

Replace English with Languages of States

HINDI: GRADUALLY AND WITH CONSENT

Colour and pageantry as usual marked the celebrations of the fifteenth anniversary of the Republic in the capital city of Delhi. The President and the Prime Minister, the defence chiefs, army men and citizens were celebrating the birth of the Republic, the establishment of the Indian Union, a federation of states. And the people of these states were singing and speaking in the many languages of the Republic in their own state capitals, united in a single federal state though with diverse tongues, dresses, religions, castes and ways of life.

BUT a vast concord of young men, bright budding students, middle-class and partly working-class people in one state stood aside.

They had declared it a mourning day, the day of liberation struggle from the British imperialism, the day of the Republic, the day of giving parliamentary democracy and the Constitution to the country.

This vast concord was from Tamilnad, that part of Tamilnad which owes political allegiance to the Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam.

And the concord was neither small nor shallow. Its feelings were deep; its wrath was sharp. When bright young men in schools and colleges begin to feel, they feel very sharply.

They resented the order that from this day on thou shalt be governed in Hindi and nothing but Hindi, whether you understand it or not, like it or not.

In fact, the decision had been of long standing and it did not mean to "impose" or "dominate". But the ways of the bureaucracy, the arrogance of the ruling circles,

gave the simple constitutional decision the appearance of the fiat of an imperial decree with a rod.

The DMK in Tamilnad has succeeded for quite some time in capturing the mind of a sizeable section of the intelligentsia and even the toiling people for its disruptive reactionary programme.

For historical reasons, its demagoguery did achieve some success. The DMK made the Republic Day its day of liberation from Hindi imperialism.

They forgot the feelings of the other millions, as much of students, intelligentsia and toiling masses, whose mother-tongue is Hindi. They pitted English against Hindi. They did not demand the annihilation of the alien English by their own living, lovely Tamil. They had more anti-Hindi hatred than pro-Tamil love.

But the young fiery souls of the students of Tamilnad had no time to see all that perverted logic of their leaders.

The loss of English meant to them the loss of future careers, services, promotions, honour,

Tamil by itself could not guarantee that Hindi was alien even more than English.

Allied with this, the fifteenth anniversary of the Republic was preceded by rising prices, food scarcity, high fees and costly books, falling real wages, unhappy parents and homes, crowned by a rule of corrupt ministers

Editorial Article

who talk humble before millionaires and hoarders and arrogantly threaten "firm action" against starving people.

Story of short-falls in production, failure of the Plan and threats of more taxes coming next month in the budget, to enrich the rich—such was the picture before the people on the fifteenth anniversary of the Republic.

Frustration and irritation found a cheap, inflammable, partly chauvinistic slogan—down with Hindi. And Tamilnad proved fertile ground for it.

True, the agitation died down quickly. True, the DMK leadership only pushed forward its ulterior reactionary aims through it.

But, when two young men can come forward and burn themselves to death on the public square for the slogan and for their own mothertongue, the event cannot be treated lightly. It signified a deep cleavage. An emotion that can make a man burn himself to death and thousands to stand by in admiration and grief is an emotion that can burn even solid thrones.

This has become possible because, the ruling Congress Party leadership has always failed to understand the complications of the language and linguistic states question in our country.

They list all languages in the schedule and call the Republic a federation of several states. But they have failed to understand and act up to the democratic implications of that situation and the principles governing it.

Otherwise, they would not have shot the Telegus and Marathas some years back before giving them their linguistic states. And even now many such problems remain unsolved in various areas.

The ICS bureaucrats and "illiterate" ministers can neither understand nor solve such complicated problems of the rising, newly-independent country with age-old cultures, languages and history. And they would not lend their ear, either, to the democratic masses who know better.

Otherwise how can one explain that even in Parliament you are not allowed to speak in your own mothertongue, that even now there is no simultaneous translation in the languages scheduled in the Constitution in Parliament, despite so much technical advance everywhere?

The DMK could exploit this situation and turn it in favour of their separatist politics to some extent, essentially because the Congress government failed to explain its policy in a manner which would make sense to the entire country.

The Hindi chauvinists pressurised the government spokesmen to make the most provocative statements on the eve of the crucial Republic Day.

Had these statements not been made, had the Madras government not been so provocatively challenging in its attitude to the agitation, the DMK would have had only a small fraction of the response it received.

Had the Prime Minister made some time before the statements he is making now, after the agitation has taken its first toll, that there is no question of "imposing" Hindi, that there would be further

mutual consultations, that the whole issue could be reopened, that "nothing new" had happened with the introduction of Hindi as the official language, the situation would not have gone the way it did.

The democratic forces must clear the way out of this disruption.

In each state the need is for an all-out campaign to ensure that English IS REPLACED BY THE LANGUAGE OF THE STATE as the medium of administration and of instruction at all levels, for internal administrative purposes in all government departments, public institutions and law courts.

The struggle inside Tamilnad should not be a struggle between Hindi and English, but a STRUGGLE FOR TAMIL. Such a struggle should be able to unite all true sons and daughters of Tamilnad.

At the same time, the demand must be made for absolutely clear-cut explanations on the questions of all-India competitive examinations and similar matters.

Such examinations MUST BE CONDUCTED IN ALL LANGUAGES listed in Schedule VIII of the Constitution (except, of course, Sanskrit which is also in the list).

In Parliament, every MP must have the right to use his own mothertongue, without the present encumbrances of having to submit an English or Hindi rendering to the Speaker even before the speech is actually delivered.

And on this basis, by agreement and through mutual consultations, English will be GRADUALLY REPLACED BY HINDI as the medium of communication between the centre and the state governments.

Here again the emphasis must be placed on agreement and on gradualness, and the specific uses of Hindi clearly postulated as above.

The equality of all Indian languages must be repeatedly emphasised, while explaining why Hindi must be given the task and the place described above.

Only if the democratic movement boldly comes forward with its own views on the language question—bringing to the forefront the necessity for replacing English by the state language in each state—can the disruption of the Hindi and anti-Hindi fanatics be fought back and defeated.

Then alone chauvinism and negative, fiery hatred will cease to find innocent martyrs like the heroic young Rangarajan of Tamilnad, misguided by confused and reactionary leadership.

Sucheta's Gift To The Birlas

From OUR CORRESPONDENT

LUCKNOW: Twentyfive lakhs of rupees! That is the annual loss incurred by the Uttar Pradesh government, for a favour bestowed on the Birlas.

The loss is suffered in the supply of electric power to the Hindustan Aluminium Corporation in Mirzapur district, a Birla concern, from the Rihand project.

The UP government is supplying power to the Birla enterprise at 1.99 paise a unit while the actual cost of power generation at Rihand is 2.50 paise a unit.

The Aluminium Corporation thus gets power at

below the cost of production, and the government incurs a loss of 0.6 paise a unit.

The total amount of power consumed by the Birla enterprise in a year is 41,71,21,630 units. So the total loss to the state government a year is Rs. 25.03 lakhs.

This is the figure of the actual loss; the real amount of Sucheta's donation to the Birlas is much more.

For, no government supplies power to anybody anywhere at cost of generation rates. Many incidental charges as also the profit margin are added to arrive at the selling price.

Taking the normal rates of power supply to industries (this is a concessional rate, different from those charged from individual consumers) at five paise, the HAC is standing to gain as much as Rs. 1.30 crores a year.

These are certainly good returns for the investments which the Birlas have made in the form of donations to Congress funds.

No wonder, people say that the Rihand project was planned and executed as a gift to the Birlas at the cost of the state exchequer.

BIHAR

GOVT SURRENDERS TO FOOD PROFITEERS

PATNA: Despite a bumper paddy crop this year, the food situation in Bihar has further deteriorated. The expectation of the state government as well as the people that prices would come down with the harvesting of new crop has proved to be futile. A further spurt in the prices of food grains during the harvesting season has become a cause of grave concern to the people.

