

still alive in some quarters. It reveals the hard core that remains in politics and government in spite of all advances in culture and civilisation.

That middle class educated Indians should be found to undertake such dastardly crimes for money at the instigation of enemy officialdom and non-official conspirators seems incredible. But it has been found true! How shallow is our national sentiment!

It was also proved that the instigators were some Pakistanis official and non-official! If such instigation could be a fact thirteen years after the bloody turmoil in 1947, the rumours of such plots in August 1947 might not have been baseless after all! It was rumoured in Delhi that there was a conspiracy to kill the Indian cabinet even as the Burmese cabinet was killed except for U Nu.

The incident shows the deep and abiding hostility that Pakistanis entertain towards India even after such a lapse of time and in such normal times. The concessions we have given in the matter of the Canal Treaty (especially agreeing to give Rs. 83 crores for Canal construction in Pakistan) has not softened the Pakistanis!

The need for strict vigilance against the hostile moves of Pakistan on our part is obvious.

SPY-RINGS IN DELHI

Three spy-rings have been traced by the police in Delhi involving foreign embassies of R., C., and P. Sons of two Indian Army officers have been found passing secret information to officials of foreign embassies! This has been going on for years, it seems!

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They will be brought to trial. The foreign embassy officials have been asked to quit the country.

This is a lesson that we cannot put all our eggs in the Russian basket to help us against the Chinese, as the Prime Minister seems to do!

The information was concerned mostly with road-making and military moves on the border to benefit the Chinese!

Russia is bound to China with unbreakable bonds of ideological and military partnership for world conquest. The sooner we shift our alliance and trust towards the West the better for our security. But that can only come with a new Prime Minister!

Some people prophesy that when the situation becomes desperate with the Chinese advancing into the Plains of the Gangetic-Brahmaputra Valley, Nehru will turn to the West and that Mountbatten will play a part in this rescue! The possibility cannot be ruled out. But it is a desperate straw to rely upon! Instead, the people should develop public opinion to such an extent that Nehru will be obliged to surrender his pro-Communist sentiment in order to retain power. Even the present acknowledgement of the Chinese aggression has been forced out of him by popular protest and pressure. Nehru is sensitive to massive popular feeling and such massive pressure on him is the only way to change his disastrous policies. There is no use relying on Parliament and the elected members in the legislatures.

INDIAN COMMUNIST PARTY

We should not be bemused and misled by reports of internal differences within the communist leadership.

After the recent world communist conference in Moscow which was marked by acute differences between Russia and China on world policies, the Indian Party is seeking a common attitude.

Already there are rumours of a compromise betokening a neutral attitude on the part of the Party towards the Chinese Aggression. In fact, when the time comes for Russian leaders to make an active move with regard to India, they will choose the Indian instruments themselves and the rest do not matter! They will sink to the background, as happened to Imre Nagy in Hungary who was thrust aside and Kadar installed instead!

THE PRESENT COMMUNIST STRATEGY IN THE NORTH

It is learnt that the Indian Communist Party now despairs of success in bringing communism to India by means of capturing power in particular States of the Union, one by one, through democratic elections. The lesson of Kerala that they draw is that with the Central Government watching them and ever ready to dismiss them, with every legislation having to win the President's assent, they cannot establish a communist type of government and please the poor people through liquidation of the wealth of the rich!

Their Plan is now to establish their influence with the people through secret and open propaganda in

the Punjab and West Bengal. West Bengal includes Assam, for the Assamese have no organised political life of their own. Their only obsession is to drive the Bengalis out and take their jobs. This involves an increase in the proportion of Muslims increasing the chances of Pakistani take-over in times of trouble with the entry of Chinese forces into the plains!

The Communist Party hopes to create confusion when the Chinese make a move and meanwhile to prepare for the event by stocking arms and establishing centres of cadres in strategic points along the border up to Calcutta and Amritsar.

The drama of Yenan on the north of China when Mao came into contact with the Russians on the border is being prepared for, on Indian soil! Only a widespread realisation of the danger on the part of the masses of the Indian people throughout the country, can forestall and prevent such a Plot from succeeding to the ruin of the country. There is not much good relying on the government of the country with such pro-communist leaders as Nehru and V. K. Krishna Menon in key posts.

RED CHINA ISOLATES INDIA!

Burma received Chou En-lai recently in gala style. In the eyes of U Nu and the Burmese authorities, Nehru and India were eclipsed in goodwill and regard.

The Burma-China border Treaty was signed in great eclat. But it includes eight miles of territory belonging to India within the Chinese border! The northern part of Burma where it abuts Assam has a continuation of the MacMahon Line after the Brahmaputra bend. To allow such a deviation from the recognised MacMahon Line to the detriment of India and to get it incorporated in the Burmese Treaty without reference to India is an act which cannot be regarded as conspicuous for friendship! Gone is the effect of our generous gift of ten thousand rifles when Burmese Government was fighting for very existence! Gone is the effect of our writing off crores of public debt due to us from Burma from the time of the separation of 1935! There is no gratitude in politics.

SIKKIM AND BHUTAN

Red China has asked Sikkim and Bhutan to open negotiations with her in regard to their border problems. Nehru had already told the Chinese that all communications with these States should be through India. But the communication has been ignored.

The rulers of Sikkim and Bhutan have met Nehru and revealed the situation to him.

It is not known what answer he gave. He should have declared to the whole world that Sikkim and Bhutan are India's responsibility for defence and foreign affairs and that China should cease approaching them directly.

There has been no such clear-cut declaration yet.

It is clear that Nehru is in a blue funk and does not dare to take a decision one way or another. He vacillates as usual. Unless the northern borders of

these States are immediately included in the Indian border defence and Indian troops are deployed in out-posts along the border line in continuation of the NEFA from the East, no one will take India seriously. It must be remembered that China's claim to these States is not merely one of border adjustment but a claim for the whole of their territory as belonging to the ancient Han empire of China! They include a part of northern Assam in the area to the south-east of Bhutan!

KASHMIR AND PAKISTAN

China has invited Pakistan to negotiate with her in settling the border line in north Kashmir abutting Pakistan and Chinese Sinkiang.

But this is a part of Kashmir illegally held by Pakistan and does not belong to her. It is under dispute with India! This means in effect the Chinese recognition of Pakistan's rights to Kashmir!

'OPEN' SOCIETIES AND 'PLANNED' SOCIETIES.

The Open Society, the free Society, does not claim to know all social or economic answers beforehand. Not having such a secular religion and mythology, it has no way of knowing beforehand all the social and economic questions which will arise in human society as human knowledge discovers and applies more and more. So it reposes its policies on freedoms, flexibility and adaptability, in order to be able the better to cope with the unforeseeable. This seems more reasonable and rational political behaviour than of the so-called "Planned Societies" whose governments loudly vaunt the rationality of their plans, while reposing on irrational ideologies, myths, doctrines and dogmas.

—Graham Hutton.
(*Inflation and Society*)

THE CITY OF FREEDOM.

"The freedom which we enjoy in our government extends also to our ordinary life. There far from exercising a jealous surveillance over each other, we do not feel called upon to be angry with our neighbour for doing what he likes.

If we turn to our military policy, there also we differ from our antagonists. We throw open our city to the world, and never by alien acts, exclude foreigners from any opportunity of learning or observing, although the eyes of an enemy may occasionally profit from our liberality. We trust less in system and policy than in the native spirit of our citizens. While in education, where our rivals from their very cradles by a painful discipline seek after manliness, at Athens we live exactly as we please and yet are just as ready to encounter every danger..... Such is the Athens for which these men, in the assertion of the resolve not to lose her, nobly fought and died."

—Pericles.

All people are equal, but some are more equal than others.

—George Orwell.

February 15, 1961.

President Kennedy's "New Frontiers"

By M. A. Venkata Rao

TAKING his Inauguration Address and his State of the Nation Message to Congress together, there is some indication of the new frontiers in global and internal policy that President Kennedy envisages for America and the world.

There is less clear adumbration of his foreign policy in terms of new frontiers than his economic and social legislation within the country. The statement of the social legislation programme that he submitted to Congress soon after his State of the Nation Message to Congress is a blue-print of his economic and social proposals both from short and long term points of view.

Let us take up foreign policy first. President Kennedy does not have, (no one has), a clean sheet to write upon. He has inherited a troubled heritage which he cannot mould according to his own ideals. He has to take the world and America's position and resources, (material, mental and moral) as they are and make the best of them to steer his country and the rest of the world out of the present rough seas into a serener world.

The main lines of American policy are already fixed dictated as they are by the threat of world domination by Soviet Russia and China. Sheer self-defence demands that America take up this challenge and meet it frontally with clear and dauntless eyes. The first part of the policy in this respect therefore is clearly one of **containment**. President Kennedy mentioned this need and danger unambiguously in his Inauguration Speech. Those who rode the tiger in innocent confidence, he warned, will end up inside its stomach sooner or later! This is a warning to all neutrals like India and the new Moslem world who hope to make the best of both worlds. Russia's assistance (monetary and technical) for the building of the Aswan Dam to President Nasser is an indication of the extent and reality of the economic offensive of the Communist bloc.

President Kennedy repeated the Dullesian resolve to prevent the communist bloc from expanding anywhere beyond their present frontiers. He reiterated the Monroe doctrine in regard to Cuba and the Latin American hemisphere. He assured the South American world of economic assistance and wanted them to remain independent and guard themselves against penetration by communism. He reiterated the American policy of preventing any non-American Power from obtaining a foothold in the New World and trying to dominate its constituent nations.

