling this Cantonment Act. Originally it was framed 90 years ago: then some amendments came in, but these amendments were made for the purpose of

[Mr. R. K. Sidhva]

administration as far as the military authorities were concerned. No kind of concession has been given to the civilian people residing there. These cantonments either should be entrusted to the local bodies or they should be given powers which are vested in local bodies. One of these should be done, and with that object in view I am sure that the rights and privileges which are denied to this class of people, to which they are entitled, would be safeguarded. There is no education, there is no sanitation: and in some cantonments there is no proper drinking water, but at a distance of four or five miles away the military get the best water. I do not dispute that. But for the civilian people there is no drinking water. They have to dig wells, while reservoirs are provided for others, and through reservoirs they get chlorinated drinking water. I therefore hope that the Honourable Minister will help these people who are suffering on account of these extraordinary powers vested in military authorities for no fault of theirs. In the circumstances I commend this motion for the serious consideration of the Honourable Minister with the request that he should appoint a Committee straightaway.

Shri B. N. Munawali (Deccan and Madras States Group): Mr Speaker, Sir, today I am taking the first opportunity of speaking on the Defence Budget. When I went through the Budget, I found that the explanatory notes were not sufficient to give materials to come to a proper understanding of the whole matter. Sir, I am in a fix to understand as to the number of officers, and the strength of the forces in the Army or in the Navy or in the Air Force. So it would have been better if the Budget were to disclose all the materials in order to form a judgment. The Honourable Member Mr. Saunthuum has referred to certain items and by comparing the items in the Budget of 1939 with those in the Budget of this year, he has shown that the expenditure on many items has swollen. Sir, we do not grudge the expenses that have been shown on the various items: but what we want is that the amount should be carefully and properly spent for the defence of our country. We have obtained independence after a struggle of nearly sixty years and we have sacrificed our utmost. Although we have achieved our freedom without any bloodshed, soon after independence we had to wade through a valley of blood. In the difficult circumstances in which we have been placed it is a great responsibility for us to see that the independence which we have achieved after such a long time and after such great struggle is maintained at any cost, and the whole responsibility of maintaining this independence depends solely and wholly upon our defence forces. So, unless and until, we organize, to the best of our ability, the forces of our defence, it is not possible to maintain our independence. So, this House is unanimous in its opinion that we do not grudge in any way the amount that is being spent over Defence.

Now, as regards the material that we have, it is quite sufficient and is the best sort of material. We have got men who have fought on many a battle field and have won laurels; we have got men of the first rate character, of the first rate ability. They have proved their mettle in the European countries while they stood the rigour of the Great War; both in the First World War and in the Second World War, our Army had proved that it can stand the test of any rigour. And now when our troops have been made to fight against the raiders in Kashmir, even in this difficult period when the weather has proved to be the worst of its kind, still they have stood the weather and have been fighting and repelling the raiders by attack after attack. They have proved by their merits that they are the first rate of their kind.

Sir, taking into consideration the fact that all of a sudden after we achieved independence, we have got to nationalize and have to send away the Britishers under whose instructions and guidance and according to whose education our Army was to be organised, it is now up to us to collect all the persons who

are experts in the various departments and pool our resources, to utilise them, to the best of our capacity. My Honourable friend Mr. Maitra has particularly shown how the Ordnance Factories have been working; in order to get the full advantage, out of them, the defects that he has pointed out, must be attended to and it should be seen that they are removed soon.

Sir, in these days when the clouds of war are hanging about and the Western countries are trying to combine themselves by forging pacts with one another, it is up to us to try and strengthen our hands by having a strong force in our country. For that purpose we ought to have an Auxiliary Force. Every man and woman who has attained a sufficient age should be armed and trained in the use of arms, because without being trained in arms it is not possible for us to protect ourselves. What we see everywhere is that our men and women have been attacked here and there. We find that on the borders of Hyderabad the *Ittehad-ul-Muslimeen* have been armed and are about 60,000 in strength. The depredations that they have been perpetrating every now and then are almost staggering. When we complain to the Provincial Governments, the Provincial Governments have not been so useful; they have not been caring as they ought to do. When the people from those places are complaining that they should be armed, even the Central Government have not cared to do it. Under these circumstances, the people have simply been the victims of the *Ittehad-ul-Muslimeen* leaders and their army. When they have been armed and have been recklessly committing outrages and looting, are our people, our brothers and sisters, simply to be at their mercy and become their victims? It is under these circumstances that I think our Government should come to the aid of the people on the border line; they must be trained in the use of arms and they must be sufficiently strengthened in order to protect themselves. It is not possible for the Government of India under any pretext or other to come and repel the attacks if that be the case, at least let us protect ourselves. Without arms, it is highly impossible for us to protect our honour and to protect our sisters who have been abducted every now and then. It is shame to us if we do not try to save ourselves from the clutches of these raiders who have been attacking every now and then. That is why, Sir, I say that unless and until we organise ourselves sufficiently, and unless and until, as is mentioned in the Report which has come into our hands today, we have a sufficient number of persons—both men and women—who have been trained in the use of arms, it is not possible for us to keep abreast with the other countries. When the other countries have been organising and combining their strength and are looking at one another with suspicious eyes, when we are thinking that at any moment, there is a likelihood of another very big war, it is up to us to be prepared, and I request the Defence Minister that he must have this view in mind and see that there is a strong force in all the branches, namely in the Army, in the Navy and in the Air Force, so that it will guard the interests of our country.

Shri Rohini Kumar Chaudhuri (Assam: General): Sir, I want to speak

Mr. Speaker: But unfortunately there is no time.

Shri Rohini Kumar Chaudhuri: I wanted to defend the Defence Minister.

Mr. Speaker: He will take care of himself; he is in charge of Defence.

The Honourable Sardar Baldev Singh: Sir, I am very grateful to the Honourable Members for the helpful criticisms that they have offered on the Defence Budget. Before I reply to the different points raised by Honourable Members, I wish to say that in the past the Defence Budget used to be on quite a different basis. Things have changed and we have also to change our methods, and I entirely agree with the criticism of the members that in future

[Sardar Baldev Singh]

the greatest economy should be made as far as stores and other items are concerned. Without going into the details of this question, I wish to assure the House that it is my intention to make the greatest possible economy and avoid all kind of waste.

Then, Sir, as regards the procedure suggested by my Honourable friend Mr. Santhanam that the Defence Budget should be presented in the same way as General Budget—I think it was he who made that suggestion during the General Budget debate—I wish to say that I am in entire agreement with the suggestion that the Defence Budget should be presented separately. In fact, all my colleagues were of this view, but owing to the shortage of time, it was not possible to adopt this suggestion this year, but I hope that when next year the Defence Budget is presented it will be presented separately as suggested by my Honourable friend.

[At this stage, Mr. Speaker vacated the Chair, which was then occupied by Mr. Hussain Imam (one of the Panel of Chairmen)]

Then, Sir, criticism has been made that expenses have gone up. Unfortunately, my Honourable friends are not fully informed as regards the position in the Defence Forces. For instance, it was pointed out that the Defence expenditure is very high as compared with the strength of the Army. Particularly, criticism was made that the expenditure on Navy and Air Force is very heavy and the expenditure on the Army has gone up tremendously. May I point out, Sir, that in the first instance, it is rather unfair to compare the expenditure in regard to the Armed Forces in 1938 with the expenditure incurred in 1947? I would like to give some details to the House, so that Honourable Members will be able to judge for themselves whether the expenditure is high or not taking into consideration the changed circumstances.

Before the war, in 1938, the total strength of the Army as it used to be was half of the present strength of the Army. At that time, the total expenditure incurred on the Army was to the tune of about Rs. 40 crores. Taking into consideration the rise in the prices of stores, the increase in the total strength of the Army, as also the increase in the strength of the Navy and the Air Force, the total expenditure of Rs. 136 crores does not look to be very high.

Shri K. Santhanam: May I ask one question? Is it the Honourable Minister's contention that the present Forces are double the strength of the United India Forces in 1938-39?

The Honourable Sardar Baldev Singh: No, Sir. What I am pointing out is this, that whatever Forces we had in 1938, the present strength of the Armed Forces is practically double.

