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EDITORIAL

WHAT ARE WE FIGHTING FOR ?

Our country is being deared up, however belatedly, to fight the Chinese hordes on our Northern Fronts in Ladakh and NEFA. At the time of writing this, almost all the area claimed by the Chinese in Ladakh has been lost by India and with the capture of Tawang and some outposts near Walang in NEFA, the Chinese seem to be perilously within the Indian territory to the South of McMahon Line, well-poised for a further thrust even up to the Assam border. The Himalayan border considered to be the safest and most reliable boundary-line for thousands of years between peaceful India and mystic Tibet under the Lamas, is now caught in the ever-growing flames of a yet undeclared war between China and India.

All Indians except for a few 'Peking' and 'Moscow' patriots in our midst, have been touched to the quick. They have risen to a man, in response to the inspiring yet pathetic appeal of our beloved Prime Minister to fight this former Chinese 'Bhaia'. But one must be excused for saying that the appeal to fight only for the sake of recovering our lost territory will not be enough to enthuse the people, unless our National leadership in power is able to place before them an inspiring ideology and programme for which they could fight with all their hearts and souls.

In the post-independence period, it was at one time thought that the Indian Constitution had pledged the country irrevocably to Republicanism with its accent on Fundamental Rights and Freedoms such as the right to hold individual property, to fearlessly express one's opinion and to pursue and follow a life of joyful labour and work according to one's choice and inclination. But the Socialistic Pattern of Mr. Nehru has, in a great measure encroached upon these rights. The Second and Third Five Year Plans have been leading the country on to the path of industrialisation somewhat on the Communist pattern. All this explains Mr. Nehru's and Mr. Menon's policy of Neutralism in favour of the communist countries and the invariable support being given by them to Russia and China from time to time on all controversial issues such as that of two Germanys, seating of China at the U.N., Western Colonialism and Nuclear Explosions.

At home, our leaders tend to support the communist ideal of imposing One Party Rule on

the country by the unabashed use of their governmental power and authority during the elections. They are never so happy as when they get an opportunity of fraternising with the communist leaders and of obtaining from them questionable aid, monetary or military. The ill-fated MIG deal with Russia is a case in point. The exigencies of the military situation on the Himalayan borders now seem to have brought down Mr. Nehru from his dream-land of unrealities and illusions. It is still doubtful whether this Nehru-Menon clique, backed up by the 'ginger' socialists strongly entrenched in the Central Government, has still realised that Communism is the twentieth century Faith, which permits of no 'co-existence' with social and economic systems not organised rigidly on the lines laid down by the communist Prophets, Lenin, Stalin and others.

Viewed in this light of the philosophy of communist expansionism, the Chinese invasion of our Himalayan territory is perfectly understandable. The Russian volte face as seen in her unstinted support to China against India could also be explained. There seems to be much truth in the opinion expressed in some quarters that Cuba and NEFA events are interlinked and inter-related. World communism led today by Mr. Khrushchev of Russia and Mr. Mao of China has always been in search of what is described in communist literature as 'the weakest link in the chain of world Imperialism'. Cuba was found, to the communists' great chagrin and disappointment, to be a tough affair. So world communism has now concentrated its whole attention on India under the present pusillanimous leadership which according to them has proved to be such a weak link. The Chinese leaders seem to be intent on carving out a communist area in the Himalayan region so that with the help of our Peking patriots they might be in a position to operate from this base for the purpose of bringing about a communist revolution in the whole of India. Mr. Mao wishes to enact the same drama in India that he so successfully played from the province of Yenan in his fight against Chiang-kai Shek.

So what is needed now is a clarification from the Indian Government of the aims and ideals for which the country is called upon to fight in this Sino-Indian conflict. It is quite essential that the Government should give up once for all hobnobbing with communist China over this border dispute. It must resolutely try to carry the war, if need be, into the enemy's

territory even as far as Tibet and for this purpose must even give recognition to Dalai Lama as the ruler of Tibet and help in all possible ways the rebellion of Khampas who have been so heroically carrying the fight single-handed for Tibet's freedom. Indians should shun the Chinese, at least for the duration of the war, as 'Devils' and 'Burglars' and refuse to negotiate with them the McMahon Line till they are beaten many miles beyond it. The present leadership which places Socialism above Freedom and Democracy will have to reorientate its ideology and place before the country the higher ideal of Freedom First and everything else afterwards.

India, by now, has realised that it is Western Free and Democratic countries like America, Canada, England, France, Germany and Australia that have offered her unreserved financial and military aid. The so-called Neutral and 'Bhai' countries have badly let us down in this hour of our peril. Let us also know that there is no such thing as permanent 'Non-alignment' or 'Bandung Asianism' in this 'cruel' world as Mr. Nehru so sadly described it, and set about introducing changes in our foreign policies.

Vinoba Bhave has rightly described the present Sino-Indian war as a conflict between 'Democracy and Communism'. The late Mr.

M. N. Roy rightly came to the conclusion that the era of Communism had come to an end with defeat of Fascism at the hands of the Allies including Russia in the Second World War. He said that Communism had become 'moribund' and 'fossilised' and it could no longer inspire the progressive sections of humanity in the latter part of this century. He also thought that the future belonged to a Twentieth Century New Revolution based on Individual Freedom and the essential dignity of Man who is sought to be smothered and eclipsed by the collectivist philosophy of communism and therefore exhorted India to become the pioneer and herald of such a new revolution. Some such ideal of a new revolution of Freedom and Prosperity will put more heart and courage into the people than the ideal of Socialist Pattern and will enable them to fight relentlessly with the active sympathy and even the military aid of the Free World, not only to recover the lost territory from the brutal Chinese burglars but also to pave the way for ushering in a new era of Freedom and Happiness in our country.

Non-alignment, as all are agreed now, has proved to be a useless shibboleth and ignominious failure. As Lord Home of England recently observed, in this Age, 'Inter-dependence' must be the ideal before humanity and it needs to be fostered first among the Free and Democratic countries. Then only could we think of 'co-existence' with communist countries. Let us, therefore, do the first things first and ally ourselves ideologically and militarily with the Free World. And this done the Chinese communist invaders will before long take to their heels and melt away into thin air before the fierce onslaughts of an India determined to preserve its Freedom and backed up by the powerful world democratic forces.

THE SURE ROAD TO WORLD PEACE

The Cuba episode, if anything, indicates that the sure road to world peace lies in effectively countering Totalitarian force by Democratic might. U.S.S.R. made an attempt to build clandestinely offensive missile-sites and bases in Castro's Cuba but the attempt miserably failed. The U.S.A. Government on being informed of such moves, at once issued orders to initiate a strict quarantine on offensive military equipment under shipment to Cuba from Russia. It also directed close surveillance of Cuba and its military build-up. Mr. Kennedy also directed the army to be prepared for all eventualities if U.S.S.R. should resist this quarantine by force. It was also proved to the hilt by Mr. Stevenson at the U.N. debate with the help of photographic

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pictures that such missile-sites had been built in Cuba in hot-haste and Russia was intending to invade the Western hemisphere from these Cuban missile bases.

The Soviet Premier Mr. Khrushchev first protested and then threatened. But when he found that Americans were determined to quarantine the ships carrying offensive weapons to Cuba, whatever might be the consequences, he at last yielded and withdrew such ships from the American seas. He fully realised that U.S.A. was determined to call Russia's bluff in this matter and would go to any length, in maintaining the security and safety of America against the menace coming from the missile bases in Cuba.

In the meantime, the U.S.A. voluntarily raised the question in the Security Council of the U.N. Assembly just to explore the possibilities of a peaceful solution of this problem through the U.N. It is now reported that the problem is well on its way to a peaceful solution.

This episode has a lesson for all non-communist nations. They will also be able to fight this communist menace if they show a greater nerve and stronger determination to do so. They will do well to remember Mr. Kennedy's memorable words, 'Our goal is not the victory of the Might but the vindication of Right—not Peace at the expense of Freedom but both Peace and Freedom'.

NO MORE TALK OF NON-VIOLENCE, PLEASE!

