

STATEMENT OF SHRI TEJ BHAN MALHOTRA
MANAGING DIRECTOR, URANIUM CORPORATION

206. SHRI KALYAN ROY :

SHRI M. V. BHADRAM :

Will the PRIME MINISTER be pleased to state :

(a) whether Shri Tej Bhan Malhotra, Managing Director of the Uranium Corporation of India while addressing a recent meeting of the members of the Indian Institute of Mineral Engineering at Kharagpur had stated that Government should reserve only large mineral deposits for their working and they were going to start work during the next five or six years only such deposits and the rest of the deposits should be thrown open to private enterprise;

(b) whether in the same speech he observed that monopoly was bad for the economy for a country whether it was in the private sector or in the public sector;

(c) whether these observations represent Government's views; and

(d) if not, the action taken by Government in this regard?.

THE PRIME MINISTER (SHRI-MATI INDIRA GANDHI) : (a) and

(b) Yes, Sir.

(c) These suggestions were made by Shri Malhotra in a purely personal capacity in an address to a professional body of engineers. They cannot be construed as representing in any manner the views of Government in the matter.

(d) Does not arise.

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CALLING ATTENTION TO A
MATTER OF URGENT PUBLIC
IMPORTANCE

IMPLICATIONS OF THE LAUNCHING BY CHINA
OF HER FIRST EARTH SATELLITE IN THE
CONTEXT OF INDIA'S SECURITY ARRANGEMENTS

SHRI CHITTA BASU (West Bengal): Sir, with your permission I beg to call the attention of the Minister of Defence to the implications of the launching by China of her first earth satellite in the context of India's security arrangements.

THE MINISTER OF DEFENCE, STEEL AND HEAVY ENGINEERING (SARDAR SWARAN SINGH) : Mr. Chairman, Sir, the House has already been informed that the Chinese had attained medium range capability in missiles. The successful launch into orbit of an earth satellite of 173 kilograms by China is an indication of her having developed a rocket engine of sufficient power to put an inter-continental ballistic missile of range in excess of 5000 miles. A full assessment of this development will have to await more details about the satellite, but it is clear that China is now well on the way to possess an ICBM capability. The area in which they have not yet proved their capability is with regard to the problems of re-entry and terminal guidance.

With further improvements, the satellite should be capable of being used for the purpose of gathering information regarding road systems, launching sites of missiles etc.

Government of India have already a space programme and have been working on it for some years. According to the present time schedule we should be able to put into low level orbit scientific or applications satellite within 4 or 5 years. Once the basic systems have been developed it should be possible to go to the second stage of development of the larger booster. This whole programme is being worked over a 10-year time frame. This will now have to be reviewed. We will re-examine the programme to consider the extent to which it can be speeded up.

SHRI CHITTA BASU : May I know from the honourable Minister whether it is not a fact that the capabilities achieved by China are the result of a collusion between China and America and the generous flow of technical knowhow in this subject from America and West Germany? The generous supply or flow of technical knowhow to China by the USA has been motivated by a desire on the part of the US Government to give effect to the Dullesian theory of making Asians fight Asians. In view of this, may I know from the honourable Minister whether the Government of India considers it desirable to have a fresh look into its nuclear policy keeping in mind the prime necessity of building up the defence system of our country completely on the basis of self-reliance, without depending on

any foreign country? This is all the more necessary in view of the fact that one of the objects of the US Government is also to build up pressure in this country so as to force this Government to seek shelter under the nuclear umbrella of the USA and also to browbeat and blackmail us. Therefore, in order to prevent any blackmailing either by China or by the USA, I would like to know whether the Government considers it desirable to lay more emphasis on building up a self-reliant defence system in our country. In view of this, may I know what concrete steps the Government is proposing to take in this particular matter of building up a self-reliant defence system having regard to the fact that there is an increasing collusion between the USA, China and West Germany?

SARDAR SWARAN SINGH : Sir, with regard to the operative part of the question of the honourable Member, I agree that we should be self-reliant and that has been our main stress, that we should be able to manufacture our own equipment in order to strengthen our defences. I would not like to agree with him when he unnecessarily brings in what he describes a collusion between China and West Germany and China and the USA. My own approach to this problem is that it is a development which has taken place, and this has created problems for us. What was the source from which they got this technical knowhow is not material for me because what they got at the receiving end is more important and on my part I have no hesitation in getting the knowhow, the scientific and technological material or information from whatever source it may be available to strengthen us. I would like to be self-reliant, that is, the overall control has to be with us. And any attempt to drag in other countries and to say that they are helping China so that we should be pressurised to go under their nuclear umbrella is much too far-fetched . . .

SHRI CHITTA BASU : No, I have not said that.

SARDAR SWARAN SINGH : This is precisely what he has said.

SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN (Andhra Pradesh) : He meant it.

SHRI CHITTA BASU : No.

MR. CHAIRMAN : All right if you have not said it. Please sit down.

SARDAR SWARAN SINGH : He said that it is the intention of the US Government to build up pressure in this country so as to force this Government to seek shelter under their nuclear umbrella.

SHRI CHITTA BASU : No, Sir, he cannot mislead the House like this . . .

MR. CHAIRMAN : All right. That is your view and let the Minister give his view.

SHRI CHITTA BASU : But he cannot put things in my mouth.

SARDAR SWARAN SINGH : All right, I will not put, but the House has heard what he has said and I would leave it to the House to judge as to whether the interpretation that I was giving of what he had said was correct or not.

SHRI CHITTA BASU : Sir, . . .

MR. CHAIRMAN : Please sit down Mr. Chitta Basu.

SARDAR SWARAN SINGH : I will leave it at that. The point is that we should resist the temptation of giving it a presentation which suits our own political thinking on any particular issue. Let us disengage this very important and significant scientific development and view it on its merits and its implications. I have tried to explain that. It is a significant development. This casts a heavy responsibility on us to have a second look at our space programme and to see whether we could not also shorten the period which we had already set for ourselves to achieve our objectives.

MR. CHAIRMAN : Mr. Goray.

SHRI A. P. CHATTERJEE (West Bengal) : Sir, how do you call the Members? Do you call them party-wise or how?

SHRI KRISHAN KANT (Haryana) : The Members who have given their names must be called first.

MR. CHAIRMAN : What I am doing is that I have noted against each name the party to which the gentleman or the lady belongs. Now I will take one by one from each party first, and after that I shall see how much time we have taken on this and then it will be decided whether I should call all of them.

श्री जगदम्बी प्रसाद यादव (बिहार) : इस तरह से तो हम लोगों की कभी भी बारी आने की नहीं। कालिंग अटेंशन हो, क्वेश्चन आवर हो, शार्ट नोटिस हो, किसी में भी हमको नहीं बुलाया जायेगा चाहे उसमें हमारा नाम हो भी।

[MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN in the Chair]

SHRI KRISHAN KANT : Besides the parties, Members are also interested in putting questions.

SHRI DEV DATT PURI (Haryana) : Mr. Deputy Chairman, I would like to be clear as to the order you are going to follow because the matter is an important one. It concerns the safety and security of the country. Every Member who has given his name must be called.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : This is a calling-attention discussion and at the most one hour can be allotted for this discussion. Therefore, if you give a chance to everybody, then, it will not be possible to complete this discussion within one hour. So, on such important matters at least let the views of each party be expressed in this House. Let there be representation given to every political group so that they can express their views, and after exhausting the list of party representatives if there is some time left, then, we can call other Members who have given their names.

श्री जगदम्बी प्रसाद यादव : इसमें पार्टी के सिद्धांत की बात नहीं रहती है। कालिंग अटेंशन में जानकारी चाहने की बात रही है। कोई सदस्य जो किसी बात की जानकारी चाहता है उसको कैसे मालूम होगा। यही तरीका होगा तो न देश को पता चलेगा न दूसरों को पता चलेगा।

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA (West Bengal) : Once for all the matter should be settled. Yesterday you described it and the same thing we are repeating. According to the decision that you took yesterday we have been following.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : The same argument is advanced to-day.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : Those who get up in spite of your direction could not be called.

