

MR. SPEAKER : One hour will be enough. I think that 6 p.m. to 7 p.m. will be the ideal time.

(Interruptions)

MR. SPEAKER : No other Bill will come up. Only this Bill will be taken up.

(Interruptions)

KUMARI MAMATA BANERJEE : Sir, you suggest that the Bill should go to the Select Committee ... (Interruptions)

MR. SPEAKER : I think, for that we have some understanding. He will have to move the motion. It will take one minute as desired by the House.

(Interruptions)

SHRI SRIKANT JENA : Sir, the RPA (Amendment) Bill will be deferred. The Minister of Law has already given notice to defer this. And on the Scheduled Tribe Bill, whatever suggestions that have come the Government would agree to go through the suggestions.

SHRI RAM NAIK : I think, I must clarify. When the hon. Member asked, it has been said that no other Bill will be taken up for discussion and only Pension Bill will be taken up. He is saying that the Constitution (Scheduled Tribes) Order (Amendment) Bill will also be taken up.

MR. SPEAKER : What he is saying is that the sense of the House will prevail. Looking at the number of amendments, it appears that all the Members of the political parties wanted it to be referred to the Select Committee. He will agree to that.

SHRI RAM NAIK : That was the Ordinance. When that Ordinance can be referred to the Select Committee, why is there so much insistence about this Bill? We do not understand it.

MR. SPEAKER : We have to be selective.

[Translation]

SHRI MOHAN RAWALE : Just now you informed us that this had been discussed for nearly 1000 hours with all the parties concerned, trade unions etc. Then how is it possible to discuss it within one hour? Each Member can speak for 1 hour on the subject.

[English]

MR. SPEAKER : Eighteen million workers are going to get the pension. It is not a small thing. Now, Shri George Fernandes will speak.

(Interruptions)

SHRI AJAY MUKHOPADHYAY (Krishnagar) : You may take up the discussion on CTBT at six o'clock. And you continue this discussion now.

MR. SPEAKER : No. That has been discussed. Now, we will take up CTBT. It has been listed for 2.30 p.m. in the List of Business.

(Interruptions)

MR. SPEAKER : That is why we should not waste any more time.

14.41 hrs.

DISCUSSION UNDER RULE 193

**INDIA'S POSITION WITH REGARD TO  
COMPREHENSIVE TEST BAN TREATY (CTBT)**

[Translation]

SHRI GEORGE FERNANDES (Nalanda) : Mr. Speaker, Sir, the discussion on the aforesaid subject had started day before yesterday but I am sorry to point out that the House failed to treat the subject with the required seriousness.

Yesterday, the hon. Minister, while initiating the discussion had cited the names of the people whom he met in Jakarta and one of them was Warren Christopher, Secretary State Secretary, U.S.A. Our Minister for External Affairs did not reveal the contents of his discussions with Warren Christopher. But whatever be the contents of the discussion, one thing is clear from the Press reports published to day that our Minister of External Affairs could not impress on U.S.A.'s Secretary State the view point of India.

Yesterday, Warren Christopher made some observations before the Senate, Congress or the Joint Committee which cannot be tolerated in this country.

[English]

"India is the only country which was creating problems by insisting on a time-table for total nuclear disarmament."

[Translation]

In other words if we demand complete ban on atomic tests and complete disarmament, we are being dubbed as a country creating problems. In their outburst more threatening postures are evident:

[English]

"The United States was equally determined not to allow a single nation..."

[Translation]

i.e. India (as no other country is referred here)

[English]

"...to prevent us from reaching a Test Ban Treaty and open it for signature by all nations in September."

[Translation]

It is a threat to India. I do not want to repeat

everything said by him but one of his observations deserves to be quoted here.

[English]

"India's demand for setting a time-table for elimination of nuclear annual war not practicable as the US was not in a position to accept it."

[Translation]

As I had said at the outset day before yesterday, if America is not prepared to adhere to any time-table, CTBT is a meaning less exercise. America concedes that India wants total nuclear disarmament but also reiterates that it would not let India take any initiative in the matter, as it would hamper America from indulging in unrestrained activities. India must take initiative in not signing the CTBT Treaty. It had been stipulated in the Disarmament Conference that if even a single nation refuses to sign the CTBT Treaty, then it will not be voided. America now realises that India can also put its foot down. As per the draft CTBT Treaty, five nations including America can possess nuclear weapons and CTBT is being used to perpetuate this position.

The other objective is to single out three nations, as 175 nations have expressed their indifference to it. For several nations it is not possible to discuss it or take any concrete steps because of their resource and population constraints. Last year, in a conference NPT was signed unanimously and as such that 175 nations have no further role to play. Now, only three nations, i.e. Israel, Pakistan and India are left. As regards Israel, it has a formidable nuclear arsenal comprising about 100 bombs : But even if it is deprived of its arsenal, it can fall back on America's support because their alliance dates back to 1945. As regards Pakistan, it is receiving every type of assistance from China both openly and clandestinely. China is trying to strengthen Pakistan in the field of nuclear weapons.

Our concern is that the entire power is getting concentrated in the hands of America. He is trying to single out India as a target on international fora and in the Conference. For decades we have been saying within and without the Parliament that among the country of nations, there is a country which is inimical to India and does not want it to be a strong nation. America does not want India to encourage as strong nation by using its potential and resources. Warren Christopher has reiterated time and again that we are proving to be an impediment in the signing of the CTBT Treaty. But we must know America's policy in this regard. President Clinton in a statement on August 11, 1995 said :

[English]

To negotiate a true zero yield comprehensive test ban, the United States with insist on test ban that prohibits any nuclear weapon test explosion or any other nuclear explosion.

[Translation]

He further said :

[English]

That he is establishing concrete, specific safeguards that define conditions under which the United States will enter into a comprehensive test ban

[Translation]

In other words, they have dissociated themselves from the discussion being held by 75 nations and his country has its time-table, programme and policy, their policy is :

[English]

- (1) Strengthening American commitment in areas of intelligence.
- (2) Strengthening the existing infrastructure of monitoring and verification.

[Translation]

It can be controversial

[English]

- (3) Instituting the stock piles stewardship programme already announced.
- (4) Maintenance of nuclear laboratories.

[Translation]

Mr. Speaker, Sir, 5 and 6 should be examined minutely

[English]

- (5) Retention of capacities to resume testing in response to supreme national interest of the United States.

[Translation]

and

[English]

- (6) and to specify circumstances under which the US would exercise their right to resume testing in response to supreme national interest.

[Translation]

And which comprehensive Test Ban was discussed by Warren Christopher with our Foreign Minister and which be justified before Senate Congressional Committee yesterday and which test he wants to ban when he himself says :

[English]

Retention of capacities to resume testing in response to supreme national interest of the United States and to specify circumstances

under which the US would exercise their right to resume testing in response to supreme national interest.

[Translation]

We must bring it to the notice of the world at large and particularly America that we also have supreme national interests. This country, this Parliament in the guardian of the supreme national interests of the country. It cannot dictate its terms to us in any international conference. On our northern border, China is stock piled nearly 300 atom bombs. It is my firm belief that China never speaks the truth. Do not say that we should not such words against China which is our neighbour. We remember very well the role played by China as a friend. China has 300 nuclear war heads with a delivery system of 13,000 k.m. range capacity. It can pose threat to America and other industrial nations with its nuclear capacity. It can strike at will any part of India. This nuclear arseval is located in Tibet and at this juncture I would not like to highlight the blunder committed by India. It pains me to see that this very House has consisted by refused to discuss the issue of Tibet for the past 20 years. But, to-day China has occupied Tibet. I can produce document's belonging to the Congress Party pertaining to the freedom struggle in which Congress had conceded that Tibet is sovereign and independent country. Now instead of Tibet, we have China on our northern border. We cannot underestimate the threat from our northern border. How can we forget that 1 1/4 lakh square kilometer of our land is under Chinese occupation. Even now China has cast its covetous eye on the Indian territory and has stated its claim to that land. We must not over look the fact that it will not hesitate to occupy that land if it got the opportunity. On our northern border, Burma is under military rule and poses a great threat to our security. Will it not be discussed in the House.

