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# Indian Libertarian

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

WE STAND FOR FREE ECONOMY  
AND LIMITED GOVERNMENT

MAKE ENGLISH THE LINQUA FRANCA OF INDIA

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## EDITORIAL

### AFTER G. B. PANT

IT will be some time before the Union Government recovers from the loss of stature resulting from the removal of Pandit Pant. He was one of the immortals of the national liberation movement of the rank of Vallabhshai Patel.

We have Dr. Rajendra Prasad of the Old Guard still with us but though he is in the Government, he is not of it and does not contribute to its day-to-day strength.

Shri Morarji Desai and Shri Lal Bahadur Sastri, therefore move one step higher in the national governmental hierarchy and Nehru appears all the more lonely than before, (which does not improve his democratic instincts.)

But the Congress machinery will renew itself in a mechanical way and keep itself in tact for purposes of elections and democratic support to government by way of party organisation. The prospects of the Swatantra Party will depend on hard work with the intelligentsia as well as with the masses, urban and agriculturist. The utmost it can expect is an entry in some strength—a matter of dozens—in some of the legislatures of the States and in the Lok Sabha. There does not appear to be any real chance of its seizing government in any State unless it can fuse with the Ganatantra Parishad of Orissa and give it a new and strong leadership.

The new taxes that Morarjibhai has boldly imposed on the country defying the approach of the general election and the addition of four new ministers to the governments of Mysore and Andhra, the rift between Congress and PSP in Kerala and the Gupta set-up and its difficulties in U.P. do not improve the moral prestige of Congress but they do not impair its organisational strength either. So the Congress will be in the saddle again for the next electoral period and the Third Year Plan Course giving one more chance to the opposition parties to gather strength for decision in 1967!

Instead of wasting time in nagging at Congress weaknesses, opposition parties should realistically build up true notions of democratic government and democratic discussion and legislation and rule of law and of majority rule and its limitations. The whole field of political science should be brought out in illustration in the course of public discussion and criticism of government policies as a means of education of the voter. This is the basic constructive work more urgently needed today than khadi popularisation, handicrafts and social welfare and prohibition propaganda etc. New times, new duties! Also, new leaders!

### NAGALAND INAUGURATED

In the midst of more exciting events and world headlines about the Congo and the sending of Indian troops there in the face of the Chinese aggres-

sion in the North and the dire need of India for every man in the armed forces for her own defence, our public seem to have ignored the inauguration of Nagaland at Imphal, Assam.

It took place as planned on the 16th March. General Srinagesh, Governor of Assam officiated at the opening of the Assembly (provisional Council constituted by election from different tribes) with Dr. Ao as President.

But the intransigent Naga rebels are not pacified. They continue their defiance, firing on our men from ambush and attacking railway trains and bazaars as before. They have not released the Air Force men they have captured. Nehruji is their "friend" and has not lifted the ban on warlike operations on them yet!

Some day after further victimisation of India's sons in that field of duty, they will cease troubling and the Nagaland will settle down as the medium of political expression of all Nagas as Indian citizens operating in their own State.

But one consequence we cannot hope to escape. And that is the filip to separatism that the surrender to the Naga claim inevitably gives to other groups such as the Akali Sikhs, the Dravida Kazagams, Dravida Munnetra Kazagams and Tamil Arasu Association etc. Their claims will have to be conceded in all reason, analogy and provincial justice.

The only safeguard is to change the Constitution meanwhile from a Federal Union to one of Unitary Integral National Government. Provincial Governments can be multiplied with delegated power subject to revision and review by the Central Government.

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The position will revert to that of the role of the Central, and Presidential governments under the British regime.

Then we can have fifty constituent provinces or States like the United States of America. This should be done while the Congress Governments have still their overwhelming majority intact.

Then the Punjabi Suba, Dravida Nadu, Konkan Pradesh etc. will not do any harm. The expense of government will no doubt increase but that will only be a consequence of the decentralisation of power that is so loudly advocated by all and sundry from so many platforms today and cannot be helped.

### THE MUSLIM PROBLEM: PRESIDENT'S COMMISSION.

We endorse the suggestion made in our leading article in the last issue of a President's Commission to go thoroughly into the Muslim problem in independent India. This is different from and in addition to the local judicial enquiry into the Jabalpur Disturbances of February.

The present disturbances occurring in so many places and at such short intervals betoken a deep and widespread malaise corroding the peace and serenity of the Muslim community. It was thought that after the Terrible Direct Action Riots in Bengal, Bihar, the U.P. the Punjab and Sind etc. resulting in the Partition of the country into Pakistan and Hindusthan, those of the Muslims who remained had accepted Indian citizenship so generously given to them without a condition attached and without a thought of reciprocity. It was thought that Muslim leaders of the League mentality who believed in a separate nationality for Muslims, in a separate Homeland would remove themselves to Pakistan and let India alone.

But the series of events occurring in the last few months in which Muslims have taken the aggression making use of one pretext or another to attack Hindus—music before the mosque, burial rights, jobs, and so on are an indication that the old League leadership is active again among Indian Muslims. They want Indian Muslims too to agitate for special rights and ultimately work for a new partition—Moplastan perhaps!

If in the meanwhile Pakistan finds it convenient to attack India for Kashmir, they want the Indian Muslims to act like a fifth column and help the invader or foreigner or enemy treacherously.

These sentiments have been expressed by Muslim leaders themselves who are not content with a minority status in India however equal it may be and generous it may be vis a vis the Hindu majority!

Muslim Islamic ideology has also elements that teach exclusively loyalty to Islam. In the circumstances, is it possible for Indian Muslims to function as loyal Indian citizens at all? This is a question that must be thoroughly probed by a body of learned men—outside party politics. Presidential Authority is needed, for otherwise no private body of scholars will have the facilities for the task. Policy should be based on Truth and not on Wish-fulfilment and illusion.

(Continued on page 3)

# Freedom Does Pay

By WILLIAM HENRY CHAMBERLIN

"The citizen of the United States is taught from his earliest infancy to rely upon his own exertions in order to resist the evils and the difficulties of life; he looks upon social authority with an eye of mistrust and anxiety, and he only claims its assistance when he is quite unable to shift without it....."

"When a private individual meditates an undertaking, however directly connected it may be with the welfare of society, he never thinks of soliciting the co-operation of the government, but he pub-

(Continued from page 2)

There seem to be signs that the suggestion is gaining support in influential quarters.

The role of the press should also be precisely determined in such crises.

For instance, the latest bulletin of the District Magistrate at Moradabad that an indefinite curfew has been imposed to save life and property as "the emergency was serious" is not sufficient as news. It may be sufficient as announcement by the magistrate. It is impossible to agree with the Nehru doctrine that the press should not print "exciting" news. It may not exaggerate. The press correspondent has his own code which compels him to exercise his own precautions before sending his despatches. But it is no part of his duty to censor his communication from the standpoint of the effect on the public.

The news must be true. It may excite the public or it may lull them into somnolence. It is their responsibility. It is not the responsibility of the government, either, to screen the news before it reaches the public mind. The public have a right for the news—for the truth, the whole truth and nothing but the truth.

In the Punjab, and in Assam and in other places, press freedom which is really a fundamental right of the citizen for true information has been callously and tyrannically curtailed. The press and publicists have not fought this evil at all.

The proposed Presidential Commission will also fruitfully investigate the democratic rights of the citizen and the press in such times of group tension.

Let us have an authoritative opinion by competent scholars thinking above the level of party passion and in possession of all the relevant facts—of history, of theology, of psychology and of political ambition—whether it is possible for Indian Muslims situated as they are today in free India to develop pure Indian citizenship on equal terms with Hindus or not.

The opinions of politicians and party leaders who are obsessed by the prospects of elections should not influence the judgment of the people of this generation on this basic question of nation-making.

lishes his plan, offers to execute it himself, courts the assistance of other individuals, and struggles manfully against all obstacles. Undoubtedly he is often less successful than the state might have been in his position; but in the end the sum of these private undertakings far exceeds all that the government could have done." Thus wrote Alexis de Tocqueville in *Democracy in America*, published in 1835.

At that time the younger Republic of the United States represented the most complete flowering of the ideal of unlimited private initiative and opportunity. Monarchy had been swept away; there were no relics of feudal privileges; there was so much open land and so many industries to be developed that no one was compelled to labour under oppressive conditions or to accept unsatisfactory wages. There was no paralytic "big government"; there were no theories of the desirability of "deficit spending"; at one time the modestly run federal government hardly knew what to do with the surplus that had accumulated in the national Treasury.

The natural result was the tremendous outburst of free individual enterprise which impressed the observant and philosophical French visitor. And America was in line with the general trend of Western civilization. In Europe also, Adam Smith and thinkers of his school had discredited statist theories of economics. The advantages of leaving people alone to go as far as they could by their own industry and ability had supplanted the older idea that it was up to the government to regulate everything, including even what people of various social classes might wear.

