

this is one of the reasons why the people of Kerala become angry because these persons try to fan their passion including the Congressmen, and that makes them indignant.

16.29 hrs.

[MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER in the Chair]

The only solution to the problem of Kerala is this: you should devise the budget in such a way that Kerala is restored to what I might call her economic health; it should be done in such a way that the people get as much food as they desire, and the people should get jobs there; that the people who serve in schools and the administrative offices get their salaries and dearness allowance and that amount of pension which their counterparts in other States get. Therefore, I feel that though this budget has come, I would if I were the Finance Minister of India—luckily I am not—try to reshape it in such a way that the common man has the best deal from this budget, that the productive capacity of Kerala is increased and the tourist capacity of Kerala is also enhanced.

16.30 hrs.

CALLING ATTENTION TO MATTER OF URGENT PUBLIC IMPORTANCE

THERMO-NUCLEAR EXPLOSION BY CHINA

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: We will take up the Calling Attention.

Dr. L. M. Singhvi (Jodhpur): The Minister is conspicuous by his absence!

Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath (Hoshangabad): He is just coming.

Shri Harish Chandra Mathur (Jalore): You can only accuse him of being punctual to the minute.

The Minister of External Affairs (Shri Swaran Singh): Mr. Deputy-

Speaker, Sir, on May 9 China conducted its third nuclear test somewhere in Western China. As the House knows, the earlier two Chinese nuclear explosions took place on October 16, 1964, and May 14, 1965. This third nuclear test by China is in arrogant defiance of the clearly and passionately expressed desire of people all over the world to discontinue nuclear tests and to arrest the process of nuclear proliferation. Government do not, as yet, have any details or precise information about the explosion. According to reports attributed to New China News Agency, this nuclear explosion "contained thermo-nuclear material". However, the exact nature and intensity of the explosion fall-out, etc. are under investigation and it will take about a couple of weeks before our scientists can throw light on such details.

As the House is aware, this is the third nuclear explosion conducted by the Chinese Government. The first one was conducted on 16th October, 1964 and the second on 14th May, 1965.

Government cannot too strongly condemn and deplore the action taken by the Chinese Government, in persisting with these tests which constitute a threat to world peace, a grave hazard to the health and safety of people living in areas of the world likely to be affected by the radioactive fall-out resulting from this explosion, and generally contrary to the interests of Humanity at large.

Turning to our own policy, we had made a careful assessment of the situation in consultation with our Service Chiefs and Atomic Energy experts even when the first nuclear device was exploded by China. The fact that there would be other such explosions was known at that time. Therefore, the mere fact that China has carried out its third nuclear explosion does not vitiate the earlier conclusion, though at the same time, the policy is kept under constant review. In any such review, account has to

[Shri Swaran Singh]

be taken not only of Chinese tests but also other relevant factors specially the progress made in the discussions relating to nuclear disarmament in which many countries are participating. The Partial Test Ban Treaty to which India is a signatory was an important landmark in the progress towards nuclear disarmament. Since then, admittedly, progress has been slow. Government still feel that the interests of world peace and our own security are better achieved by giving all support to the efforts for world nuclear disarmament than by building our own nuclear weapons.

In the meantime, in the matter of peaceful development of atomic energy, we are pushing ahead and giving it top priority, and as the House is aware, the world recognises that we are one of the countries which is capable of becoming an Atomic Power in a reasonably short time.

Finally I would assure the House that the defence of our territorial integrity will be the paramount consideration guiding our policy in this field.

Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath: In view, Sir, of the steadily aggravating nuclear menace from China, and in view of the statement made just now that the Government, in spite of these developments, adheres pig-headedly or stubbornly to the hackneyed declaration of its policy, which can be summed up briefly as "we can make the bomb, but we would not do it," in view of all this, does the Prime Minister or the Government propose to follow up the suggestion made by the late Prime Minister, Shri Lal Bahadur Shastri, for a nuclear shield or some sort of protection against China, broached by him with the British Prime Minister, Mr. Harold Wilson, sometime ago, a year or so more ago, and is the Government in communication with the governments of the USSR, the United Kingdom and the United States of America, on

this matter, as well as with the government of the non-nuclear Asian and African countries?

Shri Swaran Singh: This question of so-called nuclear umbrella or nuclear shield or protection, about which mention has been made, has been referred to on earlier occasions also, and we made the position quite clear that in a situation like this unless the main nuclear powers, namely, the United States of America and the Soviet Union jointly reassure the non-nuclear powers against nuclear blackmail, any suggestion which might be made by one country, like the United Kingdom, will not meet the situation, and it should be considered in the light of this overall assurance to the non-nuclear powers rather than as directed against one or the other.

Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath: Sir, my question was very specific. Is the Government in communication with those countries, the USSR, the USA and the UK on this matter, and also the non-nuclear nations of Asia and Africa?

