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STATEMENT IN RESPONSE TO A CALLING ATTENTION NOTICE

RECENT EXPLOSION OF A HYDROGEN BOMB BY CHINA AND THE REPERCUSSIONS THEREOF IN RELATION TO INDIA

MR. CHAIRMAN: Calling Attention Motion by Mr. Mariswamy. He has called attention yesterday.

THE MINISTER OF DEFENCE (SARDAR SWARAN SINGH): Mr. Chairman, Sir, on the 17th June, China announced the explosion of its first Hydrogen Bomb. This was the sixth nuclear explosion by China in defiance of world public opinion. When the partial Nuclear Test Ban Treaty was signed in 1963, it was recognised that further conduct of nuclear tests in the atmosphere would pose grave danger to the health of human beings through increased radioactive fall-out. China did not sign this treaty. This repeated violation by China of the collective will of the international community has naturally evoked strong criticism and great concern especially among China's neighbours. The latest explosion of the Hydrogen Bomb is further evidence of China's callous indifference to the opinion of the rest of the world. The Government of India view this development with grave concern.

The nuclear policy of China and its impact on our security has been under study by our concerned authorities from time to time and it will continue to engage our most careful attention. I would like to assure the House that all practicable ways and means of ensuring our security are constantly under examination.

We have steadfastly adhered to the policy of developing nuclear energy for peaceful purposes. The effect of this policy on our security is also kept under constant review.

As hon. Members are aware, there exists today the serious problem of ensuring the security of non-aligned and non-nuclear weapon countries against nuclear attack or threat of such attack. This problem, situated as we are, is of vital importance from our point of view. It acquires a fresh sense of urgency as a result of the latest Chinese Hydrogen Bomb explosion.

The question of security of non-nuclear countries, who are also non-aligned, is under the consideration of the Eighteen Nation Disarmament Committee at Geneva. The Government of India have been exchanging views on this subject with the leading nuclear weapon powers and also with some non-nuclear non-aligned countries and we shall continue these consultations.

MR. CHAIRMAN: There are 20 hon. Members who have given notice for this statement and to ask questions for clarification. I would like to know also whether the hon. Minister would like to hear all of them and reply in the end.

SHRI V. M. CHORDIA (Madhya Pradesh): One by one, Sir.

SARDAR SWARAN SINGH: I am entirely in your hands, Sir.

SHRI S. S. MARISWAMY (Madras): I heard the statement of the hon. Minister. He said that the whole issue is being examined by the Government. This is not an ordinary explosion; it is a very serious explosion and it has been well-timed to black-mail India. Many reports that have appeared in the papers have given a grim picture that this is only a prelude for some sort of attack on our border.

Sir, for the last one week or so the Peking Radio is pouring poison in its broadcasts against India. If our hon. Minister has listened to it, he would not have said that he is examining and consulting the other non-aligned countries. May I know, Sir,

[Shri S. S. Mariswamy.]

which are the non-aligned countries which came to our rescue or even issued a statement condemning Peking for its inhuman behaviour towards the Indian diplomats? I want to know from the hon. Minister whether he is going to take some positive steps to take some sort of protection from any other country which is as much developed as China. Sir, China has gone too far. Even if we are able to make an atom bomb, it will take us another 10 to 15 years to come to the level of China. At the same time China is not going to remain static. It is a mad country and is after the annihilation of the entire mankind. So the time has come when the Government of India must give up this so-called non-aligned policy. Nobody respects it. Nobody likes it. It has almost become a dead letter in our history and in the vocabulary of the world's political jargon. I would request the Government of India to come out openly and say that we are prepared to avail of any help offered by America or Britain or France or any other country for that matter to face the Chinese menace.

SARDAR SWARAN SINGH: Sir, I would like your assistance to know whether it is a question or a short speech.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Hon. Members should merely ask questions.

SARDAR SWARAN SINGH: They have to ask for clarification. If they want me to alter the policy of the Government, then a Calling Attention Motion is not the proper means for a reversal of the policy.

SHRI S. S. MARISWAMY: Sir, his statement was so vague that it made me use a few more words to get the clarification.

SARDAR SWARAN SINGH: It is very clear. Probably you felt provoked because it is quite clear.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA (West Bengal): Clarification should be

sought under the umbrella of what has been said here and not introducing the American Umbrella here.

SARDAR SWARAN SINGH: Sir, I have understood the questioner correctly. The operative part of his query or a point for clarification appears to be an attack upon our policy of non-alignment which, according to him, is not respected by anybody. I would only say, and say very emphatically, that I differ from him. We are proud to be a non-aligned country, which means independence for us in action and thought, and I greatly value that, whatever our friends from the Swatantra Party might think to the contrary.

As for protection from other countries, it will be a bad day when a big country like India looks to protection from other countries. We will have to stand on our own feet. To think that one can flourish under the protective umbrella of any other country in the matter of your defence is not a correct approach to a problem like this.

SHRI A. D. MANI (Madhya Pradesh): Sir, may I ask the Minister to give us some information . . .

SHRI S. S. MARISWAMY: He has not replied to my question.

MR. CHAIRMAN: If you have any other question to put, you may do so through other Members.

SHRI A. D. MANI: May I ask the Minister to give us some information about the explosive force of the hydrogen bomb exploded by China because there are reports that the explosive force is 3 megatons while the American hydrogen bomb was only 1 megaton in explosive force. In other words, the explosive force of the Chinese hydrogen bomb is much greater than what the American hydrogen bomb was. I would like the Minister to let us know whether the Atomic Energy Commission of the United States has come to any final

conclusion because it is a matter of great importance not only to India but also to the Soviet Union.

