

## DISTURBANCES IN KANPUR

JANAB M. MUHAMMAD ISMAIL SAHEB (Madras) : Sir, before we begin the discussion on the subjects in the Ust of business, I want to make a submission.

You may be aware, Sir, that distressing news of certain unhappy happenings is coming from Kanpur in U. P. for two days now. It is unfortunate that the feelings of the people, the Muslims, have been wounded and roused in this manner. While I want the people to obey the law and maintain law and order, I request the Government to take adequate steps to redress their grievances and soothe their feelings. In this connection I want to know whether the Government has got any information about the present position and what steps they are taking to give relief to the wounded feelings of the people.

THE LEADER OF THE COUNCIL (SHRI N. GOPALASWAMI) : Sir, this surprise has been sprung upon me this morning. The incident is really one within the sphere of the State Government. I understand that the State Government is taking adequate action but whatever fell from my hon. friend, I will pass on to my hon. colleague, the Home Minister.

**THE RESERVE AND AUXILIARY AIR FORCES BILL, 1952—(continued).**

MR. CHAIRMAN : Further discussion on the motion moved by Shri N. Gopalaswami Ayyangar on the 12th :

That the Bill to provide for the constitution and regulation of certain Air Force Reserves and also an Auxiliary Air Force and for matters connected therewith as passed by the House of the People, be taken into consideration.

SHRI RAJAGOPAL NAIDU (Madras) : Mr. Chairman, I should really congratulate the hon. the Defence Minister for having brought

forth this enactment. Of course, it was long overdue and we know, Sir, that in these days when wars are won mainly by Air Forces, and when countries are devastated only by Air Forces, no amount of having any territorial force would do good to our country and I feel sure that India is getting air-minded.

The Indian Air Force came of age during the War when it won the reputation of being the "Eyes and Ears" of the 14th Army in Burma. We have also seen, Sir, recently when the hon. the Prime Minister addressed our House on Kashmir, how our Indian Air Force had played a great part in capturing an air-held at Srinagar in time, and but for our Air Force we would have certainly lost Kashmir. I am really grateful, Sir, to the hon. the Defence Minister for having brought forth this legislation at this stage. In these days, oceans are no barriers for enemies and mountains are also no barriers. We have got to forget our Himalayas and we have got to forget the vast oceans surrounding our country and unless we have got a strong Air Force, unless we have got a strong Air defence, I do not think we can successfully protect our country from future wars.

I would only read a few passages from the small book "Defending our Frontiers", at page 4 :

"Hardly had the internecine upheaval in the Punjab subsided when our soldiers and airmen were called upon to defend Jammu and Kashmir against invaders. And while they were still engaged in the Kashmir operations, the Indian Army and Air Force had to fulfil another obligation in Hyderabad State. Some of their achievements during this period will rank among the outstanding feats of arms in the long course of our military history."

And, again, in the same book at page 27:

"This was immediately followed by an unexpected call to action in Kashmir. Despite unfavourable flying conditions and mountainous terrain, the I. A. F. carried out some of the most difficult tasks assigned to it during the Jammu and Kashmir operations. From the besieged town of Poonch alone nearly 35,000 refugees were flown out to places of safety. In flying to Leh, the Dakotas negotiated heights of 20,000 feet and over with improvised flying facilities. The I. A. F.,

while struggling for its very existence, rescued the State from the raiders and performed the incredible feat of airlifting jithousands of refugees to safety. These exploits now belong to history."

Well, Sir, we may get, by the introduction of this legislation, any number of pilots, but I have got my own doubts as to whether we can spare as many aircraft as you can get pilots. We can get very good response, by passing this legislation, from the civilian public, but my doubt is, Sir, whether we can spare as many aircrafts as we want for the civilian public who will be forthcoming. We have got only one factory in Bangalore, the Hindustan Aircraft Ltd. aRd, of course, we are glad that we are having such a big factory which can manufacture aircraft in our country, but I feel that we must try to make this factory bigger and make it produce more aeroplanes that our country needs. We should not depend upon foreign countries for the j requirements of aero engines and if I I can read in page 30 of the Brief Statement of the Activities of the Ministry— about Hindustan Aircraft Limited : We find that it is producing now an "all-metal" primary trainer (H. T. 2) which seems to have been crashed on the 28th of its test flight. " Work on the second prototype of H. T. 2. was completed in February 1952 and the air-craft had its first successful test-flight on the 18th February, 1952. It is proposed to manufacture a further prototype and also four pre-production air-craft before H. T. 2 goes into production in about eight to nine months.' time."

I would stress, Sir, very much on this point that we must produce more aircraft in our country and our country should not be dependent upon other foreign countries for our requirements of aircraft. We should depend upon our own selves.

I find in the Budget that a little over Rs. 170 crores are spent for the Army and only about Rs. 15 crores for the Navy and Rs. 25 crores for the Air Force. That means for the Navy and the Air Force we are spending only less than 1/4 of the budget allotted for Defence. May I point the amount allotted to

the Air Force and Navy is very meagre. In these days, no amount of Army will do good to our country and unless we have a very strong Air Force, we cannot defend our country successfully. This meagre allotment of Rs. 25 crores for the development of the Air Force is not at all sufficient. That would be my grievance about the lack of allotment of adequate funds for the Air Force and the Navy.

Then, Sir, coming to this legislation, I would like' to say that in the Statement of Objects and Reasons it is said thig: this is only a permissive piece of legislation ; that is, if the funds permit, all these things can be gone into. May I submit, Sir, that this should not be merely a permissive piece of legislation and that immediately funds should be allotted to make this legislation more or less compulsory and if no funds are available, le isome amount be taken off from the Army funds and spent for the Air Force. We must have very many trained pilots in our country so that they can defend our country at the time of need.

j Well, Sir, we find that the Bill mentions of three categories of air i defences. We find Air Force Re-| serves ; then we find Air Defence J Reserves and Auxiliary Service Re-I serves. I may submit, Sir, that when I the first two categories are of a conscriptive nature, the third, i.e., the Auxiliary Reserve is only of a voluntary nature. I have got my grievance that you could have got separate legislation for the Auxiliary Reserve and not combine this with the other two Reserves which are of a conscriptive nature. You ought not to have combined one that is purely voluntary in its nature with the other two which are conscriptive in their I nature. With regard to the regular I Air Force Reserve, my own feeling I about the whole thing is that the hon. I Minister has introduced this legisla-I tion to have a second line of air defence in our country so that, while not spending much money over this, we will have certainly a very good second line of defence in our country. I do not find, Sir, that I > muh

[Shri Rajagopal Naidu.] money will be needed for all these three categories of Reserves. With regard To the regular Air Force Reserve, I find that training, medical examination, T. A. retention fee, etc., would not cost the Government of India very much. With regard to Air Defence Reserve also, the training expenses and other allowances will not cost much. With regard to the Auxiliary Air Force Reserve, I find that the Force will ultimately consist of 7 Squadrons of 12 aircraft each, altogether amounting to 84 planes which will be allotted for this purpose. While I am dealing with this, I may just read out only one sentence from the Financial Memorandum attached to the Bill : " As far as possible, aircraft will be found from those discarded from the regular Indian Air Force Squadrons •on their re-equipment with more modern types of aircraft." This may cause some fear in the minds of persons who would volunteer to undergo training, because if discarded aircraft are to be used for training pilots, certainly they would value their lives much more at the time of training and I would submit to the hon. Minister that it is the most modern type of aircraft that should be used by the trainees and not discarded aircraft fitted with modern type of equipment. Even for this Auxiliary Reserve I do not think very much money need be spent by the Government of India. So my point is that it should not be a permissive piece of legislation, but it should be enforced immediately. More money should be allocated for the purpose so that we can have a weltequipped and well-trained air defence for this country.

Then, Sir, in England if you see their Budget for the year 1950-51, they had curtailed the expenditure on regular Air Force and increased the expenditure on Reserves—Territorials and Auxiliaries. I submit, Sir, that we can adopt the same kind of procedure as was followed in England in the year 1950-51 in curtailing expenditure on regular Air Force

and increasing the expenditure on Reserves—Territorials and Auxiliaries.

Then, Sir, this piece of legislation brings in more civilian co-operation for the air defence of the country and it is said, Sir, that this is the air counterpart of the Territorial Army. Sir, one Member had criticised—and many Members would certainly criticise—that the Air Defence Reserve is conscriptive in nature. Sir, without conscription nothing will be achieved ; there is nothing wrong in conscription when our country demtnds it and I feel, Sir, that we should not be deterred because it is conscriptive in its nature. So far as the Auxiliary Air Force Reserve is concerned, it will involve the enrolment of civilian volunteers for part-time training and I would certainly welcome this measure. Very many youngsters in our country are certainly air-minded. We have got already one of the best armies in the world and with this piece of legislation coming into effect we will be certainly having a very good Air Defence Reserve also for our country.

There are only one or two more points which I would like to deal with a little more elaborately. Coming to clause 25 of the Bill, we find that the liability imposed on the Auxiliary Air Force is the same that is imposed on the Air Defence Reserve or on the Regular Air Force Reserve. When one is voluntary in its nature, i.e., the Auxiliary Air Force Reserve, and the other two are conscriptive in their nature, may I submit, Sir, that the liability imposed on all the three categories should not be one and the same ? The liability that would be imposed on the Auxiliary Air Force Reserve should be a little more liberal than the liabilities that are imposed on the Air Defence Reserve and the Regular Air Force Reserve.

Then, Sir, certainly I will have no grievance if the first two categories are utilised for service in aid of the civil power and for service abroad, but I will certainly have my grievance if

a liability is imposed on the Auxiliary Reserve to aid the civil power in the country and also to be utilised for service abroad in the case of emergencies. There will be a sort of feeling among those people who would like to join the Auxiliary Reserve if their services will be utilised to quell disturbances within the country. Certainly they will be very glad to serve if their services are utilised for purposes like alleviating distress during floods, famine, epidemics or any other national emergencies, but if their services are utilised for bombing civilian population at the time of disturbances, if their services are to be utilised for killing their own brethren, certainly they will hesitate to come forward and enlist themselves in the Auxiliary Air Force Reserve. My submission is that it is only for this reason, in order to encourage the civilian population to come forward and join the Auxiliary Reserve, this clause should be deleted, or if it should remain, the force should be used within the country only for the purpose of alleviating distress during floods, famine, epidemics and other national emergencies. Certainly, Sir, the Auxiliary Air Force can be utilised to defend the frontiers of our country but if their services are to be utilised abroad—for example, if their services are to be utilised in Korea—it would not be welcome. So my submission is, Sir, that the Auxiliary Air Force Reserve should not be utilised in aid of the civil power within the country and also for service abroad.

Then, Sir, I find very little guarantee is provided for those who volunteer to join these three Reserves. If they are to be reverted back, I find if their former employer is not willing to take them back, they are to be paid only six months' pay. My submission is that they would rather prefer to be in the job than volunteer for service if they are to be given only six months' pay. The Government should therefore come forward and guarantee that if the former employer does not take him back, the Government would give him a job

in the civil service. That, Sir, will be certainly an encouraging factor.

Lastly, may I once again congratulate the hon. Minister for bringing forward this kind of measure and making India airminded? This will certainly give a fillip to the younger generation of our country to join the Air Force. I would also submit, Sir, that various clubs like Flying Clubs, Glider Clubs should be started and the air wing of the N. C. C. should also be developed. If all these non-official clubs are developed, like Rifle Clubs, Scout Associations, etc., especially for purposes of air and sea scouting, they will certainly go a long way in developing the air reserves of our country and in time of emergency these people will be of great help in defending our country.

SHRIMATI VIOLET ALVA (Bombay) : Mr. Chairman, I rise to congratulate the hon. the Defence Minister in bringing such a measure before this House. I do not think there would be any difference of opinion on this Bill, for we in this country do need such measures. The only fact remains that we must hasten up. For when such a measure comes before us for discussion, directly our thoughts go to another subject : How can we implement such a measure without defence industries in this country? I shall not be digressing if I do spend a few minutes on that subject.

This Bill which is before the House today has two natures. It is permissive in some ways ; it is conscriptive in some of its clauses, as the hon. Member Mr. Rajagopal Naidu has pointed out. I want to refer to the minute of dissent of Mr. Uma Charan Patnaik. He sums it up in a very dispassionate manner. He says we need a well-trained, part-time, non-regular personnel. We seek to implement that by this measure. He discusses the advisability of Advisory Committees State-wise and at the Centre also. The other day we discussed the Air defence expenditure when the Appropriations Bill came up for discussion, and some of us on the floor of the House pointed out to the hon.

