

Can the hon. Minister ever expect that if there is any relation between these two, the State Government would be in a position to find out? If the Central Government does not take it up, it is failing in its duty, because it is an international matter.

SHRI B. BHAGAVATT: This is a ample matter, whether the news was broadcast by Pakistan first. That can be found out by the State Government or by the Central intelligence.

MR. CHAIRMAN : Have you any evidence that this was the case?

SHRI B. BHAGAVATI: No, Sir, we have no evidence and we do not know anything about it, except that there was a rumour about it.

(Hon. Members stood up)

MR. CHAIRMAN: I think this is enough. We shall proceed to another calling attention notice given by Shri B. K. P. Sinha.

## II. HYDROGEN BOMB EXPLOSION BY CHINA

SHRI B. K. P. SINHA (Bihar) : Sir, I beg to call the attention of the hon. Minister of External Affairs to the recent hydrogen bomb explosion by China and Government's policy in relation to the situation created thereby.

THE MINISTER OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS (SARDAR SWARAN SINGH): Mr. Chairman, on May 9 China conducted ..

SHRI R. S. KHANOEKAR (Madhya Pradesh) : Sir, on a point of order. This calling attention notice relates to the explosion of a hydrogen bomb and the Department of Atomic Energy is under the Prime Minister. How is the Minister of External Affairs concerned with this calling attention notice ? So, I would request that the Prime Minister should reply.

MR. CHAIRMAN : Anyone can do it. If he has been asked to do it, he can do it. Yes, you may proceed.

SHRI V. M. CHORDIA (Madhya Pradesh) : Sir, we demand an answer from the Prime Minister.

श्रीमान हमने जो कान नोटिस दिया था वह प्राइम मिनिस्टर का अटेंशन कान करने का दिया था, वह नोटिस जो कि हमने ओरिजनली दिया था, ओर हम यह अपेक्षा करते थे कि प्राइम मिनिस्टर इसका जवाब देंगे।

SHRI R. S. KHANDEKAR : It is a policy matter.

MR. CHAIRMAN : But policy matters can be discussed by the External Affairs Minister also.

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

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

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

Turning to our own policy, we had made a careful assessment of the situation in consultation with our Service Chiefs and Atomic Energy experts even when the f

[Sardar Swaran Singh]

nuclear device was exploded by China. The fact that there would be other such explosions was known at that time. Therefore, the mere fact that China has carried out its third nuclear explosion does not vitiate the earlier conclusion, though at the same time, the policy is kept under constant review. In any such review, account has to be taken not only of Chinese tests but also other relevant factors specially the progress made in the discussions relating to nuclear disarmament in which many countries are participating. The Partial Test Ban Treaty to which India is a signatory was an important land-mark in the progress towards nuclear disarmament. Since then, admittedly progress has been slow. Government still feel that the interests of world peace and our own security are better achieved by giving all support to the efforts for world nuclear disarmament than by building our own nuclear weapons.

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

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

SHRI B. K. P. SINHA: Sir, the hon. Minister has rightly said that China has behaved arrogantly. We condemn their action in very strong language, but hard words do not break bones. They do not protect bones either. The question is, how do we propose to protect this country from the challenge of China, the atomic challenge of China? We have put faith in the Disarmament Conference and the Test Ban Treaty. China is not a member of the Disarmament Conference, nor is it a signatory to the Test Ban Treaty. We have experience of previous disarmament conferences. They do not come to any fruitful decisions. The Disarmament Conferences go on lengthening like the 'Chir\* (=gft) of Draupadi interminably and even if they come to some decision, at any time of stress—that is the lesson of world history, specially the history of the world between

two wars—even the limited, narrow decisions these conferences take break down. In the circumstances, what benefit could we expect from the Disarmament Conference? In the circumstances, without putting too much faith in the Disarmament Conference, should we not try to develop our own independent atomic weaponry? Moreover, I do not see any conflict in putting faith in the Disarmament Conference and at the same time developing our own atomic weaponry. The USA, the USSR and the United Kingdom—France is not a member of the Disarmament Conference—these three countries are making every effort to come to some decision in the Disarmament Conference, but, at the same time, they are developing their nuclear rocket and missile armoury. Therefore, there is no conflict between these two things. In the circumstances, would it not be proper for the Government of India to revise their policy even now and not behave like an ostrich?