It is unfortunate that some of our leaders even in this moment of war crisis, cannot overcome their habit of indulging in airy nothings. In an otherwise commendable statement analysing the present situation created by the Sino-Indian conflict, Mr. Jayaprakash Narayan could not but air his mystical views on Non-violence. He observed that he would not assume any office in any National Government unless the Government was committed to the principle of non-violence. If so, it is beyond one's comprehension why he should condemn the government for its unpreparedness in a military sense, to meet the Chinese challenge. In what manner then could Mr. Menon be held responsible for the military debacle at NEFA and Ladakh? Mr. Nehru and Mr. Menon believed in 'Negotiations, Negotiations and Negotiations' hoping that the Indian government's non-violent and peaceful attitude would ultimately melt or change the heart of Mao and his comrades. If Mr. Narayan prefers to fight the Chinese by non-violent means such as Satyagraha, Self-immolation etc.,

he will have first to make room for the invading armies in our territory so that his non-violent methods might be tried and tested. Who then will be a greater danger to India, the non-violent Sarvodayawadis or the Peaceful Negotiators?

When, oh, when will our leaders learn to come down from their other-worldly mystical heights and live in a work-a-day world of hard facts and stern realities?

"FOOD FOR THOUGHT":

"True Democracy is relaxation. True dictatorship is tension. Tension outside breeds tension inside and vice-versa. Mao is not seeking foreign friends to warrant relaxation; he is seeking enemies to justify domestic sacrifices".

—Louis Fischer in 'Russia, America and the World'.

"The superior freedom of the capitalist system, its superior justice and its superior productivity are not three superiorities, but one. The justice follows from the freedom and the productivity follows from the freedom and justice".

—Henry Hazlitt.

"No doubt another may also think for me, but it is not therefore desirable that he should do so to the exclusion of my thinking for myself".

—Henry Thoreau.

"The power of government covers the surface of society with a network of small complicated rules, minute and uniform through which the most original minds and the most energetic characters cannot penetrate to rise above all crowd. The will of man is not shattered but softened, bent and guided; men are seldom forced by it to act, but they are constantly restrained from acting. Such a power does not tyrannise but it compresses, enervates, extinguishes and stupefies a people, until each nation is reduced to nothing better than a flock of timid and hard-working animals, of which the government is a shepherd".

—A. de Tocqueville.

The Demands And Lessons Of War

M. A. Venkata Rao

The expected has happened at last on the northern borders. The Chinese have done with preliminary skirmishes and preparations and have begun the invasion of India in grim earnest.

They have engulfed our Assam Rifles in the NEFA outpost with heavy armour and taken the Buddhist monastery town of Tawang on the Bhutan border, of which we heard some time ago when the Dalai Lama stopped awhile there on his flight to India.

This is a psychological blow to India and a morale booster to the Chinese. The tribals around the district and the Bhutanese as well as the Assamese themselves will begin to doubt their security under Indian auspices. Assam, Nepal, Sikkim, Bhutan, Manipur, North Bihar are all experiencing the effects of the Chinese advance like an earthquake.

And in Ladakh, the news is equally sombre. A dozen forward outposts manned by Kashmir Militia and Ladakhi volunteers have been knocked down by the advancing Chinese forces like ninepins.

The Indian airfield at Chusul which is our supply base for the Ladakh Front is in danger and news of its fall may reach us before this issue is in print, unless the Indian Army reinforcements arrive in time and in sufficient strength.

Not members of parliament alone are dismayed and exercised at this easy collapse of Indian forward outposts. The official explanation seems to be that they were manned only by militia and auxiliary rifles and not by the regular army. It was thought that only a token occupation was sufficient to indicate to the "law-respecting" enemy that the area belonged to India and was therefore out of bounds to them! The lesson of the Galwan valley where the Chinese shot down our police with heavy armour seems to have been unaccountably forgotten as also the Chinese incursion into Longju in NEFA and their hold on Hoti in U.P.

News had also percolated some time before that our forces were asked not to fire on the Chinese first but only to reply by fire in self-defence only if absolutely necessary! Surely a phoney way of using the army!

Is it surprising that thoughtful observers connect these mysterious ways of guarding the border and unprecedented instructions to armed

forces with the communist ideology of the Defence Minister? In fact, even the Prime Minister has let it be known quite openly that he considers socialism and communism to be superior forms of social and political organisation and that such societies do not indulge in imperialist aggression!

Are people wrong in connecting the weak state of our border defences with the pro-communist ideology of our supreme leaders in office?

Is it surprising that there is anxious demand in knowledgeable quarters and opposition parties and even among some Congress circles that the Defence Minister should be changed. In fact the first demand of the war with China is this requirement of a change in the Ministry of Defence. The Prime Minister can no longer rely on the seemingly infinite reservoir of popular confidence (drawn from earlier times) to continue to indulge his costly blunders. More and more citizens are realising that the nation can pay too heavily for its Prime Minister!

The second demand of the situation is that the full implications of the struggle with China should be realised by the Prime Minister. It is not merely a small border skirmish or series of pin-pricks which the nation can ignore and take in its stride. As some foreign writers have pointed out, what is at stake is the image of India as the leading Asian Power in the eyes of the world at large, and particularly in the eyes of the peoples of Southeast Asia.

Even Mrs. Vijayalakshmi Pandit has said that it is a war of rivalry between India and China, a war for the leadership of Asia.

This reminds us of the two rivalries of races that fill the pages of European history in the last two thousand years. One is a rivalry between the Celts and Gauls and the Teuton-Saxon tribes. The other now uppermost in contemporary Europe is the struggle for power between the Western races as a whole—(Celt-Gaul-Saxon-Teuton) with the Eastern Slavonic races led by Russia.

India has had several encounters with Mongols and other yellow races within her own frontiers in the invasions of the Sakas Scythians, Hunas, Turks, Moghuls etc.

Today's challenge to India is from a rejuvenated, unified totalitarian Chinese dictatorship immensely strengthened by modern technology and militarism under a fanatical elite fired by a vision of world conquest. Communist

China has six hundred and more millions under the grip of her ruling class as against the loose, softer and comparatively inefficient leadership of a corrupt, self-seeking party hierarchy led by a glamorous leader more intent on personal (world) fame than on national consolidation and national power.

The Prime Minister has made a remarkable confession of error and failure and disillusionment. He said that hitherto "we" were under an illusion that there would be no armed challenge to India. He has no right to include the nation or others in this "we." Many critics in parliament and outside had warned him that he should not recognise the Chinese occupation of Tibet and the extinction of the rights of Tibet as a sovereign buffer State. Many warned him that Communist China was committed to aggression. They warned him not to rely on Russia to restrain China.

Mr. Khrushchev's letter and Pravda's statement supporting the Chinese stand are supposed to have shocked him and led him to declare a state of emergency and initiate measures of war.

But even yet, he is clinging to his old illusions.

He should hesitate no longer but declare war on China.

The refusal to declare war comes from a futile hope that war could yet be avoided by some concessions such as the surrender of Aksai Chin in Ladakh in exchange for a Chinese recognition of the NEFA border constituted by the MacMohan Line.

The efforts of UAR, Ethiopia, Yugoslavia and others for a negotiated peace are futile, for they do not recognise Indian borders and the justice of India's claims.

Nehru condemned Britain, France and Israel in harsh language for their Suez adventure but we find the UAR President cautious and sitting on the fence in the hour of India's danger from invasion! It is only the Western Powers, the USA and Britain, (and Malaya) that have categorically declared that India is right and have promised prompt assistance by way of arms supplies.

Even after the Russian disappointment, Nehru is clinging to his fear of Russian disapproval and hesitating to ask for the full scale of modern arms necessary and in sufficient quantities from the West for years, it may be, for the war will be a prolonged one.

It is not necessary to enter into a military pact on the basis of mutual assistance with the West. It is enough if we ask for assistance to defend our own borders on a long term basis.

This re-orientation will be forced on us very soon. It is better to be psychologically prepared for it. The public should urge the Government to adopt the change in policy called for without delay.

Another change called for concerns the economic system. We should call a truce to doctrinaire socialism. Private groups should be given a free hand to produce the goods necessary both for consumption and for war effort in abundance. As a war measure, a new financial policy of cost-plus-fixed-profit could be worked out for all war contracts and supplies and transport. Export could be increased if free trade is allowed. If twenty year leases are given in suitable land, coffee, rubber, tea, spices, areca, coconut, peanuts and other oilseeds, cotton, jute, cinchona and other commercial crops could be expanded to earn ample foreign exchange and to save the foreign exchange now consumed in imports. Automobile transport should be immediately freed for full private operation to fill the transport gaps. Small connecting links of railway lines can be handed over to private groups for rapid construction on a twenty year lease basis.