He mentioned India, Laos and the Congo (where communist aggression has already begun) as areas in which America is interested in seeing national independence safeguarded.

To contain Soviet Russia and China successfully, the new President proclaimed his intention of stepping up military strength. He recognised Russia's

superiority in orbiting heavy projectiles around the earth. But he claimed that America was superior in satellites. This is dubious and not universally accepted. The nation blamed Eisenhower for allowing Russia to steal a march over America both in military weapons and the rate of economic growth. However, the new President has resolved to pursue the race of modern armaments—nuclear, satellite, missile etc. resolutely to the point of attaining superiority in every line. As he said, such clear superiority is the only assurance we can have that the weapons will never be used. He is right. What a contrast to the unrealistic Nehru!

This is the Dullesian policy of arguing from strength and nothing new, unless it be in the new determination to spend all that is necessary for achieving the goal, even if it means a regimen of unwanted austerity for Americans.

Like Woodrow Wilson, Franklin D. Roosevelt and Harry Truman before him, President Kennedy realises the grim nature of the ordeal confronting the present generation of Americans.

He reveals an acute sense of urgency and seriousness in his utterances in regard to the present crisis and the struggle for the world. Even yet, too large a proportion of the world's intelligentsia is unaware of the deadly nature of the Russian preparedness and intentions. Kennedy remarked that Russia and China have reiterated their grim resolve forcefully in recent weeks. Their goal of world conquest for communism has been clearly enunciated. Even Hitler had published his programme of world conquest for Germany in his notorious book *Mein Kampf*.

Still inheriting the peaceful, gentlemanly, cultured social and liberal conditions of the mid-nineteenth century (through the inertia and lag of current stereotypes formed then), the intelligentsia fail to realise the plain meaning of the threat posed by international communism to every free people in the world in every one of its continents.

Last week, Mr. H. V. Kamath returning from a world tour in East and West announced that according to reliable sources, China has listed India as one of the countries to be "liberated" in the communist sense! It means absorption in the communist regime of soul-less despotism over body and mind, worse than slavery of old. But the number of Indians who take warning from this piece of news is insignificant from any stand-point of intelligent resistance.

But though Kennedy has shown that he realises the grimness and urgency of the peril, there is no indication as to any new ways in which he proposes to meet it. He has stopped with Dullesian containment.

Even with regard to this negative but necessary policy of containment, he has not shown any indication as to how he proposes to contain communism in Laos, India's northern frontiers, Congo and Cuba.

Will he have the resolution to send troops to Laos and Cuba and Congo, if not to India if international communism spills over the line hitherto marked? Fellow travellers and sentimental leftists and innocent progressives do not realise that the frontier between America and the communist world is psychological and military. The border runs along the line of equilibrium of forces! Any vacuum will prompt the stronger power, stronger in the area, to rush in and occupy it! This is happening in Laos and India's northern frontiers.

It is true that Khrushchov wants "peace" but a peace that will win for him the consent and acquiescence of America for his ill-gotten gains. Even Russian annexation of the Baltic States of Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia during the Hitlerite war (before Russia was attacked by his erstwhile friend of the Non-aggression Pact) was not recognised by America. Roosevelt denounced the Deal and refused to recognise the spoliation and the enslavement of these small but independent nations.

But to meet the Hitlerite menace, the Western Powers were obliged to ally themselves with Stalin's Russia as the lesser evil. Stalin took full advantage of the war-weariness of the Western Powers and obtained control over the East European States of Hungary, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Poland, Rumania and Albania. Yugoslavia was the only nation that escaped this fate. The control was effected in the presence of the Russian armies under the camouflage of coalition, democratic governments and open elections. But everything was a fraud and America contented herself with verbal protests. Britain was too insolvent and war-weary to do anything more. Truman at least saved Greece and Turkey by his assumption of military protection and offer of economic assistance to these areas. But thereafter, it was containment that was clung to, as policy.

There is no clear and resolute plan for liberation of the captive countries. To agree to a Truce with Khrushchov would be to sacrifice these huge areas of free peoples to the communist slave empire, more ruthless than the old imperialisms of Western nations.

Kennedy, it is true, mentioned Poland as a special object of American solicitude but this only means economic aid with no plans to develop it into a programme of liberation.

It is noteworthy that the President did not mention Berlin and West Germany in his speeches. Pressmen asked him about it but only elicited the reply that American interest in Berlin remained constant. This may mean anything or nothing. But the status quo does not amount to new frontiers!

Civil war has begun in Congo with both sides, communist and non-communist, taking sides. A foreign Legion is in process of formation and the UN is paralysed on account of the division of interest between East and West.

Kennedy has declared a determination to pursue effective disarmament negotiation with the Soviets but this too is nothing new.

The President actually mentioned the East European nations as a matter of the free world's concern

but he hinted at no programme looking toward its implementation.

Something resembling a new Line could be had if the new President discovers with the help of his brains trust some new ways of influencing the mass of the Russian people to win more liberty from their Iron Masters. If only the Russians see the outside world as it really is and how no one is trying to destroy Russia's freedom and national independence, it may be the beginning of the end of the dictatorial rule of the Kremlin. As free people able to control their government in their own way, a real relaxation of tensions may follow. This would be a long term task. It amounts to the destruction of the notorious Iron Curtain that puts effective blinkers on the eyes of the Russian people.

It would be fascinating to develop ideas along this Line tending towards the slow, effective and peaceful liberation of the minds of the Russian people by means of a multi-faceted campaign of Truth and cultural contacts. The military aspect will remain as a deterrent to sudden attack but would be in the background, while the foreground would be occupied with many-sided contact with the Russian world, official and unofficial. This requires infinite patience and resilience.

But in the realm of economic and social legislation, there is a clear new Line, new more in system and sweep than in idea, for Eisenhower too had to pay some attention to liberal democratic legislation for the poorer and handicapped sections of the people.

The twelve point programme that the President has sent to Congress with regard to social legislation shows a clear acceptance of the principles and programme described by Professor John Kenneth Galbraith in his remarkably successful economic book named *The Affluent Society* which has passed ten printings since its debut in 1957.

Professor Galbraith argues that America has solved the old primary problem of poverty. Even labour receives 80 dollars a week and the median income of the nation is around 4000 dollars a year. The American economy is self-sustaining. Its leaders, governmental and businessmen, have learnt largely to control depressions. Under these circumstances, Prof. Galbraith argues that American economy should now turn its attention from mere maximisation of output for the sake of full employment to the composition or pattern of production. He points out that there is an imbalance in the distribution of American consumption and the overall use of prosperity.

He paints an amusing picture of public squalor and private affluence in American society owing to the undue prevalence and survival of older economic goals. Goods for individual consumption are individually and competitively produced and individually sold. They are produced in such abundance that they can be sold only by artificial props like excessive advertisement and salesmanship that create new wants! And by instalment credit. Enough and to waste are produced of the primary necessities of life. Americans eat more food and in greater variety than is good for their health! Obesity has become

a national defect in the figure of American men and women. Cars are given fantastic and unwanted tailfins to create an illusion of newness. Food is packaged in fancy colours and varieties.

Food and shelter, radio and television are universal. American economy wastes its powers in creating artificial goods to titillate the senses in order to maintain high levels of production and full employment!

Social balance requires that a greater part of production and consumption should be occupied with what may be called nation-building activities—schools, scientific research for its own sake (and not for patents for commercial gadgets), better pay for teachers, cleaner streets, more museums, picture galleries, parks and public playing grounds for children, music academies, intelligent travel for educative purposes and not merely for record breaking, the abolition of still existing poverty in special areas, slum clearance in cities, higher minimum wages, larger unemployment and other social security benefits, bet-

ter and more intelligent investment in persons and their minds and capacities. This can only be done through State and municipal action. Larger taxation of the upper brackets of income and larger sales taxes may be levied to correct this imbalance and have a healthier social balance. America can afford it now. This will be a national programme limiting economic freedom or private enterprise to its traditional lines but using public funds to remake the mind and spirit of the population. This is a development of Keynesianism to constitute a permanent State leadership in directing the economy.

Mr. Kennedy's social legislation programme follows these thoughts of Prof. Galbraith very closely.

As regards foreign aid, Prof. Galbraith has recommended an extended permanent programme of planned economic assistance to the underdeveloped nations as an insurance of a better world economy with more to distribute for all. It is a good augury for India that so influential an American publicist should be named by the new President (who accepts his ideas so completely) as Ambassador for India.

Psychology of Non-Alignment

By M. N. Tholal

THERE is no denying the fact that non-alignment—I am not referring here to Mr. Nehru's pseudo non-alignment—is popular in the country. Were it popular because it is in the best interest of the country, there would be nothing to cavil at. But there is no doubt that the people in general think that it is in the best interest of the country, otherwise it would not be so popular. After all, everybody is not looking up to Mr. Nehru for favours, and therefore the general belief regarding its suitability is not due to selfish reasons. It is without doubt due to patriotic reasons, howsoever misconceived they may be. It is my purpose here to show how very misconceived they are.

First and foremost comes the argument that there is a quarrel between two imperialisms. And why should we take sides? I think it will not be denied that the quarrel in the main is between the United States and the USSR, both almost equally strong and capable of destroying each other and the world. That being so, the other second rate Powers, like Britain and France, may be excluded from the discussion for the present, though no one, who is conversant with the history of the past decade or so, can honestly say that they are not set on the path of liquidating their colonies, and that theirs is a dying imperialism.