Shri K. Santhanam: For India alone?

The Honourable Sardar Baldev Singh: For India alone.

Now, Sir, I would like to give the figures as far as the Navy is concerned. My Honourable friend Mr. Santhanam pointed out that at present we have got only a very small number of ships. He gave the number of ships at a certain figure. I have not got that figure with me. But I may tell the House that in 1938 the total number of vessels with the Royal Indian Navy was altogether 8 and the number of officers—ratings and other staff—that was employed by the Royal Indian Navy was 2,218 approximately. The present strength of the Navy is as follows, the total number of ships that we have today with the

Royal Indian Navy, for India alone, is 34 and the total number of ratings, Warrant officers and Officers is 11,850. The expenditure for 1938 was about Rs. 80 lakhs and the present day expenditure is about Rs. 5 crores. I may add for the information of the House that this expenditure of Rs. 5 crores includes some expenditure that we have incurred on the purchase or upkeep of the cruiser and the destroyers that we have got.

Shri K. Santhanam: Is it not taken to the capital account?

The Honourable Sardar Baldev Singh: Some expenditure, like running expenditure, is included in this. I am not taking into account the cost of the cruiser.

Then, Sir, coming to the Air Force, in 1938 the total number of personnel in the Air Force was about 3,500 as compared with 18,700 today. I need not waste the time of the House in pointing out how important the Air Force is to a country's Armed Forces. We in India as also elsewhere attach, in fact, the greatest importance to it and it is the opinion of the Government of India that we should not hesitate to spend money for the development of the Indian Air Force.

Another item, Sir, on which objection was raised was about the increased expenditure on stores etc. If you compare the present strength of the Army with the figure of 1938 and also the items due to which the increase has taken place, you will see that the present day figure is not very high. For instance, Sir, take the case of increase in the price of stores. In 1938, the price of stores was about four times lower than what it is today. Secondly, take the case of the pay of soldiers. In 1938 the pay of the soldier was small, and now the pay of the soldier is double of what it used to be in 1938 and the strength of the soldiers is also double of what it used to be in 1938. Thirdly, the Army in 1938 used to be on quite a different basis. Ever since 1938, and particularly during the war years, the Army has been mechanised and the House will realise that the cost of this equipment is terribly high and bears absolutely no comparison to the equipment that we used to have in pre-war days. Then, as I have already pointed out, the Navy and Air Force also contribute to the high expenditure. Again, after the partition we had to establish new training institutions. Due to the division of the country quite a number of training institutions have been left in Pakistan and in order to keep up our Armed Forces and the officers fully up to the mark, we have had to establish all these new institutions in India. Government decided as the first thing after partition that we should go ahead with the establishment of the institutions which we have lost due to partition. Another item which has contributed to the increase of expenditure is the establishment of Ordnance Factories. In 1938 we had only six Ordnance Factories but today we have sixteen. All the additional Ordnance Factories were mostly put up during the war and the House can well imagine the expenditure for maintenance due to the high cost of stores etc. The next item, Sir, which is of great importance is feeding the soldier. In 1938 the prices of foodstuffs were very low. During the war the prices jumped up with the result that the cost of feeding the troops today is more than three times what it used to be in the pre-war days. All these factors combined together have added to the increased cost, but I am not taking shelter behind these and as I have said in the very beginning, I am very anxious that the maximum economy should be effected in all the items that have been referred to by Honourable Members.

Another point was made out by my friend Mr. Santhanam and that was about the Military Accounts Department. That Department, Sir, is not under the Defence Ministry, but is being dealt with by the Finance Minister. The

[Sardar Baldev Singh]

expenditure on this Department has certainly gone up and the only explanation that I can give is that due to the increased strength of the Army, Navy and Air Force, the expenditure on this account also has gone up.

These are the reasons and the different factors which have contributed to the increase in the expenditure and it is difficult for me to accept the suggestion that a Committee should be appointed, because if I accept the suggestion straightaway, it may put me into some difficulty. But I am quite prepared to take Honourable Members of this House into confidence and I will have all these items looked into again and I will get them re-examined and if after that any other steps are necessary to be taken for securing economy I can assure the House I would not have the least hesitation in restoring to them.

I next come to the criticism which was made by my Honourable friend, Pandit Kunzru. At the very outset, I wish to say that it is not possible for me to offer any explanation for the points which he has raised in connection with Kashmir. He has dealt with certain aspects of the question and if I were in a position to disclose on the floor of the House the reasons or the difficulties that had been in our way, he would have been convinced about the action that the Government of India has taken, but I am sorry, Sir, that it is not possible for me to explain why, when our forces marched inside from Srinagar to Baramula and from Baramula to Uri, they did not go up to Kohalla bridge. Nobody would have been more happy than myself if they had not only gone to Kohalla, but they had pushed out every raider out of Kashmir. Here, Sir, may I point out to the Honourable Members that our troops are fighting under great difficulties. We have been there for the last 5 or 6 months and if Honourable Members were to know the difficult conditions in which our soldiers are fighting they themselves would be convinced that the achievements of our troops up till now are really wonderful. In addition to our forces, Sir, it will be unfair if I do not mention the part which the State forces have played. The State forces to begin with were deserted by some of their comrades and they were entirely surrounded by raiders and with great difficulty some of them have now been rescued and the part which the State forces have played is really praiseworthy. I need hardly say anything about the part that the Air Force has played. The House is well aware of the part that the Air Force has played, and if it had not been for the wonderful work of the Air Force, perhaps our achievements in Kashmir would not have been what they are today.

I may point to the Honourable Members that as far as Kashmir is concerned it may take a few months more. As I said, I have no explanation to offer, but I want to state it very clearly that the fault has not been on the part of the Government of India or the troops; the Government of India has done all it possibly could and the troops have done all that they possibly could. All that I can say at this stage is that as the Honourable the Prime Minister has declared several times, although it may take us two or three months more, we will not rest content until all the raiders have been driven out.

The success of any operation should not be counted from the temporary success, but we have to see what is going to be the ultimate result and I have not the least doubt that we will be ultimately successful and Kashmir will be free from the raiders.

Another question about the Madhopur-Jammu Road was raised by Pandit Kunzru. This road is not under the Defence Department. The Military Engineering Department is not in charge of the Road.

Pandit Hirday Nath Kunzru: Why not?

The Honourable Sardar Baldev Singh: This road is not under the charge of the Military Department. My Honourable friend Pandit Kunzru asks: 'Why not?' The only effective reply I can give is that the hands of the Military Engineering Department are full with the roads that they have to look after in Kashmir itself. In this case also, Sir, it is not that we are not helping. We have given the top priority for the construction of this road and instructions have been issued to the Military Engineering Department that every possible help should be given to the Civil authorities so that this road may be constructed at the earliest possible moment.

The next point was raised about the aerodrome in Jammu.

Pandit Hirday Nath Kunzru: In Srinagar?

The Honourable Sardar Baldev Singh: In Srinagar. If the House will recollect, it was on the 27th of October that we first landed our forces there. Upto the middle of December we were sending our troops by air alone. It was not possible to make use of the road and when we were using that Srinagar aerodrome or Jammu aerodrome for the despatch of our troops, how is it possible for us to make it *pucca* or improve it in any other way? From December onwards, Sir, the Srinagar aerodrome has been under snow and you will appreciate that it is not possible to make any improvement whatsoever in the aerodrome, unless it is clear of snow. It is our intention and steps have already been taken to make these aerodromes at Jammu and Srinagar *pucca* and I hope that in the next month or so, if the weather is favourable, both these aerodromes will be improved.

Now, Sir, this is the position about the Kashmir and the Madhopur and Jammu road and the steps that we have taken about them. There are certain other aerodromes which we have built in Jammu and Kashmir, but I do not want to say anything about them and the difficult conditions under which these aerodromes have been built, particularly one in Poonch and the other one in Naushera. You will see from the description that I have given that we have not been sitting idle, we have been doing whatever is possible and if we were not able to do anything, it has been beyond our control *e.g.*, the weather has been a hindrance.