SHRI N. G. GORAY (Maharashtra). Mr. Deputy Chairman, before I put

my questions I would like to recall that this question has been agitating our minds for years. If I had a longer time at my disposal I would have shown to you how this Government has been fooling itself and fooling the people of India about the nuclear capabilities of China. I recall here—because I happened to be in the Parliament during 1957-62—that at that time we were told by no less a person than the Prime Minister of India himself that so far as nuclear science and development is concerned, India had an edge over China. Now the position is that China has gone far ahead and all at once we are feeling agitated and exercised over the new capability of China. Therefore I would really request you to permit this House a full-dress debate over this. The issues are very much involved and they are very serious and they really concern the sovereignty of our country but the time being very short, I would like to pinpoint my questions. Here are the questions :

(a) Is it not a fact that the Government were either ignorant of or complacent about the progress of China in the field of nuclear weaponry and rocketry—an attitude which has resulted in pushing India back into a second position *vis-a-vis* China,

(b) Will the Government, in particular the Prime Minister, stop talking of India's resolve not to develop nuclear weapons, when it is common knowledge that there can be no dependable assurance from any nuclear power to protect India from nuclear attack?

(c) Will the Government commit itself to a time-bond programme for nuclear and rocketry development?

(d) Will the Government instead of the partly sum of Rs. 18 crores for Research and Development in Defence make available substantially increased allocations?

(e) Will the Government while deciding its future defence policy take into consideration the effect of Chinese experiment upon the morale of our Defence Forces as well as on the people at large?

SARDAR SWARAN SINGH : I would like to say that we were neither ignorant nor complacent about the nuclear and rocketry programme of China. Even knowing that, we had taken a deliberate decision of developing our nuclear

technology and nuclear science for peaceful purposes. That was a decision that was taken and that has been discussed here on many occasions.

श्री जगदम्बी प्रसाद यादव : इसी पीसफुल परपज की वजह से चीन ने 1962 में धक्का मारा ।

SARDAR SWARAN SINGH : This is also the programme which has been announced in the House, discussed in the House and the fact that a satellite has gone into orbit is no ground for altering our nuclear programme. We should always distinguish between the space programme and the nuclear programme. So far as the space programme is concerned ...

SHRI N. G. GOREY : Do you suggest that this space programme of China has no nuclear implication?

SARDAR SWARAN SINGH : I have said in my statement that this shows that they have got a sufficiently powerful rocket which ultimately might give them the capacity to go into ICBM range but nuclear is the war head and this is the carrier system. The two are entirely different. Let us not be lost in this sort of running argument. We have to be quite clear in our minds in order to weigh the situation correctly about the distinct nature of the two programmes. Space programme and putting in of satellite can be essentially a peaceful programme and therefore whatever decision we take one way or the other about nuclear programme, so far as going ahead in the space is concerned, that is a 'must' for us. That is why I said that it is our intention to have a second look at our space programme and satellite programme.

DR. BHAI MAHAVIR (Delhi) : May I know ...

SARDAR SWARAN SINGH : I do not give way. This is unfair.

DR. BHAI MAHAVIR : What has space programme to do with Defence if you are separating them?

SARDAR SWARAN SINGH : I am answering it on behalf of the Government, not only for Defence. It is therefore necessary for us to keep this distinction in our mind. We should go ahead more rapidly with respect to the space programme. We have taken a decision about the nuclear programme and that decision stands and we have argued it

on several occasions and I can repeat again if you like but it is not necessary because on the floor of this House this was discussed and I gave the reasons for this also as to why we have taken this decision and why we should stick to this decision. My reply to (b) is, we are fully aware of the fact that no one can give us protection against nuclear weapons. In fact no country can protect itself from nuclear invasion. Let us be quite clear on that. It is true that there is the doctrine of the deterrent and the question as to who will start and what will happen next. That is a fascinating subject about which there is a lot of literature as to how many minutes will be left between the first strike and the second and the full-blast and scientists agree that there will not be more than half an hour available for the nuclear start becoming a full-blast. So this doctrine of deterrent has its implications. We are under no delusion that anybody will protect us but we do know that the conflicting world forces today are such that any country which starts a nuclear trigger will have to take into consideration all the interactions and any country initiating a nuclear attack will find that other forces will come into play ... (Interruptions) You may not agree. I am stating the Government position.

श्री जगदम्बी प्रसाद यादव : सारे देश की जिम्मेदारी को लेकर आप बात करें ।

श्री एस० डी० मिश्र (उत्तर प्रदेश) : क्या आप पगले कंट्री चाहता का मुकाबला करेंगे ?

SARDAR SWARAN SINGH : About (c), I would say that our original programme of developing our nuclear technology and know how for peaceful purposes stands. Regarding (d), it was mentioned that for R. & D. Rs. 18 crores are provided. In fact it is not so much the money part of it for conventional weaponry and development of science to meet our requirements and to be consistent in our decision, the provision of Rs. 18 crores which has been mentioned by the Member is reasonable. If the Scientific Organisation can absorb more. I do not anticipate any shortfall of provision. More can be provided but this should not be confused with our either atomic energy programme or with our space programme which are handled by the Atomic Energy Department and this Rs. 18 crores has little relation to either the nuclear programme or the space programme. Part(e) was what is going to be the effect of this

[Sardar Swaran Singh]

development? This is an important scientific development and we have taken this decision already to be in the space programme and it is our intention to have a second look at it and to see if this could not be telescoped and if it could not be achieved over a shorter period.

SHRI N. G. GOREY : I talked about morale.

SARDAR SWARAN SINGH : Morale is what all of us create. If you create bad morale, it will be bad. It is more political rather than a question of physical capability.

श्री निरंजन वर्मा (मध्य प्रदेश) : श्रीमान्, हमारे योग्य मित्र सरदार स्वर्ण सिंह जी मीठी बात करने में बहुत प्रसिद्ध हैं। मैं उनसे स्पष्टीकरण चाहूंगा . . .

सरदार स्वर्ण सिंह : मैं कड़वी भी कर सकता हूं, लेकिन करता नहीं।

श्री निरंजन वर्मा : आणविक शस्त्र जो बाहर बन रहे हैं, उनके बारे में अपने देश में बहुत भ्रम है। सरकार की नीति के बारे में आप स्पष्टीकरण कर रहे थे। आप बताइए कि कौन सी बात सच है। क्या यह सच है कि आपका अमरीका की तरफ से या रूस की तरफ से जो विभिन्न योजनाओं में रुपया मिलता है या विभिन्न प्रकार से धन मिलता है, उन योजनाओं की किसी संधी में या आपके एग्रीमेंट में ऐसी कोई धारा है, जिसके कारण आप किसी भी प्रकार से भारत में आणविक शस्त्र नहीं बनने देते? अगर थोड़ी देर के लिए मान लिया जाय कि इस प्रकार की कोई धारा आपके एग्रीमेंट में नहीं है, तो केवल इस डर से कि आपको उन योजनाओं में उन देशों से धन प्राप्त करने में कठिनाई होगी, वे लोग रुक हो जाएंगे, इसलिए आप इस प्रकार के आणविक शस्त्र नहीं बनने देते? तीसरी बात अगर यह दोनों बातें गलत हैं, तो क्या यह सही है कि आपके पास आणविक शस्त्र बनाने वाले कारखानों की कमी है या अच्छे वैज्ञानिकों की कमी है और इस कारण से आप नहीं बनाना चाहते? हमारे मित्र श्री सिंह साहब, जो पुराने उद्योग मंत्री हैं, उनके अनुसार मैं आपसे पूछता हूं कि कम्यु-

निस्ट शासन चीन में भारत में स्वराज्य के दो वर्ष बाद आया। 1958 में चीन की स्थिति आपसे बहुत खराब थी, जब रूस के सारे टेक्नीशियन चीन छोड़ कर भाग गए थे। 1958 के बाद 12 वर्ष में चीन ने बिना किसी दूसरे देश की सहायता के एक प्रक्षेपणास्त्र बना लिया, सेटेलाइट बना लिया। अब आपने निश्चय किया है कि हम सेटेलाइट युग में जाना चाहते हैं, चाहे वह पीसफुल परपज के लिए हो। इन पांच वर्षों का जो समय है, क्या उस समय में चीन आगे नहीं चला जायेगा? पांच वर्ष के बाद आप केवल कुछ थोड़े से पौडों का सेटेलाइट छोड़ कर देश की जनता को बताएंगे कि हमने इस दिशा में प्रगति की है। जब चीन आपके मुकाबले में लड़ने को तैयार है, तब आप अपने देश के लिए क्या गारन्टी देते हैं। वस्तुतः, उस दशा में जब आपने अभी यह कहा है कि हम किसी आणविक छत्री का भरोसा नहीं करते। ऐसी स्थिति में हमारे देश को बचाने के लिए आपकी सरकार कौन से कदम उठा रही है?