"AMERICAN IMPERIALISM"

Let us take the United States first. "American imperialism" is a plausible phrase made popular by Communists and fellow-travellers. But is there any truth in that phrase? It should be obvious to the meanest intelligence that, had the USA been imperial-ly minded, the whole of North and South America

would have been either an American colony or part of the United States, just as the vast stretch of land from the Baltic Sea to the Pacific Ocean across two continents comprises the USSR. A country whose intervention proved decisive in two world wars could have easily annexed all the states of North and South America even without firing a shot—I am referring to the resources at the command of the USA. But that has not happened, and for very good reasons. Imperialism and colonialism are born of the desire to exploit other peoples' countries, and the USA is so rich in natural resources that its people have been concentrating their energies on exploiting their own resources. The United States has no need of sharing with the poverty-stricken Asians and Africans their poor resources. The *raison d'être* of colonialism and imperialism does not exist in the USA. How then could colonialism and imperialism take root in that land, which for that very reason is known as the land of liberty?

I have given the reason for the American ideology of democracy. They are democrats in the true sense of the word, not because they are a people morally superior to the rest of humanity but because Providence has given them so much that they do not need others' money. A rich man does not want to steal a poor man's things. Therefore the USA has always been opposed to imperialism and colonialism.

But the Americans are rich and therefore the object of poor people's jealousy and dislike and even fear. Why should we seek their assistance, military assistance in particular, when it is bound to turn us into their stooges and thus even involve us in a world war? The basic reason for the popularity of non-

alignment is that it will save the country from the ravages of a world war. Fear of annihilation is not only natural but absolutely justified, insofar as the instinct of self-preservation is the basic instinct. As an Urdu line puts it,

Jab ki do moozion men ho khut put
Apne bachne ki fikr kar jhat put.

(When two trouble-makers fight, think at once of saving your own skin).

But nothing can be more absurd than the proposition that in the next world war, if and when it comes, the neutrals and the non-aligned will escape its ravages. Some land in some distant corner of the world may, but not countries like India, Egypt, Persia etc. If one Power refrains from occupying their strategic points, the other will. On that certain hypothesis, many countries will find themselves occupied by foreign forces before they are well aware that the world war has started. Plans, the reader may take it, have already been drawn up for occupation of key points as soon as the first shot has been fired, if not before it. All is fair in love and war. Not to do so would be to invite defeat.

So nothing can be more absurd than the proposition that India will escape the ravages of war by remaining neutral and non-aligned—which I have already shown in a previous article is not truly our position. Necessity knows no law and that is the only principle on which wars are fought. The very fact that it is generally conceded that the next war will be a war of annihilation of humanity implies that no country will escape it. So the natural desire to save our skin—which some may call cowardice in view of the fact that we pretend to be devoted to democracy—will not help us in escaping from the consequences of a world war.

AMERICAN STOOGES

The other argument is, "Why should we become American stooges?" This again is a Communist phrase and I freely confess that for a long time I myself believed in the existence of American stooges. We had across our own border President Mirza of Pakistan. (Pakistan has very good reasons for seeking American aid, but this is not the place to dilate on them.) His son was even called the son-in-law of the USA, by virtue of marrying an American Ambassador's daughter. But where is he? Not all the American military aid that the USA has poured into Pakistan was enough to delay Mirza's deposition for a day.

Then there was that other stooge, Syngman Rhee. We were all agreed—the thing seemed so obvious—that he was an American stooge. For years, it seemed, only a fool could deny it. But where is he now? An exile from his own country! This happened in a country absolutely dependent on American aid—military as well as civil. So it cannot be denied that the exit of Mirza and Syngman Rhee—the two proverbial American stooges—has proved the falsity of the phrase. Time explodes all false notions and it makes no exception of those popularised by Communists and fellow-travellers.

But alignment with USA means military aid, it will be argued, and military aid implies American

bases in the land, which invite Soviet wrath and would be among the foremost objects of destruction in a world war, followed by the occupation of the country by the base-destroying Power. The answer to that is that no country in the world today stands in such dire need of military aid as India. Any one who does not realise this simple truth lives in a world of unreality. We cannot save India except with American military aid. Had we accepted it earlier, we would not have lost 12,500 square miles of our territory and would not today be in danger of losing more. But military aid does not necessarily mean either alignment or foreign bases. We have the case of Yugoslavia before us. She accepted American military aid and thus saved herself from Russian domination without aligning herself with the USA or granting the latter any bases.

On the other hand, the policy of military bases ringing the Soviet Empire is now outmoded by the Polaris submarine. The Polaris sub-marine is an under-water moving military base—much more valuable than land bases because much more invulnerable—and a few such submarines are enough to destroy all military targets in Soviet Russia and her colonies. Very soon expenses incurred in establishing military bases round Soviet Russia would be waste of money. So even the fear of the USA demanding military bases in return for military aid no longer holds good. American military aid to Communist Yugoslavia has been a fact of great significance proving beyond doubt that the sole aim of American policy is to prevent the expansion of the Soviet Empire. Can there be any objection to that among anti-colonialists? But most people appear to have forgotten that aid, as well as its great political significance. And if the main question today is that of colonialism and imperialism, how can any one honestly ignore the existence of the greatest colonising Power today—the USSR? That Power's cry of colonialism and imperialism is just like that of a thief crying "Thief, thief!" to avoid being caught. Can any one deny that? As a Hindi poet said recently,

Duniya ka ek mahan Dakoo
"Chor, chor" chillawat hai.

(A great dacoit of the world is crying, "Thief, thief!")

IDEAL BEST OUR ENEMY

If Mr. Khrushchev is such an ardent admirer of non-alignment and so opposed to military aid, why does he not scrap the Warsaw Pact and the Sino-Russian Treaty and stop military aid to China, instead of stepping it up? The object of stepping up military aid to China and of praising Mr. Nehru's non-alignment at the same time should be too plain even for political tyros. But our Prime Minister feels happy at Mr. Khrushchev's compliments. Can that happiness be said to have any relation with the country's welfare and integrity? Why should our Prime Minister, whatever his objective, be allowed to play into Communist hands, knowing that the followers of Lenin could not have forgotten his pregnant words: "The way to Europe lies through Peking and CALCUTTA"?

Admittedly seeking military aid or any aid from any country is nothing to be proud of. But in politics we have always to be content with the second best.

Lokayata : Indian Materialism

By S. Ramanathan

I WISH to close this series of articles on Indian Materialism although I have not finished examining all that Mr. Deviprasad Chattopadhyaya has to say on the subject. Our author has proved that there is a popular trend of materialism that persists in spite of the powerful attempt by the select few who command all the publicity organs, the politics and the wealth of the country to lay down idealism as the dominant principle of Indian life. It is true that the vedas, the upanishads and the vedanta in all its ramifications, rule the country to-day, as they did in ancient times. But the rulers have been powerless to suppress the attitude of the live masses of men and women, usually born in low castes, who have followed the Tantra tradition and have set up materialism in opposition to idealism. The secret of this persistence against enormous odds is the bare fact that the toilers, the hewers of wood and the drawers of water, in any society far outnumber the idlers, the exploiters of other people's labour. While the toilers are in their day-to-day activity in grip with material reality and cannot deny its existence because it impinges upon them every moment of their lives, the lazy exploiters of labour can afford to sit in their easy chairs and exclaim that all material reality is mere illusion and there is something apart from the material world which is the only reality. They call Brahman the universal soul with which all individuals will merge at the time of salvation. What this merger means and whether it is desirable at all has not been investigated. But this ultimate end of all individuality is held up as something sacred and extremely blissful while all else is spurned as mere illusion.

This propaganda in favour of idealism and the discarding of materialism is bound to go on so long as

(Continued from page 7)

We should not make the ideal best the enemy of the practical second best. I shall give an example from recent Indian history. Congress leaders rejected Maulana Mohamad Ali's formula of every candidate polling a certain percentage of the other community's votes, on the ground that it was too cumbersome and entailed possibility of elections at some places being held over and over again. Had the Congress accepted it, communal parties would have been wiped out and communal concord reached. As for the objection that the Government would not have accepted the cumbersome procedure, the reply was that a communal settlement would have been reached which was what the country wanted—and the Government would have been forced to accept the settlement or take the blame for not accepting it. Congress insistence on the ideal joint electorate system prevented a communal settlement and was tantamount to playing into the hands of the enemy. Today we are making the same mistake. We are making the ideal best the enemy of the practical second best which alone can save the country.

the toilers are disorganised and allow the lazy exploiters to dominate them. Until then they must hide their light in a bushel and keep their faith in materialism and their practices based on materialism a secret, as the Tantra doctrine and the Tantra practices have always been. But it will be acknowledged by all genuine students of the Tantric doctrine that beneath the historical overgrowth and the excrescences in practice, the Tantras represent the real materialism and scientific trend in Indian culture while the vedic tradition represents the idealistic and the religious mysticism which is the enemy of science and progress. In any case Mr. Deviprasad Chattopadhyaya's book has scotched once for all the pretence that India is a spiritual nation and can afford to scorn other more advanced Nations of the world as being merely material. As Mr. Chattopadhyaya remarks "The proto-materialism of the Tantric period was crude, naive and primitive, and has little to compare with the self-conscious materialistic philosophy of original Sankhya, not to speak of the scientific materialism of today. Nevertheless, the recognition of this proto-materialism has its importance for the modern materialist".

