

# THE INDIAN LIBERTARIAN

AN INDEPENDENT JOURNAL OF PUBLIC AFFAIRS

Founded by: R. B. LOTWALA

Editor: D. M. KULKARNI

Vol. XXV, No. 1

January, 1981

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## Editorial

The plenary session of the Bharatiya Janata Party held at Bombay under the inspiring Presidentship of Mr. A. B. Vajpayee, veteran nationalist leader was on all account a grand success both in its demonstrative aspect and its political appeal. The one-mile Samata Nagar on Bandra Reclamation Ground that had been constructed was remarkable for its design simple and yet exhibiting fine taste. For an opposition political party only about eight months old, to be able to muster at the session as many as 54632 delegates from almost all the states in India spoke for its organisational strength and its political appeal. The B.J.P. Procession was an impressive show and the session itself was a remarkable political event in as much as the land-side electoral victory of Indira Gandhi does not seem to have wholly dampened the spirit of the opposition as has unfortunately happened over all these years of post-freedom era since 1946. The powerful United Congress Party under the patronage of Gandhi and the leadership of stalwart Congressmen like Pandit Nehru, Raisopalchariar, Azad and Rajendra Prasad never encouraged the rise of His Majesty's Opposition in the Parliament as in England, the Mother of Parliamentary Democracy. The Communists were never popular in India, with all their inspiration and guidance coming from Moscow. The Praja-Socialists for a time had built up some pockets of influence in the country but they

## Gandhism, Socialism & Humanism

came to be soon split up into mutually warring factions. The Royists who later styled themselves as Radical Humanists with all their brilliant political-social philosophy left much to be desired in making an emotional appeal to the ignorant and illiterate masses of the country who took to Gandhism easily and spontaneously with its Ramdhun, saintly madness and ideal of Ramrajya and at times Varnashram Dharma. With Gandhian influence slowly disappearing from Congress politics and the day-to-day functioning of the Congress Government, Nehru's Socialistic pattern caught the imagination of the people since it was a curious mixture of Gandhian obscurantism and Marxist Leftism.

After Nehru's death in 1964, the country has no leadership in the real sense of the term. His daughter Indira Gandhi carefully nurtured by him for political career has since been in the lime-light as the only leader at the national level, while her colleagues were no more than regional leaders drafted in her cabinet in the absence of better personnel available in the Congress. But though she is enjoying the high status of a national leader either as a matter of heritage or by her clever political manoeuvrings she has contributed little to the constructive and creative work of consolidating the gains of achieving political freedom from foreign yoke and building up the economic, social and political strength of the country.

The once united political party of the Congress broke up under her leadership in 1969. Thereafter corruption and unscrupulousness started to become the hallmarks of a political leader under her aegis. The Congress under her guidance has had no political ideology, no clear-cut programme and policies. The opposition fared no better. They had more leaders than followers and were completely demoralised.

The Janata Party to which the people looked for alternative leadership to the Congress in 1977, miserably failed with all its clear-cut ideology and programme, because of the infights between Morarji Detsai and Charan Singh for the post of Prime-Ministership. It was a tragedy for Indian Democracy that the Janata Government which appeared to succeed where Indira Gandhi had failed in reducing the rigours of the 'Queue' Society and making essential commodities available to the people as also their freedoms should have foundered on the rock of internal fights for power. The Only group in the which did not fight for power was that of Janasangh under the leadership of Vajpayee who is now the head of Janasangh under the leadership of Vajpayee who of the Bharatiya Janata Party.

Indian Democracy being young has not been able to project a number of political parties with well-defined and clearly formulated ideologies and programmes. The Congress with its halo surrounding it of having mainly brought freedom to the country successfully throttled the rise of Opposition parties. During the Nehruvian times, there was little difference between the Congress and Praja-Socialists in this respect. It was only during the period of Emergency from 1975 to 1977 it appeared that parties would emerge on the basic issues such as Democratic Freedom and Authoritarianism. The Indira Congress today is challenging the very Foundations of democratic Freedom laid down by the Constitution. In the name of adjusting democratic concepts to the requirements of India. Conditions the Indira Congressmen are challenging the propriety of retaining and expanding the liberties of the people and are finding out ways and means of restoring authoritarianism of Indira Gandhi under the cover of introducing presidential system of America or France. Socialism has been relegated to a subordinate position as an ideal. Nobody discusses whether presidential system is required to bring socialism to the country or consolidate and preserve the liberties of the people. The one passion that has seized the minds of Indira Congressmen is

that of perpetuating the political rule of Indira Gandhi and her descendants like the late Sanjaya and now of Rajiv. Any system of Government that would help the fulfilment of this goal is welcome to them no matter if it brings socialist dictatorship or naked one man's rule.

