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EDITORIAL

NEHRU'S MONROE DOCTRINE FOR ASIA

IN his latest utterance on the Chinese aggression, Mr. Nehru made bold to announce that India would consider any attack on Nepal as an attack on India. Nowadays Nepal has maintained her claims to complete sovereignty and national independence. She has permitted America (and now the USSR) to have embassies in Khatmandu and no doubt China will soon get her way and instal her own envoy there.

Mr. B. R. Koirala, the Prime Minister, has reacted to the Nehru statement with a clear claim for an independent foreign policy. The treaty of India with Nepal only stipulates that in times of danger by way of aggression from a third power, she will consult India before deciding on any course of action. This diplomatic language is supposed to ensure that Nepal will be guided by Indian advice and will accept Indian assistance in case of aggression by a third power.

As soon as Chinese occupation of Tibet began in strength and Chinese moves on the border began to threaten all Himalayan States, even Bhutan with whom India has an agreement for defence began to have thoughts of "independence"! The Bhutanese Prime Minister spoke ambiguously of relying on the UNO for defence and the freedom of his State to have its own foreign policy though it is bound by treaty to accept the advice of India in foreign policy! It is clear that the Bhutanese in common with all border peoples do not feel that

India's strength is adequate to the responsibility she has undertaken.

Even border tribes in NEFA have been known to send parties with tribute to the Chinese military units just beyond the Indian borders. They have been doing this from 1951 when the Chinese troops entered the Tibetan area.

Mr. Koirala no doubt with the concurrence of King Mahindra pins his hope on the UNO for real defence against any possible attack by the Reds if they should transgress Nepal's border. His faith in panchsheel as a shield against such penetration has been shattered just as that of the Indian public, though Nehru can still muster sufficient support for his discredited policy in parliament. Mr. Koirala announced in reference to Mr. Nehru's statement that Nepal was absolutely independent and will have her own arrangements in case of necessity, not excluding Indian assistance. But no power will be expected to send assistance except at her request. He added, apparently to mollify the Chinese, that he does not anticipate any border incursion from the Reds!

He knows that the Chinese have been doing propaganda for a Himalayan federation of Nepal, Sikkim, Bhutan and NEFA and possibly Ladakh for years now, which is now stepped up after the suppression of the recent Tibetan revolt.

There is reason to think that this is also the accepted secret policy of Soviet Russia. If Russia and China carry out this policy, there is little doubt

that these small, weak States will succumb. The Chinese and Russian fifth column already operating in Nepal under Dr. K. I. Singh will be strengthened by foreign support. And anti-Indian elements will foster anti-Indian sentiments. Nepal will go out of India's influence and will join the new satellite federation in course of time!

For this eventuality, Mr. Nehru's incompetent handling of the situation will be solely responsible.

From a defence point of view, the mighty aggressors will straddle the Himalayas on both sides and will confront India in the foot-hills. We shall lose the protection of the Himalayas for ever. And defence from the plains is infinitely more difficult. To this sorry pass has the great Mr. Nehru brought his country!

Any real analogy to the American Monroe doctrine in regard to South America will involve a declaration that India warns all Powers that her perimeter of national defence will include the Himalayan States, Kashmir with Ladakh and the Karakoram stretch abutting Sinkiang as well as Burma, Malaya, Indo-China, Ceylon, the Persian Gulf, the Red Sea and the Indian Ocean.

As Mr. Chester Bowles, former American ambassador to India pointed out, both in his speeches and in his fine book on global policy called the *New Dimensions of Peace*, after the departure of the British from India, there is a power vacuum from Cairo and the Middle East to Hanoi including the Indian Ocean and Indonesia. If India will not, (out of an obscurantist respect for doctrines of pacifism and *maya* and *ahimsa*), fill this power gap, she cannot blame other Powers if they should enter it!

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The reluctance of Britain and America to support India as against Portugal in the matter of Goa stems from this vacuum. India in possession of Goa will not fill the vacuum and Russian submarines will come to infest the Indian Ocean

Mr. Nehru is no doubt a learned statesman (with even a book on world history to his credit, or discredit) but he has no real sense of Power in politics and history. He deals in abstract ideas and behaves as though the magic of words like **panchsheel** will influence Powerful States out to aggrandise themselves in the jungle of international relations at the expense of the weak and unwary.

Nonalignment and **panchsheel** (to which Mr. Nehru still clings in despite of the grim fact of Chinese aggression and threat of further invasion), are poor foundations for a policy even remotely resembling the Monroe doctrine of the United States. It should be remembered that Hitler before the war and international communism now have snapped their fingers at the Monroe doctrine and have penetrated the Latin American countries with their technique of **indirect aggression** with the help of local fifth columns in the shape of local communist parties owing their allegiance to the Kremlin! If even the USA with all her power and influence has not been able to maintain her Monroe doctrine against communist penetration, **panchsheel**, nonaligned, pacifist, Gandhian, Buddhist India can hardly be expected in reason to make any reality out of her version of the Monroe doctrine. It is a vain hope. The first requisite for any such ambition is the acceptance of the meaning of power vacuums and of the responsibility of India to fill it, in combination with stronger Powers if she alone cannot do so effectively.

NEHRU'S TERMS TO CHOU ENLAI

Though Parliament has formally approved Mr. Nehru's terms to Chou Enlai, thoughtful people have misgivings about the real implications of the Indian offer.

India has offered to remain in her present occupied line within her own territory **without sending even patrols** if China withdraws to the Indian border as shown in Indian maps. China will have to withdraw from all the territory she has been occupying from 1952 or 1953 ever since she commenced building roads in the Acksachin area. This seems good. But the offer to make a **No Man's Land of our own territory** to the extent occupied by China, a matter of forty or fifty miles in central Ladakh, in Bara Hoti in U.P. and Longju in Nefa amounts **in fact to surrender without a fight**. The gratuitous offer not to send our armed patrols in our own territory amounts to alienation of it, though it may be temporarily. Our intention may be temporary alienation but in Real Politic, territory once ceded rarely comes back to the donor!

There is no reply yet to the offer from China. Chinese papers are still publicising the Chinese prior offer of withdrawal of 12½ miles from present lines

by both, leaving chunks of land in the possession of the aggressor. There is little chance of acceptance of the Indian proposal by the Chinese.

It is noteworthy that India is over-eager to offer concessions even before they are asked for! Why should not India hold on firmly to her historic rights and prepare meanwhile on a long term basis to defend them by war if necessary? Because obviously India's supreme leader is unable to contemplate war as a necessary evil in human affairs and is inevitable under certain circumstances. He thinks that words could be a substitute when backed by good intentions! Or does he think that the future of humanity is better served by the expansion of Communist China than by the independence of India?

INDONESIA HAS TROUBLE WITH CHINA

Indonesia has a large Chinese population in her territory, even as Thailand and Malaya and Burma have. Red China has been claiming them as her nationals, sometimes against the will of the Chinese citizens themselves! The Malayan Chinese settled in Malaya a couple of centuries ago but still China claims them as her own citizens whose primary loyalty should be to her over and above that due to their adopted country where they were born and where they earn their living!

The Chinese are industrious people with a turn for business. Indonesia is full of Chinese retail merchants in the interior villages. Recently they have been asked by Red China to claim privileges amounting to extra-territoriality reminiscent of the European Powers before the war of 1914-18. They have become fifth columnists working for Red China, by and large, although reluctantly.

Now Dr. Subandrio foreign minister of Indonesia was summoned to Peking while India had her border argument with China. He was ill-treated and made to sign a joint statement giving what amounts to extra-territorial concessions to the local Chinese! Indonesia had ordered that village Chinese traders should come to towns and not carry on any business in the interior. This was a safety measure. But Red China now demands that they should be free to trade anywhere they like. This is a clear invasion of the sovereign rights of Indonesia. It is reported that Peking spoke to the Indonesian envoy in the language of a Master to his subordinate!

Mr. Nehru (and Indians) have noted the arrogant language of the earlier Chinese Notes to them.

It is noteworthy that Mr. Nehru now speaks of the historic expansionism and arrogance of the Han dynasty of the Chinese and has ceased referring to the 2000 years of uninterrupted Peace between India and China. It was at best a sentimental argument. If there was no invasion, it was not for lack of will but for the long distances and the primitiveness of the means of communication and transport in those far-off days. But it appears, according to the *Bhavishya Purana*, that there was once an invasion of the Chinese into Assam through Burma!

But they were defeated and made to sign a treaty promising not to repeat the adventure again!

The Indonesian trouble with Red China shows that growing industrialisation and militarism is making China a bad neighbour who has thrown the Bandung and Fanchsheel spirit to the winds. Why does not Mr. Nehru and Dr. Sukarno call a Bandung conference again to deal with these naughty developments of the great Chinese patron of Asia? It is clear that China is serving notice that she is assuming the targets of the old Japanese Co-prosperity Sphere in pre-war days! It is the yellow man's imperialism with the dream of occupying the whole of Asia and Australia and the islands in between!

India should have concentrated on defence in her post-independence policies of reconstruction making it a vital part of the five year plans. She has to retrace her steps now and revise her plans. But as yet there is no sign of a change in economic aims. The proposed third plan is a magnified replica of the Second Plan on the same unsuccessful pattern!

C. R. ADMITS THE FAILURE OF NONALIGNMENT

"As for India's nonalignment it has automatically been terminated by China's action and Russian non-intervention. India's non-alignment in the cold war was an admirable policy and helped world peace as long as neither party used violence against India's territory. But when an act of aggression has happened, it is time to realise and notify that non-alignment has ended. When aggression, open and violent has taken place, non-alignment becomes peace at any price which certainly is not our policy. If the situation does not call for such a sorry policy, the only question is whether we shall proceed alone and whether we are strong enough for it...."

If on the other hand a broader pattern of self-defence has at some stage to be thought of, it is better to take a decision at once. Once action is commenced, events will move quickly and no advantage is gained by postponement. On the contrary, it will lead to clear disadvantage in every respect."

Swarajya 28 November 1959.

The question now is why this point of view urged by those who had a more realistic understanding of Soviet Russia and Red China from 1949, (by this journal and its contributors among many others,) was contemptuously ignored? And why is it that it is even now ignored? The puerile arguments against military alliances being trotted forth by Pandit Nehru years after year that it causes fear and brings the cold war, (as if the cold war were not a Fact springing inevitably from the world ambition of world communism) are again used to support the continuation of non-alignment! Mr. C. Rajagopalachari, elder statesman and staunch sup-

(Continued on page 4)

The Folly of Non-Alignment

By M. A. Venkata Rao

IT is a sad commentary on the immaturity of the entire personnel of parliament and of the political classes in the country that the discredited policy of non-alignment in foreign policy should have received such near unanimous support. What a contrast to the maturity of the British electorate that did not return a single communist to parliament in the recent elections! Of the eighteen candidates, only one did not lose his security deposit!

Of course it is true that the provision of secondary education for all initiated after the first world-war has had time to create an educated electorate. It is a wonder how British working class study circles discuss current economic and political problems. It is for them that the new Penguin and Pelican paper backed cheap editions in their millions were supplied. But in India even college educated classes are unable to discuss problems on the plane of principle. Weekly journals catering to the zest for ideas canvassing current ideologies, —socialism, communism, mixed economy, private enterprise, totalitarianism etc.—demanding a certain elementary knowledge of the background of world politics carry on a precarious existence. Educated people do not have the habit of subscribing to such journals of opinion and criticism nor

(Continued from page 3)

porter of Mr. Nehru's foreign policy even after starting his Swatantra Party has now seen its failure and has here given expression to it in clear terms.

MR. V. K. KRISHNA MENON CONTINUES IN OFFICE

In spite of the almost unanimous opinion of critics both in parliament and outside, (barring of course the CPI), Mr. Menon is to continue in office! The Prime Minister gives him an encomium again. The only conclusion is that he shares the pro-communist sentiments of Mr. Menon in spite of the clear damage it is doing to Indian integrity! Even as Sheikh Abdullah the traitor was supported by Mr. Nehru in spite of the clearest evidence of his treachery to the country, the Prime Minister is behaving with regard to Mr. Menon.