While people are screaming under the high prices, the government has added to their misery by raising the prices of foodgrains in the fair price shops.

Hoarders and profiteers were so far held responsible for artificially raising the prices of foodgrains. But the decision to raise the prices of government foodgrains by about 40 per cent at a stroke has put the government in the same category.

This callous action on the part of the government has made it clear that the government had no intention to take any step for bringing down the prices.

The pro-hoarder policy of the state government is entirely responsible for aggravating the food crisis. Despite the stern warning issued by the Union Food Minister, C. Subramaniam, the state government is still banking upon the traders for solving the food problem.

SUBRAMANIAM'S ADVICE

During his recent visit to Bihar, Subramaniam warned the state government against "undue dependence on the private traders" and advised to adopt a more realistic food policy. He asked the state "to build a buffer stock of foodgrains" to meet any eventualities.

This advice of the Union Food Minister has not brought any basic change in the policy of the state government. It appears to be adamant in sticking to its pro-hoarder food policy.

It may be recalled that Bihar government has been credited for its stout opposition to state trading in wholesale foodgrains as well as any form of control in distribution. It has been in favour of unfettered freedom to

From K. GOPALAN

foodgrains, expressed surprise over the concessions given to them. While addressing a public meeting at Dhanbad he disapproved this policy and demanded "strong action against hoarders under the 'Defence of India' Rules."

Dissatisfied by the government's failure to present hoarding Jagjivan Ram asked the people to take steps against hoarders. He suggested: "If necessary the dealers who hoard grains should be surrounded by satyagrahis and forced to disgorge the amassed stock."

(INDIAN NATION, January 14). Jagdishwar Mandal, a prominent Congress leader and chairman of the Bhagalpur district citizen's council, held the state government's "shifting food policy mainly responsible for artificial scarcity of foodgrains."

While criticising the "frequent changes" in the policy Mandal said: "The government first decided on 25 per cent levy on stock held by millers and wholesalers. Then it was raised to 50 per cent and finally wholesalers were exempted. The government decided to depend on voluntary offers to reach the target one lakh tons of buffer stock. All these quick changes have completely dislocated the flow of foodgrains from the producers to the market." (INDIAN NATION, January 6).

While entering into the open market for purchasing paddy at fixed prices, the government imposed a levy on wholesale traders and rice mills. It was made obligatory for wholesale traders and mills to sell 50 per cent of their stocks to the government at fixed prices.

TOTAL FAILURE

It is a clear indication that if the present policy continued, there is no possibility of achieving the target of one lakh tons.

The failure of the procurement drive was the result of the government's reluctance to antagonise the traders and big cultivators.

Subsequently the government submitted to the pressure of the traders and withdrew the levy on them. This has adversely affected the procurement drive.

Now mills are putting pressure on the government to get the same concession which has been gained by the traders. Millowners have created an artificial crisis by stopping the milling of paddy in hundreds of rice mills all over the state.

This was occasion enough for the government to consider the extend of concession to be given to the rice mills. A high-power committee consisting of the Food Minister, the Irrigation Minister, the Chief Secretary and the Development Commissioner has been appointed to consider the demands of the millowners and recommend the concession to be given to them.

STRONG CRITICISM

It is indicated in official circles that the committee's recommendation would be in favour of the mill owners and they are also expected to be exempted from the levy.

All sections of the people including prominent Congress leaders have strongly condemned this pro-hoarder policy of the government which has deepened the food crisis in the state.

Jagjivan Ram, who held "hoarding by traders and farmers" responsible for scarcity of

cent rise in the prices of government foodgrains has adversely affected the people. Prices of foodgrains have marked a steep rise all over the state and situation is considered to be very grave.

According to reports from different parts of the state the market was normal when the grain dealers and mill owners had to contribute 50 per cent of their purchases under the levy order.

But situation has deteriorated following the withdrawal of the levy order. Traders have now begun to exploit the situation. They are purchasing thousands of tons of paddy daily and sending them to unknown destinations. The government is unwilling to check this dangerous trade to the detriment of the people.

The Deputy Commissioner of Ranchi recently stated that the whole district is threatened with acute rice scarcity "due to the hostile attitude of the traders." Stock position is very precarious. He said that "there were hardly 7,000 quintals of rice in the government godowns which could meet the demand of the people for a few days only."

GRAVE POSITION

The position in Monghyr district is also very grave. Brahmdeo Prasad Sinha, general secretary, Monghyr District Congress Committee, who expressed "grave concern" over the deterioration of the food situation, held the government responsible for it.

He said that situation in the state had worsened "due to 40 per cent rise in the price of government foodgrains." He described the government's step as a "mad measure" fraught with grave consequences.

While prices are steeply rising in the open market the government has failed to keep regular supply through fair price shops. Vast majority of the fair price shops are running without grains.

Though fair price shops in the towns as well as the villages are

entitled to get two quotas of grain every month, none of them are getting regular supply.

While irregular supply is being maintained in the towns, villages are totally being neglected. During the last one month majority of the village fair price shops have not received any supply at all. This has put the people in extreme hardship.

There is no indication that government would be able to make any immediate arrangement to feed the starving people of the state.

The Union Food Minister has expressed the centre's inability to meet the demand of Bihar for additional quota of imported wheat. Hence it has become difficult for the state government to entirely depend upon the supply from the centre.

ONLY ALTERNATIVE

Now the only alternative left before the state government is to mobilise the internal resources for which no serious step is being taken.

Worsening of economic condition and the delicate food situation, according to a police report, was responsible for the high incidence of crime in the state. The report said that property crime like burglary and theft have shown high incidence in the last quarter of 1964. Foodgrains figured prominently in such cases.

The grim reality of the situation as well as the state government's failure to solve the crisis was reflected from the Republic Day broadcast of the Bihar Governor, M. A. S. Ayyangar. He made a fervent appeal to the producers and distributors as well as to the administrators to rise to the occasion and tackle the problem before it went out of control.

He issued a note of warning: "Let us also remember that all revolution starts from the stomach."

Hatia Fire Report Causes Big Furore

PATNA: A veritable tug-of-war is on over the findings of the Mukherjee Committee in relation to last year's major fire in the heavy machine building project at Hatia which resulted in serious damage and loss to the project.

While the Mukherjee Committee's report is still officially stated to be under consideration here, it is reliably learnt that the findings of the report do not find favour with the Bihar government.

It is understood that there is a wide divergence of views between the state government and committee's findings about the circumstances and causes of the fire in Hatia.

The Bihar government's original objection was to the very appointment of the Mukherji Committee. The committee was not formed in consultation with them and did not fulfil the conditions of a statutory commission.

It was a committee set up by executive order about which the Bihar government came to

Bihar government has now stretched to the substantive issues relating to the fire in Hatia works.

Incidentally, the Mukherjee Committee's report is highly critical of R. T. Sinha, an official of the Bihar government, who was Commissioner of Chhotanagpur Division before he joined the HEC as its secretary.

Justice Mukherjee has laid the blame on Sinha for the growth of unhealthy rivalry and groupism among the workers and staff of the HEC. The report also blames factionalism in the INTUC to be mainly responsible for the fire of January 1964.

The Bihar government, on the other hand, is stated to hold the view that Pakistani agents prepared the incident and it is held to be the result of widespread espionage.

It is understood, the Bihar government's case against the Mukherjee Committee's findings is now being prepared. (IPA)

10 YEARS OF SOVIET-INDIAN ECONOMIC COOPERATION



Jetsar Central Mechanised Farm.
TRAINING: Indian Institute of Technology at Pawal (Bombay).