SARDAR SWARAN SINGH: The hon. Member has made several points suggesting that our policy should be revised. I have tried to put across the Government view point that whereas we view these developments, that is China's possession of nuclear weapons, as a serious threat to world peace, and we being neighbours the threat to us is even greater, at the same time it is a question of judgment as to how we protect ourselves. At the present moment having taken everything into consideration we have come to this conclusion that we should continue to develop our atomic energy and we should try to develop the know-how completely, and this is the best way under the present circumstances to develop the know-how but to continue to stick to our policy that this development should be for peaceful purposes.

SHRI B. K. P. SINHA: May I know if the underlying assumption, though unexpressed, of the policy of the Government of India is that at any time of crisis help will drop like Manna from Heaven? Sir, at this stage of critical world history either a nation feeds for itself or it goes down. Now so far as China is concerned the U.S.S.R. has by their silence made it clear that they are not prepared to provide us any nuclear shield against China. Then the Western powers remain. Among the Western powers France is more friendly to

China than to India. In the United Kingdom there is a strong feeling in favour of China and there is a very vocal, influential and growing lobby led by Lord Bertrand Russell which desires greater friendship with China. In the U.S.A. also there have been new trends aiming at the establishment of a new relationship with China. Moreover, it has been admitted by important Americans both in the NATO conference and in the evidence before the Congressional Committees that China has developed the atomic bomb, that China is on the point of developing medium range ballistic missiles and thereafter very soon, within ten years, it shall be in possession of long range ballistic missiles with which China can endanger the whole of Europe and a very substantial and critical part of the U.S.A. When China develops that capacity, do you think that the U.S.A. would endanger its own industries, its own defence establishments, its own territory and people, just to come to the aid of a country which is far far away from the U.S.A. ?

SARDAR SWARAN SINGH : ' I think the underlying presumption upon which the whole question is based is not correct. We have never proceeded on that basis although we continue to take the view, which is quite rational, that any use of atomic power by China or by any other country is not likely to go unnoticed and other factors will come into operation. It is not a question of any country agreeing to come to our help or the like, but we should view it in that bigger perspective. The other question which has been mentioned is very important, namely, the question of attempts at preventing proliferation. In the course of the United Nations' discussions about which the hon. Member is also personally familiar, at any rate part of it, it is the stand of the non-nuclear powers that the nuclear powers, if they want and if they are genuinely interested in ensuring non-proliferation, will also have to undergo some sacrifice, and one of the things that is expected from them is to reassure the non-nuclear powers against the nuclear blackmail of any other country, and that is one of the suggestions that has been put forward by the non-nuclear powers. We should await, I think, the outcome of those efforts because any proliferation on a large scale and a large number of countries of

the world coming into possession of nuclear weapons is not in the best interests of the world nor of mankind.

SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN (Andhra Pradesh) : While fully appreciating the reasons for the policy of the Government, I feel that the slight shift in the policy that this policy will be under constant review is a matter of some satisfaction to us. But what I am interested to know is, so far as our preparedness is concerned at what stage it is, because generally outside the country the people feel that we stick to this moral principle because we are not qualified to produce it, I would like the Government and the hon. Minister to satisfy us that so far as the preparedness and the knowhow of these atomic weapons and other things are concerned we are in a position to do so if we decide to embark on that project.

MR. CHAIRMAN : He has said so.

SARDAR SWARAN SINGH: I have already said that it is recognised that we are one of the countries which are capable of becoming an atomic power in a reasonably short time. I have already said that.