I had given several notices for discussion on the issue of Burma, but it is always consigned to the waste paper basket. Earlier the strength of Burmese army was 1,70,000 troops which has now increased to 5,00,000 which has not only been trained but equipped also with most sophisticated weapons by the Chinese. China is building its naval here in Coco islands which is 40 km. north of Andaman and Nicobar islands. 40 k.m. is a small distance and China is virtually on our borders. China is building infrastructures on the western sea ports of Burma such as roads, air strips in order to meet its requirements. There is no doubt that China is trying to mend its fences with India but it does not mean that China is not assisting Pakistan. It is helping Pakistan in developing atomic weapons and the U.S.A. is turning a Nelson's eye to it. I do concede that the Chinese are stubborn and used to have their way. We must recognise this threat and take it seriously. In 1974 when we conducted the atomic test in Pokharan, I was in Tihar Jail. At that time I had written a booklet under the title

[English]

"India's Bomb and Indira's India."

[Translation]

Today we find ourselves in a paradoxical situation and on the cross roads. All along we have been propagating ban on use of atom bomb but now we are surrendered by hostile nations who posses atomic weapons.

15.00 hrs.

Efforts are also being made to block our economic advancement and the U.S.A. is in the forefront of this exercise with its enormous resources. During the past five years whenever India framed a new economic policy and it was discussed in the House, America created a lot of problems for us. Now we find ourselves on the cross roads. On the one hand China with its nuclear arsenal in posing threat to our security on the other hand America is trying to bully us into submission. We are being forced to sign CTBT. It wants to be arbiter of our fate. I feel it is true. Now to take some hard decisions about our national security.

Sir, I would conclude with 3-4 more points. We must impress on the nations participating in the disarmament conference that in case we want to have a CTBT Treaty, it should be treaty without any provisos and should aim at eliminating the nuclear stock pile made by all the countries and there should be no exception or a privileged nation such as America or five members of the security council. All the nations should be treated at par. Secondly, we must bring it to the notice of America that India is not prepared to accord any special status to it. Now we must take note of the threats which we face. In our country, national security is never the topic of discussion. The entire country was agitated when arms were dropped in Purulea surreptitiously. But when we face danger from North-East-West, nobody is bothered. Sometimes discussions are held within the parties but it is never discussed as an issue of national security in public fora. We do desire that the Indian public should know about the dangers they are likely to face due to the machinations of China and America. Fourthly, in our guest of advancement we must be aware of the dangers in the field of security, economic development and in the international sphere which we may byallus. Mr. Warren has threatened us that we will be isolated. The people of India should also be warned to prepare themselves to meet any eventuality posed by this threat.

As I had said earlier, I am at cross roads. As a way out of this predicament, I will just quote two memorable quotes from Mahatma Gandhi. When Pakistani invaders attached Kashmir, Mahatma Gandhi exhorted the then Government to send the army. He never said that meet this attack through non-violent means. The army was sent, it saved a part of the territory, although it was in a position to recover the entire Territory. But I do not want to go into details about that failure. The second quote is :

[English]

"I shall risk violence a thousand times rather than risk the emasculation of a whole race."

[Translation]

To-day, if the need arises to take some hard decisions, we should not hesitate to do so, lest some accusing fingers be pointed at this nation of Mahatma Gandhi. We must bear in mind the security and the supreme national interest of the country, while deciding our course of action.

[English]

MR. SPEAKER : Prof. Rasa Singh Rawat.

Prof. Rawat, please be brief because the hon. Minister has to reply at 3.20 p.m.

(Interruptions)

MR. SPEAKER : Please, Madam.

(Interruptions)

MR. SPEAKER : Look here.

(Interruptions)

SHRIMATI MEIRA KUMAR (Karol Bagh-Delhi) : This is something very important.

MR. SPEAKER : No, nothing can be more important than what we are discussing now.

(Interruptions)

MR. SPEAKER : Please listen to me.

(Interruptions)

MR. SPEAKER : No, please, this is a very serious debate.

(Interruptions)

MR. SPEAKER : Okay, later on.

(Interruptions)

MR. SPEAKER : Later on, you can. But not during this debate.

(Interruptions)

SHRIMATI MEIRA KUMAR : All I have been...(Interruptions)

MR. SPEAKER : Come on. We are discussing an issue which involves the supreme national interest.

(Interruptions)

MR. SPEAKER : Mr. Bhakta, nothing can be more important than the national interest.

(Interruptions)

MR. SPEAKER : We are discussing on that.

(Interruptions)

MR. SPEAKER : No, Interruptions in this debate.

(Interruptions)

MR. SPEAKER : You can raise but not during this debate.

(Interruptions)

MR. SPEAKER : After this debate.

(Interruptions)

MR. SPEAKER : I do not want any interruptions in this debate.

(Interruptions)

MR. SPEAKER : After this debate.

(Interruptions)

MR. SPEAKER : Please do not speak.

(Interruptions)

[Translation]

PROF. RASA SINGH RAWAT (Ajmer) : Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, on the issue of CTBT, America has not only threatened us but has also virtually thrown a challenge. Yesterday, Mr. Christopher Warren deposing before the foreign affairs Committee, accused India of being a stimulating block in the signing of CTBT Treaty and reiterated America's resolve to see the Treaty through. When India stressed that complete disarmament should be achieved according to a scheduled timetable, the secretary of state, U.S.A. Mr. Christopher Warren said that they have their compulsions and the demand of India is impracticable. I would like to quote a few lines :

"Baadhayan Kab baandh saki hain aagey barkhey watore ka

mushkilein kab rok saki hain mar kar jeene walon ko

bahadur kab kisi ka ehsaan saath lete hain dilwar mard ka loha sab maan lete hain, jo kamzor hota hai, kaan uske sab pakarh lete hain."

In the present international scenario, America wants to corner India by isolating it on the issue of CTBT with the help of other atomic powers and by winning over countries like Pakistan and Israel. This issue of CTBT has now become for India an issue of national pride and is linked with our security and honour. Now India must consider this issue seriously when we are surrounded on all sides by hostile elements. America has equipped Pakistan with atomic weapons which have the capacity to hit all our prominent cities. China has stock piled nuclear weapons in Tibet and carried out a test 1-2 days before the signing of the CTBT Treaty in Geneva. Had China been serious, it would have refrained from carrying out the test. Now India should also build its nuclear capability. We did conduct an atomic test in Pokharan but that was way back in 1974. Now the new circumstances do not portend well. Pakistan is encouraging Terrorism in our country and many innocent lives have been lost in the Pak sponsored Terrorism. Pakistan Thrust on us 3 wars and China had also invaded our Territory. Now we cannot trust China

even if it extends its hand of friendship. It is a good sign that all the political parties rose above political differences to support the Government in its decision not to sign the CTBT Treaty. The BJP had all along been stressing that we have to take this decision keeping in view the sovereignty, integrity and unity as well as the supreme interest of the country.

Sir, through you I would advise the Government to equip itself with weapons before signing the treaty. "Sinhannev, Vya aghannev, gajannev, cha Aja putram bali dyad, devopi durbal ghatak."

This couplet in Sanskrit means that gods also hit the weak. When gods were offered lion, elephant as sacrifice, they declined to accept it but when they were offered goat, they readily accepted the sacrifice.

Sir, we must take steps to emerge as a strong nation. We have developed atomic energy and now we must make an atom bomb to show the world and particularly America that we are not a weak nation and cannot be isolated so lightly.

Sir, in the first instance I would like to know whether Mr. Clinton has written a letter to our Prime Minister and does CTBT issue finds a members in the letter. Secondly, Warren Christopher, secretary of State, U.S.A. in a statement made after his meeting with our Minister for External Affairs in Jakarta, described the External Affairs Minister of India as intelligent and honest. I fear his intentions may be to loguite our representatives ...*(Interruptions)* He has described him as intelligent and honest to which I have no objection but my fear is that the interests of the nation may not be compromised to earn those epithets. We want a firm assurance to this effect in the House to day.