The second question I would like to ask him is this. While it is true that we are a very big country, a country which goes about begging for food all over the world, even though we may be a very big country, I would like to ask the Minister whether he would consider asking the Soviet Union as also the United States for technical help in safeguarding our border because after this hydrogen bomb has been exploded, the entire west coast of America has been brought under a radar network to detect any kind of missile coming from China. I am raising this point because I understand that China has introduced an I.C.B.M. which is capable of reaching a target within 400 miles. Besides, they are likely to produce a better I.C.B.M. which may hit the frontiers of India whenever the Chinese want to do that.

SHRI M. GOVINDA REDDY (Mysore): Mr. Mani is an experienced journalist. Is he right in using the word "begging" in connection with food?

SARDAR SWARAN SINGH: Sir, about the explosive force, it is our intention to collect enough of debris and to examine it scientifically and technologically. That examination is not yet complete. I am very sorry I have not got information to give about the explosive force of the explosion.

Now the second question is about asking other countries to give us protection.

SHRI A. D. MANI: Technically. We must defend ourselves.

SARDAR SWARAN SINGH: Sir, I hope he was indignant that we should go to other countries even for asking for food. I am really very sorry that we have to go to other countries even for food. We have

to do so for our existence because our agricultural plans have lagged behind. We may ask for purchase of food from abroad. But that does not mean that we should go down all along and not maintain our honour, dignity and independence. We should also make efforts to cut down and reduce our dependence on imports of food or whatever it is. It will be absolutely giving in to difficulties if we were to adopt that defeatist attitude. I for one am not prepared to adopt this defeatist attitude. Now it is no doubt correct, Mr. Chairman—I might inform this House, it must be already known—that the main nuclear powers, namely, the United States and the Soviet Union themselves are greatly concerned about the risk of proliferation and both the United States President and the Soviet leaders have already made certain statements that there should be an understanding amongst all nuclear powers that nuclear weapons will not be used against non-nuclear powers. Howsoever credible these guarantees are, we at the present moment take the view that they are not enough and more will have to be done. It is a way of using an expression. You may be very emphatic, but I am a mild person in the usage of expressions at any rate on that. Therefore, for us to ask separately from any country protection of the type which is hinted by Mr. Mani is not realistic, is not practical. Now it is true that the development of missiles by China will be a very grave development which will further increase their aggressive designs and aggressive power. There is also some research going on in the world to develop anti-missile missiles or anti-anti-missiles. But at the present moment, there is absolutely no protection against an atom bomb—let us be quite clear about that—and it has been rightly described as neither a weapon of offence nor a weapon of defence, but a weapon of destruction. And we should continue to pin our hope on the world moving towards disarmament. That appears to be the only hope for the world.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA You are quite right

SHRI CHITTA BASU (West Bengal) The explosion of a hydrogen bomb by China in the final analysis is to blackmail the neighbouring countries of Asia including India. It has posed a grave threat to peace in Asia and in the world. Sir, may I know from the hon Minister whether the Government proposes to revise its earlier decision and go nuclear in order to be an effective deterrent to this policy of blackmail of China? Secondly what are the considerations which weighed with the Government of India in the matter of not revising the earlier decision in this respect? Is it the economic viability or the lack of the technical base for it or any other political consideration in the matter? Finally, may I know whether the Government feels it an urgent requirement to equip our army with modern weapons including nuclear weapons to attain self-reliance in defence instead of petitioning for joint defence or for credible defence from some other country under their umbrella? Why can we not rely on our own strength to defend our country?

SARDAR SWARAN SINGH Sir, I have stated in a positive form the policy that we are pursuing and at the present moment that policy continues. So I cannot agree to his suggestion that we should revise our policy. The reasons for our policy and why we adopt this policy have been given on the floor of the House more than once and I have little to add to that.

(Interruption)

MR CHAIRMAN Why are you in a hurry? He is replying to every point of yours.

SARDAR SWARAN SINGH Now the third point is equipment of our Armed Forces with modern weapons. I agree. But if it extends to nuclear weapons and if we are not a nuclear power, that question does not arise.

SHRI DAHYABHAI V PATEL (Gujarat) The hon Minister has just told us that this is the sixth explosion that China has made in the nuclear field in flagrant defiance of the desire of the international community and world opinion. Is this the first time that China has defied world opinion? Is this the first time that China has behaved in such a shame faced manner, not only with us but with other countries also? And don't we take a lesson and revise our opinion in the light of the experience that we are having? Sir, even during the recent days when there was tension about the Embassies and the personnel of the Embassies we could get very little information from our own radio. But I have heard Members of the opposite benches say that they used to hear the China Radio very clearly and loudly. Why are we so deficient even in radio communication? Under the advice of the Congress, we refused the V O A deal. If we are going to refuse aid when we have no means to make things ourselves, how are we going to defend the country? Does the hon Minister think that he can defend the country by such rambling statements that he is making in this House? Why doesn't the Government make up its mind once and for all that we will accept a nuclear umbrella as long as we are not in a position to defend our country?

SOME HON MEMBERS No

SHRI C D PANDE (Uttar Pradesh) We can make our own bomb.

(Interruption)

SARDAR SWARAN SINGH Sir, I will observe a decorum of not calling the criticism by the same expression "rambling" as he has chosen to call my statement. I have tried to be quite precise. The only trouble is that I cannot convince my friend opposite and he should be content, I am content that he does not agree with me and that should be the end of this effort.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: That is the only saving so far that you do not agree.

SARDAR SWARAN SINGH: Your mind also works in one track. So, it is true that China has defied public opinion on many occasions and I agree with him when he says that this is not the first time that they have defied world public opinion. I agree with him on that. But when he puts the second question "Do we learn a lesson?", suddenly from that he goes to these broadcasting arrangements. So I think 'from the sublime to the ridiculous' is the only expression that I can think of, and this is the way their mind works, you see . . . (*Interruption*) I would submit to the hon. Member and also his party that this line that we should join any pact in order to safeguard our integrity and sovereignty is a line which we should eschew and we should try to stand on our own legs rather than mortgage our freedom and independence to any country howsoever powerful they may be.

