

[Mr. Speaker]

and the comments of the Comptroller and Auditor General thereon. [Placed in the Library. See No. LT-94/67].

(iii) Annual Report of the Hindustan Aeronautics Limited, Bombay for the year 1965-66 along with the Audited Accounts and the comments of the Comptroller and Auditor General thereon. [Placed in the Library. See No. LT-95/67].

(iv) Annual Report of the Bharat Electronics Limited, Bangalore for the year 1965-66 along with the Audited Accounts and the comments of the Comptroller and Auditor General thereon. [Placed in the Library. See No. LT-96/67].

(v) Annual Report of the Bharat Earth Movers Limited, Bangalore for the year 1965-66 along with the Audited Accounts and the comments of the Comptroller and Auditor General thereon. [Placed in the Library. See No. LT-97/67].

REVIEW OF FOOD AND SCARCITY  
SITUATION

The Minister of State in the Ministry of Food, Agriculture, Community Development and Cooperation (Shri Annasahib Shinde): I beg to lay on the Table a copy of the Review of the Food and Scarcity Situation in India. [Placed in the Library. See No. LT-98/67].

12.18 hrs.

FINANCIAL COMMITTEES, 1965-66  
(A REVIEW)

Secretary: I beg to lay on the Table a copy of "Financial Committees, 1965-66 (A Review)".

12.18½ hrs.

RESIGNATION OF MEMBER

(Brig. Ghansara Singh)

Mr. Speaker: I have to inform the House that Brig. Ghansara Singh, elected to Lok Sabha from the Udhampur Constituency of Jammu and Kashmir, has resigned his seat in the Lok Sabha with effect from 25th March, 1967.

Shri S. M. Banerjee (Kanpur): To accommodate the Maharaja?

Mr. Speaker: I do not know. To accommodate some of the Opposition Members also

12.18½ hrs

STATEMENT RE. NON-PROLIFERATION OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS

The Minister of External Affairs (Shri M. C. Chagla): The General Assembly by its Resolution 1722 (XVI) appointed an Eighteen-Nation Disarmament Committee, of which India is a member. The General Assembly recommended that the Committee should undertake negotiations with a view to reaching agreement on general and complete disarmament under effective international control.

As the Honourable Members are aware, the Eighteen-Nation Disarmament Committee (ENDC), which in reality is a Seventeen-Nation Committee because of the absence of France, has been meeting in Geneva since 1962. Various measures collateral to the question of disarmament have been discussed in the Committee, and one of these is non-proliferation of nuclear weapons. The ENDC has been giving particular attention to this subject since 1964, as it is recognised as a matter of some urgency.

Discussions in the Committee have revealed important differences of opinion, firstly, among the nuclear weapon powers themselves, and, secondly, bet-

[Shri M. C. Chagla]

ween the nuclear weapon and non-nuclear weapon powers. The latter differences relate mostly to the question of mutuality and balance of responsibilities and obligations between the nuclear weapon and non-nuclear weapon powers.

The General Assembly in its Resolution No. 2028 (XX) of November 19, 1965, laid down the following as the main principles on the basis of which the Committee was to negotiate an international treaty to prevent the proliferation of nuclear weapons:

- (a) The treaty should be void of any loop-holes which might permit nuclear or non-nuclear powers to proliferate, directly or indirectly, nuclear weapons in any form;
- (b) The treaty should embody an acceptable balance of mutual responsibilities and obligations of the nuclear and non-nuclear powers;
- (c) The treaty should be a step towards the achievement of general and complete disarmament and, more particularly, the nuclear disarmament,
- (d) There should be acceptable and workable provisions to ensure the effectiveness of the treaty;
- (e) Nothing in the treaty should adversely affect the right of any group of States to conclude regional treaties in order to ensure the total absence of nuclear weapons in their respective territories.

In elaboration of these principles, the views of the eight non-aligned non-nuclear weapon countries who are members of the ENDC, were submitted in a Joint Memorandum to the Committee on August 19, 1966.