Sir, I would like to give two or three suggestions in this regard. The first suggestion is that we should not close our nuclear option. Secondly, we should not sign the CTBT Treaty in our supreme national interest. The Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty should be Transparent and free from all loopholes. Some of the loopholes would be used by some nations to conduct laboratory tests and strengthen their arsenal. It is true that CTBT is the first decisive step towards nuclear disarmament. We want that the nuclear process should destroy their nuclear arsenal before sermonising other nations ...*(Interruptions)* We have to carry our struggle to the diplomate front also. We must apprise the Heads of the States and Foreign Minister of other nations about the rationale behind our stand test it be miscontrued as an attempt on our part to emerge as a centre of power. At the same time we must ensure that there is no let up in our drive to develop the missiles such as Agni, Akaash etc. It is necessary to equip our army with these weapons in order to keep up its morale. Besides, American pressure or any other type of pressure must be strongly resisted.

*[English]*

SHRI RAMESH CHENNITHALA (Kottayan) : Sir, I requested you to give me a chance. It is very unfortunate that we do not get a chance...*(Interruptions)*

MR. SPEAKER : I know it is unfortunate, but what can I do? The Minister has to reply.

SHRI RAMESH CHENNITHALA : That is true, but this a very serious issue. There are only few Members who wish to speak...*(Interruptions)*

MR. SPEAKER : Then you have to sit upto seven o'clock today.

*(Interruptions)*

MR. SPEAKER : No, either you conclude now as the Private Members' Business is to take place, because last time also we did not take it up, or you do away with Private Members' Business again or you sit upto Seven o'clock.

*(Interruptions)*

MR. SPEAKER : The whole nation is of one view on this issue.

*(Interruptions)*

SHRI PRAMOTHES MUKERJEE (Berhampore) (WB) : Sir, on every occasion we are the victims of time constraint. How can it be?...*(Interruptions)*

MR. SPEAKER : Mr. Minister, kindly advise me, what should I do?

*(Interruptions)*

LT. GENERAL SHRI PRAKASH MANI TRIPATHI (Deoria) : Sir, the hon. Minister may reply now.

MR. SPEAKER : But other Members also want to express their views. You know, the smaller parties could not participate here. You guide me, I will go by what you say.

SHRI S. BANGARAPPA (Shimoga) : Sir, we appeal to you to give us a chance. Please give me a chance for two minutes...*(Interruptions)*

SHRI PRAMOTHES MUKHERJEE : Sir, it should be extended by one hour.

MR. SPEAKER : Shall we suspend the Private Members's Business?

SHRI RAMESH CHENNITHALA : Sir, seeing the seriousness of the issue, it is better to suspend the Private Members' Business...*(Interruptions)*

MR. SPEAKER : Shall we start Private Members' Business at 4.30 p.m.

SEVERAL HON. MEMBERS : Yes, Sir.

MR. SPEAKER : All right.

*(Interruptions)*

MR. SPEAKER : I will come to you also.

SHRI S. BANGARAPPA : Sir, what will happen to other Members?

MR. SPEAKER : Your name is very much in the list here.

SHRI S. BANGARAPPA : Sir, my name is always there but what is the use of my name in the list if I do not get a chance to speak.

SHRI RAMESH CHENNITHALA (Kottayam) : Mr. Speaker, Sir, at the outset, I would like to congratulate the hon. Minister of External Affairs, Shri Indra Kumar Gujral, who has set up a healthy precedent in consulting all the parties and making this country as one in this case.

15.18 hrs.

(Shri P.M. Sayeed in the Chair)

Sir, India always stood for global disarmament. India is the champion of world peace. We not only preach non-violence but we have put it into practice. We are opposed to any type of nuclear warfare which is detrimental to the whole humanity and the whole human race. Our commitment to peace and total disarmament cannot be questioned by anyone. It cannot be altered by any Force on this earth.

But at the same time, as my learned friends were mentioning here, we cannot agree to the Draft on CTBT. This is only a second instalment of NPT and this has not at all achieved any serious comprehensive test ban. This is only a partial one and this is only to help or only to assist the promoters of CTBT such as, the United States, the United Kingdom, Russia, China and France.

Even Russia and China had initially got certain doubts in their minds, but now they have also changed their position. Now they are blaming India as the spoiler of this Treaty. We cannot accept this position because India, in all the international fora have been consistently demanding dismantling or eliminating of nuclear weapons.

Sir, in all the world fora, India raised its voice for world peace. So the contention of China is not at all acceptable. India is not a spoiler of this Treaty. India wants a global disarmament provided that Treaty should be a comprehensive one.

India never accepted NPT, That everybody knows. That NPT could not move this whole world to disarmament.

India wants that nuclear weapons should be banned within a timeframe.

That time frame should be fixed; that calendar should be fixed. I do not know why they are not agreeing to this. The CTBT covers only on the explosion part. This is not an answer to all these issues. The research, design and test of nuclear weapons should be banned. That is the most important matter. Even they are doing the test in the sea or some other places in the land but

the United States of America and other powerful nations in the world are equipped with sophisticated weapons so that they can do this test in their laboratories. Even they can do it with a stimulation of computer the test in the air or in the sea will not help.

The developed countries wanted to strengthen their nuclear arsenals. That is their entire effort. Even now there are examples that the United States of America is carrying out test in the laboratory. Unfortunately, the CTBT draft which is prepared is only covering the explosion part. The promoters of the CTBT have got enough infrastructure so that they will be able to test according to their convenience. This is definitely a track which is being played on the developing countries, especially, the threshold countries like India, Pakistan, Israel and other under-developed countries. The present Treaty will not shut down (1) any weapons laboratory, (2) reduce the personnel in those installations, and (3) no skilled scientist will sit idle. Then what is the meaning of a Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty? The research, design and test will continue according to the convenience of the major nuclear powers in the world. The whole world cannot go according to their directions. The whole world cannot succumb to their pressure. The USA has already conducted 1000 tests so far.

It is very interesting that the so called China which is going to sign the CTBT, is requesting India and other threshold countries to sign this CTBT draft. On 29th July, China successfully conducted a nuclear test. I will read the first paragraph of the statement, dated 29th July 1996 of the Government of Peoples' Republic of China. It states, "The Government of the Peoples' Republic of China hereby solemnly declare that it will start and moratorium on nuclear weapons test in effective from 30th July, 1996." I do not want to go into the details. They have successfully conducted a test on 29th July, 1996. What is the use of this Test Ban Treaty? This is not comprehensive. China, which is going to sign in this Treaty, has conducted a test successfully on 29th July.

By 2000 AD, the USA would have 50 per cent of the total world arms market. It is serious like that America will control 50 per cent of the total arms market in the world when we are reaching 20th century. We are on the threshold of the 21st century. Where will the developing countries and those who are suffering from poverty and other social evils go?

Sir, I want to mention one or two very important issues. In the beginning of 1996, there were some 21,000 operations of nuclear weapons in the world.

Nearly ninety-five per cent of the world's nuclear weapons are in the possession of the United States and Russia. These nuclear weapon States - the United States, Russia, France, China and the United Kingdom - are saying that they are not going to reduce their nuclear arsenals. Actually speaking, they want to

strengthen their nuclear arsenals through new technologies that they are developing and the new inventions that they are conducting. I have enough examples to substantiate this but I will not do that because of shortage of time.

The security of the Indian sub-continent is the most important issue. But India's security problem is completely ignored. India is a neighbour of three nuclear weapon States -Russia, China and Pakistan. China and Russia have arrived at an understanding for exchange of defence equipment and technology. Nuclear missile transfers of China and Pakistan are well-known to everybody. In this august House itself, in the previous Lok Sabha, that is, in the Tenth Lok Sabha, I myself raised the point with regard to the former Premier of Pakistan, Nawaz Sharief's statement on the Nuclear bomb. He had rightly pointed out that Pakistan possesses a nuclear bomb. Nobody has refuted this charge. They have a secret understanding with China and Russia also. So, the security of the India sub-continent is in peril. Therefore, we have to be very cautious about this.

The U.S. Administration is the solitary superpower and the main promoter of CTBT. They wanted to put all types of pressures on India. As rightly pointed out by Shri George Fernandes yesterday, there was a statement from the United States of America which is totally condemnable. We cannot accept their position.