SHRI MULKA GOVINDA REDDY (Mysore): Mr. Chairman, China and France did not sign the Partial Test Ban Treaty and it is not possible to induce China to come to any understanding with other nuclear powers. In view of that, no nuclear power is prepared to destroy all this stockpile of nuclear weapons. So, in view of the fact that in the recent war between Israel and the Arab countries, China offered to supply nuclear weapons to the U.A.R., in view of the fact that there is growing collusion and conspiracy between Pakistan and China, and also in view of the fact that Pakistan is trying to manufacture the atom bombs with the help of China, is it not desirable that the Government of India should change its policy with regard to the manufacture of atom bombs and that we should launch upon the manufacture of atom bombs in order to secure our integrity and sovereignty and save democracy in India?

SARDAR SWARAN SINGH: No clarification by way of additional information is required. He has given his own reasons why we should alter our policy and I have stated already that it is our intention to continue the policy that I have mentioned in my statement.

SHRI MULKA GOVINDA REDDY: I have asked 2 or 3 questions. I asked whether it has come to the notice of the Minister that Pakistan is trying to manufacture atom bombs and China is helping in that process and whether it is a fact that China offered to supply nuclear weapons to the U.A.R. in the last Israeli-Arab war and, if so, what steps the Government are going to take to prevent such a thing happening and to safeguard our territorial integrity and security?

SARDAR SWARAN SINGH: We have no information that Pakistan is planning to manufacture an atom bomb where nuclear know-how is at a very elementary stage now and I cannot believe that from the technological point of view they will be able to do it. It will take years and years even if they take a decision to manufacture a bomb.

SHRI C. D. PANDE: But China can lend to Pakistan.

SARDAR SWARAN SINGH: So many things can happen but let me answer him. The question that China offered the atomic weapons to the U.A.R. has appeared in some newspapers but there is no confirmation of this.

SHRI MULKA GOVINDA REDDY: What about the manufacture of an atom bomb?

SARDAR SWARAN SINGH: I have answered that.

SHRI MULKA GOVINDA REDDY: Would the Government of India undertake the manufacture of the atom bomb?

SARDAR SWARAN SINGH: I have answered that. Nuclear weapons is the same thing.

MR. CHAIRMAN: All go under the same category.

श्री ए. - ایم - طارق (جموں اور کشمیر): میں وزیر صاحب سے یہ جاننا چاہتا ہوں کہ باہر کے ملکوں سے ہم مدد لینے کے لئے تیار نہیں ہوں یا ہمارے لئے یہ ممکن ہے کہ ہم مقابلہ ان حالات میں ہم کر سکتے ہیں - وزیر صاحب کی اطلاع کے لئے، پچھلی جنگ میں جب چین نے ہم پر حملہ کیا تھا تو اس وقت وزیر اعظم صاحب نے تمام ملکوں سے فوجی مدد کی درخواست کی تھی اور اس طرح سے ہم نے امریکہ اور روس سے مدد لی - کیا حکومت ہند کی کوئی پالیسی ہے کہ جب دشمن ہمارے سر پر اُپھٹے (عماری گردن دبوچ لے) اس وقت مدد لینے پہلے سے تیاری نہ کریں؟

†[श्री ए० एम० तारिक (ज०मू और कश्मीर): मैं बजोर साहब से यह जानना चाहता हूँ कि बाहर के मुल्कों से हम मदद लेने के लिये तैयार नहीं, हम बना सकते नहीं तो चीन का मुकाबला इन हालत में हम कैसे कर सकते हैं। बजोर साहब की इत्तना के लिये, पिछली जंग में जब चीन ने हम पर हमला किया था तो उस वक़्त बजोर-ए-आजउ साहब ने तमाम मुल्कों से फौजी मदद की दाख़्वास की थी और इस तरह से हमने अमेरिका और रूस से मदद ली। क्या हुकूमत-ए-हिन्द की कोई पालिसी है कि जब दुश्मन हमारे सर पर आ पहुँचे हमारी रद्दत दबोचने उस वक़्त मदद ले, पहले से तैयारी न करें?]

SARDAR SWARAN SINGH: I have never said that we cannot manufacture a bomb. If we take a decision, we can manufacture. That is not the point. It is one thing to ask for help in any specific situation. I am not opposed to this generally. It is not a question of taking the help of other countries. We take help. We also get armaments and we purchase and we pay for them but the thing which I am placing before the House and which should be appreciated is that we do not enter into so-called defensive alliances or offensive alliances because, then, somebody else decides what our policy should be in a given situation. We should make a distinction between this and taking help, technological, material or financial that might suit us. That will be on our own terms but we cannot mortgage our freedom of action by tying ourselves down to any of the defensive or offensive pacts.

SHRI B. K. P. SINHA (Bihar): The Government should permit a debate on this for one day.

MR. CHAIRMAN: It is very satisfactorily being done. The questions and the clarifications are going on. The present procedure is very good and every Member who is responsible for giving notice is getting a satisfactory answer. Mr. Kulkarni.

SHRI A. G. KULKARNI (Maharashtra): In view of the threat posted by China in exploding the hydrogen bomb capable of lakhs of T.N.T. and a very easy method of centrifusion of Uranium, has the Government looked at the condition in the case of the West Asian crisis that even assuming that protection was being given by the various big powers, it was seen that neither Russia nor any big other country had come to the rescue of the U.A.R.? May I also point out to the Minister that China has achieved this success by a great austerity in the economic front. The point is the will of the Chinese is so strong that taking all these adversities—the economic

difficulties—they have produced an ICBM which has protected the country and which has started from a particular angle. May I ask the Minister whether the Government is now aware that the country demands, the difficulties demand, that we must develop our bomb, our ICBM in view of the dangers to our borders and for this purpose the country is prepared to face all adversities? A change of mind in the country will require a long time and so, advance thinking must be made by the Government to achieve such conditions to manufacture the missile and the armaments and the military stores to the extent that we will be able to defend our country.

[THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN in the Chair]

SARDAR SWARAN SINGH: I agree with the Member that the defence requirements of our country and effective steps to be taken to safeguard the sovereignty and integrity of our country are of the highest importance. I also share his optimism that our country is prepared to face all adversities in order to protect us and to strengthen our defences.

SHRI DAHYABHAI V. PATEL: What is your 20-year record?

SARDAR SWARAN SINGH: Should I say that the country is not prepared to face an adversity?

SHRI DAHYABHAI V. PATEL: What is your record? Have you not lost in Kashmir to China and Pakistan? How much have you recovered?

SARDAR SWARAN SINGH: Should I say that the country is not prepared to face adversities to meet a situation?

SHRI DAHYABHAI V. PATEL: Answer the question.

SARDAR SWARAN SINGH: It is all right and if the Member thinks that he can deflect me from the policy that I am pursuing merely by shouting in-between, I can only tell him that

he will not succeed in this. I was trying to explain that the defence requirements of our country are paramount and all other considerations are secondary. There can be a view-point as to what is the best way of strengthening our defence. We know that we have to attach a great deal of importance to the strengthening and modernisation of our defence apparatus and to that extent, with the co-operation of the Finance Minister, we have been giving greater attention to strengthen our Defence and the economic strength of our country and the unity of the country are factors which are very potent and if we want our country to be strong, we have to work on all these fronts and not take only a one-track attitude when we are considering the defence of our country.

DR. (MRS.) MANGLADEVI TALWAR (Rajasthan): China's hydrogen bomb explosion is a matter of grave concern to us because it adds immeasurably to the war-making potential of a country which is already wedded to the philosophy of war as the only instrument of policy and which is already set on a course of territorial expansion. I would like to know from the hon. Minister. I welcome India's policy of not signing the nuclear non-proliferation treaty and India has reserved her right to think over the matter. I also welcome the hon. Minister's statement here . . .

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Please come to the questions.

DR. (MRS.) MANGLADEVI TALWAR: . . . When he says that we want to stand on our own legs. I would like to know from the hon. Minister whether any change in the policy of not manufacturing nuclear war-heads is under the consideration of the Government. In view of all these factors I also like to know whether the decision that would be taken would be taken soon enough, so that we can meet our requirements of defence and defend our borders. I would like to ask only one more ques-

[Dr (Mrs) Mangadevi Talwar]

tion, Madam, and it is that, in view of the great anxiety felt all over the country by everybody—not only the hon Members of this House and the other House but also every man, woman and child are concerned with the nuclear device and the nuclear power that China is acquiring now—does, the hon. Minister still think that his answer that we are still pursuing the policy of not manufacturing nuclear weapons will satisfy the people, will meet their sentiments and also requirements in the matter of their defence and the defence of the country?

SARDAR SWARAN SINGH: Madam, I would only invite the attention of the hon lady Member to paragraph 2 of my statement where I have said that we are constantly keeping under review our attitude to our defence problems. Surely I am not expected to disclose all the review that we undertake.

SHRI N SRI RAMA REDDY (Mysore): Madam, it is very unfortunate that China has chosen to conduct the explosion of her hydrogen bomb in the atmosphere much against the opinion of the world community. Now I would like to know from the hon. Minister, What about the pollution? What are the countries that are within the reach of the nuclear debris that is now produced on account of the present explosion? My next question is this, Madam. Now that China is much ahead of us and they are likely to manufacture even inter-continental ballistic missiles, is it not time that we accept the guarantee of the two super-powers namely, the United States of America, and Russia? Since we are not yet prepared to meet the challenge of this nuclear power, this mischievous power this chauvinistic power, China, are we prepared to accept the guarantee of the two super-powers? If we are not prepared what are the pros and cons of not accepting such a guarantee? I would like to know. My next question, Madam, is, What

steps we have taken to create world opinion against such explosions by China? We are all too much pre-occupied with the West Asia crisis that we have totally forgotten to create world opinion. What is the world opinion that we have built up to condemn China wholesale? Now is the most opportune time to see that we create world opinion against China to condemn it outright. I have not been able to see—in spite of my best efforts—Madam Deputy Chairman, anything said or done in favour of creating that world opinion. I feel that this is a failure which we should better make good sooner rather than later, because time is running out. I would like to ask also, Madam, whether the Government of India is prepared to believe in the professions of China, which are said to be that China's nuclear development is intended to put an end to all nuclear weapons. And also they say that China is prepared to work with world people for all-round prohibition or elimination of nuclear power for purposes of war. Does or does not the Government believe in these professions of China?

Thank you very much

SARDAR SWARAN SINGH: Madam . . .

SHRI N SRI RAMA REDDY: One more question. I have forgotten to put it. It is a very important question. It is only a sub-question, and I suppose it will be very interesting for you. I only wanted to say that a member of the CPI (Left), Mr Nagi Reddy, yesterday, has welcomed the explosion of a hydrogen bomb by China. I would like to know whether it is not an indication of the way the mind of the Left CPI in the country is working. How are we going to safeguard this country against this Left CPI?

