

SHRIMATI INDIRA GANDHI: The walk-out was planned since before this discussion, Sir.

MR. DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: I wish they had done it earlier.

#### DISCUSSION UNDER RULE 176

Underground Nuclear explosion conducted by Atomic Energy Commission on the 18th May, 1974—contd.

श्री हर्षदेव मालवीय (उत्तर प्रदेश) : उप-सभापति जी, 18 मई, 1974 को राजस्थान में पोखरण के स्थान पर जो अणु विस्फोट भूमि के अन्दर किया गया, उस दिन से हमारे इतिहास में एक नया दौर शुरु होता है। भारत जैसा प्राचीन देश अणुयुग में दाखिल होता है, यह एक महान कार्य है और इसके लिये हमारा इतिहास हृदय से स्वर्गीय नेता जवाहरलाल नेहरू की हमेशा याद करेगा। श्री नेहरू जी ने स्वतंत्रता के बाद बराबर इस बात पर देश का ध्यान दिलाया, देश को जाग्रत किया कि हमें विज्ञान की ओर बढ़ना चाहिये और हमें रूढ़िवाद से निकल कर विज्ञान की तरफ चलना चाहिये और विज्ञान की दृष्टि से देखना चाहिये। इन सब बातों का खयाल करके ही भारत आगे बढ़ सकता है। हमको इस संदर्भ में बड़े दुःख के साथ कहना पड़ता है कि जो सकरे दिमाग के लोग हैं, जो सकरे तरीके और छोटे तरीके से नारा देते हैं, उस तरह का जनसंघ के नेता ने भाषण दिया जो कि एक बहुत ही सकरेपन और छोटे दिमाग का सबूत है।

[The Vice-Chairman (Shrimati Purabi Mukhopadhyay) in the Chair.]

(Interruptions)

भारत एक रूढ़िवादी देश है, जहां पुरानी बड़ी-बड़ी रूढ़ियां हैं, जहां पुराने कस्टम और पुराने तरीके चलते हैं, यहां पर इस बात की आवश्यकता है कि देश के अन्दर विज्ञान के सम्बन्ध में जाग्रति लाई जाय और आधुनिक विज्ञान की तरफ देश को ले जाया जाय (Interruptions) आपकी बुद्धि से बनेगा ? आपके पास चलाने की ताकत तो नही है

L,J(D)22RSS-7

और न ही आपके अन्दर कोई ताकत है। मैं इस बारे में यह निवेदन कर देना चाहता हूँ कि हमारे महान नेता श्री जवाहर लाल नेहरू जी ने 1948 में ही जब भारत का संविधान बन रहा था, तब संविधान सभा में उन्होंने एटामिक एनर्जी बिल पेश किया था। और उस वक्त भी उन्होंने स्पष्ट रूप से घोषणा की थी कि हम एटामिक एनर्जी के बारे में जो कुछ करने जा रहे हैं, उसमें इस बात का ध्यान रखेंगे कि अणु शक्ति का व्यवहार युद्ध के लिये, विनाश के लिए नहीं करेंगे, अणु शक्ति का व्यवहार सदैव अपने देश के शांतिपूर्ण विकास के लिये करेंगे। उन्होंने अन्त में कहा कि हमें विश्वास है कि हमारा यह दृष्टिकोण आगे के जमाने में, आगे के समय में कायम रहेगा। प्रसन्नता की बात है कि बाद के वर्षों में जब हमारे देश का इतिहास आगे बढ़ता रहा, उस समय भी पंडित जी ने बराबर इस बात को कहा। 1954 में लोक सभा में उन्होंने कहा था कि अणु शक्ति का उपयोग हम शांतिपूर्ण कार्यों के लिये करेंगे। उन्होंने यह कहा कि भारत जैसे गरीब देश को आज अणु शक्ति की अधिक आवश्यकता है बनिस्वत फ्रांस या दूसरे विकसित देशों के; क्योंकि हमको जल्दी विकास करना है। उन्होंने एक बार कहा था कि हमको आज की दुनियां में जहां हम खड़े हुए हैं, उस जगह खड़े रहने के लिए ही दौड़ना पड़ेगा। इसलिए उन्होंने कहा कि हमको फ्रांस-फ्रांस का उन्होंने नाम लिया—तथा दूसरे विकसित देशों से ज्यादा अणु शक्ति की जरूरत है। उसके बाद ट्रांवे में जब उन्होंने पहला न्युक्लीयर रिएक्टर खोला तो उन्होंने इस बात को दोहराया था। उसके बाद जब चीन का विस्फोट हुआ तो उस समय लन्दन के एक अखबार के प्रतिनिधि लियोनार्ड बर्टन ने नेहरू जी से भेंट की और कहा कि जब चीन का खतरा आपके सामने है तो क्या आप अणु शक्ति का इस्तेमाल नहीं करेंगे। उस समय पंडित जी ने कहा था—

“They will not induce us to jump into the nuclear fray. The idea of using these bombs is horrible to me and to a large number of us.”

[श्री हर्षदेव मालवीय]

यह हमारी परम्परा रही है। उसके बाद जब श्री लालबहादुर शास्त्री जी हमारे प्रधान मंत्री हुए, तो उन्होंने भी अक्टूबर 1964 में नान-एलाइन्ड कान्फ्रेंस में जो कैरो में हुई थी, कहा था कि 'भारत में हम लोग इस बात के लिये कटिबद्ध हैं कि हम अणु शक्ति का उपयोग शांतिपूर्ण कार्यों के लिये करेंगे, विज्ञान के विकास के लिये करेंगे। हम जानते हैं कि हमारे वैज्ञानिकों में यह शक्ति है कि हम इस काम को कर सकते हैं, लेकिन हम संसार को विश्वास दिलाना चाहते हैं कि हम कभी अणु शक्ति का व्यवहार युद्ध के लिये नहीं करेंगे। उस के बाद अभी 24 अप्रैल, 1968 को हमारी प्रधान मंत्री श्रीमती इंदिरा गांधी जी ने भी लोक सभा में कहा था—

"We think that nuclear weapons are no substitute for military preparedness, involving conventional weapons. The choice before us involves not only the question of making a few atom bombs, but of engaging in an arms race with sophisticated nuclear war-heads and an effective missile delivery system. Such a course, I do not think would strengthen national security. On the other hand, it may well endanger our internal security by imposing a very heavy economic burden which would be in addition to the present expenditure on defence.

"We believe that to be militarily strong, it is necessary to be economically and industrially strong. Our programme of atomic energy development for peaceful purposes is related to the real needs of our economy and would be effectively geared to this end."

मैडम, मैं यह कहना चाहता था कि हमारा यह दृष्टिकोण है। परन्तु इस दृष्टिकोण के मुकाबले देश में एक और दृष्टिकोण है और वह दृष्टिकोण है थोड़े हिन्दुवादियों का, जो धर्म-धुजाई बनते हैं, वे महानुभाव उधर बैठे हैं, जो अपने को बुद्धिजीवि कहते हैं, उनका एक अखबार निकलता है "आर्गनाइज़र"। उसको 25 मार्च, 1974 के अंक का कोटेशन सुनाना चाहता हूँ, उसने लिखा है—

"It will be suicidal for the government to confine itself to peaceful uses when no other nuclear power has taken any such vow of nuclear brahmacharya."

बड़ा सुन्दर शब्द निकाला ब्रह्मचर्य न्यूक्लीयर।

"When even Acharya Vinoba Bhave feels the explosion could help maintain peace in this region, and the Editor of 'Gandhi Marg' thinks that even Gandhiji would have welcomed the bomb, Government has no right to deny nuclear defence of the country."

इन लोगों को कोई अधिकार नहीं है, गांधी जी के विचारों पर कुछ कहने का। यह कहते हैं कि गांधी जी भी एटम बम्ब बनाते। यह उनके दिमाग की दौड़ है। ज्यादा मैं इस संबंध में कुछ नहीं कहना चाहता। तो श्रीमती जी, मैं आपके द्वारा कहना चाहता हूँ कि हमने एक बम्ब को फोड़ा, हमारे यहां जो ग्रैंड ग्राउंड न्यूक्लीयर एक्सप्लोजन हुआ...

डा० रामकृपाल सिंह (बिहार) : गांधी जी अहिंसा आफ दि ब्रेव में विश्वास करते थे, अहिंसा आफ दि कावर्ड में नहीं।

श्री हर्षदेव मालवीय : सारी अक्ल आप के नाम लिख दी गयी है। मैं एक बात के लिये बधाई देना चाहता हूँ और वह यह है कि जब दुनियां को पता लगा कि हमने इतना बड़ा अणु विस्फोट किया और किसी को कानों-कान खबर नहीं लगी और इस बात का पता जब सी० आई० ए० के हैड-क्वार्टर को लगा तो यहां का 80 परसेंट सी० आई० ए० का स्टाफ बदल दिया गया।

अब इसक बाद दूसरी बात यह है कि इस बात को लेकर बाहर बहुत से लोगों ने हो-हल्ला किया। कुछ देशों ने उसी वक्त एक्सप्लोजन किया, ब्रिटेन ने उसी समय एक्सप्लोजन किया, उसी वक्त रूस ने एक्सप्लोजन किया, उसी वक्त अमरीका में भी एक्सप्लोजन हुआ, लेकिन उस की कोई चर्चा नहीं की गयी और उसका जवाब हमारी प्रधान मंत्री ने अपने दो वक्तव्यों में अपने ढग से बहुत साफ तरीके से दिया था। मैं साफ तौर से कहना चाहता हूँ कि यह हो-हल्ला कुछ इस किस्म की बात है कि 'उल्टा चोर कोतवाल को डांटे'। आज से नहीं

1948 से भारत ने सदैव इस बात को घोषित किया है कि हम अणु शक्ति का इस्तेमाल शांति के लिये करेंगे।

उसके बाद सब से ज्यादा जरूरी बात यह है कि इस समय संसार की स्थिति क्या है? मैं आप से कहना चाहता हू कि संसार के अंदर करीब दो दर्जन विकसित देश हैं जिन के पास संसार की संपदाका दो तिहाई भाग है। और वह दुनियाँ की जो सारी ऊर्जा है, जो सारी एनर्जी है उसका 90 फीसदी इस्तेमाल करते हैं। जो दुनियाँ बाकी बचती है उसको बाकी ऊर्जा से अपना काम चलाना पड़ता है और हम लोगों के पास, जो दो तिहाई अविकसित देश है या नव स्वतंत्र देश हैं या नवस्वतंत्र विकासशील देश हैं, उनके पास ऊर्जा की बहुत कमी है। हमारे पास साधन की कमी है, तेल की कमी है हमारे पास ईंधन की कमी है और कोयला भी पर्याप्त मात्रा में नहीं है। तो इसलिये हमारे देश के विकास के लिये, हमारे जैसे अविकसित विकासशील देश के लिये यह बहुत जरूरी है कि हम अणु शक्ति को, अणु से पैदा होने वाली ऊर्जा को अपने विकास के लिये इस्तेमाल करें। इस बारे में मैं आप से एक बात और कहना चाहता हूँ और वह यह है कि हम को अपने वैज्ञानिकों पर गर्व है। हम समझते हैं कि इस हाउस से हम अपने वैज्ञानिकों को धन्यवाद भेजें कि हम उनके प्रति अपना आभार प्रदर्शित करते हैं। हम जानते हैं कि अणु की शक्ति का व्यवहार अभी बहुत से क्षेत्रों में होने वाला है। उसके कुछ क्षेत्र में आपको गिनाना चाहता हूँ। यह एक यूगोस्लाविया का पेपर है, वहाँ के इस जर्नल ने लिखा है—मैं इसको अंग्रेजी में उद्धृत कर दूंगा, हिन्दी अनुवाद नहीं करता हूँ कि :

“Besides providing nuclear power, the uses of atomic energy in other fields are of equal relevance to the developing countries.”

डेवलपिंग कंट्रीज़ की दृष्टि से बात कही गई है

“Numerous applications in the field of agriculture, plant-breeding and genetics, medicine and the like are well known. But there are many concrete ways in

L/J(D)22RSS-7(a)

which nuclear energy, and underground explosions in particular, could be used for constructive peaceful applications such as natural gas and oil stimulation, and recovery and utilisation of otherwise inaccessible oil and natural gas resources;”

इसके बारे में हमारे सेठना जी ने भी कहा है कि बहुत संभावना है कि वह अपने तेल के जो कूप हैं उनसे तेल निकाल सकते हैं और उसके उत्पादन को हम अपने अणु विस्फोट से ज्यादा बढ़ा सकते हैं और भी कहा गया है—

“creation of underground regions for waste management; extraction of heat from geothermal formations for the generation of electricity; earth-moving for dam construction; canal building and harbour excavation, etc.”

इन कामों के लिये हम अणु विस्फोट का इस्तेमाल कर सकते हैं। इसलिये श्रीमती जी मैं यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि जो आवाज़ इस सदन में उठी और बाहर भी कभी-कभी उठी कि हम समझ गये कि हमने अणु शक्ति को ढूँड लिया तो हम आसमान पर पहुँच गये और अणु अस्त्र को बनाने पर जो और जोर दिया गया है वह विचार बहुत ब्रेविका विचार है। हमको इसकी प्रसन्नता है, कि भले ही हमारे देश के लोग इस बात के महत्व को न समझें, मगर जो विकासशील देश हैं, जो नव स्वतंत्र डेवलपिंग कंट्रीज़ हैं—फ्रांस, ब्रिटेन या यू०एस०ए० में भले ही कुछ लोगो ने हमारे अणु विस्फोट के बारे में गलत बातें कहीं हों, मगर जो विकासशील देश हैं उन्होंने हमारे अणु विस्फोट का स्वागत किया है और उन्होंने भारत के इस आश्वासन का स्वागत किया कि भारत ने जो ज्ञान प्राप्त किया है, उसमें वह विकासशील देशों के साथ सहयोग करने को तैयार है, उनकी सहायता करने को तैयार है।

(Time bell rings.)