## NINETEENTH CENTURY LIBERALISM

Viewed in historical retrospect, the nineteenth century stands out as an era of true liberalism, when the close, intimate connection between political liberty, economic liberty, and general well-being was most generally recognized. Despotic and oligarchic forms of government were giving way to increasingly generous constitutions. If one glances through the pages of Macaulay's highly readable *History of England*, composed when political reform and economic progress were in full tide, one finds passage after passage, explicitly and implicitly stressing the connection between individual freedom and general well-being. So there is this comment on an incident that occurred during the visit of Peter the Great to England near the end of the seventeenth century:

"He [Peter] heard with great interest the royal assent given to a bill for raising fifteen hundred thousand pounds by land tax, and learned with amazement that this sum, though larger by one half than the whole revenue which he could wring from the population of the immense empire of which he was absolute master, was but a small part of what the Commons of England voluntarily granted every year to their constitutional King."

The association between despotism and poverty, between liberty—political and economic—and prosperity was almost universally accepted in North America and in Western Europe in the nineteenth century. This era appears in retrospect as the golden age of genuine economic liberalism, of the belief that men fared best when they were subjected to the fewest state restrictions and were allowed to go as far as their individual ability and industry would carry them.

The paternalistic supervision which was always a characteristic of absolute monarchy had largely disappeared with the rise of self-governing institutions. Not yet arrived was the new paternalism of the twentieth century, with its extreme tyrannical forms of communism and fascism and its milder and more insidious expressions in socialism and the ever-expanding Welfare State, based on a more and more intensive pillaging of the thrifty for the benefit of the thriftless.

#### FOUR FREEDOMS

This era, when economic liberty was tried out in practice as never before, or since, was characterized by four freedoms, which have now completely disappeared in totalitarian states, and have been considerably curtailed, even in nations where political freedom has been preserved. These were:

(1) Freedom of the individual to regard what he earned as his own. Such taxes as were levied on personal income in the nineteenth century were negligibly small by current standards and were imposed, as a rule, only in response to some big emergency, such as the Civil War in the United States. There could scarcely have been a better incentive to hard work and the taking of risks than the knowledge that the fruit of the individual's labor was his own, to dispose of as he liked.

(2) Freedom of movement. A few Americans are old enough to remember the period before World War I when no passport was required for travel in most European countries. Even Russia asked only for a passport and did not require a visa. Any European who desired could pull up stakes and travel or migrate where he liked without let or hindrance, or the necessity of obtaining permits to work in the land of his choice. This comparative freedom of movement brought millions of European settlers to the United States and built up American industry and agriculture much faster than would otherwise have been possible. The same was true, on a smaller scale, for the newly developing overseas lands, for Canada, Australia, New Zealand, South Africa.

This freedom of movement made nonsense of nationalist mercantilist economics. There were colonies of foreign businessmen, engineers, technicians, people engaged in all sorts of occupations, in Russia—something fantastically impossible today. There were more Germans earning their living in Paris than in all the German African colonies.

(3) Freedom of trade. There were still customs barriers in Europe, and the United States tariff went up and down, depending on whether Republicans or Democrats were in power. But the vast British Em-

pire was open to all comers on a basis of free competition, and the smaller countries of northern Europe, the Netherlands, Belgium, the Scandinavian countries, were generally on a virtual free trade basis. The tariffs of that time raised prices here and there, but did not seriously affect the flow of trade. Such really crippling devices as import quotas were unknown.

(4) Freedom of investment. As a brilliant German economic editor, the late Gustav Stolper, puts it in his somewhat neglected book, *The Age of Fable* (Reynal and Hitchcock, 1942):

"Year in, year out, billions were invested by the great industrial European Powers in foreign countries, European and non-European, England and France held the lead, Germany joined them at a rapidly growing pace after the 1880's. These billions were regarded as safe investments with attractive yields, desirable for creditors as well as debtors, with no doubts about the eventual return of both interest and principal. Most of the money flowed into the United States and Canada, a great deal into South America, billions into Russia, hundreds of millions into the Balkan countries, minor amounts into India and the Far East. The interest paid on these foreign investments became an integral part of the national income of the great industrial Powers, protected not only by their political and military might but—more strongly—by the general, unquestioned acceptance of the fundamental capitalist principles; sanctity of treaties, abidance by internal law, and restraint of governments from interference in business."

#### WAR DESTROYS

These four basic freedoms of the nineteenth century, along with the society, at once stable, progressive and prosperous, which they helped so much to promote, took a terrific beating at the hands of the two great wars and the many social revolutions of recent times. Under communism and under fascism they were wiped out completely. And even in countries which retained political and civil liberties the trend toward state intervention and state direction of economic life was strong and unmistakable.

Yet the validity of these principles, which boil down to leaving the individual free to manage his own life and which have very important moral implications, has been strikingly vindicated by the results of doing away with them. It was rightly hailed as a big step forward when the principal European currencies were made substantially convertible in the beginning of 1959. Yet this was merely returning, with some limitations, to the situation which had prevailed in Europe for generations before World War I. The economic goals which the two competing organizations, the European Common Market and the European Free Trade Association, hope to achieve during this decade coincide very largely with the re-establishment of freedoms which were taken for granted in the nineteenth century. And at that time there was no supposed need to guarantee and implement these freedoms by means of a cumbersome international bureaucracy.

Communism and fascism, at variance as to means, were at one as regards the end; the destruction of

individual liberty and the creation of a robot state by reserving for the government all important economic decisions. And the apostles of these totalitarian creeds found allies—unconscious and unwilling allies, no doubt—in groups which, while rejecting political dictatorship, went all out for state planning of the national economy, an objective which could not be effectively realized without state compulsion on a large scale.

An argument that was often heard during the thirties was that mass unemployment could only be averted by the Soviet method of a state planned economy. A point that was generally overlooked is that, while the Soviet Union had pretty full compulsory employment, the standard of living of the unemployed in the United States and Great Britain was higher than that of the Soviet employed.

### THE ARGUMENT SHIFTS

Now that unemployment has ceased to be a serious problem, the argument for a planned economy has shifted. We are asked to view with alarm a Soviet "rate of economic growth" faster than America's. The implication is that, unless America goes in for some type of government planned economy, the Soviet Union will realize the boasts of Stalin and Khrushchev, "catch up with and surpass" America economically and, in Khrushchev's phrase, "bury us" without resorting to war.

But this numbers game of comparative growth is extremely tricky. There has been official admission in Moscow that Soviet methods of computing economic growth, different from ours, are calculated to exaggerate the real progress of Soviet industry. There is obviously much more room for percentage growth in Russia than in the United States in the output of automobiles, telephones, and many other products of which the United States already has an abundant supply, while the Soviet Union is only beginning production and distribution on any large scale.

Is there any convincing reason for the United States to "grow" in wheat and cotton output when heavy surpluses of these and many other commodities pile up unsold—and not unsold because anyone in the United States is going hungry for lack of bread or naked because of any shortage of cotton goods? America has already proved, in World War II, its ability to "grow" in military output as fast as any emergency may require.

### TWO VIVID EXAMPLES

If anyone wants a vivid illustration of how freedom raises and how lack of freedom depresses the standard of living, he should visit in quick succession, as I have done, West Berlin and East Berlin, the Zurich airport and the Prague airport. The bombing of Berlin was distributed impartially between the sundered sections of the city. The people in the two parts of Berlin are of the same nationality and language, with the same educational background. As for the two airports, Switzerland is prosperous as a relatively free enterprise country; Czechoslovakia is the least impoverished of the Soviet satellite states. But what a contrast between what freedom has accomplished on one side, tyranny and state control on the other!

Despite its unfavorable geographical position, an island in a Red sea of surrounding Soviet-controlled

territory, West Berlin has forged ahead tremendously since the first three postwar years. The Kulturforum damm looks like the principal avenue of any European country. There are all the normal accompaniments of a big city: lively traffic, open and well patronized movies, theatres, concert halls, more and more hotels and restaurants. Housing projects are rising on what were once piles of rubble. New and revived industries have helped to make up for the loss of employment which is the result of the fact that Berlin is no longer a capital.

Cross the long winding border between the two sectors and one has the feeling of being in another country. Reconstruction is largely limited to one show avenue, the Stalin-Allee. What were once the liveliest streets of old Berlin, Unter den Linden, Friedrichstrasse, Wilhelmstrasse, are bare and desolate. The few automobiles are state-owned. One has the feeling that a stranded traveller in East Berlin would find it very difficult to find a place where he could get a meal or had a roof over his head. So bleak and desolate is the atmosphere that it is easy to understand, quite apart from politics, the steady flow of refugees from communist-ruled East Germany to free enterprise West Germany.

On a smaller scale the two airports tell the same story. In Zurich one can buy at the airport a wide variety of articles. Most significantly, new-paper magazines, and books in many languages are on sale. In Prague about all the airport offers is a few fly-specked communist propaganda posters and old copies of a pamphlet extolling the achievements of "socialist construction" in Czechoslovakia. The contrast between the richness and variety of life under freedom and the bleak drab poverty of life under communism could not be pointed up more effectively than by this quite unheeded contrast between the appearance of the two airports.

### LUXURY OR NECESSITY?

A familiar argument of those who consciously or unconsciously favor state planned direction in economic life is that freedom is a kind of luxury which only a rich country can afford. This is emphatically putting the cart before the horse. It is not true that nations become rich and then adopt freedom as a kind of status symbol. The idea that peoples must choose between freedom and economic growth, between freedom and maximum economic development is sheer nonsense.