In this situation what India needs is the building up of a political Party under a leadership which places the welfare of the people above personal ambition for political power. Mr. Vajpayee and his followers have by their disciplined behaviour during the short rule of the Janata Party, have amply proved that they can worthily meet this urgent need of the country for a selfless leadership solely devoted to the promotion of the allround well-being of the country. This perhaps, accounts for the thronging of the people in large numbers to meetings recently addressed by Bharatiya Janata leaders in Bombay.

### **Beware of the Pitfalls**

The well-known jurist Mr. Chagla has in no mistakable words, expressed his full support to the Bharatiya Janata Party and has certified to the credibility of its leadership, particularly that of Vajpayee whom he rightly described as one of the few finest men of our country. This unqualified support to the party is more than sufficient to dispel the fear deliberately created in the minds of minorities that it is not secular in its outlook. It is time Indians politicians stopped the use or rather the abuse of this word 'secular'. 'Secular' originally meant non-clerical State. England is secular notwithstanding that its religion is that of Christianity in as much as that citizens of this State have freedom of faith and conscience. Pakistan originally was a democratic secular State though its State Religion was Islam. But it, as also Persia are now fast becoming clerical states since they want to Islamise even law and judiciary of the country. As Mr. Chagla who is himself a Muslim pointed out, a Common Civil Code to formulate which is one of the Directive Principles of the constitution of India is not being given to the people just to pamper to the fanaticism of the Muslims. And yet we call ourselves secular as if Secularity means violation of the principles underlying the common civil law of a country. Bharatiya Janata Party must be clear on this issue of Secularism and Communalism. To be proud of our heritage shorn of its dress secularism whether it issues forth from Islam, Hinduism or Christianity is Secularism while to condemn every thing that is related to the faith of

the majority and to respect even the evil customs practised by other faiths is not secularism but inverted Religionism. Gandhism indulged in such forms of inverted Religionism which should be now scrupulously avoided.

Gandhian Socialism is an unfortunate phrase. As Prof. Mises has so aptly put it and in our country as the late Mr. M. N. Roy described it, Socialism so called, cannot but be some variety of Marxian Socialism which is a totalitarian ideology. Socialism is a collective philosophy while Gandhi was an extreme anarchist believing in the cottage industries like that of the spinning wheel. While Kropotkin's was scientific Anarchism of small communities and small industries and little or no government Gandhi stood for old villagism, heavy tools of production and a simple style of living unmindful of scientific technology. Gandhiji did not believe in Parliamentary Democracy though unconsciously enough, he strained his nerves to the utmost to place the Congress in power right up from 1937 to 1950.

The one good point in Gandhism was his insistence on Truth and Nonviolence being the bedrock of any movement or social activity. Exactly these values of pure means and pure ends which are prerequisites of an orderly society and peace have been given a go-by by the Congress followers of Indira Gandhi. Humanitarians whose one aim is the promotion of the welfare of all people must avoid such woolly and deceptive aspects of Gandhism on the one hand and the dark side of Socialist Collectivism on the other that collects economic and political power in the hands of a dictator or a clique, and evolve a political and social philosophy combining the humanitarianism of Gandhiji with the Scientific outlook of Modernism which inspires both Capitalism and Socialism. Humanism concerns itself with the distribution of wealth among the people on principles of equity while scientific outlook first demands increase of production and wealth and thereafter equitable distribution among all sections of the populace.

#### Radical or Scientific Humanism

In this connection the happy phrase 'Radical Humanism' coined by the late Mr. M. N. Roy, cannot but come to one's mind. It aptly describes the need of the hour in India. Communism or Marxism was only a step and not a stop in the Socio-political thinking after capitalism had outlived its liberalism and became only a money-grabbing and exploiting

system fattening itself on the toil of the poor. Communism went to the other extreme of killing the goose that laid golden eggs namely capitalist or modern mode of production and of distributing only poverty among the masses by robbing the few rich of their wealth. Gandhiji openly advocated poverty and a low standard of living while socialism in effect, leads to distribution of poverty and scarcity of Consumer's goods.