Shri Swaran Singh: This is a matter which has been the subject matter of many discussions and there have been exchanges of views. This has also, not in a very direct form, come up even during the discussions in Geneva.

Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath: And the outcome so far?

Shri Swaran Singh: The outcome so far is not quite precise. There was a suggestion made by the Soviet Union, but at the present moment there is possibly nothing further which I can say precisely in the outcome.

Shri Hari Vishnu Kamath: You are pursuing the matter?

Shri Swaran Singh: We do definitely feel that it is very essential to effectively ensure non-proliferation,

that the non-nuclear powers should have some assurance from the main nuclear powers that their interests will not suffer by adhering to the policy of non-proliferation.

Shri Nath Pai (Rajapur): Mr. Deputy-Speaker, this wanton outrage committed by the Chinese warlords in utter contempt of the Moscow Treaty banning explosion of atomic devices in atmosphere, in total disregard of the hazards to the health of the people of Asia, has a special sinister significance for the security of this country. This arises because of the growingly, increasingly, bellicose tone of Chinese accusations of Indian intrusions into Chinese territory, which was referred to by the Minister himself in Parliament yesterday when the note from China was laid on the Table of the House. The growing collusion between Pakistan and China adds another dimension to this threat. And, very important is the announcement from Peking which warns the world about what China is doing. In view of these words, that this power of the people of China, the Chinese warlords say, "will be used to help people's wars of liberation"—surely the Prime Minister knows that the Chinese Government regards the Naga, the Mizo and other such local troubles as people's wars of liberation in this country—which give a special sinister significance to the accretion of this power to the Chinese arsenal, what is the Government going to tell the Parliament? The Prime Minister is specifically called upon to allay the nation's growing concern not by repeating this kind of negative policy that we do not want proliferation, that we are dedicated to the peaceful use of atomic energy. In view of the clear danger to our security and territorial integrity, may I know whether she took up the issue during her long and extensive tour with the heads of other States and tell them that we will have to develop our own or get this device so that China cannot go on this way blackmailing this country?

May we know what she did during her long and extensive tour?

The Prime Minister and Minister of Atomic Energy (Shrimati Indira Gandhi): My tour was neither long nor extensive. This matter did come up for discussion, but unless the countries are agreed among themselves, as our Foreign Minister pointed out just now, nothing can come out of such a move. I do not think our policy is at all a negative one; I think, it is a very positive policy. We are building up our atomic power. Of course, we are using it for peaceful purposes; but in the mean time we are increasing our know-how and other competence. I myself fail to understand how our production of one bomb or two bombs will help us. . . . (Interruption)

Shri Nath Pai: It is only when you produce one that you can produce many.

Shrimati Indira Gandhi: Many other questions arise out of this. Furthermore, the belief that China can attack any country with nuclear weapons with impunity, I think, is a misconceived one.

Shri Harish Chandra Mathur: The US Government through the US Secretary has stated that this new Chinese nuclear test would have extremely serious repercussions on the international scene. May I know how our Government will view it and will the hon. Minister of External Affairs correct me about the consequences, as I see them. Your condemnation of China will lead you to nowhere. They care a hang for your condemnation when you condemn them. Secondly, we talk about proliferation which also has no impact on China. Those countries, like USA and USSR, who are advising against proliferation, lack all the moral force in talking about non-proliferation because they themselves have exploded hundreds of bombs like this; they lack the moral force. What can

[Shri Harish Chandra Mathur]

we make out of it? This bomb poses not only a military problem for us but also poses a big question which should be examined in the wider context about the sovereignty and the very independence of this country. The Chinese are feeding more people than we are doing without PL-480. The Chinese have gone from development to development. They have also the bomb today. We started a little better and today we have been able to find no answer to this bomb. Will there be any new rethinking on this matter to assure the country and the people around who look to India as one of the most significant countries even according to Indonesia, to retain that position and to get assured about our security?

Shri Swaran Singh: There is precious little that I could correct in this rather long speech. This is how the question started, namely, if I am in a position to correct the various postulates which have been put forward in his own characteristic way. The main operative part of the question is whether the explosion that took place and about which I have informed the House—the House already knows it—justifies a revision of our fundamental policy of not developing our nuclear energy for non-peaceful purposes. On that the Prime Minister and I have made the position clear, that we are developing the know-how and the nuclear capacity; but our policy of continuing to develop that for peaceful purposes continues. The significance is quite clear that any addition to the nuclear capacity of China, particularly in her present bellicose attitude and a policy of creating tensions every-where, is something which cannot be easily dismissed. It is a very serious danger and I agree with that analysis. On non-proliferation, it is something which, I think, is worth trying. The alternative to non-proliferation is destruction for the entire world and the possession of nuclear devices and nuclear bombs by a

large number of countries might lead to destruction and, therefore, the whole world should be interested in non-proliferation. At the same time I would like to repeat what I said a moment ago that to make non-proliferation effective, it is necessary to reassure the non-nuclear powers; it is a responsibility which we will continue to press; it is a responsibility which the nuclear powers should appreciate.