SARDAR SWARAN SINGH: Madam, as to which are the countries that are likely to be affected or

polluted by the fall-out, I have not got the information at the present moment, and I would require notice to collect this information. It is true that China is developing the missiles also, and that is an added threat to the peace of the world. The third question was: Why are we not accepting the guarantee from the two super-powers? I have not yet seen that guarantee, and I am not expected to answer a hypothetical question. Now what steps should we take to condemn China to create suitable world opinion to condemn China? To a certain extent this was balanced by the last question put by the hon. Member. Let him convert first such people, which probably he can in his own way, and let us all try to convert them. Speaking of ourselves, we are quite clear that there is a fairly large world opinion which sees all these activities of China as a grave threat to peace, and I agree with him that we in co-operation with other countries intensify our efforts in this respect. Now the hon. Member asked me as to what credence do I place on China's professions when they are developing this energy to end all nuclear weapons and all these things, and I do not know what reply does he expect me to give. The record of China, according to his own showing, is such . . .

SHRI N SRI RAMA REDDY Say "No". What does it matter?

SARDAR SWARAN SINGH: The record of China, according to his own showing, is such that it will be very dangerous to accept the professions of China. That is all.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Mr Chordia. I may request Members to be very brief and precise in putting questions so that we can finish this a bit quicker. I have got twelve more names here.

SHRI B. K. P. SINHA: Madam, may I again make a request to you and through you to the Government to allot a day for the discussion of

the international situation? These questions and answers are not enough.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Let this be over first.

SHRI DAHYABHAI V. PATEL: It should be put before the Chairman that we want a debate on the international situation.

SHRI C. D. PANDE: After all this is a very important question, and after you have exhausted the names in the list, I think others should be given a chance also.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: But this list has to be finished first.

श्री बिमलकुमार मन्नालालजी चौराईया :
ब्रीफ मुझे होता था और ब्रीफ आपकी कर दिया गया। उपमहापति महोदया, यह जो चीन के द्वारा छठा विस्फोट हुआ, उसके उपलक्ष में मंत्री जी ने जिन शब्दों का उपयोग किया, अगर ये सचमुच कारगर हो सके तो चीन का समाज में अस्तित्व ही नहीं रहने पाये, मगर बिना ताकत के इन शब्दों का कोई महत्व है नहीं। मैं यह जानना चाहूंगा मंत्री महोदय से कि यह जो विस्फोट उन्होंने किया, इसकी जानकारी हमारे यहां की लेबोरेटरीज से या हमारे यहां के वैज्ञानिकों ने कुछ उमका सकें तो पा करके की अथवा विदेशों द्वारा जो चर्चा की गई और उन्होंने जो घोषणा की उसमें ही हम कह सकते हैं कि उन्होंने विस्फोट किया। दूसरी बात यह है कि जैसा अखबारों में आया है वह विस्फोट हमारे यहां से करीब करीब छः सौ मील की दूरी पर हुआ है। अभी माननीय रेड्डी जी ने जो प्रश्न पूछा मैं उसको दोहरा रहा हूं कि गुलमर्ग जब भारत में है उसमें छः सौ मील की दूरी पर विस्फोट हुआ है तो उसके रेडियो एक्टिव फाल आउट का हमारे मोसम पर जो प्रभाव पड़ेगा वह न पड़े, उसकी रोक के लिये हम क्या कर सकेंगे?

तीसरी बात मैं यह जानना चाहूंगा— चीन की नीयत हमको साफ है, पाकिस्तान की नीयत साफ है, साथ ही आपकी इच्छा

[श्री विमलकुमार मल्लिकार्जुन चोरगुडिया] साफ दिख रही और हमारी इच्छा यही है कि हम किसी के अम्ब्रैला में न रहे, आप कहते हैं कि हम अपने पैरों पर खड़े होना चाहते हैं, हम भी कहते हैं कि अपने पैरों पर खड़े होने के सिवा और कोई चारा नहीं—कि क्या कारण है, आप किस महत्त्व की राह देख रहे हैं, किस ब्राह्मण या किस ज्योतिषी से पूछना चाहते हैं, जब बम बनाने की खुद क्षमता रखते हैं तो फिर क्यों न अपने देश की रक्षा की दृष्टि से—किसी को हम डेस्ट्रक्ट नहीं करना चाहते—अगर कोई हम पर हमला करेगा तो ईंट का जबाब पत्थर से देगे इस दृष्टि से क्यों न हम बम निर्माण करने के लिए अग्रसर होते हैं ?

SARDAR SWARAN SINGH: About the first two questions which are of a scientific and technical nature, I am sorry I do not have the information at the present moment. The Chinese themselves have announced that a hydrogen bomb has been exploded. We have also learnt from various sources and our technical departments have also detected that this explosion has taken place. The extent of the fall-out and the effects thereof, are matters about which it will take some time before we could collect information.

The third question is one which is repeated by many hon. Members who do not agree with the Government's policy and it is this: why we do not make the nuclear bomb, I have already explained the position and I have nothing more to add. (Interruptions) Madam, the same question is being repeated and you will appreciate that there is no need for me to repeat the same answer that I have already given.

SHRI R. T. PARTHASARTHY (Madras): Madam, Deputy Chairman, the hon. Minister to the various questions put for seeking clarification on this matter has been rather giving answers in the negative. So if you will kindly permit me, I shall put a

negative question in the hope of getting a positive reply in the interest of the nation. If the Soviet Union or Britain or the United States of America comes forward voluntarily to provide a nuclear umbrella to India for protection from the Chinese hydrogen bomb, will it be prudent on the part of the Government of India to reject that protection from whichever quarter it may come? That is one question. The second question is, if we reject the offer from either Russia, America or Britain, is it because of our implicit faith in the Gandhian doctrine of non-violence? I would also request the hon. Minister to state to the House whether at a time like this there should not be re-thinking on our policy.