श्री महावीर त्यागी : मुनासिब कदम उठा रही है।

SARDAR SWARAN SINGH : Sir I will reply to these questions *seriatim* very briefly. I would like to say that my reply to his two questions is a very emphatic 'No'. There is no clause in any agreement, nor is there any understanding that our decision on the development of our nuclear energy is in any way connected with any economic help or assistance that we might get from any country whatsoever, whether it is the United States or the Soviet Union or the U. K. or France. So on that point I want to make it absolutely clear. (Interruptions) Just a second please. Did I interrupt when your colleague was asking questions? I am not yielding.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : Sit down please.

श्री जगदम्बी प्रसाद यादव : एक बात छूट गई। कनाडा के एग्रीमेंट में क्या यह शर्त है कि जो अणु भट्टी . . .

(Interruptions)

SARDAR SWARAN SINGH : I refuse to take note of this question because I would refer him to the question put by a colleague of his own party. And I am answering that. I cannot answer twenty questions in one breath. When his turn comes, he can ask his question.

The second question was as to whether I anticipate any difficulty in getting assistance or aid even though there is no agreement. I would like again to say, no, there is no such difficulty. And if in our national interests our country decides to use nuclear energy for purposes other than peaceful, then that will be a conscious decision that will be taken, and it will be based on the advantage of that to the country and disadvantage of that to the country. And every thing will have to be weighed, but there is absolutely nothing in either of the two insinuations or suggestions that were put in the first and second questions of the hon. Member. Now the third question was this; if there is no such guarantee in any clause, or if you do not anticipate any difficulty, why don't you decide to go nuclear? I would request the hon. member to weigh the implications of his question. Does he mean to say that the sole criterion for us to go nuclear or not nuclear is the availability of foreign aid or assistance, economic or the rest? This will be a very very poor assessment of our capacity and also of our desire to take decisions. (*Interruptions*) That this question should be linked up with our capacity to take aid, economic or the rest, is absolutely a separate issue; it has nothing to do with the decision that we have taken. Why have we taken the decision? That is a decision which has been explained, we think that it is a question as to what is the immediate danger. And what is the danger against which we must guard our country? And I would like to repeat what I have said on several occasions. Our assessment of the danger both from Pakistan and China has been and still continues to be that it will be essentially a conventional threat. We cannot therefore brook any let-up in our preparations on the conventional side, in the army, in their training, in their equipment, in tanks and so on, in the air force, in missiles to defend ourselves, in the navy of various types including the submarines. We cannot therefore show any let-up in all this defence preparedness, and we took the decision that we must equip ourselves sufficiently to meet any threat which will essentially be on the conventional side. And this position does continue. There

are other factors also, the question of priorities, how are resources to be allocated, and thirdly there is also the question as to whether there can be real protection even if you go nuclear. These are matters which I have spelt out on earlier occasions and I would not like to burden this House again with them. There is no doubt that China is ahead of us both in space technology and in nuclear bombs.

श्री निरंजन वर्मा : श्रीमन्, मंत्री जी बार-बार उसी बात को दोहराते चले जा रहे हैं। मैं चाहूंगा कि वे तीसरी बात का भी जवाब दें। आपके पास क्या वैज्ञानिकों की कमी है? यह भी तो बताइए।

SARDAR SWARAN SINGH : On that issue, Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, I would like to say that we have got scientist, nuclear scientists and scientists on the electronics side, and scientists also on the rocketry side, who can be relied upon to take ahead our nuclear programme, even our space research programme, with such assistance as may be necessary and which we should not grudge. So on the scientific and technological plane I have great confidence in the capacity of our scientists and the supporting industries. Our science and technology are sufficiently advanced. It is a question of national decision as to what is the decision that we want to take, and our national decision, I would again repeat, is to make advances in the space programme and to develop a nuclear technology of the highest order but at the same time adhere to the programme of developing it for peaceful purposes.

SHRI A. G. KULKARNI (Maharashtra) : The view taken by the Government seems to be complacent view. The necessity of a political assessment as well as a military assessment of this problem is of a different nature. Though nobody need take a panicky view of the satellite being launched by China we must also consider the question of our own security. In this connection this theory of deterrents is being put through by the hon. Minister and I want to know what is the basis for this theory in the case of China. I could have understood it with reference to some other civilised nation but in the case of China which is supposed to take any action in a moment of fit what is the guarantee that this theory of deterrents will work and that the Chinese people will not attack this country?

[Shri A. G. Kulkarni]

Apart from this I have got another problem.

SHRI A. D. MANI (Madhya Pradesh) : We have also our problem.

SHR. A. G. KULKARNI : You can take up your problem after I put up my problem. Don't interrupt me. What I want to say, Sir . . .

SHRI LOKANATH MISRA (Orissa) : He says you are his problem.

SHRI A. G. KULKARNI : The difficulty with Mr. Mani is that he being a journalist he always pokes his nose in everything. You don't do that.

Sir, I was developing a line about the the political assessment. Three developed nuclear nations have got a fully developed carrier system with ICBM or whatever it is. If one of them attacks the other the third will not take part in the fight. It will be sitting quite thinking let the other two finish each other. In this connection with China as our neighbour the complacency shown by the Government has to be condemned at the highest level and we must say that it is high time for this Government to shed its complacency. I think the proper way to put it, if I am not mistaken, is to say that this Government has acted far too long on the premise that the rest of the world owes us a living. This thinking the Government must leave. We must live on our own strength and we must develop that strength and it is in that connection . . .

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : You ask the question.

SHRI A. G. KULKARNI : I am asking the question. We have to develop the point. The difficulty with me is . . .

SHRI N. K. SHEJWALKAR (Madhya Pradesh) : Why don't you try to develop nuclear energy on co-operative basis ?

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : Sir, Mr. Kulkarni is seeking clarification. This is not question hour. Unless he has sufficiently shown his confusion what is there to seek clarification ?

SHRI A. G. KULKARNI : I know, Mr. Gupta, when it is a question of China you are a little tender don't do that. I know you are afraid of your colleagues sometimes.

I want to know whether the time has t come for this Government to exercise

nuclear option. Secondly I also want to know whether it is not a fact that the Government has spent a large amount in developing its reactors and nuclear programme. Is it also not a fact that the economic assessment of manufacturing a nuclear bomb is roughly stated to be Rs. 3,000 crores. If we take up a ten-year programme we can naturally find Rs. 300 crores each year from this country. (*Interruptions*) You don't try to obstruct me. We are going to manufacture the bomb and we shall see . . .

SHRI BANKA BEHARY DAS (Orissa) : By 'we' you mean the Government of Maharashtra ? (*Interruptions*)

SHRI A. G. KULKARNI : "We" means this very Government here. It is for you all and me to bring pressure on this Government to take up a programme for the manufacture of nuclear bomb and I want your assistance in that. Don't take a political view of this and don't cut jokes about co-operatives.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : Now please complete your question. You give chance to other Members also.

SHRI A. G. KULKARNI : Sir, if you are going to treat me like this I will sit down. I don't mind it.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : You have already taken five minutes.

SHRI A. G. KULKARNI : But they are obstructing me; what can I do ? You stop them.

SHRI N. K. SHEJWALKAR : It is a wrong charge. We are in fact supporting him. We are very much thankful to him.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : He does not need your support and you need not support him.

SHRI A. G. KULKARNI : Now I was asking whether it is not a fact that to develop a self-sufficient deterrent requires about Rs. 3,000.

AN HON. MEMBER : Rs. 3,000 ?

SHRI A. G. KULKARNI : Rs. 3000 crores.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : You want to give him information or you want to ask a question ?

SHRI A. G. KULKARNI : I am asking clarification as to whether it is correct.

And since we have already invested a sizeable sum in developing reactors in the different centres and if it is possible to find Rs. 3000 crores every year why could not the Government take up a ten-year programme for the manufacture of nuclear bomb?

Lastly the Government should not take cudgels, rather should not take shelter behind the fact that they are developing nuclear energy for peaceful purposes. That might be diplomatic but I would request that they should shed their complacency and in order to boost the morale of this country and bring in an era of enthusiasm among the people, the Government must take up the position that they will develop within a period of ten years sufficient deterrent weaponry, which will be a deterrent to our friend and foe near our border, China.

SARDAR SWARAN SINGH : Sir, I would reply very briefly.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : No, no, because he has created sufficient confusion.

SARDAR SWARAN SINGH : His first charge was that we are complacent. I would deny that. We are not complacent.

Then he says we should be self-reliant. I fully agree with him; we should be self-reliant.

Thirdly, under this heading he has put two, three or four questions and I will give my replies to them. He says that the time has come for us to exercise nuclear option but my reply is no. We have taken a decision to develop it for peaceful purposes and that decision continues and there is no sufficient reason for us to change that decision. Under 2 and 3 he said that money has been spent on reactors. It is true that we have spent money on our nuclear programme but that is for peaceful purpose and it will be wrong for us even by way of enthusiasm to give even the slightest suggestion that there are any military overtones to our present nuclear programme. It will be unwise and it should not therefore be even hinted.