MR. CHAIRMAN (SHRI P.M. SAYEED) : Please conclude now.

SHRI RAMESH CHENNITHALA : They are saying that this is a political treaty, so they want to get through the Treaty on political basis. That means, they want to threaten India. They also want to threaten other threshold States. They want to see that this Treaty is through. My request to the hon. Minister is that India cannot accept this position. We have to oppose and defeat it. India should oppose, defeat and veto this Treaty. CTBT cannot be enforced in the national interest of the country.

MR. CHAIRMAN : Now please conclude.

SHRI RAMESH CHENNITHALA : I shall quote one sentence and conclude. The Green Peace is one of the very reputed NGOs in America. They say that if the five nuclear weapon States, China, France, U.K., Russia and U.S.A., want India to support the Treaty, they should make a commitment not to develop, produce or deploy nuclear weapons to seek greater nuclear disarmament. It is an NGO in America which is saying this. My request to the hon. Minister is that he should kindly take the opinion of the entire House, cutting across the party lines. The people of India are with the Government. They solemnly affirm their faith in the Government on this issue. I think we have to give a befitting reply to the U.S. Administration and protect the interests of our country.

SHRI AJAY CHAKRABORTY (Basirhat) : Hon. Chairman, Sir, we are discussing very serious and sensitive international affairs in this august House. As an Indian, we are proud of it that since independence India took the leadership of the peace movement in the world, our country has played a key role for the peace of the world and for de-colonisation of the world. Under the leadership of our beloved Prime Minister, late Panditji, the entire world, particularly, the Afro-Asian countries were united for the peace of the world. The socialist countries, under the leadership of the former Soviet Russia, stood behind our peace movement and strongly supported the foreign policy of India. They also stood behind us strongly on so many crucial moments of our country in the past.

All the countries of the world have appreciated the peace movement of India and the foreign policy of India.

15.30 hrs.

(Prof. Rita Verma in the Chair)

Sir, the foreign policy of India has been appreciated by all peace-loving countries of the world. So, as one of the leaders of the peace movement and decolonisation movement, India 50 years back took the lead in calling for a ban on nuclear testing and total elimination of nuclear weapons.

[Translation]

SHRI NITISH KUMAR (Barh) : Sir, how long the discussion will take place.

MR. CHAIRMAN : The duration of the discussion has been extended by one hour upto 16.30 hrs.

[English]

SHRI AJAY CHAKRABORTY : Sir, India made an utmost effort to convince the whole world for the need for CTBT, for the peace of the world. But now, at present, it is a paramount question, very much a fundamental question and a basic question whether India will subscribe to C.T.B.T. in its present form. Certainly, India cannot subscribe to C.T.B.T. in its present form. India should remain opposed to a global nuclear test ban treaty unless there is a substantive change of the latest draft of the document.

I support and appreciate the stand which was taken by our prudent Minister of External Affairs in the A.R.F. Security Group meeting. It is reported that there is no change in the draft. In that case, India should not sign the document until the five declared nuclear powers decide to totally eliminate the nuclear weapons.

India should not, rather must not, change its stand regarding signing the C.T.B.T. We want C.T.B.T. But that should be a real, truly comprehensive C.T.B.T. The proposition is that in the draft of the C.T.B.T., it should be incorporated and ensured that from now on all the nuclear tests must be banned, even the powers

possessing the nuclear weapons would have to abide by them and big powers must destroy their existing stockpiles.

The C.T.B.T. may resolve that those who do not possess any nuclear weapons would have to undertake by giving a pledge that they would never go in for any nuclear weapon test. This means that the existing disparity between powers possessing nuclear weapons and those who are not possessing nuclear weapons should end. It is for the Government of a self-respecting country like ours to desist from signing the C.T.B.T. the question is why should we choose to be isolated. It is an age-old rule that those who possess the nuclear weapons are entitled to use it and nobody else. In fact we cannot endorse it and we cannot accept the text in its present form. We have every right to safeguard our national security and national interest. Unless and until the big powers, particularly America, destroy the nuclear stockpiles and totally eliminate the nuclear weapons they have no right to give us advice to sign the C.T.B.T. Until and unless they have given up their aggressive attitude to the poor countries they have no right to give their advice. We are not obliging the big powers. We have every right to make nuclear weapons for safeguarding our country and for the national security of our country and it is a question of our sovereign right.

In fact, we have every right to safeguard our national interest. We must not sign any Treaty which will affect our national interest and sovereign right.

So, I support the stand of the Government of India and through you, Madam, urge the Government of India and the Minister of External Affairs to realise the feelings of the House that irrespective of the political differences we are speaking in one voice for the interest of our country, for the security and safeguarding the sovereignty of our country. I think our prudent Minister of External Affairs will realise and appreciate the feelings of the House and will not surrender to the pressure of the American imperialism and other big powers.

SHRI CHITTA BASU (Barsat) : Madam, Chairperson, I rise to endorse the stand taken by the Government of India in relation to the CTBT. The stated objectives of these negotiations in Geneva are (i) to be a step towards nuclear disarmament (ii) to halt the qualitative nuclear arms race by preventing the development of new weapons and the refinement of the existing weapons; and (iii) to prevent both horizontal and vertical proliferation of nuclear weapons. These are the declared objectives of the Geneva Conference on Disarmament. But so far as we know - and we are convinced of it - the motive force is not these objectives. But the motive force is the global strategy of United States of America. They want to make use of these Conference in order to give effect to their own strategy of establishing hegemony over the world in military field, in economic domain and in other fields of human

activities. Madam, all these stated objectives are pious platitudes and high floor rhetorics. They are not at all interested in achieving the disarmament objective which we want to arrive at. Madam, US administration regards it as a strategic plot and this is evident from certain statement made by Mr. Warren Christopher recently. Earlier they said that one of our highest national strategic priorities is the Geneva Conference. So that is their main objective. Recently, as has already been said yesterday, it was a very categorically stated that so far as India's demand of linkage of CTBT with disarmament is concerned, Mr. Christopher quite forthrightly said that these are quite separate issues and that the United States is not prepared to agree to such disarmament at this time. Therefore, they are not interested. They are not committed to disarmament and this is very much clear from the statement made earlier by the United States' representative, Mr. Warren Christopher yesterday.

Madam, let us see what the Chief Negotiator of America in Geneva declared on April 24. This is a very significant statement. I quote :

"The United States will not sign a document that has the effect of imposing or attempting to impose legally binding commitment to do nuclear weapon stockpile reductions."

I think it is very clear that they will not accept anything which binds legally the United States of America for the nuclear stockpile reduction.

I want to state clearly and very briefly about India's position in this case. India wants that the CTBT must be a comprehensive one to ban all forms of testing. It must be a part and parcel of the disarmament package and anchored in a reasonable time frame. These three elements are very clear. These three elements are very important and are of significance. The first element is comprehensiveness. The present CTBT is not adequately comprehensive. Therefore, we oppose it; we should oppose it. The second element is the linkage with disarmament. They are not going to accept this linkage of CTBT with disarmament. But we are very much committed to the disarmament concept. Disarmament not only refers to the nuclear, but to all kinds of other disarmament. The third element is the time frame.

MR. CHAIRMAN : Please conclude now.

SHRI CHITTA BASU : These three elements are very important. They are of great significance and pivotal importance. So, we have to either give up these objectives, our stances, our commitment for disarmament and adhere to this Declaration or we have to meet the consequences for the conviction for which we are ready to fight.

Madam, in this case, it is not only a question of national prestige, but it also is very much a question of national security. No country having a modicum of sovereignty can agree to a position where national security is compromised. Therefore, it is not only a



question of prestige of this Government or that Government, but it also involves the supreme interests of the nation, which demands that India should firm on this nationally accepted ideology.

I know, what might be the consequences. The United States of America would try to mount pressure. In this case, I want to remind or I want to bring to the notice of the hon. Minister of External Affairs, the former hon. Prime Minister and the former hon. Minister of External Affairs the example of Cuba. The United States of America put all the pressures - economic blockade, military intervention, intelligence intervention, sabotage and counter revolution - and, yet, the people of Cuba and the Government of Cuba withstood those pressures.