There are so many spiritual implications in liberty that it deserves to be considered an end in itself. Even if state planning offered more material goods, people who have known and cherished liberty would rather live as free human beings on a more modest standard of living than sell their birthright for a mess of totalitarian pottage. But no such alternative exists. The fruits of totalitarianism are for the State, at most for a limited ruling class.

It is the peoples who have remained free, who have been most successful in the art of orderly self-government, who have kept their governments on leash by a system of constitutional checks and balances, who will always fare best in the material goods of life.

Freedom does pay, in more ways than one.

—The Freeman.

# Who is Our Enemy No. 1 ?

By M. N. Tholal

ALL political parties are now thinking in terms of the approaching general elections and it is as well that Mr. Rajagopalachari has started hitting out at the Congress Party. Obviously, negotiations behind the scenes, aimed at eliminating triangular and quadrangular contests, will play a large part in determining the results. In course of time the Rightists will naturally tend to coalesce while, on the other hand, the Socialists and the Praja Socialists and even the Communists will tend to form one group with the Congress. That is as it should be, but the part of wisdom would appear to lie in hastening the process of coalescence, and, if the Rightists succeed in giving a straight fight to the Congress, as Rajaji hopes they will, their chances would be much brighter than any one can hope for at the moment.

The Congress, by its unprincipled alliance with the Muslim League in Kerala and the Ganatantra Parishad in Orissa has shown the principle on which it works: Necessity knows no law. It has in a way shown the way to the Swatantra Party which can do legitimately and without offending any of its principles, what the Congress has been doing illegitimately. It can now be said with a fair amount of certainty that, as between the Rightists and the Leftists, those who succeed in accommodating their fellows will win. The task before the leaders of the Right and the Left would therefore appear to resolve itself into persuading the leaders of the various splinter groups—that is what they really are—to forget their minor differences for the sake of the larger cause. It is interesting to examine dispassionately the possibilities on either side, of the success likely to attend such efforts.

## THE MUSLIM POSITION

The Congress Party by its alliance with the Muslim League in Kerala and the Ganatantra Parishad in Orissa has deprived itself of the only effective argument it had against the Swatantra Party and the Jana Sangh. It cannot effectively condemn the Swatantra Party as reactionary after forming a coalition with "reactionaries" in Orissa. It cannot effectively condemn the Jana Sangh as communal after forming a coalition government with the Muslim League in Kerala, for, howsoever communal the Jana Sangh may be, few will be prepared to go so far as to say that its communalism is worse than that of the Muslim League. Thus the Communist rule in Kerala and the failure of the Congress to secure a majority in Orissa came as blessings in disguise, not only to show the power-mad Congress Party in its real colours, but also to pave the way for the Swatantra Party, without in any way attracting any blame, seeking alliances with the so-called reactionaries like the Ganatantra Parishad and the so-called communalists like the Jana Sangh, or even with Communalists of the Muslim League variety, with which the Swatantra Party has, unlike the Congress—as I shall proceed to

show—certain affinities born of the present international situation around India.

The Congress Government's looking at the Chinese invasion of India with the Nelson's blind eye has caused, as it should have caused, greater concern to the Muslims of India, whose loyalty and patriotism have been in doubt, than to the Hindus, whose patriotism is taken for granted. The explanation for this paradoxical situation is that the Muslim takes his faith seriously while the Hindu does not. (You will never find a Muslim making fun of his faith while a Hindu making fun of his faith is a common sight.) The far-sighted Indian Muslim today not only sees his faith in danger as a result of the Chinese advance from the North, but he also sees his Pakistan—his beloved Pakistan—in danger as a result of the Chinese aggression which the Congress Government has been unable to thwart. The intelligent Indian Muslim has good reason to be apprehensive of Mr. Nehru's policies which cannot be said to be aimed—first and foremost—at securing the country's border and repulsing the Chinese invader—policies which in fact jeopardise both India and Pakistan. He has good reasons to suspect the folly of hoping for the best without in earnest preparing for the worst in the shape of alliances with South Asian countries against the Chinese hordes armed by Soviet Russia. He has good reason now to work for Indo-Pak accord realising that, with India gone red, the question of Pakistan going red will only be a matter of time.

It was realisation of this fact which made President Ayub suggest joint Indo-Pak defence against the invader from the North and, if he has not repeated the suggestion, it is perhaps because he knows that if anything is to come out of his suggestion, it is the turn of the Indian leaders to take it up. As for Mr. Nehru himself, President Ayub must be aware that he has made it pretty plain that it is none of his business to save India from Communism and if the western powers want to do so, they can try as hard as they like. Is it not strange that as a result of the invasion of India by China, the plea for joint defence of the Indian subcontinent should have come not from the Indian Prime Minister but from the head of the Government of Pakistan, as if Pakistan had been attacked by China? Does it not speak volumes of the lack of patriotism among those holding the reins of government in India?

## AGGRESSION vs. PLEBISCITE

It is being said that Pakistan is also an aggressor and we cannot join one aggressor against another. The answer is that Pakistan is an aggressor with a difference, and that difference makes all the difference in the world. The moment Mr. Nehru agreed to a plebiscite in Kashmir, that moment he, at least temporarily, withdrew the charge of aggression. His agreeing to a plebiscite obviously meant that, if the



wavering between different countries, while allowing the Communists a free run of the country. At the same time, he allowed the Balubas to be massacred and encouraged rebellion in the Katanga and Kasai provinces. The President dismissed him and prorogued the Parliament as he was competent to do, under the constitution. Subsequently, Lumumba maintained tension, setting off civil war in the Orientale and Kiwi provinces. He drew his power, not from the constitution or the people of Congo but from the communists and countries aligned with it, including ourselves, from support in the U.N. and from arms through U.A.R. Plainly our position was neither morally or constitutionally defensible. If Nehru was showing sympathy with a fellow Prime Minister, with an eye to the future of his own office, should the President use his constitutional powers to dismiss him, he was fair neither to Congo or India. If he was playing, as usual, for limelight on the world stage, the cost of human life to the Congolese, on one hand and of men and money to countries of the U.N., communists excepted was too much. If he thought, he was discharging his self-appointed role as protector of democracy, he seems to have forgotten that Prime Ministers have been eliminated from most democracies, as duality of power is possible only in countries, like U.K. and India which can afford fictions. If he was supporting the communists in their attempt to fish in troubled waters, he was creating a precedent which could come to roost in our own country.

It is difficult to forecast the trend of events in Congo. The Congolese Government have taken care by disposing the bodies and by refusing to disclose the scene of the killing on the ground of averting vendettas, to prevent any authoritative judgment against their version of Lumumba's death. Even if a moral conclusion is reached, the U.N. and other nations will not be in a position to enforce it against the government in power. The result will be first that the government in power will be more secure, second that those disposed to oppose it will now melt away, remembering the fate of Lumumba and feeling the absence of his leadership. In the circumstances, the question will arise if the proposal to disarm the Congolese force will be pursued or can be successful. Since the Congolese have declared that they will oppose it, the U.N. is not likely to enter into a trial of strength, particularly as its forces are dwindling. The second proposal to summon parliament and liberate political prisoners may not be resisted as the death of Lumumba, will enable the government to discipline the opposition. The fourth proposal for withdrawal of Belgian forces, will in the circumstances become academical.

The real question is if other countries will now leave Congo alone, with U.N. fading out from its unsuccessful venture as soon as the existing government is able to establish itself with the help and cooperation of some prominent tribal chiefs. As far as India is concerned there are at least three reasons why we must fade out, withdrawing our contingent including Dayal. The first reason is that we have our own problems, both internal and external and cannot afford to take sides in a matter which does

not concern us at all and which will gradually make enemies of countries, backing the present administration. Secondly, we shall betray our communist orientation if we get concerned about the fate of Lumumba, when we were not concerned with the liquidations in Russia, China, Tibet and Hungary. Thirdly, our nationals in Congo and in African countries, which support it, will be endangered, if without the strength to defend them, we took sides in matters which should be left to the people of the Congo. If by this fade out, the leaders lose some of their limelight, a little sunshine may be spread for the people of India.

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### THOUGHTS ON LIBERTY

By liberty I mean the assurance that every man shall be protected in doing what he believes his duty against the influence of authority and majorities, customs and opinion."

—Lord Acton.

'I request that we stop arguing about whether other people will be happier in doing what they want to do. If they want to do anything, we might confine fine our altruistic endeavours to pointing out probable physical results of their action, and we might confine our prohibitory powers to cases where the action transgresses our equal liberty. As to whether or not the action will give them happiness, we are ignorant, and should remain decently silent. The fact that they wish to act thus is of far more importance. We can be certain that if they are thwarted, they will feel pain—all the rest is speculation. Liberty is the bird in the hand; happiness is the bird in the bush.'

—The Individualist

'Nature gave no man the right to rule over others'.

—Diderot

"To rule according to the Way is to rule without force: Just and equal, give-and-take rules in the community.

—Lao Tse

Yes, I am altogether of that mind;  
That is wisdom's final view  
Freedom and life that man alone should find  
Who daily conquers them anew.  
And so, while dangers round them rage,  
They fight through childhood, manhood and old age.  
Such a thing I'd like to see  
Stand on free soil amid a people free.