Then he has given certain figure and asked whether that is the order of expenditure for a nuclear programme. I would not confirm this figure but I would commend to him a U. N. Report in this connection which he can study and where these figures are available.

Lastly I would say that there is neither any diplomacy nor is there any reservation on our part. We are not talking with any mental reservation. We have as a

nation taken a decision to develop our nuclear programme for peaceful purposes. I am not apologetic about it and let there be no insinuations to that effect. It will not be correct for us to create an impression that we are announcing one thing and we mean something else.

SHRI N. G. GOREY : On this the nation is not with them.

SHRI A. D. MANI : The hon. Minister may be aware of certain disclosures made by a newspaper in Delhi to the effect that one scientist Dr. Bhalla, who was working in the Ministry of Defence submitted a plan for the launching of an earth satellite, that these plans were pigeon-holed in the time of Mr. Krishna Menon, and that he was given no encouragement whatever. (*Interruptions*) If I mention the paper I hope you will not say, it is an irresponsible paper. It is Organiser which is the Jana Sangh paper. It has made this serious allegation that this scientist in the Defence Ministry has submitted plans for the launching of an earth satellite and that these plans were pigeon-holed in the time of Mr. Krishna Menon. And now that person has been offered U. S. citizenship for continuing his space programme for which he had drawn up plans here. It has also been alleged that as far as the launching of an earth satellite is concerned the Government of India has been going about begging in Moscow and Washington for Russian and American help. It has also been alleged that Russia has been extremely cool to the overtures made by the Government of India for technical help in launching an earth satellite. I would like the hon. Minister to give us an assurance that our scientists will try to put up an earth satellite for peaceful purposes, as he says, not necessarily for military purposes and that we have the technical know-how and material in our country to produce an earth satellite. I am mentioning this because Mr. Vikram Sarabhai's name is mentioned as one of those who have been going about Washington asking for their help in launching an earth satellite. Have we come to that stage if China has been able to put up an earth satellite, our national self-respect demands that with our own men and with our own material we should be in a position to put up an earth satellite which will be very useful for meteorological and other peaceful purposes. I want the Minister to answer all the points raised.

SARDAR SWARAN SINGH : With regard to the first point, I am not aware of the article that appeared in the Organiser. If he had given me some advance information, I could have studied it and I could have given him a reply. Even now, if he gives me the reference . . .

SHRI A. D. MANI : I will give you.

SARDAR SWARAN SINGH : . . . I will investigate it and then I will give the information to the hon. Member.

SHRI A. D. MANI : I want you to give information to the House. On a point of order, it is a matter concerning the House.

SARDAR SWARAN SINGH : The Member also is the property of the House. I would like to say . . .

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : He is very much the property of the House, but on lease and a liability.

SARDAR SWARAN SINGH : I would like Mr. Mani, who has got great experience not only of journalism, but also of other affairs of the world, to think calmly about the suggestion that he has made. Now, he said that this very man has now gone to the United States and is perhaps helping them in their space programme. It is like, what should I say, several sayings in our Indian languages. The US have already landed on the moon. To give any information about the space programme to the United States is nothing else but carrying coal to New Castle or something like that. Anyhow, if he gives me the article, I will try to study it and give him my opinion.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA : Has he studied it?

SHRI A. D. MANI : I have studied it.

SARDAR SWARAN SINGH : I do not know. The second point that he has raised is this. Although he wrapped it up in several sub-clauses, the essential point is whether we will develop our space programme entirely with our own scientists without getting any help from any quarter. I would say that whereas the overall control should be in Indian hands and they should be fully associated with the development of the programme, with its orientation and with its systems of engineering, we should not import into this the question of national self-respect and deny ourselves the information that

is available from other countries, including the USA, the Soviet Union, France, Japan and from whatever source it is available. It is quite consistent with our national self-respect. The overriding consideration is the national interest and our national interest is best served by giving the overall control to our own scientists, by encouraging them to develop the programme and by enriching them with scientific and technical knowledge from whatever source it is available. That is our approach and we are going ahead.

SHRI N. R. MUNISWAMY (Tamil Nadu) : The hon. Minister cannot deny the psychological terror that China has created by launching its earth satellite, not only in India but also in the USA, France and Britain. This terror may be a psychological one. The knowledge that you are now developing is only for peaceful purposes and not for any other purpose. I am asking the hon. Minister to tell us whether this knowledge for peaceful purposes will be an adequate deterrent to other countries not to proceed with their programme. Our programme is one of peaceful purpose and it is not for military purposes. May I ask the hon. Minister whether we have got adequate know-how to manufacture any type of warhead, either under the space programme or the nuclear programme? If we do not have that, at least would he take up a modest programme to see that we also develop this knowledge and see that others also come to know that we are not without knowledge and that we are conversant with the new developments? Thus we may not always live in terror and we can also meet the situation when any emergency arises. I want an assurance that we are not lagging behind and that in an emergency we can meet the situation and that we are ready to meet any contingency.

SARDAR SWARAN SINGH : I agree with his general approach that in scientific and technological matters we should always do our best and be in the front line, that we should develop our nuclear science and space technology in the best possible manner.* That is what we are precisely proposing to do and this is what has been stated in this House and the other House and on several other occasions also. Even in the field of nuclear energy our scientists have got the capacity to build a nuclear bomb if the country decides and if a decision to that effect is taken. There is no use repeating it again and again. It is a question of

taking a decision. It is only then that the rest of the question arises. About the other part I was not quite clear. I think that nobody gets a fear merely because a satellite goes into space. I would like to have the co-operation of hon. Members also and not create panic or fear in our country. Merely because a satellite goes into space, it is no cause for concern; but it is a matter of concern obviously because any destructive apparatus in the hands of a country, with whom we have got the present type of relationship as we have with China, is a matter of concern to us. But purely in the scientific sense it is a phenomenon with which the world is quite familiar and it is getting familiar with it.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : Mr. Mulka Govinda Reddy.

SHRI A. P. CHATTERJEE : What about our party? Mr. Niren Ghosh is not here.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : You will get a chance.

SHRI A. P. CHATTERJEE : If you are calling Members according to parties, I must be called. That is what the Chairman said. On a point of order, are you changing the procedure? The Chairman said, before you came there and you were hearing what the Chairman said that the party representatives should have their say according to the list. After the party representatives have had their round, you will come back to the list and decide whether others may say. Now, the Chairman also said that as far as the names in the list are concerned, he has put the name of the party against each name, so that the party, according to the names, will speak. Now, as far as this Calling Attention is concerned, I gave prior notice to the Secretary—I do not know whether he conveyed it to you—that Mr. Ghosh is not in town and therefore, on behalf of Mr. Niren Ghosh, who was to speak for our party, my name be put against his name.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : You cannot speak on behalf of Mr. Niren Ghosh, but you can speak on behalf of your party. I have said that you will get a chance. Please do not waste time. You will get a chance. Mr. Mulka Govinda Reddy.

SHRI MULKA GOVINDA REDDY (Mysore) : Sir, in Vienna the talks for nuclear arms reduction between the USSR and the USA are going on, but the USA

is now reconsidering that it should have more nuclear arms, more nuclear weaponry, than the USSR has. This launching of the earth satellite by China has given new dimensions to both the USSR and the USA. In view of this is it not desirable that India should go in for nuclear weapons? The theory of deterrent does indicate that we should possess nuclear weapons and that only will deter any other country, which is inimical to India, to stop the use of nuclear weapons against our country.

I would also like to know, in view of the fact that a new situation is developing because of this earth satellite being launched by China, whether the Government of India will never yield to pressures either from the USSR or from the USA in signing the nuclear non-proliferation treaty with regard to nuclear weapons.

Thirdly, I would like to know whether his attention has been drawn to a report that has been published in some of the newspapers in India of the interview given by Dr. P. S. Gill who has said :

The launching of a satellite by China two days ago without any assistance from outside showed the high degree of sophistication that country had acquired in instrumentation and other branches of engineering and technology. The satellite was clearly of a superior quality, he said.

Indian scientists had most of the know-how for building similar instruments for a satellite and more could be acquired and developed quickly provided they were given clear-cut directions and facilities. Rocketry, mathematics and engineering technology were also being developed in the country. All these were essential in a space programme.

Dr. Gill felt that Indian science must develop on a wide front to catch up with China and other countries. There could be no soft options.