I wish to add a word as to where materialism leads mankind. Materialism is a way of life as much as idealism is. It leads not merely to the rejection of superstitions that commonly accompany religious practices but away from that pseudo-liberal attitude that is so easily donned by religious people of today who affect an attitude which accommodates a multiplicity of religions. "After all, all religions have the same goal", say these people and they seek to gather under a common banner the conflicting and mutually destructive religions of the world in order to lead a crusade against the materialist free-thinker. While it is the duty of the materialist to defend his position against such attacks, it is vitally necessary for him to describe more fully and define his own attitude to life and how he should conduct himself in a crisis.

What should a materialist do when a calamity overtakes him? The religious idealist can easily escape from such a situation by throwing all blame upon God. It is all God's will and mere man should only obey and praise the Lord that took away a beloved one or one's property or even life. What should the materialist do under such circumstances? The materialist bears up a calamity because he knows that facts are the stuff of material reality and his own mental reaction to them are false. While it is natural to shed tears for a beloved one who is dead, death itself is a natural event and there is no escaping it. All our mental reactions to events are imaginary super-impositions which we may well do without. Materialists consider themselves as part of nature and their attitude to events is not passive as that of the idealist but is positive and active. While events are accepted as God-ordained by the idealist the materialist reacts to events as he himself is part and parcel of the very reality which has brought about

The Indian Libertarian

Economic Supplement

Economic Growth: Reality And Mirage

By William Henry Chamberlin

THE Supposed necessity of forcing a more rapid rate of growth for the American national economy is one of the two main talking points of the statist and planners at the present time. The other is the idea that too little money is being spent for public purposes, that Americans are undertaxed and don't know how to spend their money wisely anyway, so that it will be all the better for them if an all-wise and omniscient government relieves them of much of the task of deciding how to spend, or save, what they earn.

There has been much play with the idea that we are in a production race with the Soviet Union, that our very national survival depends on winning this race. But this whole idea of an economic race between two countries with profoundly different social and economic systems, ideals, and goals is far more complex than it is to determine who won a hundred-yard dash. The complexity is enhanced because Soviet methods of economic computation are highly suspect to most foreign economists who have studied the subject. And their suspicions recently received confirmation from an unimpeachable Soviet source.

One of the oldest Soviet economists, S. G. Strumilin in an essay on "Investment Effectiveness," recently received in this country, admits that official Soviet figures on industrial growth are unreliable because of the practice of double counting. For instance, in estimating over-all Soviet industrial output, sheet steel is counted twice, first when it emerges from the factory, second when it is used in trucks or other manufactures requiring steel.

Economic growth is certainly desirable, just as health is desirable for the body. But growth that is stimulated by inflation may be a deceptive mirage, as is growth that ignores such important elements as quality of output and free consumer choice. This is why the very considerable increase in Soviet industrial output which has taken place in the last forty years

(and could have been naturally expected in a country of Russia's size, population, and natural resources regardless of the economic system) has had no little visible effect on the standard of living of the Russian people.

The experience of the United States shows that steady growth on an ever expanding base is the normal condition of an economy that is still, despite much state interference and distortion, predominantly private in ownership and incentives. Real gross national product over the period 1909-1957 grew at an annual compound rate of 2.9 per cent a year. This rate was somewhat stepped up, to 3.8 per cent, between 1948 and 1957.

Of course, the increase in population made the figures of per capita growth somewhat smaller, 1.5 per cent for 1909-1957, 2 per cent for 1948-1957. However, the upward trend is unmistakable and completely explodes the Marxist gloom-and-doom theory that the rich are predestined to become richer and fewer, while the poor become more numerous and poorer.

It is noteworthy that some of the most conspicuous successes in solving social and economic problems have followed the application of the method of economic freedom, while state intervention has led to some of the biggest fiascos.

A Solution to Poverty

John Steinbeck's novel, *The Grapes of Wrath*, dramatized the plight of the "Okies," Oklahoma farmers who were impoverished as a result of a prolonged drought. Under a statist regime the Okies would probably have been "directed" to go to work elsewhere. Under a free system many of them piled into their battered cars and took off for California. In the beginning, as Steinbeck's novel showed, the going was hard. But the saga of the Okies had a happy ending, which has not been so much publicized. They were

easily absorbed into aircraft, oil, and other industries and are now mostly solid citizens of California. †

The same thing, on a larger scale, occurred in Germany. Since the war ended, some twelve million Germans and people of German stock either were forcibly expelled from their homes and dumped penniless into the German Federal Republic or fled from political oppression and economic lack of opportunity in Soviet-ruled East Germany. This means that more than one out of every five of the citizens of the Federal Republic is an expellee or a refugee. The problem of absorption created all sorts of initial difficulties, crowding for the older inhabitants, job difficulties for the newcomers. In this case a plausible case might have been made for some compulsion. But the West German authorities remained true to their principle of economic freedom.

They did what was possible to help the refugees help themselves and find a new start as workers, farmers, owners of small industries. But they never said to them: "So many of you must go here, so many there." And the result has brilliantly vindicated the reliance on individual initiative. Many of the refugees are to be found in leading positions. By their hard work they became peacemakers for the other Germans. To a considerable extent they replaced Germany's war casualties. Today Germany's problem is not one of unemployed, unhappy refugees; it is one of shortage of labor.

A Colossal Failure

One the other hand, one of America's biggest and costliest experiments in government intervention, the attempt to maintain prices of many farm products at price levels above the market, has been a resounding failure from every standpoint. Farmers remain dissatisfied; taxpayers are mulcted; consumers are robbed; there is resentment in Canada and other countries which are trying to market their crops on a commercial basis.

Another striking example of the folly and harmfulness of government intervention in the free market is the practice, more widespread in Europe than in the United States, of rent control. The result of this experiment, which amounts in many cases to outright expropriation of the owners of rental housing, is that deterioration of housing and difficulty in finding new apartments are in direct proportion to the severity of the rent control. (Its consequences are to be seen at their worst in France where the depreciation of the currency has reduced the real value of rents to virtually zero. The natural conse-

quence is stagnation in the private building market and an almost complete neglect of upkeep of apartment houses which yield no revenue to their owners. The European country where there is no housing shortage is Belgium, which took the sensible and logical step of abolishing rent control some years ago.)

So, while growth in an economy is certainly desirable, some conditions and qualifications must be laid down, if desirable growth is not to degenerate into undesirable "growthmanship," a mere playing with figures, a mirage and a deception. After all, as Mr. Allen Wallis, special assistant to President Eisenhower and executive vice chairman of the Cabinet Committee on Price Stability for Economic Growth, very sensibly said in a recent address :

"Growth is not an end in itself. We do not live to grow; we grow to live better. And we do live better, not only by consuming better, but also by working under better conditions. . . . A unique feature of our economic growth has been the broad sharing of progress among all groups. We represent the nearest approach to a classless society."

Healthy Growth

Growth is healthy when it responds to genuine demand and satisfies human needs. It is unhealthy and deceptive when it is undertaken by the fiat of state planners or when it receives the narcotic stimulus of currency inflation, which robs the people of their savings and leads in the end to far worse difficulties than those against which it is sometimes mistakenly invoked as a quack remedy.

Overproduction in general cannot occur, provided that the free market is permitted to function normally—a condition that is, alas, seldom realized in modern times. But a mature and productive economy like the American can conceivably turn out more of some particular commodity than home and foreign markets can absorb. None in America, for instance, goes hungry for lack of bread or other wheat products. It is merely silly to force the growth of unusable agricultural surpluses or industrial goods for which there is no market. The remedy for such situations is to shift to others more profitable forms of production.

One of the considerations that makes comparisons between American and Soviet growth rates so misleading as to be downright futile is the very different levels of output on which the economies are operating. For instance, United States output of passenger cars is about 6 million a year, as compared with about 100,000 in the Soviet Union. So a Soviet "growth" of 100 per cent would be the equivalent of an American growth

of less than 2 per cent.

Other factors that should make for a fairly high Soviet growth rate and that do not apply to the United States may be noted. Having stined their people in consumer goods for four decades, the Soviet government has no reason to fear saturated needs of such goods. Masses of Russians are being transferred from agriculture, with its low productivity, to industry, with its higher value of output. The Soviet Union is able to take advantage of technology that has been developed in other countries. As Mr. Wallis puts it;

"In other words, Russian growth is more rapid because they are still in the area where improvement is easy and the way has been shown, whereas we are more heavily involved in the difficult tasks of expending productivity, in medicine, journalism, education, engineering, and other services. There is no possibility that the Russian economy will overtake ours at any time in the visible future, certainly not in this century."

Much of the oratory of those who are concerned with increasing the American rate of economic growth contains more heat than light, more insistence on the end than specific consideration of the means. Insofar as recommendations in this field are more or less specific, they tend to run to "pump-priming" or inflationary devices, to be counteracted by price and wage controls. The whole recipe seems calculated to sound the deathknell of a free economy.

Political Barriers To Progress

There are measures which would be calculated to increase growth, but these measures are not politically popular. It is a matter of common observation that the countries which "plow back" large shares of output into investment have the fastest rate of growth. Germany is a good example of a country that is investing much and growing fast, while Great Britain shows the opposite trend in both respects. The American practice of high graduated direct income taxation is not favorable to growth, because it siphons off for federal, state, and local government needs much of the capital that would otherwise be available for reinvestment.