—Goethe.

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### WHY "DUKE"?

When a King's wife is known as Queen, why should not a Queen's husband be referred to as King?

It is another instance of male vanity. Though a wife is bound to take on the surname of her husband after marriage, there has rarely been an instance of a husband adopting his wife's surname, even if she happens to be an heiress or a princess.

RATIONALIST SUPPLEMENT

Our National Head Quarters

By S. Ramanathan

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THE January issue of the 'Information Bulletin' issued by the International Humanist and Ethical Union carries a beautiful photograph of the Humanist House which is the new National Head Quarters of the American Humanist Association at Yellow Springs, Ohio. It was occupied on November 1st 1960. The new building with furnishings and land costs \$ 80,000. This photograph should whet appetite of Indian Rationalists to long for the day when our Indian Rationalist Association will also have a similar building as the abode of its National Head Quarters.

It may be said the Americans are in affluent circumstances and can afford costly buildings of this nature while Indians are poor and cannot dream of costly buildings similar to what the Americans have. I would request every Rationalist in India to sit down for a little while and think about this problem. Is it true that we in India are so poor that we cannot afford to buy a site and to erect a building to house our organisation? Do we not have costly, I have almost said princely, buildings to accommodate our innumerable gods and goddesses? In every town or village the most costly and the most prominent building is the temple which propagates ideas of the other world and supports the privileges of the caste system. These temples keep down the mass mind in eternal servitude to the priestly class. Do we not have endowments which yield rich incomes which are utilised for conducting the numerous ceremonies and for feeding idlers at the many temples and mutts which flourish in the name of religion? Are not millions of Rupees wasted to-day in the celebration of religious festivals, in the renovation of temples and mutts? Do we not build costly towers which mean nothing and are of no educative or cultural value? What are these towers useful for? They could be used for astronomical studies but are not done so. They are simply relics of our barbaric past when ancient Indians lived a life of tribal communism, eating and mating at public places which are fenced round by walls and guarded over with watch towers. It is said that temples and towers are of high artistic value. I agree that they would have been if they were few and far between. But they are so numerous and occupy so much of our limited space and consume so much of our limited wealth

that far from serving any artistic purpose they dominate and tyrannise over our lives. No, it is not true that India cannot afford buildings to cultivate art which supports reason. As a Nation we are plunged in the misery of cultivating art which is superstitious and religious and which emasculates our rational faculty. It is because we waste our wealth in building up religious edifices that we are unable to build a house to develop our reason. While it may be admitted that as a people Indians are poorer than Americans I do not admit that Indians are so poor that they cannot build up a decent Head Quarters for their Rationalist Organisation.

Within recent memory Mrs. Annie Besant, who was once a rationalist and collaborator of Charles Bradlaugh but later turned a theosophist and the high priestess of Hindu superstition, built up the magnificent Head Quarters of the Theosophic Society at Adyar, in Madras. It is an extensive garden sprinkled with numerous pretty buildings which have all the modern amenities of roads, lighting and plumbing. Though Theosophy as a doctrine is long since dead, the very magnificence of its Head Quarters attracts visitors who are forced to think and to discuss the various tenets of Theosophy. But rationalism is a live doctrine. It is modern in the sense in which no religion can claim to be modern. But it is bereft of a place of meeting. Why is it so? It is only because Rationalists in India have not thought about the matter. They have not moved about it. They have not taken the work on hand seriously enough. They do not mean business. I would beg of them to consider whether it is not worthwhile for them to lay aside a little bit of money for the purpose. Is it always the fact that the superstitious and the religious are the more practical men and women? Can we not demonstrate that Rationalists can be quite as practical? They also can do things and get things done. They also can be quite as efficient as the religious builders. In fact they should be more efficient, because they have a better cause, a cleaner and a more ennobling cause than the others. A garden, a hall, a library, a reading room, a journal, a press and a canteen can be built in the name of Rationalism for the purpose of affording facilities for Rationalists, Humanists and Free thinkers to meet, to discuss and to exchange opinion and to do things.



# Communism And Catholicism

By Dr. J. V. Dubig

**W**ORLD Communism is a vast organisation which, with no internal democratic restraints, is spreading its political power outside along with a dire threat to intellectual freedom. This tendency is important to Freethinkers of all kinds, Secularists, Humanists, Rationalists, etc., who can live and work happily and effectively only in freedom.

There is one aspect of Communism we must first examine because, as many Freethinkers are Atheists, unthinking and malicious persons deliberately confuse them with Communists simply on that ground. Religious publicists particularly, and many old-fashioned political thinkers, constantly refer to "Atheistic Communism" in such a way as to leave the impression that all Communists are Atheists which is near enough to the truth and that all Atheists are Communists which is very far from the truth. Bertrand Russel is both an uncompromising Atheist and an uncompromising anti-comunist. I too am both.

There are, however, some ideas we share with Communists as, e.g. that food is good for you, that culture is desirable and that a prosperous society can be attained only through Science. But we are not on those grounds of agreement regarded as Communists or fellow-travellers. It is simply identity of thought about Atheism, which both Secularists and Communists regard as the only legitimate starting point for a proper view of the Universe, that has led to a fashion of speech in religious circles unjust to non-communist Atheists. But that is the sort of chicanery we expect of religionists.

As I think Atheism is a necessary part of the philosophy of any sound scientist may I shortly say why?

It is said, for example, that last year God deliberately caused the Agadir earthquake and the Chilean tidal waves. This only makes the problem of these catastrophes unnecessarily more difficult, since theologians have to set to and write books and articles trying to explain the senseless brutality of God's conduct, and the writings on the theology of the subject are sure to be contested by other theologians for years or centuries—theology is like that. But a scientist can give a simple natural explanation of the earthquake and tidal waves which dispenses with the clumsy God device. Again, we used to be told that epidemics of disease were due to God's anger with people, a preposterous and totally unproved and unprovable assumption, but theologians again have got into a huddle and provided acres of attempted justification for this view. But we now have a very simple scientific explanation for epidemics and still simpler ways of preventing them. If a scientist is on the job epidemics do not occur at all whether God is having tantrums or not. So that in attempting a view of the Universe we find the god idea is not only unnecessary, it is useless, cumbersome, a

waste of time and money and a general nuisance, particularly as "God" has not been shown to exist but to be simply the survival of a primitive childish superstition.

For any pulpiteer to suggest that such an attitude is necessarily communistic is malicious lunacy; just as silly as to suggest that all redheaded girls are bandy. Or as foolish as to expect logic and honesty from priests and parsons.

What makes Communism such a menace for us is that it is the modern version of medieval Catholicism; the two faiths are but the two sides of the same authoritarian medal. But while modern Catholicism is now forced to live in more or less democratic countries, its power to punish the merest heterodoxy—swift, sure and redoubtable in the past—is now confined to the mean and trivial threats of blackmail it so commonly employs, mostly without effect, except in benighted areas such as Eire, Quebec, Spain and Portugal. But communism, within the borders of its vast domain, can still inflict the extreme penalty without appeal, on dissidents from the "party line" in any sphere of thought. It was a severe shock to admirers of Soviet Science to find the fantastic rubbish on Genetics put out by a charlatan named Lysenko, adopted by the Academy of Agricultural Sciences, and N. I. Vavilov, a world-famous geneticist who opposed Lysenko, banished to Siberia where he died in 1942. This exactly repeated the Galileo story. Stalin and the politicians on the side of Marxist orthodoxy were the Holy Office on the side of "Holy Writ". Soviet power over men's minds in Russia is as great as or greater than that of the medieval Church and just as ruthless. The Soviet Union is just another Catholic Church: the god is Dialectical Materialism, an abstraction like the Catholic god; the sacred books are the writings of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin; the Kremlin is the Vatican; the present Soviet Pope is Khrushchev; the Politburo is the Holy Office; the College of Cardinals is the Supreme Soviet; the Communist bishops and clergy throughout the world are the Party officials and bosses. The Communist doctrine as laid down in Marx and Engels and in the commentaries of Lenin and Stalin is there for total and absolute belief like the Christian Bible and the vapourings of the Fathers. And I am given to understand that the Communist sacred books are just as much open to challenge as the Bible and the Fathers. But, for the Soviet or Chinese citizen it is a simple question of belief or be damned here and hereafter. Just as in the Middle Ages a Catholic heretic or unbeliever was tortured and burned or murdered in some way, so the Soviet citizen, no matter how valuable, who rejects the Marxist canon is sent to Siberia or denied employment or sent down a cellar to have his brains blown out by an assassin at the bottom step; he is

*(Continued on page III)*

# The Door Darwin Opened

By Colin McCall

THE Winter 1960 issue of *The Plain View* (from 13 Prince of Wales Terrace, London, W. 8, 2s. 6d.), contains a tercentenary tribute to Defoe and, just a little belatedly but very welcome, a centenary assessment of Darwin by George Gaylord Simpson, Professor of Vertebrate Palaeontology at Harvard University, as well as articles on Gilbert Murray by Paul West and on "The Foundations of Morality" by the Editor, H. J. Blackham. There are also various book reviews.