From this it is clear that the Government of India is not serious, that the Government is not providing proper facilities for development of space programme. I would therefore request the Minister to make a categorical statement that all facilities would be given to the space scientists to develop the space programme in addition to the development of nuclear bombs which will act as a deterrent against an enemy like China.

SARDAR SWARAN SINGH : I will start from the last question. I broadly agree with what my esteemed friend has read as the views of Dr. Gill. He is, as the House would no doubt be aware, Director of one of our important research laboratories in charge of instrumentation. So he speaks with knowledge, and we have in our country sufficient know-how in electronics, in instrumentation and in sophisticated equipment, and all this will be harnessed in pushing ahead our space programme, as I indicated in my statement, and it is wrong to suggest that we are denying any facilities. In fact we want the scientists to develop the technological know-how and scientific knowledge in the best possible manner. We will give them all possible encouragement, and that is a policy which we will continue to follow.

The second question that he put was about our decision on nuclear non-proliferation treaty. I have more than once enunciated our stand that we have not signed the nuclear non-proliferation treaty because in our view it is discriminatory. It comes in the way of our developing even our nuclear science for peaceful purposes. It does not put any restraint upon the nuclear arsenals; those who have got the nuclear weapons with them, it does not put any halt on them. They do not even stop adding to their arsenal. So, for these reasons we have taken a decision that we will not sign the treaty. I would like also to say that there is no use saying that we are being pressurised by any other country. I think we should have sufficient confidence in our capacity not to succumb to any pressure. There is no pressure either from the Soviet Union or from the United States. Of course they are signatories they would like us to join and sign the treaty because they feel that according to their judgement it puts a halt on proliferation. We do not agree with that view. We did our best to improve the treaty, we did not succeed. Therefore, we have decided not to sign the treaty. There is no question of either any pressure or of altering our decision under any pressure.

^ About the first question, it is asked again and again as to whether we should take a decision to make the nuclear bomb. I have already touched upon that.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : Mr. Chatterjee.

SHRI BANKA BEHARY DAS : What about me? My name is next. If you want I can rise a point of order.

SHRI KRISHAN KANT : Yesterday also we gave our name, and today also.

SHRI DEV DATT PURI : Sir, on a point of order.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : We have got very little time . . .

SHRI DEV DATT PURI : All that I wish to say is that this is a matter which should not be treated in a routine manner, and Members who have given their names must be given an opportunity.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : I would request the hon. Member not to raise the same question again and again, for which the Chairman has given a decision. Mr. Chatterjee.

SHRI A. P. CHATTERJEE : The first clarification which I would ask from the hon. Minister of Defence is this. Howsoever fascination we may have for a nuclear weapon, is it or is it not a fact that there is no industrial base in the country the manufacture of atomic weapons? Is it or is it not a fact that even as far as conventional weapons are concerned the Public Accounts Committee of late have had occasion to comment that the target of 80 per cent of indigenisation of components of these conventional weapons have not yet been reached by us? The Public Accounts Committee had also occasion to say that as far as Nishan trucks are concerned even for those trucks the crankshafts have to be imported by us. Is it or is it not a fact also that as a matter of fact we decided to manufacture a particular weapon in this country and though that weapon was to be produced in 1964, it could not be produced till 1967; though the programme was for 4 items per month, actually we could not produce more than 25 items per month. That is also in spite of collaboration or perhaps due to collaboration or perhaps because foreign collaborators stood in our way. Therefore, the question is whether we have got the industrial base for manufacture of nuclear weapons, and if we have not, and if we go in for manufacture of atomic weapons then shall we not fall into the trap of other foreign collaborators as we fell in the case of manufacture of that type of weapon to which the Public Accounts Committee has had occasion to refer. Now these foreign collaborators will swallow the entire scheme and ultimately we shall by virtue of our fascination for atomic weapons and therefore by virtue of our going in for collaboration be in-

directly bringing in the nuclear umbrella of the United States or some such power for our protection, and that will be dangerous for us. From this aspect may I ask the hon. Minister, in view of the lack of industrial potential for the manufacture of atomic or nuclear weapons, if we begin to manufacture these nuclear weapons, will it not be creating an ogre, a demon, which will swallow the creator itself and entire economy will be ruined, our entire establishment, our Government, may be swallowed up in the process and our entire economy will fall around our heads? Will we keep a note of that? The next question which I am asking the hon. Minister is this . . .

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : The last question.

SHRI A. P. CHATTERJEE : I am only asking questions. The next question which I am asking is this. We are too much worried about the Chinese having flown up this satellite and also having the potential for making nuclear weapons. Will the hon. Minister tell us whether he is or is not aware of the fact that China is the only nuclear nation—I shall stand corrected if Mr. Bhupesh Gupta will say that the Soviet Union has said that—which has said, among the nuclear powers, that that country will not be the first to use nuclear arms against anybody . . .

(Interruptions)

SHRI KRISHNAN KANT : Against India.

SHRI A. P. CHATTERJEE : If that is so, may I know whether we shall really have any cause to be worried about?

Sir, I also ask this question that there have been comments here about our being greatly worried about the Chinese having nuclear weapons. There was some reference also to the civilisation or lack of civilisation of the Republic of China. But, Sir, I am asking this question—and will the hon. Minister answer this? If the USA which could kill one million civilians in Vietnam from 1954 up to date, which could kill 250 thousand children by napalm bombs, which could kill or destroy by poisonous herbicides 43 per cent of the cultivable land in Vietnam, which has dropped in Laos up to March, 1970 more bombs than were dropped in the Second World War, if the United States can have a nuclear weapon and we are not worried about that, why should we be worried about China, an Asian

country, having a nuclear weapon? Should we or should we not be worried? In my opinion, we should not be worried.

And the last question that I ask is this that many people have said that we are complacent about the progress in China. Now, Sir, I do not understand this and will the hon. Minister corroborate me? When the Chinese people took the path of socialism, voted for socialism and took the path of socialistic regeneration, reconstruction and recreation of their economy, it was clear as day that they would have the know-how, they would have the potential, they would have the material, in spite of the fact that the Soviet Union took away all its experts after 1962 and with the strength of their socialistic economy, they would be able to manufacture atomic weapons. Therefore, this question is completely irrelevant to us that we were complacent about the progress in China. The progress in China was predetermined by her, well thanks to her socialistic economy. Therefore, there is no question of being complacent. There was the question of the inevitability of their superiority because of their socialism.

SARDAR SWARAN SINGH : It is a very intelligent blend of political overtones and scientific developments and I give him credit for weaving his political doctrines into a scientific phenomenon. I will try to steer clear of the political overtones and try to give replies to the substance of the points that he raised.

Firstly, he made an attempt to show that our Industrial base is poor and asked whether, when we have not achieved complete self-sufficiency and self-reliance even in the manufacture of conventional weapons, we can get the technical know-how to build a nuclear bomb. I would say that that analogy is not at all correct. For our national interest, while we are setting priorities, it is not uncommon that some supplies of certain percentage in any completed equipment can be based by import rather than invest huge amounts for manufacturing one part and thus lock up capacities which would remain idle. For a country like India which has friends in many directions, this is not a very wrong decision. It is a question of priority. But our objective is to be self-reliant and self-sufficient, and it is not for lack of knowledge or information or know-how but for other reasons, mostly economic and we are getting over that.

[Sardar Swaran Singh.]

His was an attempt to denigrate our scientists and technologists which I strongly repudiate; this is an attempt which we have to squarely meet. We will be doing a great disservice to the country and to the scientific community if we were to give an impression . . .

SHRI ARJUN ARORA (Uttar Pradesh) : Is he not aware of the fact that the present Director-General of the CSIR is ceaselessly advocating the import of foreign know-how rather than indigenous scientific development?

SARDAR SWARAN SINGH : That is an entirely different subject. The House will have an opportunity to discuss Sarkar Committee's Report and probably, he should reserve his comments for that occasion.

The point that I am stressing is that any attempt to show that our scientists and our technologists have not got the scientific know-how and are not capable of coming up to our expectations and delivering the goods, is not correct, and it will be unfair to them if we were to take up that attitude.

Lastly, Sir, he asked whether it will not topple our economy. I would request him to reserve his speech till the Government takes a decision to make a bomb; he should watch the situation and deliver the speech. But at the present occasion, I have announced that our decision is not to make a nuclear bomb. Why is he saying that? Why is he arguing whether it will topple the economy or not. If he has got any comments, he or any successor, he should reserve his comments when any decision to that effect is taken. Economic consideration is one of the considerations but not the prime consideration in this respect.