The huge annual expenditure on subsidies and storage charges for the supposed benefit of the farmers is an example of misdirection of financial resources. If this whole fantastic program for the taxation of the whole community for the benefit of one section were swept away, the big farmers who get most of the subsidies would still be able to make a profit, more of the marginal farmers would go into manufacturing and service industries, and large sum of money which are

now simply wasted would be available for financing new expansion projects.

Still another aid to growth would be the maintenance of a reasonable relationship between wage increases and improvement in productivity. It is the countries where the trade unions have been most restrained and moderate in their demands, Germany and Switzerland, which shows the best results in booming foreign trade and full employment.

"Cures" that Kill

But, since economically sound moves are not believed to possess the greatest appeal to voter pressure groups, the danger is that any legislature designed to promote growth may be framed along the wrong lines. It might more or less without conscious intention and desire carry us back to a war economy where price control temporarily and partially offset inflation and the shortages and imbalances in the market were suppressed by rationing of consumers and control over manpower and materials. This war economy is almost indistinguishable from the Soviet normal peace economy; and this goes far to explain such Soviet progress, lopsided and unbalanced through it is, as has actually taken place. As Hendary C. Wallich, Yale economist, member of the President's Council of Economic Advisers, and author of one of the best analyses of the German "economic miracle," says in his stimulating little book, *The Cost of Freedom*:

"If we were prepared to restrict the consumer, control prices, wages, materials, and manpower, and if nothing counted but an increase in output—with the government as the principal customer—we might generate growth enough to outgrow the Russians. Our economy would also have become so like theirs, however, that the meaning of the competition would have vanished"

Mr. Wallich goes on to point out that only a dictatorship could operate a centrally controlled economy, run with ruthless disregard of the consumer—a perfect definition, incidentally, of the Soviet economy.

In short, economic growth that is the result of individual investment and normal market demand is both healthy and, if one may judge from past historical experience, quite assured. Efforts to force growth by government action unrelated to real consumer needs and to the volume of genuine savings must be viewed with considerable suspicion and misgivings, as pointing to the introduction of permanent state controls and creeping socialism.

— The Freeman

Lesson from Soviet and Communist Chinese Agriculture

It is to be hoped that the members of the various delegations who visited the Soviet Union and Communist China to study agricultural conditions there and reporting enthusiastically about the wonderful progress achieved, urged us to imitate their practices, are now feeling slightly ashamed. The harvest in both countries has turned out to be very bad. While the weather is responsible for this to a large extent, more in China than in the Soviet Union, it is now becoming clear that the real reason is the method of organising agriculture. The farmer is an individual and remains an individual. You may kill millions of him, you may take away his land and compulsorily herd him along with a thousand others in a collective or a commune, but his individuality is retained. It shows itself in numerous ways, all of which amount to not letting you get the result from the land that you expect. And so Mr. Khrushchev is rushing round the country, dismissing ministers and managers and making changes in supply routes of important materials and machinery, and even in incentives, and all, as the past has shown, to little purpose. Neither the virgin lands scheme he sponsored so vigorously a couple of years ago, nor the settled lands give him what he wants. Communist statistics are always difficult to interpret, but it would be surprising if agricultural production on the whole had risen beyond that of 1928.

From China, information is even scarcer than from the Soviet Union. It has to be pieced together from what appears in the local newspapers, and these being Government-owned, naturally do not give much that goes against the Communists. There are reports of purges galore, of cadres high and low having been dismissed, of responsibility for failure being cast on small men, of continuous pep-talk accompanied by severe threats. What is obvious is that the communes have not worked. Nor is this surprising. The farmer does not respond to being treated like a number, having everything he has taken away, his family broken up, the shrines and graveyards of his ancestors ploughed over, being made to compulsorily 'volunteer' for work hundreds and thousands of miles away. The result, even in a good year climatically, is not very

satisfactory, whatever the claims made. In a bad year it is disastrous. Communist propaganda, compulsion and continuous overseeing can do a great deal. But it cannot replace that relationship between a free man and his land which makes for the best agriculture.

For us in India there is a great lesson in all this. Whatever the inclinations of persons in high authority, the models for us in agriculture are clearly not the Soviet Union and Communist China. No amount of meretricious statistics and ample hospitality should be allowed to convince us otherwise. Our agricultural salvation lies neither in the sovkhozes nor in the kolhkhazes of the Soviet Union, and certainly not in the communes of Communist China. Collective farming, to which the Congress is devoting so much propaganda, is likely to prove a waste both of energy and of resources. Ours is a nation of small farms and the proper course for us is through education, encouragement, incentive, removal of difficulties, furnishing of credit, providing of processing and marketing facilities, to enable each farmer to make the best possible contribution to national resources, benefiting both himself and the country at the same time. Not from fierce strange gods nor from wrathful no-gods can come grace, but only from devout worship of our own gods.

—Opinion

East Germany Hit Hard By Labour Exodus

Nearly 2,000,000 East Germans fled their Communist homeland during 1960, an increase of 38 per cent over the 1959 figure. The overall total of refugees since the Communists took over East Germany in 1945 now stands in excess of 3.3 million.

The impact of the manpower loss to the Soviet Zone economy is revealed in regime's economic year book.

Citing the lack of manpower, the year book notes that ordinary production targets in many fields have not been met.

that event. In other words, while the idealist accepts events passively in order to mollify his emotions the materialist accepts events actively as an agent of the very forces that brought about the events and thus eliminate the emotional resultant of the events. The essential difference between the materialist attitude and the attitude of the idealist is while the former accepts events which happen to him as part and parcel of the reality with which he lives and in which he has his being the latter tries to go behind the events and attributes a supernatural cause for the same and tries to appease that cause by sacrifices and prayers and thus is short-circuiting physical happenings by living in an imaginary world. In my view, a true materialist should be free from fear, as well as from other emotions. Why should a man be afraid when something

happens to him or to his beloved one? His fear is not going to make any difference to the happening which is inevitable and has other physical causes of which he himself is a component part.

Modern materialism is known as "Naturalist Humanism" and is closely related to the facts of empirical science even as ancient materialism was closely related and gave rise to ancient science. The philosophy of Naturalistic Humanism has been defined by many modern authors and I would recommend to readers interested in the subject, "the Philosophy of Humanism" by Corliss Lamont. There is a very interesting pamphlet published by the American Humanist Association on "A Humanist Symposium on Metaphysics" in which many distinguished philosophers have participated. It brings the subject up-to-date.

Comment on the Proposals of Some Modern Saviours about Avoiding the Menace of Atomic War

By Laurance Labadie.

DURING man's history, as an aftermath of scramble due to circumstances of absolute scarcity, the populations of the world in their ignorance have allowed closely-knit predatory and quasi-military organizations called governments to arise like cancers in their midst. People have allowed these organizations to grab whatever portions of the earth they could bring under their jurisdiction and call such domains "nations", foolishly believing that in some way these governments were beneficial to them. At the present time these governments, in their conflicts with each other in trying to expand and get more territory and people to rule over, threaten to decimate mankind and make the world uninhabitable. There is no way to stop them, because each of them would be as ready to turn their guns on their own people as upon others if their power was questioned. This has certainly been the overt policy in Russia, and it is now happening in other countries as well.

For centuries, Russia has not known any government other than autocratic absolutism. It probably should not be too much of a surprise that the outcome of a revolution which had been quickly captured by the worst forms of authoritarian socialism should be the largest centralized slave state in history.

In America, which was a vast area sparsely populated by heterogeneous people from various parts of the earth, it was simply impossible to establish a highly centralized government. It was only a matter of luck that liberty could make such a great advance in history. It was not until the conflicting privileged forces within the capitalist society had developed so far as to invade all aspects of life and technological advance was made that a police State became pos-

sible, and government grew from being a mere pest to a down-right menace.

The situation was similar in China which was too vast a territory governed by too many separate bandit groups to allow a strong central government. It was not until the aftermath of a war between powerful predatory regimes, coupled with the physical and psychological advances which were advantageous to the institutionalization of organized coercion, that the present totalitarian regime became possible in this country.

In Africa, the same process is now proceeding with great rapidity. In this instance the first aspect is the separation of colonial areas from their erstwhile masters. On the surface, this appears as an advance towards independence and liberty. But in fact it is merely a change from foreign masters to home-grown masters. The state, or rather the respective states, with the inherently imperial drives will have these drives accentuated if either the capitalist or communist "methods of production" become implanted as is being done today. The result is a foregone conclusion. These States will begin to fight among themselves; there will be alliances and collusions, and the process toward consolidation and totalization of power will go on apace, accelerated by the use of modern weapons and a type of brain-washing which is found when the State monopolizes the school system.

The processes mentioned here, namely the consolidation, accentuation and centralization of coercive power are usually being advocated with a great show of plausibility. Not only the Marxian communists, but the Nazis under Hitler, the Fascists under Mussolini, and even the New Dealers under Roosevelt, and of course the previous attempts of

governments to gain control of open territories, as well as the trends inherent in capitalism itself which gave birth to colonialism—all these movements had at the end of their process in most cases the avowed aim of ruling the world. And today we are being presented for consideration with world government as a solution for the dilemma in which the world now finds itself—in short, world slavery to the all-embracing and omnipotent State as a solution of mankind's ills.