On the other issues, I agree with him that like China we should also strengthen our economy, whether it is food or industrial base, and the unity of the country and there cannot be any two opinions on this.

Shri D. C. Sharma (Gurdaspur): I think that only two suggestions have been put forward on the international plane for the good of those nations which do not have any nuclear capability or nuclear prowess; one of them came from Mr. Rapacki that there should be atom-free zones and the other suggestion came from some western politician that there should be a nuclear umbrella for those countries which do not have the nuclear potential. Both these suggestions which have come from well meaning persons, good-intentioned persons like our Foreign Minister....

Shri Swaran Singh: Like our Member of Parliament.

Shri D. C. Sharma:..... have proved to be a damp squib. They have not carried anybody anywhere. In the light of the fact that our border is only 700 miles from China—if you take into account Sikkim and Bhutan, we are very near China—may I ask the Minister whether he is treating us to new Aesop's fables or he is going to write new Aesop's fables or he is going to give us only lectures on moral status of this country or he is going to follow that path which bring us parity with China? Why did Hitler lose the war? Hitler, towards the end of his life, said, "I am trying to have technical parity with my

enemines". If we do not have any technical parity with our enemies, where will these statements, these moral exhortations, intellectual analysis and dialectical discussion lead us? I want to ask whether they are going to have a technical parity with China in this matter or not. If they are not going to have, well, God help us.

Shri Swaran Singh: I would only say that I have greatly enjoyed this dialectical exercise and I dismiss it as Aesop's fable.

Shri D. C. Sharma: Because he has no ideas of his own. What is Aesop's fable? Will he tell me that? I take strong exception to what that gentleman has said. He does not know what it means and, therefore, he dismisses it as Aesop's fable. I ask him as to what he is going to do for having a technical parity with China in this matter. He does not understand this question.

Shri Swaran Singh: If the hon. Member had put this question without Aesop's fable, commentary and preface, I could have answered it in a clearer form.

Shri D. C. Sharma: He did not take any exception in the case of the other two gentlemen. Why should I not...

Shri Swaran Singh. In these serious matters, it is not good to clothe it with light expressions. What I said on that question, I was serious about it. My hon. friend has said something about moral things and moral lectures. We do attach, and we should continue to attach, importance to moral values and I think it will be a bad day for our country, a bad day for the world, if we throw the moral standards to winds. It has become a fashion to use these light expressions without realising the full significance of what we say. On our nuclear capacity, the Prime Minister has made a statement, and we should accept that statement that every effort is being made to develop the know-how and to increase our nuclear capacity. Whether we shall catch up with China, whether we shall

be able to be on a par with them or not, it is our determination, and as I have said in my statement, it is our intention, to develop our nuclear capacity to the maximum for peaceful purposes; and we should view it in that form rather than try to clothe it in expressions for which there is no justification.

श्री युद्धवीर सिंह (महेन्द्रगढ़) : यह कहने में क्या शर्म घ्राती है कि हम भी बढ़ायेंगे ।

Shri Joachim Alva (Kanara): On a point of order. My hon. friend Shri D. C. Sharma has misled the House. Hitler possessed atomic, bacteriological and chemical warfare weapons, but he was only frightened to use them.

Shri Raghunath Singh (Varanasi): He had no atomic bomb.

Shri D. C. Sharma: That is absolutely wrong.

Shri Joachim Alva: He had all the 'ABC' weapons.

Shri S. M. Banerjee (Kanpur): The explosion of the atom bomb by China is not meant either to terrorise the Soviet Union or to frighten the USA. This is only meant to terrorise the Afro-Asian countries and bring them under its fold and thus satisfy its expansionist tendencies or designs.

Apart from having the technical know-how of atomic energy and converting it into anything which the Government likes, if they are capable of it, may I know whether any attempt has been made before this news came to Government, to mobilise the opinion of those countries which are friendly to us and who do believe that this atomic energy should not be used for war purposes, and if so, what their opinion is, and what other steps are likely to be taken in this behalf?

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: The answer to this question has already been given.

Shri S. M. Banerjee: I want to know whether a conference is going to be convened about it.

Shri Swaran Singh: No conference is contemplated. But I would like to remind the House that this matter came up at the time of the non-aligned nations' conference which was held at Cairo, and the Chinese explosion took place ignoring the joint exhortation of all the non-aligned world and a number of countries that attended the Cairo Conference....

Shri S. M. Banerjee: The UAR themselves want to manufacture an atom bomb.

Shri Swaran Singh: What is my hon. friend suggesting? I did not follow. I thought that he was suggesting that we should mobilise Afro-Asian public opinion to see that this type of continuance by China of developing its nuclear weapons should not be pursued. So, that question does not fit in with his earlier question. I was trying to inform the House...

