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Indian Libertarian

Price 25 Naye Paise

Incorporating the 'Free Economic Review' and 'The Indian Rationalist'
AN INDEPENDENT JOURNAL OF ECONOMIC AND PUBLIC AFFAIRS

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Vol. X No. 9

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August 1, 1962

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EDITORIAL

THE LIBERAL TREND IN BRITISH POLITICS

THE ruthless purge carried out in his Cabinet by Mr. Macmillan the British Premier has made a sensation in the political world. This drastic step is being interpreted in the leading British journals as a supreme attempt on the part of the British Premier to retrieve the sagging fortunes of the Conservative Party which, in the recent by-elections, lost thousands of votes to the Liberals and the Labourites. The Right Conservatives have been turned out of this new Cabinet and they have been replaced by the younger Conservative 'Liberals'. Particularly the dropping of the Chancellor Mr. Selwyn Lloyd is a major surprise of this Cabinet-making.

The 'Pay-pause' policy imposing rigid restrictions on wage-increases, followed by Mr. Selwyn Lloyd, seems to have brought about his downfall. Mr. Reginald Maudling who succeeds him now, is expected unlike his predecessor, to act independently of the Government's economic advisers, and introduce suitable measures to check the adverse effects of the austere economic policy of the former Chancellor on the wage-values.

Another notable feature of these Cabinet changes is the elevation of Mr. R. A. Butler

another Conservative 'Liberal' to the key position of the Deputy Prime Minister and to the newly created office of the First Secretary of the State. This almost settles the much-debated question of succession to the Premiership after Mr. Macmillan, if the Conservative Party should continue to be in power even after the next general elections.

Thus, the shift of emphasis in Britain's political thinking is unmistakable. Liberalism is on the upgrade and is coming into its own, after a long period of political eclipse between the Two World Wars. Before the First World War, all the parties in Britain had oriented their policies to Liberal ideology which then dominated the political scene. Thereafter, it gave way to Conservative Political thought which ruled in England till the end of the Second World War. Then came Labour to power for a short while and though it was succeeded by the Conservative Party, Labour's socialistic welfare policies continued to influence the policy-making of the New Rulers in no small measure. But with the growing influence of the middle class which today holds the trump cards in this game of 'Balance of Power' between the Labour and Conservative Parties, it is no wonder that Liberalism has again become a political force to be counted with, in British politics. The result is that even the Conservatives

and Labourites have now to put on 'Liberal' airs and each of these two main parties has necessarily its own 'Liberal' wing.

This change in the British politics has once again proved Marx to be a false prophet. He said that the middle class was an exhausted class and would ultimately disappear, having merged itself either with the Capitalist class or the Proletariat. But this Middle Class in England as also in America and other leading democratic countries, is continually growing under democratic capitalism, not only in numbers but also in strength and influence. It is neither exhausted nor dead; nor is it dying. On the contrary this class and its Liberal-Democratic ideology are very much alive and kicking. That is the lesson of this startling Cabinet shake-up in U.K. How we wish our Indian 'Die-hard' or 'Ginger-group' Socialists carefully made a note of this significant political trend in the industrially advanced countries of the Democratic West!

INTRIGUING AND OMINOUS

India Government's policy towards China's aggression on India's norther border continues to be as intriguing and ominous as ever. While the latest encircling movement of the Chinese troops around one of our outposts in Galwan River valley in Ladak goes to show that China is determined to give us no peace on this frontier, the frantic efforts that our Ambassador Mr. B. K. Nehru intends making at Geneva to open Peace-talks with the Chinese Representative, as

reported in the press, point out that India Government is equally determined not to allow its Peace to be disturbed by such China's aggressive tactics even within our own territory.

And true to this policy, it was given out to the public from Delhi, after secret confabulations between Mr. Nehru and Mr. Krishna Menon that there was no immediate danger to our troops and there was no encirclement as such of this outpost. The latest news, however, is that the Chinese have withdrawn only at a distance of two hundred yards and the encirclement continues as menacingly as before. Moreover, the Chinese troops are reported to have also advanced at other points in the same area.

The people, therefore, must be excused if they fail to make out any sense from these self-contradicting statements issued and conciliation moves initiated, by our Government, and its spokesmen. Nobody in his senses would wish both these Asiatic 'giants' to be involved in a regular clash of arms, if it could be avoided. But if China is itching for it as it appears to do, it will be the plain duty of our Government to explain to the people the true state of affairs on this front and prepare them to fight out this Chinese menace to their very freedom and existence. If the Defence Minister even at this juncture be found to be hob-nobbing with the Chinese Ambassador at Delhi, as alleged by the press, thus causing irreparable damage to our national honour and self-respect and also demoralising the morale of our troops fighting so gallantly with their backs to the wall, it is high time he were given an immediate and even unceremonious sack from the Cabinet. But the question is: will Mr. Nehru rise to the occasion and do it?

STRENGTHENING THE ENEMY

Prime Minister Nehru's halting statement on the question of the complete and final Constitutional Integration of the State of Kashmir and Jammu with India that such integration would not be made unless the State Legislature wanted it, is calculated only to strengthen the hands of Pakistan and Pakistan-occupied Azad Kashmir. If what Mr. Krishna Menon said at the U.N. debate on Kashmir truly reflects the opinion of the Government of India, then the plebiscite offer of Mr. Nehru made years ago is now, long obsolete and dead and Kashmir's accession to India is irretrievable and irrevocable. In that case the Azad Kashmir territory only remains to be negotiated and talked over between the parties. It would also then logically follow that the Indian Kashmir State should be completely integrated with India, as was done with the other Princely States.

But it appears Mr. Nehru, as is his wont, is muddling through this question too. His indiscreet offer of a plebiscite in Kashmir made several years ago, has already placed him in a quan-

The Indian Libertarian

Independent Journal Of Free Economy and Public Affairs

Edited by: D. M. Kulkarni, B.A., LL.B.

Published On the 1st and 15th Of Each Month

Single Copy 25 Naye Paise

Subscription Rates:

Annual Rs. 6; 3 \$ (U.S.A.); 12 S. (U.K.)

ADVERTISEMENTS RATES

Full Page Rs. 100; Half Page Rs. 50; Quarter Page Rs. 25
One-eighth Page Rs. 15; One full column of a Page Rs. 50

BACK COVER..... Rs. 150

SECOND COVER..... Rs. 125

THIRD COVER..... Rs. 125

- Articles from readers and contributors are accepted. Articles meant for publication should be typewritten and on one side of the paper only.
- Publication of article does not mean editorial endorsement since the Journal is also a Free Forum.
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Arya Bhuvan, Sandhurst Road, Bombay 4.

dary. But as usual he refuses to learn from this bitter experience. He must again commit another equally dangerous indiscretion by offering a free choice to the Kashmir State Legislature to decide whether the present status quo should be maintained or whether Kashmir should be constitutionally integrated by abrogating Article 370 of the Indian Constitution.

Be that as it may, this assurance of Mr. Nehru to continue to accord special status to Kashmir would only encourage fissiparous tendencies not only in Kashmir but in other States in India as well, to whom Kashmir's special status would serve as a model for putting forth their separatist demands.