There is one fly in this panacean ointment, and this is that the conflicts implicit in the process are going to be fought with weapons which are definitely annihilistic. Whether this progress towards utter annihilation is one of those phenomena which Nietzsche calls Eternal Recurrence, and whether it has occurred thousands of times is a matter for speculation. It could hardly be a matter of history, for there would be no one to write it and no one to read it even if written. It would be a finale in the grand manner—presumably millions of years of evolution snuffed out in a flash. What tragedian or believer in *gotterdamering* has imagined such a spectacle?

The dynamics of State Socialism is the preparation for war. This is explicit in the theory of socialism, in that it presumes to fight against so-called reactionary forces in order to inaugurate and maintain the system,—in this instance, forces within a country. But since State Socialism is also a war against "capitalism", it implicitly is a war against all non-Socialist countries. It is one of the principal tenets of Marxian Socialism that it is ultimately to be a world system. And since they are not averse to the use of force to achieve the system, and of coercion to maintain it, it is obviously a military operation from start to finish. What is obtained by force must almost necessarily be maintained by force, especially if it be a system to which all individuals must conform. All the actual attempts to achieve State Socialism substantiate this opinion.

On the other hand, if what is meant by capitalism is the State's upholding of unlimited absentee holdings of land as property; if it means the monopolization of the issue of money and credit, either by the State or by an organization protected by the State, with (as a consequence) the arbitrary and exorbitant charges of interest over and above the competitive cost of such service; if it means the exclusive privilege to use manufacturing processes by means of patent monopolies; if it means obstacles placed in the way of freedom of transport and exchange—if capitalism means an economy based in these state-granted special-privileges, then as long as the beneficiaries of these coercive and invasively-held exploiting privileges control the power of the State, there is little hope for freedom in this world. Moreover, war between capitalist nations is almost inherent and inescapable with such a state of affairs. Such a war is possibly being fore-stalled at the moment because of their common antipathy to out-and-out totalitarianism.

The financial systems of capitalistic countries make increase of debt and depressions a mathematical certainty. This certainty is attempted to be postponed by inflation. But notwithstanding that in

America about forty billion dollars is being pumped into circulation as buying power, through military expenditures, without a corresponding amount of goods being added to the market, sellers have such difficulty in disposing of their goods that they offer them without any down payment, even for as long as six months' time. The eventual consequence of this procedure will be intolerable. But the point is that without the pump priming via the military machine, financed largely with fiat money, the economy would come to a standstill. This fact bulwarks the rationale for an ever larger military establishment, nicely aided by the threat of the communist block.

On the communist side, there is some likelihood that the populace would not endure their abuse except in the face of the threat, or alleged threat, of "capitalist imperialism." The engines of coercion or governments of both sides of the cold war therefore mutually support each other, and we observe a self-aggravating situation.

Thus we find an almost inevitable war situation arising out of the economic rules and coercive controls which obtain in both communist and capitalist systems. Even were all "countries" communist and nationalistic, there would be no assurance whatever that there would be no war between them. This is so because of the inherently belligerent and predatory nature of the State itself. The tendency of arbitrary power is to add to itself, until at least the rulers confront a greater military power, or if internal dry rot should precipitate a revolution.

If such a revolution be of an organized military type of operation, such as is implied by political organizations, in contrast with a spontaneous upheaval, it is inevitable that the factions of the revolutionary movement fight among themselves for exclusive power, and out of this conflict the outcome is practically certain to be a stronger organized coercive power, even stronger than had existed before, and so the tendencies in the world today are in the direction of either the super slave state or, in view of the destructive potency of modern weapons, utter annihilation.

The so-called fight against communism is at bottom a reactionary fight to maintain the evils of capitalism. It is the fighting of an effect, since the theory of communism as a social system is an outgrowth of the evils of capitalism. To try to maintain an evil against a greater evil, when the latter is a more or less logical development of the former, is a grand piece of idiocy. In this insane battle both evils will be eliminated, but only by the elimination of the human race.

From my analysis, the only way to avoid the threat of atomic war is in the abolition of governments. Is it too late to hope for this? The Russian government seems here to stay, and destined to get more brutal if necessary, as long as it can enforce loyalty on its police and soldiers. There is no question whatever that the governments of Russia and China are the worst menaces, simply because they have more people and resources at their command. Yet in the democratic countries it is only

through the collusion between the government and monopolized banking systems that enough capital, largely in the form of ersatz money, can be amassed to produce the atomic bomb. And of course the possibility of amassing capital and manufacturing bombs in totalitarian countries is simple enough. It is the very existence of concentrated power to tax and to use tax money to enhance the very power which taxed in the first place, which constitutes a one-way street to hell.

In a non-governmental world, in a world where the political State had been replaced by voluntary associations in which people produced and exchanged necessary goods and services, it would be impossible to induce enough people to invest their savings in such mammoth military establishments as now obtain.

I believe there is no assurance whatever in evading the increase of more and more military expenditure by the hope that government rulers are going to agree to the diminution of military might. In fact they mutually support each other by their mutual threats. The hope that governments will agree to reduce military might finds lodgement in minds that misapprehend the nature of government. But such minds are virtually universal simply because they have been taught in government-controlled schools throughout the world. What would surprise me is that anyone so "educated" had managed to think his way out of the universally-induced superstition that governments are in any way other than unmitigated evils.

The shallow observances that often governments are solicitous in patching up the evils they themselves have caused (through granting privileges to special persons and interests) blinds people to the fact that the woes they suffer are of governmental origin. Any objective study, not only of the history of governments throughout the ages, but of their origins and necessary nature, would confirm the conviction that the State is the institutionalization of robbery, coercion, slavery, and indeed murder, as a method for conducting societies.

As things are going now, it is a matter of time when more and more governments will possess the atomic bomb, and to expect—in opposition to the theory of Clausewitz, that they are continually going to refrain from using them to implement their inherently imperialistic policies is, in my opinion, a vain hope. This seems to me should be plain to anyone who has not been brainwashed by nationalistic teachings in state-controlled educational institutions.

It is claimed by many people that in democratic countries the people rule. Unfortunately for that theory, in the country which produced the atomic bomb only a handful of people knew that the bomb was being produced, and presumably the dropping of it and the snuffing-out of nearly a quarter million innocent lives was the decision of one man.

World government as a solution of the threat of atomic war? No government is going to relinquish its sovereignty without putting up a fight, and in that fight it will employ the bomb which is the avowed purpose of governmental consolidation to avoid.

Unfortunately the argument implicit here is not one which could be proven by saying, "I told you so". In the meantime one may indulge in agreeable chagrin, saying "Such things cannot be." Perhaps man's original sin was to think at all, as some theologians tell us. But thinking will be necessary if men are to discontinue their primitive ancestor's blunder of perpetuating and institutionalizing the robbery and incidental murder which he resorted to, as an unwelcome expedient in some of the scrambles which he faced in times of scarcity. Habit may be a labor-saving device, but it can also become a disastrous piece of negligence, as is becoming obvious.

Or if one wishes to become philosophical, he need not become too much concerned about blowing up the earth. After all, we all have to die sometime, and if it be in the cards that the whole farce is to be terminated, so be it. If men are such fools as to allow themselves to be blown to red, perhaps it is all for the best. From the cosmic point of view it doesn't make a particle of difference either way. But there are enough psychopaths in high places on both sides of the cold war as to make the odds for annihilation an almost sure bet.

GHOST OF MUSLIM LEAGUE ACTIVE IN THE COUNTRY

Since the overthrow of the communist regime in Kerala the ghost of the Muslim League has been emboldened to stage its dance of sabotage, arson and riots all over the country.

The latest is the communal riot staged at Jubbulpore, following the suicide of a Hindu girl, as a result of an attempt to criminally assault her by two young men of the Muslim community. In this connection it is worthwhile to refer to the recent "performances" on the part of the Muslim League and their sponsors and followers in other parts of the country.

At Bidar: Demonstrations by Leaguers carrying flags and shouting "Pakistan Zindabad", "Hindustan Murdabad". Those who opposed these demonstrators were beaten and assaulted.

At Bid (Marathwada): "Pakistan Zindabad" shouts were raised by the Muslims on the Republic Day to provoke the Hindus.

At Madras: At a conference of the nationalist Muslims a crowd of fanatic Muslims entered the conference, and started shouts of "Pakistan Zindabad" and "Hindustan Murdabad". These fanatics also tried to wreck the conference.

At Fiazabad: During the Ram Leela festival in this town of U.P. the Muslims tried to break up the procession and stir up a communal riot. Timely official measures saved the situation.

And in Bombay, too: As if these anti-national acts were not enough to show the loyalty and patriotism of the Indian Muslims, Janab Moinuddin Harris, a former Congressman and now a PSP leader, advocates the need of continuing the Muslim League in the country, "to protect the interests of the Muslim minority"! The late Sirdar Patel, when asked where are the nationalist Muslims, he is reported to have said that he knew of only such individual, and that was Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru! J. K. D.

Congress Government Shows the Cloven Hoof

(From Our Correspondent)

THE Madhya Pradesh Government has, in concurrence with the Government of India, ordered the arrest of Maharaja Pravin Chandra Bhanj Deo of Bastar, if he dares enter Madhya Pradesh. The order is under the Preventive Detention Act. The Maharaja told Press correspondents at Cuttack on January 30 that he would not for the present enter Madhya Pradesh and court arrest. The Maharaja seems to be a wise man. Without courting arrest he has exposed the Congress leaders' cloven hoof. A profound observation in this connection was made in New Delhi to the effect that he did not even touch Pandit Pant's venerable feet when he went to see the Home Minister! If that is so, he is obviously unaware of New Delhi manners and he lost his case even before he began arguing it. Whether it is freedom or the fruit of freedom, one has to be a Congressman to enjoy it. From the facts of the case it is obvious that the Maharaja has to suffer because he is not prepared to play the Congress game. That shows how far those in power are prepared to go to keep themselves in power. It also shows how shallow is their talk of freedom and democracy.