After prolonged discussions lasting several months, the United States and U.S.S.R. are reported to have reached

a considerable measure of agreement as to the terms of a non-proliferation treaty. An agreed text of a draft treaty has not yet been presented to the ENDC and, evidently, the two Powers have yet to reach agreement on some points. Neither of the Big Powers has formally handed to us the text of the draft treaty. They have, however, informally indicated to us the likely content of the draft treaty. There has been no occasion for us formally to take a stand on its reported provisions.

Our views on the question of non-proliferation of nuclear weapons have been stated from time to time in the ENDC and at the forum of the United Nations. These views remain unchanged. We shall examine the text of any draft treaty submitted to the Committee in the light of the principles enunciated in the United Nations General Assembly Resolution No. 2028 (XX)

The Government of India share with the international community the anxiety arising from the proliferation of nuclear weapons. They favour an early agreement on such a treaty and will be willing to sign one which fulfils the basic principles laid down by the United Nations. They are of the view that any such treaty should be a significant step towards general and complete and, particularly nuclear disarmament, and must meet the points of view of both nuclear weapon and non-nuclear weapon powers. A non-proliferation treaty should not be a discriminatory or an unequal treaty. It is also the view of the Government of India that the non-proliferation treaty should be such as not to impede the growth of nuclear science and technology for peaceful purposes in the developing countries, where the need for such development is great.

While welcoming a meeting of minds between the U.S.A. and U.S.S.R., which in itself is a good augury, the Government of India hope that after the

draft treaty on nuclear non-proliferation is presented to the ENDC it will be thoroughly discussed and that the treaty as finally agreed would take a shape and form acceptable to all countries which are represented on the Committee, and, subsequently, to the international community in general. A satisfactory agreement on non-proliferation of nuclear weapons will have to take into account the peculiar circumstances in which certain countries are placed. So far as India is concerned, apart from its anxiety to see the conclusion of a non-proliferation treaty as a step towards achievement of general and complete disarmament and more particularly nuclear disarmament, India has a special problem of security against nuclear attack or nuclear blackmail. This aspect, which hardly needs elaboration, must necessarily be taken into full account before our final attitude to a non-proliferation treaty is determined.

**Shri Hem Barua (Mangaldai):** May I ask a clarification? Are we to understand that India proposes to sign a non-proliferation treaty without being herself an atomic power? China is not going to sign the treaty; UAR is not going to sign the treaty.

**Mr. Speaker:** It is a clarification, it should not become a debate.

**Shri Hem Barua:** It is not a debate, Sir. I want to know whether India proposes to sign this treaty. If India signs this, would it not affect our international prestige because we are not an atomic power?

**Shri M. C. Chagla:** I made it clear that even the draft has not yet officially come to us. When the draft is given to us, we will carefully consider it, and the primary consideration, I ought to assure this House, is our national security. India stands in a unique position. I might point out three aspects. First, we are not under anybody's umbrella.

**डा० राम मनोहर लोहिया (कन्नौज) :**  
सध्यक्ष महोदय इसके ऊपर प्रश्न पूछने दिया जाय ।

**श्री मधु लिवडे (मुंगेर) :** स्पष्टीकरण के तौर पर तो सवाल पूछे ही जा सकते हैं ।

**Mr. Speaker:** If you want to discuss it, you could discuss it on some other day.

**Shri M. C. Chagla:** I have not yet finished my answer. India occupies a unique position as far as nuclear weapons are concerned. The House is aware that we are a non-aligned country and we are not under anybody's political or any other umbrella. Therefore, there is no military pact under which we can be protected, if we are attacked by any nuclear power.

**Shri Hem Barua:** What has happened to the umbrella?

**Shri M. C. Chagla:** The second fact is that India has got a great nuclear capability. The third fact is that India is in a position to use nuclear energy for peaceful purposes and there should be nothing in the treaty which would impede our use of nuclear energy for peaceful purposes. All these factors will be taken into consideration when the treaty is tabled before this Committee, and I assure this House that before we make up our mind, the paramount consideration will be the security of the country.