NEHRU ON LAND VALUE TAXATION

Replying to the Civic address presented by the Bangalore Corporation, Prime Minister Nehru made a very commendable suggestion that the Local bodies, the Corporations and Municipalities should consider the levy of tax on land consistent with the increase in its value and further added that it was only proper for the owner to pay for the increase in the value of the land brought about by the improvements made and facilities afforded by such local bodies in cities and towns. Some two years ago he had made the same suggestion at Delhi and even mentioned the name of the American Economist Henry George who for the first time proposed this reform in his famous classic 'Progress And Poverty' (1879).

Henry George thought that the paradox of wide-spread poverty and squalor in the midst of industrial progress and prosperity could be solved only by establishing equal rights of all to the use of the land which was a Free Gift of Nature. The reform that he proposed for this purpose was 'TO ABOLISH ALL TAXATION SAVE THAT ON LAND VALUES.' He confidently asserted, 'Let the World carry on exactly as it is to-day. I would merely have our Government take all ground-rent.' In fact the Georgists who, according to Encyclopedia America number about a million in the world today, offer the 'SINGLE TAX' of Henry George as an effective and constructive alternative to Communism. This system seeks to take away gradually for the benefit of the community All The Annual Values, actual or potential of lands used or unused, and ultimately leave 'improvements' made on the land by the owners such as buildings, factories and industrial structures, 'tax-free', just to encourage private and free enterprise and initiative. But it must be admitted that this radical measure has not yet been adopted in toto in any country, though some forms of land-value taxation have been long practised in certain States of America, Australia, Africa, Canada and Denmark.

It is to be hoped that our city fathers groping in the dark for sources of revenue for implementing the Housing and other public welfare schemes will study this Land Value-Rating Method practised in the above-mentioned countries and explore the possibilities of introducing it in our cities and towns.

HERE AND THERE

A woman member of the Madras Legislature in support of her suggestion that boys in the polytechnics should be put to a compulsory course in culinary art to establish parity between the sexes, asked: 'Did not our literature celebrate the skill of a Nala and a Bhima, while no Damayanti or Droupadi had been extolled for performance in the kitchen?' But would ancient and modern Damayantis and Droupadis have liked men-poets to describe this art of women rather than their wiles, guiles and smiles and sometimes their charming exploits?

Mr. T. T. Krishnamachari the Union Minister the other day made out a case for 'wealth-sharing to remove fear of poverty from the mind of the people'. The Five Year Plans having failed to increase the real income of the people, the only course left open to the Congress to win the popular vote will be to reduce all classes to the dead uniformity of abject poverty. Then there will be no room for jealousy for others' riches or fear for one's own poverty. Congress equalitarianism indeed!

Mr. Khrushchev was at pains to impress the Peace Congress held at Moscow that the balance of strength in the military matters still rested with Russia. America, on the other hand, feels so confident of her military strength after the explosion of the 'Rainbow Bomb' in the atmosphere that she no longer hesitates to offer her hand of 'peace' to Khrushchev which Mr. Khrushchev is sure to reject till he again is assured of Russia's strength by exploding more powerful N-Bombs. Thus the wheel of 'Peace and War' merely turns round and round with Mr. Khrushchev's aggressive 'peace' offensive and Mr. Kennedy's 'defensive' peacefulness.

FOOD FOR THOUGHT

"Our second largest industry is the production of speeches, interminably long and full of illusions and delusions, platitudes and attitudes. And when our leaders speak over and over again about the millennium to be achieved through their multi-purpose plans and projects they believe that it has already been achieved."

—SUDHAKAR DIXIT
In 'The Republic of Pompadur'

The Crisis In Our Foreign Policy

M. A. Venkata Rao

THE proposal of the Defence Ministry to purchase some Russian MIG jet fighter planes and to have a production unit of such plans in India with Soviet help has stirred a veritable hornet's nest about our ears. With the resentment aroused by Indian military take over of Goa still raw in American hearts, this move on the part of Nehru and Menon has raised American suspicion and anger to a crescendo against India. The Senate has cut the administration's figure of Aid to India by a quarter to stand as in the past year. The debate gave occasion to some Senators to make pugnacious remarks against Nehru, India and Krishna Menon, the last personality in particular. Leading American newspapers that reflect public opinion like *The New York Times* have made harsh and scathing attacks on Indian policies charging by and large that they on the whole lean towards the Soviet Bloc.

It is not mainly a question of absolute right and absolute wrong. It is obvious to us that America is not disinterested in the matter of Goa, being motivated solely by respect for the Charter which lays down that no force should be used in the settlement of international disputes. We recall that Secretary of State Dulles had issued a statement regarding Goa after a colloquy with the Portuguese foreign minister Mr. Cunha to the effect that America recognised Goa as part of the metropolitan territory of Portugal!

Indian observers suspected, not without reason then that Mr. Dulles might have secured a secret understanding from Portugal for the use of Goa area as a base in war time!

The suspicious moves of Pakistan and its close collaboration with Portugal in many matters as if to spite India, raised the further suspicion that Portugal might even concede a military base to Pakistan herself! Nothing can be excluded as impossible or improbable.

Indian action in Goa became thus an urgent military necessity, though it was perhaps Mr. Krishna Menon's disposition to draw a red herring across the trail of China's invasion and to turn the wrath of the Indian public towards Pakistan that formed the stronger motive to undertake Nehru's police action in regard to Goa.

Thus Indian action has a clear national justification. But this aspect of the matter has not been clearly and repeatedly put persuasively before the American public. In this respect, Indian

publicity has always lagged behind that of Pakistan.

Another psychological factor should not be lost sight of in this matter. We should remember that the cold war between Russia and the free world led by the USA is becoming warmer every day with the rising crescendo of nuclear tests in both camps.

With the dread possibility of all-out war before their eyes, American patience with neutrals is naturally getting exhausted. They are astonished that neutrals like India do not realise that their security and independence has all along depended entirely on the deterrent power of American arms. Far from being grateful and cooperative, India takes every opportunity of mounting the pulpit and preaching high sermons to America and her allies! This has had a strongly irritant effect on American attitudes.

Naturally, for it is not strange to be sympathetic to allies who openly join them in the cold war and declare their commitment to stand by their side in the hot war should one ensue at any time. Blood is thicker than water. Those who are ready to shed their blood with us in our hour of peril standing shoulder to shoulder in an all-out war are to be preferred to neutrals who sit safely on the fence and confine themselves to preaching morality to the combatants! Another factor that has irritated the Americans is the Indian tendency too often in UN debates and elsewhere to equate the West and the Russian camp and to put them on the same moral plane.

Indian spokesmen like Krishna Menon and even Nehru at times have commented ironically on the American weakness for dictators for allies: Witness the Turks, Pakistanis and Thais, the Spanish Franco and the Portuguese Salazar!

But Indian speakers have played down the bloody dramas of Russia in Hungary and elsewhere, not least in their own vast interior. Indians have not publicly condemned Russian atrocities and dictatorial rule in anything like the way in which they have condemned the British and French and Israelis in the invasion of the Suez canal in 1956. The Indian public may not keep this imbalance in the forefront of their consciousness but the critical onlookers do!

The self-righteousness of Indian spokesmen and public is remarkably naive and immature. It is more than a match to that of the Americans.

It is not enough in international relations to be right and to have good intentions. It is also essential to appear to do so. Adequate and expert public relations should see to this aspect of our foreign policy more effectively than hitherto.

With this background, we should review calmly the repercussions that flow from the proposed MIG plane deal with Russia.