Then he has tried to ask, why are you so much worried? If the United States has put satellites into the orbit or has developed nuclear bombs, you were not worried. But why are you worried when China has done that? The reply is obvious. It is on account of our relationship with China that causes us worry, because we cannot forget the experience of 1962; we cannot forget the attitude of continued hostility towards India by China; we cannot forget that China is colluding with Pakistan and is trying to support them in every possible manner; we cannot forget that China is encouraging all

lawless elements in our country and is exploiting the tribal people by giving training to them and sending them arms. So, to equate any other country with China's development . . .

(Interruptions)

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : Order, order. Please.

SARDAR SWARAN SINGH : I leave that to be sorted out between the Jana Sangh and the Communist (Marxist) Party.

DR. BHAI MAHAVIR : You must know that China has been in illegal occupation of our territory.

SARDAR SWARAN SINGH : I would confine myself to answering the simple dilemma into which the hon. Member has landed himself as to why my attitude in this respect in relation to the Soviet Union or the United States is different from my attitude towards China. It is a study of our relationship with them and the attitude of those who are opposed to us, which is the guiding factor.

SHRI A. P. CHATTERJEE : May I ask for one clarification?

SARDAR SWARAN SINGH : I am not an idealist to ignore this. (Interruptions) Let me finish. I do not give way. Let me finish and then you can ask. Then he asked, why are we surprised? When they decided to go socialistic, we should have known that they would develop a nuclear bomb, that they would develop and put a satellite into the orbit.

SHRI A. P. CHATTERJEE : I said when they are a socialistic country, we should have known that with the strength of their socialistic economy, they would do things which their economy can stand up to. We have not got that economy. Therefore we cannot stand the expenses and the tension which our economy will suffer if we were to go in for the manufacture of such things.

SARDAR SWARAN SINGH : I tried to summarise his arguments. May be that my summary can be improved, but by his repetition he has not improved his original stand. Scientific development is scientific development. I had occasion to say in the other House, and I would like to repeat, that science and technology is not circumscribed by

socialism, is not boosted or retarded by capitalism. Scientists are scientists. By proper encouragement, and by proper wherewithal our scientists whatever we have, have done well. We have adopted a system which is neither of the Communist brand nor does it completely tally with other systems. We have got our own Indian democracy, and we are trying to achieve socialism by democratic means. I have no doubt that our scientists also are capable of developing the nuclear bomb. It is not necessary that it is only a socialist country which can give an economic structure which can enable any country to build nuclear bombs. This is my reply.

SHRI A. P. CHATTERJEE : But you have not answered my question whether it is a fact or not that China has said that she will not be the first country to use nuclear bombs.

SARDAR SWARAN SINGH : If the hon'ble Member is inclined to accept that assurance he can do so. But I will have my reservations.

SHRI A. P. CHATTERJEE : Are we aware of it or not ?

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : Dr Talwar.

DR. (MRS.) MANGLADEVI TALWAR (Rajasthan) : Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, when we got freedom, the architect of India, Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru, attached the greatest importance to the development of scientific and technical know-how in our country. Atomic energy was one of the subjects to which he paid great attention and put Dr. Bhabha in charge of it. He met with a tragic death. We have now an equally capable man at the head of the institution. The hon'ble Minister has just stated why we should have concern when the great neighbour, China, exploded the hydrogen bomb some time ago. Now she has launched a satellite to survey the space. Why we are concerned with these things, the hon. Minister has said; is that China, our great neighbour, is not friendly to us and is a great threat to our security and sovereignty. Our scientists are capable of developing technology. We should have no difficulty in getting the technical know-how which is not available in our country and we should give the priority which it deserves. He said that we are left so much behind our great neighbour.

The hon'ble Minister has stated that in four or five years we will be able to launch a hundred-kilogram satellite inside the space, and we would take another ten years to make advances in the same direction which would be very late. Therefore, may I know from the hon'ble Minister how much time they would be able to cut down out of this four to five years and be able to launch a satellite in the near future at least as big as China has launched . . .

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : That will do.

DR. (MRS.) MANGLADEVI TALWAR : What are the steps which he proposes to take in that direction ?

SARDAR SWARAN SINGH : Sir, it is difficult for me to say as to how much telescoping can be done in the time schedule. It is a matter for the scientists to discuss. I cannot give any indication about the extent to which the time frame can be reduced.

SHRI M. RUTHNASWAMY (Tamil Nadu) : May I ask the hon. Minister what is his opinion on the view that nuclear technology, made originally for peaceful purposes can at relatively short notice, be turned towards warlike purposes ? Secondly, what is the shortest time that would be required for the country to develop the vehicular capacity for making nuclear weapons effective ?

SARDAR SWARAN SINGH : With regard to the first, it is not easy to give any clear indication of the time between a decision and the actual fructification of the result. There is no doubt that if science and technology in the nuclear field are sufficiently advanced and thereafter if a decision is taken to develop a nuclear bomb or a hydrogen bomb, surely, that know-how and that infrastructure that is created can be used. There is no doubt about it. But it is very difficult to give any indication about the extent of time that is required to elapse or that must elapse between a decision and the actual result of that decision.

The second question that Prof. Ruthnaswamy asked I did not quite follow.

SHRI M. RUTHNASWAMY : The development of vehicular capacity for making the nuclear weapons effective, the delivery system.

SARDAR SWARAN SINGH : Delivery system is also a time-consuming process because it is not only the rocket-booster that is involved in it but problems relating to re-entry and guidance which is highly sophisticated, instrumentation and . . .

SHRI A. P. CHATTERJEE : You cannot do it.

SARDAR SWARAN SINGH : I am not going to reply to this whether I can do it or I cannot do it because I do not want to help him in getting this information from me.

SHRI LAL K. ADVANI (Delhi) : In reply to an earlier question, the hon'ble Minister gave the impression that there are no strings tied to the help we are getting in the field of nuclear technology from foreign countries.

SOME HON'BLE MEMBERS : No, no.

SHRI LAL K. ADVANI : I would like to ask him specifically whether it is not a fact that the Trombay Reactor that we got from Canada, the agreement under which we got it, makes it necessary or prevents us from using the fissionable byproducts of that reactor for the purpose of any nuclear explosion or nuclear blast or any other purpose apart from peaceful purposes. This is one specific question.

Secondly, in reply to an earlier question, the Minister stated that it is the Government's assessment that in any future confrontation with China, China was not going to use any nuclear bombs against us and the confrontation would be simply on the conventional plane, so that there was need only to expand our conventional armoury. While I dispute this naive assumption of the Government, I would like to ask whether in view of fact that today on this issue of nuclear power or nuclear weapons the Government and the country are completely divorced—the country is entirely for the nuclear bomb whereas the Government is against it—would the Government care to come out with a complete white paper giving all the details and the complete case on the basis of which it has made these assumptions and on the basis of which it continues to preach that it is beyond our economic capacity to go in for a nuclear deterrent? At least that is the suggestion, namely, that we cannot go in for nuclear bomb. For example, just now the hon. Minister

referred to a U.N. report about the cost of nuclear weapons. I think there are several experts' reports in this matter. These experts have referred to what exactly is the cost of nuclear missiles or nuclear delivery system. I would like the Government to give its own assessment and take the people into confidence, take the Parliament into confidence because they have repeatedly asked for nuclear weapons, as to why they have been ignoring this demand till now . . .

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : Put your question.

SHRI LAL K. ADVANI : Would the Government come forward with a complete documented case giving all the data and its own assessment and conclusions as to why it has taken this particular stand?

SARDAR SWARAN SINGH : With regard to the first question, I would request the hon'ble Member to carefully study the questions to which I was replying. These questions were put by a Member of his own party. He wanted to know about any clause in the agreement which gave economic aid to us. That was the question which was replied to. So far as the Canada-India reactor is concerned it is established for peaceful purposes. We have given a guarantee that we will use it only for peaceful purposes. It is a fact which has been stated. And if we establish a project for any particular purpose, then, it is a project and there is a condition, but that has nothing to do with economic aid about which Mr. Varma was putting a question. So, the former speaker should be a little more careful in listening to the questions and answers. The second question that he asked was : Why cannot we take a decision?

SHRI LAL K. ADVANI : No, you have taken a decision already, but it has not been explained to the country.

SARDAR SWARAN SINGH : We have explained the position from time to time and we do not think there is any necessity of any white paper on it.