Then, Sir, another speaker pointed out some kind of organization in the East Punjab. I think it was my Honourable friend Mr. Bhargava who said that we should go ahead with some kind of military organization in the East Punjab. I am at one with the Honourable Member and I will bear that suggestion in mind—what we are doing at present is not much—and if anything is done in this connection, I will be able to inform the House later.

Another point, Sir, was raised by my Honourable friend, Pandit Kunzru or some other Honourable Member and that was about the establishment of scientific research. When I took over as Defence Member in September 1946, this question was brought to my notice. A prominent scientist visited India and went into the question in detail and submitted his report. Government have carefully considered the report of this prominent scientist and we have come to the decision that we must establish a scientific branch in the Defence Ministry. The Defence Secretary during his recent visit to U.K. got in touch with some prominent scientists there and arrangements are well on the way for the establishment of a scientific section in the Defence Ministry.

Pandit Lakshmi Kanta Maitra: You mean the Research and Development Section?

The Honourable Sardar Baldev Singh: My Honourable friend, Mr. Maitra, is, I think, referring to the Development Section in the ordnance factories. I am not referring to that now. I will come to that a little later. What I am referring to is the Scientific Adviser in the Defence Ministry. Our idea at

[Sardar Baldev Singh]

present is to appoint an Indian and also some prominent scientist from the United Kingdom or from some other country as adviser.

Then, Sir, Mr. Bhargava, criticising the report of the National Cadet Corps Committee, pointed out that distinction still exists between martial and non-martial classes. As I have informed him earlier.

Pandit Thakur Das Bhargava: I never said so.

The Honourable Sardar Baldev Singh: During the last war it was made absolutely clear that as far as the armed forces are concerned, there is absolutely no distinction between martial and non-martial classes and anybody who wants to serve his country is welcome and there is absolutely no restriction of any kind whatsoever.

Then he raised the question of giving military training to all the boys and girls. He was of the opinion that the report of the National Cadet Corps Committee did not go far enough and that we should take steps to give military training to every boy and girl. Sir, so far as I am personally concerned, I entirely agree with him and I have not the slightest doubt that it is absolutely essential, but we have got several difficulties and it is not possible for us to go full out, though we have taken an initiative in the matter.

Shri Rohini Kumar Ghoshdhuri: On a point of information, Sir. The report of the Committee on this subject reads:

"The object of this division should be to develop the personality of the girls, to make them more self-reliant, to build up their physique and to enable them, in an emergency, to take upon themselves some of the duties which are normally carried out by men."

Is that the object for which military training is proposed to be given to the girls?

The Honourable Sardar Baldev Singh: As far as I understand, these are the normal duties which the girls are supposed to perform, but I think it would be better if this question had been put to my Honourable friend Pandit Kunzru who was Chairman of this Committee.

Pandit Hirday Nath Kunzru: If I may intervene for a while, I would like to point out that the object of the junior division is mainly educational. But at the same time some bias is given in favour of a military career by enabling them to know what our armed forces are doing. The junior division is not meant to provide officers.

The Honourable Sardar Baldev Singh: I would suggest to the Honourable Member that he should go through the report of this Committee and then ask questions either of me or of my Honourable friend, Pandit Kunzru.

You, Sir, pointed out one or two items and also said in your speech that it is rumoured that the ordnance factories are producing at the maximum speed. This statement is likely to create some misunderstanding in the public mind. I would therefore like to clarify the position. As far as the ordnance factories are concerned, they are working on a normal basis and nothing extraordinary is being done. For the information of the House I may point out that during the days of the war when production was at its peak the total number of workers in these factories was about 175,000 or 180,000. For the last few months the number of workmen in these factories has been 40,000 and no increase has been made. The only change that has come about is this: people who were due to be demobilised or retrenched have been kept on for the completion of the work which the civil departments had entrusted to the ordnance factories.

Then, Sir, it was pointed out that this year's budget figures do not disclose the number of the armed forces. Well this has been deliberately done for obvious reasons. The normal practice that is followed by all the countries is

that they do not disclose the total strength of their armed forces. We have also, therefore, decided that unless the Big Powers disclose the strength of their armed forces, we also should not disclose this information to the world.

Shri K. Santhanam: Why then has it been done in the case of the Navy and Air Force?

The Honourable Sardar Baldev Singh: My Honourable friend is perhaps referring to the figures that I have given, but I may tell him that I have given only the approximate figures.

I will next come to the ordnance factories. My Honourable friend Mr. Maitra mentioned some difficulties in the working of these factories. As I have already stated, before the war we had six factories. During the war the number of these factories went up. Soon after the termination of the war a committee was appointed which went thoroughly into this matter; as a result of the recommendations of that committee it was decided that we should have in all only 16 ordnance factories.

It was stated by Mr. Maitra that according to his information if the barrel of a rifle is manufactured at Ishapore it is sent to Jubbulpore for assembling purposes. May I inform the House that this information is not correct? What really happens is this. Take for instance the ammunition side. It is not possible to manufacture all the ammunition in one factory. The component parts are manufactured in different factories and then they are assembled in one factory, I am told partly for security reasons and partly for climatic reasons. I am told that certain types of ammunition must be filled under certain climatic conditions. It is for this reason that the parts are at times sent from one factory to another.

Pandit Lakshmi Kanta Maitra: What about the Gun Carriage Factory at Jubbulpore?

The Honourable Sardar Baldev Singh: As far as the Gun Carriage Factory is concerned it is quite a different thing. I am speaking now of the Rifle Factory at Ishapore. Another question he raised was about the design and research section. There is no doubt that all these factories were run by British officers. During the war the total number of British officers was 600. After the war the number of British officers has decreased, with the result that on the 15th August their number in all the Ordnance factories was about 120 and today it stands between 80 and 90. As I stated before in reply to a question put by Honourable Members, it is the decided policy of the Government of India to have Indian officers in place of British officers; but I should like to point out that the manufacture of arms and ammunition is a highly technical job, and it is possible that we will need the help of British officers and American officers and experts from other countries for a long time to come. The main objective before the Government of India is that we must produce articles of the highest quality; and if to achieve that object it is necessary for us to import more experts from other countries we will not hesitate to do so. And I hope the House will agree with me that if in the Ordnance factories in the interest of the quality and quantity of the arms and ammunition that are to be produced we require some foreign experts we should have them.

Some Honourable Members raised the question of compulsory military training. This question has been discussed several times and it was raised through a Resolution by my Honourable friend Dr. Patabhi Sitaramayya. I assured the House that Government have several schemes under consideration. I have this morning announced that Government have taken a decision about the recommendations of the National Cadet Corps Committee. I am glad to inform the House that Government have also accepted the principle of the territorial army and a scheme has now been drawn up by the Defence Ministry.

[Sardar Baldev Singh]

I think in the next few days it will go before the Cabinet. It is difficult or impossible for me to commit Government at this stage, but as Government have already accepted the principle of territorial army I hope the scheme will be approved by them.

This is all I can say about the territorial army. Once the scheme is approved it will give opportunities to quite a large number of young men who want to join the armed forces of this country.

Then it was pointed out by my Honourable friend Pandit Maitra that there is a lot of other equipment which is being wasted in this country and no arrangements are made for the manufacture of synthetic petrol and other things. I think the Prime Minister announced in this House the other day—that is my information, but if he has not done so he will make an announcement very soon—that Government are going ahead with the scheme of manufacture of synthetic petrol. About the other suggestions which have been made about alloy steel, etc., it is very difficult for me to give any assurance; but I am very anxious that as far as possible we should manufacture all our requirements in this country. There are, as the House knows, great difficulties in this, and it will take some time before we can manufacture all our requirements here. In fact even if we go ahead and make all possible efforts to manufacture all our requirements it will not be possible for us to do so. Honourable Members know what difficulties we are experiencing in getting machinery and equipment from other countries. Unless conditions come to more or less normal, it will be difficult for us to have all our requirements manufactured here. But all I can say in connection with this is that Government are very anxious to go ahead with all the schemes that will make India self-sufficient.