Even when the first move for the establishment of a steel plant in India with Russian financial and technical assistance became known years ago, Indian observers with some knowledge of communist objectives and methods of propaganda became alarmed. They pointed out that with hundreds of Russian technicians and administrators living in the proposed steel town (which became Bhilai in due course), communist propaganda will have a field day and will infiltrate into Indian technical and other circles under uncritical conditions. This would increase the pro-Soviet climate of opinion or feeling already dominant in the country owing to Sri Nehru's influence who has made no secret of his preference for communism as a way of life, deprecating only its addiction to violent methods. Nehru stands for a non-violent, national communist form of society which he calls democratic socialism.

What was feared then has actually happened. Communist ideas have attained undeserved prestige in the counsels of government and the economic policies that are built into its five year plans. "Ginger groups" and "socialist forums" among Congress leaders are springing up to gain favour with Nehru and qualify for the succession!

The bureaucracy has been permeated by communist-socialist ideals and methods of government monopoly of all economic power, dissidents among whom are being driven to the wall.

This trend towards Sovietism will gain a decisive further fillip if the proposal to establish a Soviet-aided plane manufacturing establishment in India is carried out in the teeth of Western opposition.

Mr. Cooper who was ambassador in New Delhi during Eisenhower's administration pointed out the other day in the Senate that America accepts India's decision to remain nonaligned as between the blocs in a military sense. But he pointed out that the proposal to have the Soviets establish a military plane manufacturing and training Centre in India will materially affect India's nonalignment policy. Russian influence will become irresistible in times of crisis such as conflict with Pakistan or China. India will depend too much on Russia for spares and reinforcements, for in war time, planes will be destroyed faster than we can build them on our

own. This holds good for a considerable period of the foreseeable future. This is a risk that India should not take.

It is not true as Krishna Menon says that it is simply a question of buying commodities where we like. Military equipment of the order of fighting planes are not commercial commodities. They are concerned with the life and death of nations.

The crisis that this proposal implies is therefore real. It will consist in a further estrangement of India from the Western countries and a deeper involvement with Russia in a matter of life and death.

As we write, there comes the news that Indian military officials who were on a visit to Russia in connection with negotiations on this matter have signed an agreement with Soviet authorities for Russian aid in developing an engine suitable for the airframe evolved in Bangalore in collaboration with a British company. The British company had backed out of the agreement to provide engines.

And so the die is cast.

It is a pity that not a single member of Parliament raised this vital question of the danger of dependence on Russian military assistance during the debate on the proposal to purchase MIG planes. Mr. V. K. Krishna Menon and Mr. Nehru side-tracked the issue successfully by playing on nationalist sentiment to the effect that India is a free and sovereign country and is entirely entitled to purchase arms from where it suits her. The dangerous repercussions were entirely ignored by all speakers and all party spokesmen.

What then can be done to counter-act the dangers of the deal?

It is learnt that Indian officers have gone to Britain to inspect British "Lightning" fighter planes which are supposed to be more or less equal to the Russian MIG's in efficiency. It appears that Mr. Duncan Sandys had reminded Nehru of his written promise some years ago to British ministers that he would consult them in case he was considering purchasing Russian arms, particularly planes. He seems to have offered to sell a few Lightnings to India if urgently required to offset the Pakistani acquisition of American supersonic planes. This American supply of such advanced fighter planes to Pakistan is the "nigger in the pile, the villain of the sorry drama," so entirely unnecessary, as it seems to us.

Perhaps the final decision will be the purchase of British planes as a stop-gap arrangement and a long term arrangement with Russia for a manufacturing plant in India with her aid in finance and technological assistance.

(Continued on page 6)

Gandhi—Nehru Succession—II

By M. N. Tholal

AS if by way of summarising his condemnation of his Master in his Autobiography, Jawaharlal Nehru came out of prison in September, 1935, with but two words on his lips: "Resist Wardha". The situation was rather desperate for the Mahatma, for both the idols of the younger generation, Subhas Bose and Jawahar-

(Continued from page 5)

The American and British leaders will have to swallow their dudgeon and learn to live with independent India.

And India should recast her economic plans to diminish her dependence on foreign aid.

But the most important long term change in policy that is required to counter-act the possible dangers from this collaboration with Russia in fighter plane manufacture is to start a comprehensive but unobtrusive campaign of Truth. Indian officials and public in all walks of life should be informed through various sources of the real nature of communism. Pamphlets on Russian history and revolution, on world politics, on the nature of the opposition between the blocs should all be made known to Indians teachers, men of the learned professions, government servants, commercial and industrial personnel, industrial labourers peasants and agricultural leaders, scientists and so on.

There need be no bias or partisan virulence in this publicity literature. But it should emphasise India's neutral stand and her determination to be impartial and to learn from all sources for the benefit of India. Every Indian who visits Russia or China or other communist country behind the iron curtain should be provided with free literature. Lectures should be arranged in all cities and towns in English and local languages by experts in world politics by universities and other institutions, official and non-official.

The uncritical "fellow-travelling" to which the Indian intelligentsia is so dangerously prone should be rendered unpopular by a wide diffusion of truth. A sense of intellectual conscience not to believe rosy stories of Utopia behind the iron curtain should be awakened.

It is only such a widespread, cool competent, patriotic, campaign of Truth, carried on quietly that can clear the climate of feeling and opinion and counteract any unpatriotic surrender to Russian diplomacy owing to the silent underhand pressure of pro-Kremlin men among us.

lal Nehru, were pitted against him. The situation obviously called for cool calculation rather than for an exercise in purity of the means. One of the two had to be won over, at any cost. Knowing full well as he did both Bose and Nehru, it did not take the Mahatma long to come to the conclusion which one it was who could be won over and how. Bose was made of sterner stuff and he had banged the door from Vienna so hard that the echoes of the bang were heard all over India. There was nothing personal in the statement he had issued with Vithalbhai Patel, while Nehru's reaction was personal, as it always is. And insofar as it was personal, he had kept the door open. Gandhi had only to knock at it to gain admittance. With Bose out to dethrone him, Gandhi decided it would be the height of folly to let the two join forces against him. And he decided to knock at the open door.

THE TWO SUSPENSIONS

Gandhi had of course good reasons to select Jawaharlal Nehru for his blandishments. The latter had made it almost plain in his Autobiography that it is not the interests of the country that count with him. Had he not there justified even the unjustifiable, such as the suspension of the Non-co-operation movement in February, 1922, after the outbreak of violence at Chauri Chaura, by the simple process of ignoring one of the greatest confessions of Gandhi published in his own weekly, *Young India*, "I do not work for the freedom of the country: I work for non-violence"?

By 1934 the Civil Disobedience movement started in 1930 had fizzled out completely. It was not the wisdom of its suspension that was in question — the only other course was to keep on flogging a dead horse. What had annoyed Nehru — rightly — was the blame for its failure squarely laid on his shoulders by Gandhi. But in 1922 the Non-co-operation movement had been suspended when it was at its height, when the Viceroy had publicly confessed he was "puzzled and perplexed", and after the British Government had made an offer to come to terms with the Congress.