अंत में यही कहना चाहता हूँ कि हमारी जो नीति है वह बिलकुल सही है। हमारे रा्ट्र-नायक पंडित जवाहरलाल नेहरू ने हमारे देश के सामने जो नीति रखी, जो उनका दृष्टिकोण

[श्री हर्षदेव मालवीय]

था और जिस दृष्टिकोण के आधार पर हमारी प्रधान मंत्री श्रीमती इंदिरा गांधी हमारे देश को लजा रही हैं वह उसका एक बहुत खास उदाहरण हमारी अणु शक्ति की नीति है। इस पर हमको बढ़ते जाना है।

अन्तिम बातें मैं कहना चाहता हूँ। हम बहुत जल्दी देखेंगे 10 वर्ष के अन्दर, 15 वर्ष के अन्दर कि हमारे विकासशील देश में अणु शक्ति का बहुत कुछ इस्तेमाल होने जा रहा है। हमको भारतीय जनता पर विश्वास है, हमको भारत के वैज्ञानिकों पर विश्वास है, मगर अणु शक्ति का व्यवहार भारतीय जनता तभी कर सकती है, अपने ग्रामों के विकास के लिए तभी कर सकती है, जब हम विज्ञान का ज्ञान अपनी जनता में उभारें। इस दृष्टि से हम कहना चाहते हैं अपने अणु अयोग से, श्रीमती इंदिरा गांधी प्रधान मंत्री जी से और जो उसके मंत्री हमारे पंत जी और दूसरे मंत्रियों से भी हम कहना चाहेंगे कि इस बात की ओर विशेष ध्यान देने की आवश्यकता है कि कल को हमारे पास जब अणु शक्ति उपलब्ध हो तो उसके इस्तेमाल के लिये, उसके व्यवहार के लिये जनता में यथोचित ज्ञान होना चाहिये, ज्ञान और विज्ञान बढ़ाना चाहिए। जब तक हम उसको नहीं करेंगे, तब तक हम लेबोरेट्रीज में भले ही प्रयोग कर लें, उसका लाभ उठा नहीं सकते।

अन्त में आपको धन्यवाद देते हुए श्रीमती जी, मैं यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि हमको अपने देश के प्रारब्ध पर विश्वास रखना चाहिए। झंझावत आता है, तकलीफें आती हैं, कष्ट आता है, चिल्लाने वाले चिल्लाते हैं, मगर भारत का प्रारब्ध निश्चित है और भारत आगे जाएगा और यह अणु विस्फोट इस बात का सबूत है कि हमारे अन्दर वह शक्ति है, हमारे अन्दर वह क्षमता है कि अपनी ताकत से, अपने अणु की शक्ति से, अपने ज्ञान से हम इसको आगे बढ़ा सकते हैं।

धन्यवाद।

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Madam, Vice-Chairman, I am very glad that we are discussing this subject, and it is necessary for us to express our views on this matter not only for the audience within our country but also for the international audience. As far as explosion of nuclear device is concerned, our party, as you may be aware, has already congratulated the scientists and technicians for the masterly and proud achievement of theirs. It is not necessary for me to reiterate the feelings of gratitude to those men who are working in the field of science and technology in our country, not always under very congenial or propitious conditions. Even so they have achieved this success. It goes to their credit. The nuclear device test in our country took place against the national background which due to economic crisis has cast its darkening shadow.

That is why perhaps many of us did not understand the scientific aspect of it. On the other hand, some people within our country have taken the opportunity to claim as if their stand is vindicated. One of those who reacted rather very effusively to the news of the nuclear test device was Shri Advani, President of the Jan Sangh and I am sure Shri Krishan Kant must have been happy in his own house dreaming that well, if the leaves of Autumn have fallen, springs of atom bomb may not be far behind. My fear is precisely on this. Within our country there is a lobby which has always been pleading for it. We have been nurtured in this Parliament since long. Now we are about to retire from the scene. Even if we do not, nature will claim us. But in those days Jawaharlal Nehru often spoke on this subject and the more he spoke the more he felt happy and the world understood us and respected us and respected above all the then Prime Minister Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru. May I now quote what he said on January 20, 1957, while inaugurating India's first Nuclear Reactor Apsara at Trombay? He said:

I like to say on behalf of my Government and myself and I think I can

say that for the future Governments of India (he did not know then that his daughter will be leading the country) that whatever might happen, whatever be the circumstances, we shall never use this atomic energy for evil purposes.

Such were the words uttered by a man who was dedicated to the cause of peace.

Many things we have not achieved. I do not know when we will achieve them. Many things around us are dark and dismal. Yet, we have achieved something in the international arena due largely to the contributions made by the people, of course, and then by Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru of which we are all justly proud. One of such contributions is Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru's repeated statement that India shall never make a nuclear bomb, that we shall never enter the nuclear bomb spree, that we are for complete and total disarmament and above all disarmament of nuclear weapons. That was not the voice of an individual, but it was a powerful and authentic voice; it is the voice of our civilisation which had its echoes in many countries which did not share our views at that time. But, of course, his views were well received in the Socialist countries and above all in the Soviet Union.

Madam, Vice-Chairman, today we are going ahead with our nuclear experiment for peaceful purposes whereas some forces want to use nuclear weapons to indulge in nuclear blackmail and to threaten the mankind with thermo-nuclear catastrophe. These forces have been now driven back. I know that it was perhaps in a small cell in Stockholm that an appeal against Atom Bomb was signed. Not many voices were raised at that time in support of this appeal in the high quarters. Ever since then, this struggle of peaceful mankind to rid this world of threat of nuclear destruction and to bring about a complete and total disarmament, and nuclear disarmament in particular, has gone on and today we have reached a stage when the two great powers—Soviet Union and the USA—have been obliged to sit together—in fact, Soviet Union has always been for

nuclear disarmament and therefore America has been obliged to sit together—and discuss the question of even restricting or putting limitations on strategic arms and so on; and they have signed an agreement which is no doubt significant in the context of the struggle we have been fighting all these years. There was the Nuclear Test Ban Treaty of 1963. At 5 P.M. that time I was in Moscow. In fact, when I was there, for once I came very close to an American statesman and also a British statesman. I was also invited to the Kremlin. The treaty had been signed and I saw all these gentlemen, the Foreign Ministers of the USA and the U.K. Well, I saw that India was the first among the signatories to the Partial Test Ban Treaty of 1963. We all felt very happy and I could also see how the people looked at us then. We professed what we practised. But it is true that we have not signed the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty which was signed by the others and which came into force in 1970. But that has not changed our policy as far as we can understand. But our policy is not to abandon the nuclear experiment. Otherwise, why do we have atomic power stations? We are committed, as far as I can understand, to nuclear experiment and research in order to find uses for peaceful purposes and, in a country like ours, certainly we need it. But why do the others misunderstand? I cannot understand this. Well, here is a country of 575 million people and we are 27 years old. Now, I am posing this question to others: "When did India give the impression that she would go in for nuclear or atomic armaments?" All the time, we have been pleading with the others that there should be nuclear disarmament and that the nuclear weapons should be banned and destroyed. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru had said it and Shrimati Indira Gandhi has said that though she may not say good things about the railwaymen. But, on such matters, she has said very good things and I share her sentiments. We are a generous people and we, Madam,

[Shri Bhupesh Gupta]

represent today one of the powerful movements in the world, the international communist movement. We are generous and we have not failed to note the positive features in the policies of the Government and to acclaim when good utterances come from the leaders of the Government and our policy was very well appreciated by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru although we gave him a little more trouble than we give the present Prime Minister. All the same, I am very sorry that our position has been rather misunderstood, misrepresented, and distorted in some parts of the world. Why should the Canadian Prime Minister be so much upset? I thought he was a newly married man and was very comfortably placed that way. Why should he get so much upset and unbalanced and unsettled just because in the Rajasthan area there was this explosion?

**SHRI K. C. PANT:** Mr. Bhupesh Gupta, may I ask you one thing? Do you mean to say that married people are more settled and more balanced?

**SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA:** Well, sitting here, Madam, I have come to the conclusion that married people, some of them at any rate, are more unsettled than what they would have been had they remained as bachelors or spinsters. Anyway, let me not go into it.

Now, why did the Canadian Prime Minister get upset? I had been closely following the trend. What crime have we committed? There was not even the fall-out and he was yet upset so much and he started threatening and the Americans also started threatening in the beginning. But there was this Dr. Kissinger and they later restrained themselves at the official level. But the Canadian Prime Minister got upset and I cannot understand that at all. Has not the Canadian Prime Minister seen that India's role in the UN has been, in the 'fifties and in the sixties', always in favour of disarmament, nuclear disarmament? Has not this been our stand in the disarmament and other such conferences? Well, the proceedings of the UN and its various other organs will bear out that the Indian representatives always raised

their strident voices in support of the nuclear disarmament, against the use of nuclear weapons and even against stockpiling of such weapons. Why our *bona fides* should be questioned, I cannot understand. Of course, some imperialist quarters will not understand what is going on in India today. We may be poor, we may be suffering in many ways and we may be backward in many ways and we may be importing some reactors and other things. But the fact remains that we are essentially a peace-loving nation and our love for peace is rooted in our ancient civilization and that is why we have set before ourselves as our goal international peace and security.

I cannot understand why this thing should be there. But, well, I can forget that. I have been deeply distressed by the attitude of Prime Minister Bhutto. Madam, Vice-Chairman, as you know very well, we in this House have been pleading for Indo-Pak amity and I must say that the Government has been of the same mind. I know sometimes even under provocation, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru used to uphold the banner of Indo-Pak amity when demand came from this side of the House and from the other side also that action should be taken against Pakistan. Nowadays, they do not dare say anything against her. But it was never done. We had the Simla Agreement. Our guide is Simla Agreement. What is needed is the implementation of the Simla Agreement. Why does Mr. Bhutto think that we are going to use nuclear weapon when we do not have it, when we do not propose to make it and when in the international arena we are campaigning with other peace-loving nations not only for destruction of nuclear weapons, but also for creating nuclear-free zones? I have before me the Agreement which was signed by our Prime Minister and President Brezhnev and Prime Minister Bhutto should know about it. I quote:

"The Soviet Union and India believe in an end to arms race. Attainment of general and complete disarmament covering both nuclear and conventional types of weapons under effective international

control would be of paramount importance for the preservation and consolidation of peace. They are of the common view that the time has come to start practical preparation for the convocation of World Disarmament Conference and to this end they declare their readiness to support the work of the U.N. Special Committee. The two sides reaffirm their readiness to take part together with all the interested States, on mutual basis, in the search for a favourable solution to the question of turning the Indian Ocean into a zone of peace."

This is the statement signed between the two leaders, the Prime Minister of India and the General Secretary of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and they are committed to it. This is our international commitment and this commitment will be there in all the documents in Geneva. (*Time bell rings.*) I do not know why Prime Minister Bhutto should take this unfortunate view.

Madam, I am sorry because *detente* has suffered a little set-back in this sub-continent, not because of us but in spite of us. We stand by the Simla Agreement. We seek its implementation. We thought that the Tripartite Agreement of Delhi, especially after the release of the prisoners of war, had created a situation when we would sit together across the table to settle our problems. There is no problem outstanding between our two countries which cannot be settled by dialogue and discussion. What is the threat? We can understand his friendship, his amity and his goodwill, brother explaining things to a brother and sister explaining to a sister. This has been our training and tradition. Madam, may I take this opportunity to appeal from this forum to the people of Pakistan and to the Government of Pakistan not to misunderstand our position, not to allow this test to be used as an alibi in order to block the implementation of the Simla Agreement and not to allow this thing to cross the path of friendship which has broadened as a result of developments in our sub-continent? We have chalked out

a path of advancement towards peace, towards co-operation, towards amity and towards good neighbourliness and we can go along together and bring about peace in the sub-continent. This is our approach. But unfortunately some friends here talk about nuclear bomb. I would beg of them not to talk about it. Those who have nuclear stockpile and can destroy the world 10 times over, are now thinking in terms of limiting it in the first instance and then destroying it. My friend, Mr. Krishan Kant, is not here.

Let us not think in terms of nuclear arms race or entering the nuclear weapons club. Let us not do so. Otherwise, we shall be disgracing our position, we shall be allowing those people who want to use it as a handle against us to malign our country, to raise hostilities against us, to create illwill, and above all to keep the tension between the two neighbours—India and Pakistan—alive. I would beseech them, irrespective of political differences, let us not talk about nuclear weapons and let us not talk about going in for the atom bomb. Those who have gone in for the atom bomb have come to realize that atom bombs solve no problem. On the contrary, they lead to heavy expenditure which could be utilized for the development of the economy of various countries and for promoting international co-operation. The leaders who used to take pride in their nuclear weapons, who used to brandish the nuclear weapons over the head of the world, have been driven to a position that they are now thinking to get rid of them as a result of international movement and as a result of the efforts of the peace-loving people. So, let us not think in this perverse manner for the atom bomb. What we need today is to strengthen our forces of peace, make our country economically strong, and the social order good and in a manner that the people come to their own. What we need today in this sub-continent, in this region is Asian collective security which, we believe, along with the peace-loving policy of our country and in co-operation with such friends as the Soviet Union, other socialist countries and countries of the third world,

[Shri Bhupesh Gupta]

would put us in a position to save mankind from the disaster of arms.

(Time bell rings.)

Madam Vice-Chairman, I do not say anything more. I can say quite a lot on this subject. But I have spoken a little from my heart because when I see our friends in Pakistan misunderstand us, it causes us pain. We had been misunderstood for no fault of our scientific research. Let them do it, we have no quarrel. Why should they think that this is against them? Even, we have not been thinking in terms of making any kind of bomb.

Well, apart from the fact that we are offering Simla Agreement, before I sit down, I would ask the Prime Minister to advise our embassies in the Middle East countries in particular—and I visited one of them—and also in Europe to explain our position to them. It is necessary to do so at the official level. I have no doubt that it is being done. But much more needs to be done. And it is necessary to be done at the non-official level also because powerful powers are raising against us, some in an oblique manner and some directly. I have met people who are friendly to us and who asked, "Why did you go in for this at this juncture?" We explained our position. Our *bona fides* are not questioned. But the world is very much exercised over the threat of nuclear weapon and the danger it poses. Wherever there is an explosion, even for peaceful purposes, it is liable to be misunderstood by some, specially when some people are working to misrepresent this thing and to misdirect the people's mind. Therefore, I would advise that it is very necessary to develop our explanation, our dialogue with other people at the non-official level and official level also. I do not know how many imperialists know. No one will be convinced. They do not like us. They would never believe even if we say that it is for peaceful purpose. But we know that no socialist country has misunderstood us; not even the non-aligned nations misunderstood us. Many people have understood our position. They have taken our assurance. And

I hope this assurance will be again and again repeated in due manner and due form. At the same time, I would ask my friend, Mr. Krishan Kant, our friend, Mr. Subramanian Swamy and others, who are enamoured of nuclear weapons . . .