My Honourable friend Mr. Sidhva criticised the formation of cantonment boards, etc., and suggested that a committee should be appointed. I will refer him to the reply I gave to one of his questions in which I made it clear that it is not possible for me to commit myself at this stage. I will have his suggestion examined and then consult him, and if he still thinks that some change is necessary I will put him in touch with my department. The matter can then be discussed and we can decide what action should be taken. I do not know the details about this subject at all and so it is not possible for me to accept the suggestion of my Honourable friend without further examination.

Shri Deshbandhu Gupta (Delhi): The sub-committee will consist of Mr. Sidhva alone.

The Honourable Sardar Baldev Singh: It is not a question of that; I said that I want to take his help and find out how far the complaints are justified.

A suggestion was made by some Honourable Members that we should appoint a committee to examine this expenditure. As I have said before, I am very anxious myself to examine all the details of this expenditure, but the appointment of a committee at this stage will not serve any useful purpose. I am quite prepared to take into confidence the members of the Standing Committee or any other members but I must make it quite clear that I personally am also very anxious to reduce this expenditure. At present what I suggest is that the members of the Standing Committee may examine any of these items and I will welcome their suggestions. And if later on it is considered necessary the suggestion can be considered again next year.

Pandit Lakshmi Kanta Maitra: I suggested a committee for the reorganisation of the Ordnance factories; that has nothing to do with retrenchment or economy.

The Honourable Sardar Baldev Singh: I am sorry I overlooked that point. It was suggested by Pandit Maitra that a committee should be appointed to go into the working of Ordnance factories. I may point out for his information that a committee was appointed about two or three years ago, and as a result of the recommendations of that committee some suggestions were made which are being given effect to. Two or three months ago when the Industrial Conference was held under the chairmanship of my colleague Dr. Syama Prasad Mookerjee I took advantage of the presence of eminent industrialists in Delhi and the report of that Committee was placed before them. I myself suggested that it was my intention to appoint another committee to make suggestions as regards improvement in the working of the Ordnance factories. These prominent industrialists gave me as their definite opinion that it will serve no useful purpose to appoint another committee; that we should carefully examine the suggestions made by the previous committee and see how far they are suited to our present conditions; and if after careful examination it is found that another committee is necessary then one could be appointed. I have accepted the advice of these industrialists, and the suggestions of the committee which was appointed are now being examined and given effect to.

My Honourable friend Mr. Anthony raised a point about communal representation in the selection board; his main complaint was that the selection boards are on a communal basis. I wish to assure him and the House that nothing of the kind is happening and merit is the only consideration. Those officers who are found efficient and competent to do their job are put on the selection board irrespective of community or class. I should like to give some figures which will go to show that the formation of the selection board is not confined to any community but that all the communities are represented on this board. I have not laid down any rules that all the communities should be represented on the Selection Board. I will be quite content if the entire membership of the Selection Board consists of officers of one community provided they are suitable for the job.

Mr. Anthony raised this point. So for the information of the House I want to give you the figures which will go to show that there is absolutely no basis whatsoever for the criticism which has been made.

On September 1, 1947, the composition of the Selection Boards was as follows: There were 24 officers: 15 Hindus, one Sikh: two Europeans: one Christian: and three Anglo-Indians.

On February 1, 1948 the total number of officers on the Selection Boards was 24: out of which 12 were Hindus, 2 Sikhs, 2 Europeans, 2 Christians and 2 Anglo-Indians.

Shri Ramnarayan Singh (Bihar: General): Is not this communal representation?

The Honourable Sardar Baldev Singh: It is. But the officers in the armed forces are officers belonging to every community, so any one of them can come on the Selection Board if he is suitable.

Another complaint was made that certain minority communities are being ignored altogether, or it is said that officers on the Selection Board do not take officers in the proportion of their number. Here, again, I am sorry to have to refer to the percentage of the community mentioned, *viz.*, the Anglo-Indians. In fact, Mr. Anthony wrote to me and I got this information this morning. So I have not been able to convey it to him but I am giving it here so that he will be satisfied that there is absolutely no justification for the apprehensions which he has mentioned. From the selection for Commissions in the Armed Forces in India, from 15th August to 15th February 1948 in the Army—the percentage of selection of Anglo-Indians particularly (I have not the figures of the other communities) is 26.

[Sardar Baldev Singh]

In the Royal Indian Navy the percentage of selection of Anglo-Indians to those appearing for interview for the same period from 15th August to 15th February has gone up to 50 per cent. Then again, coming to the Royal Indian Air Force, for the same period, the percentage of Anglo-Indian officers is 28 per cent.

I have given the figures of the different communities on the Selection Board and the percentage of one minority community, which goes to show that the complaints which have been made by my Honourable friend have absolutely no foundation at all. I wish to assure the House that so far as recruitment to the Armed Forces is concerned, as long as I am here, I will not tolerate any communalism. We have to build up our armed forces on sound lines.

Dr. P. S. Deshmukh (C. P. and Berar: General): Does not this amount to encouraging communalism?—over-representation of a particular community.

Mr. Frank E. Anthony: This is on the basis of merit alone.

The Honourable Sardar Baldev Singh: This is the position as far as the Selection Board and the representation of the minorities is concerned and I have nothing more to say except to thank the house for the very friendly criticism they have offered.

With these words, I hope my Honourable friends will not press their cut motions to the vote of the House.

Shri H. V. Kamath: The Honourable Member has not thrown any light on Government's policy with regard to the relative sizes of the standing army and the militia, which is an important question, and the means to be adopted by Government for strengthening the morale and spirit of the army, and how far spiritual training advocated by instructors from Shree Krishna of India to Clausewitz of Germany is an integral part of our military training.

Mr. Chairman: I think the Honourable Member within the time at his disposal could not reply to all the points but if the Honourable Member wishes to say anything more and encroach on the time of the Transport Member it can be arranged among themselves.

Shri H. V. Kamath: If he says he cannot answer my question, then it is all right. I shall not press my point. (No reply).

Shri Ramnarayan Singh: What are the ways in which the military decisions are conveyed to the people in the villages?

The Honourable Sardar Baldev Singh: If the Honourable Member will put that question, I am prepared to reply to it.

Mr. Chairman: Do the Honourable Members wish to withdraw their cut motions?

Shri K. Santhanam: I would like to know if the Honourable Minister is willing to accept part of the cut?

The Honourable Sardar Baldev Singh: I would request the Honourable Member not to press his motion.

Shri K. Santhanam: This is the last time I will withdraw such a cut motion.

Pandit Hirday Nath Kunzru: I am prepared to withdraw my motion relating to policy but not the motion relating to Kashmir. My Honourable friend has said nothing on this question. He has put it off by saying that he is not free to say anything on it.

Pandit Thakur Das Bhargava: Sir, I beg leave of the House to withdraw my cut motion.

Mr. Chairman: Has the Honourable Member leave of the House to withdraw his cut motion?

The cut motion was, by leave of the Assembly, withdrawn.

Shri H. V. Kamath: Sir, I beg leave of the House to withdraw my cut motion.

Mr. Chairman: Has the Honourable Member leave of the House to withdraw his cut motion?

The cut motion was, by leave of the Assembly, withdrawn.

Shri K. Santhanam: Sir, I beg leave of the House to withdraw my cut motion.

Mr. Chairman: Has the Honourable Member leave of the House to withdraw his cut motion?

The cut motion was, by leave of the Assembly, withdrawn.

Pandit Hirday Nath Kunzru: Sir, I beg leave of the House to withdraw my cut motion relating to policy and reorganization in order to increase efficiency.

Mr. Chairman: Has the Honourable Member leave of the House to withdraw his cut motion?

The cut motion was, by leave of the Assembly, withdrawn.

Pandit Lakshmi Kanta Maitra: Sir, I beg leave of the House to withdraw my cut motion.

Mr. Chairman: Has the Honourable Member leave of the House to withdraw his cut motion?

The cut motion was, by leave of the Assembly, withdrawn.

Mr. Frank B. Anthony: Sir, I beg leave of the House to withdraw my cut motion.

Mr. Chairman: Has the Honourable Member leave of the House to withdraw his cut motion?