It remains to be seen how long the country will take to force the resignation or dismissal of the redoubtable Mr. Menon. When people have no confidence in him, the fear is inescapable that he will soft pedal all defence measures! It is suspected that even yet the military are not supported adequately and wholeheartedly in the matter of weapon purchase and even of action in the field in according to their own expert knowledge of defence and offence!

are they accustomed to discuss principles and far reaching political events in the light of systematic ideas. They are content with sloganised maxims on one side or other, Leftist or Rightist.

The educated classes in India have too heavy a burden to carry the responsibility of running a democracy and are failing the country. The most crucial of such failures today is the near unanimous support that the educated classes have given to Mr. Nehru's pet policy of non-alignment in foreign affairs.

Pandit Nehru seems to be more passionately attached to non-alignment than to national security! Mr. Spratt points out in a recent article in *The Radical Humanist* that any persons or groups who point out the radical inadequacy of non-alignment in view of hard facts would have a ready hearing today. Well, this journal both in its editorials and in the articles of contributors has been pointing out the futility and danger of India's neutrality and neutralism for years and has no doubt secured the attention and interest of small groups in several parts of the country. But on the whole the general public have not been moved enough to protest to the authorities. They have expressed themselves clearly enough against the anti-national attitudes of the Communist Party of India but they have yet to realise the danger to the security of the country from the continuation of the non-alignment policy of Pandit Nehru.

It should be made clear to the general public that the present danger to national security from the Chinese incursions on the Himalayan borders and into Ladakh has been the result of the present fashionable policy of non-alignment followed so assiduously but unwisely by our famous Prime Minister.

This is capable of being demonstrated beyond cavil. In the first place, our Prime Minister is wrong in his estimate of the cold war and in his attempt to stand out of it. The world situation is today more than ever governed by the new horizon of international communism. By this phrase of new horizon, Khrushchev means the new position of global power that the Soviet Union has secured since the last war. The Baltic States, East European States and completion of annexation of Siberia and the securing of hegemony over Manchuria (through Chinese acquiescence, if not possession in the full sense) have all conspired to make Russia absolute mistress of the vast Eurasian land mass together with all its resources in men and minerals and economic equipment in the European region.

Stalin used this new power to continue his relentless pressure on the free world. He broke out in

Korea as soon as Dean Acheson declared that North Korea was outside the perimeter of American defence! He encouraged pressure on Vietnam. He probed into Turkish and Iranian frontiers. His successor Khrushchev has continued his policy and added economic competition to the military and diplomatic. Today Russia is very much in evidence in the Middle East, an area from which the Anglo-American Powers sought so vainly to exclude her!

Those who are not aware of this relentless struggle for world domination going on without a moment's respite between Russia and America (to name only the principal Powers) have no right to speak on world politics.

The so-called cold war is the name given to this conflict and competition for power between Russia and America in which Russia is the aggressor and America the defender.

America together with her allies disarmed herself to the bare bone, as it were, after 1945-46, relying on the new UNO for future security and peace. But Stalin was more ambitious. He retained war mobilisation in full strength and used it to wring concessions and annex practically the East European States conceded to his sphere of influence on the understanding that free elections would be held. The USA protested against the way in which this promise was ignored and force and fraud were used in securing jerrymandered election successes to communist parties in Hungary, Czechoslovakia and other States. But Stalin had his divisions in full armed strength and preparedness, while the Western armies had melted away and the protest accordingly remained a paper protest!

The war-time suspension of propaganda against Western capitalist countries in Russia was restarted cynically even while Berlin was being occupied and the war was still on! The war-time comrades who gave such substantial lend lease help to Russia and gave such military relief through the gigantic amphibious invasion of the French coast in the Second Western Front (without which Russia would have been conquered by the Nazis) were immediately painted by Russian official propaganda machines as class enemies and world exploiters from whom it was the mission of Russian communism to rescue humanity!

This is the origin of the cold war. This origin in the philosophy of Marxism-Leninism. Stalinism of the cold war is indisputable. The philosophy has continued to inspire day to day policy in the Kremlin. According to the Kremlin, communism has its task cut out to conquer the world for its own philosophy both by direct and indirect aggression. Peaceful co-existence is held up as the policy while the hot war is inadvisable for Russian safety. But even in outward peace, the pressure of communist influence should be continued inside the free countries through the local communist parties! This is indirect aggression as the late Mr. Dulles used to call it. There might be no actual Chinese or Rus-

sian personnel in Syria, Lebanon, Iraq and in Laos in Indo-China. But infiltration through local disgruntled party men is unmistakable. Every communist party in the different countries of the world owes allegiance to the Russian "mother" communist party. This was secured through the Comintern, Cominform in the inter-war and post-war years. Today again the subordination of local communist parties to the Russian party is secured through personal directions in clandestine meetings between their chiefs and through the new Journal on Marxist Theory issued from Moscow.

Indian communist leaders like Ajoy Ghosh and Dange visit their chiefs in Moscow and Peking unashamedly under the pretext of seeking medical assistance, as if communists should be medically treated only by communist doctors and as if sufficiently competent medical skill is available only in communist capitals! The way in which passports are issued to these enemies of the country by the Indian authorities for such consultations so frequently contrasts strangely with the denial of passports to anti-communist writers and journalists for anti-communist meetings abroad! This is one of the ways in which Pandit Nehru's government unmistakably leans to the communist bloc, in spite of the theory of absolute impartiality, claimed by the official non-alignment policy. The visit of Dr. Baliga in recent weeks to Peking to see Chou Enlai and Mao Tsetung to negotiate unofficially is a glaring case in point. To allow a national committed to communism to see the leaders of the invading country is the limit by way of favour to the agents of the enemy, unthinkable to any sane patriot. But such things happen in Nehru's dispensation.

The doctrine of communism is that the Russian communist system is safe only when the whole world is converted to communism. So long as the free world with its capitalistic systems continues in power, there will be a capitalistic encirclement. It is therefore the fixed and unwavering policy of Soviet Russia to expand its influence by every means in its power, military and diplomatic and by infiltration through local communist parties.

The Satellite countries are incorporated effectively into the political and economic systems of Soviet communism. They serve the expansionist aims of Soviet Russia. Today, Red China is linked indissolubly with the destiny of Soviet Russia. No doubt she will try to regain independence as soon as possible when her dependence on Russia becomes reduced through her own economic progress. Red China shares to the full the vision of world communism and has earmarked her own share in the world loot and sphere of influence. Pandit Nehru committed a great blunder in declaring that the Chinese Reds were nationalists and agrarian reformers first and Marxist communists next! This was the slogan put forward by the communist mentors themselves! Many Americans like Mr. Marshall swallowed this bait and were deceived. Mr. Nehru followed suit. It is extraordinary how ready

and willing these fellow travellers are to believe the **best** of communists, in spite of the plainest evidence to the contrary.

To those who know the inner realities of the aggressive doctrine and aggressive policies of Russia and China, Pandit Nehru's trust in them is something naive and childlike in the extreme. He called Stalin—the murderer of millions—a **Great Man of Peace** when he died in 1953! He ignored the massacre and judicial murder of millions by Mao and his henchmen in the early years of consolidation of their regime in 1949-50. He believed them when they asserted that their cartographic aggression **did not mean anything** in present policy! He championed their admission to the UNO as though their membership would make any difference to their response to ethical suggestions and standards. He ignored Russia's ruthless suppression of Hungary's freedom movement in 1956. He acquiesced in the arrogation of sovereign rights over Tibet by Red China in the belief and trust that Chou Enlai's assurances of respect for Tibetan autonomy would be respected. Pandit Nehru poses as the only expert on Communism and the international situation but he has displayed a woeful ignorance of the real motives and cruelty of international communist masters.

He has shown himself incapable of understanding **real-politik**. He has derived his sentimental policies from Gandhi and Buddha and not from Chanakya and Machiavelli. The former are no match to the latter in their own field of politics. Marx and Engels drew their maxims from the military strategist Clausewitz! What a contrast!

Pandit Nehru has therefore trusted those who should **not** be trusted, a maxim that Manu and Chanakya both lay down: **Do not trust those who should not be trusted**. Sound judgment in this regard is the first qualification in a statesman and this is lacking in Pandit Nehru, which is the greatest misfortune of our country. The results of Pandit Nehru's arrogant self-confidence and ignorant handling of foreign affairs are today plain for all to see in the intransigence of the Red Chinese invaders. It is symptomatic of the reluctance of Pandit Nehru to realise the full gravity of the invasion that he continues to speak of **incursions**, taking his cue from V. K. Krishna Menon and the CPI and balks at the true words—**invasion and conquest**. The occupations of 10,000 square miles of Indian territory in Ladakh from Acksachin in the north to Fort Khurnak in central Ladakh by the Chinese forces is **not** fairly described as a **minor incursion**. The word might be apt for the occupation of Longju in the NEFA area but not for the Ladakh penetration.

The Chinese had begun to enter Indian territory in Ladakh and use it for their road making and other strategic purposes from as early as 1952. But the Panchel Treaty between India and China was signed in 1954! Pandit Nehru thought that he could by the magic of his sweet reasonableness and the glamour of his name as a world statesman per-

suade the smiling, *saave* diplomatist Chou Enlai to withdraw his forces and save his name! He interpreted Chou in terms of his own naive character, innocent of **real politik**, with uncritical regard for moral maxims drawn from Gandhi and Buddha in entire oblivion of human nature in the context of power!

India is now to pay the cost of this immaturity of her leader in political thinking.

The world situation as between the communist bloc and the free world is such that there is **no middle ground** between them. The loss of one is the gain of the other. The reason is that the Communist bloc aims at world power, world revolution and world hegemony under Soviet Russia. It is not merely a doctrine. It is on the other hand an **armed doctrine** promoted by continual **pressure** of all kinds—diplomatic, conspiratorial through local communist parties under their guidance, economic aid, blackmail, threat, and lastly through military aid and intervention as in Korea. The defect of India's non-alignment lies in failing to recognise that the only way by which we could shield ourselves against the pressure of the communist bloc is through **firm alliances** with America as the leader of the free world. Co-existence is but a respite.

India should have used the period of grace from 1949 ever since China went Red to expand her military forces and equipment. She should have built strategic roads and aerial installations all along the border. She should have included such military expenses in her Five Year Plans. The elusive doctrine of non-alignment and unjustified trust in communist Powers lying at the basis of our policy have led the country to the present quandary of friendlessness. Mr. Herter's neutral statement should be an eye-opener to us. If Indian security is today threatened and China threatens to conquer India, the responsibility lies squarely on our Prime Minister. There can be no greater folly that a Prime Minister can indulge in for the mortal injury of his country.

JUST OUT!

ENGLISH

or

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(Our Language Problem in Perspective)

By

A. RANGANATHAN

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Menon Gives Away the Show

By M. N. Tholal

MR. KRISHNA MENON is an unpopular figure in the country mainly owing to his bad temper, which has to be put down to his bad liver or indigestion. People seem to think that he has some kind of a mysterious hold on Prime Minister Nehru and that, but for him, India's foreign policy would have been different. Nothing can be farther from the truth.

We Indians should try to get this straight in our minds regarding our Prime Minister. He has fashioned himself after Gandhi, not because Gandhi was right but because he succeeded in establishing himself as a dictator through popular esteem. A man's hold on Nehru is in direct proportion to the zeal with which the man tries to strengthen Nehru's hands. That was so with Gandhi. Whether the man is a communist or a fellow-traveller or a communalist is entirely irrelevant for purposes of favouritism. This kind of personal politics began in 1920 with the ascendancy of Gandhi in the Congress. Jawaharlal Nehru and Gandhi were poles apart, but the former was always loyal to Gandhi and disloyal to himself and to his own principles and professions, and the result was that he presided over the Congress more frequently than any other man and ultimately became Prime Minister with the help of the Mahatma, defeating Rajaji and Sardar Patel because of neither of these two could Gandhi say, as he used to say of Jawaharlal, "But I know he is loyal to me."

RUDENESS AND INSOLENT

Nehru knows that Mr. Krishna Menon is loyal to him and that is enough for him. Whatever Mr. Krishna Menon is, is due to Nehru's favour. He has no standing in the country. He has no standing in the Congress. He has standing only in the heart of Mr. Nehru and for this standing we have to go back to thirty years of his stay in England. When Nehru wrote his *Autobiography*, Mr. Menon secured some very good reviews for the book by eminent Labourites in Britain. During Nehru's tours in England and the Continent, it was Mr. Krishna Menon who used to act as Mr. Nehru's unofficial publicity agent and introduce him to Leftists in Europe.