Foreign private capital should be invited into lines approved by government—both consumer lines and heavy goods. It will come in huge proportions if income tax rates are fixed for a period and 51 per cent control is permitted. Here too twenty year permits will bring in vast amounts. This is necessary to increase supplies essential to keep prices stable.

It will also ease the foreign exchange problem since the foreign investor brings exchange with him to pay for imports of machinery. War is a great unifier. External danger naturally pushes internal differences, animosities and rivalries to the background. War is a great promoter of national cohesion and national unity.

All sections of the population have rallied to the Prime Minister's call.

The answering effort of the Governmental organisation to make good use of this spontaneous offer (and mobilisation) of the people's enthusiasm should be correspondingly efficient, high-minded and patriotic. If official and party groups are seen to exploit this enthusiasm for selfish advantage, there will be great indignation, frustration and discontent.

Especially the young people from the middle and upper classes accustomed to decent treatment will rebel if they are treated roughly by ignorant sergeants.

All classes of the people will demand inflexible justice, fair shares and equality of sacrifice in the war effort and the profits and emoluments of military and war service.

Self—Preservation Or Non—Alignment ?

(By M. N. Thotal)

Mr. Nehru is at last waking up to the realities of the situation. Inaugurating the State Information Ministers Conference on October 25 he observed that all Indians, including the Government, had by the present crisis been "shocked out of the artificial atmosphere"—of their own creation—in which they had been living. He said the Chinese Government had made the country realise that it was getting out of touch with the realities of the modern world. A greater regard for accuracy would have perhaps made him say that the country had been—not getting—out of touch with the realities of the modern world for a number of years. This artificial atmosphere in which all Indians, including

the Government, have been living, was of his own creation, assisted by the drama of Sino-Russian differences staged for our deception by Russia and China.

I have, during the last five or six years, been the only journalist in the country who has been consistently accusing Mr. Nehru, fellow journalists, party leaders and my other countrymen of wishful thinking. I have been presenting the facts and their implication, a perusal of which would have convinced any reasonable man of the soundness of my stand.

Even the Jana Sanghis, bitterest opponents of Nehru in the country, concluded that I had a personal grudge against the Prime Minister for favours withheld. Fellow journalists said, "You are pro-American", when they did not go to the extent of saying, "You are very anti-Nehru". This to a man who has perhaps been more friendly with Nehru than any other journalist in the land.

(Continued from page 6)

Officialdom and party bosses have to be careful and extra sensitive about this demand of the people.

The commercial classes in past times used to hide their prosperity and did not flaunt their wealth in extravagant luxury, ostentatious or conspicuous consumption for fear of the evil eye—of princes and of the envious poor.

Today too people who profit by war contracts should avoid extravagance and use their money for public relief as much as possible. The temper today is against capitalism and the socialist-communist demagogues are waiting to turn the people's wrath against profiteers and hoarders to liquidate their whole class and with it the regime of liberty itself.

Freedom is in danger in any war-time administration. Fundamental rights may be abridged under the threat of war emergency. Parliament and recognised political parties should keep a careful watch and see that all abridgements of liberty proposed by the government are absolutely necessary for the war effort and that only as much in kind and quantity as necessary is permitted. We should take a lesson from Britain's war time record in this respect. Lord Attlee said that even in war time the British Government did not impose measures curtailing personal liberty like our peace time Preventive Detention Act!

While we have our well-founded doubts about the capacity of the present Congress Government to maintain single handed the war tempo with the grit necessary, we are at one with all elements of vocal feeling in the country that we should mobilise on an allout basis to create a Nation-at-Arms.

After my bitterest attacks on Jawaharlal Nehru I often asked myself, "Would Motilal Nehru, were he alive today, approve of it?" Knowing the spirit of justice and fairplay and patriotism that was the dominant trait of that leader, the answer in my own mind to my own question had always been in an undoubted affirmative. That was enough for me. Yet the question could not help arising and recurring: "Are the rest of your countrymen, including leaders and fellow journalists—all these devotees of non-alignment—are they all fools and are you the only wise man in the country?" The question was enough to give rise to the suspicion of mania in any sane mind. And yet the more I examined the question from different points of view and varying angles, the more convinced I became of the soundness of my views and the unsoundness and the hollowness of those of my countrymen. That Russia would side with India against China on the border issue, when a conflict between the two would practically mean the end of Communism and when she was publishing and republishing Chinese maps as her own, seemed to me always, without the shadow of any doubt, inconceivable. And yet my countrymen, almost unanimously, thought the contrary would happen and hugged to their bosoms stories of Sino-Russian differences based on the flimsiest of grounds prepared by the Governments of the two countries for our entertainment and deception, to make us pursue the path of non-alignment.

It is becoming obvious that certain assurances in regard to NEFA had been held out to our Prime Minister by Mr. Khrushchev on condition that China be allowed to occupy Ladakh without let or hindrance. Ladakh was to be traded for NEFA. That is the most charitable explanation for the invasion of India being kept a secret by Mr. Nehru five years ago and our non-resistance to Chinese advance in Ladakh. The latest Pravda editorial, supporting the three-point Chinese proposal for talks, has come as a shock to our Government which had put all its eggs in the Russian basket. During the last eight years, since the signing of the Panch Sheela Agreement in 1954—which was, to put it in his own words, Mr. Nehru's "challenge to the world"—we have gone all out to please Messrs. Khrushchev and Chou En-lai, as if that was all that the situation demanded. Could there be anything more childish than this bullock-cart approach to the problem posed by the Communist threat? (This at a time when John Foster Dulles was frequently warning the world with the best of reasons that Communism was on the prowl.) "I cannot express to Your Excellency," wrote Mr. Nehru to Mr. Khrushchev once, "how deeply I value your friendship."

CONTRADICTIONS

In his broadcast on Oct. 22, which is being publicised in all languages by Indian Radio stations, the Prime Minister talked of India's policy of peace which, he said, "was our policy all over the world and we tried to apply it even in our own country". But surely Goa is not so distant as his words seem to indicate, nor would public memory outside India be so short as to oblige us by forgetting that sad departure from our peaceful policy. In the present situation the one factor that stands out more prominently than others is the silence of the Arab countries and the non-aligned nations, who were supposed to be our friends.

Nevertheless, there is no questioning his observation that the time has come for us to realise fully this (the Chinese) menace that threatens the freedom of our people and the independence of our country. And it is for him and his Government to realise the menace in all its implications and ramifications, much more fully than the man on the street. The present situation seems to be that the man on the street is realising the menace more fully than the Prime Minister, who said in the same broadcast: "I realise that no power can ultimately imperil the freedom we have won at so much sacrifice and cost to our people." The myth of winning freedom apart, what does "ultimately" mean as an adverb defining "imperil"? It seems to have been inserted to avoid an obvious self-contradiction after acknowledging "this menace that

threatens the freedom of our people and the independence of our country".

Another contradiction in his broadcast is an appeal to a united people to unite. "I earnestly trust and I believe that all parties and groups in the country will unite in this great enterprise and put aside their controversies and arguments which have no place today, and present a solid united front before all those who seek to endanger our freedom and integrity." And the next minute he admitted: "We have behind us the strength of a united nation". Neither thinking nor writing should be done by fits and starts, as seems to be the case with our Prime Minister. Above all, when what seems to be a fact strikes him or is presented to him, he should not get irritated or fly into a passion, as is his usual practice. Everything depends on him and victory is inconceivable unless he tries his utmost to be realistic henceforward.

"Everything else," said Mr. Nehru, "is secondary to the freedom of our people and of our motherland and, if necessary, everything else has to be sacrificed in this great crisis." Everything else, presumably, except non-alignment and non-acceptance of free military aid, for he concluded the broadcast with a re-endorsement of his policy of non-alignment. "We have followed a policy of non-alignment and sought friendship of all nations," he said, adding, "I believe in that policy fully and we shall continue to follow it. We are not going to give up our basic principles because of the present difficulty. Even this difficulty will be more effectively met by our continuing that policy." So the primary cause of the present grave situation and emergency will continue to operate to the detriment of the country while the nation follows his advice and girds up her loins to face the menace! And "this menace that threatens the freedom of our people and the independence of our country" is reduced to a "difficulty" to justify the continuation of non-alignment!