I have space here only to deal with Professor Simpson's "The World Into Which Darwin Led Us", the text of an address to the American Association for the Advancement of Science in Chicago at the end of 1959. But let me say right away that this is an article that all evolutionists should read. There were many tributes to Darwin during the centenary year of *The Origin of Species*; Professor Simpson confesses that he had a surfeit "approaching boredom" and doubts if it is possible to say anything fresh. I am not sure if he has succeeded in saying anything fresh, but I am sure that he has said many things in a fresh and enlightening way.

"The influence of Darwin, or more broadly of the concept of evolution", says Professor Simpson, ".....has literally led us into a different world". And he contrasts the concept of the world of a group of uncivilised Indians in South America, the Kamarakoto, with our concept today. Theirs is unpredictable, haunted; a world in which anything might happen: animals may become men, and men become stones. For them, "there is neither limitation nor reason in

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purged like millions before him. It is the absolute and irresponsible power of frightened fanatics that counts, not truth.

In this there is no democracy. I cannot be a member of any community for the executive body of which I have no free vote by secret ballot and for the removal of which or of individual members I again have no vote. For that reason, if for no other, I cannot be either a Communist or a Catholic. When I have been called a Communist I have replied that I dropped one religion and do not propose to take on another. I cannot belong to a society in which I cannot read, think, speak or publish what I believe and like without punishment and above all I refuse to adopt a belief simply on the orders of somebody else.

All the evils inherent in these moral rejections are essential parts of the structures of Communism and Catholicism. The free mind repudiates both.

—The Freethinker.

the flux of nature. There is also a brooding evil in their world, a sense of wrongness and fatality that they call *kanaima* and see manifested in every unusual event and object".

Professor Simpson calls that "level of invalid perceptions" the "lower superstition". But he hastens to point out that it is "nevertheless superior in some respects to the higher superstitions celebrated weekly in every hamlet of the United States" and—we might add—Britain. Naive though the Indian beliefs be, they are not teleological. It would never occur to the Kamarakoto Indians that "the universe, so largely hostile, might have been created for their benefit". Their world, though, is not scientific as ours is. That is the great difference. Our concept of the cosmos is de-personal, more austere, but more dependable. "If the unusual happens, we need no longer blame *kanaima* (or a whimsical god or devil) but may look confidently for an unusual or hitherto unknown physical cause. That is, perhaps, an act of faith, but it is not superstition. Unlike recourse to the supernatural, it is validated by thousands of successful searches for verifiable causes."

By early Victorian times the physical world had been brought within the province of science, but the world of living things had not. Here, superstition still held sway: life was divinely created; species were changeless except for minor and obvious variations. And, not only was man distinct, apart from nature, the world itself was created for him—"a subtler and more warping concept", as Professor Simpson calls it. It might require considerable ingenuity to determine why, say, a louse was created for man, but "the ingenuity was not lacking".

It was into this world that *The Origin of Species* burst in 1859. Evolutionary ideas existed, it is true, and were slowly spreading among a minority. Indeed, practically all the ideas in the book had been dimly glimpsed, at least, by someone or other before 1859. This is scarcely surprising, for:

"Organisation, understanding, and conviction are the main contributions of theorists like Darwin, and obviously none ever succeeded until there already existed something to organise and to understand. It is, however, less obvious why Darwin was the first evolutionist ever to carry conviction to a majority of his fellow scientists....."

The reason why *The Origin of Species* carried conviction was that it did supply sufficient evidence of evolution and also provided an explanation of the phenomena of evolution."

The explanation was incomplete, as Darwin himself was aware, but it was sufficient, for example, to turn Thomas Henry Huxley from anti-evolutionist to evolutionist. Now the "theory" of evolution is a fact. Not only is the evidence for it completely overwhelming, but we have "much more extensive

explanations" built, it should be noted, "in large part on Darwin's". Parts of his complex theory have been discarded; there is little doubt that they were wrong. But "the more essential parts, those most stressed by Darwin, have been largely substantiated". That, as Professor Simpson says, is important.

The fact—not theory—that evolution has occurred, must of course be distinguished from the Darwinian theory as to how it has occurred. This is a distinction that needs constantly to be stressed because the two are confused in popular opinion. That living things evolved from non-living matter is beyond serious dispute: "the first steps in that process have already been repeated in several laboratories". As Professor Simpson says:

"There is concerted study from geochemical, biochemical, and microbiological approaches. At a recent meeting in Chicago, a highly distinguished international panel of experts was polled. All considered the experimental production of life in the laboratory imminent, and one maintained that this has already been done—his opinion was not based on a disagreement about the facts but on a definition as to just where, in a continuous sequence, life can be said to begin."

(The number of times Freethinkers have made this point in written and spoken argument with Theists! The unique role of our movement in the popularisation of evolution is something of which we can be proud.)

"Evolution is, then a completely general principle of life (the Professor says).....a fully natural process, inherent in the physical properties of the universe, by which life arose in the first place and by which all living things, past or present, have since developed, divergently and progressively."

And—again it cannot be too often emphasised—this world, the evolutionary world into which Darwin led us, "is certainly very different from the world of the higher superstition"—the world of Christianity or of Theism of any kind. Above all, to the chagrin of religionists:

"In the world of Darwin man has no special status other than his definition as a distinct species of animal. He is in the fullest sense a part of nature and not apart from it. He is akin, not figuratively but literally, to every living thing, be it an amoeba, a tapeworm, a flea, a seaweed, an oak tree, or a monkey—even though the degrees of relationship are different and we may feel less empathy for forty-second cousins like the tapeworms than for, comparatively speaking, brothers like the monkeys. This is togetherness and brotherhood with a vengeance, beyond the wildest dreams of copy writers, or of theologians."

I can't hope to do justice to Professor Simpson's remarkable address in this short article. It will be seen that I have concentrated on his general, rather than his particular themes, and in twenty-two pages even he can only give a bald outline of his subject. But it is one of the best outlines I have come across. theories (Mutationism, he sees, not as an alternative

to Neo-Darwinism, but as "a supplement to it"), the term "naturalist" being, to his mind, better than "materialist" because the latter has become a highly ambiguous and "in some circles a dirty" word. I would comment here, that such circles are precisely those of Professor Simpson's "higher superstitions" and should not be allowed to dictate our philosophico-scientific language (Freethinkers recall Bradlaugh's insistence that if the term "atheism" was misunderstood it was his task to clarify it); but few would quibble over "naturalism" and "materialism", they are virtually interchangeable and apparently are so in the Professor's vocabulary.

And the world into which Darwin led us was essentially a naturalistic world. A world in which "man and all other living things have evolved, ultimately from the non-living, in accordance with entirely natural, material processes". The tragedy is, as Professor Simpson remarks, that even now, a hundred years after *The Origin of Species*, most people have not really entered that world. And he ends his splendid address with a warning. "It is characteristic of this world to which Darwin opened the door", he says, "that unless most of us do enter it and live maturely and rationally in it, the future of mankind is dim, indeed—if there is any future".

#### MATURE INTELLECTUAL METHODS.

1. Retrospective introspection. Develop a technique for looking back and into the earlier history of our psychologic inner selves.
2. Identify our more primitive impulses, and contrast them with more mature impulses.
3. Learn to separate subjective and objective mental content—to distinguish between facts, our mental images of the facts, words by which we label facts, words by which we express feelings, and our feelings about all these.
4. Observe the mental mechanisms by which our infantile (feeling and phantasy) and our childish (exhibitionistic) impulses and valuations mislead us in later life. (Identification, projection, transference, etc. compel us to react to current situations as if they are some previous situations in infancy or childhood.)
5. Develop empathic insight—ability to imaginatively experience the mental and emotional state of another person.
6. Contrast the results of mature intellectual methods with those of wishful and fearful thinking.
7. Learn to recognize your attitude, your opponent's attitude, and a scientific, problem-solving attitude.
8. Develop a habit of using all data to objectively check and outgrow primitive impulses and intellectual methods.

—Don Werkheiser.

# The Beginning Of The End

**A**RE we, in the words of a popular song of some years ago, at the beginning of the end? Must the trickling out of the sands at an ever-increasing pace be now regarded as certain? Should lovers of liberty resign themselves to the inevitable destruction of freedom in India, sit on the floor and tell sad stories of the deaths of kings, while the march of events, carefully arranged, leads freedom's enemies, slowly but inexorably, to the seats of power? The signs are certainly ominous. They are clear for all to see, yet few are anxious to look at them carefully, and fewer still to consider their significance after looking. The world is too much with almost all the people who matter. Their daily concerns occupy their time. Freedom they take for granted. It has been, it is, it will be. How stupid to botch about it!

The land lies brooding in the shadow of the Prime Minister, who was likened in this space many months ago to a magnificent ancient monument, which none admire and wonder at but into the cost of which none bothers to enquire. He is a great man and a great democrat; he is in charge; surely that is enough. It is inconceivable that he should let the enemies of freedom have their way. So comfortably argue professors and politicians, businessmen and labour-leaders, princes and writers, the middle-classes and the poor. And what says the enemy within the gates, the Communist Party of India, the "shock-brigade," as Stalin called it, of International Communism in this country? It sets as its immediate goal the establishment of a government of the national front, and declares "conditions for such advance are more favourable today than ever before."