Shri Nath Pai: What happened at the Cairo Conference? Let the hon. Minister please tell us again.

Shri Swaran Singh: In the Declaration of the Cairo Conference itself it was clearly mentioned that all those countries which had not yet subscribed to the Moscow Test Ban Treaty, meaning thereby those countries who had not got the nuclear devices, should refrain from doing so...

Dr. L. M. Singhvi: The UAR, the host country, is itself doing it.

Shri Nath Pai: On a point of information. The most significant part of the Cairo Conference was: (a) They did not show the courage of censuring China; those people who were loud in condemning every other explosion cowed down before the Chinese; (b) They had agreed to send a delegation to Peking, but the Chinese did not condescend to receive it. These were the operative parts and the sad truth about the Cairo Con-

ference. It was washed out completely and in toto.

Shri Swaran Singh: I thought that that real part of the question was mobilising public opinion and warning them of the dangers, to which I have replied.

I would also remind the House that even in the Bandung Conference at which China was present, there was a clear declaration to which China subscribed, that the nuclear energy should not be developed for non-peaceful purposes.

Dr. L. M. Singhvi: It seems to me that the superstitious, almost pathetic, faith of the Government in non-proliferation, the quest for which remains a veritable mirage today, has landed us into a kind of nuclear fatalism. I would like to know as to when the point would be reached in the thinking of the Government when they would give up their hopeless quest for non-proliferation and would take up in the realistic perspective of our foreign policy and national security the question of manufacturing our own nuclear weapons. When will that point be reached when it would be realised that nonproliferation, howsoever worthwhile it may be, has failed as an objective, the quest for which is nothing but a hopeless quest?

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: It has been answered. Shri Shastri.

Dr. L. M. Singhvi: When will it be realised that non-proliferation, though a worthwhile objective, is a hopeless quest? At what point of time would they arrive at the conclusion that non-proliferation as an objective has to be abandoned? At what point of time would that objective situation be recognised? If they have not arrived at such a conclusion now, when will they do so?

Shri Swaran Singh: What should be the point at which the world is to give up hope of non-proliferation is

a question in which we alone are not the arbiters or the only country who can decide.

Dr. L. M. Singhvi: We might be the victims.

Shri Swaran Singh: Let him have some patience to listen.

We have taken a decision to safeguard our defences and our integrity about which I have made a mention. What is the best way of ensuring our defence and integrity and to guard against any possible danger is a matter of assessment. There is no question of feeling discouraged. I have said that non proliferation is a desirable objective and so long as any hope is left, very serious effort should be directed to ensure that non-proliferation is achieved. But I have always said that to bring about successful non-proliferation the main nuclear powers of the world will have to come forward with some assurance to the non-nuclear powers.

श्री प्रकाशवीर शास्त्री (बिजनौर) : उपाध्यक्ष जी, प्राज्ञ की दुनिया में अणु बम विनाश का शस्त्र न होकर, शान्ति का देवता बन गया है। जिसके पास अणुबम होगा, उसकी शान्ति सुरक्षित रहेगी। यह कोई आवश्यक नहीं है कि अणु बम का निर्माण करने के बाद हम कल ही अणु बम या अणु युद्ध में प्रवेश करेंगे। अपनी शान्ति को बनाये रखने के लिये या अपनी स्वतन्त्रता को बनाये रखने के लिये हर उपाय से देश को तैयार रहना चाहिये। इसी आधार पर अब से कुछ समय पूर्व भारत सरकार से जब यह आग्रह किया गया था कि हमारे पड़ोसी राष्ट्र हमारी स्वतन्त्रता को छीनने के लिये हर सम्भव उपाय काम में ला रहे हैं तो भारत सरकार की ओर से यह उत्तर दिया गया था कि चीन अणु युग में अभी हम से 10 वर्ष पीछे है, लेकिन अब यह बात सिद्ध हो गई है कि भारत सरकार की दृष्टि के पीछे तथ्य नहीं था, दुरभिमान था। प्राज्ञ भी वह बात

उसी तरह से प्रकट हो रही है, जिस प्रकार के दुरभिमान भरे मेरे शब्द सरकारी बेंचों से सुनने को मिल रहे हैं।

कल जिस प्रश्न का प्रयोग चीन द्वारा किया गया है, क्या भारत सरकार यह कह सकती कि इस हाइड्रोजन बम के प्रयोग की या बिस्फोट की सूचना सब से पहले हमारे वैज्ञानिकों के द्वारा हमको मिली या दूसरे देशों के वैज्ञानिकों से मिली। यदि दूसरे देशों के माध्यम से मिली तो हम जो अपने अणु प्रतिष्ठानों पर करोड़ों रुपया खर्चकर रहे हैं, इस से लाभ क्या है?

Shri Swaran Singh: I have already said that our scientists will take some-time before all that data are made available. But I will certainly inform the House after they have made the investigation.