It may however be conceded that both the words Gandhism and Socialism are popular and will help the growth of the party. But it is to be hoped that Bharatiya Janata Party will draw more inspirations and get better guidance from the Integral Humanism of Deendayal and Radical Humanism of M. N. Roy, who, perhaps, were ahead of their times when they formulated their political and social philosophy. Will the Bharatiya Janata Party and its leadership measure up to this noble task of increasing national wealth and prosperity and its equitable distribution without having to sacrifice the civil liberties of the people?

## THE INDIAN LIBERTARIAN

Independent Journal of Free Economy and  
Public Affairs

Edited by : D. M. Kulkarni

Published on 15th of Each Month

Single Copy 50 Paise

Subscription Rates :

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

### ADVERTISEMENT RATES

Full Page 200/- Half Page 100/-

Quarter Page Rs. 50/-

Back Cover . . . . . Rs. 250/-

Inside Cover . . . . . Rs. 200/-

\* Articles from readers and contributors are accepted. Articles meant for publication should be typewritten and on one side of the paper only.

\* Publication of articles does not mean editorial endorsement since the Journal is also a Free-Forum.

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# Communists, Workers Confrontation ! (Polish Puzzle)

Sir,

What is happening in Poland today, is the virtually unbelievable confrontation between communists and workers' Communists, who have all along been supposed to be crusading for worker's rights and interests, and a worker's state, are now suspect in the eyes of those very workers, whose cause they are championing. To many, the "Polish puzzle" might seem inexplicable. But, to the discerning, it is however something long expected; and what really is a miracle is, that such a confrontation took so long to materialise. The reason for this is not far to seek. After all, the real concern of communists, is not the working man, but Marxism, and its "conflict", and "competition" with capitalism; and in their determination to make Marxism a greater success than capitalism, competing with it in the economic and military fronts, they are want to bypass even workers' interests, and even peg down wages if need be, to ensure the triumph of their dogma. For, once the communists come to power, they identify themselves with the govt that is formed, and in the interests of keeping that govt on a par with, or even ahead of capitalist govts, they do everything in their power, including keeping workers' wages low, to siphon out as much as possible of the wealth produced by labour, for expanding the economy, in a frenzied bid to keep pace with, or overtake capitalist economies. Because communists obsessively feel that they are involved in a race with the capitalists, and that the fittest of the two alone would eventually survive, they feverishly engage themselves in starting grandiose five year or seven year plans, even if it be "back-breaking to labour", because of their theory's commitments, to overtake the capitalist economies; and in the process, they do not often allow the workers, even to eat all that they themselves produce. So indeed, communists starting as the well wishers of labour, infact turn out to be their merciless "slave drivers", goading them to achieve one big plan target after another, without ever allowing them to rest, to enjoy the full fruits of their labour.

Was Marx or Lenin an actual worker, who toiled most of his life, slaving in some factory or work place? No. They were only intellectuals and theoreticians,

who were in sympathy with the sad plight of exploited workers. But, for relieving them of their plight, they wanted power in exchange, as a big reward for the same. And, once they had power in their hands, they devoted much of the wealth produced by the toilers, not for the latter's own immediate benefit, but to aggrandise and refurbish the apparatus of these state and its economy, which now lay in their hands. And so, they wanted expensive bureaucrats, buildings, diplomats, planes, armies, cultural centres, scientific and educational institutions, built on luxury scales, to match with, or over-take the rich capitalists countries, just to show off, what wonders Marxism could do to a people and a land, forgetting for the while workers, who toiled with their sweat and blood, to produce it, and who had therefore a better right to enjoy it, to make their personal lives much happier than now.

Needless to say, communists are also politicians and demagogues of a kind, who are enamoured of power, but are not the actual workers, whom they claim to represent, and whose causes they espouse, and for whom they are their self-appointed spokesmen. In the class wars they foment to seize power, they use the working classes as handy pawns to win their game. When workers come to know of the true nature of communists and their greater dedication to a dogma and its success, than to the living working man and his immediate happiness, they cannot but resent them, as much as they do the capitalists.