SARDAR SWARAN SINGH: Madam, the first question although put in a negative form really has the same connotation. I have already stated that if there is a guarantee and a credible guarantee and it ensures or restrains the nuclear powers from the use of nuclear weapons against non-nuclear countries including India, I would certainly like to see that and examine it. But at the present moment there is no such offer. When there is no such guarantee I am not in a position to answer a hypothetical question. As for the second question where the hon. Member mentioned the name of Gandhiji, I wish the name of Gandhiji had not been brought into this. All of us are proud of the Gandhian ideology and whatever may be our difficulties, that was a very powerful weapon which enabled us to get our freedom from a big foreign power which was greatly entrenched here. So we should never talk lightly of our adherence to the Gandhian principle. At the present moment I wish we could follow it. But the situation is such that we have to defend ourselves and therefore, we have our armies and we have to strengthen ourselves. So the main question is how do we defend ourselves? What is the method? To that I have already given my reaction.

श्री दयाल दास कुर्रे (मध्य प्रदेश) : मैं माननीय मंत्री जी से यह जानना चाहूंगा कि क्या इस आर भी जानने का प्रयास हुआ है कि चाइना ने जो हाइड्रोजन बम के परीक्षण के नाम पर जो इतना बड़ा नाशकारी विस्फोट किया है उसका भारतीय वायुमंडल पर और भारतीय जीवन पर क्या बुरा असर पड़ा ?

SARDAR SWARAN SINGH: I have already said that this fall-out is likely to be injurious to several neighbouring countries. The extent of it and the nature of it, it is too early for me to describe.

पंडित भवानी प्रसाद तिवारी (मध्य प्रदेश) : मैं यह स्पष्टीकरण चाहूंगा मंत्री जी से कि शस्त्र अपने आप में न तो मारक होता है और न सुरक्षात्मक होता है, जैसा उसका उपयोग किया जावे वैसा हो सकता है। अतएव हमारे पास भी इतनी शक्ति हो जावे तो क्या हम उसका सुरक्षात्मक उपयोग नहीं कर सकते ? पहला स्पष्टीकरण मैं यह चाहूंगा।

दूसरा जब हम यह अनुभव कर रहे हैं कि चीन के साथ अपने बर्ताव में जब हम ईंट का जवाब ईंट से देते हैं और पत्थर का जवाब पत्थर से देते हैं तब उस भाषा को वह समझता है तो क्यों न हम उसके उत्तर में अपना शक्ति-मूलन बनाते और उसके जवाब के लिए तैयार होने ?

तीसरा स्पष्टीकरण मैं यह चाहूंगा कि क्या केवल आर्थिक विपन्नता के कारण ही हम इसका निर्माण नहीं कर रहे और क्या हमारी नजर में यह बात नहीं है कि यदि हम प्रयत्न करें हिन्दुस्तान का सुरक्षा के मामलों में आत्मनिर्भर बनाने के लिए तो हिन्दुस्तान तैयार हो सकता है और अर्थभाव दूर हो सकता है ?

चौथा स्पष्टीकरण यह है कि इस छठी बटनी में जो चीन ने की है उसकी शक्ति, प्रतिष्ठा बढ़ी है या घटी है ?

SARDAR SWARAN SINGH: I would like the first question to be clarified. I could not fully follow the first question.

पंडित भवानी प्रसाद तिवारी : मैंने यह कहा कि शस्त्र अपने आप में न तो मारक होता है—आपने कहा केवल डेस्ट्रक्टिव उपयोग होता है—मैंने कहा शस्त्र न केवल मारक होता है, न केवल रक्षात्मक ही होता है, जैसा उसका उपयोग करने वाले करे वैसा वह होता है। यदि हम उसका सुरक्षात्मक उपयोग करना चाहें, जैसा आज आर शक्तियां कर रहा है, उनके पास शक्ति है . . .

SARDAR SWARAN SINGH: That will do. I have now followed. Madam, it is true that a weapon is not something complete in the abstract. It is the hand behind the weapon which generally decides whether it is an offensive or a defensive instrument. But the nuclear device, the nuclear weapon, is such a drastic thing that the description that has been given to it by very eminent scientists of the world is that it is neither a weapon of offence nor a weapon of defence, but it is only an instrument of destruction and that is a very apt expression. It is not like an ordinary gun or an ordinary artillery piece or the like. The second question is about the steps that we should take. I do not however, agree with the phraseology that the hon. Member has adopted, of throwing a brickbat if one is thrown at us. It may be a very figurative way of describing it. But we have to continuously strengthen our defences and we have to be prepared to meet any challenge that we may have to face. To the third question my reply would be that economic considerations are not the only considerations why we have embarked upon the policy of developing nuclear energy for peaceful purposes.

SHRI AWADHESHWAR PRASAD SINHA (Bihar): Madam, as China has taken to nuclear arms in utter

[Shri Awadheshwar Prasad Sinha.] defiance not only of the non-Communist world but also of the entire Communist world and as China in the last few months in the name of Chinese revolution is creating in its own country havoc among large sections of its own people, it follows that China disregards not only the world opinion or the Communist world opinion but also the opinion of its own people. So they are bound to be ruthless; they are bound to be revengeful and they are bound to be inimical to Indian interests. In view of all this our stand on nuclear arms has to be revised. We have to do a lot of rethinking. It is no good depending on other countries to protect us particularly in view of what happened the other day; the U.A.R. was promised support by Russia, China and so many other countries but nobody came to their help. Suppose we depend for nuclear protection on America or Russia, nobody might come to us in time and we might be turned to dust. So it is the responsibility of this Government to take into account all these realities and not just continue our idealistic stand. Gandhiji himself told us to be practical idealists. I would therefore expect that the Government will have rethinking on this issue.

SARDAR SWARAN SINGH: Sir, with the description of China, their designs and all the rest of it which has been so vividly described by an hon. Member of our own party for whom I have the greatest respect, I may be permitted to say that I agree with him. About rethinking and reviewing our potential and our security angle I think if the hon. Member had listened carefully to what I have said, he would have seen that we are constantly doing rethinking and reviewing of our potential, what steps we should take to strengthen our defences and so on. As to what should be the result of that rethinking we cannot discuss here.