श्री राजनारायण (उत्तर प्रदेश): कौन ।

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: You are also. You are a nuclear bomb yourself. I ask them to give it up. At least, accept the position that we are not to make the Atom Bomb, as they call it. We support the stand of the Government of India in this matter.

श्री राजनारायण : माननीय सदस्य इसका उत्तर दें कि अगर एटम बम नहीं बनाना है तो यह विस्फोट क्यों हुआ ।

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRIMATI PURABI MUKHOPADHYAY): Mr. Rajnarain, you cannot enter into a controversy like that.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: You can ask that from Prime Minister Indira Gandhi. She never told us. On 8th May, when we met her, she was busy with the Railway problem. We did not know even.

SHRI RAJNARAIN: What do you think in regard to the underground explosion? Why this explosion?

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRIMATI PURABI MUKHOPADHYAY): Mr. Rajnarain, please sit down.

SHRI RAJNARAIN: Madam, I have got every right to ask him.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Now, in regard to the question why this explosion, in the Prime Minister's statement it has been said that the explosion has been made to carry forward the research for peaceful purposes. Now, the date, you may not like, or you may like but that is a different matter. I am not a nuclear scientist. I am a student of humanities and of law and now I have forgotten. Now, that is the position. Do not ask me. All I would say is that it is very necessary for India to give an assurance but sometimes I find a little faltering voice in the Prime Minister. I am not a monitor of her voice. I



would like her to speak exactly in the same accent and in the same voice that Jawaharlal Nehru spoke on the subject of nuclear weapons. I want that voice to be raised again and again from the authentic forum of our Party and of our people or from the ruling Party everywhere that India shall not go in for nuclear weapons and that India stands for the destruction of nuclear weapons and nuclear arms. Thank you.

**श्री राजनारायण :** मैं बहुत महत्वपूर्ण विषय पर ध्यान दिलाना चाहूंगा, उस न्यूक्लियर बम की ओर जो बिहार में छोड़ा जा रहा है। मुजफ्फरपुर जिले में एक आदमी को जेल में मार डाला गया, बिहार के वांकीपुर जेल में भी लाठी चली।

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRIMATI PURABI MUKHOPADHYAY): Mr. Rajnarain please sit down. Yes, Mr. Wajid.

**श्री सिकन्दर अली वज्द (महाराष्ट्र) :** मोहतरिमा, आजादी के बाद हिन्दुस्तान में जो सबसे अच्छा और बड़ा काम हुआ वह पुरअमन मकासिद के लिए हमारा पहला और कामयाब एटमी तजुर्वा है। यह हमारे इल्म व अमल की शानदार तारीख का एक रोशन बाब है। 18 मई को इस कामयाबी की खुशखबरी सुन कर मेरे दिल में मुसलसल हैरत, खुशी और फखर के जज्बात की जो मौजें उठती रहीं, उनसे मेरी शायरी के बेताब माहौल में भी 'अमन का फूल' खिला है और इस खुशगवार हादसे की वजह से मेरे शेर की हैअत में भी किसी कदर तबदीली वाके हुई है। मुनाहिजा हो:-

एक हैवत सी फिजा पर तारी  
सख्त हैजान जमी के दिल में  
हफे हक  
गूँज उठा।

हर तरफ सुबह के सूरज की शुआएं रकसां।  
रेगजारों से सबा खुश-खबरी लाई है  
एक नये दौर का आगाज हुआ  
अमन का फूल खिला  
दूर पहुंची है चिटकने की सदा पर खुशबू

आज खुशियों का उम्मीदों का सुहाना दिन है  
ये फलाकत के अंधेरे में सुनेहरा दिन है  
यू तो हर दिन है नया दिन, ये निगला दिन है

जिन के माथे से बहा खून पसीना बन कर  
जिन की आंखों ने मवरे को उजाला बखशा  
जिन की मेहनत ने जिगर चीर दिये जरीं के  
और ये फतहे मुबी

जिसके इशारे में हुई है . . . .

सब को

तेहनियत और सलाम।

खुशनुमा खवाब 'जवाहर' ने जो देखा था कभी  
उम की तावीर से रोशन है गुलिस्ताने  
बतन

माये हमसायों से कह दो कि यहां

दोमती और मरुबत की बहार आयी है

खोफो नफरत के गलत नक़श मिटा दो तुम  
भी

जिन्दगी, महरो मुहब्बत के सिवा कुछ भी  
नहीं।

SHRI NIREN GHOSH (West Bengal):  
Madam Vice Chairman, I have no quams  
of conscious about India going nuclear.  
Unless this right is given up by all coun-  
tries together, no sovereign country can  
give up this right to go nuclear. This is  
the first thing that I want to make.

Secondly, it is rather difficult for me  
to believe that nuclear explosion cost only  
Rs. 40 lakhs because so far nowhere in  
the world, as far as we know, they could  
make any nuclear explosion so cheaply. It  
is just simply not possible. So, it is rather  
difficult for me to believe the Government's  
statement on this score.

AN HON. MEMBER: Do you believe  
that there was an explosion?

SHRI NIREN GHOSH: But I do not  
believe the statement of the Government  
on this score.

[Shri Niren Ghosh.]

Then Canada has said that enriched plutonium has been taken away from the reactor. Shri Kissinger has also suggested like that. I do not know if the Treaty prevented it. If we have done it what is wrong about it? That is my position. If the Treaty with Canada does not prevent it and we have done it and ultimately made a nuclear explosion, what is wrong in it, what is wrong that the country has done? I do not think any wrong has been done on that score. But the question remains about its timing. He has said about it. I think the News Week is more correct on this point. The timing was just set when the railway strike was on. It was not the time when U.P. election was on but it was the time when morale of the Government was sagging. Perhaps, had the strike continued for another week, the economic position would have come down to such a position that the Government would have been forced to have a negotiated settlement.

Already they have lost in any case Rs. 2,000 crores. They could have given Rs. 150 crores on certain things; but they did not. Anyway, the timing was made and that is my deep suspicion so that it had the effect of boosting the morale of the Government and in the entire Railway struggle was rather, so to speak, relegated to the background. That is my suspicion and I think foreigners, particularly this *News Week* is correct on that point.

I am told India is going to build IRBM. I do not know. I would like a clear statement on the subject. I would not dispute the right of the Government of India, the right of my country to make IRBM. It is necessary to break the nuclear monopoly. When after Hiroshima America practised nuclear blackmail, Molotov then said: We too shall have atomic energy and many other things. Then the Soviet Union made its atom bomb. But it was not a bomb for war. It was a bomb made in order to break that nuclear blackmail practised by the Americans and safeguard the socialist gains and the anti-imperialist struggle. In fact, Stalin was alive then and that was a great guarantee. Precisely after

that, a campaign was launched to ban the atom bomb. The Stockholm peace appeal said that the country which will first use atom bomb will be declared a criminal and enemy of the mankind. Crores of signatures were collected and the Soviet Union at that time moved in the U.N.O. that the entire nuclear stockpiles be destroyed. They could not carry the U.N.O. with them. At that time America reigned supreme and they committed aggression in Korea and India even dittoed the American aggression. That was the position of India in 1951. However, that was a great break-through. Now more countries have gone in but nuclear weaponry has not been destroyed. I am not so optimistic as comrade Bhupesh Gupta is that after limitation of nuclear weapons they would get a thorough destruction of the entire stockpile of the nuclear weaponry. America has not agreed to it and would not agree to it. . . .

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: I did not say so.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH: You said that the world is moving in that direction. I think the slogan of complete disarmament is good but will this Government, the Indian Government ever disarm? This Government would not disarm because the moment they do, there will be people who will come to power. So they will not. Capitalist world, the imperialist world will never consent to total disarmament. That is my belief. But it is good to counter them. That is another thing for propaganda purposes. But for more necessary is that for complete destruction of nuclear stockpiles, we should make a move. But we do not. I regret that the voice of Soviet Union is not being heard in the councils of the U.N.O. today moving resolutions for complete destruction of the entire nuclear stockpiles. Today such a resolution can be passed. Whether the U.S.A. France or U.K. will obey, I do not know. China has made a nuclear bomb. But they have given a declaration that they will never be the first to use atom bomb or nuclear weapon.

SHRI D. D. PURI (Haryana): Everyone says that.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH: Has America said so?

SHRI D. D. PURI: Yes, several times.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH: Produce that statement. Has France said so? Has U.K. said so? But Soviet Union said so. I do not know the exact position. It is unclear to me because Stalin was Stalin and Stalin cannot be replaced by anybody. But that position has not been repudiated by the Soviet Union when Stalin said that they would not be the first to use it and any country using it will be declared an enemy of the mankind. It is not being repudiated now by Soviet Union. It is in the interest of the non-aligned countries to take the initiative now in the U.N.O. to get a resolution passed that the entire nuclear stockpiles be destroyed under international supervision. Why is the Government not moving it, I do not know. American majority has been lost in the U.N.O. and now if they do not disarm and if the nuclear weaponry is not destroyed in each and every country, then of course, a time will come when India can make an atom bomb. If more countries make nuclear weapons it will be difficult for any country to unleash a nuclear war because then the devastation will be complete. Bacteriological warfare was on the agenda; many countries mastered that weapon, bacteriological warfare, germ warfare, and also poison gas warfare but nobody dared unleash that. It is true that some bestial experiments were made by America in Viet Nam but on a world scale they did not dare. As long as the nuclear stockpiles are not destroyed, the more countries go nuclear the better so that no nuclear war can break out. That will be a deterrent against nuclear war. It is quite true that for a poor country like India it would not be possible to invest huge sums for this. But China had to do it. Had China got the nuclear weaponry in 1954 or 1955 Taiwan by now would have been liberated. It was not liberated and they have to wait. So a time may come when India may have to make nuclear weaponry. I have no objection if Pakistan goes nuclear. Let all countries go nuclear so that nuclear

war does not take place, because that would be a devastating war. But I also do not think that nuclear weapon or any weapon decides the final outcome of any war. Ultimately it is the man who decides, not the weapons which decide the final outcome of a war though weapons are necessary, it is true. So I would like to know to what peaceful purposes we will put our nuclear technology. Many things have been trotted out by Dr. Ramanna, by Dr. Sethna and others. In the beginning we heard of one or two things in the Soviet Union. About a canal being dug up or some mountains being blown up we do not hear. Nowadays we do not hear that any country, the USA, China, the Soviet Union, France or the UK, is putting nuclear explosions to peaceful purposes. There are the atomic energy plants producing atomic energy. That we are doing. That we can do and other countries also can do it. To what other peaceful uses this new device could be put, the Government should come out with a categorical statement. Other countries of the world do not provide us with any precedents on that score, barring a few in the beginning by the Soviet Union. This is the position. Now, it is in the interests of the non-aligned countries, the entire anti-imperialist countries and particularly India that we move vigorously and mobilise on a world scale to get the UNO make a declaration and get a resolution passed which would be more or less for the destruction of all nuclear stockpiles. Whether they will obey it or not, it will act as a great moral deterrent. That is absolutely necessary for us to do. In order to establish our *bona fide* and also in order to shut the mouth of Mr. Bhutto, it is necessary for India to do that. Why are we not moving in the matter? We are afraid of whom? Will America be offended because of that? Although we have apprehensions on Diego Garcia, we have not moved the UNO. We have been repeatedly saying that we are mobilising and mobilising, but we are not moving towards such a resolution.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRIMATI PURABI MUKHOPADHYAY): Please finish.

SHRI NIREN GHOSH: So, it stands to reason and it seems to be clear that there are doubts on the score that India is afraid of offending America because so much of dollar loans are flowing, though the outflow is greater. When the outflow is greater than the inflow, it means that we are being bled white by them and yet we are begging of them for more and more dollar loans. That is what we have come to. That is why perhaps India is not taking any lead in this matter. We would like on the entire position the Government to make a clear, categorical and frank statement before Parliament and the people, so that the position can be realised by the people. It will also vindicate our peaceful stand, our anti-imperialist stand, our anti-colonial stand, as professed by the Government. I do not subscribe that they follow the anti-imperialist or anti-colonial path. There are many weaknesses on that score, but even in regard to what they profess they should move in this matter. This is the last point that I have got to say. Thank You.

SHRI V. B. RAJU (Andhra Pradesh): Madam Vice-Chairman, on this occasion this House should express deep appreciation of the great achievement that has been made by the scientists and scientific workers of this country. I am only sorry that the hon. Member, who initiated the debate, has not kept up the level of the debate in this House. When he initiated the debate I expected to know a lot from him. We educate ourselves here and we know from each other, but the hon. Member did not think it proper and necessary that India's image, the nation's image is kept high at a particular level. We are a big nation and we must be conscious of this fact. And we are a big country, as a big nation, we have a big role to play. But I find that our great achievement is being belittled by attributing certain political motives or picturing it as if it is having a political motive. The scientists have made it clear, the nation's scientists. What is after all the UP election or the railway strike in the great movement of humanity? (*Interruptions*). Please sit down. I did not disturb you, I heard you patiently. I have not taken your time or name. I am only trying to help

you so that you will not commit the mistake again. That is what I just want to do.

These policy decisions are not taken overnight, Madam. It is done through a long process. And what is exactly the objective? Has the hon. Member been able to realise what the objective is? There is the scientific aspect, there is the military aspect, there is the economic aspect and then there is the political aspect. The scientists are concerned with the scientific aspect of it. It is an extension of the nuclear research that these great scientists are carrying out, and they are trying to make a break-through of the technology. Should not this great country make strides in this age of science and technology? Should this great country depend for its technology on some small powers? Is this the way in which we give encouragement to our scientists? We have no politics here. And we must know what are national interests and what are party interests. For everything, we cannot bring in party in this great democracy.

AN HON. MEMBER: Quite correct.

SHRI V. B. RAJU: I was greatly enthused when Mr. Bhupesh Gupta analysed the situation very correctly. Has the hon. Member who initiated the debate and who is well educated been able to perceive the trend of humanity now? It is only to destroy all the destructive weapons. This is the trend. Does he expect any war in this world? No. It is not possible. The humanity cannot go back. You may laugh at it. You are intelligent but you should be wise also. Intelligence is not sufficient.

This nuclear explosion is actually the extension of the research work being done trying to see whether this nuclear energy, this uncontrolled energy, can be applied correctly for peaceful purposes. We have been in the forefront of nuclear power generation; we have been producing nuclear power. Now, what is the difference? I am not a scientist. But I know something of science. When you produce electric power, it is controlled. But when you make an explosion it is uncontrolled. Then we have to try to see and know the potential and dynamics of the explosion

[Shri V. B. Raju]

for peaceful purposes without polluting the atmosphere or without creating any such condition which would be considered as anti-human.