Further, communists not being actual manual or mental workers, but "crazy ideologues", to whom their ideology counts above everything else, and because of the inevitable implications of their theory, they remain continually in a state of preparation for the war they anticipate with the capitalists; and so they expropriate much that is produced by labour, for the envisaged war purposes, — for stockpiling of strategic materials, and so on. But actual workers, not having the "bigotry of ideologues", would not look so far, as to settle scores with their ideological opponents, and simply prefer to enjoy most of the wealth produced by their own labour.

# Real Reasons For Rajiv's Induction Not Altruism, Gimmick For Survival :

By K. Kumara Sekhar

Explaining Rajiv's entry into politics, a Cong (1) leader is reported to have said (Indian Express, Aug. 17): "Mrs. Gandhi now needs a member of the family to stand by her, just to provide the surroundings to take her away from sorrow. She has suffered a lot, both physically and mentally, as a result of Mr. Sanjay Gandhi's death". Union Labour Minister Mr. Anjiaji also exhorted Rajiv to join politics, to "help our beloved Prime Minister in achieving her tasks". (I.E. Aug. 22). However, the wary cannot be taken in by such explanations for inducting Rajiv into politics, that seem to suggest, that Indira Congress men are doing it, with the entirely "altruistic motive" of "helping Mrs. Gandhi".

Actually, the "draft Rajiv" campaign of the Indira Congressmen strikes the wary as a deliberate and selfish move of theirs, to ensure their own politics survival, which as matters stand, is threatened with abrupt termination, after the few years left for Mrs. Gandhi, in her last span of life, unless a successor is now itself named and groomed, to claim her party and her power. Earlier, it was Sanjay Gandhi, who by his acts and proclivities, gave Indira Congressmen the idea, that there was a possibility to ensure themselves the powers, privileges and profits, that they had been given to enjoying as ruling party members, even in the "post-Indira period", if they projected him from now itself, as the prospective PM of India, and kept him ready to step into Mrs. Gandhi's shoes, so that the Indira Congress may not have to suffer any "break in office" that could enable others to take control of power. Infact, that really explains, why there was so much of show of love for Mrs. Gandhi's son Sanjay "as a prospective PM" among her party men, despite his known insufficiency and handicaps, because, therein lay the way for her party men, to ensure their own future powers, privileges and profits, as ruling party members, at least for another generation. The sheer fear that the Indira Congress will fold up, with the demise of ageing Indira, is what must have drawn her partymen in hordes, to flock around Sanjay, to ensure themselves a "second lease of life", even before the first comes to an end. A party lives and ends with an individual is a very "mortal party". What the Indira Congressmen were:

trying to do was to save the biggest party of India, to which they are affiliated, from its biggest handicap, namely its own mortality, by proclaiming Sanjay once and now Rajiv, as Mrs. Gandhi's political heir.

Doubtless, with Sanjay's death, the fear of their own political end being near, seems to have again re-surfaced among Indira Congressmen. Therefore, Indira Congressmen, for obvious reasons, are now "desperate" in their drives to induct some other young person, to act as "heir apparent" to Mrs. Gandhi, to be ready to step into power after her, and the choice of one of her own family members for the purpose, is because it can gain easy acceptance from her, as it holds prospects of simultaneously fulfilling her own cherished desire for dynastic rule too.

So, though the draft Rajiv campaign is outwardly said to be to provide an advisor for the PM, or to obviate the leadership vacuum in the youth Congress, Mrs. Gandhi's partymen, have much more selfish reasons for them though they are not revealing them, since that can only lower their estimation in the eyes of the people. The people have however to be clear in their minds of the real reasons that impel these draft campaigns, to come to the right conclusions on them, and see that they do not muddy out our politics further.

As the discerning know, the Indira Congress is not a party like other parties, as the name itself indicates, for it is a party entirely dependent for its existence, not on its distinctive political features or economic ideology, but on the mass base Mrs. Gandhi had created for herself, by winning over the weaker sections like the Harijans in overwhelming numbers, by giving them, gifts of land, houses, cash grants, loans, etc. on a colossal scale, even flouting all normal economic and political conventions, in doing so. The weaker sections have become totally loyal to her, because they are not sure that they will ever get again another leader, who will bestow on them "open bribes" without any scruples whatsoever on such a mass scale, ostensibly in the name of providing welfare for the weaker sections, but infact, by throwing to the winds, all normal economic and political principles.