I remember in the late twenties the Government of India were thinking of prohibiting the return of Jawaharlal Nehru to India because of his association with Communists in Europe. Motilal Nehru, who was then leader of the Swaraj Party in the Central Assembly, had to intervene in his usual jovial hail-fellow-well-met manner and tell Sir Alexander Mudiman, then Home Member, that if Jawaharlal was becoming Communist the best way to cure him of

Communism was to let him come back home where he would shed his Communism at the sight of his father. I do not remember the exact words but I had the story from Motilal Nehru himself. The result was that the Government of India gave up the idea of banning Jawaharlal's entry into India.

So Mr. Menon has been hand-strengthener of Nehru for nearly thirty years and that accounts for the affection Mr. Nehru has for him. The day Mr. Menon ceases to be Nehru's hand-strengthener, he will be nowhere. Mr. Nehru found in the rude Mr. Menon just the sort of man he wanted to deal with the USA and the UK after their desertion of India on the Kashmir issue. We are and shall be paying through the nose for Mr. Menon's—which was really Mr. Nehru's—rudeness. That was something unexampled in international affairs between members of the same Commonwealth and the same (i.e. democratic) bloc and Mr. Nehru must be having sleepless nights for the insolence he permitted himself (directly or through Mr. Menon) to deal with the USA and U.K. (With reference to China, Mr. Nehru is all for decency and dignity and politeness in language!) When a small man comes to power, he wants to show his power and he wants to exercise it the wrong way to show his power. That holds true of both Mr. Menon and Mr. Nehru. They are twins in this respect. What is the use of being powerful, they seem to say, when you have to think of the rights and wrongs of the case every time you open your mouth?

PAUCITY OF EQUIPMENT AND RESOURCES

After saying all that, I cannot help paying a tribute to Mr. Menon for his earnest speech in the Lok Sabha on November 26 during the debate on Sino-Indian relations. If you want to understand the situation, you have to read that speech carefully. In the course of his speech, Defence Minister Menon said:

"The Army's taking over control (in Assam) did not mean displacement of the police personnel. It meant over-all direction by the Army. Displacement of all the personnel would—require resources of a character far different from what it was now." Mr. Menon's English is rather poor and what he obviously meant was 'resources of a character far different from what we have now.'

And again: The Defence Minister pointed out that a modern army could only effectively function with necessary equipment. . . . "All I can say is that necessary troop movements consistent with our resources have taken place."

And yet again: "A Defence Minister must be either a fool or a knave or both if he were to

guarantee what would be the result of a military action. All he could say and do is that all the resources would be put into it. . . . As far as we can judge at present, it is possible for us, with the limited resources, to take on the limited task." (What limited task? Although he used the definite article before 'limited task' there is no reference to the task in the preceding sentences.)

All these hints at paucity of equipment and resources by our Defence Minister can leave no doubt in any honest mind regarding the desperateness of the situation facing the country. He could have hardly gone farther than he did. That being the situation, the only need of the moment is to make up the deficiency as soon as possible, if we are serious in countering the Chinese threat. But are we? "Economic regeneration" as Mr. Menon put it, or "industrial development of the country" as Mr. Nehru has been emphasising, is obviously no answer to the desperate urgency of the situation, because it is a matter not of years but of decades. Are we to wait for decades before taking action—which, even according to Mr. Menon, "we must take" because our "frontier has been violated?"

"We have no military developments on our international frontier," said Mr. Menon, adding, "It is one thing to suddenly wake up to one fact when a new situation arises. . . ." The new situation arose in 1954. The public was not aware of it for five years—it was kept in the dark—but surely Mr. Menon must have known it at least since he became Cabinet Minister and for him to talk in 1956 of a new situation arising or of suddenly waking up to it, cannot carry conviction.

Mr. Menon admitted that he had said in the course of a speech in Bombay recently that India was not invaded, adding "invasion is very different from border incursions." According to the Oxford Dictionary 'invasion' means 'encroachment' and 'encroachment' is an act of 'intruding usurpingly (on other's territory). On the other hand, according to the same authority, incursion means 'hostile invasion, sudden attack.' Where then is the difference between incursion and invasion, particularly when incursions have taken place not at one point but at several places along the border and have resulted in the usurpation of thousands of square miles of our territory? Was it not the same Mr. Menon who complained to the Security Council that Pakistan had invaded India? All this seems to suggest that the word invasion is not being used to avoid conflict, the necessary consequence of invasion if it is not to be taken lying down. This minimising of the Chinese invasion of India is of a piece with the Prime Minister's hiding the fact from the country and is born of our inability, acknowledged indirectly by Mr. Menon in his speech, to throw back the Chinese owing to paucity of equipment and resources, and may therefore be forgiven. But what no patriot will be disposed to forgive is the Government's refusal to budge an inch from

its policy which has landed the country in its present political and military quagmire.

NOT A MILITARY ALLIANCE!

It is in this background of paucity of equipment and resources that our Prime Minister has been threatening to regard an attack on Sikkim, Bhutan and Nepal as an attack on India. But people are asking, what about the attack on India herself? That seems to be a different matter and is not going to be, at least has not yet been, so regarded. Indeed, our Defence Minister, who ought to know better, has declared at a public meeting that India has not been invaded. There is certainly one great virtue in being blind to invasion. You don't have to repel it.

But what about our policy of non-alignment? Do not these declarations of readiness to repel attacks on Sikkim, Bhutan and Nepal constitute pacts and alignment with these countries? Are we to enter into pacts which can only be liabilities on us and which bring us nearer and nearer the brink? And are we to refuse to consider alliances and pacts with powers which can ensure the country's safety?

At his monthly Press Conference on December 2, Mr. Nehru revealed a paragraph in the hitherto unpublished letters exchanged between the Governments of India and Nepal when they signed a Treaty of Peace and Friendship in 1950. That paragraph in effect converts the treaty into a pact of mutual assistance in case of foreign aggression. The paragraph reads:

"Neither Government shall tolerate a threat to the security of the other by a foreign aggressor. To deal with such a threat, the two Governments will consult with each other and devise effective counter-measures."

Mr. Nehru maintained, however, that this clause did not constitute a military alliance but was an assurance of help between friendly countries in the event of aggression. What else is a military alliance? It is indeed amazing, this trading on the people's ignorance of the English language and their inferiority complex, on the part of our Prime Minister and Defence Minister. Perhaps Mr. Nehru will one day tell us that the 5,000 rifles he supplied to Burma, at the request of her Prime Minister U Nu, at a critical juncture in the Burmese Government's war on Communists, did not constitute military aid at all!

To revert to the secret clause quoted above, it would be interesting to know whether, during the five years that the threat has been in progressive existence, the two Governments have consulted with each other, to say nothing of devising counter measures to deal with the same. If not, why not? Is not this failure another lapse on the part of Mr. Nehru? Surely the clause was not intended to come into operation only for the benefit of Nepal? To add to Mr. Nehru's discomfiture, the Nepalese Prime Minister has come out with the rejoinder that Nepal

is friendly to both India and China and has treaties of friendship with both. But Mr. Nehru, when he made the statement, was perhaps thinking only in terms of eliciting applause at a time when his stock is low in the country, irrespective of the derogatory second thoughts which usually follow such bravado.

CASTLES IN THE AIR

Mr. Nehru's speeches in the Lok Sabha made it quite plain where Mr. Nehru's hopes lie for the solution of the grave problem facing India. Dwelling on the "marked differences" between the broad approach of the Soviet Union and China to world problems, Mr. Nehru said, "I do not think there is any country today which is more anxious for peace than the Soviet Union." The day he said this the newspapers announced that Soviet troops would stay on in Hungary, indicating the kind of peace the Soviet Union believes in. He went on to add that basically cries and ideas like interna-

tional communism had become "completely out of date"—forgetting even that there is a Sino-Russian treaty of alliance which will bind Russia on the side of China in case of war with India. His thesis that Chinese expansionism has nothing to do with Communism is also meant to flatter Russia. Having alienated India's natural friends by trade and cantankerous attacks, Mr. Nehru, it seems, has nothing to fall back upon except flattery of Khrushchev and his peace talk which has been forced on him by the policy of brinkmanship and position of strength adopted by the western powers. What a forlorn hope that is for India, has already been pointed out in these columns. But a drowning man catches at a straw and Mr. Nehru, always averse to confessing his blunders, is now twisting the facts of recent history to suit his unpatriotic stand. That great bluff, must, however, be left for treatment in a subsequent issue of this magazine, constituting as it does the gravest menace India has faced in her free existence of the past twelve years.

AN ANALYSIS OF

U. S. Policy and Communist Vulnerability

By Bertram D. Wolfe

(The previous part of the article appeared in the 1st November 1959 issue of *The Indian Liberator*).

MARXISM as an "ism". Insofar as it has claimed to be a science, it is dead. Marx and Engels in their last years were uncomfortably aware of this, and were beginning an uneasy and reluctant patching or rewiring of their dogmas. But after their death the revisionists who followed were outlawed and condemned, and ceased to be Marxists, and those who claimed to be Marxists survived only with the aid of the frozen orthodoxy of a dogmatic creed no longer subject to scientific examination or revision. Indeed, in this lies the strength and the staying powers of Marxism after Marxism as a "science" has proved itself bankrupt. As a science, it has produced only invalid results, but it is also an "ism"—Marxism. There is no "Lockeism," no "Smithism," "Malthusian," "Darwinism," "Michelsensm," "Rankensm" and "Cahbonsm," but there is a Marxism. And this is a fundamental difference which we must strive to understand.

Besides having claimed to be a science, it has been a creed which can be clung to by faith when the intellect questions and rebels. While as a theory Marxism can be refuted by intellect talking to intellect, the strength of the Marxist movement as such lies not in the realm of ideas but in the realm of emotions. It is an ersatz religion, and this is harder to reach with rational argument and harder to cope with.

The world revolution of our time. Though the Marxist Revolution never occurred, and is not like-

ly to occur, we do indeed live in an age of revolution, a revolution which began before Marx's time and which will outlast our own lifetime. It is not the revolution which Marx predicted, nor did it grow from the seeds he sowed. His theory was but one of the misunderstandings of this revolution. The West's rapid expansion to all the continents of the world upset all the world's surviving civilizations. Western society played everywhere the seeds of its own creativeness, its own problems, and its own dissensions.

This is a world revolution in the true sense. The Communists did not create it, but they study ceaselessly to utilize it for the spread of their power and for the destruction of ours. We did create it. But we do not try to understand or to utilize it, nor to aid it in finding new forms of abundance and of freedom. The Communists seek to give neither abundance nor freedom. What they propose to do is to extend their power and their zone: to set up regimes of specialized productivity for power and for war, not regimes of plenty and freedom; to link the revolutionary forces afoot in the world to their war for the winning of the world. Whoever harnesses the forces of that revolution which the West has set in motion yet has not striven to understand, whoever manages to put these forces in politics and economics, in science and technology, in all fields of life to its use, and to deny them to its opponent, that side will win the struggle for the world.

Insofar as the Communists are doing just that and we are not, they are slowly winning the war and will continue to win the war which will occupy the rest of our century. And therefore, in spite of the inconsistencies, cruelties and absurdities of their system, the balance of vulnerability has been swinging from their side to ours.

THE STRATEGY AND TACTICS—LENINISM

Leninism is the strategy and tactics for waging this war, for utilizing the revolutionary forces afloat in the world for the purpose of building totalitarian single-party power throughout the world. Leninism claims to be Marxism: the "Marxism" "of the period of imperialism, world war and world revolution." Leninism claims to be Marxism, yet in all essential respects it has stood Marxism on its head as Marx claims to have stood Hegelianism on its head.

Marx: Economics determines politics. Lenin: Politics determines economics.

Marx: Revolution comes after capitalism has reached its pinnacle and comes first in the most advanced countries. Lenin: Revolution comes first where capitalism is weakest—"the break in the system at the point of its weakest link."

Marx: The revolution will come first in England, or perhaps Germany or France. Lenin: The revolution comes first in Russia, where capitalism is weakest, and then we carry the revolution to advanced Europe, or failing in that, to Asia and Africa from backward Russia in order to deny to the advanced countries their outlets and markets, cut them off from the backward part of the world and cut the undeveloped countries off from them.