Madam, we need not be apologetic. This nation need not be apologetic. We have no doubt signed the Partial Test Ban Treaty. I think hon. Members also know that after the signing of the Partial Test Ban Treaty, one of the major powers had conducted 253 underground tests. And as somebody very intelligently put it, a mountain is made out of a mole hill, out of a blast of a small cracker in Rajasthan. Some other Members are taking the extreme position. They jump from one end of the spectrum to the other end of it. Madam, India has an identity; India is known in the rest of the world as holding certain values and maintaining certain great traditions. Where are we now? In which era? We are living in the Gandhian era. Europe has passed through an era of Marx and Lenin. But Asia has been passing through the era of Gandhi and Nehru. This must be recognised in history. Only after India had become free many of the countries in Asia and Africa became free. It is from the Indian success, through a particular human technique of what I call peaceful and non-violent non-co-operation with the imperial power that the people could secure fruits of freedom. Therefore, we stand for certain values. We have something to present to the world, to the humanity. Therefore, whatever has been declared by the Prime Minister in 1970 and 1971 is all consistent. There is no deviation.

Then another Member, for whom I have great respect in my own party, has come out with a proposal of manufacturing nuclear weapons. Let us understand that the scientific results of the explosion are yet to come out. It takes time. Scientists have got to assess properly what you call the potentiality of this explosion. But let us understand the military aspect of it. There is the question of stock-pile. It is not merely a question of making a bomb. Many can make the bomb. But you must have an object. And where is the delivery system? How much it is going

to cost? And will our industrial and technological base permit it? Has anybody thought about it? Mr. Niren Ghosh also was making a very contradictory statement. He says that the world would actually be away from wars by maintaining a balance of terror. Thus new words are being coined. From 'balance of power' it is now 'balance of terror'. Are you going to build this human community through understanding and co-operation or through fear and terror? What is the philosophy behind it? He says that if every country could prepare atom bombs there would be no atomic war. It is a fallacious theory. An hon'ble Member from my Party was also pleading for making the bomb. This is not the party stand. We will be creating a lot of misunderstanding in the world. Therefore, let us be careful when we make these statements. And, as I said earlier, a policy is not made overnight. A policy is not made by an individual. In fact peaceful use of atom is the nation's policy. Therefore, let us be very careful. Already some of those who envy our growth, our strength and our dignity are trying to misinterpret our scientific achievements. Let us not fall a prey and let us not give more scope to them. It is absolutely irrelevant to go in for atom bomb. It carries no meaning.

One of the newspapers, *Politiko*, has put it very correctly. It says that India ~~became~~ the sixth nuclear power of the world but the first to renounce its use for military purposes. This is an appreciation from a distant country. Yet some talk here in terms of atom bombs. Therefore, let us be very careful. The world is watching very carefully our movements. We have signed the Test Ban Treaty but we have refused to sign the non-Proliferation Treaty. Why? Because it is a very unequal treaty. The monopoly in this particular technology is sought to be preserved by a few powers. We did not like it. In fact we have laid certain conditions—these are the demands that we made. If the powers which hold these weapons declare not to use nuclear weapons against those who do not have them; if they are prepared for a comprehensive Test Ban treaty; if there is complete freeze on the

[Shri V. B. Raju]

production of both nuclear weapons and the delivery system and if there is a substantial cut in nuclear weapons and stock-piles of nuclear weapons. If these conditions are fulfilled, then we would consider. But even Japan, which has criticised us, has not ratified the Test Ban Treaty. Therefore, we have not done anything against any commitment to the rest of the world. Secondly, the officials of the International Atomic Energy Agency at Vienna have said that India has always been absolutely correct with Inspectors visiting the parts of its nuclear operation that are subject to international inspection. We have not hidden anything from the rest of the world. We have not done anything stealthily. We have not violated any treaty. And we need not be apologetic on this point. We have done sufficiently well. Mr. Bhupesh Gupta has been emphasising on this point. Now, let us make some progress towards other things. As far as Pakistan is concerned, they will settle down (*Time-bell rings*). I think those who criticised us earlier, now understand us, for instance, Canada, Sweden, Japan, Pakistan and even China, for that matter, will understand us properly. I need not go into the many details. Every Member is aware of it. We stand firm that "atom for peace" is the corner-stone of our nuclear policy.

SHRI K. P. SINGH DEO (Orissa): Madam Vice-Chairman, I take this opportunity to pay my humble tribute to the memory of Dr. Bhabha, who, as far back as 1944, had prophesied that "when nuclear energy has been successfully applied for power production in, say, a couple of decades from now, India will not have to look forward for experts but will find them ready at hand". To-day his words have come true and for the first time, under the able guidance of Dr. Sethna and Dr. Ramanna, our dedicated young scientists and scientific workers have been able to achieve a unique explosion which has not been achieved by any other country. The unique achievement is this, that plutonium is a very toxic material and a very highly sophisticated technique is necessary for implosion and to fully contain the explosion of the device that

was exploded on the 18th May at Pokharan. We did it in our first attempt and it was a cent per cent success. Immediately after the explosion, the Chairman of the Atomic Energy Commission met the press and in the press conference, he clarified that these experiments were part of the study for peaceful use of underground nuclear explosions to keep abreast of the developments in technology, particularly in the field of mining and earth-moving operations, and that the country had no intention of producing nuclear weapons. He also reiterated its opposition to producing nuclear weapons. The Prime Minister also in an interview to *Newsweek* clarified that our nuclear explosion was not to scare anybody nor was to secure any sense of power or prestige. The Chairman of the Atomic Energy Commission also referred to the use of nuclear energy in conjunction with the Indian Council of Agricultural Research and the Indian Agricultural Research Institute, Indian Council of Medical Research regarding medicine and food. As we know, Madam, as far as food preservation is concerned, even the International Atomic Energy Authority as well as our own Health Ministry has not given clearance because of the radiation hazards that still persist. And medicine also is only encompassed in a very few areas. It is not developed so much. It is in this background that we have had mixed reactions to our nuclear explosion of May, 1974. At home it was hailed as a great landmark. In fact it was a morale booster for the Government. Nearer home Pakistan was terribly upset and it internationalised the issue in the Islamic Conference held recently and 37 countries passed a resolution casting serious aspersions and doubts on our intentions. The USA and the UK were not too happy and the Afro-Asian and other Commonwealth countries who took it in their stride also cast doubts, like Canada, Nigeria, Ghana and Kenya. What is the reason for this? Is it because they really question our credibility—'our' means the credibility of the 'Government'? Or is it because they are knowledgeable that whenever such explosions have taken place in other countries, the timings of those explosions have always had a political

intention? Take, for instance, Chinese explosion of the hydrogen bomb on June 19, 1973. It was a reaction to the summit between the USA and the USSR. The China News Agency said such tests were entirely for the purpose of defence and for breaking the monopoly of the super powers. Sir Alec Douglas Hume called China a giant and also said that lately it has achieved devices to play a full role in international politics. Then, why is it that these very same countries have started casting doubts and aspersions on our own ability? The reason is not far to seek. In advanced countries like the United States or the Soviet Russia or France nuclear energy for peaceful purposes is divided into three groups: one is for scientific studies, i.e., for seismic studies, earthquake predictions and study into the strata or the structure of the earth; secondly, excavation; they are making experiments and are exploring possibilities for sea-level canal like the Panama Canal, or development and management of water resources; to control floods and to have tunnels for highways and railways in mountainous terrains as well as for navigational hazards and to remove materials obstructing dams. Then the third thing is underground engineering: for oil and gas stimulations by creation of fissures and cavities and craters, removal of oil. And the most important for us is the extraction of copper and other non-ferrous ores of which India has an abundance of reserves, but due to its impure quality, low grade quality, it is very uneconomical to exploit.

**[The Vice-Chairman (Shri Jagdish Prasad Mathur) in the Chair]**

This is where nuclear energy for peaceful purposes of blasting comes into effective use. The USSR has now even started exploring the possibilities of reversing the flow of rivers. And at the current price of TNT—dynamite—its price will be at least a hundred times more than the equivalent charge or capacity of a nuclear explosion. It is because of these reasons that these countries who have already had a head-start over us in the field of nuclear research and research into nuclear energy have been exploring these possibilities. But the sad and unfortunate fact

remains that no country as far as is known today has been able to successfully apply these experiments without the absence of health hazard and radiation.

6 P.M.

That is why when our Government says that all this is for peaceful purposes, the countries of the world which are knowledgeable about the results of the nuclear research and research on nuclear energy for peaceful purposes always take our Government's words with a pinch of salt.

Recently after the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty was signed, even countries which had signed this NPT have utilised this research on nuclear energy for peaceful purposes for excavating silver. When Soviet Russia excavated silver mine and sent it to the United States it was found that it had radio active property in it. So this radio active factor is not fully eliminated as a result of these explosions. It is precisely because of this when we say that we are doing it for peaceful purposes without the health hazard, no one will take us seriously because even countries ahead of us have not been able to perfect it. That is why I humbly submit that we should not make too much of our explosion at Pokhran in its isolation, but we should now endeavour in a more determined manner in trying to successfully and practically apply the results of these experiments and explosions without any hazards of radio activity or radiation. Apart from our utilising radio isotopes for medicine and agriculture (*Time bell rings*). Please give me some more time . . .

**THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI JAGDISH PRASAD MATHUR):** You have already taken more than five minutes.

**SHRI K. P. SINGH DEO:** I have been waiting till the fag end of the day. I have a few points more.

Sir, nuclear power is the power for the future in the nuclear age in which we are today. Even in countries like Britain and other places they are now having comparative studies on hydel, thermal and nuclear power. At the time when fossil fuel and other resources in our country and

[Shri K. P. Singh Deo]  
elsewhere are dwindling fast, we will have to depend on nuclear energy. Although hydel power is cheaper, overall costs are much less in a nuclear power plant because the fissile material is available here. We can breed and get more fissile material for our power plant. The nuclear power programme in the totality of power programme and projection in the Fifth Plan is a microscopic minority. I would request that Government should go into this question and see that nuclear power does form a substantial part of our total power programme.

Now Japan and Soviet Russia are going for nuclear steel production and also for nuclear submarines. Even our Defence Minister the other day made a statement that we shall not hesitate to have nuclear submarines. I think it is high time now that we should put more stress on our thermo-nuclear devices and research on fusion and plasma which will go a long way in developing laser beam for power generation and development of our industries and medicine. The only thing which is lacking in this plant is our security arrangements. The security arrangements in our nuclear power plant as well as our nuclear installations leave lot to be desired. I can quote the instances of Uranium theft in Jadduguda and theft of telescopes in the defence installation at Balasore. And, Sir, we must give particular attention to the security aspect of our nuclear power plants and our nuclear installations because they are going to be the first targets of the subversive elements and others who are very much allergic to our achievement in the nuclear field. (*Time Bell rings*).

Sir, before I conclude, I would like to make two more points. At a time when the strategic environment is changing pretty fast and when geopolitical developments are taking place in the areas adjoining our country which are of great significance to us, we should review our nuclear policy again and we should not close our options for going in for tactical nuclear weapons because the technology involved in making them for peaceful purposes and the technology involved in producing the tactical weapons are the same. Sir, here I would

like to quote two military authorities on the subject. One quotation is from Lt. Gen. L. P. Sen (Retd.) who has this to say:—

“With an unpredictable Pakistan on the border and China on the threshold of becoming a member of the Nuclear Weapons Club, it would be tempting Providence to gamble with the supposition that India will not be subjected to a nuclear threat. Only a deterrent can be an insurance against such a contingency. There is, Logically, no other choice.”

Sir, he goes on to say:

“I recall, when faced with a somewhat similar decision on the eve of a battle to save Kashmir, Mahatma Gandhi said to me: ‘You are going to protect innocent people, and to save them from suffering and their property from destruction. To achieve that, you must naturally make full use of every means at your disposal.’”

I would like to quote from one more authority. It is from the Journal of the United Service Institution of India, issue of October—December, 1973. This is from an article in this Journal by Major N. K. Kapur and he has this to say:—

“Now that the situation in Europe has stabilized, Asia is likely to be the hub of political activity for the next about fifteen years. In the new emerging power equations, strong regional power centres are likely to play an important role. In South-East Asia, the most dominating power would be China unless India develops nuclear capability to balance her. China has acquired a considerable nuclear capacity and it is likely that she can deploy tactical nuclear weapons in the field. She poses a threat to India in the form of subversion, guerilla warfare, nuclear diplomacy and limited attacks using tactical nuclear weapons.

“The present decision of not going nuclear is not in the best interests of national security as it does not cater for balancing China’s power. Although India has signed a treaty of Peace, Friendship and Co-operation with the USSR, it may not be possible for the Russians to



come to her rescue in every contingency. Thus there is a need for an independent deterrent."

Sir, we have seen in the United Nations how the reaction to this development of ours was and we have seen the happenings in our borders and beyond that also. Also, Sir, we are seeing what is happening in the Middle-East, in Cyprus, where while the comity of nations is watching the people are getting butchered and we have seen the Chinese aggression in 1962 also. I quote further from the same article:

"India cannot afford a crash nuclear weapons programme and totally independent strategic and nuclear capability at present. She should, therefore, acquire some independent nuclear capability to match Chinese tactical nuclear weapons and have a small stockpile and delivery system. Her strategic needs should be looked after by both the Super Powers. This limited capability will establish a regional diplomatic and tactical balance. It will insure India against blackmail and give her a genuine right to participate in all deliberations of the nuclear powers affecting her security."

Thank you, Sir.

