

# THE INDIAN LIBERTARIAN

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### Editorial

## Freedom - Lovers and Power - Seekers

Polarisation and realignment of political and ideological forces in our country have not been allowed to take a concrete shape in the post-freedom period by the political leaders particularly belonging to the Congress party who wanted to perpetuate their rule continually by basking themselves in the sunshine of the past glories and achievements of the Congress which was undoubtedly in the forefront of the long-drawn struggle for freedom from the British Yoke. The shrewd observer of the political scene that presented itself in the country in the forties and fifties of this century, that Mahatma Gandhi was, he had clearly visualized the present lust for power over-shadowing the spirit of selfless service to the nation, that had animated freedom fighters against the foreign yoke. Even the very few surviving leaders of the country who had actively participated in the freedom's fight appear to have been seized by the craze for power which is the one passion that is ruling the minds of politically conscious men and women of the country to-day. The great divide between one party and another on the basis of ideologies and programmes, whether of the Right or Left, Capitalist or Socialist, progressive or Conservative, that used to be witnessed during the struggle for freedom has become so thin that it has almost become imperceptible and indiscernible even to keen students of political affairs of the country. The distinction between one party and another is thus tending to be without any difference. The Socialist and the

Janasanghite are seen to air the same political views and slogans of Democracy, socialism & Secularism. The Muslim League, the R.S.S., the Hindu Mahasabha and what is more, the Congressmen are protesting vehemently that they are loyal and devoted to these popular ideas and objectives placed before the country by Nehru & his close followers. They forget Gandhiji never spoke of Secularism, though he was most tolerant towards faiths other than Hinduism which he was never ashamed of owning and professing, unlike Nehru and his colleagues who proudly called themselves Secularists. Mr. Deoras, the head of R.S.S. organisation has come out with a statement that R.S.S. also professes Secularism in this sense of the term despite this organisation's fanatical adherence to the ideal of Hindu Rashtra and Hindu culture. Even a Social Welfarist calls himself a Socialist. The Marxist Madhu Limaye and Charan Singh have come closer to each other even as Charan Singh and Akalis and Muslim Leagues are seen to find themselves in each others' arms. The Nehruvian Indira Congress is joining hands with Communists, the only link between the two being the insatiable greed authoritarianism and dictatorship. The Janata consists of confirmed Socialists, die-hard Harijanwadis and Freedom lovers. The political cast of these parties is so hazy and uncertain that common people are naturally confused and confounded to choose between any two groups contesting the ensuing elections. In despair and delusion

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they are led to come to the conclusion that election are only a make-believe to confuse the minds of the ignorant and the unwary and as such they should be boycotted.

### **FREEDOM, THE TRUE CRITERION**

In this confusion of power-politics not founded in any clear-cut ideology and programme, one thing is becoming clearer than ever that there are still parties and their leading members who place freedom first and power next, while there are some other parties who look upon power as the be-all and end-all of the political and social existence of a community or nation. In this context, Congress (I) and Communist (Red) party and even C.P.I. by conviction, faith and practice are authoritarian. During the Emergency, the first two parties came out in their true colours. Even before emergency, the C. P. M. rule in Bengal was anything but democratic. Those who differed from them were almost hounded out of life, by their Government which was then in power. Though C. P. M. apparently professes to believe in Democracy, whenever C.P.M. comes to power in Bengal it has shown itself as being no better than authoritarian parties.

Janata (S) too is a strange conglomeration of those forces whose one aim is to rise to political power through any means like Defectionism, coalitionist politics and splitting practices. They want to impose their authoritarian rule over the ignorant folk of the country, who could be more easily attracted towards them than the towns-men through dividing the ranks of electors between the urban and the rural, as Charan Singh is doing in his election speeches. This lust for power dominating the minds and hearts of Lok Dal, may, any day overwhelm all their doing and thinking and eventually give a second dose of dictatorship to the country immediately on their coming to power after elections.