MR. CHAIRMAN : Please conclude now. There are some more hon. Members who want to speak on this.

SHRI CHITTA BASU : If India is ideologically convinced, if we are convinced that it is our goal, then we shall have to be prepared to meet the consequence. I know, our countrymen are prepared to meet all the consequences provided the leadership is given by the Government and leadership is given by the political parties of this country.

Therefore, I urge upon the Government not to flag away, not to depart from the positive position, the firm position, that the Government had already taken and should continue to fight against the imperialist pressure so that the prestige, national security and sovereignty of the country is protected and preserved.

SHRI S. BANGARAPPA (Shimoga) : Mr. Chairman, I stand here to extend full support to the stand taken by our Government on whether to sign the CTBT or not in the present form.

Madam, the entire question hinges upon one point: What issue should be on our national agenda? The question is whether our national security should be there on our national agenda or being concerned to sign a Treaty, should we sign a CTBT in this form. That is all the question that is before all of us today. We can never be coerced to sign a Treaty like this. This is going to have a lot of impact as far as our national security is concerned as also on either side. The point is this. Instead of delivering a long speech on the subject, what I feel is that we should all stand united. Of course, we heard very illuminating speeches particularly of Shri George Fernandes and also our senior hon. Member who initiated the debate on CTBT. I must thank them along with the other hon. Members of this august House who have thrown a lot of light on the subject. What I feel is that irrespective of the political parties we belong to, we will have to show, in future, that we are united even to face any eventuality in case we do not sign the CTBT in the present form. The same text has now been put forward before all of us to sign. If we reject this, what will happen?

Now, the point is this. We are committed to total disarmament. It is our national policy. We have made clear not only here but also at the international level and at so many meetings the stand taken by us ever since the time of our great leader the late Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru. The question now arises is whether we can be coerced to sign this. If we sign this Treaty in the present form, then, we are not only going to fail to tackle our national security but we are also going to leave a lot of impact on the future of our country itself. The stand taken by our hon. Minister in Jakarta, when he went there to attend the ASEAN Meet, is certainly a welcome one. The point is that when the Conference on Disarmament was going on at Geneva, the same day morning an underground test was conducted by China. What does this show? This is the main question. More over, so many tests were conducted by others. Nearly 500 tests have been conducted by America; 300 or 400 tests were conducted by Russia; about 40 and odd were conducted each by China and Britain. Like-wise, several tests have been conducted by the other countries also. We have conducted a test about 22 years ago. After that, we have not at all conducted any kind of such a test.

Pakistan has been receiving all the support from a nuclear-weapon power in the Asia region, that is, from China. They have not only supplied the nuclear technology but they are also capable of supplying the spare parts to Pakistan and the M11 nuclear missile. They have supplied all these things. If this is the case and nobody is there to check all these kinds of tests that are going on all around us, what will happen to our security position?

Shri George Fernandes said something about the other countries that are around us. One Island is there about 40 km. from the Andaman and Nicobar Islands. That Islands is under the control of China. Myanmar is there which is having all the latest arms supplied by China.

Pakistan is there well armed and China is there on the other side. If this were to be the position, we should not be subdued in this form, to sign the CTBT in this forum.

I now want to draw your attention to one more thing. Mr. Minister, you have gone through a statement made by the Chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee of Senate of America Mr. Benjamin - I have forgotten his full name who had made the statement some ten or twelve days back. That had appeared in the Press. He say: "The only ray of hope for peace in the Asian region is India. And all around India, things are not that much good. India should not subdue itself to sign the CTBT in this form." That is what he has said. Of course, we need not draw any conclusion from that statement made by such persons. But we will also have to keep that fact in our mind. When Mr. Warren Christopher, the US Secretary of State is trying to put

sword on all of us, we should not give up our stand at any cost.

MR. CHAIRMAN : Please conclude.

SHRI S. BANGARAPPA : Madam, I am concluding.

Another thing is, when we discuss the disarmament question, what exactly is the position of the chemical disarmament? Many of our friends who have already spoken, have mentioned that the tests that are going on in the laboratories for supply of these things, they are going on by the side of the big powers. And when they have got that much of pile up of nuclear arsenal at their command, we should not keep quiet. Therefore, we have to always keep our options open to meet any eventuality, keeping in view the national security interest. It is the best national agenda before all of us.

SHRI PRAMOTHES MUKHERJEE (Berhampore) (WB) : Thank you Madam. We welcome the extension of time for this discussion.

MR. CHAIRMAN : Please be brief.

SHRI PRAMOTHES MUKHERJEE : I will conclude within three minutes.

Let me appreciate the hon. Speaker's role in this regard. He has been enough to extend the time for discussion on such an important matter which relates to both the Defence Policy and the Foreign Policy of India.

I appreciate the *suo motu* statement given by the hon. Minister for External Affairs on this occasion. We are aware of the features and consequences of CTBT and its bindings on India. It will be disastrous on the part of India and on the part of developing countries to sign the CTBT. It is highly discriminatory. We demanded nuclear disarmament; we demanded complete ban on the production of nuclear weapons, not at the cost of our national security. It is my suggestion that India must not submit to the threats of nuclear weapons State. India must not surrender its national sovereignty and security to the diktats of Euro-American imperialism for having their sophisticated nuclear weapons in their possession. This is the imperialistic device to put pressure on India to put its signature on CTBT. We must oppose it; we must refuse it. What did we see in the past in the post Second World War scenario? We saw that Russia appeared as a very powerful State on the theatre of world politics. With the emergence of Russia as parallel to America in respect of nuclear weapons in their possession, the whole world turned into a bipolar world. This bipolar division of world power is the root cause of cold war tensions, arms race and arms competition. The US Administration at that time allowed the production of sufficient arms and nuclear weapons in their possession. India at that time did not associate itself with any wing of the bipolar world nor did it join in the arms race or arms competition. We declared our policy of non-alignment; we declared our commitment to nuclear disarmament which is only for the security of the children all over the world.

Today, I urge upon the Government and the Minister for Foreign Affairs to uphold the same tradition of our foreign policy.

Again, what we did we see in the late eighties or in the beginning of nineties? We saw the fall of the Soviet Union. With the fall and disintegration of Soviet State into different smaller States, bipolar world turned into a unipolar world. Today, the Clinton Administration is trying to achieve the supremacy of this unipolar world with the nuclear weapons in their possession.

We must oppose this. They are trying to find out a permanent market for sale of their arms in the developing country of Asia, Africa and Latin America.

Today I suggest and I propose that we must oppose this tendency of the pseudo American imperialist forces. We must not allow our garden to be used by them for the sale of arms. These imperialist forces design to impose upon ourselves a nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty. It is India which opposed it, refused it and rejected it because it was discriminatory.

Today the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty is nothing but the second instalment of that Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty. We must oppose it. It is discriminatory. We must oppose it, we must refuse it and we must reject it. This is my suggestion.

Madam, I will finish within a minute.

It is my suggestion that the Government of India should take the initiative to form a united opinion in the developing countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America, and raise the voice that 'not the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty' but the 'Comprehensive Arms Sale Ban Treaty' should be imposed. If we control the sale of arms then the Treaty will be exposed to the people of the world.

Madam, I have the statistics in my hand but I cannot show it here due to time constraint. Today five or six joint stock companies in USA have produced sufficient arms and nuclear weapons in their hands.

MR. CHAIRMAN (PROF. RITA VERMA) : Shri Pramotes Mukherjee, you said, you would finish within three minutes but it is already more than five minutes.

SHRI PRAMOTHES MUKHERJEE : Madam, I am just concluding. Only one minute, please.

This is their industry and this is their business. This is what I want to say that the making of bomb is not the solution of bomb culture. To play with the bomb is not the solution of the bomb culture. So, I want to say that we must prepare ourselves, we must be concerned with our national security. But the national security primarily depends upon the economic security. If the economic security of the people is given to the countrymen, then the national security is automatically obtained. And the, half of the battle is won over.

So, I would urge upon the hon. External Affairs Minister and the Government of India to pay their attention both to the national security and to the

economic security. We must not encourage business of bomb, the industry of bomb, the culture of bomb. But at the same time, we would urge upon the Government to raise its voice that we should avoid the bomb culture, we should restrict it and we should fight it.