SHRI M. M. DHARIA (Maharashtra): While reiterating our faith

in our policy of non-alignment we cannot forget that our external policy is ultimately a clear reflection of our internal strength. Madam, with the explosion of the hydrogen bomb by China, the China-Pakistan ties and their conspiracy, the aggressive and expansionist policy of China, her activities and her unscrupulous struggle for leadership and also the internal situation in our own country created by the co-partners of China in areas like Naxalbari, there is no doubt in my mind that this country is facing a very grave danger. Any moment we may perhaps be forced to face any serious situation. Under these circumstances after carefully listening to the statement made by the hon. Minister may I say with due deference that the statement of the hon. Minister fails to satisfy and inspire the country and therefore may I request the hon. Minister to assure this House and this country that while having full faith in our own policies we will know no bounds to defend the sovereignty and integrity of this country and that we shall do and undo anything on earth to see that our honour, that the integrity of this country is properly defended and to see that our freedom is absolutely safe? Will the hon. Minister assure this House as I have just now requested?

SARDAR SWARAN SINGH: I am one with him that we should do everything in our power to defend the sovereignty and integrity of our country. That was the assurance wanted and I am one with him on this.

SHRI SURJIT SINGH ATWAL (Punjab): May I know whether the Defence Minister can say that if China today attacks us with hydrogen bombs we are in a position to protect ourselves or we are in a position to attack China with such type of nuclear weapons and if not when will we be in a position to save ourselves or if needed to attack them with the same type of weapons that China attacks us with?

Another thing I would like to know. The hon. Minister said that as Gandhian policy we would not like to go in for nuclear weapons and . . .

SARDAR SWARAN SINGH: I have not said so.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: He has not said so.

SHRI SURJIT SINGH ATWAL: I am sorry, Madam.

SARDAR SWARAN SINGH: If I have understood the hon. Member correctly he wants to know, if China attacks us with nuclear weapons, whether we have got nuclear weapons to hit them back. Madam, I must be candid; I have not got nuclear weapons to hit them back.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: I may just announce that the House will sit through the lunch hour. Mr. Gaure Murahari.

श्री गोडे मुहारी (उत्तर प्रदेश) : मैं सरकार से यह जानना चाहता हूँ कि हमारी नीति न्यूक्लियर वीपम के बारे में हमेशा यह रही है कि नानप्रालिफ़ेशन के बारे में हमने हमेशा दुनिया की हर समस्याओं में और दुनिया के जो भी सम्मेलन होते हैं उनमें कोशिश की है कि कोई न कोई ट्रीटी या एग्रीमेंट हो और हमेशा हिन्दुस्तान का नजरिया न्यूक्लीयर वीपम के बारे में सिर्फ नानप्रालिफ़ेशन को मद्देनजर रखने हुये हुआ है। हम तो यह कहना चाहते हैं कि आज की जा परिस्थिति है उसमें आज तो प्रालिफ़ेशन हर जगह हो रहा है और खाम बर के ऐसी जगह हो रहा है जो हमारे पड़ोस में है, जो हमारा दुश्मन है, जो हमारे ऊपर आक्रमण कर रहा है। तो इस स्थिति में सरकार का यह कहना कि नानप्रालिफ़ेशन के बारे में हम पहल कर रहे हैं इससे कोई नतीजा निकलने वाला नहीं है और हमारी मारी नीति जो कि सरकार की न्यूक्लीयर वीपम के बारे में रही है वह इसको मद्देनजर रखने हुये गलत रही है। तो मैं तो चाहूँगा कि सरकार कम से कम अब अपनी

नीति बनाने वक़्त इन चीज़ों का सामने रखे कि प्रालिफ़ेशन हो रहा है, होगा, और चाहे जितनी आपकी कोशिश हो कोई न कोई देश, चाहे वह युनाइटेड स्टेट्स हो, रूस हो या कोई और हो, कोई न कोई देश ऐसा रहेगा जो कि प्रालिफ़ेशन करेगा। जब ऐसी स्थिति है तो सरकार के सामने सिर्फ़ तीन रास्ते रह जाते हैं।

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Please ask for clarification.

श्री गोडे मुहारी जी . . . यह कि अगर चीन हमारे ऊपर आक्रमण करता है तो या तो आप चीन के सामने झुक जायें या उनका दामन बन जायें, या यह कि रूस या अमेरिका या दोनो की अगर कोई गारंटी मिले तो उनके लिये कोशिश करें, अच्छा होगा अगर दोनो साथ दे दें, या दोनो में से एक भी साथ देने दें तो उनसे साथ मिलकर हमें ताकत मिलेगी हमारे

ऊपर जो मक़द आये उसका हम सामना कर सकेंगे। और तीसरा है कि अपने पैर पर आप खड़े हों। तीन रास्ते हैं। जहाँ तक तीसरा रास्ता है, मुझे मालूम नहीं कि सरकार में कितना दम है, जितनी कोशिशें उनकी तरफ से इसके बारे में हुई हैं और वे कितने स्तर पर हुई हैं। इफ़लिये मैं चाहूँगा। सरकार अपनी नीति बनाने वक़्त इन तीन पहलुओं को सामने रखे और तीनों का मद्देनजर रखते हुये चीन द्वार जा न्यूक्लियर प्रालिफ़ेशन हो रहा है, उस चुनौती का सामना करें।

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Just a suggestion.

SARDAR SWARAN SINGH: With your permission, I would like to say just one thing. I agree with him on the first part of his assessment that there is very little response to the urgent urges of the humanity at large in the domain of non-proliferation and

[Sardar Swaran Singh.]