SHRI MULKA GOVINDA REDDY (Mysore) : The explosion of a hydrogen bomb by China has been condemned all over the world. In utter defiance of that . . .

SHRI ATAL BIHARI VAJPAYEE (Uttar Pradesh) : Not by Pakistan.

SHRI MULKA GOVINDA REDDY: In utter defiance of that China is going on exploding atomic weapons, and with this atomic power China is bullying the smaller nations in Asia and Africa, and the danger to India is very great. In view of this I want to know whether the Government of India have had discussions with the supernuclear powers, that is the U.S.S.R. and the U.S.A., that they would provide nuclear shield against this danger by China and whether the Government of India in order to regain its own prestige and in order to have a soothing effect and in order to have friendly relations with the other nations in Asia and Africa would revise its attitude and go ahead with the manufacturing of nuclear weapons.

SARDAR SWARAN SINGH: Sir, on the last part I have nothing to add to what I have already said. On the first part, on the question of nuclear shield, I did attempt to reply to that while replying to an earlier question that we have to view this in the context of the non-proliferation efforts that are being made in the United Nations and also in the Committee which is discussing these matters at Geneva; and to bring about an atmosphere for non-proliferation it is necessary that the non-nuclear powers should be assured by the main nuclear powers that if they forgo programmes of going ahead with the acquisition of nuclear weapons, then they will not suffer. Unless that assurance is forthcoming and there is evidence of sacrifice on the part of the main nuclear powers for steps towards disarmament, obviously non-proliferation is not possible and then the way will be open for a large number of countries to go ahead with the development of their nuclear programme even for non-peaceful purposes which will very greatly enhance the risk of outbreak of hostilities in which nuclear devices might be used. I have made the position clear.

SHRI DAHYABHAI V. PATEL (Gujarat) : In view of China's attitude and flagrant breach of the United Nations resolution, will Government reconsider the attitude it has adopted towards Red China and stop pleading for admission of Red China into the United Nations as Red China's attitude now constitutes a greater threat not only to the whole of South-East Asia but to India itself?

SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN: It will come under control.

SARDAR SWARAN SINGH: I think, Sir, that that is not the reason for their not being in the United Nations as has been just hinted at by another hon. Member. They should be answerable at the bar of world opinion for all these things that they do.

SHRI BANKA BEHARY DAS (Orissa): The Minister advocated a dangerous doctrine when he said that when China goes ahead with its nuclear expansion, other factors will come into play. We are wedded to a policy of non-alignment; we

tight and do not go ahead with our nuclear expansion. Then there is the danger that we will have to align either with the U.S.A. or the U.S.S.R, when our question of security comes. Moreover, the Government of India knows that four or five days back, China has delivered a Note in reply to our Protest Note saying that they still claim the 20 km. beyond the line of actual control, which they have vacated, and that they will come there and will have defence establishments. So, in view of this fact, is it not the policy of the Government now to rethink the entire matter and develop nuclear power so that we can give a challenge not only to other countries but also meet any challenge to us?

MR. CHAIRMAN : I think the Minister has sufficiently explained the position.

SHRI BANKA BEHARY DAS : What is the position? We are wedded to non-alignment. May I know, if that eventuality comes whether we are going to align either with the U.S.A. or the U.S.S.R, to protect ourselves?

MR. CHAIRMAN : I do not think the Minister need reply.

SARDAR SWARAN SINGH: Non-alignment does not come in the way of taking all possible steps to safeguard our integrity and to protect our country.

SHRI D. THENGARI (Uttar Pradesh) : In view of the fact that the possession of nuclear weapons by China is found to disturb the balance of power in the Afro-Asian part of the globe, that it is a serious threat to our national existence and also to the maintenance of world peace and further that India is reputed to be a peace-loving country, does the Government not feel convinced that the possession of nuclear weapons by India would serve as a deterrent to China and as the only guarantee to world peace?

SARDAR SWARAN SINGH : The same question has been put in a different form.