Marx: The working class is destined to develop its own consciousness, its own theory, its own organization, its own party, and its own revolution. Lenin: The working class left to itself is capable only of bourgeois thought. Not the "bourgeois-minded and vacillating" working class but a revolutionary elite, a classless vanguard party, is the guardian of the working class. It dictates to the working class. It rules over the working class—and all other classes. It uses the working class as a battering ram because the urban working class is the most unified and concentrated, but it uses the peasantry as a battering ram too, and it tries to use discontent in all classes. And piling up the discontents, it aims to put in power not the working class but its own elite vanguard non-class party.

If this is so, a revolution can be made in a backward country where the working class is not ripe, and the vanguard party can profess to be establishing a dictatorship in the name of the proletariat where it is only beginning to come into existence. Or, as in China, the peasantry can be used as the battering ram. And when the scepter of power has been seized, the vanguard party can claim that it has established the dictatorship of a proletariat which does not yet exist. Or where is the proletariat of North Vietnam? Ho Chi Minh, dictator

in the name of a dictatorship of a non-existent proletariat through a non-existent party of the proletariat, dictates over a society which is not only not socialist but is still pre-capitalist.

Leninism can be understood as a strategy and tactics for the conquest of power, for the maintenance and expansion of power, for making that power absolute and total; as a prescription for the building of a party designed to seize and hold power; as a strategy and tactics for the utilization of the discontents, the unrests, the disturbances and the revolutionary forces which the West has set afloat in the world—to the end of subverting and destroying all that the West stands for, and all that the West dreams of. It is a revolutionary strategy for the winning to the world and for the remaking of man according to Lenin's blueprint. As such, it is, of course, highly vulnerable if there is standing over against it an alert, determined and watchful opponent, ready to utilize the revolutionary situations and strategies and to contest for the leadership of the forces set free by Western civilization itself.

THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION—PROMISE AND PERFORMANCE

The Russian Revolution is now over 40 years old. In the four decades that this new power has existed and become total, all of its original promises have turned into their opposites. Here is where an alert opponent would find more vulnerabilities than he would know what to do with if he were really on the job.

1. It promised "land to the peasants." But in the end it took away even the land which the peasants had under the Tsars, and it herded them into a new state-owned serfdom.

2. It promised "perpetual peace." Instead it has produced a totalitarian state which forever wages a two-fold war—a war on its own people to remake them according to its blueprint, and a war upon the world. And I don't mean the word "war" figuratively but literally. When it wages war on its own people, it is a real war, a war of nerves, a war of quarantine (the Iron Curtain), a war of propaganda, of agitation, of conditioning, of psychological warfare, of physical warfare, of prisons, of concentration camps, of bombardment by loud speakers and press and movies and all the means of cultural conditioning and, when necessary, a bullet in the base of the brain. At the same time it has used this war upon its own people to keep them mobilized for unending war to win the world.

3. It promised "production for use," that is, for the sake of the consumer and consumers' goods. Instead it has set up production for production's sake, for the sake of expanding the oppressive power of the producer-owner state.

4. It promised "plenty," and it has produced perpetual scarcity of all the goods that make life gracious, pleasant, easy, cultured, rewarding, full of promise and possibility.

5. The state that was "to wither away" has ex-

The Indian Libertarian

Economic Supplement

Foreign Aid and Economic Development

By Prof. G. N. Lawande, M.A.

ECONOMIC development of underdeveloped countries has become an important objective in the post war period and many advanced countries have come towards to help these underdeveloped countries, by granting loans and grants. Although financial assistance for development is being provided, it should be clear that development is a complex process requiring much more than financial resources. There is a great gap between the concept of development potentials and formulation of practical proposals designed to realise these potentials. There are various obstacles in the path of underdeveloped countries to achieve rapid economic development of their economy and the most important of them are the low level of education, the lack of skilled and intelligent manpower, low health standards which also forms a substantial obstacle to economic development. Development is also hampered by the scarce resources of domestic capital available for investment in most underdeveloped countries and a great reliance is placed on the foreign aid by the underdeveloped countries. Scarcity of domestic capital is mainly due to low level of national income as well as inadequate machinery for encouraging savings and channeling them properly. At present in our country the fiscal policy adopted by our rulers wedded to socialist pattern of society is certainly detrimental to increase savings for investment purposes and unless appropriate environment is created for increased savings and investment, huge investment by means of deficit financing will only generate inflation and this is what we witness in our country. The changes involved by rapid development are well described by Prof. Gadgil when he says "Rapid development...means change in traditional organization of production; it means rapid acceptance of change in techniques as a normal and continuing process, acceptance of a change of occupation; a change over to urban surroundings for a large number of people and other concomitant changes. Readiness to accept these changes, to be mobile in occupation, habits and habitat is a necessary condition precedent of rapid economic development."

In the early stages of development large expenditures are necessary to provide basic services such as irrigation, housing, health, education and the creation of this basic superstructure requires largely domestic manpower and raw materials and rela-

tively small amounts of capital goods and technical assistance from abroad. In underdeveloped countries about 70% of the total population derive their livelihood from agriculture. About 25% of the surplus manpower is unemployed or underemployed for a major part of the year. This lack of full employment of the manpower of the country prevents maximum production of goods and services a keeps the people poor, depriving many of even the minimum requirements for healthy living. But agricultural development though vital for the economic development cannot solve the problem. There must be greater employment outside agriculture; the development of basic industries which require huge capital provides little employment. Secondly such investment produces less consumer goods which are essential for the sound economic development. As a result of this huge investment, prices of consumer goods tend to rise and the economic growth is greatly retarded. The development of basic industries must be balanced with projects requiring a large labour force and thereby utilizing the idle manpower of the country. But for that there is a need of finance. As savings are inadequate to meet the needs, the only alternative is to impose confiscatory pattern of taxation on agricultural economy which is now advocated by Prof. Raj. Though this method has proved to be effective in China and Russia, yet it will deny the freedom of consumption to the farmer of his own agricultural goods. Thus it is clear that this heavy form of taxation will not be feasible in underdeveloped countries which seek economic development within democratic framework. So the only alternative before the government is to adopt the method of deficit financing which is economically unsound due to deficiency of food and cloth. Our Planning Commission has resorted to this method in the Second Five Year Plan with the result that the prices of basic necessities have gone up.

The main impediment to economic development of most of the underdeveloped countries is the insufficient supplies of food. If the advanced countries really desire to see the rapid economic development of these poor countries, then, instead of granting loans and grants in the form of capital goods and technical assistance, if the supply of agricultural surpluses is made to these poor countries, the problems of both advanced as well as poor countries would be solved and the economic deve-

development of poor countries would be rapid. Secondly this new type of foreign aid would remove the fear of rich countries. They are afraid that depressed agricultural economy will pull them into great depression. In order to remove this fear, attempts should be made to move these surpluses into deficit areas of the free world so that underdeveloped countries would be assured of a sufficient supply of food and cloth essential to domestic finance of their economic development and they would concentrate to make the best use of loans and grants in importing capital goods from abroad which are equally essential for rapid industrialisation. These two types of assistance, namely, basic consumer goods required to make the fullest use of the manpower and capital goods for industrialisation should go hand in hand for the balanced economic growth. Both types of foreign aid are essential, but the supply of agricultural surpluses from the rich countries would certainly help the poor countries to achieve their goal within a short period. The objective of foreign aid with agricultural surpluses should be to supply the underdeveloped countries with food and cloth greatly essential to achieve full employment of the idle manpower. This new type of foreign aid should be on long term basis. It is ruinous from the economic point of view to resort to deficit financing without sufficient supply of food and cloth for number of years, and on grant basis. It is clear that the rate of development cannot be accelerated in some of the poor countries if the only foreign aid they receive consists of loans which have a reasonable prospect of repayment. At present there is a greater demand for grants for development and agricultural surpluses of the advanced countries will not only meet the pent up demand of the people in the underdeveloped countries, but it would also solve agricultural depression in rich countries. The poor countries at present face inflation and the supply of agricultural surpluses would enable the poor countries to bring the price level to a reasonable level. At present, in India we have to face the problem of rising price level and it is not possible for us to meet the needs of the population and raise their standard of life which is one of the objectives of our plans. Heavy investment in basic industries by means of deficit financing will help the price level to rise. Adequate supply of food would not eliminate the need of capital goods and technical assistance. On the contrary the need for these forms of aid might rise as the tempo of development increased. But there is no need that this kind of aid should be met from the foreign countries. Once the underdeveloped country had shown the economic growth with adequate supply of food, it would be in a position to borrow the necessary aid from the international organisations like the World Bank and I.M.F.

Thus it is necessary that the foreign aid that we get from the friendly countries should be in the form of agricultural surplus that would help us to fight against inflation that we have to face at the

present moment. Eight years of planning have clearly proved that our leaders have failed to meet the basic needs of the people and the only solution lies in getting more food supply from outside. Co-operative farming and State Tradition Food Grains would certainly reduce the agricultural output and with an increase of 5 millions of babies every year it would be impossible to raise the standard of life of the existing population. Both these fads of our Prime Minister would enable him to keep the Communists out of power for some time but both these measures would help the Communists to come to power without much difficulty. If the Free countries really desire to stop the menace of Communism in Asia, then the only course open to them is to supply their agricultural surpluses to the underdeveloped countries so that they may have the satisfaction of helping the poor people of underdeveloped countries to raise their standard of life and achieve the rapid economic development of the poor countries. So far America and other friendly countries have rendered us a great help but the development of our country is at snail's speed; this is mainly due to the insufficient supply of food and other basic needs. Unless these needs are sufficiently satisfied, economic development of the country would be lopsided. Economic development is a process whereby real national income of an economy increases over a long period of time and if the rate of development is greater than the population growth, then the per capita income will rise. In poor countries like ours, our main concern may be to raise per capita real income by abolishing poverty but we must recognize that population is growing faster than the rate of development. Excess population may be an asset from the point of future development. If the unemployed manpower can be mobilized for more productive employment, then the excess labour can be a means of capital formation. At bottom the rate of development will depend on the increases in the quantity of productive factors, improvements in the quality of the people as productive agents and advances in the level of productive technique. To achieve rapid economic development it is not necessary to cut the present level of consumption but to transfer the redundant labour to more productive industries and this can be better achieved by the imports of agricultural surpluses from the rich countries. Economists and others from the rich countries recognise that they must maintain a sufficiently high level of development to avoid depression and secular stagnation. Unless the rate of development is high, a rich country may suffer from general overproduction and face a long run problem of unemployment. To avoid the catastrophe it is the duty of the rich countries to supply their agricultural surpluses to the poor countries so that the latter may achieve a balanced growth within a short period. Encouragement of development of poor countries is a permanent feature because it will help the free countries to confine the spread of communism and to expand the trade between industrial nations of the free world and the poor countries.

Private Sector and Third Plan

By "Pisces"

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THOUGH there is one year more for the completion of the Second Five Year Plan, yet literature and loud thinking on the planning of Third Plan is continuing to grow. From the press reports it appears that the Third Plan will be bigger than the Second, but the question arises as regards the role that the private enterprise will be allowed to play in the rapid economic development of the country. In spite of many handicaps private sector has fulfilled its targets even earlier than expected and it is but natural that the private sector should be given a chance for full and active participation in the national development. In the Second Plan the private sector was allowed only 39% of the total outlay which was less than what was allotted to it in the First Plan. The broad outline of the Third Plan submitted by the Federation of Chamber of Commerce and Industry makes a strong and convincing case for an increase in the share of the private sector from 39% in the Second Plan to 45% in the Third Plan. The Second Plan has given a boost to the economy by emphasising the development of basic industries and by giving a major role to the public sector, but this should be continued in the Third Plan with greater emphasis on secondary and tertiary industries. To achieve this objective, greater reliance should be placed on private sector rather than on public sector. In the past the private sector has delivered the goods most economically and efficiently and the recent fall in the agricultural and industrial investment is mainly due to the confiscatory pattern of taxation and not due to incapacity of the private sector to undertake the responsibility of running big industries. The Federation says "there is no reason why the private sector should be excluded from participating in the development of the iron and steel industry or the exploration or exploitation of mineral fuels if it can produce schemes which are economically viable." "From this, one can easily see that the private sector is very eager to play its role in the development of the economy but the present fiscal policy of the Government is the main hurdle in the path of the private sector. Unless a proper environment is created in the country it will be futile on the part of the Government to ask the private sector to play its role within its limited field. From the recent statement made by the Prime Minister at A.I.C.C. meeting it appears that the private sector would be allowed a minor role to play in the Third Plan. He says "the law of the jungle where the strong preyed on the weak could never be allowed to have a free play in the economic sphere in India." He continued by saying that "strong and powerful men in the world in

the capitalist economy reigned supreme had had their claws trimmed and teeth blunted to a considerable extent through Government action. It is for this reason that we are undertaking planning to give equal opportunity to all, the weak and the strong, those with sharp claws and fierce teeth and others who had smaller claws and feebler teeth". In other words the Prime Minister wants to curtail the field of the private sector in the Third Plan, and extend the scope of the public sector.