# For The God Manking

By Swami Nirmalananda

Samsara is Dukkha. "Life is suffering": said Buddha. Christ says: "In this world ye shall have tribulations." As we see with our own eyes, many people are not really happy in life, although they wear the mask of happiness. The modern life provides people with all sorts of pleasure. But pleasure ends in pain and pain drives people to seek pleasure. Pleasure mixed with pain is only pain, just as honey mixed with poison is only poison. Without the cessation of thoughts, there can be no ending of sorrow. When sorrow ends, there may be no need to seek happiness. Happiness does not come through wealth and possessions. Things and persons cannot give us real joy. Even if they do, how long will it last? The unalloyed happiness should be sought and found in one's true Self or in Being-Consciousness. While the joyless pleasures come and go, the joy of being the Self or I AM is ever-present. It is this constant awareness, giving oneself limitlessly, that makes the heart glow with fullness of joy. To be in a state of Being is to live in eternity.

Everywhere people are asked to produce everything in plenty. But in our blind craze for the maximum production and consumption and for the rapid economic growth, we recklessly exploit the limited natural resources of the earth at an alarming rate. In this process, man is forgotten and he is made to become a slave of the economy. Man becomes a work-horse, a cog in the wheel of industry. With the ingenious ways of making man more work-oriented, schools, hospitals, recreation and shopping centres are provided within the factory compound! Even with all these incentives, many people are not happy in their work. The conditions of life under the Communist system are still worse. Most of the industrial goods, after a certain period, becomes fit only to be thrown away as garbage. Ye people blindly go on buying and accumulating these goods, one after another, more for their vanity to cover up their empty life. The industrial revolution with its insatiable greed for profit through increasing production and enticing advertisements, and by dangling before the eyes of people the products of factories and industries to make them want more and more all the time with

their getting and spending habit for over-consumption and luxuries, is creating a sick and decadent society.

The mounting tension, the growing degeneration in all walks of life, except perhaps in science and technology which dazzle and hypnotize people with material miracles, mental disorders, drug addiction, alcoholism and disaffection with the 'Establishment' are some of the symptoms of this malady. Crimes are on the increase, heart-breaking brutalities are taking place, unemployment and frustrations of people keep rising and, as days go by, people feel crushed under the heel of man-made problems. The present trend of the world indicates another global conflagration is likely to break out within the next few years engulfing the whole world in deeper suffering and greater sorrow. Having taken part in the last World War in Europe, and having witnessed its unimaginable horrors and devastations, I shudder to think of the consequences of a nuclear war. We do not sufficiently realise the fact that war is the result of our wrong way of living. The satisfaction of a need has limits, but greed and luxury have gone. For the limitless growth of the economic system and to keep pace with our ever-increasing demands for more comforts and luxuries, it is a crime to go on plundering the limited natural resources of the earth in a vast scale by poisoning the seas by polluting the atmosphere and by producing weapons for mass destruction. It is, therefore, imperative for the survival of the human race that we all make radical changes in our lifestyles, in our values and attitudes towards Life, Nature, possessions and material consumption, not only in the interest of those who are less privileged in the society, but also for the sake of the world, humanity and future generations. Love and compassion taught by Buddha and Christ many centuries ago, are still relevant. "Hatred does not cease by hatred, hatred ceases only by love": taught Buddha. Christ asked us: "Love ye one another as I have loved you." Love generated in the heart through our fervent prayers and silent meditation, even if practised for a little while everyday, brings about one's self-redemption and helps to change this disturbed and sorrow-ridden world.

Contd. from page 7

buy when their own production is exhausted. The licence given to pay any price for cane had doubled the price of sweetmeats, which will not come down if and when the price of sugar falls. In fact, as the largest part of sugar is used for sweets, they will keep the price at present level, even if there is a surplus of cane, like there was three years ago and there will be next year, following the present prices.

Democracy has installed in power those who have education below the average of any profession, integrity limited by absence of public opinion, the arising from the statement of Bangarappa that houses may shortly belong to the tenants, few are letting out their houses in Bangalore unless they get fantastic pre-

miums and rents. In this context, the public may react in favour of any government, which has some thinking capacity a fact which may lead students and teachers from agitations to power Mrs. Gandhi has to fear the intelligence in the country more than other parties, which like hers, have no intelligence but only insolence that proceeds from this inferiority.

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Doubtless, in every communist country, there would be a vast difference if the govt was manned by actual workers, who devote part of their time to state duties, than when the govt is run by full-time communists, who are not really workers, but merely their "agents", who may or may not really have the workers' interests in their hearts and minds.