The cut motion was, by leave of the Assembly, withdrawn.

Mr. B. K. Sidhva: Sir, I beg leave of the House to withdraw my cut motion.

Mr. Chairman: Has the Honourable Member leave of the House to withdraw his cut motion?

The cut motion was, by leave of the Assembly, withdrawn.

Mr. Chairman: I shall now put to the House the cut motion of Pandit Hirday Nath Kunzru relating to the Kashmir situation.

The question is:

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

The motion was negatived.

Mr. Chairman: I shall now put the demands to the vote of the House.

The question is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 32,65,000 be granted to the Governor General to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1949, in respect of 'Ministry of Defence'."

The motion was adopted.

Mr. Chairman: The question is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 66,42,30,000 be granted to the Governor General to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1949, in respect of 'Defence Services, Effective-Army'."

The motion was adopted.

Mr. Chairman: The question is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 32,75,77,000 be granted to the Governor General to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1949, in respect of 'Defence Services,—Effective Supplies and Stores'."

The motion was adopted.

Mr. Chairman: I would like to know from Honourable Members whether they wish to move their cut motions to the demand under the head 'Ministry of Transport' formally or they would prefer to follow the system which was adopted yesterday of simply making speeches without moving the cut motions.

Shri K. Santhanam: Let us have a debate only.

Mr. Chairman: The time at our disposal is very short and I would request Honourable Members to be as brief as possible, so that they can accommodate of their fellow members. Otherwise it will not be possible to call more than a few members to speak.

Shri P. Kunhiraman (Madras. General): Sir, my cut is meant to discuss the constitution of port trusts. I shall be very brief in placing the facts before the House.

The port trusts have been constituted years ago and it is now high time that they are reconstituted. The question is whether these trusts should be done away with or reorganised. My first suggestion will be that it would be better that they are done away with. The point is that they are now administered by a quasi-body and the Government is only having a supervisory authority. My submission therefore is that they may be administered as is done in the case of the railways. We are now for nationalising all institutions and it is better that this also should be nationalised and placed under direct government control. My submission is that instead of reconstituting or remodelling them as port trust boards, they should be administered by Government directly as is done in the case of the railways. If this principle is not accepted certainly the present trust boards necessarily should be reconstituted. As it is we shall examine how the present boards are constituted.

Take the case of major ports. I shall just briefly state how they are constituted now. In the case of the Bombay Port Trust, out of 22 members 9 are nominated by the Government including the salaried Chairman. Of the elected 13, 5 are elected by the Bombay Chamber of Commerce, 1 is elected by the Millowners Association (Bombay), 5 are elected by the Indian Merchants Chamber, Bombay and 2 are elected by the Municipal Corporation. There is nothing to indicate how many among the 22 are nationals and how many are non-nationals. All the same my point is that so far as non-national organisations are concerned I think they should not as far as possible be given any representation, though I would say that their interests should be looked after.

In the case of the Madras Port Trust a similar organisation exists. There are 18 members now constituting this trust, of which 6 are nominated including the salaried Chairman. Of the remaining 12 elected, 4 represent the Madras Chamber of Commerce, 2 represent the Skin and Hides Merchants Association, 1 represents the Andhra Chamber of Commerce, one represents the corporation of Madras, 3 represent the Southern India Chamber of Commerce and one is elected by the Madras Trades Association. Here also so far as non-nationals are concerned while their interests should be looked after I do not think any representation should be given.

Similar is the constitution of the Calcutta Port Trust. Out of 19 members, 7 are nominated including the salaried Chairman and of the 12 elected, 6 are representatives of the Bengal Chamber of Commerce, 2 represent the Bengal National Chamber of Commerce, 1 represents the Calcutta Trades Association.

one represents the Municipal Corporation, one the Indian Chamber of Commerce and the remaining one is the representative of the Muslim Chamber of Commerce.

The last being a communal organisation, its representative should be eschewed. It is now understood that there are several chambers and associations claiming representations. I have already placed before the House my views so far as non-nationals are concerned as also communal organisations, with regard to their representations. There is no denying the fact that increased representation of Indian interests should be the primary concern. Nomination, if at all should be reduced to the barest minimum. In this connection I would just call the attention of the House to the Amending Bill which was tabled by Mr. Sidhva to amend the Port Trust Boards. He withdrew the Bill on the assurance that the Government would consider amending all these Acts. But he has given certain points for consideration and I would invite the attention of Government to those points when they propose to table the amending Bills.

There is one thing that is most important and that is to replace the salaried Chairman and give the right to the boards to elect their own chairman. There are a large number of nominated members in these trusts: the elected trustees should be increased. I should also consider the necessity of increasing the term of these boards. It is now two years. It is advisable that it should be increased to three years as suggested by Mr. Sidhva.

There is another point that has been mentioned by Mr. Sidhva in his Bill and that is with regard to giving opportunities to the press to be present at the time of the deliberations of these trust board meetings. It is understood that the meetings are held *in camera*. But certain decisions arrived at by the Board are published in the Gazette. If that is being done I do not see any reason why the press should not be allowed to be present at the time of the deliberations. At the committee stage they can be held *in camera*.

I shall take this opportunity also to suggest that the Government should consider the necessity of increasing the ports especially in the eastern coast where there are only two major ports and they are situated miles apart. I think there is need for more major ports. With regard to minor ports also the Government ought to consider the question of increasing their number. In the west coast there are very many ports—even minor ports—which can be improved; but now they are neglected. I shall just mention Calicut, Tellicherry and even Mangalore. They are not properly looked after. I think that provision should be made to improve these ports. Ports which are closed should also be opened and facilities should be given in regard to this matter. I submit that these points may be considered by the Government.

Shri Krishna Chandra Sharma (U. P. : General): Sir, I wish to draw the attention of the House to the important question of transport. The proposition is very simple that in modern life transport is an important need for the community. It is much more so in the case of our country which in the past has suffered a lot due to lack of communications and due to there having been no system of transport whatsoever. India is a big country and it is true that a modern system of transport is not easily to be provided for. It was not for long provided for which resulted in the lack of development or under-development of our social, cultural and economic life.

Taking the figures we have got four big roads which take us only over 5,000 miles out of 8,200 and odd metalled roads. Now, if you compare this with other countries. Europe which has 16,60,000 square miles in area has got more than 2 lakhs of miles of railway. India which contains 18,08,000 square miles of country has only 40,000 miles of railway. India has 8,299 miles of

[Shri Krishna Chandra Sharma]

metalled roads of which, as I referred to above, four big roads comprise 5,000 miles. The total mileage of road in India is 31,418 of which metalled road is 8,200. If you compare India with other modern countries, our roads are in a very bad condition. Not only that. We have got meagre sources of communication, meagre sources of transport. And even so much is not in good repair. The position put is simply this. If you see a village boy he stumbles down because the narrow village path is not in good repair; if you see the village cart it does not go easily to the city because the way to the city, the village road, is not in good repair; and if you just look to the car it is somewhere crushed because the bridge is not in good repair. So the story goes that nothing is in good repair—neither the narrow village path, nor the village road, nor the metalled road. To give one more example, the military lorry would not pass to Kashmir because the Pathankot road is not in good repair. Everywhere the roads are in bad repair. The first thing is that there are meagre resources of transport and communication and meagre as they are, they are not in good repair. The position is very important for the economy of the country. We cry for more production, but production is impossible without giving proper markets, and for proper markets transport is the prime necessity. Take the case of the western districts of U. P. Lakhs of maunds of gur is there, but it could not be transported to the Punjab or to Rajputana. There the prices have come down to Rs. 7 or Rs. 8. The normal price ought to have been Rs. 20 to 24. From Rs. 20 to 24 of normal price gur has come down to Rs. 7 and 8. If transport had been possible it would have necessarily fetched a useful price of Rs. 20 or 24. That gur, of which the normal price is Rs. 20 or 24, is carried to the city; one man with two bullocks carries some twenty maunds he goes to the city market, remains there all the day long and ultimately the man has to sell it at an unmarketable price. It would have added much more to his ways of production if it would have been possible that outside his village there had been proper road, and the transport would have been by motor truck and the man with his twenty maunds would have got into the motor truck and gone to the city and come back within two or three hours. Take the comparison: the man going with two bullocks, wasting the whole day, his bullocks not getting any fodder or any protection from the sun or rain, is wasting his time and throwing away his commodity.