The private sector does not ask the 19th century *laissez-faire*, but on the contrary it asks a "reasonable degree of planning and control". In other words all that it wants is that it should be allowed to contribute to the fullest extent to the industrial development of the country and in the process to earn and pay a reasonable returns on the monies entrusted to it. On the contrary Government and particularly Prime Minister believes that the Government and Government officials have all wisdom and they know what is good for the country. This is the basic flaw in our economic planning. The Federation has rightly argued that "the present level of taxation has begun to impinge on the rest of the country's economy in such a manner as to hamper capital accumulation, enterprise and development." The right and proper fiscal policy should have been to create an economic climate in which business can expand. One of the basic principles of a fiscal policy in an underdeveloped country like ours is to provide incentives for increased production. At present we are facing a serious situation of rising prices and increasing unemployment. Both these can be overcome by an increased production of consumer goods but unfortunately our Planning Commission alleged to be an expert body on Planning has miserably failed to take into account the basic and elementary fact in formulating its plans, namely, the objectives which it has kept in mind in successfully implementing the ambitious and unrealistic plans can be achieved quickly by enlisting the cooperation of the private sector than by eliminating it altogether by means of confiscatory form of taxation on the recommendations of Dr. Kaldor. A brief study of the industrialised countries will show that incentives to increased production is a *sine qua non* of rapid industrialisation. In other words, it is the motive force of industrial development in any democratic country. One must say with regret that our planners have completely ignored the fact that fiscal policy is not only to raise the larger amount of revenues to the Government but to see that the capital accumulation is increased by an increased savings and additional investment. At present private sector has been re-

garded as a milch cow from which Government can extract maximum amount by means of taxation on the ground of national interests. Under such circumstances private enterprise is unable to expand and increase employment. Our economy is a stagnant economy and the main cause of this is the present fiscal policy. Unless the present fiscal policy is overhauled, there is no chance for the private sector to play its role in the national development.

In the pre-independence era, private enterprise was allowed to play its role, but the foreign rulers had placed many obstacles in its path and it was expected that our national government would remove them but to the surprise of all, our leaders have changed the entire outlook. The Government is trying to develop the country in every possible way but the achievements made during the last eight years are not very encouraging. This was mainly because of the obstacles that were placed again in the path of the private enterprise to take an active part in the development activities. In spite of these difficulties, private enterprise has clearly shown that it can surmount the difficulties and serve the country. Instead of appreciating and giving further opportunities to private initiative and enterprise to do more for an all round development of the country, our Prime Minister has looked upon the private enterprise with suspicion.

Private sector had played an important part in gaining independence for our country but this fact is forgotten by our leaders who are under the impression that the independence was achieved by their sacrifice alone. It is an unfortunate thing to witness that our private sector is lightly forgotten which had made a lasting contribution to gain independence. "It is a weakness of human nature that you are apt to kick the ladder which has brought you to the realm of position and power. This maxim is very well illustrated in the attitude of our rulers in Delhi today towards private sector."

In order to continue the boost given to the economy in the Second Plan, in the Third Plan there is an urgent necessity to release the natural force of individual initiative and enterprise and allow it a free scope to develop. In this connection we have to follow the example of West Germany instead of Russia. In the first place we have to create the necessary atmosphere in the country which will generate enthusiasm and hard work. It is not only that we have to mobilize the internal resources but we have also to acquire foreign capital and skill on a large scale. For this we have to overhaul our present fiscal policy that hampers the economic progress of the country." Any objective review of economic development in the last few years cannot but fail to give rise to the most serious disquiet over the stifling effect which

the aggrandizement of the State is having on economic expansion. Here it is not a mere matter of the State's direct entry into industry, or even the heavy load and drain of its calls on resources. Far more insidious in its restrictive consequences is the proliferating structure of controls and administrative regulations reared in the name of planning which seems to carry on a continuous and silent slaughter of unborn industries. The dismantling of these physical curbs on industrialisation is at least as important as the liberalization of fiscal policies or the dilution of ideology for the adequate stimulation of internal resources and foreign capital without which the nation can hardly hope to double its outlay on development". Our success in attracting foreign capital will be in direct proportion to the success we achieve in releasing the creative energies of our people. It is therefore of great importance that a large part in the total outlay is allotted to the private sector so that we achieve better standard of living for all and rapid economic development of the country. In this connection we must remember what Dr. L. Erhard had said when he was in New Delhi for the International Bank Conference. He said "If I reject this term i.e. German economic miracle, it is because what happened in Germany was not a miracle; an economic policy based on the principles of freedom made human labour again appear valuable and useful and the industriousness and devotion of the people were again made to serve human wellbeing. I share the view that the economic and social development of India does not permit the mere imitation of any pattern, as it is only the creative force of the country and its people which will show the right way. However, fully, economic planning may be accepted, in particular in a phase of development; economic life is not shaped at the draftboard, but by human beings and anybody who thinks he can disregard basic human nature is heading for frustration. This means that the individual must be rendered conscious of the sense and the value of his work and effort, and must be shown better performance leading to the personal advantage of a better life. He must be given the chance of individual development, and must enjoy the fruits of his own success."

The Federation of Chamber of Commerce and Industry rightly asks for liberal fiscal policies that will help capital formation in the private sector and allow foreign capital within the country. Concentration of financial resources in public sector has so far not proved to be a superior method of employing resources and the policy that is followed at present by the Government of expanding public sector at the cost of private sector should be reversed in the Third Plan so that rapid economic development of the country may take place and the objectives of raising the standard of life of the millions of people may be achieved.

panded to totality. Lenin promised that "every cook is to become master of the affairs of the state." Now the state is the master of the affairs of every cook.

6. It promised "freedom," and it has abolished all freedoms.

7. It promised "the workers' paradise," and has immured its people behind an impenetrable wall and turned their country into a prison for their thoughts and for their very lives, which cannot be penetrated by learning what happens on the outside, nor by the freedom to discuss what is happening to themselves on the inside.

8. It has raised the banner of "national self-determination" and "anti-imperialism," but it has become the most aggressive, the most oppressive, the most rapidly expanding imperialist power in the history of man.

Thus—and I have named only a few of these potential vulnerabilities—all the revolutionary slogans which Lenin sought to use and which the Kremlin uses today against all peoples, governments and institutions, could easily be turned by a determined opponent, in tune with our age and ready to use revolutionary strategy, into weapons in our hands. The Communists' hands would prove nerveless and lifeless if we would but grasp the weapons which they are using against us, which are not theirs by right and by right can be made to belong to us, for they are indeed our weapons.

We, not they, are today the advocates of genuine agrarian reforms and the right of each man to till his own land. There is no country in the world more badly in need of agrarian reform than the USSR itself.

We, not they, are the advocates of a just and enduring peace, based on the respect for the rights and the existence of all nations in being or a borning or yet to be.

We, not they, are the champions of the rights and freedoms of working men, the freedom of movement, the freedom to change jobs, the freedom to build organizations of their own choosing under their own control, the right to elect their own officials, to formulate and negotiate their own demands, the fight to strike, the right of vote for a party and a program and candidates of their own choice.

We, not they, are able to call the armies to "fraternize across the trenches," for it is they who must cut off their armies from the news of what is happening in the West, and we who must make our armies and theirs understand what is happening in their land.

We, not they, are the champions of the freedom of the human spirit, of the freedom of the arts and sciences, freedom of conscience, freedom of belief and worship, freedom from scarcity and want, and from the tyranny of irresponsible and omnipotent officials. Though in all these things the free world has its own imperfections and lapses, these are the things that the free world stands for and in good measure realizes, and these are the things which totalitarianism completely destroys and makes high treason even to think upon.

In the battle for the future shape of the world, all the creative and explosive weapons are in our hands if we have the wit and the understanding to take them up. If we do not, then there are no psychological or ideological vulnerabilities of Communism. If we do, the Communists are vulnerable on every front and it every moment and in every layer of their society. Whether the answer to this question is Yes or No will determine the outcome of the protracted war that is likely to occupy the rest of our lives and the rest of our century.

(Concluded)

—The New Leader.

The Futility of The Bombay Rents Control Act

By D. M. K.

IT is high time the working of the Bombay Rents Control Act which is in force in the City of Bombay for well over 12 years, were reviewed and reconsidered in its full bearing on her economic and social life. In the wake of the huge influx of refugees from Western Pakistan after the partitioning of India and also inconsequence of the crowding into the City of large numbers of people from the rural area in search of jobs and employment during the War and thereafter, housing problem in the City became more and more acute and house rents naturally rocketed high. The Bombay Government then thought of intervening in the matter and got the Bombay Rents Control Act passed through the legislature in 1947. The Act, as experience has proved, has only benefited a small section of the population, that is, old tenants, at

the cost of the much-maligned landlord class and also of the generality of the rent-payers. Those who speak self-complacently about the phenomenal growth of the Bombay City in recent years, will do well to pause for-a-while and consider what great price the citizens have had to pay and are still paying, for this much-vaunted progress, in terms of their physical, moral, social and economic degradation. One is reminded of the graphic description given by the American economist and social thinker, Henry George, in his book "Social Problems", of the miserable overcrowding of population in the American cities, towards the end of the nineteenth century. To use his words in this connection, Bombay is growing "unwholesomely crowding people together till they are packed in tiers, family above family". The Bombay Rents

Control Act has in no way been able to remedy or even to ease this distressing situation. On the other hand, it has only aggravated it.

THE NEW PRIVILEGED CLASS

The avowed aims and objects of the Act are to check the tendency of the house-rents to rise disproportionately, and to give the tenants a sense of security against malafide ejection from their premises by the landlords. It would, therefore, be worthwhile to enquire whether these objects have been achieved and what actual results have flowed from the operation of the Act. The old tenants already in possession of the premises, have undoubtedly been benefited to some extent, while among the larger sections of the people an unhappy scramble for a shelter and a roof overhead, is going on endlessly with unabated fury and fierceness. The old tenants have not been slow in reaping the fullest harvest, out of this hard lot of the people. They are bent upon making hay while the sun of the Rents Control Act shines brightly on them, and is ever willing to shower on them all privileges and rights, without any corresponding duties and responsibilities that generally go with the real property-ownership. This new brand of privileged "landlords" created by the Bombay Rents Control Act is behaving with the people hunting for a little living space, in the most heartless manner against all canons of equity, justice, and good conscience. This class is defrauding, on the one hand, the original landlords of their legitimate profits from the enhanced rents, and on the other, is screwing out of their sub-tenants exorbitant rents, for the use of only a part of their premises, which, besides covering the low rents that they (old tenants) themselves pay for the whole premises, leave them substantial profits. It may also be noted that most of such sub-tenants are created privately without any rent notes or rent receipts. These sub-tenants are completely at the mercy of the old tenants who can throw them into the streets at any time. Thus the Act is blatantly circumvented and contravened and high rents are extorted from the sub-tenants much above the level of the "standard rent" as defined in the Act. The distinctive trait of this type of exploitation is that the profits go not to the real owners of the tenements, who pay house-taxes and other dues to the authorities, but to the new privileged class of the old rent-payers, who have suddenly become the virtual landlords by a piece of legal jugglery and subterfuge.