The only operative part of his question is as to whether we learnt it ourselves first or we learnt it from other sources. That the Chinese were about to explode their bomb was known to the world. This had appeared in almost all the newspapers of the world for several days before the actual explosion.

श्री प्रकाशवीर शास्त्री : मेरा प्रश्न कुछ और है, उपाध्यक्ष जी, प्राप उन्हें समझा दीजिये।

Shri Swaran Singh: This was known. This is not a scientific matter. You will appreciate that it is a matter of intelligence.

श्री प्रकाशवीर शास्त्री : न, न, यह साइन्टिफिक बात है।

Shri Swaran Singh: It was known from various sources.

श्री युद्धवीर सिंह : हमारे पास कोई साइन्टिफिक इंस्ट्रुमेंट है क्या?

Shri Swaran Singh: We also had information that they were about to explode a bomb.

श्री प्रकाशवीर शास्त्री : ख़ाल कुछ घीर हं । वह बहुत स्पष्ट है । हमार वैज्ञानिकों द्वारा पहले पता लगा या दूसरे देशों के वैज्ञानिकों ने इसका पहले पता लगाया और उनके द्वारा आपको पता लगा ।

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: We have to take up the half-hour discussion at 5 O' Clock.

श्री मधु लिमये (मुंबेर) : इसके बाद भी इसको लिया जा सकता है ।

Shri Bhagwat Jha Azad: (Bhagalpur): What does it matter? You have to give us the privilege of asking questions.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: We may take it up after the half-hour discussion.

Shri Swell (Assam Autonomous Districts): How can that be?

17 hrs.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: If the House agrees, we can take up the half-hour discussion afterwards.

Shri K. N. Pande (Hata): The half-hour discussion should be taken up.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: The House has agreed, what can I do?

Shri K. N. Pande: I have to raise a half-hour discussion which is more important than what they are raising.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: It will be taken up after this is over.

Shri K. N. Pande: The question which they are raising is not so important as the one that I am raising.

Hon. Members: No.

Shri K. N. Pande: Yes.

Hon. Members: No.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: It is the House that has decided.

Shri K. N. Pande: It is going to affect 30,000 employees.

Shri Bhagwat Jha Azad: This is affecting the whole world and India.

Shri P. Venkatasubbalah (Adoni): By the third explosion of a thermo-nuclear bomb, China has posed a threat to humanity and the world, and particularly to India.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: All that has been said. What is your question.

Shri P. Venkatasubbalah: May I know whether, when our territorial integrity is challenged and when our sovereignty is jeopardised, the Government will be able to assure the public, the people of India, that within a reasonable time we will be able to make the bomb so as to give an effective reply to China, whether we have all the technical know-how in our possession, whether they are in a position to tell us that within a short time we will be able to manufacture the bomb?

Shri Swaran Singh: I have already said that every attention is being devoted to develop our nuclear capacity for peaceful purposes.

Shri Hem Barua (Gauhati): When this first explosion of the Chinese bomb took place, our late Prime Minister, Shastri, suggested a nuclear umbrella to be jointly assured by Soviet Russia and America, but somehow or other that idea has gone down the sea of oblivion even without a bubble, and if the recent statement of Mr. McNamara is to be believed, then China is going to have medium range missiles on an operational stage by 1967 and inter-continental ballistic missiles by 1975. The menace is growing. In the context of that, may I know whether the hon. Prime Minister is in a position to assure us against possible Chinese nuclear threat to us and to our unborn generations, and whether she is in a position to

tell us if she has tried to mobilise world opinion against Chinese nuclear threat, and whether she has made any attempt towards total banning of these nuclear explosions?

Shrimati Indira Gandhi: I have made no personal attempts at any of these things. Efforts in this direction are being made through the United Nations Disarmament Commission and the Eighteen Nation Disarmament Committee.

Earlier on somebody asked whether our scientists were the first to discover to have the news. Perhaps hon. Members are aware that the Chinese themselves were the first to announce this.

Shri Hem Barua: My question has not been replied to. I wanted to know from her if she can assure us and the unborn generations against possible Chinese nuclear threat.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Through the United Nations Disarmament Commission and the Eighteen Nation Disarmament Committee world opinion is being mobilised.

Shri Swell: The President of one of the non-aligned countries to which the hon. Minister for External Affairs referred, President Nasser of the United Arab Republic, is reported to have stated that the Arab countries would procure nuclear weapons to counter balance the development of nuclear weaponry in Israel, their traditional enemy.

Now, in the statement reiterating the policy of this government against the development of nuclear power for offensive purposes, the Minister has added a note that the defence of the territorial integrity of this country is of paramount importance. May I ask him how he proposes to defend the territorial integrity of this country against the Chinese nuclear blast? Will he spell it out for the benefit of this House and the country?

Shri D. C. Sharma: By statements.