श्री विमल कुमार मन्ना लाल जी खौरड़िया :  
क्या श्रीमान् यह बदलाएंगे कि हमारी अच्छी  
भावनाएँ होने के बावजूद भी और जो संकट  
हमने कभी कल्पना नहीं की थी, न पाकिस्तान

के बारे में संकट की कल्पना की थी और न चीन के बारे में संकट की कल्पना की थी, इसके बावजूद भी हम को संकट का मुकाबला करना पड़ा और उस समय हम गफलत की नींद सो रहे थे, इसलिए ठीक तरह से उसका मुकाबला कर नहीं पाये, तो ऐसी स्थिति में हम किसी पर आक्रमण करने के लिये नहीं मगर अपने देश की सुरक्षा के लिये हम अगर अपने आप को अणु आयुधों से सुरक्षित करते हैं या सज्जित करते हैं तो इसमें किस सिद्धांत का हनन हो रहा है।

SARDAR SWARAN SINGH: Sir, I would not accept what the hon. Member has said that at the time of the Indo-Paki-stan conflict we were found napping. I think our Armed Forces gave an admirable account of their capacity at the time of the Indo-Pakistan conflict and the whole country is proud of it.

(Interruptions)

AN HON. MEMBER: What about China ?

SARDAR SWARAN SINGH : In his question he mentioned both China and Pakistan. That was his question. He should be careful in framing his question.

Now, it is true that at the time when the Chinese conflict took place we did not expect that there would be this betrayal on the part of China. But after that we have strengthened our defences and the Defence Minister has always kept the House and the country informed of our defence preparedness to meet any situation or any threat to our integrity.

SHRI LOKANATH MISRA (Orissa) : The hon. Minister of External Affairs and the Government do not seem to be as much concerned as Indians are. Indians feel concerned about the fact that China is exploding nuclear bombs one after the other and is getting ready, maybe for bullying, maybe for pressuring, maybe for any other purpose, and India has to face the consequences. India has been once attacked and a part of her land is still under the illegal possession of China and

there is some allurements for further incursions also. And in view of the renunciation of the manufacture of nuclear weapon\* by the Indian Government, what reasonable argument does the hon. Minister have in not taking the help of those countries who would be prepared to give a nuclear shield or nuclear cover ?

SARDAR SWARAN SINGH: There should not be this mental conflict. If we feel that we can be protected by others, I think it will not be a very wise step and will not be a very wise way of thinking. (Interruptions.) We have always said that along with other non-nuclear powers we are prepared to subscribe to non-proliferation. But it is very necessary that the main nuclear powers should reassure all the non-nuclear powers that the non-nuclear powers will not be subjected to threats or blackmail from the nuclear powers. That is a better way of protection rather than entering into any bilateral arrangement, which always grips the mind of the hon. Member's party, the Swatantra Party. They are always suggesting that we should be drawn into defence pacts and like that and all these arguments that they pile up are directed in that way. We should continue to strengthen our defences and we should continue to strengthen ourselves rather than look for defence pacts and others.

(Several hon. Members rose)

MR. CHAIRMAN: I know that everybody would like to speak on this but I am afraid I will not be able to accommodate everybody.

श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी : : सभापति जी, पंडित जी कहा करते थे कि भारत कभी अणु अस्त्र नहीं बनायेगा। शास्त्री जी ने उस नीति में थोड़ा सा परिवर्तन किया और उन्होंने कहा कि हम अभी अणु अस्त्र नहीं बनायेंगे लेकिन हम भविष्य के लिये अपने को बांधते नहीं हैं। जब से चीन ने अणु अस्त्र बनाये हैं और जिस वक्त से चीन अणु अस्त्रों का विस्फोट कर रहा है और जिस प्रकार चीन ने भारत के विरुद्ध शत्रुता का रवैया अपनाया है उसको देखते हुए क्या प्रधान

[श्री अटल बिहारी वाजपेयी.]