Compare with it the possibility of provision being made for goods transport, the lorry taking the load with a man sitting on it, and in two hours getting the price of his commodity and getting back. So, Sir, it is of the utmost importance for the production drive that the means of communication and transport must be improved. They are meagre so far as mileage is concerned, and then, Sir, they are in very bad repair. The Agricultural Commission, Sir, in its report points out.

"Transportation is an important part of marketing and modern commercial development tends everywhere to enhance the value and importance of good road communication."

So, Sir, according to the report of the Agricultural Commission it is of the utmost importance that means of transport should be provided for, that the produce may be increased and then a market may be found out for the village production. It will solve another problem: if proper means of transport are provided for, decentralization of industry would be possible. Many problems have cropped up. In Bombay there is the problem of housing for labour. If industry is decentralized, then many problems would be easily solved. People would get better houses, better environment, and they will be able to get a sort of garden factories from which the labour population would benefit a great deal. So, Sir, the two necessary things are that there should be more of motor transport, that is motor

building should be provided for; and if motor cars are made, as was the proposal to set up a Factory at Bombay, which has not unfortunately materialized—what the Bombay magnates are doing is that they are getting parts from outside and assembling them—if motor cars are made, then this motor transport problem would be solved. The only possibility, apart from railway transport which has been discussed for so long, is that of motor transport, for water transport is not possible in this country because the question of irrigation and the question of transport do not reconcile: and then air transport is in its infancy. So the present need would be met by the new enlarged scheme for roads. Increased number of motor lorries would meet the rising need of the people and may help the present production drive which is of utmost necessity if we are to meet the situation as it is arising. So I would request the Honourable Minister to give his thought to the problem of transport and to do his utmost to meet the prime need of the moment. Of course I do not expect magic from him as one Honourable Minister got annoyed yesterday; but I expect that with courage and confidence he would face the situation and do the needful. With these few words I resume my seat.

Mr. B. K. Sidhva: Mr. Chairman, Sir, The Port Trust Acts were enacted—particularly of the major ports like Bombay, Calcutta, Madras and Karachi—somewhere in 1862, then they were amended in 1876, and then again in 1878; and other amendments were made in 1884. Up to 1926, port trusts were controlled by the provincial governments, but after the Montford Reforms came in, many of the bodies.....

Mr. Chairman: May I draw the Honourable Member's attention to the circular which was sent to us on the cut motions? I refer to circular No. 1. It was specifically mentioned:

'I am to add that in moving such motions, suggestions for amending existing legislations is not in order.'

I did not like to stop the earlier member because he was making a general suggestion for improvement of port trusts, not for amendment of the Act as such, because the cut motion is not the best method of bringing forward amendments. What the Honourable Member should do is to bring forward an amending Bill and thereby focus attention on the defects of the existing law and bring about a new law. If he makes a general reference, it is all right, but for him to go into detail and suggest this item should be changed and so on, is not proper at the time of cut motions.

Mr. B. K. Sidhva: I thank you, Sir, but I have only made my speech for two minutes and I have not even developed my ideas.

Mr. Chairman: I did not wish to stop the Honourable Member, but he should not concentrate on the Port Trust Amendment Act. He should speak about general things and on any other subject which he might desire.

Mr. B. K. Sidhva: I was coming to it, Sir. My point is, as you state, a Bill should be presented. Probably you were not aware or you were not in the House. I have already in this session moved three Bills.

Mr. Chairman: That is what was referred to by the previous speaker. That is why I wanted that you should not take further time.

Mr. B. K. Sidhva: No, Sir, because the Honourable the previous speaker mentioned some facts which were not correct, I think a reference to those Bills must be made. I was developing my point that when the Montford Reforms came, some of the commercial bodies and also local bodies desired that they should have larger representation. When the larger representation through the pressure of those bodies was granted by the Provincial Governments, the British Government enacted an Act by transferring the power from the Provincial Government to the Central Government simply because these port trusts

[Mr. B. K. Sidhva]

were the British people's preserve. I can tell you as a port trustee for six years of the Karachi Port Trust from some knowledge that I have of the working of this Port Trust. All along these commercial bodies of the Europeans which were given representation were so very well administered that the steamship companies were represented; the petrol interests were represented on the port trusts because their interests were the greater as far as the port trusts were concerned, and from that point of view the Indian mercantile community were absolutely ignored; and therefore when the representations were made by the various bodies and larger representation was given to them in 1924 by the Bombay Port Trust and the Calcutta Port Trust, the Bombay Government, when they amended the Act, naturally gave larger representation to the European Chambers also. But apart from giving larger representation, the majority as my friend Mr. Kunhiraman has pointed out, of the nominated members or elected members were Englishmen. You can see from this that these Acts were enacted simply to safeguard the interests of foreign nationals. There is no doubt about that. I do not want to repeat the constitution as my friend has already dealt with it; but I want to impress upon this House and the Honourable Minister that it is very necessary that these Acts require to be changed. I have given notice of my Bill and I was informed by the Honourable Minister's Office that his Government is bringing forward a Bill in this Session and I was prevailed upon to withdraw. I gave an assurance in this House as the Government were bringing in a Bill during this session that I should be allowed to keep these Bills pending. Therefore, Sir, after saying that his officer has conveyed to me personally the view that the Bills will be presented in this Session, I would like to know whether that would be so? Honourable Minister's said that they are already in correspondence with the Provincial Government and the Bills will be presented in this Session. Under those circumstances, I told the House that I am holding over this Bill in view of this promise that has been made by the Ministry of Transport. It is therefore desirable when Government are bringing forward these Bills—I feel they have held over—for them to know our views, and therefore I would like to convey to them our views to be incorporated in the Bills that the Government are presenting. Apart from widening the scope of the organisation as far as our nationals.....

Mr. Chairman: The Honourable Member must have conveyed it personally. And the Bill which is introduced is there before the Department and the Department knows full well what the ideas and suggestions are of the Honourable Member. Is it necessary to repeat them or to repeat what is already contained in the Bill?

Mr. B. K. Sidhva: I do not know, Sir, whether in the absence of a mention made in this House, the Minister could have given a reply. I do not know whether that would be a correct procedure. If the Honourable Minister felt that without my mentioning it he was going to make a reference to it, certainly I have nothing to say. Unless I mention it, the Honourable Minister would not, as the general practice is, to give his reply. My point is that I wanted to convey our views emphatically on this matter. The Government has made a promise—of course not in this House, but to me—and therefore I expect that the Government will bring the Bills in this Session. From that point of view I want to emphasise the matter.

The second point is about Delhi Transport—the bus service. The Honourable Minister in the last Session told us during question hour that Government are negotiating with the present G.N.I.T. Company to either take over or to provide that a certain percentage of capital will be invested by Government. And he told us that within a very short time he will make an announcement in this House about the bus service.

This transport service in Delhi has become so rotten that the travelling public has been put to considerable hardship and we were expecting that some sort of announcement in the earlier part of the Session was forthcoming. That announcement has not come. The Honourable Minister has told us last Session that negotiations were almost complete and we understood that probably even by January the new arrangement would have come into force. I am sure he must have probably been in negotiation and something must have materialised, but the House should be glad to know at what stage this question has reached.

If the Government cannot purchase the service, what are their views as far as nationalising the bus service here? I may inform him that the various Provincial Governments are running the bus services and they are making huge profits. I will give you the case of the Punjab Government with respect to the Lahore bus service, and the Simla service. Only a part has been taken over by the Punjab Government and in 1947 the net profit made was Rs. 87 lakhs. I am only mentioning this to point out the enormous profit that is derived from these transport services. Nationalisation would not only give a great relief to the passengers from the very miserable services that are being run in Delhi now, but it would also add to the income. Probably the Government of India might think that it is beyond their prestige to run a small transport service in Delhi; if that is so, then they might hand it over to the Delhi Municipality. Something should be done in view of the present miserable condition. I would therefore be glad to know from the Honourable Minister as to how far the negotiations that he had had, have proved fruitful.