Let those not altogether aware of the benefits to the Communists of a government of the national front read with attention a booklet entitled "How Parliament Can Play a Revolutionary Part in the Transition to Socialism" by Jan Kozak, a Communist and a member of the Czechoslovak National Assembly. In the introduction to the English translation, Herbert Morrison, a statesman of progressive ideas who toured India recently and whom some readers may have heard speak, says, "The Communists joined (in Czechoslovakia) a coalition government (a government of the national front) because 'the overall character of the participation in this government was: not to lose from sight even for a moment, the carrying out of a complete socialist coup.' They supported parliamentary procedure, because, for the purpose of the overthrow of the democratic regime, it was necessary to change the character of parliament into 'one of the levers actuating the further development and consolidation of the revolution.' They mastered the technique for a revolutionary minority to outwit, outclass and finally render impotent the democratic majority 'which has numerical superiority in the decisive organs endowed with power' and which suddenly found itself unable to stop the Communist revolution." Morrison adds, "The countless details of the

business of revolution, boastfully described in this document, make it not only fascinating political reading, but above all an important political lesson."

Has India under Nehru benefited at all from the lesson of the 'take-over' in Czechoslovakia, the technique of which has been well-known for years even before this booklet? Obviously not, according to those careful and by no means over-optimistic observers, the Communists, for how otherwise could they declare that conditions for bringing about a government of the national front 'are more favourable today than ever before'? That they are more favourable on account of the thinking of Mr. Nehru is also brought out in the remark about the support given by Praja Socialists and right-wing Congressmen to what the Communists term Thimayya's move, "But for the stand taken by Mr. Nehru they would have succeeded in removing the Defence Minister." Clearly in their view the most important of the more favourable conditions than ever before for the establishment of a coalition government in which they soon will move on to real power is the present Defence Minister, Mr. Krishna Menon as Defence Minister. The Communists in India thus have no doubt that the great democrat Nehru is not going to be any obstacle to their onward march to power. They have found him very useful and hope to find him even more useful in future. To them it is quite conceivable that he will let them have their way.

What says International Communism, the guide, philosopher, friend, the aider with funds, advice, men, of the internal Communists? Is its view of the direction in which affairs tend in India different from that of the Communist Party of India? Hardly. International Communism, as befits its long experience and considerable skill in duplicity, speaks to India with two voices. The Soviet Union voice assures the Government of India of its eternal goodwill and its view that India is truly non-aligned. The Communist Chinese voice roars out that India is in the imperialist camp and under imperialist domination. It declares at the same time that Nepal and Bhutan, India's allies, whose independence and frontiers India is pledged to defend, are in the Socialist camp, being aligned with the Socialist countries. It seizes twelve thousand square miles, and claims many thousand square miles more, of the territory of India, the dear friend of its own patron, "elder brother" and comrade-in-arms, the Soviet Union. It depends entirely upon the Soviet Union for all complicated equipment, military or civil, and even for aviation petrol. Yet the Soviet Union does not call upon it to desist. Moscow tells India openly how good a thing it is to settle quarrels peaceably, and presumably tells Communist China secretly that it has no real objection to the good work that will bring Communist soldiers to the Southern foot-hills of the Himalayas and within 300 miles from Delhi. Mr. Khrushchev's recently-stated view of "peaceful co-existence" is certainly revealing. According to him 'peaceful co-existence' means not only pursuing Communist aims by intense economic, political and ideological means but also,

## Russia Backs Up China

(From Our Correspondent)

**S**PEAKING on an adjournment motion in the Lok Sabha on March 14, Mr. Krishna Menon confirmed "there has been a fresh incursion into SIKKIM less than a week ago." On March 10 at 1-30 p.m. a burst of firing was heard at Cupup on the Tibet-Sikkim border, four miles inside Sikkim. An Indian patrol sent to inquire disarmed an armed Chinese soldier and arrested him. Now what happens to Mr. Nehru's declaration that an attack on Sikkim would be regarded as an attack on India?

It is interesting in this connection to find that Russian maps published in 1959 show Sikkim and Bhutan as independent states while earlier maps had shown them as Indian protectorates. This information was given by the Parliamentary Secretary to the Minister of External Affairs in the Lok Sabha on March 16. He also said that the new Russian maps reflected the Chinese stand at the Sino-Indian official level talks in Rangoon, disputing India's ties with Sikkim and Bhutan. Since the Russian maps were published earlier than the talks, the Russian brother may be said to have given a very broad hint to the Chinese brother as to the line the latter should pursue. It is impossible to maintain honestly after the new Russian maps that Soviet Russia is not taking sides in the Sino-Indian dispute. The new pro-Chinese declaration implicit in Russian maps seems to be the result of the "inaccuracies" which have been pointed out to the Soviet Government by the Government of India since 1955 concerning Indian territory shown as Chinese territory, and in any case hardly confirms the stories of the growing Sino-Russian differences. Propaganda along that line now stands exposed. But that does not mean that we have seen the end of it. It is bound to continue since there is no intention of seriously disputing the Chinese stand. Had there been any such intention, the Prime Minister could not have agreed to the despatch of 5,000 troops to Congo at a time when India is hard pressed in the matter of defence and needs every soldier she has, as admitted by the Defence Minister himself.

### ARMY PROMOTIONS AND SUPERSESSIONS

Some recent Army promotions at top level have been severely criticised in Parliament and the Finance Minister berated critics for creating "demoralisation" in a "very sensitive organisation." Such criticism, Mr. Morarji Desai said, was bound to create fissiparous tendencies in the Army unless the subject was treated with more caution. Unless greater consideration was shown while raising these delicate matters, Mr. Desai said, it might lead to a great calamity. The Finance Minister presumably had in mind the criticism made by Dr. H. N. Kunzru in the Rajya Sabha and Acharya Kripalani in the Lok Sabha with reference obviously to the promotion of a Kashmiri officer which involved supersession. They are two

of the most highly respected and responsible members of Parliament and Mr. Desai did not have the conscience to stigmatise their criticism as irresponsible. It seems there is need of greater caution in promotion and supersession in that "very sensitive organisation" where care should be taken to avoid introducing groupism and communalism. The Kashmiri officer concerned is the same person to defend whom the Prime Minister went out of his way at a recent Press Conference.

### THE LATE GOVIND BALLABH PANT

"De Mortuis nili nisi bonum"—say nothing but good of the dead—is a Latin saying which I must confess I have not been able to appreciate. It certainly does not apply to politics or even to literature, otherwise only books praising the dead would be published and truth would have a very distant second place there. The Congress Party, for propaganda purposes, has been lionising Pandit Govind Ballabh Pant and magnifying his stature beyond all proportions, but he had little of the statesman and even less of the patriot in him. His greatest qualification was that his equipoise was seldom disturbed—he had the phlegmatic temperament of the fat—and he had a glib tongue and with it the gift of the gab. He had cultivated the euphemistic style and the art of understatement which converts the opponent oftener than over-emphasis. He believed in the maxim that a soft answer turneth away wrath. He was inclined to be diplomatic and was far from straightforward in his dealings with men.

As a Congressman he believed in power politics and in securing positions of power. It is highly significant that such a great Congressman—a pillar of the nation as he is being called—did not even preside over a session of the Indian National Congress. He preferred Chief Ministership and Home Ministership where he could have plenty of patronage to disburse, particularly among men of his district. He believed in districtism rather than provincialism—perhaps that was why he could with a clear conscience declaim against provincialism and casteism—and the lengths to which he would go in the pursuit of that ism was often shocking.

Likewise one had to touch his feet to be in his good books, and after that if any one could call him a democrat I would beg to differ. By his sitting posture with the legs upraised, he would make it convenient for the visitor to touch his feet—touch them literally and not make a pretence of touching them by showing up to the knee when the feet are touching the floor. Jawaharlal Nehru—so the story goes—slapped a man who once touched Gandhiji's feet when he was accompanying the Mahatma, and it is believed that it was at the Prime Minister's instance that a Press Note was issued about two years ago

to discourage the prevailing practice of touching the Home Minister's feet. But what could a Press Note do against the protruding tell-tale feet of Govind Ballabh Pant? So the practice continued unabated. On the other hand, it can be said for him that if you want slavery all round, like Pant and Nehru, why make a pretence of not wanting it and why not let that slavery—and touching the feet is a sure sign of slavery—proclaim itself in flagrant deeds. Nothing, however, could proclaim more loudly the gulf that divides profession from practice, and if that wide gulf is a sign of greatness, Pant was indeed, like Nehru, a great man.

The event is too recent to need recalling and every one knows that the last great act of this great democrat was the deposition of the Maharaja of Bastar in the true British imperial tradition, betraying the iron hand in the velvet glove. When I was on the "National Herald" of Lucknow the Managing Director happened to mention in my presence Pant's desire to have his speeches published verbatim in the Herald and I blurted out, to the amazement of all present, including one of his parliamentary secretaries, the word, "Nonsense." That settled the matter, after every one had speechlessly stared at me for what looked like eternity. Knowledgeable sources in New Delhi have been saying for years that Pant traded support to Nehru's foreign policy for almost absolute power as Home Minister. He certainly became quite powerful as a result of his unqualified support of Nehru's foreign policies, even on the dispute with China. In his later days at least Pant did not believe in taking risks for his convictions. For all his greatness as Home Minister he was not a shadow of Sardar Patel—that Deputy Prime Minister who was feared by the Prime Minister himself. Neither had he the Sardar's stature or his burning patriotism. That my estimate of him is correct is proved by the fact that no one has compared him to Sardar Patel. He has not left a word to quote.