[Shrimati Violet Alva.] the Defence Minister how inadequate our funds were to build up our Air Force. If that thought is borne in mind, this measure is certainly like putting the cart before the horse. We have not got sufficient planes ; we have not got sufficient equipment. We have plenty of young men, and young women, if they would be allowed to come forth, as they are in other countries. But what about the machines ? We have the Hindustan Aircraft Factory. They do not even make aero-machines there. We do not yet make radar equipment in this country. How, then, can we implement a measure like this ? I do not say this in any spirit of criticism but on a dispassionate observation of what must happen and should happen and how we should go about to implement measures of this nature.

Sir, World War II proved to us that the most effective weapon in times of war is the Air Force. There is also an opinion that holds that it is the cheapest way of fighting any crisis on a war basis. In manpower, U. K. and U. S. A. use one third of their defence personnel for Air Force. As far as defence expenditure goes, we observe that in the United Kingdom, one-third of the total defence expenditure is spent on the Air Force—civil and military. In India—I am not good at calculation, and I speak subject to correction—it is one-twelfth of the total defence expenditure that is spent on the Air Force. How can we go ahead with a measure like this when only one-twelfth of the total defence expenditure is being spent on the Air Force—military side ? And here, this measure is a mix-up of the civil plus the military in the sense that the civilian will be called upon to defend our country. It is most inadequate. If the United Kingdom and the United States use one-third, I should say we should use not one-third but much more than that, and that way, we should go ahead. It would be interesting to observe what the other countries have done—how France built up her air force in five years after she was knocked down in the last war, and what

Churchill says in his History of the Second World War, which I shall presently read. Finally, I seek your permission to read out something about the jet plane which is cutting down distances. You will permit me to read out from " The Statesman" of yesterday :

Thirty-three-year old captain Wilson, an ex-RAF man, has been a pilot for 12 years and has flown over a million miles..... He said he found the runway at the Santa Cruz airport 'bumpy' and not up to the international standard. The Comet required a little longer than the 6,000 foot runway of Santa Cruz, but could still land there with ease, he added. Bombay's was the shortest runway they had encountered on their route from London. The runway at Beirut was 7,800 feet long, at Karachi 7,500 feet, and at Bahrain 7,200 feet. London airport had a runway of 9,000 feet.

And then he goes on to say :

Captain Wilson said facilities for jet plane landing in Bombay were just 'average' and he would like to see these raised to international standard. 'Bombay is fast developing as a nerve centre of international aviation and it should have a runway as long as we have in London.'

So, Sir, we have to take all these factors into consideration. How are we to call our youth up if we shall not give them proper equipment ? In any other country they would think twice before they called out their youth. Here we call out our youth and leave them in the lurch. We have enough scientists in this country, but we must have scientific research centres. Why are we not going ahead on radar equipment ?

Let me make a few more observations. It was in 1926 that the Skeen Committee met and recommended that India should have, its own air arm. In 1933 the formation of the first I. A. F. Squadron was effected. In 1939, of course, war broke out and we then had the glorious number of 16 officers. In 1939 our Air Force had only 16 officers. In 1940 of course coastal defence was undertaken and Calcutta, Karachi, Madras and Bombay were manned by volunteer forces. Then came the partition, and we inherited as our share only 7 fighters and one transport squadron. Today I do not know where we stand ; that is a top secret of the Defence Ministry.

But I do feel that we certainly could not have gone much farther ahead from 1947, to date from those 7 fighter and one transport squadron of 1939. Then came the Kashmir situation, and we know how well civil aviation played their part. Then came the Hyderabad action. The members of this House will very well remember the exploits of that notorious gentleman, Mr. Cotton—how he flew across Pakistan, India, Hyderabad and went back. What did he do ? What did he carry ? What if we were to encounter such exploits in future ? Do we know where we stand ? Young men, of course, we shall have who will make first rate pilots. But is the Government of India prepared to go ahead and raise loans—to beg, borrow or steal ? The House will again pardon me if I cite one more example. I think that was at the time when Dr. Shyama Prasad Mookerjee was the Industry and Supply Minister in the Cabinet. I understand from friends I had a German expert did come to India then. His name was Prof. Messerschmidt. He said that in five years India could be made strong as far as her air arm was concerned. But we were slow. Perhaps we had no funds. Perhaps there were other difficulties. And this gentleman Prof. Messerschmidt was an expert in Germany, in the time of Hitler, whom Hitler discarded because he wanted to build up an air offensive, Hitler believed in offensive perfection and Messerschmidt believed in schemes of air defence—merely defensive. Now this gentleman is building up aircraft industries in Spain. We have lost opportunities. But when we undertake schemes like this, we must also go ahead with the industries, think of experts, find money and get them.

Sir, may I mention here the little pimple on the face of India ? I refer to Portuguese Goa. By now I think all people in this country know that two huge aerodrome are built and ready in Goa. For whom, why and for what purpose ? And who will operate from that aerodrome ? I am told that a plane with 200 people inside it can land on this aerodrome in Goa. 39CSD

What are we doing ? It may be that for political reasons and diplomatic reasons we do not want to question them. But international crises do not wait. They come overnight and what shall we do with huge airports in little Goa threatening us from there with not a proper runway in a city like Bombay ? Sir, I represent Karnataka. Karnataka can be pounded to dust. The whole west coast is threatened by Goa. In times of international crisis we shall be no where,

I shall quote a few facts about America. In America, Sir the Military Air Transport Service is a worldwide organisation operated entirely by American air force—virtually a skeleton designed to establish bases throughout the world so that at a moment's notice American transport can move to any destination. In emergency they draw the civil aircraft fleet leaving only one-third of the civil aircraft. Sir, in the case of Korean Pacific air lift they called out civil aircraft. Americans insisted that the civil aircraft be modified to serve and every time an aircraft went for repairs, it was equipped with latest equipment to jump in for military purposes. We do not have any such thing here. We do not have even a beginning of such thing. Sir, these are just observations for this country if we are to go ahead. Sir, you will permit me to quote Winston Churchill—The Second World War. Vol. I :

"The possibility of using radio waves scattered back from aircraft and other metal object seems to have occurred to a very large number of people in England, America, Germany, and France in the nineteen-thirties. We talked of them as R. D. F (Radio Direction Finding), or later as 'Radar'. The practical aim was to discern the approach of hostile aircraft, not by human senses, by eye or ear, but by echo which they sent back from radio waves. About seventy miles up there is a reflecting canopy (ionosphere), the existence of which prevents ordinary wireless waves from wandering off into space, and thus makes long-range wireless communication possible. The technique of sending up very short pulses and observing their echo had been actively developed for some years by our scientists, notably by Professor Appleton."

And, Sir, further I will quote what I had quoted in my last speech on the Appropriation Bill. That is :

[Shrimati Violet Alva.] "Air-Power is the most difficult of all forms of military force to measure, or even to express in precise terms. The extent to which the factories and training-grounds of civil aviation have acquired a military value and significance at any given moment cannot easily be judged and still less exactly defined. The opportunities for concealment, camouflage, and treaty-evasion are numerous and varied. The air, and the air alone, offered Hitler the chance of a short cut, first to equality and next to predominance, in a vital military arm over France and Britain."

We are all aware that Hitler failed when he lacked petroleum and not because German air force went down in efficiency. Mr. Churchill makes an observation "I have no technical knowledge nor training but I am equipped in my mental make-up and can grasp quickly". And though he knew nothing about the air force defence of Britain, he learnt and grasped and forged ahead :

By March 1936 stations were being erected and equipped along the south coast, and it was hoped to carry out experimental exercises in the autumn. During the summer there were considerable delays in construction, and the problem of hostile jamming appeared.

Sir, I would not take much time of the House and I will go to the next sentence. That is :

"By the end of the year we could track them up to a distance of thirty-five miles at ten thousand feet."

If England could do it, could we do it ? I grant that our Defence Minister is in no way behind the great Mr. Churchill. He may not have the technical training but he certainly should have the imagination and he certainly could find money. This country is running rampant with brains. We have brains. We have youth. We have men. We have Scientists in plenty : but have no Scientific equipments. Create opportunities for our youth and then see whether a measure like this does not go ahead. Defence industries is a condition precedent to this measure in hand.

Sir, one more point about clause 25 which was also referred to by Mr. Rajagopalan, which says that this

civil air force, this auxiliary and reserve force would be used in times of crisis. I personally feel that it is a very wrong principle to set up civilians to bomb or fight civilians. We grant all that freedom to kill us to our regular forces; our army, navy and air force. We grant it to the police. They can shoot us down. But, Sir, as a woman I stand here and say "Don't set up civilians against civilians even in times of crisis". That way we shall disintegrate as a nation. Let us use the civil trainees in times of crisis, in times of famine, flood or any other crisis in defending our country. Our Tibet border is within the target of the air force. Our Gangetic Plains could be blown off within seven days I am told. So also our other boundary lines. Use the civilian reserve and the auxiliary force for that measure. But, Sir, I say it as a woman : "Do not set civilians against civilians when you have to fight civil disturbances in this country"

Sir, I do not want to take much time of this House. But I would ask the Government to see and assess as to what the Americans, the Britishers and the Japanese have undertaken by now. If Japan can start strengthening its air force, its aircraft industry, why not this country? I am sure that Japan will go ahead because they have a purpose and an indomitable will. They have beaten the pre-war target in figures of production. They have now taken in hand the air force industry. They shall not only be ahead of us but they shall be ahead perhaps of many other countries as they were in the pre-war years. • We are free now. We are a nation, a secular Republic. We want our defence services to grow fast. Sir, I beseech the Defence Minister and the Government of India that they should lay aside sufficient funds to start such industries, they should encourage the gliding and Flying Clubs and subsidise them. The youth of this country—boys and girls—should be called upon but do not call them upon if you have no measure of equipment. This Bill, if you read it carefully, is going to come into force in regard to certain clauses of it when the

Government of India desires. Therefore if the defence industries are undertaken measures like this could be proudly placed on the Statute Book. We are not far back and the day is not far off when we shall stand up and say that we are certainly forging ahead and the youth of this country is ready to stand up for the defence of their motherland. Thank you, Sir.

SHRI P. C. BHANJ DEO (Orissa) : Mr. Chairman, it is with mixed feelings that I rise from this side of the House to say a few words on the Bill before us today. When I think of the Indian Air Force, it forcefully reminds me of the great celestial Eagle, Garuda, of our old books which is said to protect the universe under its outstretched wings. It is truly an institution to be proud of, and it is truly an institution which should be improved, and any step that is taken by the Government to improve its efficiency and its power should be supported by every Indian worth that name. From this point of view, I have no alternative but to congratulate the hon. the Defence Minister on this action that he is determined to take, although in my opinion it is even now a rather belated measuring. It should have been taken very much earlier. After all, this Government has been in power for so many years. In any case, it is better to be late than never, and from that point of view, the Defence Minister's foresightedness in this regard; is surely an achievement to be congratulated. The Air Force, as has been very clearly demonstrated by the previous speakers, has been the Cinderella of our Defence expenditure. Although one is aware of the difficulties regarding finance as far as the Government is concerned, I hope that the meagre sum that is now being devoted to the Air Force which is vital to our defence will be increased very soon. While in England, Sir, " I realised more forcefully than any academic instruction could have revealed to me, the importance of the Air Force regarding reconnaissance, regarding striking power, regarding the defence of the prestige of a

country. I spent six years,—practically the whole war period,—in England, while the air raids were taking place both from Germany on England and from England on Germany. I also had the good fortune or the misfortune—I do not know which—to go to Germany and France during the war in a Red Cross Ambulance Unit, and I have seen with my own eyes the value of a powerful Air Force and its necessity for guarding the security and safety of the country. From that point of view, there can be no other alternative opinion except the fact that we should devote all our energies and all our efforts to strengthening the Air Force to the best of our ability, and the Defence Minister, in view of the paucity of funds, has moved in the right direction by trying to enlist civilians to help our Defence Services in this very laudable fashion. This will not entail much expenditure for us and at the same time it will increase our Air Force and so increase our prestige and our power to defend ourselves simultaneously. In this connection, I would like to stress one point from the point of view of our national security. While I was returning from England last year, a neighbour of ours had many passengers in the same ship that I came by, and of course in numbers they were more overwhelming than we were on board, but what struck me was that nearly everyone of them had been sent abroad for military training, and the majority of them had gone to England, America and other parts of Europe in order to imbibe the latest developments in aircraft and munitions manufacture.—This thing brought to our minds more forcibly than anything else that our country needs to be very secure in its defence, because today we are living in such explosive conditions all around that, unless we are strong and secure, we can never get that peace and propagate that international message of peace which is India's heritage and which is India's mission in the new scheme of things. I will not repeat, Sir, most of the very valuable contributions to this debate which have been made by the previous



[Shri P. C. Bhanj Deo. ] speakers here, because I know how valuable the time of the House is and I know also that most of us are now tired and would like to break up and shorten our deliberations to the best of our ability. I will end what I have to say in this matter by remarking on the fact that the Auxiliary Air Forces Bill which is before us today, in my opinion, is not attractive enough to enlist the necessary response from the civilian population which we should very much like it to command. In this regard, as most of our reforms, or achievements and plans are based on those of England, I would like to mention that although Chapter IV of the Auxiliary Air Forces Bill is meant to provide vital defence in the air for the areas for which the Squadrons are raised, and as such, is meant to be a counterpart of our own Territorial Army, in the Air, the conditions of service are so stiff that they are hardly likely to attract enough civilians to enlist for these purposes. In this respect, my knowledge of the Auxiliary Air Force in England reveals to me that there a member of the Auxiliary Air Force, enjoys a number of rights and privileges that seem to be lacking in this Bill. In the British Auxiliary Air Force the term of service or the area of operations during service for a member of this Force cannot be varied or modified by order nor can an order be passed transferring a member of the Auxiliary Air Force to any other Unit than that in which he was enlisted. He cannot be transferred to the Regular Force either, by order. No one serving in the Auxiliary Air Force can be appointed, attached or transferred to the Regular Force without his consent just by a mere order. Lastly, every member of the Auxiliary Air Force in Great Britain has a right to enlist in any branch of the Regular Armed Forces if he can satisfy the prescribed conditions.