"... WE SHALL PROCEED IN THE TASK, WHICH WE HAVE UNDERTAKEN, THE TASK OF BUILDING UP A NEW INDIA WITH AGRICULTURE AND INDUSTRY BASED ON MODERN SCIENCE AND TECHNIQUES, AND RAISING THE LEVEL OF ALL OUR PEOPLE. WE HOPE TO MARCH TO A SOCIALIST STATE. IN THIS GREAT WORK WE HAVE RECEIVED HELP FROM OUR FRIENDS IN OTHER COUNTRIES, ESPECIALLY FROM THE SOVIET UNION. WITH THE SOVIET PEOPLE OUR RELATIONS ARE OF THE FRIENDLIEST AND I HOPE THESE WILL CONTINUE AND EVER GROW CLOSER."

—Jawaharlal Nehru

Soviet-Indian economic cooperation which began on February 2, 1955 with the signing of the agreement for the construction of the Bhilai steel plant has just completed a decade. This was a decade which saw the gradual fulfilment of the hope and wishes expressed by Jawaharlal Nehru, a visionary of modern India.

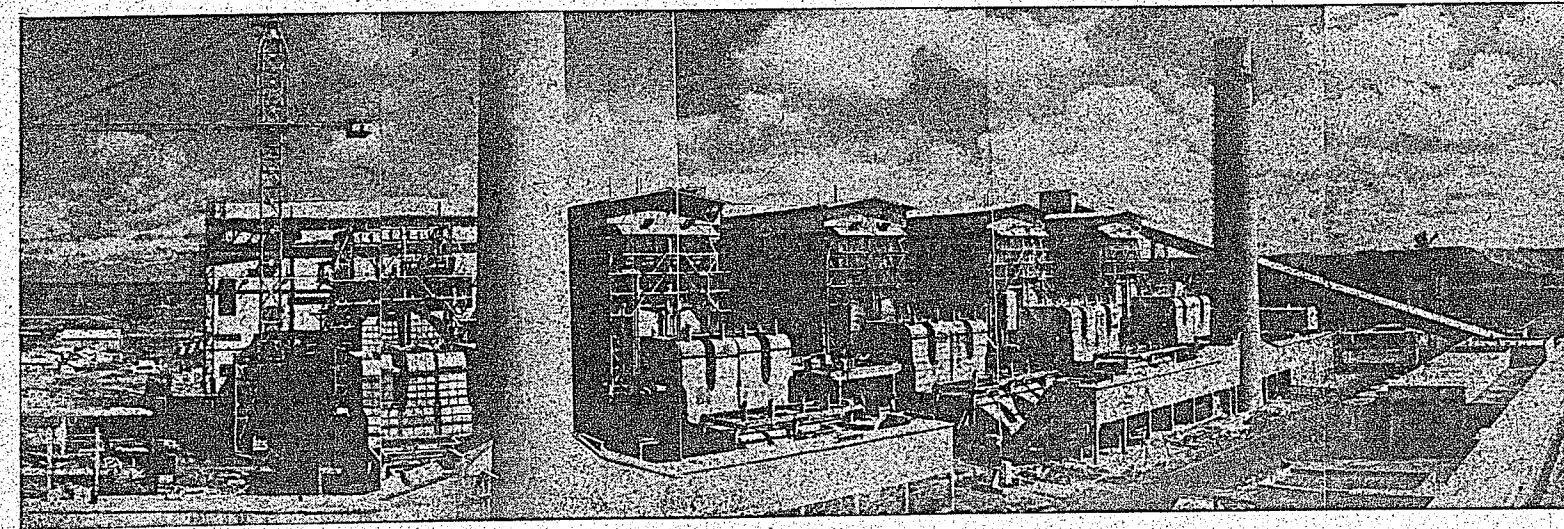
The past ten years were the years of most fruitful cooperation between the Soviet Union and India, which led to the building of a firm base for India's independent economy. There stand two giant projects at both the extremities of this glorious decade: Bhilai at the beginning and Bokaro at the end. Between the two steel plants, the decade is interspersed with other strategic projects.

Today, Soviet-Indian economic cooperation covers diverse fields and more than 40 projects stand as living examples of the firm links India has forged with the Soviet Union. Following are projects where the Soviet Union has cooperated with India: STEEL: Bhilai Steel Plant, which is now being expanded from its present capacity of one million tons of steel to two and a half million tons per year. Bokaro Steel Plant, which will produce 1.5 to 2.0 million tons of steel per year.

OIL: Two oil refineries—Barauni (three million tons per year) and Koyali (three million tons per year). In addition, there are Ankleshwar oil field, Cambay gas field, oil and gas prospecting in Gujarat, Madras, Punjab, Assam and Bihar states. Also the off-shore seismic survey for oil is now under way.

POWER: Five thermal power stations: Neyveli (400 MW), Korba (200 MW) Orsa (250 MW), Patratu (400 MW), and Haridganj (100 MW). In addition there are four hydro-power stations—Bhakra Right Bank (600 MW), Hirakud (25 MW), Mettur (200 MW) and Bailmela (360 MW). PHARMACEUTICALS: Madras Surgical Instruments Plant (2.5 million pieces per year), Rishikesh Antibiotics Plant (300 tons annually), Hyderabad Synthetic Chemical-Pharmaceutical Plant (850 tons per year) and Durgapur Ophthalmic Lenses Factory (300 tons annually). MINING: Manikpur Open Cast Mine (one million tons), Korba Coal Mines (1.7 million tons), and Kathara Coal Washery (three million tons). AGRICULTURE: Suratgarh Central Mechanised Farm and

A general view of Neyveli Power Plant



FEBRUARY 7, 1965

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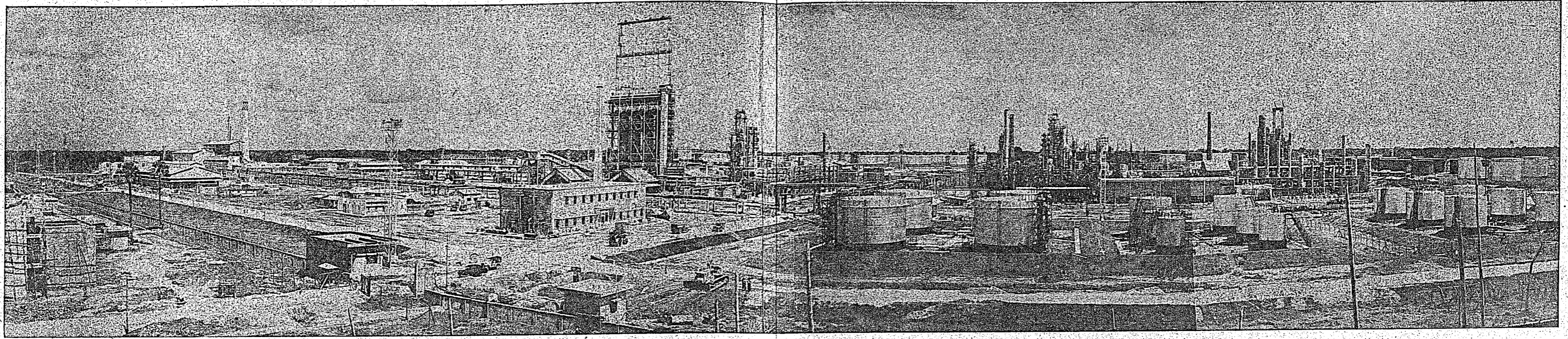
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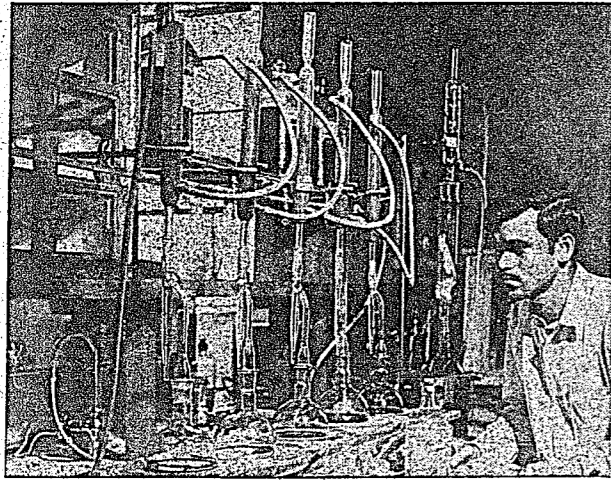
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A panoramic view of the Barauni Oil Refinery

10 YEARS OF SOVIET-INDIAN ECONOMIC COOPERATION



Pharmaceutical research laboratory at Hyderabad

* From Overleaf

and with the UK—only by five per cent.