#### NEPAL KING MEANS BUSINESS

The King of Nepal apparently means business. His Government has promulgated a special decree under the Security Act which makes it incumbent upon officials, landlords and pensioners and even parents, under pain of loss of their jobs, land and pensions and other punishment, to inform against those engaged in anti-Government activities. (Pensioners include the pensioners of the Governments of India and the United Kingdom, who constitute the largest number of Nepal's pensioners.) As a democrat one need not shed a tear over the disappearance of "democracy" in Nepal. The Rana rule was undoubtedly bad and India did a service to Nepal in helping her get rid of Rana rule—though that undoubtedly was interference with Nepal's affairs—but switching on to full-blooded democracy from full-blooded autocracy was going from one extreme to another. On second thoughts it would appear that it is one of the most foolish assumptions of modern times that any and every country is fit for democracy. If the people are to have an effective voice in the government of the country, they must understand the affairs of the country and not go and vote for "King Nehru" or Mahatma Gandhi years after his death. We have seen the result of the introduction of democracy in

India, Pakistan, Burma and Ceylon—to say nothing of Congo. It cannot be a coincidence that in all these Asian countries dictatorships are in full swing—formally in some, informally in others. Mr. Nehru himself after coming into operation of the constitution of Free India, has had occasion to regret the inclusion therein of adult franchise. If we Indians, after receiving British education for nearly a century, cannot sustain a democracy how can the people of Nepal? They believe their King is the incarnation of Vishnu and he acts in his infinite wisdom. That settles the matter. If the incarnation of Vishnu decides to take the reins of government into his own hands, there will not be many in Nepal to question the wisdom of his action. No wonder the mass demonstration threatened by the Nepali Congress on Democratic Day (February 18) petered out into sporadic slogan-shouting and pamphlet distribution.

As a Special Representative of the Statesman lately in Nepal puts it, "The vast bulk of people in Nepal do not care who runs the Government" and "it is inconceivable for them to rise against the King." Any clash between the Crown and the people is therefore out of the question. The pageantry and the crowd in Birgunj on Democratic Day were unprecedented in Birgunj's history. So great is the frustration among the leaders of the Nepali Congress that negotiations are proceeding for a joint front with the Communist Party, as if to prove the essentially disloyal character of the Nepali Congress.

According to the same correspondent "Indians are the most hated foreigners in Kathmandu" and when the Royal Proclamation made allegations of anti-national activities against B. P. Koirala's Government the people understood the reference to be to Mr. Koirala's pro-Indian leanings. There was jubilation in Nepal in the thought that for the first time something had been done—the reference was to the dismissal of the Cabinet on December 15—without India being consulted or even informed. It is said the political leaders of Nepal used to run to the India Embassy or Delhi to plead their candidature for prime ministership and one Indian Ambassador was even accused of sitting in at Cabinet meetings. So we had a hand in Nepal's democracy, it appears. No wonder Mr. Nehru, whose notions of democracy are rather peculiar, was perturbed when he heard of its end. Mr. Nehru's definition of democracy is very simple and any one can understand it. According to him, though he cannot say so publicly for fear of the Constitution, democracy means: "Do as I say." And he is only being consistent if he thinks democracy abroad should mean the same thing.

It is unfortunate that the Queen's speech as delivered should have differed from the prepared text after Lord Home's arrival at Kathmandu via Delhi where he broke journey. This has given rise to the suspicion in Nepal that it was at Mr. Nehru's advice that the change in the Queen's speech was made. Absence of contradiction from Delhi to insinuations by newspapers to that effect can only tend to confirm that suspicion. In any case the Congress Government would be well-advised to refrain from doing anything which can be regarded as interference with her affairs in Nepal. Mr. Nehru should remember



he is the Prime Minister of the country and not President of a party, unless he wants enemies all round. Even Burma's Prime Minister has been showering praise of late on the Chinese Prime Minister and that, in the context of the Sino-Indian dispute, can only be interpreted as betraying partiality to the Chinese.

## Book Review

**BUDDHA AND BUDDHISM**, by Shri P. J. Sabnis, M.A., LL.B., Main Road, Nasik. Pages: 34. Price 50 nP.

This is a Marathi booklet, written specially for the new converts to Buddhism but of benefit to all, as it gives a clear idea of the main features of the Great Prophet's Life and Teachings. The author has accepted the authority of the late Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar for certain far-reaching changes he has introduced in the traditionally accepted aspects of Buddha's life and religion. The late Doctor does not rely upon the traditional story that Siddharth turned out a recluse on seeing the three ugly sights, namely, a man dreadfully broken by age, a man suffering from a horrible disease, and a dead-body, swollen and eyeless. The learned Doctor believes that the Buddhist scriptures unfold a different story. It is that Siddharth became an ascetic and went into a voluntary exile as a protest against his clan, the Shakyas, entering into a fratricidal war against the mother's clan, the Koliyas, simply because the two clans living in adjoining countries could not come to an amicable settlement of their age-long feud about the equitable sharing of the waters of the Rohini, a river partitioning the two countries. This noble self-abnegation on the part of Siddharth had its desired effect. The two clans set aside all plans of war and settled their differences by peaceful negotiations. The author of the booklet under review aptly compares this great episode in Buddha's life with the exactly similar episode which forms the central theme of the Great Epic of the Maha Bharat. While Buddha's philosophy saved both the countries from a total annihilation, Krishna's philosophy as envisaged in the Geeta led to a war which ended in complete extermination of all the combatants that had arranged themselves in the two warring camps.

"How can it be the duty of a man to kill a man?"

Before this simple and straightforward poser of Siddharth, the whole philosophical bombast of the Geeta crumbles down to pieces.

The present-day world also is divided into two opposite camps, blazing forth nuclear weapons, and hinting diabolically at the possibility of the complete extinction of mankind. The author of this booklet holds forth this episode in Buddha's life for the whole world to emulate.

Dr. Ambedkar presents Buddha as a thorough-going rationalist. His Buddha denies the existence of God, and the existence of soul, which latter on its part, entails the denial of the world after Death. His Buddha explains Nirvan only the beatific state of the human mind, to be attained here, in this

world only. His Buddha sweeps all idols and gods at only one stroke of argument, pointing out that all the idols and gods in the whole world have not the power to make fire possess a cooling effect, or ice burning. Idol-worship is, therefore, only a sheer folly. Nature is the only omnipotent, all encompassing power that existed, exists, and will exist.

The author of the booklet under review very ably flays to shreds the famous Vedantic Doctrine of Karma. The Doctrine only serves the upper classes in the hierarchy of the Hindu society permanently to hold down the down-trodden classes, by tracing the cause of the latter's abjectly miserable condition of their own sinful deeds in the previous birth or births, and thus absolving the upper classes, the real perpetrators of the crime, from all responsibility thereto. The doctrine makes the down-trodden classes submit to poverty, bow to tyranny, and sink without complaint under starvation, all the while kissing the hand that strikes. The doctrine saps all spirit of rebellion from the hearts of the serfs. The Doctrine of Karma and casteism, which is its natural offshoot holds immense sway over the Hindu mind. The Neo-Buddhism is an effective antidote to this poison, fighting it on its own ground.

We heartily recommend this booklet controversial though it may be in some places to all those who are in search of a rationalistic religion. Its price is nothing when compared to the whole get-up, the three-coloured picture on the jacket, and, finally, the sublime portrait of a truly great man and a truly great religion.

### R. L. TRUST HOSTEL FORUM (BOMBAY)

Under the auspices of the above-mentioned Forum, a series of lectures was arranged in the Hostel Hall during the period from 11-9-1960 to 5-2-1961. The Hostel students were present at all these lectures in their full strength with their friends and guests, and evinced a great interest in the topics dealt with by the distinguished speakers, and participated actively in the lively discussions that invariably followed the lectures. The members of the Research Department of R. L. Foundation, Bombay, took a leading part in arranging the series, selection of the topics and contacting the distinguished speakers and extended their fullest cooperation in making the series a success. The lectures were arranged as under:—

Date	Subject	Speaker
11-9-1960	Theories of History	Mr. Justice V. A. Naik, Bombay.
24-9-1960	New Humanism	Mr. Justice V. M. Tarkunde, Bombay.
13-11-1960	Family Planning	Mr. Ralph Borsodi, Ex-chancellor of Melbourne University U.S.A.
5-2-1961	Impact of Roy's ideas on Indian Political and Social Thought.	Prof. Shib Narayana Ray, Bombay.

Shri Hemendra K. Shah M.A., LL.B., Advocate, Bombay presided at the first three meetings and Prof. V. G. Mhetras presided at the last meeting.