It is these privileges and rights which attract a large number of civilian entrants into the Auxiliary Air Force in Great Britain and in my opinion if attractive rights and privileges of this sort could have been extended to the promising civilian youths of our

country, there would have been a greater response than there will be, according to my calculations, in the present scheme of things. With these few words I again congratulate the Defence Minister on the Bill that he has brought before the House and I fully endorse and support it

SHRI H. N. KUNZRU (Uttar Pradesh) : Mr. Chairman, I welcome the Bill that the hon. Defence Minister has placed before us. I wish that it had come before us much earlier and indeed it would have been placed, before us 4 years ago were it not for the fact that the Air Force were unable at that time to say what the size of their future Reserves and of the Auxiliary Force should be. I greatly regret the delay that has taken place, for, had this Bill been passed 4 years ago\*, substantial progress would have been made by now. But now that a step forward! is being taken, it is necessary that the Bill should be put into force with all the vigour that the Government are capable of. The Financial Memoranda attached to the Bill however damps our enthusiasm. I am not a militarist nor do I want that the money of my country should be unnecessarily wasted on Defence Forces. We need all the money that we have and more indeed! in order to provide for that economic development and those social services on which the uplift of the society as a whole and the raising of the standard of living of the masses depend. But we live in difficult times and we must ensure our national existence before we can think of taking steps either to raise our standard of living or to broaden, our social ideas and it is from this point of view that I find the Financial Memoranda attached to the Bill very disappointing. The first paragraph of the the Memoranda says ::

"The Bill is in the nature of a permissive-piece of legislation only and does not involve immediately any appreciable extra expenditure. The creation of the Auxiliary Air Force and the two Reserves will be taken in hand gradually depending upon the amount that is made available in the Budget of the Defence Service from year to year."

It is obvious that progress can be made only in the measure that the necessary funds are available and men:

are willing to come forward to join the Auxiliary Force but the matter is so obvious that it was not necessary to mention it in the Financial Memoranda. I take it therefore that the reference to the want of money and the slow progress that will inevitably take place has a deeper significance. If I am right in my inference, I must say that, taking into account the delay that has already taken place, I protest against the implications of the Financial Memoranda. It is the duty, I think, of my hon. friend the Defence Minister to take immediately all possible steps in order to make the Reserve Forces and the Auxiliary Air Force that this Bill will create, a reality and I have no doubt that if he exerts his influence to the full, his efforts will bear fruit. No branch of our Defence Forces or that of any country is so mobile as the Air Force. Its value in a big country like India is so clear as not to be argued about. My friend the Defence Minister knows the importance that I have been attaching for years to the proper development of our Air Force. Some progress has taken place there and it has been a little more rapid than I expected it to be but it is still not what it should be and it is, therefore, imperative that if our Regular Force is of a small size, I feel the arrangements that we are now making should be of such a character as to provide real help to the Regular Air Force.

Now I shall say a few words about the provisions of the Bill. The Bill proceeds except in certain respects, on the principles that have been observed in connection with the formation of Reserves and the Territorial Force in the army. We have Reserves of Officers known as the Indian Regular Reserve of Officers and the Regular Army Reserves in the Indian Army. The Army Reserves consist of the men and the Indian Regular Reserve of Officers as its name shows, consists of Officers. Now the Regular Air Force Reserve will consist of both Officers and men.

There is another similarity between the Army and the Air Force in this respect. Just as in the case of the Army the Indian Regular Reserve of Officers

and the regular Army Reserve consist, largely speaking, of ex-officers and men, so the Regular Air Force Reserve will consist, largely speaking, of people who have retired from the Indian Air Force or whose services have been terminated for any reason. The Auxiliary Air Force as the hon. Defence Minister has pointed out, corresponds to the Territorial Force. In two respects, however, we have departed from anything that has been done by or in the Army so far. The Bill seeks to provide a reserve in addition to the Regular Air Force Reserve which is to be called the Air Defence Reserve. Secondly, it introduces an element of compulsion in respect of both Reserves. So far as the Air Defence Reserve is concerned, although it may seem that the underlying idea of this formation is something new, in my opinion, will not be quite correct. In the case of the Army and the Navy, the number of people with the particular kind of experience and qualifications required for the Reserve is so small that you can create a reserve for these people, that is, people possessing the experience and qualifications needed. But in the case of the Army the expansion may be on a scale as to make any formal reserve other than the regular army reserve virtually impossible. For this, I am sure that in the Army, too, there would have been a shortage of experienced and technical men. As a matter of fact, in the Army the India Reserve of Officers which until recently hardly exists at the present time, provision has been made for the appointment of men with various kinds of experience and technical qualifications.

The element of compulsion, however, is altogether new. Some hon. members have asked the question of the Government, "Why call this an element of compulsion? Why not call it conscription?" Now, the subject, obviously is, once Government calls this principle the principle of conscription, we are driven to accept a similar principle in the case of the Army and perhaps in the expansion and recruitment to the other defence forces. The dimensions of the problem,

[Shri H. N. Kunzru.] when we call the small element of conscription introduced in this Bill as conscription", become so vast as to require very serious consideration. Even if we call the principle here the principle of conscription, that will not help us either in achieving the object that my hon. friends have in view. We have neither the training personnel, nor the funds that would make it possible for us to make conscription a practical proposition. We cannot, at this stage, merely by using the word "conscription" force Government to follow it to its logical conclusion and build up defence forces on a vast scale.

Sir, some important questions arose with regard to the service that is expected of the Air Defence Reserve and the Auxiliary Air Force. Suggestions have been made that their liability for service should not be the same as that of the regular Air Force. Two suggestions have been made in this respect. One is that they should not be called out for service abroad, except in serious emergencies or with their consent. I could not exactly follow what was said on this subject. The other suggestion was that it at least in the case of the Auxiliary Force, the responsibility for dealing with any internal disturbance should not be laid down, lest people should be deterred from joining it. Now, I have the misfortune to disagree with both these views. The Air Force, as everybody knows, is a mobile force. In an emergency it cannot be asked to work within the country. Its main work will lie obviously outside the country. It is not like the army that moves on land and moves slowly overcoming resistance. It is in a much easier position in some respects than the Army and its main duty will consist in service outside the frontiers of the country. If, therefore, these reserves are to be of any practical use or value, we cannot limit their utility or the utility of the Auxiliary Air Force by limiting its liability to service within the country. Now, take, Sir, the liability for quelling of internal disturbance which hon. Members do not want to be placed on the Auxiliary Air Force. Now, I feel the Auxiliary Air

Force should not in principle, be in a different position from the Territorial Force. It must accept the responsibilities that the officers and men of the Territorial force have. It must be, when they are embodied, when they are under military law they must discharge the duties they are called upon to do by the proper military authorities.

There is another reason, Sir, why I am against making any distinction in favour of the Auxiliary Air Force on this subject. If such a distinction was made it might make people think that the Auxiliary Air Force might be joined by patriotic persons while the other Forces were meant for people who might be supposed to be actuated, more or less, by mercenary motives. I think it would be deplorable, Sir, If any kind of psychological difference were allowed to occur between the Auxiliary Air Force and the regular Air Force or the Air Defence Reserve. While I greatly appreciate the point of view of those hon. Member who have pleaded for a limitation of the service of the Auxiliary Air Force, I regret that I cannot agree with them.

Sir, I should like to say a word or two more with regard to the steps that Government should take in order to strengthen their Defence Reserves in respect of the Air Force. We all know, Sir, that the National Cadet Corps was formed by Government after a full consideration of the importance of the matter. A Committee enquired into it and Government took sometime to consider its recommendations before arriving at its decisions. The object of starting the National Cadet Corps, particularly the Senior Wing, was to give real training in regard to the various Defence Services to our educated young men, particularly the young men in the Universities. In England, Sir, a great deal of importance is attached to the Cadet Corps attached to the Universities which are known as the Officers Training Corps. *(Interruption)*. Whatever name they may have now, it is the special business of the War Office to pay attention to the development of the training of the men at the Universities, and some Officers are taken from them, from among the young

men, who are proved competent and who have obtained the necessary certificates of efficiency. They receive direct Commissions, in the Army at least. Now, from this point of view, Sir, it is very necessary that the Air Wing of the National Cadet Corps should be fully developed. I should also say that the National Cadet Corps was formed about four years ago and the progress made by the Air Wing is highly unsatisfactory. Training is given only at 5 centres at present, Calcutta, Bombay, Madras, Delhi and Patna. It is proposed to give it at Kanpur also but the plans in respect of Kanpur have not been finally decided. Sir, is this a state of thing with which anybody can be satisfied? I am sure that my hon. friend, the Defence Minister, if he was asked for his opinion, on this, would be the most dissatisfied of us all. I urge him, therefore, to do all that lies in his power to make the Air Wing of the National Cadet Corps serve the purpose for which its establishment was recommended by the National Cadet Corps Committee. I go further and say that the Junior Air Wing of the National Cadet Corps should also receive his attention. No preliminary air training is being given in any school. No steps have been taken even to create air-mindedness amongst the boys in those schools where the National Cadet Corps has been started. Surely, Sir, we have to be more serious in respect of this matter and the sooner we take some steps to make up for the deficiency that has been caused by our neglect, the better.

Sir, there are just one or two more points that I should like to deal with before I sit down. The Air Defence Reserve, it is fairly clear, will consist of men who have obtained the necessary experience or technical qualifications in civil aviation. Civil aviation, from this point of view, acquires a new importance. It stands in the same relation to the Air Force as the Merchant Navy does to the Indian Navy. It is desirable, therefore, Sir, that the Defence Ministry should not completely lose sight of the importance of the development of civil aviation. I know that this matter comes within the jurisdiction of the Communications Minis-

try; but, I do not know whether there is any liaison between the two Ministries in regard to this matter. Civil aviation cannot, of course, be made military, but it is quite possible that if the two Ministries conferred together, arrangements may be made which will be useful both to civil aviation and to the Air Force. This is another matter to which I should like to draw the attention of my hon. friend, the Defence Minister.

Now, Sir, yesterday one of our hon. Members—perhaps it was Mr. C. G. K. Reddy—laid some stress on the Commissioned Officers in the Air Defence Reserve and the Regular Air Reserve being on the same list.

I think that is correct, Mr. Reddy?

SHRI C. G. K. REDDY (Mysore) : Yes.

SHRI H. N. KUNZRU : In his minute of dissent he has drawn our attention to this matter and has said that what he has suggested is being done already in other countries. Now, I fear, Sir, that I cannot agree with him in the statement that he has made. In regard to the Navy, both in India and in England, it is not quite correct to say that the Naval Reserve corresponds to the regular Air Force Reserve that this Bill seeks to establish.

The Naval Reserve consists of men from the Merchant Navy, but there is a list known as the Retired List in which the .....

SHRI C. G. K. REDDY : The Fleet Reserve.