The tempo of growth of foreign trade between India and the USSR has by far exceeded that of India's foreign trade turnover as a whole. Whereas in the last five years the average increase in the foreign trade turnover of India was 3.4 per cent per annum, the turnover of trade between India and the USSR in the same period has shown an increase of 24 per cent.

The Soviet Union now occupies the third place among India's foreign trade partners, taking the third place among the importers of Indian goods and sharing the 4-5th places in India's imports. India in turn occupies one of the leading places in the foreign trade of USSR with the developing countries of Asia and Africa and the third place in its foreign trade

with the capitalist countries (the share of India in the Soviet trade turnover with this group of countries is about 8 per cent).

There is tremendous scope of increase in the trade turnover between the two countries and it is hoped that if the direction of trade remains unchanged, perhaps, the Soviet Union will soon come to be known as India's premier trading partner.

Let us examine now what the projects set up with Soviet cooperation mean for our country. The pride of place in this, of course, goes to Bhilai which is the first public sector steel plant established with Soviet help.

India is chronically short of steel and despite the three iron and steel plants (of which two are privately-owned) which were in operation before the 2nd Five Year Plan, the total steel output per annum was just a little

1955 1965

more than one million tonnes per year. In 1955, the steel output stood at 1.26 million tonnes and imported steel accounted for another 0.9 million tonnes. The demand for steel during the decade 1952-1961 increased at the rate of 12 per cent per year.

The growing demand of steel and the foreign ex-

change drain on account of imports, were compelling factors that led Government of India to plan for steel plants in public sector. But it met stiff resistance from the private capital inside the country and cut-throat terms from foreign capital.

Then India looked up to the land of socialism for help in building a steel plant. The Soviet Union readily responded to India's need, with most reasonable credit terms and construction plan. Thus came the Bhilai plant agreement which not only symbolised the future of modern India in the making but also put her in a very strong position as regards bargaining capacity with the West. After the Bhilai agreement, the West Germans came forward with

contract for Rourkela, the British consortium for Durgapur and so on.

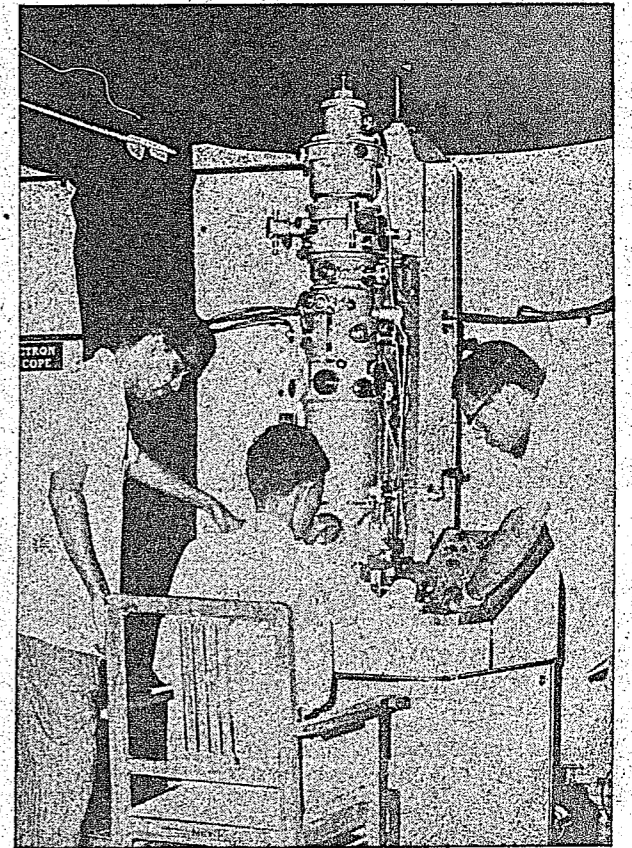
The unfolding of the new map of India studded with shining examples of industrial undertakings today would have been impossible had not the Soviet Union come forward to aid the industrialisation programme of our country.

Bhilai today is the best steel plant in India, faultlessly operating and producing beyond the scheduled targets, bringing in profits and much-needed foreign exchange. In 1963-64, Bhilai made a gross profit of Rs. 11.7 crores. By the end of the Third Plan Bhilai alone will produce 40 per cent of the steel output in the public sector. The Bokaro plant which is to be built

now will be an even better project, both in terms of material output as well as self-reliance in steel-making. And on top of that it will be known as a steel plant which has helped our country to defeat American blackmail.

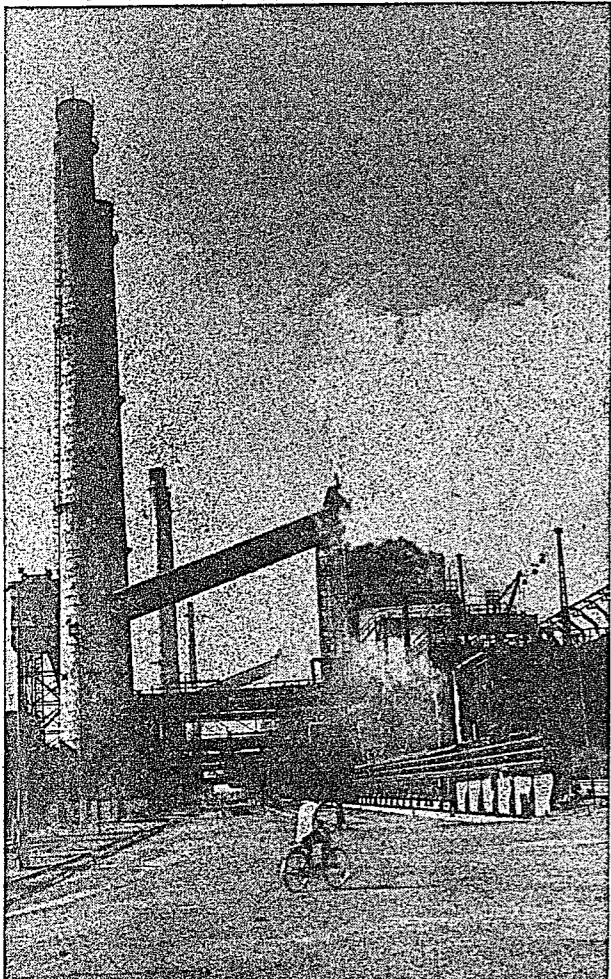
At the beginning of the First Five Year Plan, the total output of power in India was just 2.3 million KW. When all the power generation plants set up with Soviet help will reach optimum production level; they would be generating 2.5 million KW of electricity. Soviet-aided power stations will account for 35 per cent of our total power generation under the Third Five Year Plan, besides giving out substantial quantity of nitrogenous by-products which will be used as fertilisers.