Shri Swaran Singh: It has already been replied to by the Prime Minister.

Shri Swell: They have no answer.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: It has been answered more than once.

श्री मधु लिमये : संयुक्त राष्ट्र संघ में जितने देश हैं उनको यद्यपि एक समान माना जाता है लेकिन कुछ विशेष रूप से समान बन गए हैं और ये हैं वे पांच बड़े राष्ट्र जिन को वीटो का अधिकार प्राप्त है। मैं सरकार से यह जानना चाहता हूँ कि जैसे संयुक्त राष्ट्र संघ के अन्दर उनके विशेष अधिकारों को आपने मान लिया है क्या उसी तरह से आणविक हथियारों के निर्माण के बारे में भी इन पांच राष्ट्रों की प्रधानता को आपने हमेशा के लिए स्वीकार कर लिया है? क्योंकि सब से पहले अमरीका के पास आणविक हथियार हो गए। बाद में रूस और ब्रिटेन के पास। फ्रांस ने और चीन ने जब मास्को करार बना था उसके ऊपर हस्ताक्षर करने से इन्कार कर दिया। साथ साथ आणविक हथियारों के फैलाव के बारे में करार करने की बात चली। लेकिन यह ध्यान में रखना चाहिये कि ये जो पांच राष्ट्र हैं इन्हीं राष्ट्रों के पास हथियार रहेंगे और इन पांच राष्ट्रों के अलावा जो और राष्ट्र हैं जिन्हें नीचे दर्जे का माना जाय अछूत माना जाय, उनके पास आणविक हथियार न रहें, यह इस करार का आधार है। मैं जानना चाहता हूँ कि क्या सरकार ने जैसे हमेशा के लिए संयुक्त राष्ट्र संघ में अछूत बनना पसन्द किया है क्या उसी तरह से आणविक हथियारों के बारे में इस सिद्धांत को मान लिया है कि इन पांच राष्ट्रों के अलावा बाकी जितने देश हैं हिन्दुस्तान समेत उनको अछूत बन कर रहना है?

दूसरी बात उसी से जुड़ी हुई मैं यह पूछना चाहता हूँ...

उपाध्यक्ष महोदय : आप एक ही प्रश्न पूछ सकते हैं।

श्री मधु लिमये : आपने सब को तीन चीन और चार चार प्रश्न पूछने की इजाजत दी है। मेरे बारे में आप अलग कानून नहीं चला सकते हैं। एक ही कानून पर आप चलिये। यह (क) भाग था और (ख) भाग मेरे प्रश्न का यह है कि विदेश मंत्री जी ने अभी यह कहा कि चीन के पश्चिमी इलाकों में यह अणु बम का कहिये या हाइड्रोजन बम का कहिये विस्फोट हुआ है। मेरा ख्याल है कि रूस की सीमा इस इलाके से ज्यादा नजदीक है बनिस्वत हिन्दुस्तान की सीमा के। मैं जानना चाहता हूँ कि इस विस्फोट से जो वातावरण दूषित होता है उसका रूस की जनता और रूस के इलाके पर भी जरूर असर हुआ होगा तो क्या इस ने जाहिरा तौर से चीन को कभी कहा है कि ये जो विस्फोट करने का काम आप कर रहे हैं यह बहुत गलत है या रूस केवल हिदायत हमारे जैसे देश के लिए ही देता है ? इसका भी जवाब जरूर आना चाहिये।

Shri Swaran Singh: There are two parts. We do not consider that in the United Nations those countries which do not possess the veto are achiuth, or untouchables, in the words of Mr. Limaye. He should not have used this expression, particularly in the light of the manner in which we are trying to approach this problem of untouchability.

श्री मधु लिमये : आपने असमानता को तो मान लिया है।

Shri Swaran Singh: There are countries; all the countries are equal; all countries cannot have the veto power, and, (Interruption) in the United Nations charter, there are more than 100 countries who have not got the veto power—but I cannot accept that any country which has not got the veto power in Security Council is an untouchable or in anyway inferior.

श्री मधु लिमये : आप समझ नहीं रहे हैं मेरी बातों को। पांच राष्ट्रों को आपने श्रेष्ठता बना दिया है और बाकी राष्ट्रों को आपने अछूत बना दिया है और आप अस्पृश्यता को कबूल कर रहे हैं।

Shri Swaran Singh: The issues of peace and war cannot be decided by this type of action; we must remember that the essential philosophy behind the veto—we may not accept it but that was the philosophy when the charter was actually framed—was that if you try to impose on these big powers any decision which is not acceptable to them, and the decision relates to peace or war, then you are taking a decision without having the wherewithals to implement it, and that means conflict, and the whole intention was to create a situation where the conflict could be avoided. You may not accept that but that was the entire object of this veto. There is no question of any other country being inferior or being untouchable, and we should not look at the problem like that.