SHRI H. N. KUNZRU : My hon. friend says Fleet Reserve, but the Fleet Reserve does not exist and it is only meant for the ratings. As I was saying the Retired List is there for the maintenance of the names of the ex-officers and retired men. Now officers from the Naval Reserve which consists of the mercantile marine cannot be transferred to the Retired List and the Regular Air Force Reserve corresponds to the Retired List in the Navy similarly, in the Air Force in England I believe there is a Retired List corresponding to the Retired List in the Navy. We have got no such Retired List. What is called

[Shri H. N. Kunzru.] Retire i L'st in England. is called Regular Air Force Reserve. It is obviously not possible therefore that Air Defence Reserve Officers should, when they get Commissions, be automatically transferred to the Regular Air Force Reserve.

Just one thing more before I sit down. This Bill, I am glad to say, provides for the establishment of Advisory Committees at the Central, State and local levels to advise Government in regard to matters connected either with the Auxiliary Air Force as a whole or with its progress in a State or with the affairs relating to a unit. This is all to the good and I hope that they will be so used as to encourage non-officials to take an interest in them. I know that Advisory Committees existed in connection with the Territorial Force till 1948, till the Territorial Force Bill was passed, but the meetings were so infrequent and the men who were appointed were chosen so carelessly that these Committees did not prove of any real value. I hope that this lesson will be borne in mind by Government and that they will make more use of the Committees that I have mentioned than has been made of the Committees connected with the National Cadet Corps. And I should, in this connection, like to ask the Defence Minister why it is that no Advisory Committees exist now in connection with the Territorial Force. It was as astoundingly inadequate reason that was given for their abolition when the Territorial Force Bill was under discussion in another place. If anybody were to read at the reasons given by the previous Defence Minister, I am sure, he could not help laughing. They are ridiculous in the extreme. I ask my hon. friend now to take a forward step in connection with the Territorial Force and to see that it is provided with Advisory Committees of the kind that this Bill seeks to establish in connection with the Auxiliary Air Force. Sir, I began by saying that I welcome this Bill and I should like to end by saying also that I heartily welcome it in the hope that a much better use

made of it than has been made of the corresponding Reserve Forces in the case of the Army.

MR. CHAIRMAN : We have had two and a half hours' discussion on this matter and I hope Members hereafter will be very brief.

SHRI RAMA RAO (Madras) : Mr. Chairman, Sir, I began to speak on this Bill on a tragic note, because two members of my family died in air crashes and both of them were aviators. But I recall one very interesting story told me by my son-in-law who died later in an air crash. It seems one; he was travelling in motor car and the taxi driver asked him : "Where do you work ?" He said : "I work in the Air Force". "What do you get ?" I get Rs. 700. Then the taxi driver said : "But it seems there is nothing there to drive in an aeroplane. It seems the machine does the whole thing. Here I have to steer clear of the traffic. I get only Rs. 60/. If there is an accident, I am arrested and hauled up. My licence is cancelled " That only show what people think. They think how easy it is to get a trained pilot. If we recall the instance of the expansion of the Royal Air Force in England, we will find how the whole thing can be done very quickly. I would suggest, therefore, that the I.A.F., that was started as an apology a few years ago should be very rapidly expanded. I am not an expert, but I do believe that if I were to choose between the Navy and the Air Force, I would say that we should spend more money on the Air Force than on the Navy because our Navy will not be able for years to come to guard our coast in the same way as Britain or America guard their coast with their national Navy.

I will now answer some of the amendments that have been given notice of. It must not be forgotten that all the powers that are being asked for in this Bill are powers in theory, powers which a Legislature ought to give to the Executive so that at any moment it can make use of them. It does not follow therefore that the powers are

going to be used here and now. Sir, I one of the amendments is that those who are to be called up should have expressed their willingness. There is no question of anybody not willing to serve the country. Everyone must be ready to do it, and in the case of the Air Reserve, it is obvious that the number of people available are very few and to that extent, therefore, no choice can be given to them either to serve or not to serve. Similarly, it is said only on such occasions as flood or famine that people should be called up. It is undoubtedly a matter for the discretion of the national Government to do what they please and no restriction should be placed on the discretion of the Government. It must not be forgotten that in all this scheme of legislation the main thing is that there will always be a few people opposing the measure and hereafter whenever we legislate we must make up our mind to what extent any legislation is for the benefit of the people and the general principle ought to be that if it is going to do the maximum good to the maximum number of the people, then it ought to be there in spite of the fact that there will always be some people who will suffer thereby. Sir, the principle of helping the civil power had been accepted in our legislation, but it has been said : "No, you must make some exceptions." How could you make any exception when you have given power to the State to be in charge of the defence of the country. I know it is rather an unpleasant thing for a civilian to don a uniform to fire at his own people, but it does not generally happen. There is similar legislation in the countries of Europe, and - if that has happened in Europe, then there is no fun in saying that it should not happen in India.

Then it has been said that conscription is somewhat out of place in a Democracy, that conscription has no place in Democracy. I would respectfully say that for the last 100 years there has been conscription everywhere in the world—I mean in some part of the world or the other. There has been conscription in France, in

Italy, in Belgium, in Holland and in so many other places. If they are not Democracies, then I want to know what Democracy is. But in the Anglo-Saxon Democracies, the position is different. It is therefore that they have a system of reserves by which they train people and keep them ready so that they may be available in an emergency. That principle has got to be recognised. May I add one request to the hon. Minister in charge of Defence ? He stated in his speech that there were not enough flying clubs in the country and therefore there were not enough opportunities for people to get into the air. I know it. A friend of mine in Patna sent his son for training to Allahabad, and he had to spend Rs. 6,000. Do you really mean to say that an Air Force trained in that manner is really going to be anything but a class Air Force ? In this way you would be shutting out poor people. I tried to send my son to Dehra Dun. I estimated how much it was going to cost me to have him trained up. I thought it was beyond me. There are lots of people in this country who cannot afford this expensive training. The success of your system depends on the opportunities you give to the people for getting training. In other words, in a democracy you must have a democratic Army, you must have a democratic Navy, and you must have a democratic Air Force. I have not the slightest doubt that in our country the response to any kind of defence training will be immediate and vast and ever forthcoming. It will be in the same spirit in which it was always available in the Athenian democracy. I shall end by narrating the story of the great Greek tragedian Sophocles. It seems he was not sure that he would be elected a General—that was the system in Athens—of one of the armies that were going out on periodical expeditions. So he sat for a number of nights and wrote an excellent tragedy. That was presented at the Athenian Theatre and it was pronounced to be the best, and on the morrow of the production of his play he was elected as a General. That was the spirit of ancient Greece. I have no doubt whatever that with our great traditions of Rama, Krishna and Vikramaditya there will be abundant

[ Shri Rama Roo ] spirit forthcoming in this country. The libel that only some classes are martial and other classes are not martial is a ridiculous libel spread during the British days and it has been exploded. I hope and trust that we shall all be pervaded by that same spirit which pervaded in the days of Greece.

SHRI RAJENDRA PRATAP SINHA (Bihar) : Air. Chairman, I rise to associate myself with the chorus of congratulations that have been showered upon the Government and particularly upon the Defence Minister for introducing this Bill. As a matter of fact, considering the importance of air defence in any scheme of national defence, such a measure was long overdue. The inordinate delay in introducing a Bill for the creation of Air Force Reserves or of an Auxiliary Air Force gave the impression that the Government was not aware of the basic problems of air defence and of air strategy in the war of tomorrow. I therefore particularly congratulate our Defence Minister, who has taken a farsighted view of things and introduced this measure for the constitution of Air Force Reserves and an Auxiliary Air Force soon after his assumption of office as the Defence Minister of this country.

Let us consider the dominant idea underlying this piece of legislation. As far as I can see, there is a two-fold purpose which is sought to be fulfilled by this legislation. In the first place, it is intended to broaden our air defence and to extend its roots into the masses of the people. What we have today is a band of airmen who have almost a monopoly of flying experience, and a monopoly of knowledge of aeroplanes, and all that go to make up air offence or air defence. It is now intended by passing this legislation to train a large number of our young men in the technique of flying and of ground operations. If the Auxiliary Air Force succeeds in creating little circles of air enthusiasts over the various parts of the country, I am sure the object of this Bill will be fulfilled, namely to implant an air sense in the people of this country, which is the surest foundation for building up any air defence.

Secondly, this measure will be creating a non-regular Air Force, which is very economical to raise as compared to the regular forces. We need large sums of money for maximum investment in our defence projects. We have embarked on big schemes of construction and of social services which require all our resources. We can get them only if we save in other branches of public administration. The cost of raising a non-regular or Auxiliary Air Force comparatively speaking is very much less than the cost of raising a regular Air Force of similar strength. This Bill will enable the Government in any emergency to tap the amateur skill of men experienced in flying and ground operations, and this will serve both to augment the strength of our regular forces and act as a second line of defence.

These being the dominant purposes for which the Bill is being enacted, any provision of this Bill which militates against these purposes must either be suitably amended or deleted. I join with my other friends who have raised a voice of protest against clause 15(b) regarding calling up of these reserves, particularly of the Auxiliary Reserve, in support of the civil power. I am sure the popularity of this force will be greatly affected if this clause is allowed to remain in this Bill. I am aware of the fact that a similar clause is there in the Territorial Army Act. But I can say from my personal experience that the Indian Territorial Force is not very popular because of the existence of a similar clause in that Act. I would not like the same mistake to be repeated. I would rather say the Indian Territorial Force Act should be suitably amended so that that provision may be deleted from that Act in order that both the forces may have popularity. The Government has at its disposal vast resources in the police, the special police and the army and now in the Navy and the Air Force, for quelling disturbances of a civil nature. Also they have power to summon any civilian in aid of the civil power for maintaining law and order.

At the top of it, what for do they want this provision? I cannot possibly understand it. For the sake of the

popularity of the Auxiliary Air Force I should plead with the Defence Minister to delete this clause.

Sir, coming to the Air Defence Reserve, this Reserve will be largely or mostly composed of the men who have been trained in the civil aviation schemes and the success of this class of reserve will entirely depend upon the success which the civil aviation schemes receive. Sir, I shall give you some statistics showing the state of affairs with regard to the civilian training schemes. As we know, Sir, there is a Civil Aviation Training Centre at Allahabad which has a capacity to train 45 pilots at a time and 60 persons in ground subjects ; out of this in 1950-51 they trained 20 pilots and in 1951-52 13 pilots. In ground subjects of course, Sir, they trained 56 in the first year and 66 in the second year. Then, Sir, let us see how many of these trained pilots are available in our country at the present moment. The present number of pilots in India with current licences is 584 persons holding 'A' licence, 19 holding 'A1' licence, and 440 holding 'B' licence. Now out of the B class licence holders 346 are employed with the air lines in this country and 31 are employed with the Flying Clubs and the training centre at Allahabad. 63 of them are unemployed. You will find, Sir, that the full capacity of the Allahabad Training Centre is not being utilised—the Centre on which Government in the Communications Ministry is spending lot of money. We should see the reason why we are not having a large number of our men coming to that Training Centre. The explanation, Sir, is also there. We find that 63 of our pilots holding B licences are unemployed and I am further told, Sir, that many of those pilots having held the B licences have not renewed their licences on account of the fact that they have to pay a penalty for being unemployed. As the House is aware, Sir, these B class licences are renewed every six months and before they are renewed, they have to fly up for a certain number of hours which costs a terrible amount of money. Now if they are unemployed, they do not wish to get their licences renewed. As far as I

understand, Sir, there are about 200 such pilots who are holding B licences or have held B licences and who are unemployed. The civil nnes cannot find employment lor them. Now if this is the state of affairs, how do you think that our Air Defence Reserve is going to be a successful reserve ? It is entirely dependent upon the civil aviation.

I would suggest, Sir, that the Government should take some measures to arrest this deplorable condition creeping into the civil aviation and my humble submission to the hon. Defence Minister is this that if he could so arrange that all these commercial pilots could be absorbed in the administrative branch of the armed forces, especially the Air Force, if they could be given preference over others who may apply or who may be available, it will go a long way to encourage the civil aviation in this country and such measures for encouraging civil aviation were, Sir, adopted in other countries.

I would also go further and suggest to the hon. the Defence Minister to-plead with his colleague, the Home Minister, and get an order passed that preference should be given in all civil employments either at the Centre or at the State level to those who have flying experience. Sir, if the employment rule is amended like that, I am sure, that the Auxiliary Air Force will succeed and many of our young men will get themselves trained there in order that they may have a preference in getting Government service.

Sir, clause 29(2) is a welcome addition made by the Joint Select Committee. It deals with the payment of salary to the trainee employees—the difference between the salary that he was getting from his previous employer and what he will get during the training period. This is a very welcome addition in this Bill to which our Defence Minister has already drawn the attention of this House.