THE SHOCK

The broadcast, it must be conceded, was made three days before the Soviet Communist Party newspaper, Pravda, praised as "constructive" the Chinese proposals to India for a settlement of the border dispute, saying:

"The Soviet Union and the People's Republic of China are bound by many years of unbreakable friendship. This friendship rests on the community of aims: the building of socialism and communism. Its firm foundation is constituted by a uniform economic base, a uniform political system, a common ideology—Marxism-Leninism..... As for the Soviet people they take the Chinese Government's statement as an expression of its sincere concern for its relations with India and of its desire to end the

ECONOMIC SUPPLEMENT

Marx And Theory Of Value

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

At present that there are many in our country who believe that capitalism has failed to deliver the goods and the only remedy to overcome the evils of capitalism is to adopt socialism. On the basis of this assumption our government has adopted socialist pattern of society as one of the objectives of our Five-Year Plans. Karl Marx was the first economist to give us a systematic analysis of socialism. There were other economists but they were called Utopian Socialists. Marx was the most powerful of all critics of capitalism. At present many have accepted Marxism as gospel of truth and have embraced it as a religion, "which promises paradise on this side of the grave". Marx's critique of capitalism is based on the idea that there is no harmony of interests as believed by classical economists. Marx "conceives of economic life in terms of conflict of interests between owners of property who do not work and workers who own no property". He wanted to show that the capitalist process was the process of exploitation of one class by the other and that the economic consequence of this exploitation will ultimately destroy capitalism. The economic theory which explains this process of exploitation is the theory of surplus value which in turn is based upon the labour theory of value.

Marx begins his labour theory of value with analysis of commodity. In order to maximise his profit capitalist is spending money on labour, transforms labour into commodities and sells these commodities for a larger amount of money. This can be expressed as $M \rightarrow C \rightarrow M'$. The difference between M and M' is the surplus value, the result of exploitation. According to Marx this kind of exploitation is attributable to the variable capital i.e. the wages of labour because the constant capital i.e. machinery does not undergo any quantitative alteration of value.

Marx defines commodity as an article which has utility and is the result of human labour and that it is produced for sale in market. One can easily see that Marx excludes gifts of nature which have exchange value. Marx argues that because as use-values commodities are of dif-

ferent qualities the exchange value cannot contain "an atom of use value". From this he has drawn the uncalled for conclusion "If then we leave out of consideration the use value of commodities, they have only one common property left, that of being products of labour". It must be pointed out here that there are certain other qualities which are common to commodities, namely that they are scarce and secondly that they are the products of the scarce factors of production and not necessarily of labour alone. Marx had ignored the simple fact that commodities which were not the products of human labour but which have exchange value and this he did so because he wanted to support the labour theory of value of Ricardo in order to prove exploitation in capitalism. In the words of John Robinson "Marx wanted to keep insistently before the mind of the reader a picture of the capitalist process as a system of piracy, preying upon the very life of the workers". Marx did not realise the fact that that the labour theory of value was unnecessary to support his conviction that capitalism is mainly a system of exploitation. It is in the words of Lerner "an unfounded dogma that, unless we go in for all this rigmarole about value we cannot say that capitalists get part of the social product without working". "Marx's assertion that the exchange value of commodities is determined by the only property common to all i.e. abstract human labour, is entirely arbitrary. Its fallacy is revealed by even the most superficial observation of how prices are actually determined on the real markets of the capitalist economy. Nowhere do commodities exchange according to the amount of abstract human labour contained in them. The exchange value of commodities is determined by conditions of demand and supply and, in equilibrium by production costs provided that the commodities in question are the result of production. Production costs do not consist of wages alone; they consist of anything which is needed, is scarce and commands a price. Labour itself is a factor supplied in an infinite variety of qualities reducible to abstract human labour only by market forces". Though Marx insisted upon the labour theory of value in order to prove the exploitation process in

capitalism yet he returns to market conditions of demand and supply when his labour theory does not offer him any solution. He admits "that in order that a commodity may be sold at its market value, that is to say, in proportion to the necessary social labour contained in it, the total quantity of social labour devoted to the total mass of this kind of commodities must correspond to the quantity of the social demand for them meaning the solvent social demand". From this it is quite clear that Marx throws his labour theory to the wind when he does not derive any solution from it.

While elaborating his labour theory of value to determine the exchange value of commodities Marx points out that only socially necessary labour should be counted. To find out the socially necessary labour time, following points should be kept in mind, namely, the normal conditions must be given. Labour must be supported by machinery. Secondly the product must be in demand. Labour cannot be called socially necessary labour unless the product is demanded by the people. Thirdly labour time includes past as well as present labour. Lastly socially necessary labour time is the time spent by labour possessing average skill and working with average intensity. Skilled labour should be reduced to the average labour.

Marx admits that there must be social demand for the product in order to define socially necessary labour. If the supply of a commodity is greater than demand for it then it cannot be sold at a price which corresponds to the socially necessary labour time and the production must be contracted and on the other if the exchange value of commodity exceeds the value of the labour contained in it must be expanded. Marx did not pursue this matter further because it endangers his labour theory of value. "The exchange value of labour must not be derived from the exchange value of its product if the labour theory of value and the theory of surplus value are to be maintained. As soon as the relative scarcity of the product and of the factors of production are admitted as determining factors the whole labour theory of value becomes superfluous and is exposed as an excessively weak foundation of the theory of capitalist development. "Some critics have pointed out that the prices do not in capitalist economy correspond with Marxian values which Marx was mainly concerned to analyse. They find contradiction in the analysis. To Bohm Baerk and Pareto this contradiction is fatal to the whole Marxian theory since it appears to them that Marx's solution is logically unsound. To Bernstein the contradiction reduces the Marxian concept of value to nothing more than a reality but only as a theory of natural right or

a mere standard of comparing one type of society to another. To Joan Robinson the contradiction reduces the theory to mystification and metaphysics.

Though the labour theory of value as analysed by Marx does not explain existing price relations in capitalism yet Marx maintains that his theory can be applied to explain exchange values in planned economy when he says, "only when production will be under the conscious and prearranged control of society, will society establish a direct relation between the quantity of social labour time employed in the production of definite articles and the quantity of demand for them. It may be for this cryptic remark that our government has adopted socialist pattern of society as one of the objectives of our plans, which has resulted in the expansion of public sector at the cost of private sector. Our economic progress cannot be accelerated unless we reverse this policy and give a proper role to the private sector in the economic development of our country. Our progress cannot be based on Marxian analysis which is a myth, and not a reality. Marx conceived his theory of surplus value before he worked out his theory." He knew the result he wished to obtain and must obtain, and so he twisted and manipulated his patent ideas and logical premises with admirable skill and subtlety until they actually yielded the desired result in seemingly respectable syllogistic form". His theory of surplus value is not the result of unbiased research. Marx knew what he wanted to prove. What he wanted was to unmask exploitation under capitalism but the economic development made by capitalistic countries has falsified the very basic structure of Marxism.

CRUEL IDOLATRY

The increased land revenue demands are being shamelessly defended by state ministers. It was iniquitous to levy tax from those who, under great difficulties and taking many risks, invest their little capital and toil and moil to produce the food that keeps the nation going. If at least the poorer sections of agriculturists were relieved of this burden it would have been some justice. Instead, the demands are increased and then it is sought to justify the increase. It is almost an indecency and a demonstration of the pitiable dependence of our state ministers on the Centre. This Plan-worship has become an idolatry of a most cruel type.

Rajagopalachari in 'Swarajya'.

*The Non-Shiftability Of Land Value Taxes And The Effects Of Tax Rate Changes On Real Estate Values—III

By Mitchell S. Lurio

As stated previously, groundrent may be constant while market value of sites fall as the tax upon them is increased. When all of the groundrent is taken by the town or city, there is nothing left for the owner from his land and the market value of sites must therefore fall to zero.

In the example considered, the site value will be zero if all of the groundrent must be paid to the city. Hence the total value of the invest in the property is just the value of the building alone, or \$100,000. On the basis of a 9% return, the owner will obtain 9% of \$100,000 or \$9,000 a year.

If at the same time, the present 3% tax on the building is removed—that is there are no taxes on any buildings—competition will force the owner to lower the rentals obtained from tenants by the tax saving of 3%, in this case 3% of \$100,000 or \$3,000. The tax shift in this case is negative. The saving to the owner must be passed on to the tenants. The AMOUNT AVAILABLE for taxes and owner's income is therefore reduced from \$15,000 to \$12,000 (assuming expenses the same). Of this amount \$9,000 is the owner's share and the balance of \$3,000 is the groundrent of the site.