The Janata (O) is thus left as the only political party which came to power in 1977 yet wishing to come back to power and retain it through freedom alone. Born of a struggle for freedom against Indira Gandhi, it has boldly chosen to be freedom-loving in future and safe-guard the fundamental freedoms conferred on the people by the eminent framers of the Constitution of India like, Freedom of Expression, Avocation, Conscience and Freedom of Press, the last of which appears to be in danger of being eclipsed at the hands of people like Charan Singh who day in and day out is holding out threats to the Press that if it does not toe in the line of the present thinking of the Government, it will come to grief. It was this party which restored those Freedoms in 1977 and has never threatened to take away or abridge any one of them. One wishes that as a true lover of Liberty, it promised to the people the restoration of the Freedom to hold property, from which really flow other Freedoms above-stated. True to its creed of Freedom, it must now stop

sinclulging in fashionable conundrums of Socialism and Secularism which could better be substituted by the more dynamic slogans "Free Enterprise" and "Civil Liberties". Socialist economy has been a failure. The future belongs not to any type of collectivism but to Individualism and to Free Marketism which is another word for Consumer's Democracy in as much as the consumer's demand determines the market-price of an article of production. Besides, this party is presided over by a pragmatist and experienced administrator like Jagjivanram whom the Janata Party had declared to be the future Prime Minister of India, if Janata be voted into power. It is an unabashed travesty of truth to say that its leaders like Jagajivanram and Chandrashekhar are less Secular and progressive than the Jat leader Charansingh and Hanuman-cum-Lakshman Mr. Rajnarayan.

The voters should therefore look upon Freedom as the best criterion by which to judge the merit and credibility of a candidate. Judged in this light, the Janata candidates and their independent allies should win in the ensuing elections with an over-whelming vote of all freedom-lovers cast in their favour. As Mr. M. N. Roy has remarked, Freedom which means freedom of choice in every department of life, is a higher and nobler ideal than that of Socialism and Marxism. Let there be a free choice on the part of voters between freedom loving candidates and those whose one aim in life is to capture political power through means fair and foul. Let Democrats and Freedom lovers, shedding off their lethargy educate people into the values of Freedom that tend to make life richer, more fulfilling and more rewarding.

### **Call to the New Elite**

There is an ideological vaccum in the free world and a similar vaccum is developing in the military and Communist dictatorships of the world. People everywhere are sick to death of a world which seems to have lost its bearings which is drifting here and being driven there. They are sick of mass poverty, of unemployment of dependence for existence upon others, of exploitarism, of dictatorship and denial of liberty. They are sick even of a prosperity in which the spirit of man is aliented... They are ready to abandon all, now being promoted in the name of nationalism.

They are looking for something fresh and new, something which would give this tired old world a purpose and a meaning worthy of the spirit of man.

"Nothing" said Victor Hugo, "is so powerful as an idea whose time has come".

Pan-Humanism may be ready to come into its own.

—Ralph Borsodi in 'A PAN-HUMANIST MANIFESTO'.

# How Stable is Man Mentally ?

## II

by S. Kashyap

Rationally speaking, mind and brain are not two different things. They are two functional aspects of the one and the same personality. When the mind, including the brain, is under constant pressure, stress and strain it becomes incapable of harmonising its activities within itself or outside its sphere of adventurous relativity. It is said to be ill at ease. The pressure and the stress are either caused by internal factors or external circumstances.

The paramount internal factor which is responsible for creating mental complexes is fear. Fear emanates from a sense of physical, social and psychological insecurity stemming from a state of fixed personality structure and its deviating aspects invading different mental and physical dimensions. The sense of insecurity is caused by the inherent tendencies and characteristics of the mind deeply rooted in childhood or partly inherited from the background and partly influenced by environmental factors. The background is the family, the society and the position in the society.

A fear complex may start as a feeble, unconscious current and develop into a powerful wave in the course of time, denuding the entire personality structure based on rigid and superficial factors. It is not, however, unusual for man to be not in the midst of fear. He has always the fear of losing what is near and dear to his heart. Considering the uncertainty present in the world, there is always the fear of losing one's job and the fear of losing wealth, health, position, name and, ultimately, life itself. The idea of getting old brings an immense sense of dejection and loss of interest in the affairs of the world. This need not necessarily happen when the body is actually old. It may happen even when the body is young. For example, such a state came to the great Buddha when he was quite young. In a state of this kind, the mind becomes incapable of tackling its day-to-day problems. It takes flight in abstract ideas and in an imaginary world. This is generally called the process of withdrawal or aspiring for a state of permanent values and immortality.

From factors governing such approaches to life springs up a mind which can be called the 'pontifical' or spiritual mind. This mind enters into a cell of its

own making and isolates itself from the rest of the world. It may engage in activities to bring about harmony between existence and certain conceptions of a higher life triggered by its fanciful faculty of imagination and euphorigenic characteristics. In this exaggerated state, a man may believe that he is God or a messenger of God and that his presence on the scene of the world is to deliver the people from the clutches of evil. His activities in the world are called spiritual or religious activities.