मंत्री महोदय एक कदम आगे जा कर कहने के लिये तैयार हैं कि यदि आवश्यकता होगी तो भारत अणु अस्त्र बनायेगा ? सरकार की ओर से दावा किया जाता है कि हम अगर चाहे तो अणु-अस्त्र बना सकते हैं। मेरा निवेदन है कि जब तक सरकार अणु अस्त्र बना कर के दिखायेगी नहीं, सरकार के इस दावे पर भरोसा करना कठिन है कि सन्मूल में सरकार अणु अस्त्र बना सकती है। 18 साल में यह सरकार बहुत से काम नहीं कर सकी अगर 18 साल में यह अणु बम बना लेगी, इस पर मेरा विश्वास करने का जो नहीं चाहता। इसलिये क्या सरकार एक अणु बम बना कर के यह दिखायेगी कि सन्मूल में वह बना सकती है ?

**प्रधान मन्त्री (श्रीमती इन्दिरा गांधी) :** हमारे सामने सवाल क्या है ? खाली यह दिखाने का है कि हम अणु बम बना सकते हैं या नहीं या यह है कि हम देश की रक्षा करेंगे या नहीं ? बहुत सफाई से अभी मंत्री जी ने असेम्बली में यह कहा :

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

#### PAPERS LAID ON THE TABLE

##### ANNUAL REPORT AND ACCOUNTS (1964-65) OF THE NATIONAL PROJECTS CONSTRUCTION CORPORATION LTD., NEW DELHI AND RELATED PAPERS

THE DEPUTY MINISTER IN THE MINISTRY OF FINANCE (SHRI L. N. MISHRA) : Sir, on behalf of Shri Fakhruddin Ali Ahmed, I beg to lay on the Table, under sub-section (1) of section 619-A of the Companies Act, 1956, a copy of the following papers :—

- (i) Eighth Annual Report and Accounts of the National Projects Construction Corporation Limited, New Delhi, for the year 1964-65, together with the Auditors' Report on the Accounts.

- (ii) Review by Government on the working of the Corporation.

[Placed in Library. See No. LT-6312/ 66 for (i) and (ii).]

##### ANNUAL ADMINISTRATIVE REPORT (1962/63) OF THE KERALA STATE ELECTRICITY BOARD

SHRI L. N. MISHRA : Sir, on behalf of Dr. K. L. Rao, I also beg to lay on the Table, under sub-section (1A) of section 75 of the Electricity (Supply) Act, 1948, a copy of the Annual Administration Report of the Kerala State Electricity Board for the year 1962-63. [Placed in Library. See No. LT-6105/66.]

##### THE KERALA MONEY LENDERS RULES, 1964

SHRI L. N. MISHRA : Sir, I also beg to lay on the Table, under sub-section (3) of section 21 of the Kerala Money Lenders Act, 1958, a copy of Notification No. 38051/A4/63/ID, dated the 31st March, 1964, publishing the Kerala Money Lenders Rules, 1964, issued by the Government of Kerala. [Placed in Library. See No. LT-6313/66.]

##### NOTIFICATIONS PUBLISHING ORDERS IN RESPECT OF DELIMITATION OF PARLIAMENTARY AND ASSEMBLY CONSTITUENCIES (I) IN THE STATE OF ASSAM AND (II) IN THE STATE OF RAJASTHAN

THE MINISTER OF LAW (SHRI G. S. PATHAK) : Sir, I beg to lay on the Table, a copy each of the following Notifications of the Delimitation Commission :—

- (i) Notification S.O. No. 1264, dated the 20th April, 1966, publishing Order No. 4 in respect of the delimitation of parliamentary and assembly constituencies in the State of Assam. [Placed in Library. See No. LT-6277/66.]
- (ii) Notification S.O. No. 1268, dated the 25th April, 1966, publishing Order No. 14 in respect of the delimitation of parliamentary and assembly constituencies in the State of Rajasthan. [Placed in Library. See No. LT-6278/66.]