Sir, this Bill requires, and it must have, the full co-operation of the employers and as such I would request the hon. the Defence Minister to so frame the rules for the constitution of the Advisory Board that a represen-



[Shri Rajendra Pratap Sinha.] tative of employers may find his place there on it. Then, Sir, I would suggest that if an employer refuses or fails to pay the salary to such trainee or the difference in the salary, then the trainee should be paid from the Government funds and that amount may later be recovered by the Government from the employer. This will ensure regular payment of the salary to the persons who join these Forces and they will be saved from the harassment of obtaining payments from such employer., who may be reluctant to pay.

Sir, there is another point to which I would draw the attention of the hon. the Defence Minister. There is no provision, Sir, for proper insurance of these youngmen who take up to flying. Sir, as we know, flying is regarded as a dangerous hobby or profession in this country. It is unfortunate, Sir, but it is regarded as such and usually it does not find favour or encouragement. Therefore, Sir, I suggest that some scheme may be formulated for the insurance of these youngmen who take up to flying.

What happens is that the insurance companies have classified this profession as a hazardous profession, and they either refuse to insure a person who takes to flying or they charge him a very much higher rate of premium than is usually charged to those who are engaged in other professions. I therefore plead with the Defence Minister that he should formulate a scheme on the lines of the Employees State Insurance Scheme so that our Air Force officers and pilots both in the Reserve and in the Auxiliary Air Force and also in the regular Air Force may be insured at a comparatively cheaper rate of premium.

SHRI AKHTAR HUSAIN (Uttar Pradesh). Mr. Chairman, from the expressions of opinion made by various sections of the House it appears that there is a consensus of opinion that this is a very necessary measure and should be accepted by the House. There can be no doubt that the setting up of an Auxiliary Air Force and creating opportunities for the training of our youngmen for service in the Defence

I Forces is an essential element in the strengthening of the defences of our country. In modern times, air war has become very prominent, and we find that other countries are devoting a great deal of attention to the development of their Air Forces. Due to circumstances beyond their control, it has not been possible for our Government to provide us with an Air Force as well equipped as we should wish it to be, but we hope that under the guidance of our Defence Minister we will soon have a sufficient number of men on whom the Air Force can rely in case of any emergency. Although there does not appear to be any imminent danger we can never be over-prepared in respect of our defences. The element of surprise in attack is recognised by military strategists as a very important factor, and if we are prepared, if we have a large body of trained men on whom we can rely in the event of any emergency, then that would deter a potential enemy or aggressor from attacking us, because he will know that we are not unprepared, we have got a large number of men on whose services we can rely on and whom we can ask to defend the frontiers of our country.

It appears that some misgivings have been expressed in respect of the use of personnel taken in the Auxiliary Air Force for employment abroad or outside our country. Now, Sir, the nature of this wing of the Defence Forces is such that its operations cannot possibly be restricted to places within geographical boundaries. If there is any necessity for basing our Air Forces or for using the Auxiliary Air Force or the Reserve Air Force at any place abroad, there is no reason why there should be any impediment in the way of the Government utilising the services of any of our men abroad. If from a base abroad we can reach and pound an enemy, a potential enemy or a declared enemy, there is no reason why we should not send our men so enrolled, abroad.

There is one other aspect. The men of the Air Forces cannot be easily absorbed in other Departments except in the Civil Aviation Department and I

welcome the provision in the Bill making it obligatory on air companies or Civil Aviation authorities to absorb the people who have been given training in the Auxiliary Air Force. We hope, Sir, that when we shall soo'n have an adequate number of trained pilots, airmen and ground engineers to supplement the work of the regular Air Force personnel, our defences would be strengthened and we would be in a position to ward off any apprehended attack by any enemy. We are strong ourselves and have sizable reserves.

There was an expression of opinion by an hon. Member that he did not like the finances of this country to be unnecessarily wasted. I submit that the expenditure duly incurred on the training of our young men to take charge of the defence of our country in the Air Force cannot be said to be wasteful. The use of the word "waste" to my mind is wholly inappropriate so far as expenditure on the Armed Forces is concerned. No amount can be said to be wasted if properly spent on the defence of the country.

SHRI K. C. GEORGE (Travancore-Cochin) : Mr. Chairman, the Defence Minister has been congratulated by many hon. Members of this House, but I am sorry I am not in a position to do so. I have to strike this discordant note mainly because of the conscriptive nature of the Bill. That an element of it is there has been accepted by the Defence Minister himself. He himself admitted that there is a small element of compulsion in the Bill, but my contention is that by the small element of compulsion which he concedes there is in the Bill, the whole nature of the Bill is completely transfigured. I hold that that clause not only vitiates the Bill but it vitiates it in a manner that would defeat the very purpose for which it is intended.

I would refer hon. Members to clause 11 from which the process of conscription starts. There is the obligation to register. Then after the registration there is a penalty attached to that. For once having registered, there is liability to be called up. There also there is the element of

conscription. Then there is calling up for inquiry, medical examination and unfortunately, if he is found to be medically fit, then he is automatically recruited. So it is not a simple element or small element of conscription that is in this Bill. A man who happens to have some training is forced to be in the Defence Forces. By this, I pray, I should not be misunderstood. I don't hold that our country should not be defended. On the other hand I do believe that it is highly necessary that we should strengthen our Defence Forces, particularly our Air Force. In the present setting of things, we have to develop our Air Force in order to strengthen our Defence. But why this compulsion I ask. It vitiates and defeats the purpose of this Bill. It is my experience and perhaps it is the experience of hon. Members, that people who actually don't want to be in the army and who are compelled by circumstances to go to the army, really sometimes run away and are arrested and taken back. Then what about people who, simply for the fact that they once had training in this for other purposes, are forced now to be recruited ? Not only that this compulsion is there, but it compels them to do certain things which they don't want really to do. For instance they are required to be called up to come in aid of the civil power. Naturally people who live among the ordinary masses of the people may not like it. We have to understand that there is a real difference between ordinary Regular Air Force and the Auxiliary Air Force which is constituted from people who are temporarily recruited and who take this as a part-time work. They live among the people whereas the Regular Force is kept aloof from the people. Their psychology is different entirely but here is a section of the people who take it almost as a hobby and then one fine morning they are asked to shoot their own people which is certainly alien to their very temperament and that fact also would go against the purpose of this Bill.

There is another thing about sending them abroad. In an emergency they may be sent. When there is aggression.

[K. C. George.] from outside they have to be sent" but my point is they should not be sent in ordinary times beyond the borders of our country. So I object to this Bill on these three grounds. The purpose of the Bill is being defeated by this element of conscription. As Dr Kunzru pointed out, if it is accepted as a principle in the Bill a great danger awaits us. Sir I would have been only glad if I were in a position to congratulate the hon. Defence Minister as others did.

SHRI B. RATH (Orissa): Sir, I would like to speak.

MR. CHAIRMAN : In the amendment stage.

KAKASAHEB KALELKAR (Nomi-inated): Sir, I am really surprised that the principle of conscription has been introduced almost as if through the back-door. It is evident that this is the thin end of the wedge. It becomes a Nation that honours the principle of non-violence thus to introduce conscription in however limited a form in the very beginning. I know, it is provided in clause 33 that the Central Government can make exceptions in certain cases. But even there they have not mentioned definitely the conscientious objector, but even if they did a conscientious objector should not be left to the mercies of Government's discretion.

Far be it from me to defend the coward who refuses to defend his country and takes shelter behind 'the conscientious objector'. I contemplate India evolving a system of non-violent resistance and non-violent defence. "Those who enjoy the benefit of freedom and the security of civil life must be prepared to defend the country with their lives if need be, and assure freedom and security for themselves and posterity. It is not enough that the conscientious objector is exempted from military service. It is not enough that the conscientious objector is prepared to suffer for his refusal of military service. He must be given an opportunity of serving in a non-violent way in the defence of the country. Mere ex-

emption from the services of Defence is not enough.

I know it is inconvenient for the Government to accept any amendment at this stage but Government can contemplate the starting of a new wing of Defence, a non-violent wing which takes all risks but is not prepared to kill. If there are people who are prepared to die but are not prepared to kill, their services ought to be utilised for the defence of the country.

Conscription contemplates the use of physical force by everyone in the country I don't make any distinction, when the defence of the country is concerned, between the civil population and the military classes. I hate the division of society into civil population and military population. We have had enough of it in our *Chaturvarnya* when we had left all defence to the military class and we know what the result was. Everyone in the country must be prepared and it must be his bounden duty to defend his country. All that I want is that those who don't want to kill should not be merely exempted, they must be given an opportunity to defend the country in a non-violent way.

SHRI N. GOPALASWAMI : Mr. Chairman, I hope the House will bear with me this morning. I don't feel physically too well or fit to make any elaborate speech but I propose to deal with some of the many points that have been taken in the course of this debate.

MR. CHAIRMAN : If you want to sit down and speak, you may do so.

SHRI N. GOPALASWAMI : I am grateful to the House for the general welcome it has given to this particular Bill. There have been criticisms, some of them of a constructive nature, others which go into one or two matters which are at the base of this measure. First I will deal with the question which was raised by my hon. friend Mr. Kalelkar who spoke last. He took the point that we should not have introduced conscription even in the very limited manner in which it has been introduced into this Bill. In fact he went further and said that conscription had been introduced by the backdoor. There is

no backdoor at all. The thing is plain on the surface and the quantum of conscription that we have introduced into this particular Bill is of such a nature that we get full value of the Air Force in the tasks it is supposed to perform and the necessity for our attracting to the ranks of these Reserves a fair variety of the people qualified in the different aspects of Air Force. If we take all these facts into account, we cannot do without this amount of conscription if we were going to set up these reserves at all. That is the main reason why this particular provision was put in.

Now, I do not want to go into the other arguments in favour of this principle of conscription which has been introduced and which were so ably put forward to the House by my hon. friend Mr. Kunzru. Of course, my hon. friend Mr. Kalelkar went even further than this and said that the Defence Minister should seriously think of constituting a non-violent wing of the Defence Forces, consisting of persons who can be engaged on all defence duties except the one of being called upon to kill someone. That seems to be his own constructive suggestion to the re-ordering of the Defence Forces of this country. Well, it is no doubt true that we are wedded to non-violence as a creed. But I do not know, so far as we hold power in this country to carry on the government of the country, for resisting aggression from without and to control internal disturbance from within, whether an exemption of that sort, based upon an absolute creed of non-violence is one to which government, even as at present constituted, would be prepared to subscribe. A thorough .....

KAKASAHEB KALELKAR : I did not insist on that. I simply insist that there should be an additional wing which has got a future and the other wing may gradually dwindle out.

SHRI N. GOPALASWAMI: Sir, it may be possible, in the case of real conscientious objectors, to apply clause 33 of this Bill and perhaps make some Tules which would limit their liabilities to things which my hon. friend wants. But that will have to be considered later

on. If such a door is thrown open, I am afraid it will lead to all sorts of abuses and the basic purpose of this measure might possibly get defeated.

Sir, I will take the two points which were made by my hon. friend Mr. Reddy. The first point related to the use, particularly of the Auxiliary Air Force in aid of the Civil power. Sir, I hold very strong views on this question. We raise these Reserves. We put them through a military training. When embodied in formations or participating in operations, they have got exactly the same duties as are supposed to be done by the regular forces of the country. Often times, as I pointed out at the other place, there is a sort of a general notion which I think my hon. friend Mr. Kunzru referred to, that while these are gentlemen who get a certain amount of military training and must be allowed to live a gentleman's life, the others who either in armed forces or in the police, have got to do the unpleasant task of quelling a disturbance or controlling a rebellion, are mercenaries. The doctrine seems to be that the Government can pay certain persons when they take them into their regular forces and throw on them the obligation to kill other people, while when they take people into these reserves and give them the same kind of military training and call them up for similar services, they ought to be exempted from participating in any operation for the quelling of a local disturbance. It seems to be assumed that when an Air Force Reserve is called up for service in the course of a local disturbance, they are there only for the purpose of flying in the air and dropping bombs on fathers, brothers, wives and children. Nothing of that kind is under contemplation. We do not go to that extent at all. If the question was one of avoiding bombing, we have sufficient provisions in our laws that when the Air Force is called upon for such purposes it should act only as a ground force. That is already provided for. And I personally feel that it will be a very unhealthy thing to induce in the minds of people who enter these Reserves a feeling that they are something better and not so low as to

[ Shri N. Gopalaswami. ] be called upon to take the risk of killing raiders, or people who break the peace or loot or whatever it may be, or who murder others, and that they can be called upon only for the purpose of digging a well or dropping food in flood-affected areas and so on. I gave in the other House instances of what the Air Force does. Now it is the Air Force that is called upon to do these things. Suppose the Air Reserve is called upon for the purpose of tracking, let us say, people, anti-social people, who run away from towns and cities and villages and make themselves merry inside dense jungles. They have ammunition depots or dumps in those places. The police, no doubt, are after them. But they are not in a position to locate these on account of the difficult terrain and the time it will take for them to scour the area and find out where these things are. It is, I think, a legitimate use of an Air Reserve or Air Force to make it fly over a particular area and spot these places so that the police or the military or whoever they may be, may follow-up and put down lawlessness. That is done and has been done in Telangana and it has been done in Rajasthan and it is being done in places where similar conditions prevail. Now, that is a use of the Air Force which is not merely a beneficent use, as you may put it. Therefore, I have very strong objections to trying to exempt members of these two reserves or the Auxiliary Air Force from liabilities for service in aid of the civil power. No doubt, they will be called up only when other resources have been exhausted.