It is instructive to compare Nehru's reaction to the suspension of the Non-co-operation movement in February, 1922, with his vehement reaction to the suspension of the fizzled-out movement in April, 1934, which has already appeared in the last issue. Says Nehru in his Autobiography: "Suddenly early in February, 1922, the whole scene shifted and we in prison

learnt to our amazement and consternation that Gandhiji had suspended civil resistance.

We were angry when we learnt of the stoppage of our struggle at a time when we seemed to be consolidating our position and advancing on all fronts. The sudden suspension of our movement after the Chauri Chaura incident was resented, I think, by almost all the Congress leaders. The younger people were naturally even more agitated. Our mounting hopes tumbled to the ground. What troubled us even more were the reasons given for the suspension and the consequences that seemed to flow from them. Chauri Chaura may have been and was a deplorable occurrence and wholly opposed to the spirit of the nonviolent movement; but were a remote village and a mob of excited peasants in an out-of-the-way place going to put an end, for some time at least, to our national struggle for freedom?

GANDHI'S NEW SENSE

"Chauri Chaura and its consequences made us examine these implications of nonviolence as a method. We felt that, if Gandhiji's argument for the suspension of civil resistance was correct, our opponents would always have the power to create circumstances which would necessarily result in our abandoning the struggle. Was this the fault of the nonviolent method itself, or of Gandhiji's interpretation of it? After all, he was the author and originator of it, and who could be a better judge of what it was or what it was not? And without him where was our movement?"

After this vote of confidence in Gandhiji's judgement and of no-confidence in his own, he proceeds to justify the suspension by saying that Chauri Chaura "was only the last straw, that Gandhiji has often acted almost by instinct" and that "by long and close association with the masses he appears to have developed... a new sense which tells him how the mass feels what it does and what it can do." (I have never in my life read anything more foolish than this observation.) "At that time," he proceeds to observe, "our movement, inspite of its apparent power and the widespread enthusiasm, was going to pieces; all organisation and discipline was disappearing; almost all our good men were in prison and the masses had so far received little training to carry on by themselves. There is little doubt that, if the movement had continued, there would have been growing sporadic violence in many places. This would have been crushed by the Government in a bloody manner and a reign of terror established which would have thoroughly demoralised the people."

"These," according to Nehru, "were probably the reasons and influences that worked in Gandhiji's mind, and granting his premises and

the desirability of carrying on with the technique of nonviolence, his decision was right." He says so after saying in the preceding page that Gandhiji himself had practically admitted his mistake (in suspending the movement after Chauri Chaura). He puts the admission in Gandhiji's mouth in the following words: "After many years, just before the 1930 civil disobedience movement began, Gandhiji, much to our satisfaction, made this point clear. He stated that the movement should not be abandoned because of the occurrence of sporadic acts of violence."

Nehru's argument that the movement was going to pieces contradicts his own assertion regarding the stoppage of the struggle "at a time when we seemed to be consolidating our position and advancing on all fronts". But if the movement was going to pieces, the situation demanded acceptance of the Government offer of a small Round Table Conference and such concessions as it might have made to make the people welcome the Prince of Wales instead of boycotting him. The Government proposal fell through because, according to Nehru, Gandhiji insisted that Maulana Mohammad Ali, who was then in prison in Karachi, should be present at this conference. Nehru justifies this also by saying that "no policy or manouvre can ever be a right one, if it involves the forsaking of a colleague". But who was asking Gandhiji to forsake a colleague? His absence from the small Round Table Conference offered by the Government surely did not and could not by any manner of means mean forsaking him. He had been taking arrant unpatriotic nonsense and Gandhiji himself had censured the Ali Brothers for it. (At the Round Table Conference in London Gandhiji chose to be the sole Congress representative).

C. R. DAS' FRANKNESS

C. R. Das was highly critical of Gandhiji's attitude and, when he came out of prison he severely criticised him, publicly saying he had blundered. In a speech in Madras in June, 1923, he laid bare his lacerated heart, saying, "I myself led people to prison. I started the movement in Bengal. I sent my son first to jail. My son was followed by my wife, and then I went to prison, because I knew there was electricity there. I knew that the spirit of resistance that manifested itself was mighty and the proudest Government did bend to it. You (Gandhiji) bungled it and mismanaged it. Now you turn round and ask people to spin and do the work of charkha alone. The proudest Government did bend to you. The terms came to me and I forwarded them to the Headquarters, because at that time I was in jail. If I had not been in jail I would have forced the country to accept them. After they had been accepted, you would have seen a different state of things."

The day this speech appeared in the Press I happened to see Motilal Nehru who, pencil in hand, appeared thoughtful and was apparently drafting something. It was a telegram to C. R. Das advising him to be milder in his criticism of Gandhi. He showed me the draft, upon which I asked him whether, in his opinion, Das was not justified in his attacks on Gandhi. "Absolutely," he said, "but it is no use condemning Gandhi in public. That would create bad blood between us and, besides, I want to win the Mahatma over to the cause of the Swaraj Party and not quarrel with him." He did. How? Very simple. When they met at Juhu some months later, said Motilal Nehru as soon as he saw the Mahatma coming to meet him, "I must say, Mahatmaji is a bit of a dandy!" The reference was to the neat and tidy khaddar of the Mahatma and the gathering, which included C. F. Andrews, burst into laughter in which Gandhiji also joined. But the joke made it plain to him that Motilal Nehru's mind was made up and he yielded.

PRINCIPLES AND IDEALS

But we are digressing. Why did Gandhi bungle? Or did he, from his own point of view, bungle at all? What was his point of view? Nehru in his "Autobiography" goes so far in his defence of Gandhi as to say, "Temporary setbacks are often helpful in clarifying issues and in giving backbone. What matters is not a setback or apparent defeat but the principles and ideals." Quite so. And what were the principles and ideals guiding Gandhi in January and February, 1922?

Some American missionary had compared him to Jesus Christ and the comparison had gone to his head and swollen it, while his son, Devadas, had been sending him wild accounts of lawlessness prevailing in U.P. Chauri Chaura gave Gandhi a fright and he saw at once that the Government would send him to jail for a long period. I would refer to his observation to Peareylal, his Secretary, after his famous "Quit India" speech of August 8, 1942, in Bombay: "After this speech Government will not arrest me." (This is recorded in Peareylal's book, *The Last Phase*.) Any one can see that these are not the words of a man who is not afraid of going to jail. He had good reason to fear it. Every time he went to jail for a long period his stock sunk low.

To a man who asked him why he had suspended the movement and laid down his arms when he was winning, Gandhi said, "Who is remembered better? Jesus or Julius?" It may be said that this is hearsay, but the observation is confirmed by an article by Gandhi himself appearing in *Young India* after his arrest entitled, "No End to My Sorrows". For the confession con-

tained in it we are indebted to a French philosopher of the name of Paul Richard, who was surprised to hear Gandhi say, "I do not work for the freedom of the country: I work for non-violence." Gandhi perhaps thought that that was the sort of stuff to put out for foreign consumption, as foreigners would naturally be more interested in finding a world saviour than in a national freedom fighter, but the Frenchman was taken aback and reported the observation to some disciples of Lokmanya Tilak in Poona, who promptly reproduced the same in their papers.