**LIBERTARIAN SOCIAL INSTITUTE,  
BANGALORE  
STUDY CIRCLE MEETING.**

Bangalore, 12, March: Mr. B. S. N. Mallya, Editors 'Vikrama' addressing the Study Circle meeting at Libertarian Social Institute on 'National Security' said that the national security has two faces, the internal and the external. So far as the external security is concerned it is the duty of the Government to expel the Chinese and Pakistani aggressors from our borders. It is a great pity that Pt. Nehru who said that the country has no sufficient army to face the Chinese aggression and it was very difficult to reach these cold places for the army men where even a blade of grass does not grow is now sending his combat troops to Congo which in no way concerned with our National interest. Effective steps should be taken against Pakistani troubles. So for the internal security is concerned, Mr. Mallya said, that the fifth columnists like Communists and Muslim Leaguers should be strongly dealt with in the interest of national security.

Prof. M. A. Venkata Rao presided.

Mr. A. Venkataram, Secretary, proposed a vote of thanks.

## Gleanings from the Press

### **FROM SWARAJ TO SWATANTRA**

The all-out interference of the ruling Party in the life of the people including trade, transport, industry and agriculture, closely approaching the totalitarian way of governance, compels the opposition to follow a policy of total resistance to this, which gives to it the appearance superficially described as 'negative.' The most positive policy for any party or group of people determined to oppose the totalitarian policy of the Congress Party is the democratic negative of it. There can be nothing more definite or concrete than freedom of occupation, sacredness of contract and property, and freedom and security for individual energy. The freedoms guaranteed in the Constitution of 1950 must be restored in full. To give this the derogatory name of 'negative' is to walk into totalitarian trap. The reign of controls, the policy of selling monopolies to the favoured and other connected consequences of totalitarianist rule are all very 'positive' no doubt, but they are positively injurious to the nation. Opposition to foreign rule was Swaraj. Opposition to the totalitarian stranglehold over individual life is Swatantra; and the Swatantra party is dedicated to this.

The nation will progress and prosper by virtue of its inherent vitality. What is wanted is that the removal of the adverse force of foreign rule should be followed up by the elimination of the incubus of state restrictions which are worse than the foreign rule from which we have been emancipated.

—C. Rajagopalachari in SWARAJYA.

## News & Views

### **WITCH HUNT OF HINDUS IN EAST BENGAL**

Pakistan has evidently decided that the Hindus in East Bengal must be taught a lesson. At Khulna a Satya Narayan procession was attacked by a crowd of Muslims. This was a signal for a campaign of wide-spread murders and arson against the Hindus.

From Ramnagar, in Jessore, similar instances have been reported. At Saudpur, a big Railway centre, in Rangpur District, the murder of four Hindu merchants has been officially admitted. It is the precursor of the nightmare of 1950, when thousands of Hindus were driven out of East Bengal.

### **THE ENEMY WITHIN THE BORDERS**

It is a tortuous and deceptive resolution that the National Council of the Communist Party of India has passed on the issue of the Chinese aggression..... There is a lot of tight-rope dancing in the resolution. At one place it says: "The material collected by the Indian side has led the Indian people to believe that the Indian case is strong" Fearing adverse reaction in the Chinese Camp, it hastens to add, however, "The Chinese side has collected a mass of material on the basis of which, they reject the soundness of the Indian case."

They are just sitting on the fence, ready any day, to walk into the Chinese Camp as the Chinese pressure increases, or the Indian pressure decreases.

'Freedom First.'

### **AFTER CHINA, COMES SOVIET RUSSIA!**

New Delhi: Fresh cartographical "errors" adverse to India regarding Sikkim and Bhutan are contained in the latest Soviet maps.

The 1959 edition of the Soviet World Atlas shows India's international borders, south of Sikkim and Bhutan, instead of the north of the Himalayas, as in 1955 edition. The Soviet maps also show the Sino-Indian borders, broadly on the lines of the Chinese alignment.

—A News Item.

### **HE HAS SAID IT**

"I feel that although India has won her freedom, we are increasingly losing individual liberty. It appears that there will be very little of commerce, business, agriculture, and industry left in this country outside Government service."

—Shri Prakash, Governor of Maharashtra.

### **PRESENT GENERATION SACRIFICED, THE FUTURE MORTGAGED**

The Congress leaders say that the present generation is being sacrificed for the future, BUT they do not point out that the FUTURE IS ALREADY MORTGAGED.

—Acharya Kripalani.  
**PLANNED ECONOMY OR THE SLIPPERY ROAD  
TO SERFDOM?**

In an article, bristling with Government of India figures and statistics of the Plans and the so-called development schemes, Barbara Ward Jackson writes in the FOREIGN AFFAIRS, an American publication as follows.—The article entitled:—"India on the Eve of the Third Plan."

"The outlook for a sharp increase in India's export is not much more promising. India's staple exports tea and jute and cotton goods—are all inhibited in one way or the other; tea by high Excise duties in the West, jute by alternative methods of packings, and cotton goods by stiff Asian competition..... India's present exports and invisible earnings are expected to provide 7,492,000,000 dollars over the next five years, but these figures cover only the normal imports needed to keep the present economy moving. The whole foreign exchange components of planned expansion—about 5,456,000,000 dollars for the next five years must come from new sources, and since a wider expansion in either exports or in private investments are ruled out, this is roughly what India has to seek in economic assistance from abroad...Without it the economy will either cease to grow.....or the Government WILL HAVE TO IMPOSE SO SEVERE A PROGRAMME OF DOMESTIC AUSTERITY as to be almost certainly INCOMPATIBLE WITH FREE CHOICE or FREE CONSENT. Either way the liberal society will be shown to have no future in Asia." —FOREIGN AFFAIRS.

In plain words Indian planned economy is fast leading the country to totalitarianism and serfdom found in the communist countries of the world.

#### THE NATURE OF A GOVERNMENT

"It is in the nature of a Government NOT to be ruled, BUT TO RULE. And as it derives its power from the Army, it will never give up the Army; nor will it ever renounce that for which the Army is designed—WAR." —Tolstoy.

#### 400 PERSONS LEAVE THE "PARADISE" THAT IS THE SOVIET ZONE OF GERMANY!

On an average 300 to 400 persons from the so-called German "Democratic" Republic of Germany, that is the Soviet-occupied part of Germany, flee to the Federal Republic of West Germany, every day. Since February 1961, each week-end the figure exceeds 500.

The so-called "soft" policy, decreed by Ulbricht, the chairman of the Council of State of the Soviet-occupied part of Germany, could not help to keep the persons in their homes and hearths. The qualms of conscience and political pressure, have caused more than 13,000 persons—the entire population of a small town, take asylum in one of the three Refugee Centres established by West Germany on its borders.

The statistics, published by the Ministry for Refugees and Expellees of West Germany, reveal the grim fact that almost half of the refugees are young persons below the age of 25 years, and that the refugees consist of whole groups of technically qualified persons—engineers, doctors, scientists and others.

Here is the table, showing the stark facts that nearly 15,25,000 refugees have taken shelter in West Germany from the horrors and terrors of life in the Soviet-occupied part of Germany:—

CATEGORIES	1954-59	1960	TOTAL
Young people upto 25 years	6,64,200	97,113	7,61,313

Students	10,000	1,648	11,705
Persons released from Prisons	15,965	1,052	17,017
Doctors	2,422	688	3,110
Dentists	928	296	1,224
Veterinary Doctors	190	79	269
Chemists	730	171	901
University Teachers	596	142	738
Other Teachers	13,852	2,032	15,885
Judges and Public Prosecutors	124	6	130
Lawyers and Notaries	608	50	658
Engineers & Technicians	12,888	2,648	15,536
Members of the Police and Military	11,234	707	11,941
Farmers	37,800	3,500	41,300

So this is the "Workers' Paradise" that is the Soviet-occupied part of Germany from which nearly 15 lakhs of persons have been forced to leave their hearths and homes and seek asylum in the free and democratic West Germany. No further comments are needed to show how harsh are the conditions of living in the communist-ruled part of Germany.

J. K. D.

## Letter to the Editor

Sir,

How deeply I admired the moral courage of your Delhi correspondent who followed convictions truthfully and fearlessly and stated in The Indian Liberator of March 1, 1961. "We Indians are born traitors. The thousand year old slavery, which the British Labour Party put an end to, proves it." It was the Vice-President, Sir Radhakrishnan, who from bitter experience could not but speak out the truth in November, 1958, at Calcutta even in the presence of Mr. Nehru. He said, "We are basically dishonest, corrupt and degenerate. We have no sense of patriotism."

Mr. M. N. Tholal is equally right and bold when he says that Jai Prakash Narain, whom I lived with in Chicago, is brainless. His idea of partyless democracy is a claptrap and sheer nonsense. Dr. Lohia is another person who stalks all over the country and blurts out anything he likes. His propaganda for Hindi against English surpasses all bounds of decency and reasonableness. Mr. Nehru who is suffering from the disease of self-glorification is out for the regimentation of the whole country. These leaders are only past masters in the art of destroying whatever comes their way. So the sooner they are rendered politically innocuous, the better for the country. Our leaders are creating an intellectual climate congenial only to cowards.

If we have faith in humanity, if we really care for peace, if we love our country, value truth, honour and justice, and aspire to a decent life, we should cease to support these national leaders who propagate ideas and ideals diametrically opposed to these long cherished values.

Ludhiana,

March, 11, 1961.

M. R. NAYYAR.

APRIL 1, 1961.

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