**SHRIMATI LEELA DAMODARA MENON** (Kerala): Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, I do not agree with the honourable Members who said that this explosion is not to be seriously considered as an important event. But, Sir, I think this is the biggest achievement of the century so far as this country is concerned. As the hon. Member, Shri Raju, has said, it is a breakthrough and with indigenous material and talent we have been able to discover the secret of the atom bomb. Actually, this is no mean achievement. Our research programmes in the field of nuclear experiments have not been kept in secrecy. One of the honourable Members referred to the words of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru who said that we would go on searching for atomic power, but we would not use it for evil purposes. Sir, these words are still echoing within these very walls and it was a happy day for us on which we exploded the bomb. Our Prime Minister has stated

in unequivocal terms that we shall use the power of atom only for peaceful purposes and keep the faith of the people of India. Therefore, Sir, today we are concerned with two aspects. We are not concerned with what the other countries are thinking about it. This is a new thing for them. They did not expect that India would become a nuclear power. Therefore, if they are surprised and they make certain statements, I think we need not be unduly exercised over it. I feel that sufficient attention has not been paid within the country to explain the significance and magnitude of this discovery to our people. It may be too early. Nevertheless, the Indian people can see in it the silver lining on their dark clouds of economic stagnation. When I read of the explosion, I was reminded of the story of a poor worker in Kerala who had only one rupee in his pocket at the end of the day. Finding it very inadequate to buy food for his large family, he bought with it a lottery ticket. And in two days, he drew the lucky ticket for a bumper prize of 5 lakhs of rupees. This explosion, so far as this country and the Indian people are concerned, is like a big lottery prize that they have drawn. Sir, the successful nuclear explosion in India is promising to us a better tomorrow, and opening new vistas of economic progress. We have already been doing some harnessing of atomic power through our atomic reactors especially in power generation and research in medicine. But, with careful planning and detailed programming, the Nuclear Explosion Engineering has yet to be tried in this country. Today it has given us that capability of mobilising our fabulous resources. We are a poor people. But we are a rich country and let no one say that we have not been able to use our capability to make use of our natural resources. Oil and gas stimulation discovery of metal ore deposits, deep storage facilities for water and for dangerous effluents, geothermal heat recovery, promotion of agro-industrial complex implosive devices for medical research and many other uses are already thought of. Mountains can be moved, water discovered in deserts, waterways and harbours formed and the course of rivers changed. The annual ravages on life and property due to floods

[Shrimati Leela Damodara Menon]

can be ended for ever. These are no dreams. Already the nuclear club countries are undertaking for the good royalty from the non-nuclear powers, to explode nuclear devices for their excavations. The International Atomic Energy Agency has already set up a panel to pool the existing knowledge on peaceful nuclear explosions.

We must have a definite target-oriented programme for using the Nuclear Explosions Engineering in our country. I agree with some of the hon. Members when they said that we have not formulated a plan for using our nuclear energy. It is said that we are self-sufficient in nuclear raw materials. Do we have the industrial infrastructure to bear the burden of developing nuclear energy? Have we a scheme to utilise the full capacity and talents of our 10,000 and odd scientists and technicians? I am not expecting that all these things will happen immediately. But happen they must tomorrow or the day after.

Sir, it is our Prime Minister, Shrimati Indira Gandhi, who spearheaded the national policy of eradication of poverty. Sir, I feel proud that today in her hands is given the power to make that policy a reality. We have foresworn the use of atomic weapons. Mr. Raju said that our country should have this message to the world that atomic power will never be used for devastation, and for murdering and butchering the people. (Interruptions). National defence will be undertaken by human beings of this country and conventional weapons. As the hon. Member said, it is men and not material who matter so far as wars are concerned. But in our war against poverty, hunger and disease, we shall use this great weapon—the violent explosion of nuclear energy. Sir, through non-violence, we won our freedom. But through the violent nuclear explosion, we hope to win economic freedom for this country. And, therefore, I take this opportunity, Sir, to congratulate the scientists, technicians and others who have made it possible for us to at least envisage a future when nuclear explosions can be utilized for the good of our nation. And I also congratulate the Government of India for its foresight and

vision in undertaking this research more than 20 years ago in spite of adverse world opinion and in spite of various effects and deficiencies so far as men, material and technological knowledge are concerned.

With feelings of great pride that our country is on the threshold of economic progress because of this discovery, once again I thank you for giving me at least five minutes to participate in this discussion.

श्री जगदीश जोशी ( मध्य प्रदेश ) :

उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, पिछले बेंच वालों को समय काटने का अंकुश लग जाता है। मैं उसका पूरा सम्मान करूंगा। अगले वक्ताओं को अधिक कहे जाने की भी मुविधा मिल जाती है, यह सदन की परम्परा है। मैं एक वाक्य के साथ जो श्री भूपेन्द्र नारायण मंडल ने कहा है इसका स्वागत करना चाहता हूँ। विपक्ष के एक वरिष्ठ नेता ने जिस प्रकार बहुत शायरगी से भूगर्भ में आणुविक प्रयोग की बात कही है वह सधे हुए व्यक्ति की तरह बात कही है। एक बात आवश्यक है। जब बम के बनाने की बात आती है तो हमें याद रखना चाहिये—या तो यह दुनिया रहेगी या इस दुनिया के हथियार रहेंगे। हथियार अगर रहेंगे तो इस दुनिया का रहना गैर मुमकिन है इसलिये हथियारों की दौड़ में कोई भी पहल करने की बात करना अंध-कूप की तरफ जाना है जहाँ अपना और दुनिया का विनाश अवश्यंभावी है। इसलिये मैं इस तत्व पर बहुत संक्षेप के साथ आना चाहता हूँ—भारत-वर्ष को इस बात की सफाई देने की जरूरत नहीं है कि हम शांति पूर्ण उपयोग के लिये इसका प्रयोग करेंगे। हमारी परम्परा रही है, हमारा इतिहास रहा है, हमारे पुराण इस बात के साक्षी हैं। श्रीमन्, मुझे आश्चर्य हुआ सुनकर, अमेरिका में पढ़े हुए भारतीय संस्कृति के विद्वान जब बमों की बात करते हैं, महाभारत के उस अनुच्छेद को भुला जाते हैं जहाँ अर्जुन के पांच बेटे कल्ल हो गए थे, द्रौपदी रो रही थी, और ब्रह्मास्त्र चलाने के लिए अर्जुन ने अपने गांडीव में बाण चढ़ा लिया था और उसे रोक दिया गया और वह किस जगह,

थार के रेगिस्तान में, पड़ा। आज उसी की मुक्ति के लिये पोखरण में एक नया प्रयोग किया है। तो मैं आपसे निवेदन कर रहा हूँ कि कोई भी भारतीय व्यक्ति सर्वनाश के हथियारों की कल्पना नहीं कर सकता है—अगर वह हिन्दुस्तान की मरज़मीन में रहने वाला व्यक्ति रहा है तो, अगर उसका इतिहास रहा है तो, अगर इस देश की संस्कृति को मानता रहा है तो, इस देश की परम्पराओं को तो मानता रहा है तो।

श्रीमन्, मैं केवल 3-4 मुद्दे कह कर समाप्त करूंगा। जो शांतिमय उपयोग की बात परमाणु परीक्षण के सिलसिले में कही गई है, उसमें कुछ प्राथमिकताएँ मैं आपके सामने रखना चाहता हूँ। सौभाग्य की बात है कि परमाणु विभाग के माथ सिन्हाई विभाग का भी दायित्व मंत्री महोदय के पास है। उनकी अपनी मजबूरियाँ हैं। बड़ी बड़ी सिन्हाई के प्रोजेक्ट चल नहीं पाते हैं। जो इंजीनियर बैठते हैं वे वर्षों अपनी तनख्वाह और भत्तों में लगा देते हैं। रूस ने जो प्रयोग किए हैं वैसे प्रयोग बड़ी सिन्हाई योजनाओं में करें और जिस प्रकार पोखरण का प्रयोग किया है, हमारे वैज्ञानिकों को यह भारत माता शक्ति दे मोचने की, एक मौलिक प्रयोग करने की शक्ति दे जिम्मे आणविक बरमें जल्द से जल्द ईजाद होकर निकले जिससे जमीन का पानी निकल कर इस देश की सिन्हाई का इन्तजाम द्रुत-गति से कर सके।

मैं यह चाहता हूँ कि दुनिया के देशों से क्या कह रहे हैं दुनिया में इसकी टैक्नीक कहां तक गई है, केवल इसका नकलीकरण करने से हमारा काम नहीं चलेगा। जिस प्रकार प्लूटोनियम का साधारणीकरण हमारे वैज्ञानिकों ने किया है, वही असल में सब से बड़ा गुर है जिस के कारण दुनिया के दूसरे वैज्ञानिक और विदेशों के लोगों को जलन हो रही है। हमारा विज्ञान एक नई धारा को मोड़ दे रहा है। मैं चाहता हूँ कि भारत का टैक्नीकी विज्ञान और परमाणु विज्ञान एक नई शोध को दुनिया के सामने ला सके ताकि उसके द्वारा आणविक हथियारों को समाप्त

किया जा सके या फिर उसके डंक को समाप्त करने के लिये वह परमाणु शक्ति की जगह किमी दूसरी बड़ी शक्ति की खोज कर सके, तो हमें अपनी कल्पना और शक्ति को बल और उत्साह देना चाहिये।

श्रीमन्, हम शान्ति के देश रहें हैं और हमने दुनिया में साम्राज्य कायम नहीं किया है। हमने सौहार्द, दर्शन और सादृच्छा के माध्यम में सांस्कृतिक विजय की ध्वजा फहराई और सभ्यता के शिखर पर बैठ चुके हैं। परमाणु बम की वजह से भारत की संस्कृति और भारत का वैभव नहीं जागा है। मैं आपके माध्यम से सरकार से निवेदन करूंगा कि शीघ्र ही इस विभाग को आवश्यक शक्ति और साधन सम्पन्न करें। जिनके भी उत्पादन के विभाग हैं, खेती और कारखाने के सिलसिले में, देश की पैदावार के सिलसिले में और विनाश के सिलसिले में, परमाणु शक्ति का प्रयोग किसी प्रकार समयबद्ध कार्यक्रम के आधार पर शीघ्रताशीघ्र करें, और उसका उपयोग करने के लिये परा विवरण बनायें।

हमें इस बारे में भय खाने की जरूरत नहीं है। दुनिया चिल्लाती रहेगी और वह इसलिये चिल्ला रही है कि 59 करोड़ वाला देश आगे बढ़ गया तो पता नहीं एक बार हमारी हथियारी ताकत को चुनौती देने के लिए तैयार न हो जाय।

SHRI D. D. PURI: Sir, in the very short time at my disposal I will touch upon briefly some of the points that I wish to urge here.

Sir, the first point that I wish to make is that the explosion at Pokharan on the 18th of May, 1974, has some unique features. India, Sir, is the first country in the world to have the first experimental implosion underground. France has not been able to do it even today. China has not been able to do it even today. All the powers had a few explosions overground and then gradually developed the more sophisticated technique of conducting the explosion underground. Sir, I am amazed somewhat at Mr.

[Shri D. D. Puri]

Swamy suggesting that from underground we should go overground. All the world over whether it is the United States of America or the U.S.S.R., all the countries in the world, that are in the Atomic Club at the moment, are trying to move from overground into underground and once having moved underground they have not gone overground and here it is being suggested today that from having conducted remarkably the more sophisticated technology we should now go over-ground.

Sir, the second unique feature about this explosion is that the C.I.A. did not have a whisper about it. Sir, it might be recalled that when China conducted the first experiment in the atmosphere, the C.I.A. had come out openly in the press three years prior to that saying that China was within three to four years of its first experimental explosion. Not only that, Sir, 27 days before the actual experimental explosion took place, the C.I.A. came out in a public statement that they had received information that the Chinese were going to have their first experiment within a month and the experiment took place on the 27th day. But, the more significant statement that slipped out from Mr. Swamy was 'Even I did not know'. 'Even I did not know it'. That is a legitimate grievance that he had that he was not taken into confidence when the Government prepared for the experiment. Another very significant statement was made by him when he contradicted the statement of Shri Harsh Deo Malaviya that after the slip of the C.I.A. on this account 80 per cent of their staff was transferred from here. It may be 80 per cent, 75 per cent or 90 per cent or there may be no transfer at all. If he seems to be in a position to know we accept whatever his version of the movements of the C.I.A. in this country are.

Now, therefore, I would tender my very respectful congratulations to the Prime Minister and the Minister in charge—because after all the first decision was taken by them—and to all the scientists concerned for what we have achieved. Now I will not take much time of the House. Mr. Swamy is getting jitters and

is trying to connect this achievement with U.P. elections. All that I would say is that this is a piece of incorrigible perversity and I will not take any further notice of him.

Sir, I will make a very brief mention. A lot is talked about the Partial Test Ban Treaty. Mr. Bhupesh Gupta actually witnessed the signing of the treaty. What is this treaty? This treaty is really a piece of environmental hygiene; this has nothing to do with disarmament. What this treaty says is that all those countries which have atomic bombs will continue to make them and even continue to test them except that they will not test them in the atmosphere. So, the point I am making is, we are signatories to this treaty and we have not violated it. But do not attach too much importance to this treaty. This treaty is not a treaty of disarmament at all.

The Non-Proliferation Treaty we did not touch even with a barge pole and I believe that of self-respecting nation which is outside the atomic club should have signed it. This treaty represents technological apartheid. They say: A few of us have got atomic weapons; we will continue to make them; we will continue to test them; but no one else will be allowed into the club. Therefore, it was not a question of disarmament; it was a question of self-respect. No self-respecting nation should have signed this treaty. Now, Sir . . . (*Time-Bell rings.*) Five minutes. Sir.

What is the concept of peaceful use of atomic energy? I would not like the Government to spell it out any further. I would say this, that in the 1914—18 war the Germans used poison gas. In the 1939—45 war the Germans did not use poison gas, not because Hitler had any qualms of conscience. Poison gas was used against German Jews in the concentration camps. But he did not use it in the war because he knew that others had got it too. The position of atomic energy or atomic devices or whatever you call it, if even partially it deters another party from using it against us, is that not the most peaceful of all the peaceful uses of atomic energy? Is there any more peaceful use of atomic energy than this?

Sir, my learned colleague talked about our peaceful traditions. All that is all right. But why stop at nuclear arms? Why not give up all the traditional arms? To draw a line and to say we will arm ourselves with tanks, we will arm ourselves with the most sophisticated missiles—ground-to-air and every kind of missiles—but when it comes to atomic energy we will not go near it I think, is wrong thinking. This is not a proper way of looking at the realities of the situation.

I will make a very brief mention about the programme—Mr. Swamy wanted to know the programme. Lots of other nations in the world want to know a few more details about our future atomic programme. As far as the published programme is concerned, there is a 100-megawatt thermal research reactor which is expected to be commissioned in 1974-75 and a power reactor fuel reprocessing plant in Tarapur also to be commissioned in 1974-75 plus the 200-megawatt Madras atomic power station which I believe is expected to be commissioned in 1977 and another in 1979. Between these, they should give us enough raw material for everything that we are likely to require in the working of our atomic programmes, and I would not like any further details to be published.