After "many happy hours together"—the words quoted are Gandhiji's—M. Paul Richard gave an interview to the Lokmanya reporting Gandhiji as having said: "I do not work for freedom of India; I work for nonviolence in the world, and that is the difference between me and Mr. Tilak. Mr. Tilak was telling me, "I would sacrifice even truth for freedom of the country," but I am ready to sacrifice even freedom for the sake of truth." Commenting M. Richard said, "In the light of these words you can understand the reason of the actual postponement of the national program until the spirit of violence has been shaken everywhere in India. That means probably until the end of the world." Confronted with the interview Gandhiji said, "It is not possible to deny the substance of it." (*Young India*, Feb. 23, 1922.)

CHAURI CHAURA

I am trying to explain the reasons for the suspension of the Non-co-operation movement in February 1922 as, to my surprise, it has remained a mystery to this day even for leaders and journalists. An event which shocked the country from end to end has remained a mystery because Gandhi had hidden motives for his actions. With the suspension Gandhi was really trying to kill two birds with one stone. The compromise proposal could not be revived because the Prince of Wales had gone back home and the Government of India was no longer interested in it. By suspending the movement Gandhi wanted to please the Government and to avoid arrest on the one hand, and to appear as another Jesus for the world, on the other. The country was nowhere in the picture, as usual. Gandhi said he did not work for the freedom of the country. Why then did he repeatedly promise India Swaraj in a year and then Swaraj in six months? Gandhi said he worked for non-violence. Was the Khilafat a non-violent institution? Its latest handiwork had been the Armenian massacre in which 20,000 lost their lives.

To justify the rejection of the Round Table Conference offer Nehru wrote, "No policy or manoeuvre can even be a right one if it involves the forsaking of a colleague." But in suspending the

(continued on page 9)

Socialism Is Not The Answer

By Dean Russell

SOCIOLOGISTS generally agree that "aid to dependent children" (including foster homes for them) is a great improvement over the old system of orphanages and other institutions. And for the past 50 years, most sociologists have advocated more government aid for this purpose—that is, to permit the children of deceased or destitute or depraved parents to grow up in a more normal home environment than can be found in an institution.

Unquestionably, the sentiment behind that objective is excellent. I am convinced, however, that sociologists who advocate more government subsidies as the best solution to this problem are overlooking a vital point.

For example, orphanages and similar institutions have traditionally operated on straight socialistic theory. The authority expects each youngster to contribute to the group whatever he can. And each receives from the authority whatever he needs. Individuality is not encouraged.

The effect of this equal treatment has generally been dismal for all concerned. Sociologists are well aware of the drawbacks of institutional life for children, but they seldom if ever con-

(Continued from page 8)

movement Gandhi had forsaken not only his colleagues but the Congress and the country and their cause as well. At a time of unprecedented revolutionary fervour in the country, which had to be seen to be believed, when the call for a general strike would have brought the Government to its knees—the country would have responded like one man—Gandhi ordered suspension of the movement. A man who can justify this suspension can justify anything. Why did Nehru justify it? Obviously because he was afraid of losing his leadership, as Gandhi was the leader-maker. Not only that. Nehru proceeds to observe in his Autobiography: "My faith in Gandhiji remained."

Where on earth could have Gandhi found another man like him? He had made the mistake of blaming him for the failure of the 1930-34 movement, forgetting that, if not a lion, he was the son of a lion at least. Amends had to be made for the offence. So his shrewd reply to Jawaharlal Nehru's "Resist Gandhi" was "Jawaharlal is my virtual successor". The word 'virtual' was provisional and was dropped by Gandhi after he had made sure that the bait had worked. How the highest moral standards were at work will be related in the next issue.

sider the possibility that the cause of the undesirable consequences is the socialistic arrangement itself, rather than the absence of parents.

AN ORPHAN'S EXPERIENCE

Perhaps this true story (merely one of many I could select for the purpose) will help to illustrate the point I am here making.

A new superintendent arrived at an orphanage near Lynchburg, Virginia, in 1932. He discovered that the institution had always been run on the socialistic principle of "to each according to his need; from each according to his ability." The children were treated absolutely alike; in fact, it was necessary to assign each one a number in order to distinguish their equal and identical possessions. That socialistic paradise of equality and security, however, was a drab and deadening place without challenge; kids were always running away from it.

The superintendent immediately installed an arrangement that was as close to a free market operation as the situation would permit. All of the children (even the six-year-olds) were put on an incentive system of one kind or another. Those who were age 12 and over were assigned basic quotas for their regular farm and house jobs. They were also given small plots of land for themselves, and free time to use as they pleased. If they produced more than their quotas, they were paid in cash or in additional free time. Each could use as he pleased any money he earned from his own land and from his own free time.

Not surprisingly, the first thing that this competitive system brought to light was the fact that no one is equal to any one else. That had always been true, but the socialistic system had tended to conceal it.

Quite a number of the kids (perhaps one out of five) didn't prosper under the new arrangement. They earned nothing. And for all I know, the experience may have given them an inferiority complex.

Most of the children, however, were happy indeed with the new system. Almost all of them were better off in one way or another. And none ran away.

They used all of the customary ways for youngsters to earn money, and then invented a few of their own. Frequently, they produced the season's earliest tomatoes in that area, and sold them at a high price. Sewing, baby sitting, dish-washing, cleaning, car washing, snow shoveling, shoe shining, delivering papers, selling magazines — you name it, and some boy or girl tried it.

One boy got rich—almost \$100 in 15 months. Most of it came from his new business of selling live minnows as bait to fisherman. He finally had to hire several of his friends to catch minnows for him to sell.

When those kids left the orphanage at age 18, they knew that people are not equal. They had been taught that their futures depended strictly on their own abilities and efforts. Thus, they were a bit surprised to discover that the world they were entering was moving backwards towards the socialistic system of compulsory equality and security they had abandoned. But since they were impressionable and adaptable teenagers, most of them soon reverted to the old philosophy of their new leaders.

Over the years, the number of children in that orphanage decreased steadily—not because there were fewer orphans but because government aid to dependent children soon abolished the need for the institution. It is now closed.

GOVERNMENT MUST PROVIDE

Today's children of deceased and destitute depraved parents are now all taught that it is the duty of government to support them, as well as their parents and grand-parents and others. Since they are impressionable and adaptable teenagers, almost all of them accept it as right, and teach it to their own children. Thus, after 30 years of such instruction, it is hardly surprising that most American people now believe that the primary function of government is to provide for all who are having economic difficulties—real or merely comparative.

Under that socialistic philosophy, crime, greed, and immorality on all levels of our society are increasing steadily, both absolutely and percentage-wise. Most sociologists are still teaching and advocating more government subsidies to stop it.

Perhaps they will eventually give serious consideration to the possibility that socialism is not the cure but the cause of the problem.

—The Freeman

WHITHER PROHIBITION?

In State legislatures, Prohibition is again subject of attack, not only because it is an obvious failure but because it involves loss of revenue, at least 120 crores, equivalent for five years, to the total of additional taxation under the Third Plan. In Bombay, the Chief Minister indicated an open mind, saying that the report of the Police Commission may be awaited. In Andhra, it was disclosed that in the Rajahmundry jail, the officials had set up production of illicit liquor with the help of the prohibition convicts. In Mysore, it was stated that liquor was distilled in front of a police station and

that palm-gur societies were a screen for toddy sales.

It is necessary to understand why people drink. According to a Latin epigram of the 15th Century.

"If it be true that I do think
There are five reasons we should drink
Good wine—a friend—or being dry
Or lest we should be by and by
Or any other reason why"

Drink represents pleasure in the good things of life, which it is not for governments to deny. Dryden wrote.