THE SWEET REVENGE OF THE ECONOMIC LAW

Contrary to the economic law of prices and rents finding out their equilibrium level on the basis of the equality of supply and demand, the Act sought to forcibly keep the house rents for the old occupied premises down generally to the pre-war level. But it left the question of rents for the premises in the newly constructed buildings open, to be decided as usual by the free market, with the result that

these new tenements were leased out for abnormally high rents. In the meanwhile, owing to the acute shortage of houses the old rent-payers began sub-letting a part of their tenements to the needy for high rents, which were almost equal to the rents charged for new building-premises. Thus a majority of rent-payers today are simply groaning under the weight of excessive rents, while a few old rent-payers are paying abnormally low rents. This section of old rent-payers seems to be the only class that has come out successful as the prize winner, in this unseemly scramble and fight for residential rooms and apartments. The larger numbers of rent-payers as a result are compelled to bear an unusually heavy, unequal and unjust burden of high rents in marked contrast to the ridiculously low rents that the old occupants are actually paying for the same space and conveniences. The old occupants of business premises, particularly, are known to have made fortunes by privately letting them to others for high rents and huge premiums. The extremely low rents payable by one section have thus been counterbalanced by the exorbitant rents paid by another section, and thus the rentals on a totality at least, have found their market equilibrium level, though by a circuitous and painful process. These results have been contrary to the expectations of the sponsors of the Act who seem, now, to be confused and confounded. The economic laws have indeed, had their sweet revenge on the Government and the populace for their attempting to openly bypass and violate them by governmental decrees. As Prof. Mises truly observes "the Government's decree is just a new datum and its effects are determined by the operation of the market. . . . it may happen that the final outcome of the interference is from the point of view of the Government's intention, even more undesirable than the previous state of affairs which the Government wants to alter." (Prof. Mises' Human Action, page 755).

THE LANDLORDS, THE SPECIAL TARGET

Now coming to the class of landlords, this Act has reduced it to a most unenviable position. In the eyes of the present rulers, the landlords as a class are a self-seeking rapacious lot out for the pound of flesh from their tenants and as such they are not deserving of any sympathetic consideration. That the landlords like other sections of the population have their own economic interest to guard and protect, appears to be no concern of theirs. The clerks, workers and jobbers have had their incomes raised in the form of revised pay scales and wage scales, bonuses, profit sharing schemes etc. in keeping with the general inflationary trends of prices. Even in regard to the essential commodities like food and clothing, the government controlled prices are as a rule much higher than the pre-war prices, and cloth and foodgrain dealers have been allowed to make fair profits. But it is beyond one's understanding why the landlords who also serve the society by providing it with the primary necessities of residential and business premises, are sought to

be penalised and put down so ruthlessly by our rulers through discriminative legislations, rules and regulations, and why, of all persons, the landlords alone should be asked to remain content with the miserably low rents of pre-war days for the old premises. The Government does not even allow them to get a fair return on their invested capital, at the rate of even 4 per cent. interest, which is being offered now on government securities and loans. Is it therefore any wonder that under the circumstances, the landlords find themselves unable even to effect the necessary repairs to the old buildings and that in the absence of any incentive, their building activities have come almost to a dead-stop and that the vacuum, thus created in this field is now filled, by adventurists, upstart contractors who undertake to erect premises and apartments, on what is come to be known as the 'ownership-contract-basis' and thus shamelessly exploit the needy people of the City?

Even the attempts of the landlords to take possession of the premises from the recalcitrant tenants on bona fide grounds mentioned in the Act itself, are generally looked upon with disfavour and displeasure by the authorities and the law courts. This fact has emboldened the tenants to effect major repairs to the premises without even obtaining the consent of their landlords as required by the Act, and the latter have to look on, helplessly, even when their properties are being altered and in some instances even damaged before their very eyes. All these facts, coupled with the enforcement of recent amendment of the Rents Control Act, which legalises all sub-tenancies prior to May 1959, have reduced the ownership rights almost to a nullity and a farce. The one deplorable effect of this Act has been to bring about ill-feeling between the landlords and the tenants and mar their good relations which had always been maintained prior to this Act.

SCRAP THE ACT ALTOGETHER

This sorry state of affairs prevailing in the City with regard to the housing problem, is mainly, if not solely, due to ill-conceived rent-restrictions of the Rents Control Act. How such Government intervention adversely affects the question of housing accommodation is well brought out by Prof. Misès. He observes "Rent restrictions creates a housing shortage. It increase demand without increasing supply... if the maximum rents are decreed not only for available rental space but also for buildings still to be constructed, the construction of new building is no longer remunerative. It either stops or slumps to a low level; the shortage is perpetuated. But even if rents in new buildings are left free, construction of new buildings, drops. Prospective investors are deterred, because they take into account the danger that the Government will at a later date, declare a new emergency and appropriate a portion of the revenue in the same way as it did with the old buildings."

It will thus be seen that the Government's intervention in such matters is always self-defeating and

does not even serve the interest that it wants to do. The Rent Control Act has proved to be a colossal failure in checking racketeering and profiteering and in encouraging construction of new buildings. It has entailed untold hardships on the majority of the rent-payers, and of course, on the landlords. Even the small benefits accruing to the few old rent-payers are only apparent and not real. Most of them live in small tenements just sufficient to accommodate their families but out of greed they choose to sub-let them to others mostly acquaintances, friends and relations. The results are anything but good. Nobody, neither the old or new rentpayer, appears to be happy with the arrangement. Gradually ties of blood and friendship are cut assunder. Quarrels and ejection proceedings become the order of the day which cause bitterness of feelings and financial losses. The overcrowding in narrow rooms works havoc with the help of one and all, and Doctor's bills mount up. All these losses completely wipe out ill-gotten gains of these old rentpayers. In fact, morality and spiritual values have never been at such a discount, as they are today in the City.

This situation calls for some urgent and energetic action if civilised life of the city is not come to a dead-end. The remedy appears to lie in gradually removing the rent restrictions with a view to the scrapping up, in the end, of the whole Bombay Rents Control Act. This done, the free market will release the pent-up economic forces that will encourage the construction of more buildings and bring down the house rents and relieve considerably the housing situation. What is needed at the present juncture on the part of the Bombay Government, is absolute robust courage of the great Indian statesman Rajaji, who was the first to cut the Gordon knot of Government Controls and rationing some years back in Madras, and bring relief to the people. Our Government also can do the same in the case of Rent Control in the City of Bombay, only if it will do some re-thinking and shed-off its pre-conceived notions and prejudices of class conflict and class welfare.

DIALECTICAL THINKING

Where the Communists are challenged on facts with which Arabs or Negroes may not be familiar, they blandly deny that the facts are real.

A striking example of this occurred during the press conference given by the Soviet delegation. The conference, presided over by Mr. Voronov, the editor of *Komsomolskaia Pravda*, was invited to consider the iniquity of the Vienna newspapers in boycotting the festival on the grounds that it is a Communist propaganda affair.

But when Mr. Voronov was asked about the jamming of the BBC broadcasts to Russia, he said that so far as he knew no such jamming was taking place.

Appeasement Implicit in Non-alignment

(From Our Correspondent)

THOSE of us—particularly among the devotees of Prime Minister Nehru—who imagined that Mr. Eisenhower was coming to Delhi to fall on his knees before the great Nehru and beg of him to accept American military aid to resist Chinese incursions have received a rude shock on reading in their newspapers that President Eisenhower at a news conference on December 2 reiterated the proposition advanced earlier by his Secretary of State, Mr. Christian Herter, about the ill-defined nature of the McMahon Line on which India bases its border claims. The President went so far as to say that he did not think any one had ever known exactly where the Line was in some parts and said it was a very remote and wild region. ("Barren mountains, Sir, where not a blade of grass grows!") Apparently Mr. Eisenhower is not prepared to be more Indian on the issue than the Indians themselves just because he is supposed to be anti-Chinese!

At his monthly Press Conference a day later Mr. Nehru almost agreed with a correspondent that the statements on the McMahon Line by the American President and his Secretary of State were due to the inability of our Foreign Office to explain to Washington clearly India's position on the matter and "weak understanding on the part of Washington." It may well be that the Americans are loth to understand the problem with all the strength their mind possesses because India's Prime Minister and Defence Minister themselves do not attach much importance to the issue. A few weeks ago in the United States, Mr. Menon described the Chinese incursions as "silly and foolish," while Mr. Nehru stated at his monthly Press Conference on December 3 that, in the nature of things, the Chinese question would come up during the talks with President Eisenhower, adding significantly: "not that we will give it priority or importance." It is only in the fitness of things that "silly and foolish" acts of an otherwise friendly neighbour—against whom we are not prepared even to start a cold war—should not be given any priority and importance at a time when, as Mr. Nehru said, "the most important thing for him to discuss with the American President is the present international developments and the lead he has given in finding a way out of the tangled situation."

AMERICAN PRESIDENT'S LEAD

It is a pity no one at the Press Conference inquired of Prime Minister Nehru what lead Mr. Eisenhower had given in finding a way out of the tangled situation. The American lead, as every one knows, consists in the formation of NATO, the Bagdad Pact now known as CENTO, and SEATO—and all these Mr. Nehru has condemned times without num-

ber. As a consequence of the formation of these three organisations—all instruments of cold war—the American lead boiled down to "brinkmanship from a position of strength," which too was denounced in no uncertain terms by Mr. Nehru. This position of strength went so far in the last few months as to lead to a refusal to talk to Mr. Khrushchev unless he gave up his weekly threats to western powers to annihilate them, and the bullying poor Mr. Khrushchev has had to keep his mouth shut and in fact has had to eat all he said even in regard to restoring its freedom to East Berlin. What an agonising situation for a bully! All this, briefly known as cold war, does constitute a lead given by the American President in finding a way out of the tangled situation, but all this has been forcefully condemned times without number by Prime Minister Nehru. So it is rather difficult to guess even by experts on international affairs what lead Mr. Nehru was referring to as having been given by Mr. Eisenhower in finding a way out of the tangled situation.

A few days earlier Mr. Nehru had said in Parliament in winding up the Sino-Indian debate: "I do not think there is any country today which is more anxious for peace than the Soviet Union," although a day previous the newspapers had announced that Soviet troops were to continue to stay on in Hungary. However, since, in Mr. Nehru's opinion, Poland, Czechoslovakia, East Germany, Hungary, Bulgaria, Rumania, etc. etc., are not colonies of Soviet Russia, they can only be enlarging the area of peace by remaining under the military control of Soviet Russia. If, therefore, he had referred to the lead given by Mr. Khrushchev in solving world problems—such as that in Hungary three years ago—everyone would have understood it. But there is nothing surprising in what appears to be a volte face on the part of Mr. Nehru within a week, as hunting with the hounds and running with the hare has been his pastime since he found himself between the Scylla of his father Motilal Nehru, leader of Swarajists, and the Charybdis of Gandhi, the leader of no-changers from 1923 onwards.

EISENHOWER'S MAIN OBJECT

But it has not escaped notice here that the American President's rather unfriendly observations at his Press Conference on the eve of his departure for India are in marked contrast to our own Prime Minister's ingratiating observations on the eve of his departure for foreign lands (pro-American if the land to be visited is USA, pro-Russian if the land to be visited is Russia) calculated, according to cynics, to ensure a big welcome for him. But then Mr. Eisenhower does not seem to believe in

claptrap like our Gandhi and Nehru, claptrap which passes for high moral standards, in observing which we cannot afford to remember, even in order to be consistent, what we said sometime ago on the same subject!

One thing is certain. Mr. Eisenhower's main object in his talks with Mr. Nehru will be to bring him round to a peaceful solution of the Kashmir issue which today stands between India and Pakistan and which is the root cause of our non-alignment policy and but for which, as we now know, China would not have dared to behave towards India as she has been doing. There is no sense in bewailing expansionist China and at the same time refusing to be reasonable towards our neighbours who, when all is said, are our blood brothers. An Indo-Pak Agreement is the greatest need of the hour, for without a common defence system among Pakistan, India and Burma, underwritten by the western powers, it is sheer folly to expect China to behave herself. The sooner we realise it the better it will be for our country. Those who do not want to realise it, whether for reasons of prestige or jingoism or fellow-travelling, are on the side of China and against India, wittingly or unwittingly.