The second question was, since the explosion has taken place in that part of China which is nearer the Soviet Union, have the Soviet Union given any public reaction to this explosion. I am not aware of the Soviet Union having given any public reaction about this explosion.

श्री मधु लिमये : जितने विस्फोट हो गये अब तक उनके बारे में कभी जाहिरा तौर पर सोवियट यूनियन ने कुछ कहा है ?

श्री वसपाल सिंह (कैराना) :
उत्तर महोदय

श्री मधु लिमये : मेरे प्रश्न का पूरा उत्तर अध्यक्ष महोदय नहीं आया। मैंने तो तीन विस्फोटों के बारे में पूछा था।

उपाध्यक्ष महोदय : आर्डर। श्री वसपाल सिंह।

श्री यशपाल सिंह : उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, 45 करोड़ की इस जाति को वर्ल्ड ऑर्पिनियन जसी रेस की सीबार के सहारे छोड़ देना सबसे बड़ी बेवकूफी है। मैं यह जानना चाहता हूँ कि वह समय कब आयेगा कि हम लोग हाइड्रोजन बम का विस्फोट करेंगे और चाइना के साइटिस्ट्स यह पता लगाते फिरेंगे कि हमारी ताकत क्या है ?

श्री रवर्ग सिंह : यह सवाल और शकल में पूछा गया है और इसका जवाब तो दिया जा चुका है।

श्री यशपाल सिंह : क्या वह समय कभी आयेगा जिस पालिसी से आपकी डिफॉट हुई है उसी पालिसी को रिपीट किये जा रहे हैं, यह कहां की प्रकलमंदी है ?

श्री किशन पटनायक (सम्बलपुर) : अध्यक्ष महोदय, हमारी सरकार खुद कहती है कि हाइड्रोजन बम विस्फोट द्वारा चीन ने मानवता और मानवीय मूल्यों का उल्लंघन किया है, तो क्या हमसे उम उम्मीद कर सकते हैं कि सरकार की राय, सरकार की नीति चीन को राष्ट्रसंघ में जगह देने के सम्बन्ध में अब बदलने वाली है ? और (ख) इसी के साथ

उपाध्यक्ष महोदय : एक ही प्रश्न।

श्री किशन पटनायक : (क) कि यह जो ब्रणुबम की शक्ति है यह आर्थिक और औद्योगिक विकास पर आधारित है तो चीन के औद्योगिक विकास और भारत के औद्योगिक विकास में कितना फर्क है, इसका मूल्यांकन इन्होंने अपनी एजेंसी द्वारा किया है क्या ?

Shri Swaran Singh: About the first part, our policy has not changed. About the second part, I could not follow, in spite of my best effort to catch it, what he was trying to say.

श्री किशन पटनायक : चीन की आर्थिक शक्ति चीन की औद्योगिक प्रगति और आर्थिक विकास के ऊपर आधारित है। क्या आपने कोई मूल्यांकन किया है कि चीन के औद्योगिक विकास और भारत के औद्योगिक विकास में अभी कितना फर्क है ?

Shri Swaran Singh: I think on this question of industrial development, a comparison between the Chinese development and Indian development, I think the Planning Minister will be the more appropriate Minister to answer that.

श्री मधु लिमये : नहीं, आपको करना चाहिए। विदेश नीति कैसे चलावेंगे ? अध्यक्ष महोदय, अगर इन प्राथमिक चीजों की जानकारी यह नहीं रखेंगे तो विदेश नीति कैसे चलावेंगे ?

Shri Bhagwat Jha Azad: Since one of the assessments of the western military experts that China will explode a thermo-nuclear bomb has come true, may I know whether Government have got any assessment of the other remarks, that they have perfected a delivery system or are making serious effort to make a delivery system perfect, and that they will be able to hit 2,000 miles by their missiles by 1975, and will be able to hit 500 miles by missiles by 1967—that means only next year? Now that the seat of non-aligned power, the pillar of non-aligned power, Mr. Nasser, has this morning expressed that Arab countries also need hydrogen bomb, may I know how—I would like the Prime Minister, the Defence Minister or the Foreign Minister—to reply—the Government propose to defend the sovereignty and integrity of this country against such developments? Have they got any alternative or is "Ahimsa Paramo Dharma" the only slogan they can offer?

Shri Swaran Singh: We have information that the Chinese are going ahead with their missile programme also. But the threat to us can be without those missiles, because our

[Shri Swaran Singh]

territory is adjoining their territory. The Chinese threat is real even if the Chinese do not go ahead fast with their missile programme. About the main question, the same question is put in another form. The Prime Minister has already given the answer.

Shri Bhagwat Jha Azad: The operative part of my question has not been answered. We want to know how the Government propose to defend this country against such developments.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: The Prime Minister has given the answer.

Shri Bhagwat Jha Azad: No, Sir; we would like to have the answer.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: He can see the record.