"Rich the treasure, sweet the pleasure
Sweet is pleasure after pain"

which emphasises the relief which drink brings those who suffer and are tired, which is the common lot in his country. Shakespeare wrote for those to whom drink gives courage.

"A soldier's but a man
A life's but a span

Why, then let a soldier drink"
Thomas Moore wanted the bowl to be wreathed with flowers of the soul.

"The brightest wit can find us
We'll take a flight

Towards heaven tonight
And leave the dull world behind us"

Implying that drink stimulates the mind. And lastly, John Still wanted drink as medicine.

"I cannot eat but little meat
My stomach is not good

But sure I think that I can drink"

The poorer life is, the greater the urgency of drink for which reason, Prohibition has the least chance of succeeding in a country like India. Not only the offenders but the authorities justify drink by what it brings them.

Savage laws cannot prevent what is irresistible. The Mysore Government has just introduced laws which impose compulsory sentences of imprisonment, allow the police to search houses without warrants, and to compel extraction of blood for testing from anyone they suspect. The result in this district is that the police are making more money, without the people drinking less.

The harm however has been done. Even if prohibition is lifted, those who have learnt to make liquor and live by it, will continue to do so, perhaps with more confidence that they can confuse illicit with licit supplies. The first step should therefore be to lift prohibition on Toddy, the price of which will be competitive with illicit liquor. As a food, toddy will also relieve the pressure on, food supplies imposed by prohibition. In any case, toddy will be less harmful than illicit liquor which is now filling up the hospitals.

—Insight

The Chinese Puzzle

(From Our Correspondent)

Pronouncements by official spokesmen regarding the Chinese advances and withdrawals in the Galwan Valley have been rather confusing. On the night of July 10 the Chinese advance was considered grave enough to justify the summoning of the Chinese Ambassador at 10 p.m. for handing over a Note which contained India's "most emphatic protest". Within a day the Chinese provocation had become, to use the words of an official spokesman of the Ministry, "one of a series of incidents aimed at harrasing Indian posts and patrols". There was, as is being pointed out here, no reference to the implications of the Chinese penetration into a valley where they had never been before.

The next morning Prime Minister Nehru, on his return from Kashmir, told Pressmen at Palam airport that both Indian and Chinese communications on the subject were "pitched on a high key" adding, by way of confirming the soundness of his observation, that "no conflict had yet taken place". It seems that the soft-peddalling of India's "most emphatic protest" a day earlier had been done at the instance of Mr. Nehru from Kashmir. In any case there seems to be lack of co-ordination in the manner and method of handling Chinese aggression in the External Affairs Ministry, though much of it may be due to Mr. Nehru's ever-changing moods. He has however again found it necessary to emphasize that "we have to be prepared."

The transfer of the Director of the China Division of the External Affairs Ministry at a time like this has come as a surprise to many here. While there is no indication of the approachment which the Prime Minister hoped for recently, the Foreign Office has nominated the head of its China Division to proceed to Harvard on a year's fellowship. The border dispute is so complicated with the Chinese in such a belligerent mood that the Union Government should have been loath to change the principal adviser on the subject. This is the second change since the division was created two years ago. The Director last year was transferred to Bonn almost immediately after he had completed the negotiations with Chinese officials to establish the basic facts of the dispute. His successor was then, however, considered to be a Chinese expert. This cannot be said of the Director who has taken over charge now, and he will have to put in hard work before he transforms himself into an expert. (Last year on his return from

the United Kingdom, where he worked in the BBC for six months, thus qualifying for a job in All-India Radio, an IAS officer was posted in the Finance wing of the Defence Ministry.) There are many Moghuls in New Delhi obviously of the opinion that as soon as a man becomes an expert in one subject he should be transferred to another department where he has nothing to do with that subject!

ANTI-ENGLISH CONVENTION

Dr. Raghu Vira told reporters here the other day that an All-India Languages Convention will be held in New Delhi on August 11 and 12 to organise an agitation against the Bill the Government proposes to bring before Parliament to make English the associate national language of India. He thought the proposed measure would spell the ruin of "Indian culture" and completely change the personality of India. If English became the associate national language, he feared that in practice it would become more important than the national language. His fear thus far is not unjustified, but when he goes so far as to say that in course of time English would in that case replace not only Hindi but the regional languages also, he is raising a false alarm.

The rush of students here in Anglo-Indian schools, where the medium of instruction is English from the primary classes, would appear to suggest that parents consider English to be more important than Hindi. Even those who cannot really afford the exorbitant tuition fees charged there — about Rs. 30 per month, apart from incidentals which run up to a high total — are trying to get their children admitted there and often enough in vain! Why do they do so? Obviously to give their children the best possible education.

The proposed Convention would be attended by 400 "delegates" from all parts of India, including 100 from non-Hindi-speaking areas. The proportion of Hindi-speaking to non-Hindi-speaking people is not three to one. The non-Hindi-speaking areas are thus not to get their fair percentage, while the Hindi-speaking areas are to have a weightage, so to say. Unless delegates from non-Hindi areas are carefully selected, there may be trouble in the Convention. It is being pointed out here, that it should not be beyond the genius of the organiser of the convention to select the right type of delegates. It there are objections from non-Hindi speaking people to the introduction of Hindi as the

national language, Dr. Raghu Vira naively suggests, an Indian solution should be found for the problem. Dr. Raghu Vira does not seem to be aware of the fact that he is putting the cart before the horse.

His fear that English would spell the ruin of Indian culture puts him in a class where reactionaries abound. His lament seems to be the same or at least should be, as that of the poet Akbar who sang:

Apno mansoobe hooye sab paaemal:
Beef jo maghrīb ne boya, woh uga aur phal
gaya!

(All our objectives are reduced to dust: the seed sown by the West has grown and is flowering.) It is time Dr. Raghu Vira and his friends thought over the reasons for the victory of western thought now registered in the Constitution of India. Does he think by banning English he can ban the cry of "Liberty, Equality, Fraternity" which is echoing the world over. It is these three words which are spelling the ruin of Indian culture. And what are they born of? The rational desire to live in peace. Dr. Raghu Vira should thank his stars that the Hindus have really no reason to be afraid of these three words.

VICIOUS CIRCLE IN PAKISTAN

Proceedings of the Pakistan National Assembly make it quite plain that Pakistan is again making a start in the vicious circle which led to the assumption of power by the military and the abrogation of the Constitution. The Political Parties Bill, which is being officially sponsored, has for its third clause: "No political party will be formed with the object of propagating any opinion or acting in a manner prejudicial to the Islamic ideology, integrity or security of Pakistan." In other words, political parties will have to make Islamic ideology their sheet anchor, i.e., non-Muslims will have no right to form political parties.

A controversy was started by an amendment seeking deletion of the clause. It served to clarify the character of the constitution promulgated by President Ayub Khan in March last. Mr. Z. A. Bhutto, a Central Minister, observed that the amendment was ultra vires the Constitution because it militated against the Preamble, which proclaimed the Islamic character of the Constitution, and the principles of law-making which, according to the Constitution, should conform to the Koran and the Sunnah. Defending his amendment Mr. Abdus Sultan dwelt on the history of sectarian feuds over the interpretation of Islam and warned the Government that the name of Islam might again be used by the ruling groups against their political opponents. "Throughout the ages," he said, "our intolerance has been largely responsible for our suffering."