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# The Insolence of Ignorance

By J. M. Lobo Prabhu

When the Maharashtra Chief Minister called MP's pigmies and reactionaries, he was expressing the general dissatisfaction with those elected to supreme power in the country. Though our politicians were always those who could never make good in their own professions, they were never the flotsam thrown up by the last General Election both at the Centre and in the States. Even Chief Ministers, hand picked by Mrs. Gandhi have behaved like ham actors who strut and fret upon the stage and will be seen no more. The Andhra C. M. who prided himself of having been a coolie apparently believes in gang labour from the fifty ministers he has appointed, each calculated to Rs. 40,000 monthly, with a staff of 28, two cars, three telephones, the best houses and money without limit to furnish them. Apart from the impact of the cost at a time prices are rising dizzily there is the question of incompetence of these ministers, when civil servants have become lackeys and problems have become puzzles. The Press is more dumb and deaf after it was manhandled at Bangalore. Truly We are on a darkening plain.

Swept with wild alarms of struggle and flight. The Chief Ministers of Karnataka and Maharashtra talk before they think and made to retract, even when they are sometimes right. The Chief Ministers of Tamilnadu and Maharashtra by their impulsiveness in writing off loans, have finished co-operative and bank credit, leaving the farmers at the mercy of moneylender. The Bihar Chief Minister has lied like a child, explaining the blindings of prisoners. In U.P. Rajasthan and M.P. the Chief Ministers are running in all directions to be able to remain in their office. The Opposition is no better, as the Communist Ministers have favoured the workers so much, that soon they will have no work, shipping and tea industry shifting to other States in West Bengal and even beedi and cashew industries leaving Kerala.

The position in Parliament only highlights this insolence of ignorance. Every day has its explosions giving heat and no light, opposition being for its own sake without reference to the interests of the people or the previous records of the parties. On the National Security Act, with more safeguards than

the MISA which the Janata Party kept for a year, that Party should not have joined the Communists who want chaos for seizing power. In this Act as in the Amendments to the Criminal Procedure Code, there is the simple issue if the Common people should suffer so that gangsters may have freedom to paralyse their life and employment. Since in every establishment and service, strikes take place from day to day and lawlessness is accepted as a concomitant of democracy the detention of the leaders anticipates caning and arrests of the rank and file, the leaders put into action. The Constitution provide for detention and most countries have provisions less judicial than ours. The amendment of the Cr. P. C. returning to ordinary magistrates of taking emergent action is an overdue correction. While civil magistrates proceed with the leisure of civil suits peace is broken and trespass committed so that our news papers are blood stained. If Government does not interfere and legally it cannot do so the police will put an end to the prevailing lawlessness by demanding security for peace from the leaders who announce demonstrations of any kind. In Assam this has worked and could have worked completely, if the Home Minister did not continue negotiations with the leaders of lawlessness.

The furore against the Presidential system was equally thoughtless. Except in Britain and a few countries where conventions have the force of law, the parliamentary system has failed and has been replaced by the Presidential system. In U.S. and France, the Presidential system secures the highest expression of democracy. It would have prevented the reign of Nehru dynasty for 30 years because no one can be president for more than two terms. The system would have ended the blackmail by legislators of the Prime Ministers and Chief Ministers, wanting to remain in office. It would have separated the legislative and executive functions, considered crucial for democracy by almost all political thinkers. The opposition did not have the intelligence to appreciate this.

The concessions on cane and grain prices are equally thoughtless and fruitless. The inflation triggered already has more than cancelled the gains of the few rich farmers while the smaller farmers and landless are paying the increased prices on grain they



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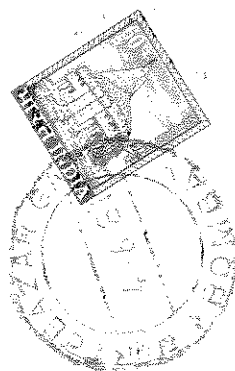
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Edited by D. M. Kulkarni for the Libertarian Publishers P. Ltd., Printed by Miss K. R. Lotwata, at Mahalaxmi Printing Works, Until 13&14, 1st floor, Tantia Industrial Estate, N. M. Joshi Marg, Bombay-400 11, and Published by her at office of the First Floor, S. V. P. Road, Bombay-400 004.