Perhaps, the most outstanding landmark in the annals of Soviet-Indian economic

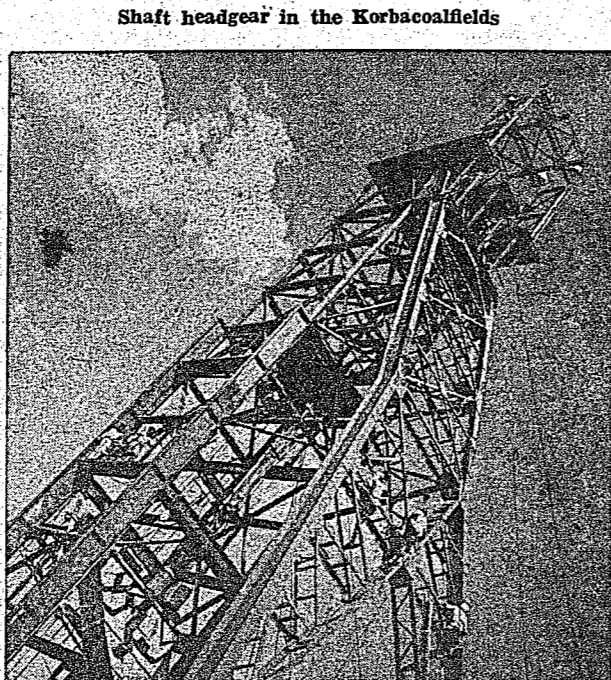


Indian trainees operating electronic microscope

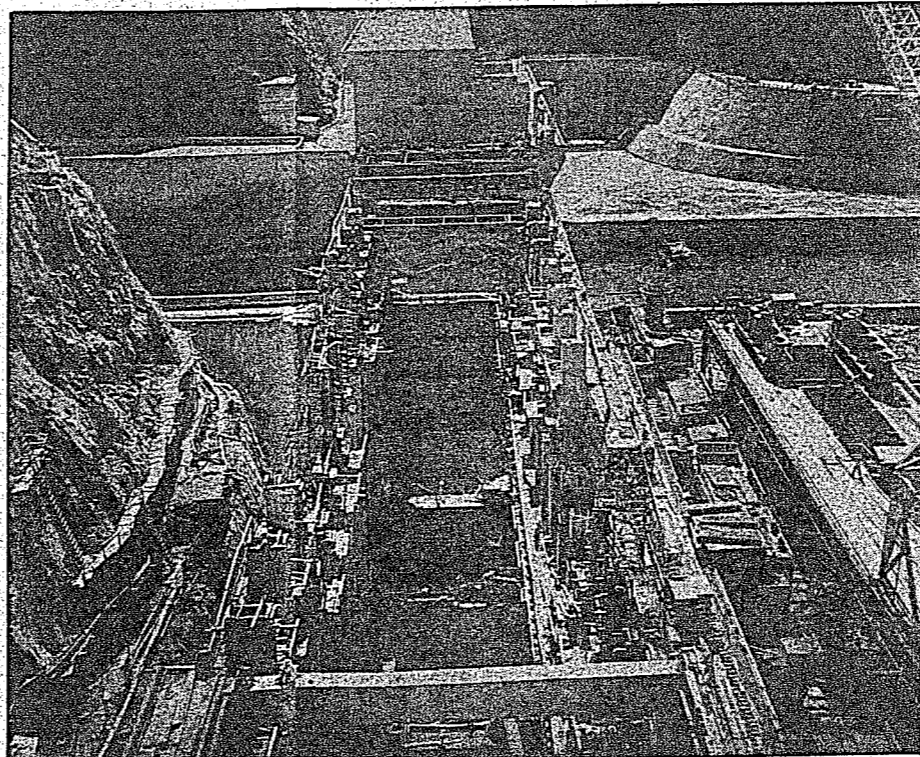
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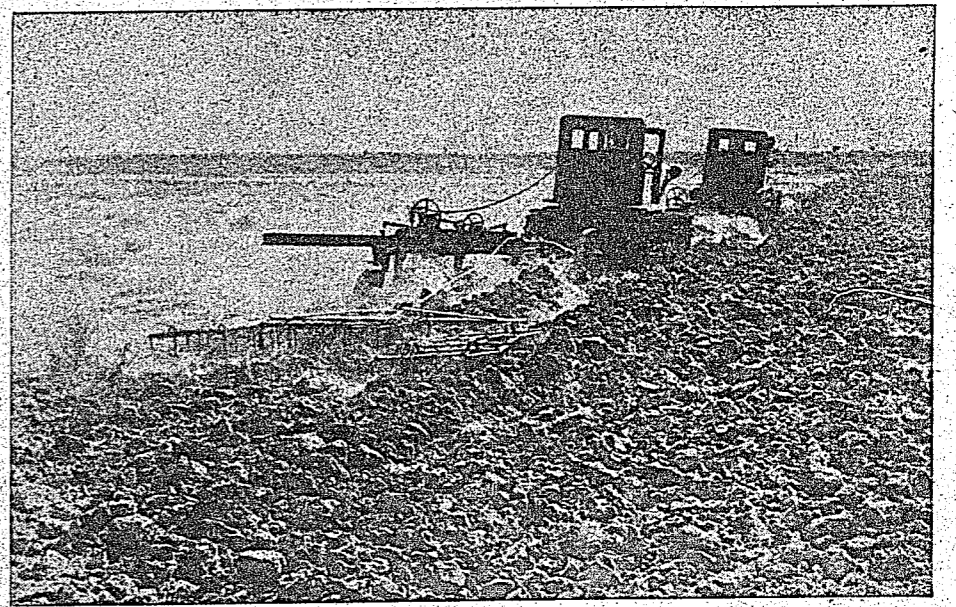
Coke Ovens at the Bhilai Steel Plant