It was in fact the massacre of Quadianis, who have their own prophet despite the Koranic injunction that Mohammad was the last of the Prophets, that led to the rise of Maulana Maudoodi and the revocation of the Constitution, for in a general election the Maulana and his friends would have carried the day. The trouble, as in the past, is that Pakistan's rulers are averse to foregoing the Islamic character of the state and yet are not prepared, as educated men, to go the whole hog with their mullahs and maulanis. Mr. Sultan was constantly interrupted by the adherents of Jamait-e-Islam and Nizam-e-Islam and it is they who will wield power if and when the people have the unfettered right to choose their rulers.

That the struggle in Pakistan has begun again between fanatics and modernists is obvious from a joint meeting of women's organisations held in Karachi on July 12 to condemn the move to repeal the Family Laws Ordinance which regulates polygamous marriages under Islam. One of the speakers at the meeting went so far as to say that if mullahs supported the right of Muslim men to have four wives, they should also allow Muslim women to have four husbands. Accounts from Pakistan of her young women's ways would go to show that the Mullahs are not likely to have a walk-over. It is obvious that there can be no peace except on the basis of equality, i.e., unless the mullahs are vanquished, but then Pakistan will hardly be an Islamic state. As matters stand, East Pakistanis (who are 42 millions against West Pakistan's 28 millions) are being denied equality with West Pakistanis for they cannot return men to the Central Legislature in proportion to their number.

Book Review

UNDERSTANDING PROFITS

WHEN Claude Robinson died last summer, he left a host of friends. He also left two thriving businesses, the Opinion Research Corporation and a second research company, the renowned polling firm of Gallup and Robinson. The friends will, in due course, die in their own turn, and the business firms will move to the touch of other directing hands. But whenever a student of economics is seeking light on that most controversial of economic concepts, the concept of profit, he will, inevitably, find himself compelled to reckon with the book, *Understanding Profits* (Van Nostrand, \$13.75), which Claude Robinson completed just before his untimely end. This is worldly immortality enough for any man.

Understanding Profits is a first rate job for many reasons, not the least of which is that it deliberately avoids the polemic note. The mark

of Dr. Robinson's researcher calling is on the opening chapters, for the book begins by interrogating the public, including the labour leaders, in order to define the popular "image" of profit and the profit-seeker. The result of Dr. Robinson's public opinion survey offers a weird commentary on the average American's ability to correct his semantics by the application of simple arithmetic.

On the one hand, the public's "guess" is that profits on sales are some four times what they actually are. On the other hand, this same public responds in crazily inconsistent terms to different arithmetical ways of posing an identical question about profits. A given company earned \$18 million profit, net after taxes. Another company earned 6 per cent after taxes on \$300 million sales. Obviously, 6 per cent of \$300 million is \$18 million. Yet 38 per cent of the people in a given public opinion sample told Dr. Robinson's interviewers that \$18 million represented "too much" profit, whereas only 19 per cent regarded "6 per cent on \$300 million sales as 'too much.'" Fourteen per cent thought \$18 million profit a "reasonable" amount — but when the question was posed in terms of "6 per cent on \$300 million sales," 69 per cent were willing to grant the reasonableness of the figure.

Patient Explanations

An H. L. Mencken, at this point, would have murmured something about boobs and dropped the whole struggle to correct popular misapprehensions. But Claude Robinson was not a despairing man. Patiently addressing himself to arithmetical delinquents, he offered charts and clear expository language to break through the mathematical fog. Any reasonably attentive reader of his book can hardly fail to go away from it with the idea that capitalistic profits, over the years, have been reasonable enough. The average factory worker, as Dr. Robinson says, gets 84 per cent of the money paid out either to employees or credited to stockholders as profits. Manufacturing companies "crossed the finish" line on December 31 of 1958 with an aggregate profit of 3.9 cents per dollar of sales and 8.6 cents per dollar of investment for the decade that ended on that date.

Dr. Robinson suggests that these are hardly "lush" figures. An even more sobering statistic is that some 45 per cent of the corporations reporting to the U. S. Treasury during the "roaring" decade of the twenties lost money in the big boom years. After World War II, in the middle of another boom, the number of companies reporting losses hit 40 per cent. For every dollar gained in the 1920-40 period, forty-five cents were lost. So we have, not a profit system, but a profit-and-loss system.

Dr. Robinson shows in patient detail what companies have to overcome in order to make a profit. He also demonstrates the futility of try-

ing to "redivide" a pie which already yields 84 per cent of its substance to the worker. The companies that make the best profit usually pay the best wages, charge the lowest prices, and offer the most superlative quality to the consumer. If workers were rational, then, they would cheer bigger profits for their employers.

The Social Functions Performed by Profits

Far from being selfish, profits have social functions. One social function of profits, as Dr. Robinson explains, is to direct capital investment to where it is most needed or most effective. Another is to provide incentive to risk-takers. Still another is to give the workman the most efficient tools. If there were no such thing as profit, the economic system would be at sea without a rudder. As for the "social control" of profits, that is provided by competition. Dr. Robinson offers a qualified judgment on "legislation" as a "social control." He tends to look with favour on antitrust legislation provided that it is in "harmony" with economic realities — i.e., set up to curb departures from "workable competition."

As for social control as applied by "fair trade" laws, government price fixing, the imposition of quotas, and the attempt to tax away "super-profits," Dr. Robinson looks on all these with a completely skeptical eye. Even in wartime they do not work as they are supposed to work. In the case of "natural monopolies" — electric power, the telephone system — Dr. Robinson presents the case for government regulation of rates. But he notes to what absurdities "regulation" can go when a supposed "natural monopoly," such as the railroads, suddenly becomes a competitive business. When trucks started thundering over the highways and airplanes began moving through the air, the Interstate Commerce Commission should have shut up shop, for it was no longer the warden of anything that could properly be described as a "monopoly."

"Profit-Sharing" Plans

Dr. Robinson offers a chapter on profit-sharing schemes, which he thinks work best for small, closely-held companies which have reason to prefer the contingent costs of deferred profit sharing to the fixed costs of orthodox pension plans. He has another first-rate chapter on the ethics of profit making. The morality of profits should be apparent to anyone who thinks it important to give more rather than fewer souls a chance to live above the poverty line. Where there are no profits, there is no growth — and every child in excess of two-per-family must, by definition, be "surplus" life.

There are pages of appendix material — charts, detailed reports on the sales and profit performances of 600 leading companies — in the back of Dr. Robinson's book. It is unfortunate that the cost of including all this material has

run the retail price of the volume up to \$13.75. Perhaps some foundation which believes in the profit system will subsidize its distribution at a lesser price. Our economic "heathen" need it. Even good Christians will be helped by its salutary demonstration that profits have their place in any "social gospel" thinking that pretends to be interested in the Christian desire to make room on this earth for more human souls.

—Condensed from the Review by John Chameralain in freeman.

Gleanings from the Press

GOOD-NATURED INDIA AND CHINESE AGGRESSION

"The Tribune" (June 12) of Burma writing on Sino-Indian relations under the caption: "Good-natured India" observes:—

"Today India and China are like enemies. Formerly they were very friendly to each other, because of the Five Principles of Peaceful Co-existence. At that time some Indian leaders who had been watching the moves of Red China warned their Government against placing too much confidence in Peking. But the Congress Government ignored their warning. It came to realise the real danger only when Communist China occupied 12,000 sq. miles of Indian territory by claiming that they belonged to China. India was caught unawares because she was too good-natured and thought Red China to be like herself.