FAUCITY OF MILITARY EQUIPMENT

Speaking in the debate on Sino-Indian relations, Defence Minister Menon said, while India was opposed to military aid, it had been obtaining whatever defence equipment it required from other countries, whether from the East or from the West, by paying for the equipment. Any military equipment taken, he added, was subject to the internal legislation of the country from which it was obtained. Every one knows that that legislation prevents sale of the very best military equipment a country produces and facilitates sale of out-dated equipment which is regarded as scrap or worthless. So, in the result, Indian opposition to military aid not only means a heavy burden on the exchequer, but what is paid for cannot compete with, for example, what Pakistan gets free from the USA or China gets free from Soviet Russia. That in fact has been one of the main bones of contention between the Defence Chiefs and the Defence Minister. Mr. Menon has been himself forced by the march of events to emphasise the paucity of our equipment and resources. Alarming as the situation is, it does not seem to matter to those who guide the ship of state. They stick to their policy which has proved a total failure, because the alternative is eating the humble pie, and bravado is indulged in to mislead the ignorant and prevent them from realising the present desperate situation in all its nakedness. (We may expect this bravado to increase with every climb down on the part of Mr. Nehru). We are even told by no less a man than our Prime Minister that, if necessary, we shall fight the Chinese with lathis. But why should it be necessary to fight at all, for nonviolent people like us? And how on earth with our lathis ever reach the Chinese possessing automatic weapons is a question which evidently does not bother our Prime Minister.

In this connection the following remarkable letter from a correspondent appearing in the *Hindustan Times* has been the talk of journalists here:

"The latest Indian reply to China should make every patriotic Indian sad. By withdrawing from our own territory, are we not playing into the hands of the aggressor, besides besmirching our national honour? If the Government of India feels that the country's armed strength is not equal to the task and therefore the present proposal has been made, let the country be taken into confidence. Recent reports of shortage of arms and ammunition confirm the suspicion that our military is not equipped properly. Under ideological compulsion, instead of producing the arms and ammunition required to defend the country, ordnance factories have been converted into automobile manufacturing plants while capacity in existing private units lies idle. And yet a Defence Minister who has failed to provide the basic needs of the military and kept the borders undefended gets kudos from the Prime Minister, while two generals whose only fault is their patriotic feeling for the country get a dressing down!

"Let us face the fact that India's defence and foreign policy today have only two objectives: to uphold the prestige of the Prime Minister who refuses to see evil in socialist states, and to keep the Defence Minister in the much coveted post in the teeth of opposition within the Congress Party and without."

POOR LEVEL OF DEBATE IN PARLIAMENT

The level of the debate in our Parliament on Sino-Indian relations would not have done credit to a college-debating society. For example, the demand was unanimous that the Government should not hesitate to take military measures, if necessary, to eject the aggressor from India territory, although Government has been making it clear that it was not in a position to do so. And although it is obvious to all that this weakness is due to non-alignment, all parties in Parliament are emphatically in favour of non-alignment! Even Acharya Kripalani, who maintained that no nation could afford to be so rigid and narrow in the interpretation of its international policy as to abandon the idea of foreign military aid in a national emergency, cannot see that foreign military aid is a chimera without alignment! It is indeed amazing how any one in his senses can advocate a "tough policy" with China and non-alignment at the same time. Appeasement and surrender are implicit in non-alignment. His policy being what it is, Mr. Nehru is perfectly right in strongly depreciating speeches demanding that the Chinese should be kicked out of the places they have occupied. As he said in reply to those who want the Government to eject the Chinese from Indian territory, "That kind of occasion might arise in a war but one did not do so in peace time. If in peace time one tried this, then it would mean war. People seem to think that we need not go to war but we can have some petty campaigns here and there to eject the Chinese from Indian terri-

tory. I confess it is beyond my understanding."

Quite right. We cannot eject the Chinese from our territory because that may mean war and for war we are not prepared on account of our policy of non-alignment. So we are at the mercy of the Chinese and choose to remain at their mercy rather than seek military aid from those who are prepared to give it to us provided we give up our non-alignment. No wonder Mr. Nehru hopes China will talk after his promise to withdraw from Indian territory!

Book Reviews

INDIA OF VEDIC KALPASUTRAS by Ram Gopal M.A., Ph.D., Head of the Department of Sanskrit, Hans Raj College, Delhi and Lecturer in the Post-graduate Dept. of Sanskrit, University of Delhi. Published by National Publishing House, Delhi, 1959. Pages 504. Price Rs. 35.00/-.

This is a thesis approved for the degree of doctor of philosophy by the University of Delhi and is a comprehensive survey of the principal kalpasutras based on original sources. These sources comprising Sruata, Grihya and Dharma sutras refer to almost all aspects of ancient Indian life and portray a vivid picture of pre-Buddhist India. They are indispensable for an understanding of Indian culture.

They are also of interest for revealing affinities between the Indian and European branches of the old Aryan race before their separation of and scatter in different continents. They show that their affinities are not confined to language but extend to the major features of life, individual and social.

It is remarkable how the essential features of the framework of life, individual and social, of present-day Hinduism, in ceremonial and custom, view of life and sense of values go back to these ancient sutras that guided our forefathers through the journey of life from womb to cremation. The continuity is remarkable and recognisable in structure and flavour.

The author gives a very clear account of the several aspects of ancient life as revealed in these kalpa sutras. After five preliminary chapters regarding the subject matter, geographical background and historical age of the sutras, Dr. Ram Gopal takes the reader on a round of inspection of the social organisation economic life, system of government, law and justice, laws and customs, marriage rites and festivities, maternity and child welfare, educational samskaras and system, sacrifices, daily and periodical, family life and position of women and rounds it up with two chapters on manners and religious philosophy. A bibliography and index add to the usefulness of the publication.

The pivotal features of the Indian cultural scheme denoted by the well-known words—dharma, artha, kama and sanatana dharma and varna ashrama dharma together with the key concepts of yajna, jnana, karma, reincarnation, tapas come alive in

the patient description of the details of the sutras constituting the ancient Indian chart of life seeking to help the individual to go through life with wisdom making the best of its gifts and deriving strength to sustain the vicissitudes thereof.

Perhaps it may be said that the key idea that governed the outlook on life as embedded in this palimpsest of custom and ritual and ceremony is that of samskara or sacrament. Dr. Ram Gopal points out justly that the underlying outlook on life was far from being pessimistic. It is significant that there is no stress on moksha and maya and no terror of samsara as something to be got rid of through ascetic non-cooperation with life and its concerns with their surplus of pain over pleasure. Dharma is the dominant regulating idea. There is here a frank "Yea-saying philosophy" full of appreciation of life and its values. There is a profound acceptance of the joys of life. The individual is cared for from his pre-natal stage in the womb which is recognised by the earliest samskara. Every stage of life—birth, survival into childhood, attainment of boyhood, entry into educated life, marriage, having children, entry into the householder's stage, death etc. is to be marked by samskaras.

Life's gifts are accepted in a spirit of profound thankfulness and its dangers sought to be safeguarded through offerings to the gods i.e. cosmic powers. The cosmic dimension is never forgotten but it is not allowed to shut out the inherent value of the moment, the here and now.

The problem for the social analyst is how primitive notions of taboo and ritual common all over the globe got transformed into the Indian system of samskaras or sacraments. The sense of the sacred and the unholy and untouchable common to primitive taboo and mana have been spiritualised into samskaras. How do the Indian samskaras differ from those of other religious faiths, for instance of Christianity and wherein do they offer similarities?

Complete secularism and one-dimensional outlook is the achievement of recent scientific eras, though it was not absent in earlier Greek, Roman and Chinese cultures. It may be that ceremonialism developed to excess in the Indian scene but would not the remedy of desacramentalisation of all values amount to throwing the baby out with the bath water?

Dr. Ram Gopal does not attempt any speculation or interpretative hypothesis regarding the larger implications of samskaras. He confines himself largely to description.

The vexed question of the origin of caste too is not dealt with beyond the occupational and ethnic hints of Aryan and Sudra. Surely there is much more in this and extent theories show the complexity of the problem. Here again, taboo mixed with and taken up into higher notions of samskaras may throw some light on the phenomenon. What factors reduced caste to a principle of division into social wholes becoming smaller and smaller with each stage, with the result of weakening

the larger social integrity to which they were all occupational contributors in intent and practice?

Law and Government, justice and property and other institutions of society were well developed already and offer the bases of Indian life throughout the centuries. Education with its system of teacher-pupil relation and devotion to knowledge putting luxury into the background still yields living principles of creative reconstruction. Today we are confronted with a radical disorganisation of educational life, both teachers and pupils having lost their moorings in the splendid tradition of the past in this regard. The system of free education on the *gurudakshina* basis and of the educational community or *gurukula* on the domestic pattern were features that fortified education with economic and social conditions freeing the student's life from anxiety and offering a climate of natural discipline related to the necessities of the teacher's household. Some such radical re-start in educational policy is called for if education is to see better times.

Dr. Ram Gopal has given us a study that brings together the basic data contained in the *sutras* in a systematic and comprehensive way. Such accurate data are the indispensable preliminary for all higher interpretation the principles and values embodied in the ancient scheme of life. The only way of overcoming the dead weight of the past is to understand it in the right perspective. Such understanding releases the mind for new creative effort in the present. Dr. Ram Gopal's work is timely and will long serve as a standard work of reference to students. Others too desiring to a reliable bird's eye view of the cultural tradition of India in its practical aspects embodying the Indian feeling for values will find it rewarding.

—M. A. Venkata Rao

THE BIBLE AS PSYCHIC HISTORY by Rev. Dr. Maurice Elliot. Published by Rider and Co. Ltd. London. Pages 175. Price 15s. 1959.

This is a challenge to "rationalism" of the variety that has decided against miracles, religious and other.

The religious scriptures of the world, East and West, proclaim that God spoke or communicated directly to privileged personalities for imparting saving knowledge to mankind, knowledge that brings "salvation and eternal happiness in heaven." The results of such communications form the revealed scriptures of mankind—the Bible Old and New Testaments, the Vedas, the Koran, the Buddhist Tripitakas—in effect if not in exact parallelism to the others.

Now scriptures are commended to the faith and belief of mankind not merely on the inherent moral value of their teachings but also and more especially on the strength of the miracles in which they abound. The prophets Abraham and Moses and Jesus the Christ accompanied their Acts with many signs and wonders such as healing the sick. God spoke to Moses direct and etched the Ten Commandments in fire on the living rock-face of the

mountain for his sake. God made the sea to part to save his followers fleeing from the wrath of the Egyptian Pharaoh.

The modern world has tended to relegate these miracles to the limbo of disbelief. It has developed a sense of "antecedent disbelief" about such extra-natural phenomena. Modern science establishes nature as a network of unbreakable universal and necessary laws that give no room for unaccountable exceptions constituting breaches of such laws. The eighteenth century rationalist-empiricist philosopher David Hume demolished the theory of miracles by his critique of the law of causality.

Now believers in traditional religious classics like the present author, the Rev. Dr. C. Maurice Elliot look to recent psychic studies for a rehabilitation of miracles.

Psychic science has shown that super-normal phenomena like levitation, telepathy and television, chair-audience and action at a distance have all occurred, whatever the explanation may be. Sir Oliver Lodge, Sir Aurthur Conan Doyle, Sir William Crookes and others have testified to the factual side of these strange proceedings.

Dr. Elliot gives an account of the miracles of the Bible to show their similarity to modern psychic phenomena and tries to show their credibility. This is a use of modern science to re-establish miraculous occurrences, so as to restore their value as aids to faith in the old religious classics.

The book should be taken as a challenge by rationalists and its claims analysed and assessed scientifically.

—M. A. V.

News Digest

INDIA to BUY HIGH FLYING HELICOPTER

India is intending to purchase high altitude helicopters from U.S. with a view to utilise them for patrolling the border with China and speedy transport of men and materials to inaccessible outposts.

The new helicopter, which is said to be turbo-engined S-62, and an improvement on the S-55 which India has at present, can attain a height of 15,000 feet, carry 12 men and make amphibious landings.

One such helicopter, it is learnt, is being sent to India for tests in the mountainous regions.

CRACKS IN THE IRON CURTAIN

The recent defections of Polish and Czech military attaches to the West tell only part of the story of unrest behind the Iron Curtain.

The truth is that 1959 has been a big year for Communist official desertions.

The totals necessarily are secret, but it is known that at least a dozen defectors, including another military attache, currently are being quizzed by U.S. intelligence agents.

Very few of these are Russians. Most of the

big officials come from countries under the heel of the Soviet Union.

All turned themselves in voluntarily, without inducement from the U.S. And almost all cite Russia's crushing of the Hungarian revolt as the biggest cause of their disillusionment.

150,000 TONS U.S. RICE FOR INDIA

New Delhi: India will procure 150,000 metric tons of rice under a supplement to the P. L. 480 agreement of November 13, 1959, signed in Washington.