Sir, the other point which my hon. friend, Mr. Reddy, referred to was the question of what he calls the removal of discrimination between officers in these Air Reserves and the regular Air Force. Well, he raised this question in the Select Committee and the Select Committee gave it the most careful consideration. It accepted that portion of his suggestion which was acceptable from its point of view. He has described the non-acceptance of another part of his suggestion by the Select

Committee as a "caricature" of accepting his proposals. I think, Sir, his characterising it as a "caricature" is itself a caricature.

Now, he refers in para 3 of his dissenting minute to this and says. "I also suggest that as in the Navy, the personnel of the Volunteer Reserve should be eligible for the regular Reserve and ultimately for the regular Air Force subject to their being found suitable." What the Committee accepted out of this proposal was to provide for the appointment of a person from the Air Defence Reserve or the Auxiliary Force to the regular Air Force Reserve. What they were not prepared to accept was his ultimate translation to the regular Air Force: itself.

SHRI C. G. K. REDDY : May I have a minute to interrupt, Sir ? I think the hon. the Defence Minister will remember, both in the Select Committee and here, my suggestion was that just as in the Navy, as it used to be, the transfer should be automatic. As soon as they are eligible, as soon as they qualify by flying experience and other conditions, they should be automatically transferred and not merely that ». Board should sit over their suitability\*

SHRI N. GOPALASWAMI : That is true but that the Committee was not prepared to accept. The hon. Member may remember that at my suggestion they accepted only the principle of appointing people from one Reserve to another when the competent authority thought that there was a justifiable case.

There is no denying the fact that there is some kind of difference which is felt in the ranks of these Regular Officers and the Reserve Officers. He quoted the example of the Navy. He also cited the instance of a particular officer in the Indian Navy who, I believe, was given a Commission in the Navy from having been an officer in the Indian Naval Volunteer Reserve. That was an exceptional case which occurred at a time when we were very short of officers for the Indian Navy. A little before that, when there was shortage of officers, he held an Emer^

agency Commission in the Indian Navy itself. But, it is not a practice now it is not being done regularly. If you take the Royal Navy in England, I am informed—I speak subject to correction ; I had the best informed person tell this—that there are three classes, as my hon. friend, Mr. Kunzru mentioned; there is a list of Officers on the Retired List, that is to say, after a man has served his term, he goes on to the Retired List and, being on the Retired List, he is subject to a liability for service upto a certain age according to the last rank he held in the Navy. Then, they have got the Regular Naval Reserve and then the persons who belong to a category which is practically the same as what we call the Auxiliary Air Force here or the Territorial Army in the Army, and so on. There are three classes, no doubt, outside the regular Naval Officers. Those three classes consist, first of all, of retired Officers subject to a liability for service, then there is the Regular Naval Reserve and then you have the people whom my hon. friend described as 'Pen-pushers'.

SHRI C. G. K. REDDY : Not I, Sir.

SHRI N. GOPALASWAMI : Somebody has described them that way. He wanted me to consider this point and during the interval we have had, I have tried to examine as much as I possibly can. At the present moment, I cannot commit myself to any proposition which will enable an Officer in any of these Reserves to get a Commission in the Regular Air Force. The Air Force and the Air Force Reserve and the Auxiliary Reserve Forces form two distinct categories. It is not as if the conditions in the Army, in the Air Force and in the Navy are exactly identical. There are some differences in these and the scheme of the present Bill is a scheme for three different categories, two Air Reserves and a third Auxiliary Air Force. I think, Sir, on the whole, the way in which we have classified them is about the best that is suited to the Air Forces of this country.

Now, Sir, a great deal was said about the inadequate equipment of our 39 C. S. D.

Air Force and also about the inadequate allocation of funds for our air-arm. We are not as well placed as we might be or as we should be ; ' but, we are slowly improving this ' position. As regards the air-craft for purposes of training, we are manufacturing some in the Hindustan Air-| craft Factory Ltd., at Bangalore. We have not established manufacture of aero-engines in this country, though I negotiations are in progress for the I establishment of a factory. It would j take some time for actual manufacture. I Till then to enable us to equip ouerselves with all the air-craft that we need, we shall have to depend largely on imports and that is another limiting factor ; but, it is my intention that, subject to limitations of availability and so on, we should progress with the implementation of this measure and hon. Members should not be scared altogether by that first sentence in the Financial Memorandum which my hon friend read out. It is a permissive measure and we have taken power to implement this Bill in different instalments in different areas and so forth. That is for the purpose of enabling us gradually to build up these new Reserves. I can give the House the assurance which I gave the other House, that it is my intention that this Bill, when passed, should nor be put on the shelf but that we should take all possible steps for implementing such portions of it as are immediately practicable. Rules for the purpose will be framed. I am proposing to get the first instalment of the Rules ready by the time the Council meets next. Now, Sir, I do not think I need deal with the objections that have been raised about this liability to serve abroad. It has been answered by other speakers. As regards the criticism that my hon. friend Mr. Kunzru levelled against the senior and the junior air wings of the N. C. C, I am afraid I have to plead guilty to a lack of sufficient earnestness in pushing this National Cadet Corps organisation to the extent that it should have been done, but the matter is already under my consideration and we shall do the best we can.

[Shri N. Gopalaswami.] Mr. Kunzru again referred to the great importance of civil aviation and the need for some liaison or co-ordination between civil aviation and defence aviation if I might so call it. Of course, at the moment two different Ministries are concerned with these, but already Government have become fully alive to the need for co-ordination of the work of these two branches of aviation in the two Ministries and proposals are under way for the purpose of bringing about an effective co-ordination between these two wings of aviation. I hope a scheme will be worked out and put into operation soon.

About Advisory Committees also, I think not much has been done which could enthuse the public or the members of either House and it is my intention to see that these Committees are properly constituted, proper personnel found and the Committees are given business to do from time to time. The suggestion that the hon. Member has made about setting up Advisory Committees on the lines indicated in this Bill for the Territorial Army will certainly receive my best consideration.

Well, Sir, some other suggestions have been made as regards other matters which are not strictly relevant to the Bill and I would rather leave them alone for the present.

MR. CHAIRMAN : The question is :

That the Bill to provide for the constitution and regulation of certain Air Force Reserves and also an Auxiliary Air Force and for matters connected therewith, as passed by the House of the People, be taken into consideration.

The motion was adopted.

We now proceed with the clause by clause consideration.

Clauses 2, 3 and 4 were added to the Bill.

Clause 5. There is an amendment by Mr. Bhanj Deo.

SHRI P. C. BHANJ DEO : Sir, I move:

That at page 10, after line 28, the following be inserted :—

(4) The competent authority may in such circumstances and subject to such conditions

as may be prescribed appoint to the regular Air Force Reserve suitable trained personnel who might have passed the prescribed tests in the air wing of the National Cadet Corps.

Sir, my amendment was put there in order to "facilitate the absorption of our educated and trained men into the Auxiliary Air Force and my task in this direction has been made lighter by the speech of the hon. Dr. Kunzru who has spoken at length on the formation of the N. C. C. My only remark on that amendment is that it is a great pity that only last year these three centres for the air wing of the N. C. C. were started and it is still a great pity that in the capital city of our great Republic, namely, Delhi, in spite of its being the headquarters of the Indian Air Force and its having a Civilian Flying Club, there is no provision for any air wing of the N. C. C. I hope that the Defence Minister will take due notice of it. With these words I recommend this amendment for your consideration.

MR. CHAIRMAN : In that case it will be considered by him. You need not move your amendment, you may withdraw it.

SHRI P. C. BHANJ DEO : Yes Sir, I withdraw it.

The amendment was, by leave, withdrawn.  
Clauses 5 to 14 were added to the Bill.

MR. CHAIRMAN : clause 15. There is one amendment to this clause by Mr. Rath.

SHRI B. RATH : Sir, I move :

That at page 13, after line 5, the following proviso be added, namely :—

"Provided that such register shall be so maintained as to show the persons their willingness for service at any time on call and those who have done to the contrary."

While moving my amendment, I still hold that a certain amount of compulsion has been introduced and this should not be there. Mr. Kunzru characterises this as compulsion and not as conscription. However, I still say that even this amount of compulsion should not be there. I submit that

we have not the necessary industries to produce aircraft so that the Air Force can be expanded quickly. My second submission is that taking the population figure of India and the limited Air Force that we have we can go without compulsion to have the necessary personnel. If at all we think of expansion, even then also people can be found to fully equip the Air Force that will be expanded. My third submission is that this amount of compulsion is not necessary at the present stage. There is a certain amount of compulsion in clauses 12, 13 and 14. The people who are at present trained to a certain extent as airmen or as ground engineers or as personnel connected with aerodromes or air services should be there in the list. They must be medically examined. And then comes the third stage where the register is maintained. The Air Force that is there cannot be expanded normally, because we are dependent on foreign personnel. We are practically dependent on the number of aircraft that is supplied by the countries which supply us—England and America. We are entirely dependent on them and are at their mercy in regard to expanding our Air Force. Therefore, these registers should have two lists. The first list should contain all those persons who care to come for service at any time when they are called up. The second list will contain the names of persons who are not prepared to come at any time but who may be consulted, and, whenever there is any necessity, we can see that these people come. But it is wrong to make it such a compulsory measure. It will then practically restrict the number of people getting air training. That is why I submit that this clause should be amended as I have suggested in my amendment.

SHRI C. G. K. REDDY : Sir, if I rise to speak, it is in order to see if I can persuade my friend to withdraw his amendment, because if I had a quarrel with the Defence Minister at all, it was because he went in directly about conscription. I think there are two points regarding cons-

cription so far as Air Defence Reserve is concerned. First of all, the pilots who have been trained have been trained at considerable cost to the country in the sense that the flying clubs are subsidised and also the training is subsidised to a great extent. Apart from the responsibility of every citizen to volunteer to defend the country, I would say there is an additional responsibility, because the State also spends on them. Secondly, regarding "conscription, there is not much difference between their serving in civil aviation and in the Air Force, because the risk is almost the same whether they are in civil aviation or in the Air Force except in times of war. I am sure my hon. friend would not oppose the mobilizing of civil pilots in times of war. If it is not war time the risk is the same. If he concedes that when war conditions prevail everyone who is qualified should go to the defence of the country, I do not see why there should be any objection to this clause. If we want to create an air reserve—and all are agreed on this as no section of the House has opposed this Bill—then I would say that all of us, to whichever party we belong, should make it easy for the Defence Minister to constitute this Reserve as quickly as possible. I would therefore very much like if this amendment were withdrawn. Any other opposition there maybe should be on certain principles.

SHRI B. RATH : I submit that I cannot agree with my hon. friend.

MR. CHAIRMAN : The question is :

That at page 13 after line 5, the following proviso be added, namely :—

"Provided that such register shall be so maintained as to show the persons who have expressed their willingness for service at any time on call and those who have done to the contrary."

The motion was negatived.

Clause 15 was added to the Bill.

MR. CHAIRMAN : Clause 16. There is an amendment, but it falls, because it is consequential on the amendment which has been negatived.

Clauses 16, 17, 18 and 19 were added to the Bill.



MR. CHAIRMAN : Clause 20. There is one amendment to this clause. That is No. 11 in the second list. That is more or less the same amendment as No. 9.

SHRI P. C. BHANJ DEO ; I beg leave of the House to withdraw it.

The amendment was, by leave, withdrawn. Clause 20 was added to the Bill.

Clauses 21, 22, 23 and 24 were added to the Bill.