**डा० राम मनोहर लोहिया :** अध्यक्ष महोदय, यह प्रश्न खाली यहा तक सीमित नहीं है कि मधु हथियार केवल 5 देश जिनके कि पास वे हैं उन्ही के पास रहे क्योंकि माननीय वित्त मंत्री ने कुछ ऐसा कहा है कि और बढ़ नहीं पाये तो मैं केवल आपका ध्यान इस ओर खींचता हूँ कि अभी तक जितने यह यूरोपीय सफेद देश हैं उन्होंने यह अपने मधु विस्फोट प्रज्ञांत महासागर में ही किये है वह अटलांटिक महासागर में नहीं किये गये । केवल एक इस बात को हम याद रखें तो बहुत कुछ उनको और हमको शर्म के मारे अपना सिर नीचा कर लेना होगा कि प्रज्ञान्त महासागर

[डा० राम मनोहर लोहिया]

में ही सब विस्फोट हुए हैं जहाँ एशिया वाले और रंगीन लोग रहते हैं लेकिन अटलांटिक महासागर में जहाँ उन लोगों के ऊपर घसर पड़ सकता है वहाँ विस्फोट नहीं हुए। दूसरी बात जहाँ यह अपने को कहते हैं कि हम निरपेक्ष देश हैं बिना जुड़ा हुआ देश हैं वह इस बात को याद रखें कि अणु हथियार केवल पांच देशों के पास हैं, वह चीन उसमें शामिल हुआ है तो वह सब ब्राह्मण देश है और हम सब भंगी देश हैं हमारे पास कुछ है नहीं। ऐसी भबस्या में भारत सरकार की तरफ से कोई ऐसी चीज मान लेना जिससे आज की वर्तमान दुनिया को चालू रखा जाय तो मैं समझता हूँ कि वह बड़ी खतरनाक बात होगी। मैं यहाँ पर यह प्रश्न नहीं उठाना चाहता कि अणु हथियार हमारे पास हो या न हो। हो सकता है कि सब के सब अणु हथियार खत्म कर दिये जायें लेकिन ऐसी कोई सधि मानना जिसका का कि इसारा माननीय विदेश मंत्री ने किया है . . . . . (ध्वज बान) अब क्या यह बात साफ़ नहीं है कि प्रशान्त महासागर में ही सब अणु विस्फोट होते हैं, अटलांटिक महासागर में यह नहीं होते उन्हें पता नहीं है कि इस से कितना जातीय भेदभाव होता है ? इसलिए इस समय जो सन्धि की आवश्यकता है वह यह नहीं कि अणु का विस्तार रुके, उसमें हम सब लोग ही खराब हो जाते हैं, भगी के भंगी बने रह जाते हैं। या तो सन्धि हो अणु हथियार बिल्कुल खत्म कर दिये जायें या फिर मैदान साफ़ रहे या और जो ज्यादा बढ़ जाय वह बढ़ जाय जिसका जैसा दबाव हो इसलिए ऐसी कोई सन्धि होनी चाहिए। मंत्री जी क्या जबाब दे रहे हैं ?

श्री मधु सिमये : कोई उत्तर आ रहा है ?

Mr. Speaker: I think the hon Minister can answer after we hear one or two more points; it would be then easier.

Shri Bal Raj Madhek (South Delhi): The hon. Minister just now said that they will consider the treaty when it comes before us. But he has also hinted that we will see that no check is put on peaceful uses of nuclear energy. It implies that we are not in favour of development of nuclear energy for warlike purposes. I want to know, whether in view of the fact that China is our enemy and that China is equipping its armed forces with nuclear weapons, if India can afford to bind its hands in the matter of nuclear weapons. We want to have a clear assurance from the Minister that he will not bind India's hands in anyway, and India should remain free to develop its own nuclear capabilities and nuclear weapons so that its armed forces may have the same weapons which our enemies command at the moment.