"Today India has been subjected to aggression by Communist China whose troops have been stationed in Ladakh and Longju areas occupying some 14,000 sq. miles. But according to a Peking report dated June 10, Communist China has sent a note of protest to India demanding the withdrawal of Indian troops that have crossed over the frontier into her territory. This is but a Communist tactic of alleging a victim of their aggressor.

"According to a Reuter news report dated June 10 Red China is even using tanks in the Ladakh area."

"As we are very friendly with India we only desire to see that India does not suffer in any way. The present Sino-Indian affairs is not a trifle. It may even lead to war if the two Powers are of equal military strength. But we do not like India to yield so much to Red China.

"We understand why the Indian Government was so lenient to Red China. Be that as it may, the Sino-Indian frontier dispute is not likely to be settled peacefully. Chinese indignation will continue to grow as long as India provides refuge to the Dalai Lama. The best way for India to adopt is to build up her man-power and armaments and push the issue to a trial of strength.

In our view the frontier problem will be settled only in the face of a challenge of armed strength.

News & Views

MR. SANDYS ON IMPORTANCE OF INDIA'S ECONOMIC PROGRESS

The importance of the progress of India's economy was emphasized by Mr. Duncan Sandys, Britain's Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations, when he answered questions in the House of Commons on the subject of aid to India.

Mr. Sandys said: "My recent visit to Delhi and the subsequent visit of the Indian Finance Minister to London provided a useful opportunity to review Britain's economic assistance to India's development plans and, to discuss the safeguards to be sought for Indian trade in our negotiations for entry into the European Common Market.

"Since July 1960 we have signed loan agreements with the Government of India, totalling £92,000,000, and a further loan of £13,000,000 is under negotiation. In addition, we have provided technical assistance costing about £750,000."

Mr. John Tilney (Conservative), then commented: "£92,000,000 is a very large sum indeed, considering that the supply of capital is limited.

Amid cheers from the Labour benches, Mr. Sandys further replied: "It is not our practice to attach political conditions to aid."

"On the other hand, it is obvious that the attitude of other countries towards us is inevitably bound to affect our enthusiasm to strain our resources to help them."

Mr. Sandys went on to say: "Of course, I fully share the views expressed by you about the importance of the progress of India's economy and the progress of the political institutions of India as an element of stability in the whole free world. So far as our contributions are concerned, I really do not think it is fair to suggest that the contribution we have made is a negligible contribution or an inadequate one, having regard to the resources of this country and the many other demands that are made upon us."

DR. BHABHA AGAINST STEEL PLANTS "SOPHISTICATED" INDUSTRIES PREFERRED

INDIA should concentrate on "sophisticated industries" like machine tools, electronics and electrical appliances — rather than on industries like steel and aluminium production, the chairman of the Atomic Energy Commission, Dr. H. J. Bhabha, told Deccan Herald, Bangalore.

Dr. Bhabha, said India was going the wrong way in laying emphasis on the construction of large steel plants. "Take the case of Switzerland, it does not produce an ounce of steel. Still, it is the most advanced country industrially," he said.

He revealed that one of four sites recommended by the Special Committee of the Department of Atomic Energy for an Atomic Power Plant was in the South. When asked whether this plant would help in the promotion of the steel industry in the South, he asked: "Why this stress on the manufacture of steel?"

Investment on basic industries like steel and aluminium was a drain on power resources and a strain on the financial and technical resources of the country. Because of this it would not be advantageous in the long run to set up a steel plant using atomic power in the South. It would be better to concentrate on production of special alloys.

BAN ON FASTING BY TRADE UNIONISTS CENTRE MAY AMEND LABOUR DISCIPLINE CODE
NEW DELHI

HUNGER-STRIKE for ventilating trade union grievances or for enforcing workers' demands is sought to be banned by the Government by amending the code of discipline, which has been accepted by both employers' and workers' organisations.

The code requires that neither party in an industrial dispute will take recourse to coercion and intimidation, but condemnation of, hunger-strikes is not mentioned. The present proposal initiated by the West Bengal Government, is to specifically ban hunger striking as a weapon which a union may threaten to use or actually use after notice and after exhausting other means of redress.

(We ardently wish this Gandhian fad of fasting were banned totally from our public and social life too by common agreement between all the Political Parties and Prominent Social Organisations—Ed.)

TAMIL MEDIUM IN COLLEGES STUDENT RESPONSE POOR IN SPITE OF FEE CONCESSION
BHAKTAVATSALAM OPPOSED TO EXTENSION OF SCHEME
MADRAS

Judged from the poor demand from students for admission to the Tamil-medium colleges in Coimbatore, it would be a waste of public funds to extend the scheme immediately to other colleges in the State.

This was the view expressed by Mr. M. Bhaktavatsalam, Finance and Education Minister, in the Legislative Assembly during question-time.

Four colleges in Coimbatore — Government Arts College, P.S.G. Art College, Government College, Pollachi and Avinashilingam Home Science College — are imparting instruction in Tamil for B.A. degree courses in Arts, for the past two years.

Answering a volley of supplementaries

arising from the main question put by Mr. K. A. Mathialagan, on Tamil-medium in colleges, the Minister asked Opposition members who were keen on the success of the scheme to exhort students to join the courses in larger numbers. He would request them not to exploit Tamil for political purposes, he added.

The present student response was not encouraging, he said, even though the Government gave them a stipend of Rs. 30 and full fee concession. Exemption from college fees was really a great concession, because even in high schools such a concession was not extended to students. Still, students were not coming forward to join the Tamil-medium courses.

The Minister furnished the following figures of admission of students to the four colleges in the current academic year: Government Arts College: history—3; politics—2; economics—5; geography—2; psychology—2. P.S.G. Arts College: economics—9; social sciences—3. Government College, Pollachi: only three (history); Avinashilingam Home Science College: 11 students.

Mr. Bhaktavatsalam said this might be one of the reasons. But the main reason was, the students felt, they could not prosecute higher studies abroad, if they took the Tamil-medium course. "How can we ask countries like the United States, Germany, etc., to give instruction to our students in Tamil?" Mr. Bhaktavatsalam remarked.

ENGLISH, THE UNSUPPRESSIBLE

HYDERABAD: The Government of Andhra Pradesh proposes to introduce teaching of English language in the primary schools from the third standard instead of the fifth standard. This proposal is expected to come into force during the current year.

Mr. P. V. G. Raju, Andhra Pradesh Education Minister, told the Legislative Assembly while replying to discussion on the demands for Education, which amounted to Rs. 22,29,96,000, disclosed that the Government also proposed to start one school with English as the medium in every district of the State.

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THREE BASIC TYPES

Basically, there are three descriptions of government, as pointed out by Frederic Bastiat, a French writer:

1. Where the few plunder the many
2. Where everybody plunders everybody
3. Where nobody plunders anybody.

Legal plunder occurs when "the law takes from some persons what belongs to them, and gives it to other persons to whom it does not belong"

To know more about this type of plunder,

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"THE LAW" by Frederic Bastiat.

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