MR. CHAIRMAN : Clause 25. There are a number of amendments to this clause. There is one comprehensive amendment—No. 12—which seeks the deletion of sub-clause (b) of clause 25, and therefore that might be moved first.

SHRI P. C. BHANJ DEO : Mr. Chairman, I beg to move :

That sub-clause (b) of clause 25 of the Bill be deleted and sub-clause (c) of that clause be renumbered as sub-clause (b) thereof.

Sir, I heard very strong arguments adduced in favour of retaining the Bill as it is, both from my learned friend Dr. Kunzru and from the hon. Defence Minister. This amendment was moved by me in order to make the Auxiliary Air Force all the more attractive to the civilian population and ensure its success, in which all of us are interested. Of course there is the argument on the other side that this will be making a sort of discrimination between the regular Services and this Auxiliary Service. But then, Sir, we must accept facts as they are. There is a certain amount of suspicion and a certain amount of reluctance on the part of the public to be convinced by arguments of that sort. And when we are facing a practical fact, it is best to make this proposition as attractive as possible, even if it be a temporary measure. In this connection, I would only like to add this much as many relevant arguments have been advanced by my hon. friend Mrs. Alva and my hon. friend Mr. Naidu on this point. Even in the legislation of England, vide volume 28 of Halsbury's Laws of England—I hope I am not wrong, I could not get the number of the Section exactly ; I have

been unable to get access to the particular volume in time—in section 1376, as far as I can recollect of Halsbury's Laws, the English law definitely exempts the Auxiliary Air Force from being used for quelling civil disturbances and things like that. If in England it has been possible to have such an exonerating clause without making any discrimination, I do not see why the same practice cannot be followed in this country keeping up the tradition of impartiality between the two forces, at the same time I stick to my amendment.

SHRI B. RATH : Sir, I move :

That at page 14, line 29, after the words 'Force Reserve' the words 'or the Air Defence Reserve' be inserted.

SHRI B. RATH : Sir, I move :

That at page 14, line 33, the following words be added at the end :—

"only in case of emergency if and when so declared under the provisions of article 352 of the Constitution."

SHRI B. RATH : Sir, I move :

That at page 14, line 24, the following words be added, at the end :—

"only in case of emergency if and when so declared under the provisions of article 352 of the Constitution."

MR. CHAIRMAN : Have you got to make a speech ?

SHRI B. RATH : Yes, Sir. I have got to say something. Sir, clause 25 of the Bill says :

Every member of an Air Force Reserve or the Auxiliary Air Force shall, during the period of his service, be liable to be called up.....

SHRI N. GOPALASWAMI : Perhaps my hon. friend will drop that amendment if I point out that under the definition clause 'Air Force Reserve' includes an Air Defence Reserve.

SHRI B. RATH : My attention has been drawn to the definition which I have also carefully read. Here the definition says that "Air Force Reserve" means any of the Air Force Reserves raised and maintained under this Act. And it may not strictly mean "Air Defence Reserve" because there are three classes in this Bill—one Regular Air Force Reserve,

another Air Defence Reserve and the ! third one is Auxiliary Air Force. So j it may not strictly mean Air Defence Reserve. Therefore I wanted the inclusion of this class in this clause of the Bill. If any employer tries to create trouble for these Air Defence Reserve people by taking advantage of clause 25, then there will be difficulty for the persons who are employed in the Air Defence Reserves. And therefore I wanted that specific mention of Air Defence Reserve should be made here.

And secondly my submission is that much has been spoken about calling up this personnel for service in aid of the civil power. My amendment is to the effect that only in the case of an emergency should this be done—emergency if and when so declared under the provisions of article 352 of the Constitution. My friend Mr. Kunzru does not want to create a very bad example, does not want to set up a bad example for the country by creating an artificial division between the Regular Air Force on the one hand and the voluntary Auxiliary Air Force, as he calls it, on the other because the morale will be vitiated. Now my submission is that there already exists the difference between these different forces. The privileges that the Air Force people get are not extended to the Auxiliary Air Force people for all time to come. They cannot be recruited to the Air Force in the regular process. So also the Air Defence Reserves cannot be recruited. The difference is already there. There is no question of difference being created by stopping the use of this Reserve and Auxiliary Air Forces coming to the aid of the civil power. My submission is that if this clause is kept as it is, the very purpose will be lost. Sir, in the Auxiliary Force students may come irt, the factory workers may come in or even educated personnel serving in private employment or in Government service may come in. Supposing there is a students' strike, they can be called in aid to suppress the strike. So either the students who are in full sympathy with the strike have to join with the Government in suppressing the strike or they have to face court-martial if necessary, because

they will be governed by the Army Act. So it is practically to jeopardise the recruitment to the Auxiliary Air Force that this clause is there. I understand the clause. Its purport is to recruit such persons who are fully willing to come to the Government help whenever they are called upon. If the object is to recruit the people, then this clause should be eliminated. Otherwise those who are really not interested in anything but their personal motives, those who are even in service to earn more money, they only can find it a recruiting ground. I feel that really compulsion is not necessary. It is not necessary to force them to serve in a particular way. The defence of the country dots not depend on the number of aircrafts. The real defence of the country lies in raising the morale of the people which can be raised otherwise than through compulsion and unless and until the morale of the people is raised, no defence is possible. That has failed elsewhere and that will fail here also. I submit, therefore, that these things which really will stand in the way of voluntary recruitment should be removed so that the Auxiliary Air Force may be strengthened and the class distinction that will be created through this Bill may be removed. That is why I have given my amendment.

MR. CHAIRMAN : Mr. Rajagopal, your amendment No. 5 is included in No. 4—'an emergency'. So you have got now No. 3 which may be moved.

SHRI RAJAGOPAL NAIDU : Sir, I move :

That at page 14, line 33, the following words be added at the end :—

"during floods, famines, epidemics or other national emergencies and not otherwise."

Sir, I will be very brief in advancing my arguments as to why there should be an amendment to clause 25, sub-clause (b). Of course I know the hon. Minister's view in this matter but with all that I feel strong about it, Sir, and that is why I am compelled to move this amendment. But while tabling this amendment, Sir, I should have qualified my amendment that sub-clause (b) of clause 25 should not be made applicable to the Auxiliary Air Force alone. I

[ Shri Rajagopal Naidu. ] mean only, Sir, that clause (b) should not be made applicable to the Auxiliary Air Force and I will have no objection at all if clause (b) is made applicable to the Air Force Reserve and the Air Defence Reserve. So when I say that it should not be made use of in aid of the civil power, I mean that the Auxiliary Air Force should not be made use of in aid of the civil power. My first objection, Sir, is that it is not based upon any sentimental feeling as some of the speakers had said this morning. But what I say is, Sir, that if this clause is there, it would certainly very much deter youngsters who want to take advantage of this legislation and join the Auxiliary Air Force Reserve.

That is my feeling about the whole thing, because they may feel that they are being used to bomb their own brothers, their own sisters and their own parents. Certainly it would go a long way in seeing that many people do not come forward to enlist themselves. Secondly, Sir, I have no objection at all if the Auxiliary Air Force is used for any humanitarian purpose, any beneficent purpose during floods, famines, or epidemics or other national emergencies, but I will have every objection if the Auxiliary Air Force is used for quelling of disturbances among the civilian population.

SHRI C. G. K. REDDY: Like Portia, Sir, I tried to anticipate the arguments of the hon. Defence Minister but I said also that he would be resourceful enough to trot out many more and I am very glad in a way, that he is so very resourceful and able to argue it out. But I would like to say one thing with regard to this clause (b), i.e. the liability of the Air Force to go to the aid of the civil power. I think the hon. the Defence Minister and the Government have misunderstood the basis on which we are opposing this particular clause. Now, there is a psychological background behind our opposition. During this session almost every week we have been passing an amendment to an Act or an Amending Act to an Act or a Bill covering the Criminal Procedure Code or the Penal Code or the Preventive Detention Act.

in one Bill alter another the Government have been taking more and more power to quell disturbances. Now, the attitude of the Government is, that although there is no serious situation at present in the country, they act as though there is a serious situation and that they must have all the resources that are available in the country. That is the psychological approach of the Opposition, at least my approach. Apart from that, I also raised the point about the civilian duties of the Air Force, the idea of the Air Force going to the aid of the police to suppress some disorder. Now, this morning the hon. the Defence Minister said, " We do not want in one Service a class which can go by the name of gentlemen and another which can go by the name— he did not say so but he thinks that the Opposition would like to call them—of mercenary goondas or something like that. Sir, it is not a question of calling them gentlemen or anything else. I would not like to think in any discriminatory manner. I said yesterday that so far as the regulations are concerned, so far as their normal duties are concerned, there should be no difference whatever. I would not ask for any difference, but so far as this is concerned—it is a possibility which may happen once in 10 years, unless Government calls up the Reserves at the slightest excuse—why does the Defence Minister insist on having this, which I feel will retard the recruitment of enlightened and educated youth who, I think, —I am convinced,—would not like to go to the aid of the civilian power to quell disturbances created by their own fellow citizens, probably by their own neighbours. That is the attitude with which we are opposing this, not because we want to make it difficult for him to get this Bill passed. Even at this late hour, I hope something will be done about it. My hon. friend here quoted an analogous clause in the English Act whereby the Auxiliary Air Forces were exempted from this liability. If the hon. Minister could accept this, it would be very well indeed.

SHRI H. P. SAKSENA (Uttar Pradesh) : Mr. Chairman, Sir, I rise to say a few words about the amendment just

now moved by my hon. friend, Mr. Rajagopal Naidu. I do not understand why he allows all facilities to the Government to use the Air Forces during floods, famines, epidemics or other national emergencies and yet wants to fetter the discretion of the Government by using the words "and not otherwise". I do not understand what sphere these two words—"national emergencies"—cover. This expression includes all possible things and the Government must always have the discretion to decide whether a particular set of circumstances constitute a national emergency or not. Therefore I very regretfully oppose this amendment.

Then my hon. friend, Mr. C. G. K. Reddy, said that he could not understand why the Defence Minister should insist on having this sub-clause. I do not understand why the hon. member should insist on dropping it.

SHRI C. G. K. REDDY : Good argument.

SHRI H. P. SAKSENA : Otherwise, the very object of the Bill will be absolutely frustrated.

SHRI C. G. K. REDDY : Oh, I see.

SHRI H. P. SAKSENA : When we are thinking of the defence of the country, I do not see why we should have any mental reservation. We should not be under the impression always that the Air Force will be used for bombing and for no other purpose. The hon. Minister has already given an example of a case in which the Air Force may probably be used—when there is a set of people creating all sorts of trouble, indulging in killing and looting and then hiding themselves in jungles and forests which are rather beyond the reach of the police, this Force may be used.

SHRI B. RATH : You want to discuss that ?

SHRI H. P. SAKSENA : I have got the protection of the Chair and therefore he will not succeed in disturbing me. I was telling that in those cases it becomes the duty of the Government to use the Air Force.

Now, with your permission, I want to say a few words with regard to

the conscriptive nature of the Bill that we are discussing.

MR. CHAIRMAN : Not at this stage; you can do it later.

SHRI H. P. SAKSENA : I oppose the amendment that has been moved.

SHRI N. GOPALASWAMI : I have already dealt with this particular matter in my speeches more than once. In spite of the siren voice of Mr. C. G. K. Reddy, I am afraid I am not in a position to accept this particular amendment. I think it goes to the very root of the policy which underlies this Bill according to me.

MR. CHAIRMAN : The question is :

That at page 14, line 29, after the words 'Force Reserve' the words 'or the Air Defence Reserve' be inserted.

The motion was negatived.

MR. CHAIRMAN : The question is :

That at page 14, line 33, the following words be added at the end :

"during floods, famines, epidemics or other national emergencies and not otherwise."

The motion was negatived.

MR. CHAIRMAN : The question is :

That at page 14, line 33, the following words be added at the end :

"only in case of emergency if and when so declared under the provisions of article 352 of the Constitution."

The motion was negatived.

MR. CHAIRMAN : The question is :

That at page 14, line 34, the following words be added at the end :

"only in case of emergency if and when declared under the provisions of the article 352 of the Constitution."

The motion was negatived.

MR. CHAIRMAN : No. 6 is a similar amendment. The question is :

"That sub-clause (b) of clause 25 of the Bill be deleted and sub-clause (c) of that clause be renumbered as sub-clause (b) thereof."

The motion was negatived.

MR. CHAIRMAN : The question is :

That clause 25, do stand part of the Bill. The motion was adopted. Clause 25 was added to the Bill.

MR. CHAIRMAN : There are no amendments to clause 26.

Clause 26 was added to the Bill.