THE LEADER OF THE OPPOSITION (SHRI S. N. MISHRA) : I would rather like to dissociate this Calling-Attention Motion on space programme from the military aspect, and I would make my question completely non-violent. The question is :

When did India and China begin the space programme? Has the Minister any idea about the commencement of the space programme by China? Of course, he has got information about his own space programme but that will not give us an idea of the relative rate of progress of our space programme, I want to know this information in order to assess the rate of progress of our own space programme, and that, you will concede, is a very valid question in this context. The second question that I want to put is this recently Japan launched a rocket: is there any difference between the techniques of the two, that is, between the Japanese system and the Chinese system which has been recently made known to us? Thirdly, I would like to know this clearly because many goody-goody things are being said, and we have been witness to that all the time, whether we are committed or not to go the fullest length possible so far as research and development, both in the nuclear field and in the space field, is concerned. That has been our commitment to the country also. I remember that the Prime Minister Shri Lal Bahadur Shastri, had said that we shall go full length so far as research and development in respect of technology is concerned. Now we want to know whether the Government would go full length so far as research and development in this subject is concerned, and whether it has got any sense of urgency now to speed up the programme so that we may be able to make up the lag that is now in evidence.

SARDAR SWARAN SINGH : With regard to the first question I must say that our information about the time when China took a decision and the progress that China has made, is very very little. We are not the lone people in this lack of information about China. Very little really comes out of China and a large amount of brain-scratching is going on in all the world capitals and there is a huge organisation in Hong Kong, where they study this problem. And it is not always possible to get even statistics like the population of China, their food production or their industrial production. So, it will be very wild if anybody guesses as to when China took a decision to embark upon the space programme. The second question he asked was as to what the difference was between the Japanese . . .

SHRI S. N. MISHRA : No. When did we commence our space programme?

SARDAR SWARAN SINGH : I have said that we took the decision in 1966 and in 1969 within the framework of a ten-year programme concrete steps were initiated. Then, Sir, he asked me about the difference, technological and the rest, between the Japanese satellite and the Chinese satellite. It is much too technical a matter for me and I must confess my ignorance about the difference, technological or otherwise, between these two satellite . . .

SHRI S. N. MISHRA : I asked this question only to emphasise and highlight the new technique which Japan has adopted.

SARDAR SWARAN SINGH : I have noted all that. In fact, the hon. Leader of the Opposition who studies these matters deeply, must have noticed that commentators have also pointed out that the ways of signalling, etc. started in the Chinese satellite are better than those in Japanese satellite. And that they are conveying very accurately in the Chinese. There is a difference in weight. The Chinese is much more in weight as compared to the Japanese. But these are technical matters into which I would not like to enter without a careful study. This is a scientific matter, not a layman's matter, not even a politician's matter.

About research and development he has rightly highlighted the importance of it. He has also rightly highlighted the importance of importing a new urgency into this. This is what I meant when I said towards the end of my main statement that it is our intention to review this and to see to whether we could not quicken the pace of our space programme also.

SHRI JOACHIM ALVA (Nominated) : Sir, you must allow me also to put some questions. I have got some new and important things to ask.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : But how long should we continue with this?

SHRI JOACHIM ALVA : My name is on the list. Please give me two or three minutes.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : We have already taken one and a half hours on this discussion. How long should

[Mr. Deputy Chairman]

we take for this discussion? No doubt it is an important question. But how long should we go? If you think it is an important technical matter, then, there should be a short-duration discussion rather than a calling-attention.

SHRI JOACHIM ALVA : This is a life and death matter. The answers are not satisfactory. You must give us a chance.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : But how long can we continue in this manner? All right, Mr. Alva, please be brief.

श्री जगदीश प्रसाद माथुर (राजस्थान) :
प्वाइंट ऑफ ऑर्डर। मैंने शार्ट डिस्कशन का
इस पर नोटिस दिया हुआ है और कहा गया है
कि वह इस के साथही ले लिया जागा।

श्री उपसभापति : कालिंग अटेंशन एडमिट
हो गया और उसी में वह आ गया है।

श्री जगदीश प्रसाद माथुर : मेरा इस में भी
नाम है इसलिए मुझे इस में भी समय दिया
जाना चाहिए।

SHRI JOACHIM ALVA : Sir, the first American satellite went up with 31 pounds. The Russian sputnik went up with 184 pounds and now the Chinese satellite has gone up with 380 pounds. And the honourable Minister has not even told us that it will take five years hence for us to fly one with 50 pounds. It is a very bad record. Sir, when the honourable Mr. Chou En-lai, the Chinese Prime Minister, came here in 1955—Dr. Bhabha told us in the Atomic Energy Committee—he told our people at Trombay, “You Indians, are far ahead of us” . . .

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : Please put your question.

SHRI JOACHIM ALVA : No, no. I must give this background. I do not want to waste the time of the House. I never waste time. I say only things which are relevant.

How is it that we lag behind? Unfortunately, my friend, Mr. Mani, did not give all the information from the well-known weekly ORGANISER. You see there were outstanding scientists like Dr. Jagan Chawla and Dr. Tsien studying together at the MIT in USA in the early fifties. Dr. Tsien is the maker of the

Chinese satellite. You see how one man has been worshipped in China whilst the other man has been hurled out from the Defence Ministry—Scientific Research Department.

Last year I raised this matter . . .

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : Please put your question.

SHRI JOACHIM ALVA : Sir, this is a study of my life-time. I do not want to waste the time of the House. I want to say only relevant things.

Sir, I had demanded that Dr. Bhagavantam be sacked because he was only an M.Sc. with no scientific achievements to his credit. He was appointed as the Scientific Adviser to the Indian Defence Ministry. He was put on a par with a tall man like Dr. Jolly Zuckermann who was the Scientific Adviser to the British Cabinet in times of the last war. And here in India a man like Dr. Bhagavantam was put in power. Now I must congratulate the Minister for having ejected him after I raised this matter about a year ago. But now the Minister has taken many long months to have another man in his place. Now, why do you not tell us about our space Programme? Why should we take five years to push up forty pound satellite? Why do you not hurry up?

Then, Sir, I want to know whether the Defence Ministry, along with the Atomic Energy Department, along with the Education Ministry, will devise measures from now on not to allow our precious birds fly out of our country. Why are you not imposing some kind of a compulsion on our scientists who go to foreign countries for research and training? They go for research and training to foreign countries and after their studies they actually prefer to stay there itself enjoying a jolly good time whilst 500 million people are starving here in this country. How could the Chinese do it? They rose to their present position by their hard work. They have come up like that. So, none of our scientists and engineers shall go to foreign countries for training for more than three years. We shall have to devise such measures to see that not one of our scientists or engineers shall stay abroad for more than three years. Unless we put some such compulsion, we shall lose our valuable material. Why do they go to foreign countries? And quite a lot do not want to return at all? We shall certainly give them more than nece

sistities in consonance with the conditions of our own people. We will have to use an element of compulsion against them, even penalise their nearest ones if they do not return to India. They want more salary, amenities and recreation. They want a life of refrigerators, transistors, automobiles and what not !

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : This is not a question. Do you want to reply ?

SARDAR SWARAN SINGH : Very little. He says, why not hurry up ? I agree that we should hurry up and also hurry up with this discussion. We should take steps to give all possible encouragement to our scientists. It is true that bright scientists are leaving our country. They do go out but we have not got such dictatorial powers to prevent that. We are trying to achieve the same objective by giving them proper incentives. Sometimes we succeed, sometimes we do not. I would like to say only one thing. He has been a little too harsh on Dr. Bhagwantham who has served the country well for a span of 7 years and done very good work and perhaps it has not been the custom that we blame persons particularly scientists when they are not even present to defend themselves. I have noted the other things he has said and his views.

SHRI KRISHAN KANT : I am anxious to ask because I want the country and the Parliament to know that in spite of the fact that the Government has taken a decision not to make bombs, the majority of the Members of the Congress Party want the bomb and the nuclear programme to be revised. So I am anxious that the Members who have given their names must be allowed to ask questions so that the Government may know our opinion. Of course China does not want us to do it. May I know whether they do planning about nuclear and space programmes or only react because what happened is, in 1967 when the Chinese attacked with small arms, then we started small arms ? Do you expect China to explode bombs either in Tibet or Kashmir so that the Government of India will start thinking of bombs or have a nuclear and space programme, because the Minister said that they want to hurry up with the space programme ? After the Chinese have sent the satellite, the Government has thought of having a speedy space programme. May I know whether they act or react only or also plan for the future so that we can take up the programme to meet the challenge? Is it not a

fact that with the present programme, the gap between India and China will take 10 years to be filled up not only in space but in nuclear technology also ? How are they going to bridge this gap ? It will be suicidal to separate the nuclear and space programme because they are complementary to each other. Is it also not a fact that by virtue of the satellite programme, China has become the third biggest Power in the world after America and Russia and the Big Power in Asia ? In view of this will the Government let us know by what time the Government will bring before the House a revised space and nuclear programme so that we may understand that they are really serious in defending the country and the prestige of the country goes up politically and technologically ?