The new supplementary agreement is valued at Rs. 8.8 crores (18.5 million dollars) including cost of ocean freight. Together with the November 13 agreement, the value of assistance amounts to Rs. 122.2 crores (257.3 million dollars).

GOVT.'S POLICY OF NON-ALIGNMENT "C. R.'s" CRITICISM

Coimbatore: Mr. C. Rajagopalachari said here that the Government of India's policy of non-alignment was responsible for India's present troubles with China. Posing all along as India's ally, China had duped India and created a serious situation for her, he said.

Mr. Rajagopalachari was addressing the district convention of the Swatantra Party here.

He said that America would have come to India's support on the Sino-Indian border issue, if India had not taken up a stand against America during the U.N. debate on Hungary.

Mr. Rajagopalachari said that Mr. Nehru with all his good intentions, had kept as a "closed secret" for the past five years from the Indian people the information about Chinese incursions into Indian territory. The Chinese had all along been constructing roads on the Indian border territory. This policy had now proved to be a big mistake. It was for the people of the country now to consider, irrespective of party differences, what they should do to overcome the difficulties, he said.

U.S. ECONOMIC AID

Washington December 6: Increased U.S. economic aid to India was more likely to retard the rise of India's living standards than to help it a report of a British professor said.

Increased aid would "obstruct rather than promote the emergence of a society-resistant to totalitarian appeal" in India, it added.

The report was drawn up by Prof. P. T. Bauer, of Cambridge University, and published here by the American Enterprise Association, a non-partisan research group studying national policy problems.

The report suggested that the amount of foreign aid for India should be made dependent on the Indian Government's performance "in pursuing a policy designed to raise living standard and to promote an anti-totalitarian society."

GOVERNMENT'S ATTITUDE TOWARDS PRESS CRITICISED

MR. HOMI MODY'S WARNING

Mr. Homi Mody, one of the founders of the

Swatantra Party, deplored the Government's attitude towards the press in general in India.

He said that so long as the press dutifully supported the Government and devoted whole pages to "opening ceremonies" attended by Ministers, it was treated kindly. But the moment the press ventured to criticise the Government, it was denounced as a "creature of capitalism."

Mr. Mody said it was "sheer perversity" to criticise and attack the press. "That way lay the slippery slopes to dictatorship," he warned.

The high and the mighty of the land had become extremely sensitive and intolerant of criticism these days, he added.

DISTRESS SALE

Encashments of national savings certificates during the last few years show that only 40% of the certificates issued are allowed to continue to maturity. 60% of the certificates are cashed prematurely with great loss to the investors. This cannot be avoided as people encash the certificates only when they are very badly in need of money. With mounting taxation, increased cost of living, falling of the purchasing power of the rupee and widespread unemployment, people are obliged to live on their past savings.

PUBLIC AND PRIVATE SECTORS

While all paper mills in the country have been paying very handsome dividends to their shareholders as below:

India Paper Pulp Co.	10%
Mysore Paper	10%
Orient Paper	15%
Sri Gopal Paper	15%
Bengal Paper	13%
Straw Products	10%
Titaghur Paper	24%

the NEPA mills of the public sector in Madhya Pradesh have sustained loss of rupees One crore and 73 lakhs during the last three years. This shows how efficiently our nationalized industries are run by politicians and bureaucrats.

CORRUPTION NOW DIFFICULT TO STEM M. J. KANETKAR AT GONDIA

Gondia: Mr. M. J. Kanetkar, the veteran Congress man of Nagpur, addressing the NMD College students here said during the 12 years of Congress administration, corruption was rampant in the country. The so-called leaders were befooling the common people and filling up their own coffers. He particularly referred to the Central Excise and Sales Tax departments where, he said, the Government employess were advancing their own interests and jeopardising even the administrative machinery. It was difficult to stem the torrent of corruption and immorality in Indian administration today he added.

INDONESIAN MINISTER ON CHINA

Jakarta: Indonesian Foreign Minister Dr. Subandria, expressed surprise here over the obvious contradiction in Communist China's professions and

practices in relation to friendly countries. He revealed that inspite of his attempts to persuade Chou-en lai that the Chinese residents in Indonesia were essentially capitalists and had nothing to do with China's communists ideology, the Chinese Premier insisted, that the Chinese residents in Indonesia needed protection. There is an indication in his speech that the Indonesian Government will extend its field of operations against Chinese nationals, should Red China insist on interfering with Indonesian measures to break the stranglehold of Chinese citizens on the country's economy.

CHINESE BID TO WIPE OUT TIBETAN RACE DALAI TELLS JURIST COMMITTEE

Mussoorie: The Dalai Lama today repeated his charges of genocide and suppression of human rights in Tibet by the Chinese Government, and said that there was no way other than legal and moral means of stopping them.

In a prepared statement before the legal enquiry committee on Tibet constituted by the International Commission of Jurists, the Dalai Lama said that with a view to destroying the Tibetan race, the Chinese had resorted to sterilization of men and women.

He said that there were among the Tibetan refugees in India, about ten who had been subjected to castration and sterilization and they could be medically examined to prove his statement.

The Dalai Lama disclosed that about 10,000 children in Tibet were deported to China.

Besides the chairman, Purushotamdas Tricumdas, seven out of eleven members of the committee were present, representing India (two) Ceylon, Ghana, Thailand, Malaya and the Philippines, Burma and Norway were absent.

SWATANTRA PARTY URGES STEPS TO EXPEL CHINESE

Vijayawada: The Andhra Pradesh Swatantra Party Executive, at its first meeting here, adopted a resolution calling on the Central Government to take immediate steps to expel the Chinese intruders from Indian soil.

In another resolution, the Executive said that the Planning Commissions' "Passion" for centralised planning, had gone to such extremes as to encroach upon the constitutional autonomy of the States.

It expressed the view that planning in a free democratic country should aim at only promoting the efforts of the public for national development and not weaken or destroy them.

A resolution on co-operatives said the Indian co-operative movement was in danger of being turned into a "handmaid" of the ruling party by its interference in the day-to-day organisational, managerial and member-management relations.

THE SWATANTRA PARTY IN MYSORE

1. In Madras State, Mr. C. Rajagopalachari himself is touring the interior and organising district centres. Professor Ranga sometimes accompanies him. The response is steady; politically conscious

ranks of the people are coming forward to enroll themselves and are making contributions to the party funds in a significant measure. At Coimbatore a purse of Rs. 20,000/- was presented to Rajaji. Rajaji has set himself the goal of a million members before he goes to Delhi.

2. Delhi has started a Centre with Sardar Lal Singh, ex-Director of Agriculture in the Punjab and (President of the All India Agricultural Federation that sponsored the Swatantra Party) as the chairman and has gathered an influential nucleus.

3. In Mysore State there were two conventions in the course of the last fortnight, one at Saklespur, a taluk town in the malnad or forest covered High lands in the West full of coffee plantations.

In Saklespur, there was a good gathering of a couple of hundreds inspite of the remoteness of the place. Mr. Ganapaiya a local planter took the lead in organising the convention Mr. B. V. Naraya Reddy, retired General Manager of the Mysore Bank from Bangalore, gave the chief address. Mr. Reddy has been expressing himself in favour of private enterprise for some years now has made no secret of his district of Government interference in economic affairs on principle as also of his adverse criticism of the corruption of the present administration at many levels.

He is an acquisition to the party. He is a clear writer and forceful speaker and has a fund of practical experience that will stand the party in good stead in the coming years. One of the chief contributions of the party to the political life of the country would be a sounder administration free from doctrinaire eloganised approaches and from corruption resulting from the interference of party men in official business. In this reform, ex-administrators that abound in the new party will play a significant role.

4. North Mysore-Karnatak. A Convention was held in Sirsi, North Mysore, at which Mr. Jinaraja Hegde, one of the two secretaries of the All-India Party gave the inaugural address. He is the founding secretary of the All-India Agricultural Federation. The principal political figure of North Karnataka is Rao Bhadur B. L. Patil, Bar-at-law who organised the Sirsi convention and presided over it. Belgaum, Hubli and Dharwar are included in this area. Mr. Hegde emphasised the totalitarian trends of the ruling party especially in the matter of land reforms with their ceilings and cooperative farming and pointed to the provision for compulsion in the land reforms Bill in Mysore and in the Bombay Cooperative Act.

A Bangalore Observer

The following books have been added to the R. L. Foundation Library, Arya Bhuvan, Sandhurst Road, Bombay 4.

Natural Resources and Population of India: by Wadia, P. A.

Theory of Public Finance: by Musgrave, Richard A.

Modern Forms of Government: by Stewart, Michael

Landmarks of Tomorrow: by Drucker, Peter F.
Secret Name: Soviet Record 1917-1958: by Yutang, Lin.
World Affairs Since 1919: by Wales, Pater.
Control of the Purse: by Einzig, Paul.
European Organisations: by Political and Economic Planning.
New Fabian Colonial Essays: by Jones, Arthur Creech (Ed).
Evolution of Culture: by White, Leslie A.
Diplomacy of India: by Berkes, Ross N. & Bedi Mohinder S.
India's North-East Frontier in the Nineteenth Century: by Elwin, Verrier (Ed).
Socialism in Southern Asia: by Rose, Saul.
Indian Muslims: Political History (1858-1947): by Gopal, Ram.
Kanhoji Angrey: Maratha Admiral: by Malgonkar, Manohar.
Greater Illusion: by Alford, F. S.
This Matter of Mind: by Kirman, Brian H.
Cry out of the Depths: by Duhamel Georges.
Natural Economic Order: by Gesell, Silvio.
Approach to Statistics: by Prasad, Jagdish & Pal-sule, N. R.
Approach to Labour Problems: by Misra A. P.
Century of Social Service 1859-1959: by Lipman, V. D.
Allocation of Economic Resources: by Abramovitz, Moses and others.
Long View and the Short: by Viner, Jacob.
Design of Development: by Tinbergen, Jan.

Letter to the Editor

THE BIG CLASH

Madam, The recent EXPANSION of China thru the vast and sparsely populated Tibet—Conquest and Consolidation—and encroaching on the Borders of India, the real idea being to SEAL IT OFF from foreign help being rushed to it, China must have anticipated that India having thousands of years of Religious, Cultural and other connections with Tibet would be CERTAIN to rush help; but when it was found that India remained passive, the Chinks became bold and impudent towards the Non-violent and Panch Sheela principles of India and defied her as well as World Opinion, for which she had never cared upto now, began consolidating her gains and have DEMANDED more.

Also it seems to me that big GURU Ruski had instructed CHELA Chink to expand and CONSOLIDATE right upto Hunza and North-east Afghanistan and join forces and remain in constant CONTACT to counter-act against the Bases supposed to have been built there by the CENTO and SEATO against the Soviet infiltrations.

But to me it seems that Messrs. Krukshev & Co. after having visited the United States of America have come to REALIZE that the Yankee is not a bad fellow after all and that they (Soviet) have made a BLUNDER by giving the Go-ahead Signal and UNLEASHING THE YELLOW PERIL.

Now, after mature thought, they must have concluded that this unleashing of the YELLOW PERIL WOULD ONE DAY REBOUND AND HIT ALL THE COUNTRIES IN WHICH RUSSIA HAS CONSOLIDATED ITS INFLUENCE AFTER SO MANY YEARS OF HARD AND DIRTY WORK AND MOST CERTAINLY THESE YELLOW-HORDES WILL OVER-RUN THESE COUNTRIES AND IF BAULKED WILL OVER-RUN TURKES-TAN, MONGOLIA AND EVEN SOUTH-EAST RUSSIA.

What a BOOMERANG, for instead of expanding and consolidating her own conquests, Russia will have her work cut-off in defending her own Empire against the YELLOW-PERIL which she had nurtured and Armed to frighten the WEST and other weak-kneed Nations?

I am ABSOLUTELY SURE that just as a few of the Western Allies (European) are kicking-up a row, France in particular, for being debarred from the ATOMIC-CLUB, so will China break-up her connections with the Soviets and I won't be far wrong in PROPHEISING that within a decade, by 1970 we will see the BIG CLASH BETWEEN THE GURU AND CHELA, both Commies. I am SURE that the West will come to help the Ruskies and then and then only the world will get REAL PEACE AND PROSPERITY.

Poona.

Homi Driver

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