MR. CHAIRMAN : There are two amendments to clause 27 by Mr. Rath—Nos. 7 and 8.

SHRI B. RATH : Sir, I move :

That at page 15, lines 24, and 31, for the words 'six months' the words 'twelve months' be substituted.

That at page 15, line 28, for the words 'one thousand' the words 'five thousand' be substituted.

I don't want to make any speech because they are self-explanatory.

MR. CHAIRMAN : Equally self-explanatory ; no reply by the Defence Minister is necessary.

The question is :

That at page 15, lines 24, and 31, for the words 'six months' the words 'twelve months' be substituted.

The motion was negatived.

The question is :

That at page 15, line 28, for the words "one thousand" the words "five thousand" be substituted.

The motion was negatived.

The question is :

That clause 27 stand part of the Bill.

The motion was adopted.

Clause 27 was added to the Bill.

Clauses 28 to 36, clause i, the Title and the Enacting formula were added to the Bill.

SHRI N. GOPALASWAMI : Sir, I move :

That the Bill be passed.

MR. CHAIRMAN : Motion moved :

That the Bill be passed.

SHRI B. GUPTA (West Bengal) : Mr. Chairman, Sir, we have carried through this Bill with almost the speed

of an aeroplane. Sir, as far as the defences of our skies, the shores and the land borders are concerned, let there be no mistake, that we are second to none ; the expansion of our forces must be based on a sound patriotic policy and by a proper and wise method. In this Bill those are absent. Therefore it does not help at all. On the contrary it gives a great deal of misgivings. Sir, it is no use your passing these measures and trying to conscript some people. You know the aeronautical trainings are costly and they are available to only a very small section of the people who can afford the cost. There are broad sections of the public—students and others—to whom these are not at all available. Even as it is, they would not come in the picture. We wish when these things are taken for consideration, the Government would look not merely at the privileged youths but also at others who may like to come into the Services. I wish these trainings were thrown open to the students of the Universities and colleges as is being done in most countries. This is my first point.

Secondly, there should not be an element of conscription at all. The hon. Member who spoke from there who speaks with a certain amount of pretension of knowledge of world affairs—forgot to see that in peace time in many countries there is no conscription at all. Conscription is an idea which is generally abhorrent in peace time and it can only be introduced when there is either a very grave national emergency or when there is war. We are in the midst of neither. Therefore I think the element of conscription should not have been at all introduced in this Bill.

The other point that I wish to make is this. If you want to expand your Forces, you appeal to the people, make your policy known, let it be known to the people of India, to our boys and youngmen that India's Defence Forces are there to defend freedom and peace. Under no circumstances will our men of the armed forces be allowed to be used in any kind of war effort of the Anglo-American imperialists. Unfortunately, it is not so at present. You

are calling upon people to come into this scheme. At the same time you don't give us any assurance whatsoever that our Air Ports like the Barrackpore aerodrome and other facilities would not be used by the British aeroplanes and British pilots for the transshipments of war materials to Malaya. We want that assurance straightaway. It is very essential that the whole thing should be based on a sound policy of the Government. Only then will our people see that when people join the Armed Forces, they are joining as sentinels of human freedom, as sentinels of democracy. There was resistance on the part of the Defence Minister when a suggestion was made to delete that section where it provided for use of these forces for helping the civil power. To those hon. Members who evidently misunderstand the suggestion I can tell that if you look back upon the past, you will find that the people have every reason to be doubtful and they have every reason to have misgivings because these forces had been used not for any noble ends but often for ends that are unjust, unpatriotic and harmful and oppressive. That is why I say the people have very genuine feelings. Nothing would have been lost if that particular clause had been deleted. After all the hon. Defence Minister knows that he has at his command a vast army, a vast Force to quell any small disturbance here and there and there is no justification for using this Force. Therefore this clause might have been easily avoided. I would say this. Let these expansions of these Forces be based—I repeat again—on a very correct policy, the policy of peace, the policy of freedom. Let it be known to every patriotic Indian that our Forces will have nothing to do whatsoever with the forces of the British and the Americans who are still directly and indirectly using our land, our air bases and our shores for carrying through their war of destruction in the countries which are our neighbours. I hope an assurance would come that the men who will come into these Forces will not get any such assignments, will be nowhere near these oppressors and invaders of other countries, that these Forces will develop as sentinels of peace and as sentinels of

freedom of our country. If you proceed on this basis, you will succeed, otherwise not.

SHRI C. G. K. REDDY : Sir, I don't want to cross words with the hon. Defence Minister on any of the clauses because it is useless; but I would only elaborate the principle which the Select Committee accepted and which I called a caricature which itself he said, was a caricature. I don't want to go into it and call his comment also a caricature. He tried to give an analogy regarding the Fleet Reserve as it used to be and the Retired List maintained in the Navy. Now if the Bill had been designed in a manner in which the First Reserve was supposed to be a Retired List, I would not have objected and I would have considered one Reserve to be the qualified Reserve and the other the Unqualified Reserve. But the Bill as it was presented to the Select Committee, and as it has emerged and as it is going to be passed in a few minutes does not contemplate that the Regular Air Force Reserve as merely a Retired List of people who have served in the Air Force. Therefore my objection is that you should not attempt to create a caste between the Air Defence Reserve and the Regular Air Force Reserve. I would only say a few words on the importance of seeing that there is absolutely free mobility from one Reserve to the other and ultimately to the Regular Air Force. To an extent, the hon. Defence Minister did admit that there will be a certain amount of feeling—inferiority or superiority feeling—between one section of the personnel and the other. Since he admits that, he may also agree with me that we should see that the difficulty is removed or mitigated to the greatest extent possible. You have to make it automatic as it is or as it was in the Navy, for now of course, there is no question of a Naval Reserve. Unless we do that, what happens is that the finest of our officers, whether they are in the Volunteer Reserve or in the Defence Reserve, would not be allowed to go up. There would be certain impediments. There may not be legal impediments to their travelling from one reserve to another, but there are other

[Shri C. G.K. Reddy] conditions which vitiate, if I may say so, against their travelling and against their being mobile, from the lower rungs of the reserves to the topmost of the service. Therefore I would like the hon. Defence Minister to accept the principle of it, even if he does not do anything else. I certainly do not want him to recast the Bill at the moment because that would be going against the speed with which we want to set up these Reserves. But I only want him to accept the principle so that later on he may reconstitute these Reserves in such manner as if this principle had been accepted.

I have done Sir, I would only draw the attention to one thing more which I referred to yesterday on which the hon. Defence Minister has not given us his reaction. I said that it is not fair that only the Air Force should have been singled out for this favour. I should like, him also to examine the question of creating a peace-time Reserve, a permanent Reserve on the same principles for the Navy also. Because we do not want any unhealthy competition between one Service and another. I can assure him that so far as the Navy is concerned, he can create the Reserve straightaway without any expenditure whatever.

Sir, that is all that I had to say. DR. P. C.

MITRA (Bihar) :

डा० पी० सी० मित्रा (बिहार) : श्रीमान्, हम लोगों ने अपनी जिन्दगी में बहुत से चेंजिज (changes) देखे हैं। नागपुर कांग्रेस में हम लोगों ने वायलेंस को (violence.) समुद्र की तरह तक गाढ़ दिया था उस को एक दम खत्म करने का निश्चय कर लिया था। लेकिन आज उसी फोर्सिज के वास्ते हम लोगों को यहां बोट देना पड़ता है। अपनी लाइफ (life) में हम लोगों ने देखा कि पहले हम देशी कपड़ा पहिनते थे। उस के बाद विलायत से मिल का कपड़ा आया, लंका-शायर से कपड़ा आया। जब यह कपड़ा आया तो हम ने, और हमारे बड़े भाई ने उस को

पहिन लेकिन फिर फादर (father) की बजह से पहिनना पड़ा। इस के बाद फिर हम लोगों को खदर पहिनना पड़ा। तो हम लोग देखते हैं कि इस लाइफ में किस तरह से चेंजिज हुआ करते हैं।

हम देखते हैं कि यही हमारे मिनिस्टर साहब नागपुर में वायलेंस को बिल्कुल खत्म करना चाहते थे लेकिन आज वही चीज इस बिल में ला रहे हैं। महात्मा गांधी जी ने कहा था कि वायलेंस की जीत नहीं होती क्योंकि जो सुपर (super) वायलेंस होता है उसी की जीत होती है लेकिन मान-वायलेंस में सुपर मान-वायलेंस वरके कोई चीज नहीं है। जो कुछ है वह सिर्फ मान-वायलेंस ही है। हम लोगों का अभी एक इन्फंट (infant) स्टेट है, हम लोगों के पास कोई फैक्ट्री नहीं है, हम कोई चीज बना नहीं पाते हैं। तो ऐसी हालत में बाहर के आदमों हंसेंगे कि यह क्या है। इस के अलावा इस में गुलामी की बात भी आती है। चूंकि हमारे पास सामान नहीं है। इसलिये अमरीका और ब्रिटेन हम लोगों को सामान सप्लाई (supply) करेगा और हम अमरीका और ब्रिटेन दूसरे मुल्कों से लड़ाई करने के वास्ते जायेंगे और हम लोग उनका साथ नहीं देंगे तो वह सामान सप्लाई करना बन्द कर देंगे। तब क्या होगा? हम कहते हैं कि हम लोग हर समय में न्यूट्रल (neutral) रहेंगे लेकिन मैं कहता हूं कि हमेशा हम न्यूट्रल नहीं रह सकते। इसलिये इस तरह हम गुलामी के फंदे में पड़ जायेंगे। जो चीज हमारे पास नहीं है उस के लिये क्या दरकार है? पहले आप और सब चीज कर लें उस के बाद इस को करें। हम या तो तमाम दुनिया से ऊंचे होने की कोशिश करें या फिर उन को न करें जब सुपर-वायलेंस हो सके तब तो उसे करें वरना न करें। हम लोग बोट दे कर इस को पास तो करते ही हैं लेकिन ये चीजें छोटी छोटी शक्ल में मुल्क को हंसाने के लिये नहीं होनी चाहियें।

[For English translation, see Appendix II, Annexure No. 98]

MR. CHAIRMAN : Shri Gopala-swami.

SHRI P. C. BHANJ DEO : Just three minutes, Sir, if you please. I want to make just one small suggestion.

MR. CHAIRMAN : All right.

SHRI P. C. BHANJ DEO : The suggestion that I want to make to the hon. Defence Minister is this. In answer to one of my questions here sometime back, the hon. Defence Minister said that there was about Rs. 1 crore .....

MR. CHAIRMAN : Some small amount.

SHRI P. C. BHANJ DEO : .....about Rs. 2 crores in the Defence Reserve Fund and that the Government had no intention of resuming this Reserve Fund. I suggest that that money can be used for the purpose of starting the N.C.C. in Delhi and in other places also.

THE DEPUTY MINISTER FOR DEFENCE (SARDAR S. S. MAJITHIA) : I Mr. Chairman, to begin with, I would say that most of the arguments, which had been put forward by my hon. friend on the opposite side had already been answered and so I will not waste the time of the House in going over that ground and repeating all the arguments all over again. But I would like to say one thing and that is this. It has come as a complete surprise to me when he mentioned that the U.K. and the U.S.A. are making use of bases in India. I would like to say that that is not true.

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f<sup>t</sup>As regards my hon. friend Mr. Reddy's suggestions about a Naval Reserve, apart from the bigger question of having a Naval Reserve, I would

like to mention here at the outset that the Government is considering this question and this matter is indeed under the active consideration of the Government. But it is not such an easy matter as all that. The Navy question is coupled with the Merchant Navy and the Naval Reserve is coupled with the Navy and unless all these three develop—the emphasis being on the Merchant Navy—the others cannot carry on with their developments as they should.

So far as classes in the Air Force are concerned, having been a member of that Reserve sometime previously, I should like to say that we never had any difference between the classes, either of the Reserve or between the Reserves and the Regulars and T can assure the hon. Member that in this too there will be no classes. It is a very simple matter. For instance, as I am sure Mr. Reddy knows, beyond a certain age-limit it is not possible for a pilot to fly service machines under service conditions and beyond that age he is not considered fit for operational flying. If people in the Air Defence Force Reserve who have already gone beyond that age go into the Regular Reserve, they would have already passed that stage of being an asset to that Reserve and being useful for service flying.

With these few remarks, Sir, I would say that all these things should not have been brought up now and that the Bill be passed.

MR. CHAIRMAN : The question is :

That the Bill be passed. The

motion was adopted.

MR. CHAIRMAN : This completes the business of this Session of the Council. The Council stands adjourned *sine die*.

The Council then adjourned *sine die*.