In Table form:

Table 3

(1) Final market value of land ..	Zero
(2) Final market value of building ..	\$ 1,00,000
<hr/>	
(3) Total market value of owner's investment ..	100,000
<hr/>	
(4) Original AMOUNT AVAILABLE ..	15,000
(5) Tax saving on building when it is no longer taxed and passed on to tenants: 3% of (2) ..	3,000
<hr/>	
(6) Final AMOUNT AVAILABLE ..	12,000
<hr/>	
(7) Owner's income: 9% of (3) ..	9,000
<hr/>	
(8) Balance which is groundrent ..	\$ 3,000

In our example, then, there is an actual saving when only groundrent of \$3,000 has to be paid to the city instead of the present total tax on land and building of \$3,750. Originally, the

owner paid \$750 in taxes on the land, and \$3,000 in taxes on the building. This final result of a reduction in total paid to the city occurs only when the site is properly improved.

But the owner of a similar vacant lot, next door, would also have to pay the same amount of groundrent of \$3,000, instead of his present tax of \$750. And since, in most cities, there is a most surprising amount of poorly-developed sites, the total of groundrent is far greater than the present total of real estate taxes.

The groundrent for a particular site should be the same no matter how the present over-all tax rate changes. With the existing tax rate of 3% on market value, the groundrent was computed as \$3,000 a year. In Table 2, the figures are examined when the rate moves suddenly to 3.6% of market value. To compute the groundrent from the new set of figures in Table 2 is a good check on the validity of the results shown in that Table. This is shown in Table 4.

Table 4

(1) AMOUNT AVAILABLE ..	\$ 15,600
(2) Tax on building alone: 3.6% of \$100,000 ..	3,600
<hr/>	
(3) AMOUNT AVAILABLE if building tax removed and saving passed on to tenants ..	12,000
(4) Owner's income: 9% of building alone ..	9,000
(5) Balance, which is groundrent ..	3,000
<hr/>	
(6) Site value ..	Zero
(7) Building value ..	100,000
<hr/>	
(8) Total value of investment when groundrent has to be paid to the city ..	\$ 100,000

Thus, regardless of intervening tax rate changes and market value changes for the site, the building always being assumed still to be practically brand-new, properly built at a cost to the investor of \$100,000, the groundrent always turns out to be \$3,000.

An interesting ratio is that of original present market value of the site to groundrent: \$25,000 to \$3,000 or 8-1/3. The inverse ratio, groundrent to market value is 12%. Since the

present tax rate is 3% of market value, the groundrent in this particular location is four times the present tax collected on the land alone. In practically all areas, building values on the assessment rolls are less than twice land values hence groundrent is considerably higher than present total real estate taxes.

Owners of poorly-improved and unimproved land would have to pay more than the difference, for well-improved properties would pay less than they are now paying in taxes.

It is worth repeating what has been said before: groundrent is not a tax, an arbitrary figure based on budget and all "that the traffic will bear." It is the annual market price for the privilege of utilizing sites. Most of it is now being retained by owners, paid for by labor and capital and government has to tax the latter more heavily than would otherwise be the case.

Perhaps a few words are appropriate here to answer the objections of those who own a piece of land and think it unjust that a system be introduced which would make their land lose its market value, so deeply ingrained on the legalistic tradition that rent belongs largely to land-owners. Those who are "rich" have plenty of other assets besides valuable vacant land. Those who are "poor" and own a little plot can be better off giving it up instead of paying taxes on it, for there is always a plot to be had for nothing but the payment of its groundrent to the city when they are ready to use it. The records indicate that owners of valuable land have lost far more in property, income and inheritance taxes than they would have lost had groundrent been collected by government, to say nothing of those who in times past (and probably in times to come) have lost their lives as well as their lands because of their resistance to change.

In any case, the application of the groundrent toward the support of government, necessary if a continuous robbery is to be halted, may be made over one or two generations. Salutory results would follow immediately because of anticipation.

Depreciation

The methods developed above can also be used to reveal some interesting facts about depreciation and obsolescence.

If, in our original example, the gross rentals from the apartment house, after a few years, fall by say \$300, and it is assumed that the expenses are the same and the groundrent is the same, the owner's income falls from \$9,000 to \$8,700 (on the building portion). On the basis of a 9% return, the building value becomes \$96,667, since 9% of \$96,667 is \$8,700. This means a depreciation amount of \$3,333 or 3.33%, as

compared with a drop in gross rentals of \$300. It was given that original gross rentals were \$24,000 a year, so that the \$300 drop is 1.25% of the original gross. In other words, the drop in gross rentals (extraneous factors but depreciation excluded) may be taken as the basis for determining depreciation and obsolescence and therefore replacement value of a well-maintained building. A well-maintained building may depreciate very slowly after the initial glamor has worn off, although depreciation actually taken and allowed by Internal Revenue Regulations, is substantially greater than the actual loss in market value, at a constant value of the dollar.

When obsolescence make it no longer profitable, there is no financial hardship to tear down a building and to erect a proper one for only the rental value of the land remains.

Effects of Collection of Groundrent by the City

Other things will not remain equal upon the gradual introduction of the system of payment of groundrent to the city. Speculation will be halted because there can be no profit in it. Slums and unimproved land in the heart of the city will disappear. Modernization will be a continuous process. Cities will, in the literal sense of the word, re-new themselves, like the cells of the human body. Old cities will restore themselves, not by subsidies but by the profit incentive and suburbs will be much closer to the hub. Transportation problems will be minimized. Building construction, which accounts for so large a portion of national output, will proceed and continue at high levels, causing a great demand for the services not only of laborers and suppliers but of appraisers, brokers, managers, architects and builders.

As to the effect on total groundrent, there are conflicting factors. It should rise when the city's advantages are not dampened by prohibitive taxes on improvements. It should fall because of the vast amount of sites that can be built upon without any investment in their purchase. But the most desirable feature will be the demand for labor which will be restored to its natural condition when there is free access to land, from and on which all activity proceeds, a condition where work is always available to those who want the products of labor. It is an unnatural condition for able-bodied men to be in want where there is plenty of natural resources, plenty of capital and unlimited desires.

(Concluded)

* Reproduced from 'Appraisal and Valuation Manual' of the American Society of Appraisers, Washington U.S.A.

conflict. We think the Chinese Government's proposals constructive."

It was presumably this editorial which gave our Prime Minister a shock and made him realise the "artificial atmosphere" in which he had been living. But since then all that he has done by way of modification of his policy is to have told the Congress Party's Standing Committee on External Affairs that, although there was no question of seeking military aid from any country, friendly countries were welcome to extend what help they could. But where are the friendly countries? Are there any left as a result of the operation of his wonderful policies?

It is high time our Prime Minister realised that the countries he has been offending and alienating to please Russia and China should be befriended now anyhow and that the overwhelming superiority of the Chinese in arms can only be overcome by seeking military aid from those who may be persuaded to give it. This is no time for standing on dignity and being restrained by false considerations of prestige. For the sake of the country, for the sake of the nation, he should go abegging on bended knees before irreparable harm is done. As Rajaji says, it is the duty of those who have made the bed to lie on it. And it is Mr. Nehru's duty now to make the bed as comfortable as he can. Let him give up all thought of winding up normal parliamentary government. The suspension of by-elections is a pointer to what Rajaji fears but for which today there is no justification. The temptation to use the emergency to amass power in his hands would be great. It is to be hoped he will be able to resist it successfully, for its repercussions are likely to be unwholesome in the extreme.

Mr. Nehru has admitted that his Government's foreign policy towards China has failed. But foreign policy cannot be divided in watertight or airtight compartments. As Rajaji puts it, "We have failed in our foreign policy by any test". Offending UK and USA was a complementary and supplementary part of the project of flattering China and Russia, which our Prime Minister has pursued sedulously all these seven or eight years. The failure is all along the line, miserable and complete. What is needed is a frank and agonising re-appraisal, and that too in the shortest possible time, considering China's blitz tactics.

We should not under-estimate the enemy's strength. It is the same country which successfully defied the United Nations in Korea. The task before Mr. Nehru is nothing less than bringing about in the shortest possible time a complete reversal of his policy of non-alignment which has brought the country to its present perilous pass. It should not be difficult to choose

between self-preservation and non-alignment. And surely it is of the utmost importance that the victory which Mr. Nehru envisages against the Chinese should be brought about with the minimum of loss in manpower and resources. Unless, therefore, Mr. Nehru owns his Himalayan blunder and makes amends to those whom he has been offending, he can only be considered to be bamboozling the people. The country and the world have had enough of Mr. Nehru's cleverness, and the sooner he realises it the better it would be for him and the country.