It may be advisable for the Maharaja to court arrest in the near future. But for the present he is having talks with some former rulers of Orissa states on the advisability of their joining the Swatantra Party. It should be obvious to those who value their conscience as well as their freedom that for the sake of both they must organise and unite under some banner, and that an ex-Governor-General of India has already unfurled a banner for them. Perhaps the Congress Government would not have had the courage to deal with the Maharaja of Bastar as it has done, had the Maharaja been a member or leader of the Swatantra Party. In any case, it would have thought over it a hundred times before doing so and its action would have had wider repercussions throughout the country in the shape of criticism from leaders and organs of public opinion. The Swatantra Party would appear to be doing the work of the Indian National Congress all over again. Who could have thought that, within a few years of India gaining her freedom, some of the land's greatest men would have to organise a party to defend that freedom against onslaughts on it from the leaders of the Indian National Congress itself? But the whirling of time brings its own revenges, and I am often reminded of a couple of lines which used to precede the leading articles of the National Herald in the late thirties in the handwriting of Jawaharlal Nehru and bearing his signature:

Freedom is in danger:
Defend it with all your might.
—Jawaharlal Nehru.

There is, however, a significant difference between the late thirties and the early sixties. We had really no freedom to defend in the late thirties as we were

under British rule. In the early sixties the freedom bestowed on India by a British Labour Government, is in danger both from within and without, thanks to a policy of personal aggrandizement of its Prime Minister, who happens to be the same person who used to ask us to defend our non-existent freedom with all our might!

THE QUEEN'S VISIT

The Queen's visit has highlighted the cranks of India. The Jan Sanghis are very much upset and feel sure, as a result of the welcome accorded the Queen, that the British stranglehold continues. The de jure Leader of the RSS and the de facto Leader of Jan Sangh declared the other day that we can fight ten Chinas, if necessary. But why it should be necessary to fight when territory can be conceded without fighting, passes one's comprehension. This overpowering inclination to flog the dead horse, coupled with an unawareness of the danger-facing one, is the surest sign of political imbecility, and the Jan Sangh easily carries away the palm in this respect. Its party organ only the other day discovered a Pakistan in Maharashtra. That the Queen's visit should have only provoked some people to demand severance from the Commonwealth shows how some people are unable to distinguish friends from foes and prefer to move in old ruts.

The fact of the matter would appear to be that, knowing that prejudices die hard, the unscrupulous seek to exploit them, irrespective of the good of the country, and often to its detriment. Some seem to think that the dictates of fairness demand as resounding a condemnation of the imperialism that is gone as of the imperialism that is in the ascendant—for the simple reason that our ignorant people do not know or will not believe that British imperialism is in voluntary liquidation. Those who do not abhor truth can hardly fail to recall, during the Queen's visit, that there is no example in the history of the world of a Power relinquishing its hold over an empire, at a time of the greatest frustration among the subject people, in the belief that it is bad for one people to rule over another, and that, had the British Government so desired, it could have continued exploiting Hindu-Muslim differences in India and gone on ruling over her for decades. Even the leader of India's freedom struggle did not want the British to leave when they did!

But we should not delude ourselves with the belief that our reception to the Queen can in any way make up for our lapses in the past when our Prime Minister, forgetting India's membership of the Commonwealth, and the obligations necessarily arising from membership of a body, had been only too anxious to lash out hysterically at what he considered to be Britain's sins of omission and commission. One can quite imagine the Prime Minister regretting some of his flashes of temper at the sight

of the Queen, and even more so when he notices the cordiality of her Majesty's utterances in Pakistan as compared to that exhibited in India. But what are regrets to a mind set on the path of personal glory, even when that path leads to the disappearance of the very basis on which that glory rests? The lust of power makes one blind to the dangers that lie in its pursuit, and wishful thinking is always there minimising the dangers. Pakistan was a bargaining counter, and today Soviet Russia which is arming China to the teeth, is our greatest friend. And why not? Has not Khrushchev himself — with his tongue in his cheek—offered a seat on the Summit to Mr. Nehru? Mr. Nehru's vanity does not allow him to realise the joke when a man tries to pull his leg. And that is the long and short of the tragedy facing India today.

THE CONGRESS JUBILEE

The diamond jubilee of the Congress brings to mind the fate that overtook that organisation in 1920 when Mahatma Gandhi, by exploiting Muslim sentiment regarding the Khilafat, became its virtual dictator, and personal ambition began to override national considerations, so much so that after suspending a movement, which had "puzzled and perplexed" the British Government, Gandhi declared privately to a French philosopher: "I don't work for freedom of the country: I work for truth and non-violence". (The Statement was published in Gandhi's "Young India".) The man who had said he had found a short cut to Swaraj said he did not believe in working for Swaraj. Indeed, said he, "Swaraj is within us". On his own confession he was exploiting the national urge for freedom to become another Messiah. Thus Muslim nationalists like Jinnah were driven out and replaced by Muslim fanatics like the Ali Brothers. C. R. Das and Motilal Nehru for a while challenged the Mahatma's nonsense. "I'll expose and denounce him," said C. R. Das, the emotional Bengali. "I'll do something better", said the cool-headed Kashmiri Pandit to Das. "I'll exploit him. You wait and see." And he did, in his own inimitable fashion. But death deprived the country of the intrepid stalwarts, leaving the land free for the exercise of what Jinnah called the "hocus-pocus of nonviolence". And there was only one man left—Maulana Azad—to remind the Mahatma that the Congress is not a body dedicated to nonviolence in thought, word and deed. The result was that almost every Congressman swore by the Charkha and non-violence publicly and ridiculed it privately. Truth was indeed on the march.

Several opportunities were missed to obtain political concessions from the rulers in the desire to achieve freedom with one stroke, like a magician, ignoring the plain truth that a nonviolent movement can only wrest freedom by stages. Thus Gandhi marched from failure to failure, strengthening his hold on the country by his loin cloth, his hymns and his fasts, until a Government accidentally came to power in Britain that did not believe in enslaving people and decided to quit the country, come what may. In the meanwhile the forces of reaction had been so strengthened by the dictatorial methods of Gandhi and his proclaimed successor, Jawaharlal Nehru, that what came was partition, the seed of

which had been sown by the Khilafat movement. And even Gandhi was found saying that freedom had come too soon!

With freedom Jawaharlal Nehru succeeded Gandhi and followed the same old Gandhian technique of amassing all power in his hands. He had already cultivated a bad temper—being a terrorist by inclination—to drive fear into the minds of all and sundry, and, with the patronage at his disposal as Prime Minister, he soon saw all Congressmen at his feet. A Tandon was brushed aside even as Bose had been expelled from the Congress. The incorruptible Tandon followed the incorruptible Bose, even as the incorruptible Bose had followed the incorruptible Jinnah. There has been little room in the Congress for honest men since 1920. Now Congress Presidents openly swear loyalty to "Nehruji and the Congress", making it plain to all who comes first, and Nehruji, like Gandhiji, is busy developing into another Messiah with his hocus-pocus of non-alignment, which is only another invitation to another holocaust.

Book Review

MODELS OF DEVELOPMENT—on Economic Growth By D. M. Bensusan-Butt, Oxford University Press, 222 pages. 21s.

When Nuffield College was established, it was one of the hopes of its founders that, by providing contacts between academic theorists and practical men from London, it would further the relevance of theoretical studies to the problems of the real world. This book shows the process working in reverse. The author, a Treasury official and, presumably therefore, a practical man, spent a year at Nuffield where he produced this delightful, and purely theoretical, essay.

He has constructed, with the aid of no mathematics except O-level algebra, models designed to illustrate the process of economic evolution. He begins with societies that have reached the stage of recognising the advantages of the division of labour, and traces the working of the forces that cause them to emerge as fully-fledged welfare states or Soviet Socialist Republics. His models also show how, in the long sweep of history covered by the process of development, some societies can stagnate or decline, while others progress.

The degree of abstraction reached is high. But the models are not totally unrecognisable. They will not, perhaps, arouse great controversy or provoke much re-thinking in academic circles. If they are studied outside such circles—and, despite a most engaging style, those whose university years are some way behind them will not find this an easy book to read—they will certainly give practical planners and others concerned with development problems food for thought, though it is doubtful if policies for action can ever be based on them.

But they are great fun, and one has the clear impression that the author thoroughly enjoyed his academic year, which is, in itself, a tribute to a model of development that can produce wealthy capitalists and turn them into philanthropists.

The Economist.