MR. CHAIRMAN : Please conclude now.

SHRI PRAMOTHEES MUKHERJEE : Just I will conclude.

I have said so many words. I have heard many more valuable words from my hon. friends. But the words cannot judge the merits of the situation, the merits of the policy. Only the deeds can judge the merits of the situation, merits of the policy.

I would urge upon the hon. External Affairs Minister to act accordingly and to raise the voice and to echo the unified voice of this House to send a message to the people of India and to the people of the world that we are not coward, that we can fight against the imperialist forces. So, we must not sign this CTBT.

With these words, I conclude.

16.00 hrs.

SHRI P.R. DASMUNSI (Howrah) : Madam, I will be very brief. I will not make a speech. I will just make a few observations.

This year is the election year for Mr. Bill Clinton in the United States. CTBT is one of the items on his election agenda. In his Congressional speech this year in January he has stated that :

"The START - II Treaty with Russia will cut our nuclear stockpiles by another 25 per cent. I urge the Senate to ratify it - now. We must and the race to create new nuclear weapons by signing a truly comprehensive nuclear test ban treaty - this year."

This is precisely his election agenda in the United States. I know their seriousness to get the countries to sign it. I thank the hon. Minister of External Affairs for making his contribution at the Jakarta Meet to gear up the External Affairs Ministry for the Geneva Meet. But at the same time, with all my regards to the External Affairs Ministry officials, I would humbly submit that for the first time I express my displeasure at the manner in which the desk of the Foreign Ministry has performed to keep their documentation ready as to what we mean by our approach in the entire document and to identify its faults and lacunae. For that reason I do not hold Shri Gujral responsible at this movement. I do share that when our Government was in office it did not take the approach in the way it should have been taken.

The address that was delivered by Shri Rajiv Gandhi in 1988 to the Third Special at the United Nations had contained an approach with four categorical pointed decisions which had seen the very threats that are coming now. If we had consistently and persistently

pursued those measures throughout the globe without any interruption, today in so far as the campaigning part is concerned, the whole nation would have known the intention of all of us. We need not have gone to everyone to explain that we are not opposing it, we are simply seeking clarifications and that is why we are not signing it. I think the office of the Ministry of External Affairs did not play that part of the role as desired.

I would only take two minutes to read out one important piece. That is a part of the Report published by the Congressional Committee for Unconventional Warfare of the US House of Representatives headed by Mr. Turef Bodansky wherein it is said :

"Pakistan stuck with President Zia's doctrine of relying on nuclear weapons as the last resort key to Pakistan's survival against India and the USSR. ...Nuclear weapons became a key to Islamabad's assertive strategy of escalation of the struggle in Kashmir under a nuclear umbrella restraining Indian retaliation.

Madam, with this in mind, our nuclear option must be open. We must not sign it. What we are not considering is a Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty. What is our objection to signing it, we have not been able to build a campaign in that direction. Whatever has been done. It seems that all the parties cutting across the partyline are agreeing with the Government not to sign the Treaty.

We urge upon the Government two things. Please do not carry the reflection of our not signing the Treaty while dealing bilaterally with other nations. While talking about bilateral issues like economic cooperation or other major issues which are pending with Russia, Pakistan, China and United States, please do not bring a reflection of CTBT. Then we would be further destroyed. Efforts will be now mounted to put India in that corner. Please do not do it. I appeal that nobody should do it in India.

The second point is about the campaign that we would like to mount. As it happened during the NPT times when we brought an alternative draft right in 1985 itself before the NPT finally came in 1991, which carried a momentum all over the world, why did we fail this time to carry that kind of a campaign? That is my question to the External Affairs Minister. That is why I personally took the responsibility that even our Government did not do well at the time when it was called for in the line of Rajiv Gandhi's speech to the Third Special Session of the United Nations.

With these words, I support the stand taken by the Government. I hope that if all parties are united - whatever may be the conspiracy - and if the nuclear option is open, the country's internal security and national security would be safeguarded.

DR. JAYANTA RONGPI (Autonomous-District) (Assam) : Thank you, Madam, I will try to be brief. I will

try to be brief. I will not repeat all those points made by the other hon. Members. I cannot help but express my concern about the way everybody, that is the Government and Parliament have handled this issue. It is one of those issues where a consensus could have been achieved. But then I do not know why the Government did not come before Parliament. They did not even feel it necessary to take a mandate from Parliament either before going to Jakarta or before going to Geneva. A national mandate, a mandate from Parliament would have given an added strength to India in the negotiations. I do not know why our learned Minister has deprived himself of this advantage.

Secondly, even in Parliament, we have taken this issue very casually. Only two or three minutes are allowed for each Member to speak. Even the discussion has not been continuous. It was disrupted yesterday and today also it has been taken up and continued during the time of Private Members' Business. I want to express my concern on this issue because this is a very important issue concerning the security and defences of our country. So, in future we should devote more time for such issues. Rather, we should go in for an amendment to our laws so that this type of an international treaty which becomes irreversible could be entered into only after two-thirds of the Membership of Parliament gives its consent.

MR. CHAIRMAN : Your time is over.

DR. JAYANTA RONGPI : I do not want to go into the merits of CTBT, but I just want to point out one aspect. Somehow, somewhere during our dealings with the international community, India has emitted a signal of weakness. It might be the way we dealt with the General Agreement on Trade and Tariff or some other international issue. Somehow, a signal has gone that India can be coerced, India can be forced and that with a little pressure or with carrot and stick tactics, India can be made amenable to the wishes of America. That signal has somehow - consciously or unconsciously - gone to the international community.

So, I want to conclude my speech by saying that it is high time India stood with its head held high and took a very deliberate and determined step. A very strong signal should go out. Mr. Warren Christopher has threatened that there is an international lobby against India and that India will be isolated in the event of our not signing it.

MR. CHAIRMAN : Please conclude now.

DR. JAYANTA RONGPI : We do not care if economic sanctions are imposed on us. With our rejuvenated national strength, we can withstand all these pressure tactics. A chance has come to India at this juncture. We can lead the entire world to nuclear disarmament in a time-bound manner and ultimately lead to global peace.

With this, I support the Government's stand of not signing the Treaty but at the same time I expect that the

Government should take an aggressive diplomatic policy so that our stand on nuclear disarmament - which is linked to the CTBT - should go to the international community.

SHRI SURESH PRABHU (Rajapur) : Madam, I also rise here to support the stand taken by the hon. Minister of External Affairs and the Government. It looks that the stand is not just a Governmental stand but a national stand, supported by almost all sections of public opinion now prevailing in the country.

We are sure that we are now going to stand by the stand which we have already taken. The question that now remains is, 'What do we do next?' I do not want delve upon the issues which have really gone into taking this stand because they have been deliberated at length by many other hon. Members.

So, what do we do now?

We have read in the newspapers about the new stand that has been adopted by Pakistan. So far they were saying that they would not sign the statement unless it is signed by India. Now, today they have said that they are not going to sign it even if India signs the agreement. So, it puts a different perception and a different security threat. Now, we have a different type of security perception. So, that is one point that we have to take into consideration.

The second point is, the United States have stated that if we do not sign this, it is a political settlement. So, we have to face the consequences. They have said it in so many words. Now, how are we going to face those consequences is something which we would like to hear from the Minister of External Affairs and from the Government. It is very important.

Madam, another point I would like to make is that we have always been saying that we want total disarmament. But such piecemeal measure which do not mean anything will not subscribe to this correctly. Does the stand of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, gets reflected in the national policy? We are spending so little on Defence. We have taken a stand which means that we are open to undertaking more nuclear tests and creating more nuclear weapons. But are we really doing that by spending more money on Defence?

The Budget for this year, in fact, says that we are going to spend a little less on Defence because the salary bill which has increased compared to the last year will also not take care of the increase in the Defence Budget this year. So, this is the stand taken by us. It is not enough to take such a stand in the international convention that makes us proud and happy that we are really tough vis-a-vis the United States. But it also be reflected in our entire national policy and not in the foreign policy alone. We should have a comprehensive policy. It should have been reflected in everything that we do. It should not be just for the sake of rhetoric that we should say that we here are opposing

the United States' stand and that we are not going to buckle down under pressure. Of course, we should do that but it should be reflected in other policies also.