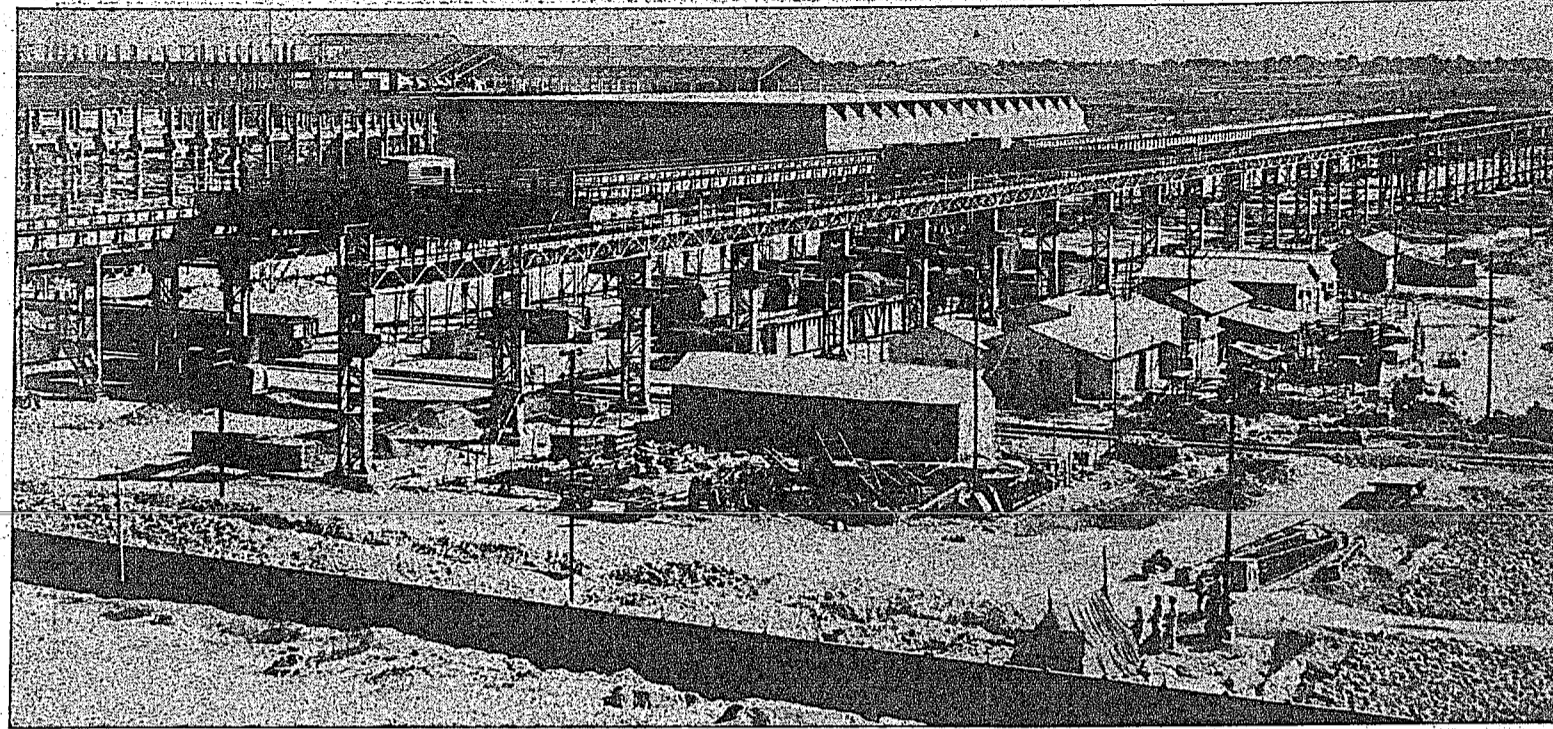
Shaft headgear in the Korbacoalfields



Bhakra Right Bank Power Station under construction



Suratgarh—a desert turned into a fertile land



A view of Durgapur Coa Mining Machinery Plant



Practical training at the Indian Institute of Technology, Pawai

10 YEARS OF SOVIET-INDIAN ECONOMIC COOPERATION

* From Overleaf

cooperation is the oil industry. This is one sphere where we have been able to break through the foreign monopoly stranglehold. The canard spread by interested foreign monopoly cartels and imperialists that Indian oil resources are negligible, has been proved to be a blatant lie. India is now proved to be a country with a huge deposit of oil and natural gas.

In addition, the three public sector refineries—Barauni and Koyali set up with the Soviet cooperation, and Nummati with Rumanian help—have put India's independent oil industry on a firm footing, and enabled her to save crores of rupees in foreign exchange besides meeting domestic consumption needs.

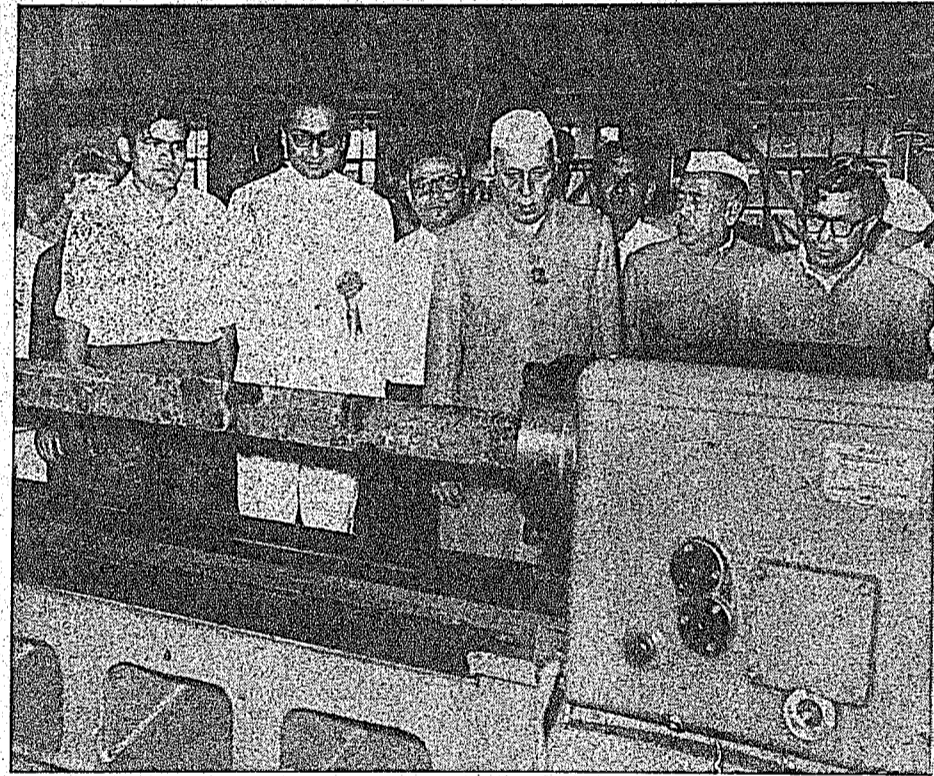
The other field where the Soviet assistance has been of far-reaching significance is the field of engineering, particularly the heavy engineering complexes. These plants will help us to meet not only the machine and plant requirements of existing industries but also produce components for new plants in steel-making, coal-mining, power generation etc.

It is therefore unmistakably clear that Soviet cooperation in India's economic

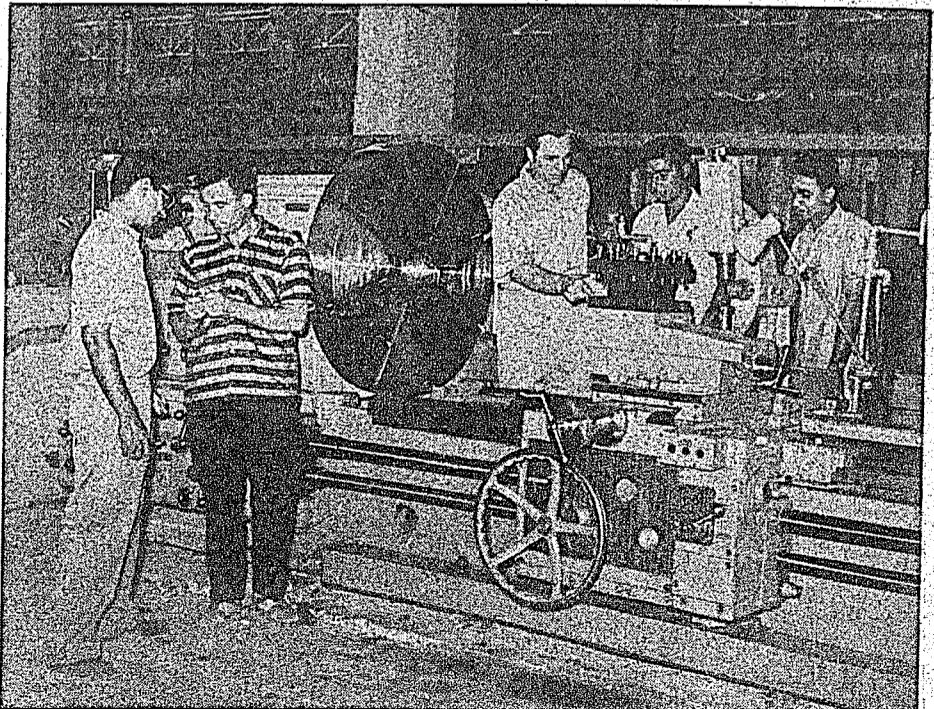
development is today the single biggest factor for Indian industrial growth and achievements. But for the socialist countries headed by the Soviet Union, India would have remained completely under the economic subjugation of the imperialists despite being politically independent, and continued to be a fertile ground for neo-colonial exploitation.

The Soviet cooperation is not limited to setting up of vitally important industrial complexes; it is simultaneously providing Indian technicians with the necessary know-how of running the plants, setting up of new plants etc. Both in the Soviet Union as well as in India, young technicians are learning to master the magic of era, the technical knowledge, for building an industrially-developed nation, a nation free from the bondage of foreign domination and beyond the reach of imperialist sabotage.

At the end of the first decade of Soviet-Indian economic cooperation, every Indian therefore looks forward to yet another decade of this glorious cooperation which will take India onward to newer heights of development, and of prosperity. And in the chronicle of Modern India in the Making, February 2, 1955 shall always remain as the brightest day.