ANDHRA CONFERENCE OF 'PARTYLESS' DEMOCRATS

The 1st Andhra Pradesh Conference of Partyless Democrats met in session on Oct. 6 & 7 under the presidentship of Mr. Gora in the local Taluk Higher Secondary School premises, Tenali, Guntur Dt. About a hundred delegates from all parts of the State (20 districts) attended the conference.

Mr. K. Sivarama Reddi, President, Reception Committee, while welcoming the delegates said that a conference of this type would be considered peculiar. This was in effect a conference of real democrats, therefore, man the individual is considered the primary unit for purposes of reconstruction and the individual is made the measure of all things and the maker of his history. Man the creator must be saved from being devoured from his own creation the political party.

Mr. Gora who then delivered the presidential address said:

Even from the point of view of National Integration, the party system had become corrosive. Party system bore a divisive character which was inconsistent with democracy. Therefore, a strong popular movement in favour of partyless democracy required to be started to preserve democracy against the totalitarian tendencies of the parties. A short term programme of (1) non-reservation of election symbols for any party (2) seating of the members in legislatures in the order of their constituencies instead of the party backs (3) election of leader by the whole house instead of the present system of appointment of the leader by the majority party (4) decisions being taken by a fluid majority of free votes unfettered by whips, (5) freedom to amend or reject a cabinet proposal without prejudice to confidence of the House in the Ministry. He made a passionate appeal for lovers of democracy to help the growth of the movement of the decentralised, partyless administration.

The Conference resolved to propagate the philosophy of Partyless Democracy and Politics and towards that end adopted Cooperative Economy in place of Capitalist or Socialist economy.

Tagore's Humanistic Approach To Indian Nationalism

By A. Ranganathan

In order to appreciate the significance of Tagore's contribution to modern political thought, it is necessary to view the background of the 'Indian Renaissance' in its historic setting. And the transition of mediaeval to modern India, which resulted in that great cultural awakening known as the 'Indian Renaissance' was effected by Raja Ram Mohan Roy. Indeed, the day of Raja Ram Mohan Roy's birth was also the birthday of modern India. A new spirit was abroad, a new buoyancy of life symbolizing the streaks of a rosy dawn after the long mediaeval night which had enveloped India for centuries. The various forces which have contributed to the shaping of modern India originated in the mind of Raja Ram Mohan Roy. And Tagore not only constituted a historic link in the long chain of India's cultural evolution, but was also the prophet of the Indian Renaissance heralded by Raja Ram Mohan Roy.

Indian nationalism was an aspect of the 'Indian Renaissance' movement. It is well to remember, however, that the nature of Indian nationalism, although influenced by European nationalism, is entirely different from European nationalism. Indian nationalism succeeded in welding the political unity of India, whereas European nationalism split up Europe into several nations based on ethnic considerations. If Swami Vivekananda could be regarded as the prophet of Indian nationalism in its philosophical (Vedantic) context, Dr. Ananda Coomaraswamy, who had spent much of his career at the Boston Museum, can be looked upon as the most articulate exponent of the aesthetic philosophy of Indian nationalism. And Tagore's approach to Indian nationalism differed from that of his distinguished contemporaries, who had merely Indianized the concept of Mazzinian nationalism. Tagore's greatness lies in the fact that he had infused the spirit of poetry into the Indian national movement. And in the final analysis, Tagore had universalized the concept of freedom. 'Swaraj', as Tagore interpreted it, was not a mere political actuality. It was a process which extended the frontiers of the mind. He was certainly opposed to the continuance of British rule in India. However, even in the heat of political controversies, he never lost his sense of perspective. In fact, he had relinquished his knighthood in the wake of the Amritsar tragedy of 1919. And our National Anthem was one of

Tagore's most precious gifts to our country. But, Tagore was opposed to any form of ignorant and uninformed cultural chauvinism. Tagore, who had much in common with the artist-philosophers of Renaissance Humanism had warned the nation that "in this morning of the world's awakening, if in only our own national striving there is no response to its universal aspiration, that will betoken the poverty of our spirit".

Tagore had drawn the vital distinction between the Western Nation and the spirit of the West, in his celebrated lectures on "Nationalism": "This reign of law in our present government in India (the British Government) has established order in this vast land inhabited by peoples different in their races and customs. It has made it possible for these peoples to come into closer touch with one another and cultivate a common aspiration". The reference is to Macaulay's Penal Code which had transformed the basis of Indian society, since it established the legal principle of equality for the first time. Indeed, the movements of liberal thought which developed in England during the course of one or two centuries were compressed into a few decades in an entirely different setting. The Indian Penal Code was drafted by Lord Macaulay (who, incidentally had pleaded for religious liberty in the House of Commons while speaking in the debate on the civil disabilities of the Jews) was a landmark in the evolution of democracy in India. Independent India's secular outlook owes not a little to the legal system based on Macaulay's Code. While Tagore had appealed to certain sections in the West to rid themselves of that narrow cultural provincialism which tacitly assumed that the history of Western civilization was also the history of civilization he made it clear that "the desire for a common bond of comradeship among the different races of India has been the work of the spirit of the West, not that of the Nation of the West".

Mahatma Gandhi (incidentally, it was Tagore who had first hailed Gandhiji as the 'Mahatma'), who was deeply influenced by Ruskin's "Unto This Last" was opposed to what he termed the 'evils of industrialism'. 'Industrialism', as Gandhi understood it was the 'Curse of mankind' and machinery constituted the

'great sin'. And Tagore agreed with Gandhiji upto a point. Tagore's view was essentially that of an artist—"In the products of the hand-loom, the magic of man's living fingers find its expression and its hum harmonizes with the music of life". However, when Mahatma Gandhi began his nation-wide campaign to burn foreign cloth, Tagore had strongly opposed this proposal. With his characteristic dignity and the strength that flows from deep conviction, Tagore stated that in considering foreign especially British-made cloth, as impure, "economics was bundled out and a fictitious moral dictum dragged into its place". And Tagore was also against this "terrible habit of blindly obeying orders" and felt that "the clothes to be burnt really belong to those who most sorely need them". And he cogently argued his case in these reflections: "In the West, a real anxiety and effort of their higher mind to rise superior to business considerations is beginning to be seen... I have seen... many in England... who have accepted persecution and contumely from their fellow-countrymen in their struggles to free other peoples from the oppression of their own Countrymen in their struggles to free other peoples from the oppression of their own country's pride of power. Some of them are amongst us here in India... Romain Rolland... is an outcast from his own people... I have watched the faces of European students all aglow with the hope of a united mankind, prepared manfully to bear all the blows, cheerfully to submit to all the insults, of the present age for the glory of the age to come. And are we alone to be content with telling the beads of negation, harping on others' faults and proceeding with the erection of 'Swaraj' on a foundation of quarrelsomeness".

Like Raja Ram Mohan Roy, Tagore knew the value of English and could foresee its impact on Indian cultural life. Tagore, who was profoundly influenced by Keats and Shelley had felt that the impact of the English language on the mind of the Indian nation did not generate a process of cultural enslavement, but was the harbinger of a new era of creative consciousness. Western literary forms like the essay and the novel which became assimilated into the mainstream of our languages and the brilliant contributions to modern Science by some of our scientists are some of the outstanding features of the 'Indian Renaissance'. Indeed, Tagore commented: "Gandhi Mahatma is making various efforts to make Hindi the language for the entire country. These efforts, however thriving today, may one day as well peter out". And Tagore had hoped in his "Talks in China", that "the awakening of the East" would "impel us consciously to discover the essential and universal meaning of our own civilization, to re-

move the debris from its path, to rescue it from the bondage of stagnation that produces impurities, to make it a great channel of communication between all human races". Tagore was convinced that to realize the ideal of Vishwa-Bharati, which is similar to Whitman's poetic ideal "of the marriage of continents, Climates and Oceans", in a world which has shrunk due to scientific advances, we need a bridge of fundamental ideas and cultural values spanning civilizations through time and space. The impact of Indian philosophical thought on Western thinkers like Emerson, Whitman, Thoreau, W. B. Yeats, A. E. and several others, and Western influences on our thinkers like Ram Mohan Roy, Tagore and Thoreau's impact on Gandhi are some aspects of this cross-fertilization of cultures leading on to an international exchange of ideas. In fact, Tagore stated that "Vishwa-Bharathi acknowledges India's obligation to offer to others the hospitality of her best culture and India's right to accept from others their best".