SARDAR SWARAN SINGH : On the first question I would agree. The point is that we should plan to act and not react. On the second question as to how to bridge the 10 years' gap, it is a very hard task and I cannot give a satisfactory answer to this. The third question was that China has, by the development of nuclear bomb and by putting a satellite into orbit, entered the nuclear club and the space club. It is true and we have to recognise that and we have to organise ourselves also in a proper manner and this is what I have indicated in my statement. He asked when I would come to the House with a revised programme. Whenever there is any change in the decision with regard to our nuclear programme, certainly we will inform the House and I cannot give any time-schedule as to when I will come.

SHRI KRISHAN KANT : The Government said that it is going to revise the space programme.

SARDAR SWARAN SINGH : I can not indicate at present any time-schedule.

SHRI BANKA BEHARY DAS : From the opinion that has been expressed by both sides of the House, would the Government consider revising its decision at the earliest possible moment so that India can develop as a nuclear power ? May I know this because I cannot understand the logic of his argument ? He said, after the Chinese sent its satellite, we want to have a second look at our space programme. What is the relation between the development of satellite programme by China and our having a second look at our space programme ?

SARDAR SWARAN SINGH : Let us say there is no relation but all of you argue that way.

SHRI BANKA BEHARY DAS : After China's sending its satellite into space, India wants to have a second look, at its own space programme. Does it not clearly indicate . . .

DR. BHAI MAHAVIR : When did they have the first look ?

SHRI BANKA BEHARY DAS : Here in the House they commit that they want to have a second look at our space programme. After China's sending the satellite into space, they want to do it. Is it not a fact that instead of landing itself in this difficulty, the Government of India should clearly state in the House that they want to have a second look at the space programme only because of military significance ?

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : He has made the position clear on that.

SHRI BANKA BEHARY DAS : He says 'for peaceful purposes'. I want to inform him that it is not for peaceful purposes that China has done it. We should have a long range programme for purposes of military significance. Secondly, a paper has published: "Some China analysts here say that China may be trying to develop a satellite delivery system for her nuclear weapons instead of concentrating on a long-range offensive missile capacity."

SHRI A. P. CHATTERJEE : What is he reading from ?

SHRI BANKA BEHARY DAS : From a paper. It is not a Chinese paper. I want to know from the Minister whether the Government of India agree with this belief that they have developed this satellite system just to bypass the intermediate stage and reach the other stage that is, I.C.B.M. stage at the earliest opportunity.

SARDAR SWARAN SINGH : There is nothing for me to answer. I have taken this information and it is not for me to confirm or not to confirm a matter which is highly scientific and technical.

श्री जगदीश प्रसाद माथुर : उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, मेरे दो प्रश्न हैं। पहला यह है कि टेरिटरी के सम्बन्ध में चिन्ता प्रकट की गई है और उस सम्बन्ध में जो कारण बताया है उसमें उन्होंने एक कारण

जानबूझ कर छोड़ दिया है। चीन ने सन् 1962 ई० में हमारे देश पर आक्रमण कर के हमारे देश की 16 हजार वर्ग मील भूमि दबा रखी है, तो उस भूमि के सम्बन्ध में मंत्री महोदय ने कुछ नहीं कहा कि इसके लिये वह कुछ करेंगे। तो क्या मैं मानूँ कि वह उस जमीन को राइट आफ कर देना चाहते हैं।

दूसरी मेरी एक आपत्ति यह है कि जैसा कि अखबारों में समाचार आया है कि चीन अपने अन्तरमहाद्वीपी प्रक्षेपणास्त्र छोड़ रहा है और वह भारत के ऊपर से जा कर के हिन्द महासागर में गिरेगा तो अगर भारत के ऊपर से यह गुजर जाता है तो भारत सरकार उसको अपनी टेरिटरी का उल्लंघन मानते हुये इसके सम्बन्ध में कोई उचित कार्यवाही करेगी ?

SARDAR SWARAN SINGH : With regard to the first one, that question does not arise out of this satellite being put into orbit.

SHRI JAGDISH PRASAD MATHUR : It arises out of your reply.

SARDAR SWARAN SINGH : I do not think. We know the overtones. This does not arise out of it, and this is putting a construction which is not at all fair. About the second question, I have seen the press report that, if they develop an intercontinental ballistic missile, they can also fly it over Indian territory. If an intercontinental ballistic missile is developed by any country, then it can travel up to 5,000 miles, or even beyond that. It can travel over many countries, and no country knows as to what to do in that position. There is no known way of stopping it.

DR. K. MATHEW KURIAN (Kerala) : Sir, may I ask whether the Government has made any detailed study about the total resources required for developing the military capability to neutralise the nuclear and space programmes which China has launched and, if so, whether any assessment has been made about the implications of withdrawal of that much of resources, about the repercussions on the Indian economy, whether it will create further recessions and further spiralling of prices, inflation and a crumbling of the economy ?

SARDAR SWARAN SINGH : First part—No. Parts two and three—Do not arise.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : Papers to be laid on the Table. Dr. Sen.

SHRI DEV DATT PURI : Sir, am I the only one on the list to be left out ? I would like to know . . .

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : Only put a brief question please.

SHRI DEV DATT PURI : My first question is that in 1962, when the Chinese attacked us, as has been pointed out, they had automatic weapons and we had only .303 rifles. We were told that now we have automatic weapons and that we will fare better next time. My first observation is that when there is a nuclear holocaust there will be no next time.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : Put the question.

SHRI DEV DATT PURI : Yes, Sir. I am coming to the question. In 1963, when they exploded the bomb, we were told again and again—I was a Member of the other House then—that they had not the means of delivery, that it was like having the bullet without having the gun. Now, Sir, they have again demonstrated ; the bullet, and they have demonstrated the gun now. Now that the entire country is exposed to a surprise atomic attack, I would respectfully submit that it is time for the Government to give up the attitude of complacency and to have a second look at our development of the atomic bomb. One more point and that is that whatever the Minister say, the atomic bomb is bound to act as a deterrent in case of warfare between certain other countries and us. And since we stand for peace, would the development of the atomic bomb by India not be included in the definition of peaceful uses of atomic energy. I think, Sir, that if there is one peaceful use of atomic energy, as we are placed today, it is to develop the atomic bomb.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : That should be enough.

SHRI DEV DATT PURI : One more matter, Sir. Even if the satellite did not move the Government to have a second look at it, would the almost unanimous view held by Members in all parts of the House—barring some very small minority—would that induce the Government to have a second look at the manufacture of the atomic bomb ?

SARDAR SWARAN SINGH : There is nothing more that I can add to what I have said. He is asking me to revise the policy. And I have said on more than one occasion that I have enunciated the policy that exists today and if there is any change we will come to the House and report.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN : Papers to be laid on the Table.

PAPERS LAID ON THE TABLE

PAPERS UNDER THE TARIFF COMMISSION ACT, 1961

THE MINISTER OF PETROLEUM AND CHEMICALS AND MINES AND METALS (DR. TRIGUNA SEN) : Sir, I beg to lay on the Table under sub-section (2) of section 16 of the Tariff Commission Act, 1951, a copy each of the following papers :

(i) Report (1968) of the Tariff Commission on the Fair Selling Prices of Drugs and Pharmaceuticals (Volumes I and II).

(ii) Government Resolution No. 3 (52)/68-Ch. III, dated the 30th April, 1970.

(iii) Statement under the proviso to sub-section (2) of section 16 of the Tariff Commission Act, 1951, explaining the reasons why the documents referred to at (i) and (ii) above could not be laid within the period mentioned in that sub-section.

[Placed in Library See No. LT-3351/70 for (i) to (iii).]

NOTIFICATION OF MINISTRY OF DEFENCE

THE MINISTER OF DEFENCE, STEEL AND HEAVY ENGINEERING (SARDAR SWARAN SINGH) : Sir, I beg to lay on the Table, under section 185 of the Navy Act, 1957, a copy of the following Notification (in English and Hindi) of the Ministry of Defence :—

Notification S.R.O. No. 309/69, dated the 17th October, 1969, publishing the Naval Ceremonial, Conditions of Service and Miscellaneous (Second Amendment) Regulations, 1969, together with a statement containing the reasons for the delay in laying the Notifications on the Table of the Rajya Sabha. [Placed in library. See No. LT-3339/70.]