Otherwise, the strong words will not really yield any results. Madam, there are countries which are not conducting tests. But there are evidences that these countries possess the nuclear capabilities. So, it is not just the Nuclear Ban Treaty which is going to help anybody. But we need a sort of an arrangement which brings total disarmament.

In fact, we are surprised now by the new stand taken by the United States. Previously, they were talking about disarmament between two super powers. Now, they have climbed down to say that there should be a Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty. When the hon. Minister replies, he should tell us what is the next step that the Government is going to take.

With these words, I would like to conclude my speech.

THE MINISTER OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS (SHRI I.K. GUJRAL) : Madam, through you, I thank the entire House for the remarkable support and encouragement that I have received. In my personal life, I am a very humble man. But the voice that I represent today is not my voice. It is the united voice of this country aptly articulated by various sections of the House.

When I look to friends sitting in front of me or on my side or at the back, I think, this is one of the great occasions when India's one voice is being minced and that is India's spirit. India has one more strength also and that is the ethos of India. We do not use harsh words and we do not use strong words. We say with utmost politeness what we have to say. That has been the general policy so far as the Indian diplomacy is concerned. It is followed not only by me but my predecessors also who were in Office before me. All of us have followed one line and that is, where the national interests are concerned, we have to firmly stand and stand together. I must, therefore, thank all the leaders of various parties and all the Members from all sides of the House who have expressed their views so eloquently and so firmly. This gives Government and our case a strength.

I am also going to take a few minutes to talk to you. The Treaty talks have been going on in Geneva for more than two and a half years. In this context, it is interesting for me to recall that in this two and a half years, Governments have changed. I think all of us who have come in office, at one time or the other - sometimes for a slightly longer period and sometimes it was not so long - have continued the same policy. That is really the strength of India. I think all of us follow the same policy. Instructions to our Ambassador in Geneva from all people who have occupied the office that I am now occupying was similar. And that again, I repeat, is our strength. There is an irony in the whole situation as it

is and the irony is that some nuclear powers - five of them have the heaps of arsenals in their stores that they do not feel satisfied with this. I remember in early 80's, when we were discussing the issue of nuclear weapons, it was estimated that the weapons available to the world, as a whole, in the hands of these few five were such that they could kill the entire world nine times. I do not know why they want to kill the world thirteen or fourteen times. And that is what continues. At the moment, the Treaty they are talking, I had said, at one time, is a charade. It does not really want to achieve what it pertains. They really are trying to make their weapons more sophisticated. That is where I wish to draw particular attention to my friend Lt.-Gen. Prakash Mani Tripathi's remarks in this regard. I support him. I think, he very eloquently expressed this.

The difficulty, at the moment, is that all the talks that are going on in Geneva do not really fulfil the mandate that was given to them by the United Nations. In my statement, I had said that the negotiators had the unambiguous mandate to conclude a CTBT which would contribute effectively to the prevention of proliferation in all its aspects to the process of nuclear disarmament and, therefore, enhancement of international peace and security.

This is the mandate. Is it being sustained? Is it being abided by? We have, therefore, repeated actively and constructively in these negotiations. I have put forward a number of proposals consistent with that mandate. We have stated clearly that the CTBT must be truly comprehensive and not leave any loopholes that would permit the nuclear weapon states to continue to refining and developing that nuclear arsenals at their test sites or in laboratories. I want to emphasise the word 'laboratories' even more.

We have understood the importance of placing the CTBT in universal disarmament framework as a part of step by step process aimed at achieving complete elimination of all nuclear weapons within a time-bound framework.

Now, I notice that it is being absolutely, clearly and openly said that this is impractical. And if it is impractical, then what is the Conference about? Those who are saying it are the ones who are also trying to say that they are the high priests of the Treaty. At the same time, they say that it is not possible to eliminate them. It is a matter of regret that the CTBT, as it has emerged, does not do justice to the mandate. Without being anchored in nuclear disarmament framework, it will not contribute to the process of nuclear disarmament.

I had also said earlier while talking here that our nuclear policy is also very clear. Some of my friends have asked me : "What is our nuclear policy?" Our nuclear policy for all those years has been expressed in the CTBT negotiations. It is intimately linked with the national security concerns. We have never accepted the notion that it can be considered legitimate for some

countries to rely on nuclear weapons for the security while denying that right to others. This has been a consistent policy also reflected in our rejection of the NPT that was done some years ago.

It has also been discussed. I think, I will come to those points later. We have also been asked and the attention of the House has been drawn that knowledge of technology is also being tried to be contained. After all, in today's world whether we talk of space, whether we talk of nuclear sciences, one likes to have more knowledge. India is one of those countries whose scientific manpower has proved that they can really do wonders if they have access to knowledge and technology. But they used to make it a monopoly to some which, I have said, is not acceptable to us.

The difficulty, at the moment, I must say, and I must draw your attention to is about the option. A question has been asked about our option. I must repeat, as I said, that we are keen that we preserve our option.

We continue to maintain our options. Why? It is because we are able to take all necessary measures to cope with any threat - I repeat, to cope with any threat - that may be posed to the security of the nation. We cannot allow this option to be restricted in any manner. If other countries remain unwilling to accept the obligation of eliminating their nuclear arsenals, we are deeply conscious of the fact that other countries continue their weapons programme, whether openly or in a clandestine manner. This is a situation that we are faced with and that is why, the option is being preserved.

I will come slightly later to the reply to the question which was asked as to when and how will the option be used. At the moment, I want only to say that some questions have been asked but before I come to that, I want to address myself to one major point and that is about Mr. Christopher's statement to which many of my friends have drawn my attention. May I, with your permission, submit that we have seen the reports regarding the observations made by US Secretary of State, Mr. Warren Christopher during Congressional hearings, on the CTBT negotiations, including on India's position.

As hon. Members are aware, India has followed a reasonable and positive approach in the CTBT negotiations. The CTBT was an Indian initiative and we are still supporter of a CTBT that is truly comprehensive and firmly placed within the framework of a nuclear disarmament process. It is incorrect to say, as some have tried to imply, that we have been holding back progress in the negotiations. On the contrary, we have flagged our concerns but to our disappointment, these have not been adequately addressed to in the CD. The reports from Geneva indicate that some compromises are being considered to accommodate concerns of other delegations, particularly China. This shows that the Ramaker Text is open to modifications. We continue to persist that our concerns, as also those of other

countries, are addressed in order to arrive at a genuine consensus. For this, we remain engaged in the consultation processes underway in Geneva.

In my statement on 31st July, I informed the hon. Members that India cannot sign this Treaty in its present form. Further, we cannot permit any formulation in the draft Treaty text that will impose an obligation on India. If there are attempts to push forward such a text, we will have to oppose such efforts. This remains our firm position.

We have seen press reports that some delegations are exploring ways of bypassing the CD and bring the Treaty text to the UN General Assembly in New York. These are procedural devices. While we will make our position to the Treaty known in all fora, I hope that hon. Members will agree that it may not be desirable nor may be helpful for me to state in detail the line that we will follow as the situation develops. It is understood by many countries that the approach being adopted in the draft Treaty text is unprecedented in treaty negotiating practice. Yet, they are reluctant to bring in changes because of the rigid positions adopted by a small number of countries.

I had, in my statement, referred to my useful meetings with a number of Foreign Ministers in Jakarta. As the House knows, I had also met the Secretary of State, Mr. Christopher. I must say that it was a very pleasant and friendly meeting. While discussing a broad range of issues, we also discussed the CTBT, on which we agreed to disagree. The Secretary of State and myself took a broader view of the Indo-US relations which are positive and serve the interests of both our countries. In this positive spirit, both of us agreed that differences on a single issue should not have an impact on what is otherwise a fruitful and a mutually advantageous bilateral relationship. This was also discussed in my talks with the various Foreign Ministers with whom we had differences on issues of CTBT but all of them emphasised that the broad framework of bilateral relationship must be continued and be sustained.