With these words, Sir, I expect the Honourable Minister would announce his decision both as regards the Port Trust matter and also about the bus transport service in Delhi.

Shri Rohini Kumar Chaudhuri: Mr. Chairman, I am very glad, Sir, that you have given me this opportunity of speaking. I may also add a personal note: I am grateful to you because it was only this afternoon that I received a communication from one of the Insurance Companies of Delhi where he has renewed my policy subject to this condition, that I am alive today. I have it here on the table; it is from Delhi. Perhaps he has noticed in the Press that I do not speak very much. He says that subject to this condition that I am alive today, my policy has been renewed. And I think this speech of mine will give a very authentic proof of my being alive today.

I am very glad that I have been spared the necessity of moving a Cut Motion against the particular Honourable Minister who is in charge of this Department. My Honourable friend Mr. Kamath recited a *shloka* from the Gita. I cannot resist the temptation of reciting another one which runs as follows:

*'Katham Bhreshmamaham sankhya
Dronacha Madhusoodana;
Ishubhih pratiyotayami
Poojerkaravivoodana.*

It means: 'How can I use my weapons against Bhishma who is the grandfather or against Drona who is the trainer and the spiritual guide?'. That is my position. But Sir, one feels sorry when he cannot move any of the huge number of Cut Motions which he has tabled. The feeling of disappointment which I feel must be shared by other members of this House also. But I comfort myself by remembering a few lines of the great poet:

*"Full many a gem of purest ray serene
The dark unfathomed caves of ocean bear,
Full many a flower is born to blush unscen
And waste its fragrance in the desert air."*

[Shri Rohini Kumar Chaudhuri]

That has been the fate of my Cut Motions and the Cut Motions of many of my Honourable friends in this House.

Referring to the particular Motion which I had desired to move, which is No. 31 on the supplementary printed list, that was to draw the attention of the Honourable Minister to the wretched condition of the roads in the Province of Assam and other Provinces where there was a huge military traffic. The Army Department made certain roads and kept certain roads in repair when the War was actually going on, but after the War had nearly come to an end they did not do anything with the result that the whole roadway from the Assam access road up to the road in Dibrugarh, up to the road in Imphal, is practically in a state of disrepair—not merely the trunk road but also the roads in the towns. The Provincial Government as well as the Municipal Administration are unable to bear the cost of the maintenance of the new roads as also of repairing the existing roads which have been damaged hopelessly. Sir, if my Honourable Friend the Minister ever happens to go to Assam casting aside all fears as unnecessary rumours which he hears, then he will be able to see for himself the deplorable condition of the roads and the unhappy lot of the pedestrians. If you go by the middle of the road, just you happen to fall into some ditches which have been caused by the military lorries. If you try to escape from there and go to the edge of the road, if a motor car or bus comes you fall into air safety ditches which are still there. If the rains come, you will find that you have to wade through pools of water and frogs jump in front of you. That is really the position. Well, we are going to get rains very soon. They will begin from April. That is the position of the pedestrian. That is the unhappy condition of the roads. The Provincial Government and the Municipal Corporation are unable to bear the cost and I would appeal to the Honourable Minister to make some grant immediately for repairs of these roads and the damage caused by the Military.

As regards the point which was raised by my Honourable friend Mr. Bhatia, nationalisation is all very good. Nationalisation ought to be, in my opinion, confined to huge undertakings and not to these small undertakings. A great deal of agitation has been caused in my Province, because there are many persons who are living on the proceeds of their income derived by running this bus traffic. The distances are not very big. Sometimes it is 20 miles, some times it is 15 miles, some times it is 40 miles. If these small traffic routes are nationalised, their bread will be taken away. There has been no agitation from the public that these small transport lines should be nationalised. When we talk of nationalisation, why not talk of higher things? Talk of the air. I have no objection. Go on nationalising as much of the air traffic from India to U.K., India to China. That is the proper sphere. You have taken up the task of nationalising the Imperial Bank, the Reserve Bank and so on. All very nice. Why do you go into these small undertakings? In our country there is a saying that the vultures do not even think of earth worms. They think of bigger animals. You are thinking of eating small worms. Even if there were thousands of earth worms down below, the vulture will not touch them. Why this Government should undertake these small things and deprive the bread of these small people?

An Honourable Member: They are crows, not vultures!

Shri Rohini Kumar Chaudhuri: Sir, I have done.

The Honourable Dr. John Mathai (Minister for Transport): Sir, there are two main problems regarding transport which have been raised in the course of the discussion. The first is the question of Port Trusts. There are three points I think which have been raised with regard to the directions in which the composition or the constitution of the major Port Trusts of the country should be re-organised. First of all, there is this question of nomination of members of the Port Trust by the Government—the Central and Provincial

Governments. Secondly, the question was raised about the existence of representation for communal organisations. The third is the question of providing larger representation for Indian interests. Well, these three matters are matters which have been agitated, I think, in public for quite a number of years. It is perfectly true, as my Honourable friend Mr. Sidhva pointed out, that the Port Trusts in the major ports in the form in which they exist today are much older than he or I, they are therefore rather out of touch with the existing facts in the country's political and economic set-up. What I want to say today is this. In response to the request made to me by the Mover and by Mr. Sidhva, it is my intention to introduce in the course of the present Session a Bill for the amendment of the Port Trusts Act regarding the composition of the Port Trusts. The two points with which we are most urgently concerned are first of all the question of providing adequate representation for Indian business interests and the second is the question of eliminating the representation of organisations which are professedly communal organisations. These two are matters which in principle have been accepted by Government and the House will see that in the Bill which I shall introduce later in the Session we propose to embody these two principles in the new Bill.

As regards the question of nomination of members by Government, i.e. the Central and Provincial Governments, that is a question which in my opinion raises difficulties of a rather peculiar character. The main point is this. Very often comparison is made between a Port Trust and a Municipal Corporation. The Chairman of a Municipal Corporation is an elected functionary and the point is often made, "Why don't we have an elected Chairman for our Port Trust? If necessary, give him the assistance of an Executive Officer." It is a point that I have given some thought to and my own idea—it is not a matter which I have placed before the Government for their consideration—but my own personal reaction to the problem is this. There is a fundamental distinction between a Municipal Corporation and a Port Trust in one of the major ports of the country, because these major ports deal with transport problems which have an intimate bearing on national transport arrangements, and it is therefore very important, particularly in times of emergency, that Government should have sufficient control over these Port Trusts in the matter of its external co-ordination with other forms of transport in urgent situations arising in the country. The Port Trusts and Municipal Corporations stand on a different footing and therefore I propose, for the moment, to introduce no provision in the Bill which I am placing before the House in the course of the Session as regards this particular point about nomination by Government. But as regards the other two points, I hope the provisions in the Bill will satisfy the House.

Then, I think the Honourable Mover asked me why we are not taking steps for raising some of the minor ports in the country to the status of major ports. That question was again gone into in some detail by the Ports Technical Committee which was appointed two or three years ago and a thorough and well conceived Report was issued by them. Arising out of the recommendations of that Committee, as the House is aware, we have set up a Special Committee now to enquire into the question of opening major ports on the West Coast of India—one along the Kathiawar-Cutch coast and the other along the coast from Marmagao to Cochin. That Committee is now sitting and I hope to have their recommendations in the course of a few weeks and Government will proceed to take action on them.

Before I get on to the other subject, namely, the question of roads, incidentally, I think Mr. Sidhva mentioned the question of the G.N.I.T. of Delhi

Shri T. T. Krishnamachari (Madras: General): May I, Sir, before the Honourable Minister proceeds to the other subject, ask if the Government

{Shri T. T. Krishnamachari}

have any policy as regards the expansion of the major ports under the charge of the Government of India? If the Honourable Minister will briefly state if he has got any policy, the House will be very much obliged to him.

The Honourable Dr. John Matthai: Policy with regard to the expansion of the existing major ports? Yes. I think there are various proposals regarding Calcutta, Madras and Bombay and some extension is already under construction. There are important proposals now under consideration for extending the facilities offered by these ports.