Viewed in the perspective of cultural history, the British impact on India resulted in a phenomenon which is similar to the effect of the Westernizing policy of Peter the Great. And today, there is undoubtedly a need for a re-thinking of the philosophy of nationalism in its proper perspective. It is remarkable that Tagore had pioneered a new approach to nationalism, in tune with the Time-spirit. As the eminent historian of Nationalism, Prof. Hans Kohn wrote in his "A NEW LOOK AT NATIONALISM": "None has spoken more strongly against the cult of one's own nation or nationalism than Vladimir Solovyev in Russia or Rabindranath Tagore in India, both men deeply rooted in the spiritual tradition of their Community and yet wide open to the critical insights of the West". And as pointed out by Prof. Hans Kohn, the possibility of a deeper cultural intercourse between India and the liberal West can arise only if we no longer allow "our thinking to be channelled into widely accepted stereotypes about nationalism and its relation to liberty". "The time has arrived", wrote C. E. Trevelyan in his "The Education of the People of India", when the ancient debt of civilization which Europe owes to Asia is about to be repaid; and the sciences cradled in the East and brought into maturity in the West are now by a final effort to overspread the world". And this new dispensation which followed in the wake of Raja Ram Mohan Roy's letter to Lord Amherst was not regarded by Tagore as an invasion of Western ideas, but as a step towards the intellectual dialogue of cultures and civilizations.

Exit, Mr Menon !

(From our Correspondent)

So Mr. Krishna Menon has had to go at last as a result of his shocking performance as Defence Minister and of the country's undeniable leaning towards the Western bloc to which he has been publicly opposed. But at a time when Mr. Menon is being assailed all round, I would like to put in a word for him. What would be a normal man's reaction when he finds himself Defence Minister of a country and, at a time when that country has been the target of five years' continuous aggression from a neighbouring country, he is asked by his Prime Minister to lead the country's deputation to the United Nations as usual? Was it not a hint on the Prime Minister's part that he should not take either this aggression or his job seriously? I have a shrewd suspicion that some who lack the courage to criticise the Prime Minister find it riskless to criticise Mr. Menon and do so. Has Mr. Menon been flitting round the world on his own without the Prime Minister's direction or permission? I have reason to believe that even some of the significant statements he has made regarding Chinese aggression have been couched in the words of Mr. Nehru, words which Mr. Nehru had not the courage to utter or thought would be inopportune for him to utter publicly, and which Mr. Menon could more conveniently blurt out, owing as he does no responsibility to the Congress crowd.

Congress MPs present in Delhi at an informal meeting on Oct. 23 expressed grave concern over the situation in NEFA created by the reverses suffered by the Indian forces. The Deputy Leader of the Congress Parliamentary Party, Dr. Harekrushna Mehtab, presided. They expressed their sense of shock and concern, particularly as Parliament had been assured time and again that our position in NEFA was very strong. They were of the opinion that the responsibility for the situation should be fixed and those responsible for misleading Parliament, the Prime Minister and the country should be dealt with properly. They were strongly of the opinion that, at a time when the freedom of the country was threatened and a war situation had developed, there should be no cause for suspicion anywhere regarding the bonafides of any individual in high authority. Mr. Nehru later disapproved of Congressmen meeting in groups and passing resolutions and decried suggestions for post-mortem. The latter, indeed, is out of the

question, so long as Mr. Nehru is Prime Minister, for he himself has never denied his over-all responsibility for the conduct of Defence affairs.

HAPPY-GO-LUCKY

Mr. Menon's briefing of Pressmen on October 21 last constituted a sad revelation of the happy-go-lucky methods followed by the Defence Department of the Government of India. He said the Chinese had thrown in a great number of troops with heavy weapons. He admitted that the Chinese concentration was "known to some extent" but there was always some uncertainty about the time and place. If the Chinese concentration was known, it should have been known that it was for the purpose of being used and the great number of troops should not have come as a surprise. Uncertainty about the exact time is understandable. But what difference would its knowledge have made when the knowledge of the Chinese concentration could not?

As regards uncertainty about the place, surely the Defence Ministry knew that the Indian posts would be the targets. Surely the area of Chinese concentration was also known when the concentration became known and the place of concentration was clear indication of the "place" whence the Chinese would advance. Or did the Defence Ministry suspect the Chinese would take a circuitous route on the Himalayan heights? Mr. Menon also admitted that the invasion had been planned for long. That makes the plea of ignorance all the more untenable. Foreign newspapers seem to have been better aware of Chinese preparations than the Defence Ministry of India!

Mr. Menon said India had only some defensive posts in the area for limited purposes. This has been corroborated by Gen. Cariappa, who said the other day that these posts could not contain more than about thirty soldiers. The Chinese concentrations nearby do not appear to have made any difference to the nature of those posts and the purpose they were intended to serve. Surely the knowledge that Indian forces were handicapped by limitations of communications should have made the authorities turn those posts into miniature fortresses during the period—of years—the Chinese were planning and concentrating. But they did nothing of the

kind as if it was no use holding on to those posts.

At one stage Mr. Menon went so far as to say that the way the Chinese were descending, there did not seem to be any limit to how far they wanted to advance. He later corrected himself by saying that all he meant was that he could not say anything about the Chinese intentions. The Chinese intentions would be circumscribed by the capacity of India forces to check their advance. They would advance as far as they are allowed to advance. The Defence Minister seemed to say that his forces would be unable to place a limit on the extent to which the Chinese forces could advance. It is to be hoped that that was not what he meant to say, although his statements recall his observation to a General: "Your enemy is on the East and West, not on the North". In any case the preparations the Army made to check the Chinese advance—reassuring statements regarding which were made by Mr. Menon himself and about which we were forewarned by the Chinese generals themselves—clearly indicate that China was not considered much of an enemy, despite "five years of continuous aggression" in Ladakh. The words quoted are the Prime Minister's.

OBSELETE RIFLES

The Hindustan Times's Washington correspondent, cabling on October 23, said, "Military commentators express surprise and concern over reports that many Indian soldiers are still armed with obsolete bolt-action rifles, instead of automatics. Without superior or at least equal fire power, it is feared that it will be difficult, and costly in terms of casualties, to repel the Chinese human wave tactics. They argue that, faced with the prospect of limited wars, India's defence policy should have given automatic weapons priority over expensive jet bombers and fighters that have limited utility in such border campaigns".

One need not be a military expert to realise the truth of what American military commentators say and it must have been realised and ignored by those who have their eyes riveted on Pakistan. Nor does one need to be an astrologer to predict the fate of troops armed with bolt-action rifles in the year of grace 1962. The Express News Service in a message from New York dated October 24 reported:

"Lack of forethought on India's part is responsible for the sad plight of its Army on the Himalayan borders in the face of the Chinese aggression with superior weapons, knowledgeable sources said here. These sources said that India had earlier rejected an offer by a Western firm to set up a factory for the manufacture of automatic weapons. The reasons given for the rejection of the offer, it is stated, were that,

first, .303 rifles were sufficient for the Indian Army and, secondly, as automatic weapons were of the type used by NATO, acceptance of it would go counter to the Indian policy of non-alignment. Had negotiations been undertaken—and the terms are said to have been favourable—the proposed factory would have been in India today; many valuable lives would have been saved and the Indian Army would have had tactical superiority or at least equality with the Chinese".

Untouchability may be against the Constitution but it seems to be reigning supreme in our Foreign and Defence Departments. Perhaps that is why Delhi University students have been talking of driving the Chinese back with their fists. Another reason for the rejection of the Western firm's offer presumably was the greater military value of coffee percolators, being produced in such abundance by the Defence Department factories. Rather strange in view of the fact that Mr. Menon himself has the reputation of being a tea and not a coffee addict. Perhaps the motto was: "Anything except modern rifles!"

In this connection an Army widow writes to a local daily: "My husband is one of those who have laid down their lives, defending our northern border against the advancing Chinese. I am proud of the fact that he sacrificed his life for the motherland. But, Sir, I want to know why my husband was not given automatic weapons or heavy mortars to check the Chinese. He was provided with light .303 guns and was out-weaponed. I cannot justify my husband's death when he faced the Chinese unarmed and weaponless. Where are the jets, tanks and machine guns India claims to have been producing for the last 15 years? Can you say why my husband was allowed to be butchered weaponless?"