Though some friends have asked this question, yet now, I would be referring to the two to three questions that my friend Lieutenant General Tripathy had asked. Shri Tripathy had asked about our nuclear option and what would be the right time to exercise it. I have indicated that we are fully conscious of the evolving security situation. Hon. Members are aware that after demonstrating our capabilities we have followed a policy of restraint. The 'right time' is a complex issue. It would require a detailed discussion of our national security environment and the national security doctrine and policy. All I would like to say at this stage is that the Government is fully committed to sustain the nuclear option.

We had also asked me a question about whether we are shuffling our stand on CTBT or not. If I have to repeat, I would also like to again state my position as

I did on the 15th of July when I had stated that India cannot accept the draft Treaty text in its present form. What I had stated two days back is with the relevance to the language relating to the entry-into-force, is a matter of immediate concern for us and I had informed the House that we would not allow such a language to go through in the Conference of Disarmament. It is because it attempts to impose an obligation on India despite our clearly stated position.

In my bilateral discussion in Jakarta, I have clearly conveyed that we would be obliged to block the consensus in the CD. This has also been conveyed in Geneva by our Ambassador on 29th of July, 1996.

Another question which again Lt. General Tripathy asked was, what would happen to our blocking efforts in the UN General Assembly? As I have stated already that at present negotiations are going on and we are hoping of making efforts to make others feel the sense of what we are saying. This would be unprecedented if our efforts are made to bypass the CD. It is permissible under the rules. Maybe, it is. But I would not like to spell out further, as I have said just now, as to how we would respond if a situation like that arises.

My attention was drawn to the statement made by my very revered friend, Shri Atal Behari Vajpayee in Calcutta. I do not have to say about the amount of respect I hold for him in my mind in all these years. I have seen the statement about nuclear apartheid and I share his views. Therefore, the Government's policy on CTBT reflects what Shri Atal Bihari Vajpayee has said.

Dr. Mallikarjun may not be here, he had also raised some points. He is a very experienced person. He has been in charge of Defence affairs in this country for a long time. I would not go into all the questions raised but one of the points he made was that whether we should have a joint Resolution of the Parliament or not. This question also hold expression in the other House as well. I would not say the last word on this. I would like to watch the situation as it develops. Maybe, a stage might come when we would have to express our feelings unitedly and in unity when we want to pass a Resolution. But I would, for the time being, like to watch.

Hon. Member, Shri Rupchand Pal had also asked me whether we were taking any diplomatic offensive in this situation or not. I have said that I have written to all the Foreign Ministers of the world about our stand and we are in touch with most of them even now. I have said in the last statement that I met a large number of Foreign Ministers during my stay in Jakarta.

I do not know if Shri Swell is present in the House or not, he had asked me about our International Monitoring System. I would like to inform the Members that on June 26, we had conveyed to the Conference on Disarmament that India would not be in a position to be associated with the International Monitoring System. We gave notice of withdrawing our stations

that were supposed to be the part of IMS. This was noted. There was no Indian station now listed in the IMS list. I must clarify that IMS would only come into being after the CTBT was signed. Earlier experimental networks were explored in which India had also participated.

We have our own seismic stations, under the Departments of Atomic Energy and Science and Technology. These stations enable us to monitor developments such as the recently conducted Chinese nuclear test.

I would also like to add that observations were made regarding continuous vertical proliferation of the nuclear weapon states. I think, I have already expressed my opinion on this.

Some of the Members have asked as to whether there is any new text of CTBT. I would say, it is the same old text, therefore the question of revising our opinion about it does not arise.

My friend, Shri Jaswant Singh, for whom I have great regard for his knowledge, eloquence and his in-depth understanding of the situation, has raised a number of points relating to the procedure on the Conference on Disarmament and the UN General Assembly. As I have mentioned, the manner in which this Treaty is being negotiated, is unprecedented. While we can block consensus in the CD, the UN General Assembly may like to take up the issue *denovo*. I would not like to go into more detail. As I said, it is better that I do not go into more detail at this stage till we are confronted with this situation.

Mr. Prithviraj Chavan has asked about the peaceful nuclear explosion in the CTBT. He has asked about the Chinese position. China raised a point that peaceful test may be permitted and that I think has created some misunderstanding. China had sought this option only for five major powers and not for others. That is why we could not support China. If peaceful nuclear test is to be allowed, it should be for all. China wanted it only for five major powers, and that is why we could not go with that.

With this, I think I have covered almost all the points. Before I sit down, may I say that the strength of India is basically in its unity. Unitedly we have said something, which is having its effect. This united voice is not only strong, it is firm and decisive. On your behalf, and that is my strength if any, I have said that we shall not dilute our strength. Kindly do not get taken in if one day you find in the newspapers that we are diluting or weakening our strength. We have clearly defined our parameters. We know for what we have stood for. We have completely understood as to what are our national interest and what are our Security concerns. On behalf of myself and on behalf of the Government, I promise you - I have the courage to say on behalf of all of you - that we shall stand together and shall safeguard our interests.

SHRIMATI MEIRA KUMAR : Madam, Chairman, I would like to raise a very important issue. Fifteen MLAs have been arrested when they were sitting on a 'dharna' for a very good cause. As we know, in Delhi ...*(Interruptions)*

MR. CHAIRMAN (PROF. RITA VERMA) : It has nothing to do with the CTBT. Please raise it later on.

SHRIMATI MEIRA KUMAR : A woman has been molested...*(Interruptions)* This case has been going on for a long time. A Minister of the Government of Delhi is implicated in this case. The MLAs were sitting on a 'dharna'...*(Interruptions)*

MR. CHAIRMAN : This is not the way to behave. Please sit down.

*(Interruptions)*

SHRIMATI MEIRA KUMAR : It is against the honour of a woman.

MR. CHAIRMAN : This is not going on record. Nothing, that she says, will go on record. This is not the way to behave.

*(Interruptions)\**

MR. CHAIRMAN : Nothing is going on record.

SHRI SATYA PAL JAIN (Chandigarh) : I am on a point of order. Under which Rule, she is raising this issue?

*(Interruptions)\**

MR. CHAIRMAN : (PROF. RITA VERMA) : Nothing is going on record.

*(Interruptions)\**

MR. CHAIRMAN : This is not the way to behave in the House.

*(Interruptions)\**

*[Translation]*

MR. CHAIRMAN : This is not the way to behave. Please sit down.

*(Interruptions)\**

MR. CHAIRMAN : Please sit down Such behaviour will not be tolerated.

*(Interruptions)*

*[English]*

MR. CHAIRMAN : Private Member's Legislative Business has started.

*[Translation]*

MR. CHAIRMAN : Dau Dayalji, please sit down.

*(Interruptions)*

\* Not recorded.

MR. CHAIRMAN : Now we will take up Private Members Business Chitta Basuji, please move your Bill.

*(Interruptions)*

16.38 hrs.

### CONSTITUTION (AMENDMENT) BILL @

#### (Amendment of article 269, etc.)

SHRI CHITTA BASU : I beg to move for leave to introduce a Bill further to amend the Constitution of India.

MR. CHAIRMAN : The question is:

"That leave be granted to introduce a Bill further to amend the Constitution of India."

*The motion was adopted.*

SHRI CHITTA BASU : I introduce the Bill.

*(Interruptions)*

MR. CHAIRMAN : This is really reprehensible. Please take your seats. I cannot allow this sort of a thing.

*(Interruptions)\**

*[Translation]*

MR. CHAIRMAN : What kind of institution you want this House to be converted into? Nobody will be presented to speak.

16.39 hrs.

*At this stage, Kumari Mamata Banerjee came and stood on the floor near the Table.*

*(Interruptions)\**

*[English]*

MR. CHAIRMAN : Mamataji, please take you seat. This is not the way to behave in the House.

*(Interruptions)\**

MR. CHAIRMAN (PROF. RITA VERMA) : Please take your seat. This is not the way to behave...*(Interruptions)*

*[Translation]*

SHRI RAJESH PILOT : Mr. Chairman, this issue relates to woman.

MR. CHAIRMAN : No permission at present.

*(Interruptions)*

\* Not recorded.

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