I will be quite frank that this proliferation is taking place not only laterally with more and more countries developing nuclear energy, but it is also expanding vertically. The nuclear powers are replenishing their arsenals and there is little heed to the crying need of mankind that the only solution appears to be the destruction of all nuclear arsenals, all nuclear weapons, and checking of proliferation. I agree with his analysis. Very little response is there. But the basic question before mankind today, if I may be pardoned in saying so, is whether the human race and mankind is going to be extinguished by a nuclear holocaust or should we continue to pin our hopes on our efforts, howsoever feeble the result might appear to be at the present moment, howsoever inadequate may be the response at the present moment? The question is whether it is not worthwhile, to save humanity, continuing our efforts towards both non-proliferation and disarmament. I would still continue to nurse this hope that the only salvation for the world lies in bringing about disarmament. Now, the three alternatives that he has posed are not the only alternatives. It is only a dramatic way of putting those alternatives. The main defence for us against any aggression is the unity and strength of the people, a vigilant attitude, pursuit of progressive policies and also adopting such policies in the international sphere which might, in an indirect manner, afford us various types of guarantees.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: I am not going to permit everybody to put questions. I am going to wind this up in another five minutes or so. Mr. Triloki Singh.

SHRI TRILOKI SINGH (Uttar Pradesh): Madam, according to the statement of the hon. Minister, atomic weapon is a weapon of destruction. Will the hon. Minister state the reasons for not having it in the armoury of our country, particularly in

view of our deteriorating relations with China? Would he like India to be destroyed rather than have a deterrent weapon in her armoury against China?

SARDAR SWARAN SINGH: I think let us not be despondent. Nobody can destroy our country. I am quite clear in my mind about it.

SHRI DAHYABHAI V. PATEL: Except the Congress.

SHRI C. D. PANDE: I really marvel at the dexterity and ability of the Foreign Minister. In reply to clarifications for an hour, I think nothing has been clarified. I want to put two or three questions. The first is his appeal to the moral sense, that India should plough a lonely furrow appealing to the moral sense that destruction should be avoided. May I ask him if the five big powers, who have got nuclear bombs, decide to destroy the world, can we stop it, even though we do not have nuclear bombs? Is the fact of our not having it enough to save humanity from destruction by the atomic powers?

DIWAN CHAMAN LALL (Punjab): How is your having it going to stop it?

SHRI C. D. PANDE: We will have some satisfaction that we are playing a part in our own defence.

SARDAR SWARAN SINGH: In destroying? I am asking him whether we will have a part in destroying the world. That is what he is asking.

SHRI C. D. PANDE: No; no. 'I am asking you to be fair and practical. Suppose we do not make it and others have it. Will we be in a position to save mankind? Secondly, there are eighteen powers in Geneva and they are trying not to escalate the expansion of nuclear power. Is there any success in your view? You have made a candid confession that

they are in an insincere mood. The powers that are assembled there, are themselves proliferating vertically and everybody is replenishing its armoury. Therefore, to pin any faith on that thing is simply a waste of time and deluding ourselves that something is being done. Neither Russia nor America nor France nor England is serious and their appeal is not heeded by China at all. China is not bound by any decision made at Geneva. Our direct and immediate aggressor is China. Suppose they come on us, what is our defence against that? The third question I want to put to you is this. Some years back, I think, about six years ago, we were told by the late Prime Minister that we would be in a position to make a bomb within eighteen months if we wanted. Since then China has made an ordinary plutonium bomb and now the hydrogen bomb. Have we made any progress in this direction? Instead of eighteen months, could we do it in eight months or four months or two months, if we like? Are we making progress in that direction? May I know if we can make it even in eighteen months?

SARDAR SWARAN SINGH: I will be very brief in my reply. First, he says if all the five big powers take a decision to destroy the world can we prevent it? I am sure nobody can prevent it. But the biggest force to prevent it is the fact that in that process they themselves will be destroyed. I am still to be convinced that all these countries, with all the good things in the world which they are enjoying, would suddenly take a decision to destroy themselves. His proposition is one of despair and I am sorry I cannot subscribe to it. The second point is, has there been any significant success in the Geneva talks? I have already said that there has not been any significant success. It is a very difficult problem. We have to preserve, because there is no other way of saving the entire universe, including us. The third point is if we take a decision to make a

bomb, can we shorten the period? I am sorry I have no information.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: I think that will do.

PAPERS LAID ON THE TABLE

THE EXPORT OF CASHEW KERNELS (QUALITY CONTROL AND INSPECTION) AMENDMENT RULES, 1967

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE DEPARTMENTS OF PARLIAMENTARY AFFAIRS AND COMMUNICATIONS (SHRI I. K. GUJRAL): Madam, on behalf of Shri Dinesh Singh, I beg to lay on the Table, under sub-section (3) of section 17 of the Export (Quality Control and Inspection) Act, 1963, a copy of the Ministry of Commerce Notification S.O. No. 1785, dated the 17 May, 1967, publishing the Export of Cashew Kernels (Quality Control and Inspection) Amendment Rules, 1967. [Placed in Library. See No. LT-683/67.]

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON LEGISLATION OF ABORTION

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF FINANCE (SHRI K. C. PANT): Madam, on behalf of Dr. S. Chandrasekhar, I beg to lay on the Table a copy of the Report of the Committee on Legislation of Abortion. [Placed in Library. See No. LT-723/67.]

THE DELHI DEVELOPMENT AUTHORITY (PENSION) RULES, 1967

SHRI I. K. GUJRAL: Madam, on behalf of Shri Jagannath Rao, I also beg to lay on the Table, under section 58 of the Delhi Development Act, 1957, a copy of the Ministry of Works, Housing and Supply (Department of Works and Housing) Notification G.S. R. No. 840, dated the 3rd June, 1967, publishing the Delhi Development Authority (Pension) Rules, 1967. [Placed in Library. See No. LT-739/67.]