One word I would like to mention to the Minister. (Time-Bell rings.) I urge upon him to intensify our research on thorium because, after all, at the moment the whole world which is depending on plutonium has to obtain uranium. We do not have uranium and there are difficulties in obtaining it. But in thorium I think India enjoys a world monopoly and the moment we make a break-through in the technology of thorium, I believe India will be able to replace oil and India will be able to replace coal for the production of energy. Sir, in the end I would say that there have been a lot of reactions and the most violent reactions come from Pakistan. All I will say is this. When we sign a receipt for a sum of money received we say रसीद लिखी, सनद रहे ताकि वक्त जरूरत पर काम आवे। भगवान की इच्छा होगी तो यह

जो अणु टेक्नोलॉजी है वह वक्त जरूरत पर जरूर काम आयेगी।

**उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री जगदीश प्रसाद माथुर) :**  
श्री राजनारायण जी, आप ने दो मिनट मांगे हैं, मैं आप को चार मिनट देता हूँ।

**श्री राजनारायण :** श्रीमन् भूपेश गुप्त जी इस समय चले गये हैं इमलिये मैं केवल सिद्धांत की मोटी मोटी बातें रख देता हूँ। यह भारत सर्व प्रभुता संपन्न राष्ट्र है। चाहे वह रूस हो या चाहे वह अमरीका हो या चाहे कोई बड़ी से बड़ी ताकत हो, वह अगर हमारे ऊपर कोई पाबन्दी, लगाना चाहे कि हम न्यूक्लियर बम न बनायें तो उस पाबन्दी को हम मानने के लिये तैयार नहीं हैं। पहली बात तो यह हम को साफ कर देनी चाहिए, स्पष्ट घोषणा करनी चाहिये इस के लिये। कोई हम को कहे कि हम अणु बम न बनायें इस तरह की किसी घोषणा पर दस्तखत करने के लिये हम तैयार नहीं हैं। भारत की सरकार को मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि वह कोई ऐसा दस्तखत कर के आगे आने वाली पीढ़ी को बांधे मत। यह बात बहुत साफ हो गयी है।

अब प्रश्न यह है कि क्या हम अणु बम बनायें। तो यह बात हमारी आर्थिक स्थिति पर आश्रित है। हमारे मित्र जगदीश जोशी जी चले गये। वह उमी स्कूल में पढ़े हैं जिस में कि मैंने पढ़ा है, पढ़ाया है और अब भी पढ़ा रहा हूँ। जब 1962 में 20 अक्तूबर को चीन का हमला हुआ और 'हिमालय वनाश्रों' सम्मेलन में डा० लोहिया पटना गये तो उस समय का हमारी राष्ट्रीय समिति एक प्रस्ताव है, सोशलिस्ट पार्टी का जिस में हमने यह कहा है कि या तो हथियार रखो मत और अगर हथियार रखते हो तो अपने देश की हिफाजत के लिये जहां से मिले आधुनिकतम हथियारों को ले कर मुकाबला करो। दोनों तरफ नहीं चल सकते कि हम अहिंसा को भी चलायें और हथियार भी रखें और अपने देश को चीन के पैरो के नीचे रौदा जाने। यह विन्कल गत कठ में हम लोगों ने पटना में

**[श्री राजनारायण]**

घोषणा कर दी है। अब सवाल यह आता है कि चीन ने जब पहली बार विस्फोट किया था तो उस समय डा० लोहिया जीवित थे। बहुत से लोगों ने चीन की निन्दा की। मगर डा० लोहिया ने बहुत ही सफाई से कहा कि मैं प्रसन्न हूँ कि कम से कम एक रंगीन राष्ट्र तो आणविक बम का विस्फोट कर सका। अभी तक तो गोरे राष्ट्र ही इस क्षेत्र में थे, यह जो बड़े राष्ट्र हैं, रूस है, अमेरिका, फ्रांस और इंग्लैंड हैं, यह गोरे राष्ट्र सांप की तरह हैं। जैसे सांप अपनी मणि जब निकालता है तो उस पर गेंडुरी मार कर बैठा रहता है ताकि उस मणि को दूसरा कोई छू न ले। तो यह जो बड़े विकसित राष्ट्र हैं, जो सांप हैं, जो दूसरे को डंसते हैं वह अपने विकसित खजाने की रक्षा करने के लिये अपने पास ही आणविक शक्तियों को रख रहे हैं और यह चाहते हैं कि दूसरे के पास आणविक शक्ति न हो जिस से कि उन के लिए कोई खतरा नहीं हो। सो भारत ऐसा विशाल राष्ट्र, इस के पास अगर यह शक्ति हो जाय तो क्या नहीं हो जायेगा। मगर मैं कहना चाहता हूँ पंत जी से, जरा सुनिये, हमारे के० सी० पन्त जी, जरा हमारी बात सुनिए हमारा कहना यह है कि दोनों बात हम ने कह दीं। अभी हमारे एक मित्र लंदन गये थे, 15 दिन हुए वह लौटे हैं। वह बोलते थे कि हमारे यहां जब अणु बम का विस्फोट हुआ जमीन के नीचे तो लंदन के लोग हम लोगों को देख कर कहते थे कि तुम अपने मुल्क को रोटी नहीं दे पा रहे हो, वहां बच्चे बेचे जा रहे हैं, वहां गरीबी विकरालता में बढ़ी हुई है, तो ऐसे मुल्क में जहां बच्चे गिरवी रखे जाते हैं वहां इतने कीमती हथियारों की होड़ क्यों। इस सवाल का जवाब क्या है। अब हमारे पास एक तर्क आता है कि शान्ति के लिए।

तो मैं कहना चाहता हूँ कि शान्ति के लिए, विकास के लिए, योजनाओं की पूर्ति के लिए अगर यह हुआ है तो आज भी मानता हूँ कि उन योजनाओं की पूर्ति के काम के लिए इसमें कम

से कम 15 साल लगेंगे, आप इस चीज को देख लीजिए।

**उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री जगदीश प्रसाद माथुर) :**  
राजनारायण जी, समाप्त कीजिए।

**श्री राजनारायण :** मैं समाप्त करता हूँ। हम जा रहे हैं, हम माढ़े 6 बजे लोगों की मीटिंग बुला चुके हैं। हम जा रहे हैं। हमारा कहना है कि अगर यह सवाल है कि आणविक बम का विस्फोट क्यों हुआ तो हमारा उत्तर है, इसलिए कि भारत सरकार की प्रतिष्ठा चतुर्दिक राष्ट्र की निगाह में गिरी हुई है। देश में महगाई, भ्रष्टाचार, बेकारी, भुखमरी, डाके, कत्ल हो रहे हैं। इसलिए भारत सरकार ने सोचा कि इस समय एक फुलझडी छोड़ दें, शायद इससे हमारी प्रतिष्ठा बन जाए। तो वह प्रतिष्ठा बना रहे हैं।

**SHRI D. P. SINGH (Bihar):** Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, this historic event of 18th May, 1974 came as a great rejoicing to our people and as a great rejoicing to the entire non-aligned world. The third world, the friendly countries see in it a great sense of achievement that one of them has been able to make a break-through and has been able to take the great technological leap forward. Our great scientists who conceived of this idea, and executed it and who contributed to this great event are entitled to the congratulations of this country and our people. It is a great moral booster to our technologists and technicians and it is expected to take us a long way, particularly because of the great satisfying fact that it is wholly an indigenous project with indigenous know-how and indigenous capabilities. This has been achieved at such a minimal cost and without any pollution. Even so, some of the nations have not been able to welcome this event and they have expressed regret over it. Now, the reaction of Japan was understandable because of the psychological factor, because of the sufferings that had been inflicted on that nation. Even so, when one finds that Japan itself has kept

its option open in regard to the non-proliferation treaty and by not announcing the partial test ban treaty, then that objection is clearly not understandable. Some of the other nations have also reacted sharply and it is this which led our Prime Minister to say that whereas the rich nations can develop their nuclear weaponry and their nuclear know-how by explosion for the purpose of destruction, a poor nation cannot develop it for constructive purposes. Our attitude in this matter has been well known since 1948 Pandit Nehru in the Constituent Assembly made it very clear. He said: If we are to remain abreast in the world as a nation, then we have to develop the know-how. I do hope that our outlook in regard to technology is going to be a peaceful one for the development of human life and happiness and not one of war and hatred. He said: It is unfortunate that somehow we cannot help associating technology with war. It is this spirit that has fortunately continued till this moment. We have stuck to the policy of manufacturing or going in for purely peaceful purposes. Our effort at the international conferences has always been in this direction. And it is interesting to see how the big powers have been able to come together to frustrate every effort at disarmament. One remembers about the various proposals given by the various powers in the 50s wherein they insisted on the inclusion of conditions that the other powers will not accept. The United States, for instance, put the condition that all countries must place their nuclear raw material with the International Atomic Control Commission before she could give up her nuclear weapons. The Soviet Union, on the other hand, wanted to isolate the question of nuclear armament from conventional armament. Their strength, their man-power and their resources, without the nuclear weapons, were so great that it was impossible that the other powers would have accepted that condition. This is how things went on. But India made a very realistic suggestion at the United Nations in the 50s saying that both disarmament and inspection must go hand in hand and that the principle of balance of risk must be

included in any practical proposal. That proposal, as we expected, was ignored. And we have seen the unfortunate condition where excuses are being found to enter into the Nuclear Club. We remember the statement of Mr. Churchill that if we do not enter the Nuclear Club, that will be allowing the big powers to divide the world between themselves. Fortunately, we do not have to find excuses for the development of the nuclear energy in any manner that we want to. We have said that our purposes are peaceful. And today also we are reiterating that we will continue with the peaceful purposes, that we will continue to develop it for peaceful purposes, so that we might help our country to grow and to develop along the economic lines, to bring prosperity and happiness to our millions. Members who have spoken before me have specified the various conditions the various manners in which it is possible to exploit it for peaceful purposes; for the development of the many things, it is already being used in our country, and much more remains to be done. I agree and I endorse Mr. Puri's suggestions that there are still fields in which we can do greater researches so that the development of thorium may be possible. But, Sir, all said and done, Members have said that we must bind the future generations. The Jana Sangh has threatened here that when they come to power, they will repudiate all commitments and they will go back on the position or stand that we have taken. One knows the Constitution of the country; one knows the democratic setup of the country, and if somehow they are able to persuade the large bulk of our masses towards their future . . .

AN HON. MEMBER: There is no danger of war.

SHRI D. P. SINGH: . . . If they are able to persuade our people to the position that frustration and self-effacement are better than attempting and struggling to find a solution, well, if that day comes, perhaps they will change the policy. Until this Government, this party continues to rule this country our commitment to peace stands and the country will be honoured

[Shri D. P. Singh]

and will continue to honour the commitment by Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru that no future generation of the country will ever go towards the path of war and use it for purpose other than peaceful.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI JAGDISH PRASAD MATHUR): Shri K. C. Pant.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Sir, on a point of order. Mr. Pant is not a Member of this House. On whose behalf is he then speaking?

SHRI KAMESHWAR SINGH (Bihar): On behalf of the Government, on behalf of the ruling party.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Mr. Pant is quite capable of defending himself. He is one of your capable men. I would like to know on whose behalf—he is not a Member of this House—he is speaking.

SHRI K. C. PANT: On behalf of the Government.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: This afternoon—(Interruption) Listen. I am going by the rules you have laid down. This morning the Prime Minister virtually told us that what Shri Lalit Narayan Mishra told the President were not the views of the Government. He was speaking to him as an individual and not on behalf of the Council of Ministers.

SHRI D. D. PURI: She said nothing of the kind.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: You need not say that. I know what she said. Tomorrow you will see when the proceedings come.

SHRI KAMESHWAR SINGH: She never said anything of the kind.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Let me make my point. You can answer after that. Why are you impatient. Please ask him to sit down.

श्री चन्द्रमणि लाल चौधरी (बिहार) : उप-सभाध्यक्ष जी, ऐसा मालूम होता है कि हाउस में केवल ये ही मँबर रह गये हैं, उन्होंने ही बोलने की मौनोपौली बना रखी है।

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: We here have been given the impression that if a Minister goes and tells something to the President, it need not be taken as if it is the views of the Council of Ministers. Mr. Qureshi said something here from these benches. That is also not taken as a statement on behalf of the Government. Therefore, what theory the Prime Minister propounded I do not know. I hope the political scientists in our country will go through it. We so far did not object to any Minister making any statement in the belief that the Minister speaks for the Government. We did not question the Minister's statement or ask for any proof. Now what is the guarantee that what Mr. K. C. Pant is speaking is the views of the Council of Ministers? What is the guarantee? Now the Prime Minister has laid down that if she does not like something she will say that it is not the policy of the Government; the Minister has not spoken for the Government. Therefore, is there a letter of authority by the Prime Minister that Mr. K. C. Pant is authorised hereby to speak on behalf of the Council of Ministers; otherwise how do we know . . . (Interruption). Mr. Mishra is even more powerful than you are. He is a Cabinet Minister. I should like to know whether the Prime Minister has left any note here.

SHRI KAMESHWAR SINGH: On a point of order, Sir.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Let me finish my point of order. Smart people I like to hear. But let me finish my point of order. (Interruptions). Do not interrupt. I would very much like to hear you because I want to enter into a debate with you. I am not quarrelling with you. What she has said to-day is a unique parliamentary utterance. An example has been set and I am just following it. In future I would ask the President never to believe a Cabinet Minister. Double talk is the rule. We in Parliament will not believe that Ministers are speaking for the Government, unless we are satisfied that they are speaking for the Government. Mr. Vice-Chairman, the Chair's duty henceforward should be, following the Prime Minister's lead in this matter, to ask any Minister speaking here on behalf of the Prime



Minister to produce a certified copy of the Prime Minister's authorisation that he is speaking on behalf of the Council of Ministers and that he will not meet the fate of Mr. L. N. Mishra or Mr. Qureshi. We want to be assured of this. That is all. So, kindly get the authorisation letter so that he is buttressed, we are buttressed and there is no misunderstanding. After so many years we have reached this stage. We thought that when a Cabinet Minister speaks to the President or the Parliament, he speaks on behalf of the Council of Ministers and he would not be disowned in this manner. Of course, Mrs. Indira Gandhi has disowned the President also. But that is another matter. Therefore,...

SHRI S. P. GOSWAMI (Assam): Sir, why he is wasting the valuable time like this? It is all filibustering and demagogy.