Shri Bhagwat Jha Azad: I want the answer from the Foreign Minister. Could you understand yourself what the answer was?

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Mr. Pant.

Shri K. C. Pant (Nainital): In this statement, the Foreign Minister laid great stress on nuclear disarmament and non-proliferation. While agreeing with him that this is a laudable objective, may I ask him whether the Government consider it realistic to expect a non-proliferation treaty, which imposes a balance of obligations on nuclear and non-nuclear powers, to emerge from the talks that are now going on, unless China can be made to fall in line with the terms of that treaty? While these talks are going on, there are signs of accelerated tendency towards proliferation, to which reference has been made by Mr. Azad and Dr. Swell. In view of these developments, may I know if the Government is contemplating speeding up the technological preparations that are going on in this country towards the acquiring knowledge of how to make nuclear bombs?

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: That has been answered.

Shri Bhagwat Jha Azad: No, Sir, We strongly protest against this. It has not been answered. Have you understood the answer yourself? Will you kindly tell us what was the answer?

Shri K. C. Pant: May I submit with all respect that I have brought out one point which has not been referred to by any earlier speaker? Perhaps the Foreign Minister may be able to throw some light on that.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: What is that point?

Shri K. C. Pant: Regarding the non-proliferation treaty and accelerated tendency towards proliferation and the Government's reaction thereto. These are the two specific points.

Shri Swaran Singh: It is no doubt correct that the actual finalisation of a non-proliferation treaty is a very very difficult task and I share the concern expressed by the hon. Member that very serious efforts will have to be directed by the world community to bring about a non-proliferation treaty. But the stage has not yet been reached when we can say that there is absolutely no hope for a non-proliferation treaty. Therefore, the efforts that are being made in Geneva and in the United Nations should continue.

So far as the development of our technology is concerned, I agree that every effort should be made to step up our technological know-how and our techniques.

Shri Joachim Alva: Sir, the Chinese nuclear blackmailing or no blackmailing by which South-East Asia and Asia including India are being pressurised, may I know whether it is not the continuous, unflinching and declared policy of the Government of India not to manufacture bombs in accordance with Mahatma Gandhi's policy.

(Interruptions). Mahatma Gandhi massively and substantially liberated this land and he stuck to the policy of non-violence. That policy was nobly enshrined by Jawaharlal Nehru and Lal Bahadur Shastri. We being the makers of that policy cannot easily give it up. Is it not the policy of the Government of India to adhere to that policy, though our scientists are capable of delivering the goods and they are held back because of our own policy? And, the Chinese shall not use the bomb inasmuch as Hitler did not release the ABC weapons of warfare, atomic, bacteriological and chemical. I want to know whether it is still the declared policy of the Government not to manufacture the bomb?

Shri Swaran Singh: I do not think any reply is called for.

श्री योगेन्द्र झा (मधुबनी) : अणु बम जब अथवा पराजय का माधन नहीं है। जब कभी अणु बम का प्रयोग युद्ध में होगा तो वह युद्ध स्थानिक न रह कर विश्व युद्ध में परिणित हो जायेगा। अमी विष्टनाम का उदाहरण सामने है। अमरीका हार के बाद हार खाने के बाद भी वहां अणु बम का प्रयोग नहीं कर रहा है। क्योंकि अगर अणु बम का प्रयोग हुआ तो सारे संसार में मध्यता का नाश हो जायेगा ऐसा ख्याल है। इन सभी बातों को ध्यान में रखते हुए मैं सरकार से यह जानना चाहता हूँ कि क्या सरकार इस बात की घोषणा करेगी कि किसी भी हालत में भारत अणु बम का निर्माण नहीं करेगा।

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: Let us take up the Half-hour-discussion.

17.22 hrs.

EMPLOYEES* OF INDIAN AGRICULTURAL RESEARCH INSTITUTE

The Minister of Food, Agriculture, Community Development and Co-operation (Shri C. Subramaniam): Sir, before the hon. Member begins the discussion, I would like to remind him that this very matter is before the High Court now and, therefore, I do not think the hon. Member should go into the merits of the case.

Shri K. N. Pande (Hata): I am not going to cover those points.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: The subject is *sub judice*.

Shri K. N. Pande: We have taken a separate issue before the High Court. This is such an important issue that if it is not properly dealt it will affect the services of 30,000 employees.

Sir, on 22nd March, 1966, to a question whether the employees of the IARI and its branches have been given notices about the termination of their services if they do not resign their posts and join again afresh with the ICAR, and whether if they join the ICAR they will have their services and other benefits as they used to enjoy while they were in IARI.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: This very question is now before the High Court.

Shri K. N. Pande: That is not so.

Shri C. Subramaniam: It is so.

Shri K. N. Pande: It is not so.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: When the Minister says it is so.....

Shri K. N. Pande: Unless you hear what I am going to say, how can you decide.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: The matter is *sub judice*; we cannot discuss it.