Shri T. T. Krishnamachari: I hope the Government will not knuckle under the protest that has been made by certain vested interests in regard to the proposed expansion of Madras port?

The Honourable Dr. John Matthai: Well, the matter as the Honourable Members knows better than I do, is under discussion between the Madras Port Trust and the Madras Government,—certain details arising in regard to the extension of the Madras port. But I am in agreement with the suggestion which my Honourable friend has made. It is very important in view of the commitments that are likely to be made on transport in coming years in the country that Government should keep in view the importance of extending the facilities offered by the major ports.

Now with regard to the G.N.I.T. the position is this. Speaking for the Transport Ministry, we have come to the conclusion that Government should acquire the whole of the G.N.I.T., but I cannot today make any final announcement because the proposal is shortly to go up before the Standing Finance Committee, and if we are able to secure their agreement, we shall go forward and have the details finalized. As far as I am concerned, I have come to the conclusion that the best solution of the problem is to acquire the whole of the G.N.I.T. by the Government.

Then with regard to the question of roads, a great deal has been said about the importance of extending road communications in the country, with which I need not say I am in complete agreement. There are two limiting factors; first of all there is the question of the financial assistance that we can provide from the Centre for the development of roads in the provinces and secondly in the immediate future there is the question of finding the necessary materials. The House knows that as far as the Central Government is concerned, they have now assumed complete responsibility for the maintenance of the National Highways of the country. The pre-partition figure for the total mileage that we took over as National Highways is somewhere of the order of 18,000 miles, that is to say, the Central Government is completely responsible for the maintenance of these National Highways and also for their development.

An Honourable Member: What is the present mileage?

The Honourable Dr. John Matthai: I am giving the pre-partition figure which is 18,000, but I have not got the exact figures for the Dominion of India, as regards assistance for roads in the Provinces, as the Honourable Members know, there is the Central Road fund from which allocations are made in favour of provinces and there are also grants provided for the development of roads under the General Development schemes which the Central Government is financing, so that I think, consistently with the financial resources now available to Government, Government are making good their undertaking that road communications should be developed as fully as possible. Reference has been made to the question of the bad repair in which a large part of our road system is at present. I can only speak for the National Highways; I do admit that the National Highways are not at present in that state of repair in which I would like them to be. The point to remember is we took over responsibility for the National Highways only since the 1st April

1947. Till then the maintenance of these highways was the responsibility of the Provincial Government. After the 1st of April on account of the constitutional uncertainty, we were not in a position to provide all the funds required for the development or the maintenance of National Highways in that state of repair in which we think they ought to be. What we did was, in view of the uncertainty during the transition period—until things were more or less finished, to a advance about 25 per cent. of the amount that we had allotted previously for the maintenance of National Highways. Now we have been able to restore more or less the grant that we had originally intended and I hope it will be possible to secure a better level of maintenance for these National Highways. It must be remembered that the system under which we are working is that we provide all the finances required for the maintenance of National Highways, but the actual agency through which we are working is the F.W.D. of the Provincial Government; we exercise a certain amount of control, but the agency is theirs. The Central Government have not got the agency for carrying out the maintenance work required in respect of these highways, but the question of maintaining them in a state of adequate repair is something, the importance of which I am fully aware of.

My Honourable friend, Mr. Honim Kumar Chaudhuri raised the question of roads which have been damaged during the war; that raises rather a difficult problem. I will tell the House straightaway what the policy is that we are following in regard to that. Since we have accepted responsibility for the maintenance of National Highways, that is to say, a very large part of the road system for which the Provinces were responsible now have been taken over by us, we feel it is a fair proposition that while we would make ourselves responsible for repairing the damage caused by war in respect of National Highways, Provincial Governments should be responsible for repairing the damage caused by war, in respect of provincial road communications. That is the general principle on which we are proceeding. There is one matter which causes us a certain amount of difficulty there. It may be urged that in the matter of repairing war damage there are two problems that may arise. There is the problem of restoration and there is the problem also of reconstruction and development. As far as the mere problem of restoration is concerned, I have not the slightest doubt in my mind that Provinces must be responsible for repairing damage caused in respect of provincial roads. As far as the question of development or re-construction is concerned, there is a certain element of doubt; but suppose I accepted the principle that where a war-damaged road stood in need not merely of restoration but of development or re-construction, that on that account the Centre should accept responsibility as a matter of administration, you would be up against the question of determining what is exactly 'restoration' and what is exactly 'development and reconstruction'. It is a thin line that divides the two. For the present, therefore, the only thing that I can say on that subject is that the Provincial Governments must accept responsibility for the time being in respect of their roads and we accept responsibility in respect of National Highways.

My Honourable friend Mr. Sharma referred to the important part which roads might play in the matter of transporting commodities. As regards *gur* he said if only we had an adequate system of road communications and motor transport for these roads we should be in a better position. I am rather doubtful about it. Even if you had first-class roads and even if you had the necessary motor vehicles, you would still be up against the question of petrol. That is a very difficult question at present and as far as I can see and judging the world situation at present, in respect of petrol, it looks to me that our position is not going to be easy. So long as the petrol position is very acute, it seems to me rather doubtful if in the next few years we could make any extensive use of road transport for the movement of commodities. In certain provinces *ry*

[Dr. John Matthai]

cently on account of the difficulties that were experienced in respect of coal, road transport was attempted; they were up against the difficulty of finding sufficient quantity of petrol; they were also up against the difficulty of meeting the increased costs due to the high price of petrol as motive power. In view of these difficulties, I am rather doubtful about the possibility of supplementing to any large extent rail transport in the country by means of road transport. That I think, Sir covers more or less the points that have been raised.

Shri T. T. Krishnamachari: May I ask if the Honourable Minister has any information to give the House in regard to the building of strategic roads in our frontiers?

The Honourable Dr. John Matthai: Certain important strategic roads on the frontiers are matters which are now under discussion between us and the Defence Department and whenever a suggestion is made with regard to the construction of a strategic road, we give it the first priority so that the matter may be pushed through quickly.

Shri Rohini Kumar Chandhuri: Sir, the Honourable Minister has not referred to the question of damage to municipal roads. In those towns where the military were stationed they used these trucks very freely and roads were heavily damaged in places, for instance, like Gauhati and Shillong; and the municipalities are unable to repair them. What about these roads?

The Honourable Dr. John Matthai: I am glad the Honourable Member raised that point because this question of municipal roads presents certain difficulties from the point of view of the Central Government. The principle that I suggested was that in regard to war-damaged roads we accept responsibility for National Highways and the Provincial Government responsibility for provincial roads. But so far as National Highways that pass through municipal areas are concerned, the policy that we are following at present is this. The approaches to a city up to a specific outer ring are the responsibility of the Central Government; that is to say, there is no National Highway as such that passes through a large town or an urban centre; they do not pass through municipal areas. There are various difficulties with regard to that. Supposing we accepted the principle that we should be responsible for a National Highway passing through a municipal area, the work that we do in respect not merely of development but also of maintenance might in a number of cases conflict with the city improvement schemes of the municipal area; it is much better that an outside authority keeps out.

There is another difficulty and that is this. When it comes to constructing roads in municipal areas the Central Government is faced with the extra cost of acquiring land in built up areas, which is going to place upon the Central Government a rather indefinite amount of financial responsibility. Therefore as far as the connection of municipalities with the National Highway scheme is concerned, the Central Government accepts no responsibility; we are not concerned with municipal areas. It necessarily follows that local bodies with the assistance of the Provincial Government should be responsible for the damage that has occurred to roads in municipal areas.

Pandit Lakshmi Kanta Maitra: Sir, I wanted to know the supply position in regard to road materials like tar macadam, road rollers, etc. What is the position?

The Honourable Dr. John Matthai: The position is still difficult.

Mr. Chairman: The question is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 21,06,000 be granted to the Governor General to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1946, in respect of 'Ministry of Transport'."

The motion was adopted.

The Assembly then adjourned till a Quarter to Eleven of the Clock on Monday, the 15th March, 1946.