(Interruptions)

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: I know you have not understood anything. So, the reply should be deferred. I like Mr. Pant. I would like to hear his reply. I have no personal disrespect for him. In fact, he speaks very well and it is pleasant to hear him also. He is a soft-spoken person. But I am on a principle, the principle laid down by your Prime Minister just two hours before. Follow her precedent. Let her walk in her own footsteps at least. Kindly go and get an authorisation letter—"I hereby certify..." That is the position.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI JAGDISH PRASAD MATHUR): Yes, Mr. Pant.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: What is your ruling?

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN: The Minister is replying . . .

SHRI KAMESHWAR SINGH: Sir, . . .

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN: Let me decide the first point of order.

SHRI KAMESHWAR SINGH : I have a simple request.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN: Mr. Pant is a Minister. He is replying on behalf of the Government. He is authorised to reply. (Interruption). You can draw your own conclusions.

(Interruptions)

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Tomorrow we can check up her exact words. It is something new that I heard. Whenever a Cabinet Minister speaks in Parliament or to the President, you always take it that he is not speaking against the Government. Otherwise, he should be dismissed or thrown out.

SHRI S. P. GOSWAMI: It is all distortion, vulgarisation and demagogy of Mr. Bhupesh Gupta, I should say. Prime Minister never said like this.

SHRI KAMESHWAR SINGH : Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir . . .

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Can you say something intelligent? I would like to hear something intelligent.

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE DEPARTMENT OF PARLIAMENTARY AFFAIRS AND IN THE MINISTRY OF WORKS AND HOUSING (SHRI OM MEHTA): Sir, we are already late.

(Interruptions)

SHRI KAMESHWAR SINGH: On a point of order, Sir. I rose on a point of order a few minutes ago and you allowed Dada to speak. I am so much impressed by the amusement and the entertainment that he has given to this House that I surrender all my time to him so that he can amuse this House further. He likes to hear his own speech instead of hearing the Minister. That is the whole thing.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI JAGDISH PRASAD MATHUR): There is no point of order.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: You speak like a good Youth Congress leader. I know you very well; you are very smart, a good chap; I like you.

SHRI KAMESHWAR SINGH: Dada, I have given you all my time. You can entertain.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Sit down. If you follow me, you will become a better parliamentarian. But if you follow them you will finish parliamentary democracy.

[Shri Bhupesh Gupta]

I put it on record. I was waiting here to put it because the Prime Minister suddenly said something. She was not clear about the implications of what she said. Absolutely a new situation has been created.

*(Interruptions)*

SHRI K. C. PANT : Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, before I deal with the debate, I would like to say that today I happened to be in the House when Bhupesh Ji raised this point and the Prime Minister was also here. As far as I remember—I do not remember the exact words—or the effect of what the Prime Minister said was that there is no conflict between what she said and what the Railway Minister said or the Deputy Railway Minister said. This is exactly what she said. Now, to put words in her mouth and to dramatise the situation on that basis is something which I did not expect from Bhupesh Ji.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: The Prime Minister said something more than that.

*(Interruptions)*

SHRI S. P. GOSWAMI: We used to control Rajnarain. Now, we will have to control him. We cannot listen to his vulgarity. Sir, there is a limit to all this demagogy, we cannot go on tolerating such nonsense.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: I do not wish to quarrel with him. If he thinks that in this way he can do justice to himself or impress the Treasury Benches, he is profoundly mistaken. I have seen people rising and falling here. Therefore, I will ask him not to be needlessly agitated. I have raised a point. You can get up and say what you want. You can argue. I can sit down. I will yield to your age. Why are you gesticulating and shouting? You are not brought to the Rajya Sabha as a bodyguard of the Government. You are an hon. Member of the House from Assam. That is right.

SHRI S. P. GOSWAMI: Should be your bodyguard in order to control you from doing all kinds of perversities. Sir, would you kindly control him from wasting the time like this?

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: You will never do it. You know it very well. If I start saying things against you . . .

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI JAGDISH PRASAD MATHUR): Let the Minister reply now.

SHRI K. C. PANT: I have listened to the debate with great interest. As many Members in the House know, I have had a great deal of personal interest in this subject of nuclear energy and I have followed with interest the manner in which many of the hon. Members discussed the whole evaluation of our policy in this field.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: You have allowed him to speak. All right, I submit. Tomorrow the script of the speech should be sent to the Prime Minister. She should sign it and endorse it.

SHRI K. C. PANT: Sir, we have also heard from various Members the intricacies of the different aspects of this question. They have dealt with it from the scientific point of view, the technological point of view, the political point of view, from the point of view of the international repercussions of the underground peaceful explosion and also, if I may say so, from the philosophical point of view in some cases. Sir, it was a stimulating debate and I would not be in a position to deal with all the points that have been raised because it is already 7 O'clock and I am sure that you would not like me to hold up the House very long. But, Sir, I think it is necessary, in this debate, to look at the whole evaluation of science and technology and its impact on man today in order to give the background against which this technology has brought so many changes in the world and why this event has excited so much comment within this country and outside. Since it is a

7 P. M.  
powerful tool or instrument in the hand of man and so many Members have pointed out that it is an instrument which could be used for the promotion of human welfare. We have seen that it is also an instrument which has been used for massive destruction. So it is not the tool, but who uses it and for what purpose that is the most important point. That is why there

is a great deal of point of relevance in the basic debate that took place here between the minority of Members who wanted this country to use nuclear energy for weapon purposes and I think the majority of Members who clearly wanted this country to adhere to the consistent policies that we have been following over the years to use nuclear energy for peaceful purposes. Sir, in this context if one looks at the pace of change in the world in the last few decades as a result of contributions of science, one can say today that if science is used properly, it can make it possible for want and fear to be vanished from the face of earth. It is possible. But the hazards of wrong use of science are very much evident. Today mankind has to move towards constructive uses of science for the purposes of improving human conditions and in this context I would say that the great issue of today or the great issues of today revolve round the problems which could only be tackled by the increasing constructive use of science and technology and in this sphere I would mention problems like the problem of expanding world population, need to find more and more food and water, new sources of power, the question of depletion of non-renewable natural resources like oil, fuel, metals and so on and so forth. All these are great questions of tomorrow. We have already an imbalance in the world in the utilisation of natural resources in different countries and different continents. The great problem of today is how countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America which are usually referred to as developing countries can be enabled to utilise science and technology for the betterment of the life of their people and to bring about a greater economic equality in the world, if I may use that term. Unless this is done, I cannot see how the world can continue to enjoy a peaceful atmosphere. This is creating tremendous tensions. It is against this wide background that I would like the House to consider this explosion which is a part of our strategy to use all the tools of science and technology that is available to us for the betterment of the life of our people. It is in this context, I think, many of the hon. Members like Shri V. B. Raju in his very wide sweep, Shri

Bhupesh Gupta, Shri D. P. Singh and many others wanted this subject to be viewed. Shri D. D. Puri and I think Shri D. P. Singh referred to the need for India to do research on Thorium. I can assure them that the scientists of the Atomic Energy Commission are fully aware of the need to develop Thorium as one of the important sources of energy in this country and work is being done in that field. Sir, there is no doubt that this explosion was a great national achievement and there is no doubt that throughout the length and breadth of this country, the people were thrilled, were overjoyed and had a sense of pride in what our scientists had been able to achieve and I think the House would like me to convey, on behalf of all the Members of the House here, the congratulations of this House to the scientists for this magnificent achievement.

Sir, Mr. Niren Ghosh is not here. He said that the timing of this explosion was related to the railway strike. I think he was unwittingly giving the Atomic Energy Commission compliments and credit for far greater powers than they can boast of. I say this because in a matter of a few days or a few weeks it is very difficult to perfect this technique and to go underground and find the right spot and to explode the bomb just for the benefit of influencing the railway strike. Sir, I am surprised at this kind of a political approach to this undoubtedly a national achievement and, therefore, I would not like to refer to the speech of Shri Subramanian Swamy at any length because he made certain remarks at a certain level which have been replied to, if at all a reply was needed, in a very dignified manner by my senior colleague, Shri Raju. Therefore, I would not like to say anything about his remarks except that he would do well, even if he did not agree with us, to read the speech of his leader, Shri Atal Behari Vajpayee, in the other House, who can also voice disagreements at a certain level and who has also participated in the debate on this issue at a certain level. That is all I wish to say.

[Shri K. L. Pant]

Sir, the fact that absolute secrecy was maintained has been referred to and this certainly is a fact for which we can take credit.

SHRI D. D. PURI: Even Mr. Subramanian Swamy did not know it.

SHRI K. C. PANT: Yes, even Mr. Swamy did not know it although he implied that there was an earlier explosion which, of course, is not correct. Now, Sir, on this occasion, it would be completely remiss on my part if I do not refer to the foundations not only of science and technology in general, but also nuclear science in particular, in this country which were laid by the late Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and the directions which he gave to the development of nuclear science in particular and his vision and his broad sweep of understanding of the forces of change, the historical evolution that was taking place in the context of Asia and also in the larger context—all these factors laid the foundations for this policy and that policy has been followed all along, because time has proved that it was a policy based on a proper understanding and vision and foresight. And, Sir, after him came Shri Lal Bahadur Shastri who followed the same policy. I do not want to quote from the various speeches.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: After Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, Mr. Gulzarilal Nanda came and only afterwards, Mr. Lal Bahadur Shastri.

SHRI K. C. PANT: Sir, the Prime Minister, Shrimati Indira Gandhi, as the House knows, has been taking a great deal of personal interest in the fields of nuclear energy and electronics and space and her guidance and inspiration are responsible for the decisive impetus which all these fields, all these fields of science, have received during the last few years. Sir, when it came ultimately to a decision to go ahead with the explosion, the responsibility for taking the decision had to be shouldered by her. And as it happened in the past also, whenever these crucial decisions have faced here, she has shown that courage, that wisdom, that vision and

that capacity for leadership which has enabled her to take the right decision and carry the country with her. It is that kind of leadership which she showed on this occasion also.

There was some reference by Shri Swamy to the Seventh Fleet. I was amazed by that reference. He said something about our being in jitters. If he remembers the occasion, it was another occasion on which the Prime Minister embodied the purpose and the strength of the nation and it was a great moment when we refused to be deflected from what we thought was the right policy and the course of action because of any kind of pressure from any country. I thought that he would refer to it with some pride. Instead of that, he referred to it in a manner which showed a complete lack of national pride, if I may say so, because it is nothing else. Therefore, Sir, I would repeat what Shri Raju told me that we are not a small nation, and that we should not think like a small nation and that we should not think in a defeatist manner. That is the only way in which nations can grow and that is the only way in which nations have grown.

Sir, I would also like to refer briefly to Dr. Bhabha, and Dr. Sarabhai and the other scientists who laid the foundations for nuclear science in this country. But I think the House will join me on this particular occasion in congratulating the team of scientists who were directly responsible for this achievement and the names of Dr. Sethna and Dr. Ramanna have today become the household words in the country. We should also congratulate the dedicated team of young scientists who could have gone abroad and got highly-paid jobs, but who have stayed here and worked on this with a sense of patriotism and dedication. I think, Sir, they are also entitled to our thanks.

It is a matter of great satisfaction that this was entirely an Indian effort, perfected by our own scientists and technologists. All the experimental equipment and the fuel were totally Indian and the test was conducted by the Atomic Energy Commission. I am making this categori-

can statement because sometimes some doubts are raised as to whether we got help from outside or whether it really was something which was done by us and so on and so forth. So, I would like to make this categorical statement that this was entirely an Indian effort.

Sir, the other important point that I would like to refer to is the one which Shri Puri mentioned and that is, that this was the first underground test carried out by any country in the first attempt, that is, the first explosion being an underground explosion. In this context, I would say that it is another remarkable achievement that this was totally contained. Usually, some radioactivity goes out or leaks out. We have seen it even in the case of advanced countries or countries with nuclear weapons. When they have carried out underground tests, there has been some venting of radioactivity. But in this case, there was no venting. It was entirely contained and a few hours or almost immediately after the explosion, a helicopter flew 30 meters above the site. I do not know of any other instance.

But this would be sufficient to say that there is absolutely no venting and this was a remarkable degree of containment of radio-activity which was achieved by our scientists. The fact that we are the first country which has carried out its first nuclear explosion under the ground adds to our technological self-confidence, adds to the self-confidence of the country as a whole. The sense of pride and achievement which we feel is strengthened by the fact that we have carried out this experiment for peaceful purposes, entirely for developmental purposes with the object of development. And it is a further step in the direction of the utilization of our resources, by our efforts for the good of our people. Sir, some of the countries which have not hesitated to explode nuclear devices or weapons in the atmosphere, disregarding the warnings and the hue and cry of enlightened people all over the world about the hazards of pollution not only to the people living today but to future generations also, have thought it fit to raise their voice against our peaceful explosion under the ground from which no

radio-activity has vented. Sir, it does not lie in their mouth to say these things, and one is rather amazed at this kind of reaction.

Sir, I would like to just give one quotation to emphasise the peaceful policy which we have been following, and to make it clear that we continue to follow this peaceful policy. Sir, the Prime Minister said in Parliament in 1968, I quote:

"India has repeatedly announced that she is not making an atomic bomb and that she is developing her atomic energy programme exclusively for peaceful purposes. Our programme of atomic energy development for peaceful purposes is related to the real needs of our country and would be effectively geared to the same."

Sir, this spells out the policy, and the experiment of 18th May was a part of the research and development work carried out by the Department of Atomic Energy to give effect to this broad policy.

Sir, after the explosion, drilling has to be carried out so as to get core sample and find out the extent of fracturing the rock, the extent of radio-activity and various other scientific data in order to assess fully the impact of the explosion and to derive sufficient knowledge from it so as to decide the next step. Now, this process is going on and I do not want to go into the details. This process is going on. Some holes have already been drilled and it is expected that this will be completed in about six months or so. And thereafter, perhaps, we will be able to indicate far more clearly the exact applications to which we would like to use this technology, although broad indications have been given and have been even cited in this House. I would also later on give some precise indications of the work that has been done in other countries in this field. And it has already been said that the results of our experiment would be published and would be freely made available so that the international community, and in particular the developing countries, can make full use of it. Sir, some countries have said that this experiment has

[Shri K. C. Pant]

somehow encouraged proliferation, and we have given our reply. But I would like to understand what the exact meaning of proliferation is.