The other side of the human picture is more weird and dynamic. Here, a man who is placed in favourable circumstances by birth or who has a 'devil-may-care' attitude plunges into activities which he considers to be beneficial to the world. Such activities are centred around political ideologies, revolutionary zeal and such other methods to bring about a sudden change in the living condition of man.

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Though the first type of mind is called a religious or spiritual mind, it may not be essentially so. The second type of mind is called the political mind which may again be a misnomer. Both have a fixed delusion complex and try to impose their ideas, beliefs and mental concepts on others and both are under constant pressure and emotional explosions caused by different types of obsessive thinking. There is a third type of mind which either follows the first or the second type, thus creating a triangular mess and chaos in the world. This is what we call the world in which we live where all minds are alike, chaotic, indulging in abnormal or subnormal pastimes and never attuning to normal activities.

Therefore, there is no gainsaying the fact that Adolf Hitler, one of the topmost patriots of Germany who terrorized the entire humanity and who wanted to create an invincible German nation, was suffering from paranoid schizophrenia, which is a dangerous disease of the human mind. By the same stretch of reasoning all the dictators and politicians of the present-day world must be suffering from a similar disease or mental aberration of a lesser intensity. This also must be the case with religious fanatics who call themselves Gods (Bhagwans) and messiahs and those who follow them blindly, knowingly or unknowingly, are not immune from such abnormalities. This is proved by history and history is what man's abnormal behaviour creates.

Judging from the above, none of us is mentally stable. An unstable mind is a neurotic mind which seeks stability in persons and objects of the world. This mind is a calculative mind and its calculations are based on the principle of personal gains. Though it is said that there is no action without motivation, it is

obviously true that motivation should be of proper balance. Otherwise, all actions that start from certain misplaced motivations cannot be in order and account for the disorder prevalent in the world. When the mind is chaotic, naturally the actions are chaotic and chaos can be classified under the mental illness which is called psychoneurosis. In this case, the mind is not necessarily dull or marked by lack of intelligence. But its intelligence is in a muddled state and, therefore, it is incapable of producing right action. The thoughts are generally wavered and unwieldy. This is generally the case with the politically or religiously obsessed minds.

There are many other causes for mental illness including organic causes which occur when the brain is damaged through injury or chemical imbalances. The functional disorders as mentioned above are more dangerous than organic diseases. In a general sense, they are never cured because in the long run the functional disorders are taken for granted as normal lifestyles.

In a sense, we are all suffering from functional disorders because of our up-bringing, adapted attitudes and associations. The functional disorders are marked by over-rated, exaggerated, abnormal activities or under-rated, ungainful, subnormal pastimes resulting in general misbehaviour. These conditions are marked by emotional maladjustment and disharmony in the personality structure.

Mental diseases are broadly classified as neurosis, psychoneurosis and psychosis depending upon the degree and severity of the symptoms, though they run into over two hundred categories.

(To be Continued)

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# Religion is Love – Unity is Strength

The 600 million people of India face one supreme challenge: the challenge of poverty, which is both the cause and the effect of economic backwardness, illiteracy and ignorance. Which citizen of India will disagree that we must all wage a determined and concerted war on these common enemies of the people?

We feel proud of the fact that we are the second most populous and the seventh most extensive country in the world. With this pride goes (or ought to go) the realisation that this proud nation is an amalgam of many religions and ethnic groups. In fact, there is hardly any religion and hardly any racial strain which is not represented in our country.

It is up to us to decide whether this inevitable fact of life shall be the source of our strength or a cause of weakness.

## Constitutional Safeguards

The rise of big nation states has created minority problems on every continent and federal constitutions have been adopted to overcome such problems. India's Republican Constitution incorporates the ideals of the freedom movement and the accumulated wisdom and experience of several countries. A comprehensive package of safeguards for all types of minorities—religions, linguistic, cultural, etc. has been built into it. Apart from the Directive Principles of State Policy, the Constitution incorporates guarantees for the Freedom of Religion and the protection of Cultural and Educational Rights.

Mention should be made under the "Right to Freedom of Religion" of Article 25 which guarantees freedom of conscience and free profession, practice and propagation of religious affairs, Article 27 guarantees freedom as to payment of taxes for promotion of any particular religion and Article 28 provides for freedom as to attendance at religious instruction or religious worship in certain educational institutions.

Under "Cultural and Educational Rights", Article 29 is for the protection of interests of minorities, and Article 30 is for the right of minorities to establish and administer educational institutions. The Text of these Constitutional provisions is given below:—

## RIGHT TO FREEDOM OF RELIGION

### Freedom of conscience and free profession, practice and propagation of religion

25. (1) Subject to public order, morality and health and to the other provisions of this Part, all persons are equally entitled to freedom of conscience

and the right freely to profess, practise and propagate religion.