Book Review

The Phenomenon of Man: by Pierre Teilhard de Chardin S. J. English Translation by Bernard Wall with an Introduction by Sir Julian Huxley. Published by Harper and Brothers, New York and William Collins and Company, Ltd. London, 1959. French Publication in 1955.

This is an age of analysis but thought in everyday life as well as in systematic science proceeds both by analysis and synthesis, fact-finding and hypothesis—making, induction and deduction. But the vista opened up by a broad synthesis or hypothesis requires to be verified by a wealth of deduced consequences and detailed observations and experiments that may take a generation and occupy the minds of a host of lesser workers. But as soon as the fertility of a theory is exhausted by verification and thought can no longer advance along that line,

experience must once again be appealed to and a new vision, or synthetic hypothesis framed. So we find from time to time, thinkers arising in all the sciences trying to sum up all existing knowledging in their particular group of sciences. Herbert Spencer in his day made such an effort. Bergson gave a brilliant vision of the Creative Evolution of the universe from the view-point of biological evolution. Spengler at the beginning of the war of 1941-18 offered an immensely learned view of Western Culture and Civilisation in a pessimistic vein.

The present work under review belongs in this group of synthetic theory trying to sum up the results of science in a wide sweep with a view to draw conclusions regarding human nature and destiny on the background of scientific fact.

The author was a member of the Society of Jesus, the Jesuits as they are called but he pursued his studies as a teacher of geology with remarkable objectivity and fidelity to science without undue regard to orthodoxy. He lived for several years in China, particularly during the war of 1939-46. He partook of geological and palaeontological investigations in Sussex with Dr. Dawson and later had a part in investigating the Peking Man and his skull in China. He visited Africa for geological archeological and palaeontological investigations and lived for some years in the USA towards the lose of his life till his death in 1955.

The book is one of the most suggestive and fertile of works to appear in recent scientific history. It unfolds the story of the growth of use on the planet from the nebular beginnings and traces the stages of the earth's formation and the gradual appearance of living organisms and finally of thinking man on the earth.

This is a most useful, scientific survey giving a picturesque but faithful account of evolution. He continues the survey into a forecast on evolutionary lines of the confluence and convergence of human groups till a new psychological climate is created—a noosphere consisting of culture and civilisation. The author sees in thought and self-consciousness a new critical stage through which Man is enabled to advance to the next higher stage of trans-humanity or hyper-personality through a harmonious organisation of society, avoiding totalitarianism. This is a profound work of scientific humanism and repays close study, as recommended by Sir Julian Huxley.

Gleanings from the Press

A LITTLE HUMILITY, PLEASE!

The question immediately before us is what the next step should be to rally Indian opinion and build up strong resistance. We must decide

—for firmness of purpose is what we need in our Government—that we shall get rid of the Chinese not at some distant date but by active purposeful effort directed towards this end. There must be no tinkering with negotiations, and the present prolonged exchanges with the Chinese about establishing a point of withdrawal ought to be dropped forthwith. Mr. Nehru must cleanse his Cabinet of Mr. Krishna Menon; also of others whose allegiance is doubtful or even doubted, and follow this up by similar action within the Congress.

There has been much talk of increased production—the Prime Minister with his usual predilection for generalities says in all directions—but this is not good enough. What is necessary is a clear drawing up of priorities. It is idle to pretend that the Third Plan will go through as if nothing has happened. It is more correct to say that the successful prosecution of the war against China supersedes everything else. Diplomatic relations with Communist China must be severed and there must be an end to the egregious folly of supporting China's membership in the United Nations. What is needed is sharp, decisive action which marks off the present from the past and rouses public imagination. This is not the time for recriminations—on that we are all agreed. But this is the last chance for cleaning house and saving the country. The Powers—that be cannot just blame everyone else for their own shortcomings and defects and get away with it. A little humility, please, some recognition, at least, of the public interest!

—S. NATARAJAN in OPINION.

News & Views

U.S. LEADS IN SPACE

Who leads in space?

A close look at the record reveals that the United States is the world leader in space activity—including outer space, intercontinental communications, weather probes and the number of satellites now in orbit.

The only space activity in which the U.S. is not leading is one—manned space flights. However, in this area, too, the U.S. is making rapid advances.

—U.S.I. Service.

U.S. FIRM ON INSPECTING REMOVAL OF CUBAN BASES WASHINGTON.

The U.S. will demand an on-the-spot verification that all Soviet missiles on Cuban territory have been dismantled.

A White House spokesman said that inspection of the missile sites was an imperative condition to any agreement on Cuba.

The statement came only a few hours after the American Government made public official photographs indicating that dismantling of Soviet missiles in Cuba had already begun.

Mr. Adlai Stevenson, U.S. delegate to the United Nations, told reporters, after leaving a White House meeting of the U.S. Security Council, that efforts to reach a satisfactory agreement on Cuba were making good progress.

However, Mr. Stevenson stressed that "a large number of problems" remained to be solved.

RUSSIAN VOLTE FACE, USEFUL LESSON TO NEUTRALS

U.S. PRESS TELLS STORY OF ENCOURAGEMENT & DECEPTION

NEW YORK.

"The New York Herald Tribune" said that Moscow's action in shifting its position in favour of China "should prove a useful lesson to India and their neutral countries which looked to Kremlin as a potential ally."

"The Kremlin itself," an editorial said, "encouraged and deceived India into believing that it would help in stemming the Chinese advance from the north. It entered into formal negotiations for supplying India with Soviet jet fighters and other equipments which could be used in a war against China."

"The Kremlin had its fears that the Chinese some day might threaten the Soviet Union itself.

"But the Chinese have spoiled the game. They ignored Kremlin's warning and pushed ahead into Indian territory, confident that when the chips were down the Russians would abandon the Indians and side with the Chinese.

"The reason for the shift in Moscow's position is not difficult to imagine. The Russians evidently felt that they could not afford an open break with the Chinese, especially at a time when they are engaging the U.S. in a contest over Cuba and Berlin.

RUSSIA WILL NOT GIVE INDIA ARMS CHINESE CLAIMS SUPPORTED MOSCOW.

A high Soviet military source called the Sino-Indian border conflict "a delicate problem," but said the Soviet Union was bound to give "moral support" to its Chinese allies.

The source emphasised the point that India was a friend of the Soviet Union. It said, however, that no arms would be slipped to the Indians.

It said the Chinese did not recognise the McMahon Line because it was drawn up in imperialist times. Russia supported China's territorial claims, it said.

INDIA NEEDS VIABLE DEFENCE LINE BEFORE TALKING BRITISH PAPER WARNS DELHI AGAINST ANOTHER MUNICH

LONDON.

While supporting a negotiated settlement of the Sino-Indian conflict, "New Statesman" said that "India must achieve a viable line of defence before talking."

It said: "To accept China's acquisitions as the basis for negotiations would place India in the same hopeless position as Czechoslovakia after Munich robbed her of her natural defences."

The paper said that though China's motives for the present massive invasion of India were obscure it was palpably no longer interested in frontier rectification.

"New Statesman" said: "She (China) may be attempting to undermine India's emergent system of economic planning and so remove her as an alternative democratic magnet to the people of Asia. Or her object may be to drive India into the Western camp—which would in the long run have the same effect. Mr. Nehru is fully aware of these dangers. Non-alignment remains the keystone of his policy—and rightly so."

'BORDER TALKS ONLY ON INDIAN TERMS' TUNKU GOVT. TO CONSIDER AID TO KICK INVADERS OUT CALCUTTA.

The Malayan Prime Minister, Tunku Abdul Rahman, told a press conference at Raj Bhavan that his Government would review the developments of the Sino-Indian border clash and consider the question of aid to India "in the context of the situation as it develops."

Reiterating his sympathies with India, he said that a war between the two great countries would bring disaster to Asian civilisation and shatter the hopes of the newly-emerged nations.

He said he was definite that any talks for a settlement should be on Indian terms.

ECONOMIC SANCTION

His impression was that by its act of aggression, the Chinese wanted to show their might to the smaller nations of Asia, "and they (smaller nations) should take note of it."

He did not think any plan for economic sanction against China would be effective at the moment.

Malaya was not buying goods from China, though China was purchasing Malayan rubber and tin.

"We cannot stop this at the moment," he said. "They can buy from open markets." But, if other countries gave a lead, Malaya might fall in line.—U.N.I.

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