The late Prime Minister Nehru at the Ranchi Heavy Machinery Plant Below, sharing the knowledge



The Chinese Nuclear Test And The Problems Of Defence

This article by Peter Alvares MP, well-known trade union leader, on the Chinese nuclear test and problems of defence, attempts to analyse the subject from an interesting angle. We do not agree with some of his formulations, but nobody can dispute his main conclusion that the Chinese bomb does not warrant and should not make India take hasty steps in the direction of any bomb of her own or move for a nuclear umbrella or shield.—Editor.

On October 16, 1964 the Chinese tested a nuclear device in Lop Nor in Sinkiang Province, and since then the world has discussed afresh the problems of defence against this new threat and of the possible political alignments to neutralise its implications. In an age of scientific achievements and rapid technological advance, knowledge is shared by mankind, it is surprising that the explosion of the bomb by the Chinese should have taken the world unaware, or even that the mere possession of an atomic device should be hailed as a matter of great achievement. The entire episode reveals that India was caught unaware in spite of the knowledge that China was preparing for over a year to test its nuclear device, and also that our basic thinking on the atom bomb was theoretical only just so long as this threat was not on our immediate frontiers.

HERE are three possible conjectures in regard to the motivations that underlined China's policy to manufacture the atom bomb. And yet we must be cautious to state that these are only speculations. It is doubtful if any military consideration vis-a-vis India ever compelled China to make the bomb. China in spite of all assurances to the contrary, still possesses military superiority over us.

An expensive and devastating device is unnecessary for her military threat to her security or, at the moment, to her expansionist policy, and in spite of the fact that the bomb was exploded near the Himalayan Frontier of our country it would be difficult to accept the argument that the bomb is aimed against India.

Even taking for granted that the testing of the nuclear device is by China, who is an aggressor against our country, the reason for its testing nuclear device must be sought in other circumstances.

Possible Reasons

Ever since China took on the role of an aggressor in Korea earlier in the 1950s she has come into direct confrontation with the United States. Not only does she feel balked at her designs in South East Asia, but she also feels insecure. Her aggressive policy has succeeded only in inviting a potential nuclear retaliation should circumstances demand it.

Having taken on a self-appointed role that as a Marxist government that she cannot retract from, China must inevitably meet possible contingencies by an equally potential weapon that America may employ. Military necessity has played its compulsive role.

It is not only from immediate military objectives that governments are compelled to possess a nuclear device.

The question of strategy and prestige also play their part.

France has invoked both these considerations on her behalf when exploding her device in the Sahara. She has argued that there is no guarantee that America will come to her aid automatically in case of an attack by Russia, and that France therefore needs her own deterrent.

French Argument

The Multilateral Nuclear Force (MLF) is also no suitable substitute according to de Gaulle, and the only way in which France can carry on with security is by the possession of her own atom bomb which will leave initiative in her own hands.

If this was not enough, the vision of France as conceived by de Gaulle, would be incomplete if his own country did not possess a prestigious weapon.

After all, France is one of the Big Five, and if the other three (America, Russia and Britain) could possess the atom bomb, then France must do so.

Further, if four of the Big Five are justified in possession of the atom bomb, then there would be all the more compelling reason for China—now in an aggressive mood—to also possess it as she is the fifth of the Big Five. Prestige and military necessity generally contribute to proliferation and escalation.

The question of prestige in the possession of the atom bomb is, perhaps, as important an argument as that of military necessity.

In the context of the role that China is playing in the Communist world of today she cannot afford to be a secondary power. Unfortunately for herself, she has come in for a direct confrontation with Russia, whereas in the case of France it is still only speculation.

Not only did Russia disown the necessity of any Communist

policy of aggression of India, but at various stages opposed China's policy on India specifically. While France still speculates upon the possibility of American aloofness in Europe, China has witnessed the conflict of opposite interests between Russia and herself in the world stage of communism.

Fortunately, peace does not require a posture as aggression does, and China could not afford to influence the newer nations of Africa and Asia unless she could have the trappings of a major military power. It is unnecessary for this consideration whether China has the necessary carrier force to deliver her striking power. France has just been able to gather, or rather assemble, her carrier force after about two years of her own testing. When China will be able to do likewise is not known. But this consideration is of minor significance compared with the actual possession of the atom bomb itself.

And if the ultimate proof of any policy is in the manner of its reception then the fact that India's proposal to condemn China for testing the bomb did not receive any support from the Afro-Asian countries is evidence of the meanness of any country to fall to the temptation of possession of the atom bomb.

It is in the light of these considerations that the country must re-assess our defence needs, and re-orient our international policy for it is there ultimately that security may be available. In regard to conventional defence it could be safely assumed that the cost of the manufacture of the atom bomb is irrelevant. Unfortunately, much discussion has taken place whether we could afford the atom bomb or not.

Only Criterion

The only criterion in this regard that is relevant is whether it would be advisable and necessary to manufacture the bomb. If so, the price question is of secondary consideration. Nothing can gain precedence over the independence of the country and the need to maintain the inviolability of her frontiers.

In spite of the acute tensions that prevailed over a major surface of the world, it is noteworthy that no nation that has the atom bomb has dared use it upon its adversaries.

Many issues are still being fought through conventional wars, and this in spite of the fact that a stalemate has been reached in quite a few spheres.

Notwithstanding the situation that the Big Powers, who desire to retain the monopoly of and avoid the proliferation of the atom bomb, advocate very vigorously the limitation to conventional armaments, yet it must be assumed that even they are prepared to face a long drawn out and possible stalemate in any given situation rather than risk the use of the atom bomb. Its possession has at once become a liability that cannot be discharged.

The fear that retaliation can bring in ultimate disaster to itself has encouraged the feeling that the utility of the atom bomb is more of a deterrent than a weapon of aggression.

This is not to argue for any complacent attitude where an irresponsible and cruel and unscrupulous aggressor like China is concerned. But in an overall assessment it may be reasonable to argue that its limitation to the Big Five, as they are posed now, is a lesser danger to mankind than its proliferation. After all the larger number of nations that possess the bomb the greater is the danger of an accidental explosion. The establishment of a 'hot-line' between America and Russia flows from the realisation of just such a situation. In the case of the atom bomb it is not the surprise of the attack that has to be feared but the mischance of one.

Nuclear Shield

In what precise circumstances does a defence policy lie? Because of the immaturity of our policy and the hurry of our reaction the nuclear shield was proposed. It was however denied that such a proposal was ever made, though there is no doubt that it was seriously considered but subsequently abandoned because of its implications.

The initial mistake of this policy lay in the fact that it was made to America and Great Britain to the exclusion of Russia. Politically it was a discrimination for it did not take into account that all during the war with China, Russia maintained more than an attitude of neutrality—a sympathetic attitude—towards India.

Strategically, it incited America and Britain to our aid against China, and left Russia on the periphery while America and Britain established their own military bases in India and helped complete the ring of defence against Russia.

If it had succeeded it would have certainly antagonised Russia at a time when her friendship is not merely of

danger of China in South East Asia would be one that would beset India also in the near future. If it is not possible to contain China in South-East Asia then it would be impossible to save Asia from her. The African countries generally are not a serious problem for China.

Under the circumstances the problem of India's defence is identical to the problem of containing China and therefore, unless an over-all policy is agreed upon, the nuclear shield may mean an unilateral defence arrangement without any reciprocal advantage to American security.

In deciding the relative merit of the nuclear shield it is for consideration whether the general threat of the Chinese atom bomb is greater than the provocation offered to China by inviting America and Britain in a joint nuclear defence proposal with India. Though this is not a purely speculative proposal, yet it will be difficult to decide between the issues for they are not necessarily contingent upon each other but only probables in the sequence of cause and effect.