Sir, there is objection to the proliferation of nuclear weapons. There should be no objection to the proliferation of technical know-how with regard to the peaceful uses of nuclear technology. This is a distinction that is very clear. Therefore, there is no question of our going in for nuclear weapons and so the question of proliferation of nuclear weapons does not arise. Nuclear apartheid is the phrase which is used by one hon. Member which N.P.T. symbolises or represents. Obviously that is something which we can never accept and clearly we would continue to develop our nuclear technology for peaceful purposes including underground peaceful explosions. And, I would say with all respect that if our example were followed by nuclear weapons' countries also, this would be all to the good and we would prevent nuclear proliferation of nuclear weapons and would encourage the use of nuclear technology for peaceful purposes. So, I would, with all respect, offer this as an example of the direction in which the nuclear countries, particularly the nuclear weapons' countries, ought to move.

Sir, it has been said that we have always been for nuclear disarmament and non-proliferation. The only difference between some countries and us is that while they are already nuclear powers they would like to remain nuclear powers but they would like to prevent others from acquiring knowledge of nuclear explosions—peaceful or otherwise. And, we think that non-proliferation of nuclear weapons and nuclear disarmament in the real sense must be both vertical and horizontal and it is important that the vertical aspect should be covered. Otherwise, the growth in nuclear arsenals cannot be contained and cannot be reversed. So, it is necessary to restrict the vertical proliferation of nuclear weapons.

Sir, Shri Niren Ghosh is not here. From his speech it seemed to me that he was more concerned with justifying China's entry into the nuclear weapons field than in

trying to understand fully the implications of India's peaceful explosion. But, since he is not here I will not refer to his speech at greater length.

Sir, Shri Krishan Kant referred to the question of the theft of missile material, which he has been raising earlier also. I made enquiries and I understand that this question is being studied by the Atomic Energy Commission. Sir, he also said that we should go to the 1975 Conference.

SHRI KRISHAN KANT: Not go. We are not signatories.

SHRI K. C. PANT: We cannot plead anything there. We are not signatories and I am sure that to plead for disarmament he would not like us to sign the NPT.

SHRI KRISHAN KANT: I said we must create a climate. There situation is different.

SHRI K. C. PANT: 1975 conference he referred to. That is why I mentioned it.

Now, Sir, so far as the wider significance of this particular experiment goes in relation to the needs of our country and its development, that is something which has been referred to by various hon. Members. I think Shri Malaviya also referred to it. I do not know whether he is here. But, he referred to the growing needs of food, fuel, energy, and so on, of a country as large as ours with its growing population and I think that we have to make use of everything that science and technology can offer us and in order to cope with these growing problems we have to grapple with the problems which are very big even in terms of the numbers of our population and the needs which multiply so much. The growing numbers of these taken together create a situation which will require our harnessing all the forces of science and technology to ameliorate the condition of our people . . . and to give them these necessary materials for the improvement of their standard of living. So, it is really our determination and we are the first country to do this to show that nuclear explosions can be used for

peaceful purposes and can be used exclusively for peaceful purposes. It need not be in weapons but can be used in a manner which promotes the welfare of the people of our country. So, in this respect I think we have done something which subserves or serves the cause of peace, which is an instrument of development and which is in its own way a pioneer effort. Some friends say this is more relevant to developing countries even than it is to develop countries because developed countries have a certain infra-structure on which they can build.

Then, Sir, a reference is made to the reaction of other countries. I would not like to go into details because I think most Members know by now what the reactions have been. By and large, in the developing countries reaction has been good one. There has been some sharing of our sense of pride in our achievement, there has been satisfaction at the fact that we have adhered to our policy of using nuclear energy for peaceful purposes but in the advanced countries of the West there has not been equal understanding of our position. While I need not go into the argument of proliferation which I have already dealt with, I would like to refer to an interesting point which would interest members who have a deep knowledge of the subject. Sir, it is said that there is nothing like a nuclear peaceful explosion, that all explosions are essentially for weapon purposes. I would like to draw attention of the House to Article I, sub-para (2) of the Partial Test Ban Treaty and I quote from that. It says:

“Each of the Parties to this Treaty undertakes further more to refrain from causing, encouraging or in any way participating in carrying out of any nuclear weapon test explosion or any other nuclear explosions anywhere, which would take place . . .”

What does this mean—nuclear weapon test explosion or any other nuclear explosion? A distinction has been made and this refers to explosions which are only underground explosions. What for are these explosions except for peaceful purposes? Therefore, if you see, the Partial

Test Ban Treaty itself, the possibility of peaceful underground explosions has been conceded in this very document and this is, I think, an important point to note.

Sir, hon. Member Shri Bhupesh Gupta referred to the need to remove any misunderstanding that may have been created by interested persons or interested parties in the world or sheer misunderstanding may have been there. Well, I think he knows that our Prime Minister has written to various Heads of Governments including the Prime Minister of Pakistan. The Government here has also had extensive briefings with the Ambassadors of other countries in Delhi, our Embassies abroad have also explained the position to the Governments to which they are accredited and the Minister of External Affairs has made various very clear and categorical statements and in the international forums where this question is raised, like the Disarmament Committee at Geneva, the position of the Government has been clarified and put on record for official purposes. So, Sir, I do not say that more cannot be done, perhaps it can be done and if he has any knowledge of any particular countries where there is any lingering misunderstanding, though I hope by now all misunderstanding would have vanished, I would be grateful to him for that information because then we will make efforts to remove the misunderstanding. We want this great effort of ours to be understood in proper perspective and, therefore, I will certainly do all that I can to remove any misunderstanding that exists.

Sir, it has been stated by some Members that our position in this regard is a principled one. I would repeat that it is a very principled position, and I think there is a better understanding of our position in the world today. And when I talk of principled position, I would refer specifically to three points: One I have already made, and that is, the materials and technical knowhow used for conducting the experiment were entirely indigenous. I have made that clear because that has certain implications. The second is that in conducting this experiment India

[Shri K. C. Pant]

has not violated any international agreement. Now, this has been dealt with by various Members in various ways. So I need not spell it out in terms of the Partial Test Ban Treaty, in terms of the NPT, why we did not sign it and so on. And we have not violated any obligation or assumed obligation under any bilateral agreement with Canada or with the IAEA. This is another point I would like to make very clear. And I am glad to say that Canada has agreed to this position. We have had very friendly relations with Canada ever since independence. Our Foreign Secretary went to Canada recently, had discussions with the Government there, and he came back with a feeling that there was a better appreciation of our position in Canada after his visit. But certain differences of opinion are still there. The Canadian Government will send some representatives to India for further talks and we hope that there will be a proper appreciation of our position in Canada as a result of these talks. They have been our good friends and we are for friendship with all countries and we would not certainly like to lose a good friend and since we are very clear in our mind that we have not violated any agreement and they are also agreed on that position, I think we should try to have a meeting of minds on the subject.

Then, security aspect was referred to by some Members. I can assure them that these things are being looked into. Some Members also referred to the panel meetings of the International Atomic Energy Agency. I think Mrs. Menon referred to these and the discussions that have been going on in these meetings about the uses of nuclear energy—among these, the peaceful uses of nuclear energy. I would not like to take much time of the House, Sir. They have in one of their documents pinpointed the fact that for India underground peaceful explosion would be of particular interest for beneficiating our metal ore deposits. They have specifically referred to that. In fact, I can just quote this bit from one of their documents that the latter application, that is, *in situ* bleaching of low grade ores broken up by the explosion is of particular interest to one

member-State, India, who could by this means use her very large low grade non-ferrous metal ore deposits thus making her more independent of imports of these metals and furthering her national economy. Therefore, the IAEA itself accepted this position in one of its documents.

Then a reference was made by Shri Krishan Kant to the third non-aligned summit at Lusaka and its declaration. I will not also repeat that. I would like to refer in particular to certain specific experiments carried out in the Soviet Union and the United States as concrete examples of the uses of underground nuclear explosion. These two countries have done a lot of work on peaceful uses of nuclear explosion. The experience of the USA is more limited in types of application of geological materials which they have investigated. The Soviet Union's programme, however, is very broad-based and is used to assist in the development of their national resources with a number of technical areas being developed simultaneously. Technical results of the USSR as reported are very encouraging and in general more favourable than the United States' experience.

One of the highlights of the USSR experience which I should like to bring to the attention of the House is the control of a runaway gas well at Urtabulak. When a well was being drilled in Southern Uzbekistan, control of the well was lost at a depth of 2450 metres, resulting in uncontrolled release of over 12 million cubic metres of gas per day. For that an underground explosion of a nuclear device was set off and this gas flow was completely stopped. Another well had the same difficulty and they used another nuclear device in an underground explosion and that problem was also solved in the same manner. These are the two particular specific instances which we have got and which I would like to share with the House.

The experience of the United States however has been in the field of gas stimulation. Project 'Gas Buggy' was one of the projects where the yield of gas by the use of a nuclear explosion increased the supply of gas considerably.



The USSR has also created underground storage for oil and gas and tested it with oil and gas with a pressure of 60 atmospheres. They are in the process of looking at methods of developing water resources by creating shocks, *i.e.*, explosions, which produce large-sized craters and they produced an artificial lake with storage of approximately 13,000 acre feet. They are now proposing to form a 24,000 acre feet reservoir by using two 150 kiloton devices. Another experiment which the USSR is working on is the proposed Pachora-Kama canal. I do not want to go into the details of this project and take the time of the House. In the field of mining they are working on a project which would remove something like 900 million cubic metres of overburden to reach the ore which they wish to exploit.

Sir, I am citing these examples to show that there are definite uses of nuclear explosions for peaceful purposes and both the USA and the USSR are carrying on these experiments. They are interested in it as they think that this has potential for further development. In the same way we are also interested in this new technology. The only point that I am trying to make is that this has gone beyond the stage of theoretical considerations or conjecture and that is why I have cited concrete example of applications of underground nuclear explosions for peaceful purposes which can be seen to be having practical value and I think that these examples should satisfy all those who have raised question marks about the possibility of the use of this technology for peaceful and developmental purposes.

Sir, Mr. Subramanian Swamy made a statement about the Prime Minister having said something at some stage—in 1970 I think he said—about these underground nuclear explosions. I did not quite get his point but I thought he was trying to insinuate that we were not going in for underground explosions earlier. As early as August 1968 in reply to a question in the other House the Prime Minister said that our atomic scientists were engaged in the theoretical and experimental work

needed for the development of the entire range of peaceful uses of atomic energy. I would underline the expression 'experimental work'. And again on August 19, 1970, in reply to another question she said that the Atomic Energy Commission was interested in studying the situation in which peaceful nuclear explosions carried out underground can be of economic benefit to India. I would not have referred to this; I would not have quoted this but because I did not know from where he got that impression, so I wanted to remove any wrong impression that he may have gathered.

Sir, I would like to say that we have never made a secret of our interest in underground peaceful explosions and for many years now in Parliament there have been questions and answers. I remember a half-an-hour debate to which I gave a reply and we have always said that we are interested in this new technology for peaceful purposes, for developmental purposes and that we are looking for some suitable site or some suitable location. There was absolutely no secrecy about this and if anybody today pretends to be surprised because we have carried out an underground nuclear explosion for peaceful purposes. I can only say that that surprise could only be if they had not followed what we have been saying openly and publicly both in Parliament and as reported in the Press.

In this context Pakistan's reaction also appears to be somewhat exaggerated. They have over-reacted in this case and I would not like to say anything more than that the assurance they are seeking against some kind of threat appears to me to be an assurance against a non-existing threat. There is no threat. This is a peaceful explosion. This is not a bomb and, therefore, there is no threat of any kind. There is nothing that should interfere with the promotion of better relations with Pakistan or the carrying on of the process of normalisation or carrying on the dialogue which was started under the Simla Agreement. I do not see how this can interfere with that process unless, as Bhupeshji said, it is an alibi. I would join him in the

[Shri K. C. Pant]

hope that the area of co-operation between the countries in the sub-continent is constantly enlarging and we help each other.

In conclusion, I would like to say only two things. One is that we just cannot afford in the twentieth century, after becoming free, to once again allow science and technology to pass us by. When we were dependent and the first industrial revolution took place, the revolution passed us by and various technological gaps, scientific gaps and industrial gaps developed. There was a time-lag. After independence we have been doing our best by buying technology from abroad and allowing foreigners to come and invest in this country. We have been making all efforts to overcome this gap in our science and technology which was a legacy left to us by the period of dependence. Now, when we are free there is no reason why, in those fields of science and technology or industry, which are new, we should not try to keep abreast of latest developments and we should allow a time gap to develop. Nuclear energy comes in this category. So does electronics and so does space and we would be letting down the future generation if today we allowed any time gap to develop in the development of this technology. It is in that spirit we have carried out this experiment. We do not want to lag behind any country, provided we have the resources. We have very good scientists in this country. We have the motivation and we want to develop our country. I only hope . . .

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: Why did you have the private sector and public sector in 1950-51?

SHRI K. C. PANT: Even in this matter he is thinking along lines which are becoming outdated. Here I am talking of new technology, the technological revolution that is taking place, and of our need to keep abreast of the latest technological changes. I submit that this particular experiment is a part of this.

SHRI BHUPESH GUPTA: I appreciate it and it is a valid point. We should not allow science and technology to pass by

us. The difficulty is we cannot fully explore the possibilities in the way you are doing it by bypassing radical social and economic changes.

SHRI K. C. PANT: Sir, formation of society and formation of man are perhaps two areas which are not directly within the control of science and technology yet and so we are talking about two slightly different fields. I was saying that we are determined to carry on with the development of science and technology. I would say that, at this stage, we have economic difficulties to which Bhupeshji referred, but in spite of them we have succeeded in this experiment.

And in a way, this is a symbol of our determination to go ahead with national construction, in spite of all the economic and other difficulties that we are facing. It is in this spirit that our scientists and technologists are working; it is in this spirit that countless people in this country are working, and it is they who are building it up. Step by step, brick by brick, the country is being built up. And when this is so, it is for this House, for Parliament and for the Government and for the leaders to ponder over and see that an atmosphere is created in this country which strengthens this determination to build up this country in spite of all our difficulties. And I would only pledge the Government to this one over-riding fact that no matter what the pressure, no matter from which quarter it comes, where it is a question of developing our science and technology, where it is a question of giving our scientists and technologists a free hand in developing science and technology, where it is a question of creating a better life for our people, we will not yield to any pressure, and we will continue these efforts to the best of our ability.

Thank you, Sir.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI JAGDISH PRASAD MATHUR): The House stands adjourned till 11.00 A.M. tomorrow.

The House then adjourned at fortysix minutes past seven of the clock till eleven of the clock on Thursday, the 22nd August, 1974.