(2) Nothing in this article shall affect the operation of any existing law or prevent the State from making any law—

(a) regulating or restricting any economic, financial, political or other secular activity which may be associated with religious practice;

(b) providing for social welfare and reform or the throwing open of Hindu religious institutions of a public character to all classes and sections of Hindus.

Explanation I.—The wearing and carrying of kirpans shall be deemed to be included in the profession of the Sikh religion.

Explanation II.—In sub-clause (b) of clause (2), the reference to Hindus shall be construed as including a reference to persons professing the Sikh, Jaina or Buddhist religion, and the reference to Hindu religious institutions shall be construed accordingly.

### Freedom to manage religious affairs

26. Subject to public order, morality and health, every religious denomination or any section thereof shall have the right—

(a) to establish and maintain institutions for religious and charitable purposes;

(b) to manage its own affairs in matters of religion;

(c) to own and acquire movable and immovable property; and

(d) to administer such property in accordance with law.

### Freedom as to payment of taxes for promotion of any particular religion

27. No person shall be compelled to pay any taxes, the proceeds of which are specifically appropriated in payment of expenses for the promotion or maintenance of any particular religion or religious denomination.

### Freedom as to attendance at religious instruction or religious worship in certain educational institutions

28. (1) No religious instruction shall be provided in any educational institution wholly maintained out of State funds.

(2) Nothing in clause (1) shall apply to an educational institution which is administered by the State



but has been established under any endowment or trust which requires that religious instruction shall be imparted in such institution.

(3) No person attending any educational institution recognised by the State or receiving aid out of State funds shall be required to take part in any religious instruction that may be imparted in such institution or to attend any religious worship that may be conducted in such institution or in any premises attached thereto unless such person or, if such person is a minor, his guardian has given his consent thereto.

## **CULTURAL AND EDUCATIONAL RIGHTS**

### **Protection of interest of minorities**

29. (1) Any section of the citizens residing in the territory of India or any part thereof having a distinct language, script or culture of its own shall have the right to conserve the same.

(2) No citizen shall be denied admission into any educational institution maintained by the State or receiving aid out of State funds on grounds only of religion, race, caste, language or any of them.

### **Right of minorities to establish and administer educational institutions**

30. (1) All minorities, whether based on religion or language, shall have the right to establish and administer educational institutions of their choice.

(2) The State shall not, in granting aid to educational institutions, discriminate against any educational institution on the ground that it is under the management of a minority, whether based on religion or language.

## **ADMINISTRATIVE SAFEGUARDS**

The Government is committed to preventing discrimination against minorities, whether they are religious, cultural or linguistic. It is determined to effectively enforce the safeguards provided in the Constitution and the implementation of Government policies and administrative schemes for the welfare of these minorities.

### **The Correct Perspective**

In this connection, it should not be forgotten that while there may be occasional complaints, some of them serious, instances of discrimination against the minorities form only a very microscopic part of the total panorama of national life.

It has been acknowledged that India is a secular democracy where people of all religions and cultures have been living with honour and dignity. Not only are they guaranteed equal rights and protection in the eyes of the law, but they have been taking active and

prominent part in vital sectors of country's social, political and economic life. No one can forget that Maulana Abul Kalam Azad and Rafi Ahmed Kidwai were among the architects of Indian freedom, as much as Dr. B. R. Ambedkar was one of the most prominent among the Founding Fathers of the Indian Constitution. Sikhs, Christians and Buddhists played an equally prominent role.

Two eminent Muslims, the late Dr. Zakir Hussain, and the late Mr. Fakhruddin Ali Ahmed, have risen to the highest honour that the nation can bestow on any citizen. They were two of the six incumbents of the post of President of the Republic in the 29 years of its existence. Muslims, Sikhs and Christians have held the posts of Governors, Chief Ministers and top civil servants in several states.

Defence is one vital sector for any nation and the composition of India's Armed Forces is adequate proof of the fact that the minorities have been given every opportunity. S. H. F. J. Manekshaw, our only Field Marshal, is a Parsi. A Muslim, Air Chief Marshal Idris Hasan Latif, heads our Air Force. Air Marshal A. M. Engineer, a Parsi, and Air Chief Marshal Arjun Singh, a Sikh, were among his predecessors in that office. The Chief of Naval Staff is Admiral Ronald Lynsdale Pereira, a Christian, and his predecessor Admiral Jal Cursetji was a Parsi. Gallantry awards to the Services have a large sprinkling of Muslim, Sikh and Christian names.