Shri S. Kandappan (Mettur): The Minister explained that the position of our country is unique in this matter. It would be more correct to say that our position is precarious, not unique. Since China is going ahead with the proliferation of nuclear weapons, any treaty signed by countries without the consent of China would be useless and null and void. May I know whether Government have considered this matter and taken it up with the other countries in their talks and whether they will pursue it in future, i.e. the position of India vis-a-vis China?

Shri Swell (Autonomous Districts): These talks about the non-proliferation treaty have been going on for some time. From all the reports we read, it would appear that the talks relate more to the non-development of nuclear weapons in countries which are non-nuclear at present and they say precious little about the halt to the arms race among the nuclear powers themselves. I would like to have a categorical answer from Government whether they would sign any non-proliferation treaty unless and until

they are assured that the nuclear powers would halt their arms race and also destroy the nuclear stockpile in their possession?

**Mr. Speaker:** I thought it was only a clarification which was sought. But policy matters are also raised.

**Shrimati Tarkeshwari Sinha (Barh):** May I know how far the Government is aware about the countries which have been declared as nuclear powers? The date has been shifted to 1st January, 1967. Do Government have any information whether because China has exploded a bomb, China will be also considered as a nuclear power and whether that thing is likely to be mentioned in the draft treaty before the Government? The minister informed the House that the draft is not available. But the newspaper reports indicate that the Government of India has the draft before it and Dr. Vikram Sarabhai has gone to Geneva to discuss this matter with the powers interested in a non-proliferation treaty. I do not know how far it is correct. Will Government clarify whether there is any link between this and Dr. Sarabhai going to Geneva or not?

**Shri Chintamani Panigrahi (Bhubaneswar):** What is the urgency on behalf of Government to sign this treaty? Is it because they want to remove the suspicions from the minds of some of the nuclear powers?

**Shri M. C. Chagla:** Dr. Lohia said that nuclear powers were Brahmins and non-nuclear powers were *bangis*. India belongs to an intermediate caste...

डा० राम मनोहर लोहिया : हमेशा दीगले ही रहेंगे हम लोग ।

**Shri M. C. Chagla:** We have the nuclear capability and we can explode the bomb, but deliberately we have passed a self-denying ordinance and we have said that our present policy is we will not explode the bomb. I

agree with Shri Madhok that we have to take into consideration the threat posed by China. That is where India's position is unique. We have the nuclear capability. We are non-aligned and we are under a continuing menace of a country which has already exploded the bomb. Before we decide to take up our final attitude towards the treaty, we will certainly bear in mind this vital fact.

As regards Dr. Swell's question, we have also been insisting that this treaty should be reciprocal in character, that there should be mutual obligations, it is not enough to tell the non-nuclear powers not to explode the bomb whereas the nuclear powers will do nothing at all and, therefore, we expect the nuclear powers also to assume certain responsibilities either to reduce their stock-pile or not to increase it.

In reply to the question put by Shrimati Tarkeshwari Sinha I may say that formally we have received no draft of the treaty, informally we have got the substance of it, but even that which has been given to us is not the final draft because negotiations are still going on between USA and USSR and, as I said, it has not been formally presented to this 18-member committee (*Interruption*).

**Shri Surendranath Dwivedy (Kendrapara):** Why should we go there if it is only an informal treaty?

**Shri M. C. Chagla:** I am sorry I cannot enlighten Shrimati Sinha as to what discussions we are having with different countries with regard to this matter. Obviously, that is not a matter which can be mentioned to Parliament (*Interruptions*).

**Shri P. K. Deo (Kalahandi):** Sir, we must have a discussion, otherwise the whole thing would be in cloud.

**Mr. Speaker:** We will have a discussion but not in this way. You give notice of it and we will consider.