Gleanings from the Press

RING DOWN THE CURTAIN ON THIS FARCE

Mr. C. D. Deshmukh on vacating office as Chairman of the University Grants Commission has announced that he is not putting up any more cases of alleged nepotism or corruption. A test-case he had submitted pertained to the appointment of a Cabinet Minister's juvenile kinsman who before the completion of 30 years was given a job by a firm on a fabulous salary unattainable without official prop. The issue was passed on to the former Chief Justice S. R. Das who apparently gave the verdict on his own account to the effect that the complaint lacked substance. There were many like instances, it was explained, where young men started on fabulous salaries. If a charge of bigamy is triable, it would hardly be a valid defence to say that the names of other bigamists could be cited. Delhi reports say that two Cabinet Ministers were dead set against Mr. Deshmukh's indictment in his Madras speech because they construed his position as Chairman subject to the Government Servants' Conduct Rules. When Mr. S. R. Das was appointed Chancellor of Shantiniketan, Rector Rajendra Prasad had raised the question whether selection was not his individual prerogative but it is an open secret that the Attorney-General held that he was bound by the advice of the Union Cabinet in all matters from A to Z. In the light of that advice, Mr. Das, too, comes under official discipline.

The fact is that there are a number of offices prescribed in the Constitution as being above executive control, let alone pressures. Functionaries like the Auditor-General, the Election Commissioner, members of the judiciary, are allotted independent status in the Constitution. As for autonomous corporations, their position is so fluid that private mandates do prevail in preferments. Between theory and practice there is a wide gulf. Ring down the curtain, the farce is nothing worth!

—Swarajya

News & Views

COST OF MAINTAINING NEHRU

In my letter published in November "Caravan" I had written that Pandit Nehru's expenditure comes to Rs. 20,000 per day, and NOT per month, as you have printed it.

These figures have been calculated on the basis of information supplied by the Government.

—Chandrasekhar
(Bhopal)

KICK AFTER KICK

The Prime Minister has again talked of resigning. Judging by all round rebuffs to his foreign policy he has perhaps indulged in the trick to divert public attention from it.

Close on the kick from Nepal comes a slap from Burma when that country feted Chou as it had never feted Nehru before.....And now comes the report of the Chinese move to demarcate(?) boundaries between with Pakistan and China.

—Organiser.

AZAD KASHMIR TO ACCEPT CHINESE ARMS

Rawalpindi: The "Azad" Kashmir President, Mr. Khurshid, said that "Azad" Kashmir was a "separate" entity and that his Government was prepared to accept foreign aid, including arms, from any quarters for the realization of the aims of the "liberation" movement.

Mr. Khurshid further said that unlike Pakistan, the "Azad" Kashmir troops were never a part of the defensive alliance like the CENTO or the SEATO... We have always accepted the Chinese stand in connection with the accession issue.

—Organiser.

TIBETANS AS CHINESE SPIES IN NEFA

Shillong: Quite a number of shops have been opened by the Tibetans on the border area between NEFA and Tibet. The shopkeepers who are usually Tibetans cross and recross the frontier, and carry news to China about the military depositions of the Indian Army in NEFA.

These Tibetan spies are also reported to be carrying on an anti-Indian propaganda in the area.

BREAD RIOTS IN CHINA

Hongkong: Riots and protest demonstrations have occurred in various parts of Red China, because of the food crisis, according to reports reaching here from the mainland.

In Toishan in the Kwantung Province of South China, over 1,000 farmers and others rioted, attacked two communist cadres, and wrecked some property. The demonstrations were suppressed with mass arrests. The Peking Government have prohibited the circulation of newspapers outside China. However, some copies of the Chinese papers have been smuggled out.

According to the "Ahwai Daily News", people have burnt a grain depot and some communist officials. The existence of discontent and dissident elements has been accepted and admitted by the Peking Government and the Central Communist Party of China, which held its meeting at Peking from the 14th to 18th January. The Government of China has entered into an agreement with the Australian Government for the import of 112 million bushels of wheat.

WISDOM DAWNS TOO LATE IN RUSSIA

Moscow: Quick on the sacking of a number of top officials of the Agricultural Department, following the nonfulfilment of the targets for 1960, Khrushchev has started on a 'whistle' tour of the country, for raising the 'morale' of the people.

Addressing one of the meetings during the tour, Khrushchev is reported to have asked the people, "What is the use of producing steel and coal when people have not enough bread and butter to eat?"

Another of the measures that Khrushchev has decreed to boost up agricultural produce is the starting of small private farms from FIVE to FIFTY acres, in place of the collective farms. Every farmer who makes a success of these "Private" farms would be rewarded.

Collectivised agriculture has been proved to be a complete failure after 40 years of experimenting. Wisdom seems to have dawned on the Rulers of Russia too late.

PRIVATE ENTERPRISE IN SOVIET RUSSIA

Moscow: By day, F. I. Kuznesov worked in a Soviet co-operative boot factory, as every good Soviet citizen should. By night, he and his wife went into the basement of their house, near Moscow, and made felt boots as a private enterprise which they sold in the blackmarket. In fact, they "bootlegged" the boots.

When the Police arrested Kuznesov, they found bank books listing dollars worth 42,000 of deposits, and gold coins worth dollars 1,500 and two automobiles.

Private enterprise DOES pay in Soviet Russia! SAME STORY FROM SOVIET-OCCUPIED GERMANY

Bonn: Not only there are complaints of agricultural targets not achieved in Soviet Russia, but the same story comes from the Russian occupied Germany.

Recently the State organiser of a consumers' co-operative complained of the shortages of meat and sausages in Meckelenburg in East Germany. The Supervisor's answer was typical. Said he: "These complaints of shortages are not confined to your area alone. They come from all over the District. That is the responsibility of the Peoples Democratic regime."

LANDSLIDE IN THE INDIAN COMMUNIST PARTY

New Delhi: The existence of the rift in the Communist Party has been responsible for a big slump in the membership of the party. The tendency on the part of the members to shun the Party is on the increase, and was specially marked in two States—Kerala and West Bengal. According to Party secretariat, the membership has gone down by 40,000 in recent months. In Kerala alone the drop is about 20,000.

MARCH OF POVERTY IN INDIA

"INDIA'S population is seriously under-nourished or malnourished, or both." That is the confirmed opinion of an UNO expert.

This was the opinion expressed by Dr. P. V. Sukhtame, the United Nations expert of the Food and Agricultural Organisation, in the course of a lecture at Delhi. Sri Sriman Narayan, of the Planning Commission, was an uncomfortable member of the audience, who had "to see ourselves as others see us."

Dr. Sukhtame said that because of low caloric intake the majority of India's population has been notoriously under-fed over years, which accounted for their relative low energy and low productive labour.

Poverty, according to this eminent Doctor, was the leading cause of the low in-take of food, and the monotonous diet. These two accounted for low weight with consequent low productivity and low output. This, in turn, led to still further poverty. This was the vicious circle in which India found herself today.

An unsolicited certificate for the Mahalonobis

type of Planners and their masters, the Congress rulers from a world authority on the subject. Planning for prosperity indeed!

The following books have been added to the R. L. Foundation Library:—

- Bantam: Correct Letter Writing.
Evans, Humphrey: Thimayya of India: Soldier's life.
Mahajan, Vidya Dhar & Seth R. R.: Constitutional History of India.
Sethna, M. J.: Jurisprudence.
Rao V.K.R.V. & Others (Eds.): Papers on National Income and Allied Topics Vol. I.
Jhabvala, Noshirvan H.: Negotiable Instruments Act.
Venkataraman, T. K. & Govindarajan K. C.: History of Government.
Chananna, Dev Raj: Slavery in Ancient India.
Snell: Principles of Equity.
Carr, Edward Hallet: Bolshevik Revolution 1917-23, Vol. 1, 2 and 3.
Carr, Edward Hallet: Interregnum, 1923-24, Vol. 4.
Socialism in One Country 1924-1926, Vol. I.
Southgate, George W.: Text book of Modern English History I & II.
Morley, Felix: Freedom and Federalism.
McGovern William, Montgomery, and Collier, David S.: Radicals and Conservatives.
Burnham, James: Congress and the American Tradition.
Durfee, Walter C.: Alphabetics as a Science.
Hale, William J.: Farmer Victorious.
Stonier, Alfred W. & Hague, Douglas C: Textbook of Economic Theory.
Bohm-Bawerk, Eugen V.: Positive Theory of Capital.
Bohm-Bawerk, Eugen V.: Capital and Interest.
Hirschman, Albert O.: Strategy of Economic Development.
Unterecker, John.: Reader's Guide to William Butler Yeats.
Maxey, Chester C.: Political Philosophies.
Indian Committee for Cultural Freedom: Problems of Maharashtra.
Franks, Oliver: Some Reflections on Monetary Policy.
Rau, B. N.: India's Constitution in the Making.
Misra, B. R.: V. for Vinoba.
Tandon, B. N.: Handbook of Practical Auditing.
Gulati, I. S.: Resource Prospects of the Third Five Year Plan.
United Nations: Manual on Economic Development projects.
United Nations: Development of National Social Service Programmes.
United Nations: Cooperation for Economic Progress.
Ahmed, Mohammad: My Chief.
Abbas, Khwaja Ahmad: Face to Face with Khrushchev.
Sheean, Vincent: Nehru: Years of Power.
Karnik, A. S.: Kashmir Princess.
Nehru Jawaharlal: Discovery of India.
Economist Intelligence Unit: Commonwealth and Europe.
Edwards, Ronald S. & Townsend Harry: Business Enterprise.

BOOKS FOR YOUR SHELF

Bakunin's Writings by Guy Aldred.
Nationalism and Culture by Rudolf Rocker
God and the State by Bakunin.
General Idea of the Revolution by Proudhon.
What is Mutualism by Swartz.
Causes of Business Depression by Hugo Bilgram.
Challenge of Asia by Ralph Borsodi.
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