And it is not only China that may resent America's entry and Britain's entry into a defence arrangement in the Indian sub-continent. Pakistan, Indonesia, and many of the new African countries will also resent this. India stands in jeopardy of losing the confidence in those very quarters where the defence against the atom bomb must be fought out on the political level.

Defence Policy

If the defence against the atom bomb lies in its limitation and non-proliferation, then it would be obvious that the non-nuclear powers are persuaded not to embark upon any programme of nuclear testing and simultaneously to develop the political atmosphere against its use.

Unfortunately, prestige plays as important a part as military assessment in the decision to make the bomb, but if it is recognised that the possession of one is not necessarily an un-mixed blessing, or does not give the possessor unquestioned advantage, then it may still be possible to convey the idea that

by PETER ALVARES

political value but also of public and international opinion against the bomb is as effective a deterrent against its use as any other.

Anyhow the idea of the 'nuclear shield' could never have seen acceptance by American conservative and isolationist opinion. For if the threat of involvement by America in the defence of India is real, then so is the retaliation against them by the Chinese. China is by far a more potential and live danger than the Russians. Involvement in India would extend the area of confrontation even when there is no nuclear war in operation.

Further, it is doubtful if America would oblige this country without a corresponding understanding between the two countries on the issues of South-East Asia. The former could argue with some reason that

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INDIA TODAY IS NOT CHIANG'S CHINA

The arrests of the left Communists and splitters at the hands of the Government of India on December 30, 1964 was disapproved and censured not only by us but also by a large volume of democratic opinion in the country.

THEY were disapproved mainly on the ground that the arrests by the indiscriminate use of the DIR were a step backward from democratic rights. And if the arrested people really were what they are depicted to be in the government communiqué they could have been openly tried according to the law of the land. No one in India today wants the continuation of the Emergency and the DIR which arose from the Chinese invasion in 1962.

In such conditions it was natural to expect that the Chinese Communist Party leadership should come out with a disapproval of the arrests. But what is interesting is not their disapproval but the political grounds and conclusions that they draw from them.

The PEOPLE'S DAILY of January 17 wrote a commentary on the arrests. After mentioning the names of the "Political Bureau of the Communist Party of India" such as P. Sundarayya, A. K. Gopalan etc., the commentary says:

"With deep indignation, the Chinese people sternly condemn this fascist outrage of the Indian government and extend their high regards and heartfelt sympathy to the comrades of the Communist Party of India now under arrest."

REASON FOR ARRESTS

What is the main reason of the arrests, according to the Chinese leadership? The first reason given by them is that the Calcutta congress of the splitters, "holding high the banner of persevering with Marxism-Leninism and combatting revisionism.... purged from its ranks the renegade Dange group".

Hence this congress "won the acclaim of the Indian people and all revolutionary people of the world", though according to their own reports not a single Communist Party in the world sent any greetings to this Calcutta congress of the "true Communists" to acclaim them.

Such a congress naturally was expected to frighten the ruling class and it did! The commentary says:

"The big bourgeoisie and the big landlords of India and the imperialists and the modern revisionists were alarmed beyond measure at the holding of the

congress and the great successes achieved at it".

The only "great success" we heard about this congress of splitters is that soon after their arrests, they have divided themselves into new tendencies and groups and those who were arrested have started calling those who were not as another shade of "modern revisionists".

Following their usual "principle", some of these "high-holders of the banner of Marxism-Leninism" secretly denounced Jyoti Basu, as being "responsible for their arrests"—otherwise how did they, the great EMS Namboodripad and Jyoti Basu, escape this "fascist outrage" and the wrath of the "big bourgeoisie, the big landlords and imperialists", even when they dutifully joined the bandwagon of the splitters and agreed to denounce the "renegade Dange clique"?

DISTORTED VIEW

The commentary itself argues that the "Dange group" is not arrested because it does not serve the people and is a "lackey of India's big bourgeoisie and big landlords".

In which category then the Jyoti Basu and EMS groups should be put because they as political bureau members are not arrested, is a problem for the Chinese leadership, as well as for the PB of the splitters which is inside jail and those outside to decide.

Anyway it is their internal problem, on which we need not spend our time.

More important than this is the political conclusions that stand out in the commentary. They are as follows:

- 1 The Indian government is the "dictatorship of the big bourgeoisie and big landlords".
- 2 It is a protege of US imperialism.
- 3 It is a "fascist government" like that of Chiang Kai-shek.
- 4 The Calcutta congress of these "true Marxist-Leninists" frightened the Indian Chiang Kai-shek (formerly it was Nehru, now the title is given to Shastri).
- 5 "Chiang Kai-shek of China in his day made mass arrests of Communists and massacred them."

Similarly the Indian fascist Shastri and Nanda, aided by Kamaraj etc., have now arrested the true Communists.

6 "But in his so doing, the broad masses of the Chinese people came to see what stuff he (Chiang Kai-shek) was made of and his doom was irrevocably sealed".

by
S. A. DANGE

The same will happen to the Indian government.

Let these splitters therefore take heart, not be cowed down by these "temporary difficulties". The example of China is before them. "The future of India certainly belongs to them", concludes the commentary.

What does this wailing show?

In the first place, the Chinese leadership reveal themselves as extremely blind chauvinists, who see every country and every situation in their own image and an unchanging stereotyped image which existed "thirty years ago" (as they said in their October 1962 article), in which only the immutable devil Chiang Kai-shek does the dragon dance of fascist massacre and the liberating god Mao Tse-tung and his Thought bring hope and message. It was so for China. It is so for India, for Russia, for the whole world.

This metaphysical egoism has misled the Chinese Party, which was once right in the Chiang Kai-shek days but is no longer so in the New Epoch.

MISLEADING FOLLOWERS

And with its mechanical idealist transfer of a pre-determined schematism, it is misleading our splitters in India and many good revolutionaries they still retain in their ranks.

Today India is not ruled by fascism, either of the Mussolini, Hitler or Chiang Kai-shek type. It is ruled by a government freely elected on the basis of an adult franchise. The Congress Party which has the majority is following anti-people policies which help the growth of capitalist monopoly and harm the mass of toiling people. It uses police force and firing to suppress the protesting democratic masses.

But it is also forced to retreat and yield to the masses once they show

united strength as has been seen many times.

The Chinese Party never could force Chiang Kai-shek to yield to anything, to any democratic mass action. Twenty-five thousand Shanghai workers were massacred by Chiang Kai-shek for daring to oppose his policy in a single campaign.

harm to the cause of the Indian masses and even to those who, honestly, though misguided, follow their line of thinking.

Nehru was never a Chiang Kai-shek nor is Shastri or Nanda today one.

Similarly, it is wrong to compare the present splitters with the heroic fighters of the Chinese revolution.

In comparing our splitters with the victims of Chiang Kai-shek and the Chinese Communists of "thirty years ago", the Chinese leaders are denigrating their own past and unnecessarily exalting what does not deserve to be exalted.

The Indian revolution certainly will succeed in changing the present anti-people, anti-democratic policies of the Congress government. Many sacrifices will have to be made for that.

But they need not necessarily be on the exact Chi-

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FROL KOZLOV

COMRADE FROL KOZLOV, former Soviet First Deputy Premier and member of the Presidium of the CPSU, who had been ailing since April 1963, passed away on January 30.

Born in a peasant family in 1908, Kozlov began his life as a worker in the Krazny Tekstilshchik factory at the age of 15. He joined the Communist Party in 1926. He was elected as secretary of the Leningrad city committee of the Party in 1949 and in 1953 the secretary of the Leningrad regional committee.

At the 19th Congress of the CPSU, Kozlov was elected a member of the Central Committee and in 1957 to the Presidium of the CPSU. He was the Premier of the Russian Republic and later chosen as a First Deputy Premier of USSR.

Comrade Kozlov retired from all Party work after he suffered a stroke in April 1963.