The Prime Minister pointed out recently that India has always had an enviable reputation for catholicity and toleration. Perhaps the first ever communal incidents took place only towards the end of the 19th century after the arrival of the British and their policy of divide and rule. Our nation can be great and strong only if all sections of society can pool their emotional and economic resources and pull together, so that everyone can put in some honest labour and every man, woman and child can equitably enjoy the fruits of such labour. Devotion to idealism demands that we uphold the honour of the nation, the dignity of the individual and the divine spark which is there in every human being. Self-interest also demands that we do our best to foil the instigators of disharmony and disorder because it upsets the even tenor of daily life and raises obstacles in the way of all economic progress.

### **Our Mutual Inter-Dependence is Indisputable**

There are islands of narrow-minded thinking in every country. There are people who believe they can further their interests at the cost of others—other individuals, other groups, other communities. They forget that any such immediate gain is bound to boomerang on their own welfare.

Any individual who believes that his personal life can be lived in isolation is living in a fool's paradise. When an epidemic strikes, the rich man's beloved child is as likely to get the infection as the servant in his out-house. Similarly, no group or community can prosper in isolation. Affluence and poverty cannot stay juxtaposed for long. Disparities are the biggest cause of social tension today.

There was a time when we divided ourselves on religious and regional grounds forgetting the basic unity of our culture. Our dis-unity led to our enslavement by foreigners. Now that we are free once again, we must never forget the lessons of the past.

### **Religion is Sacred : Let None Exploit It**

One of the biggest difference between the medieval dark ages and the modern world lies in the realisation that divinity and humanity are not the monopoly of any one religion.

Religion is a matter of the individual conscience and an attitude towards all other human beings. It is a sacred feeling inside a man which must be reflected in what he does for others. It is a matter of giving one's fellow human beings the love and consideration that one would pray for being vouchsafed to oneself. Religion is not anybody's private property to be exploited for selfish ends.

The leaders of every religion have been incarnations of the virtues of love and compassion. Their personal lives have been full of acts of charity and they have enjoined on their followers to respect other faiths.

It is a pity that anyone today should insult the memory of these great men by lifting his hands against innocent men, women or children. Murder, rape, pillage and arson are hardly fit to figure under the banner of any religion.

It is hard to believe that any sane man would concede a link between his religion and these manifestations of the basest instincts. It is, therefore, obvious that such happenings are either the result of mental confusion or pure mischief.

### **Lock up the Demon of Communal Violence**

The instigators of confusion and tensions in society must be isolated. All decent citizens must wake up to the fact that their vital interests are suffering because of the machinations of a few selfish people in their midst.

Far too long has the silent majority of decent citizens tolerated the instigators of communal violence. Every breach of law and order holds the law-abiding

citizens to ransom. The daily worker and the business-man loses his livelihood. The children go without education, families without the daily necessities of life. Public property is destroyed at the cost of us all. Who gains?

Wives, Mothers, Daughters. Do they gain from communal strike? Actually, they are the worst sufferers. Does communal violence benefit students, young folks, children? The fact is that their education, their recreation, even their daily nourishment goes by the board whenever law or order breaks down. Wage earners, traders and businessmen have to pay with their livelihood whenever mischief disrupts economic activities.

Hinduism, Islam, Christianity, Sikhism. Which of these and other religions gain either in respect or in following whenever some misguided or anti-social elements take to the streets?

### **Only the Guilty must Suffer : Why should you ?**

Mischief makers looking for loot are hardly the best advocates of any religion. Budding politicians trying to make politics pay should not be encouraged to do it at the cost of religious sanctity. Let us all cooperate for peace and communal harmony. Let us fight the anti-social elements who sabotage it.

Government on its part is already committed to take strict action against those in authority who do not enforce the peace. The Prime Minister Shri Morarji Desai, has given instructions that all communities should be represented fairly in the police forces, thus rectifying the imbalance that these forces had suffered as a result of the short-sighted recruitment policy of the previous regime.

The Prime Minister has also held consultations with leaders of all communities and states of the union to evolve a broad consensus on measures to eradicate communalism.

In the words of the Prime Minister, Shri Morarji Desai, an effective remedy has to be found against the recurrence of communal trouble because it is hampering the progress of the nation and vitiating the life of the people. We should all consider the question coolly, calmly and dispassionately and evolve a common code of conduct which everyone should follow. The communal cancer in the nation's life must be removed.

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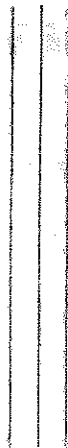
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