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EDITORIAL

Congress Sovietism In A Democratic Garb

NEHRU'S Democracy in India has been passing through a metamorphosis beyond recognition. During the post-war period the country has had varied experiences of the Democratic Welfare State established by the Constitution and then of the Socialist Pattern of Society and Socialist State, both sponsored by Nehru at Nagpur and Avadi respectively and imposed by him on the country against the spirit of the Constitution itself. But Nehru's passion for experimentation with different forms of Socialism does not appear to have been yet appeased. He is now out to plunge the country once again into another of his hazardous ventures into the realms of Democracy and Socialism. The latest statement of the Congress on 'Democracy and Socialism' is of a piece with the well-known Nehruvian strategy and tactics of winning elections by posing to be all things to all men. In fact, Mr. Nehru is preparing the Congress party even from now on, for the next General Elections and for capturing power for itself by means fair and foul.

DEMOCRACY DRIVEN INTO A CORNER

On reading the draft statement on "Democracy and Socialism,' between the lines, one cannot get away from the impression that it is mainly intended to hoodwink the gullible into believing that this new version of Congress Socialism is in no way antithetical to the basic Congress creed of Democratic Freedom to which a majority of Congressmen are still wedded, despite Nehru and the fellow-travellers. While moving the resolution on this Draft, Mr. Nanda faithfully echoed His Master's Voice, when he warned the wavering Congressmen that 'those who had no faith in *Democracy* and *Planning* and who did not believe in *State Intervention* for economic progress, had no place in the organisation.' The original Draft is said to have stated that Congress Socialism had nothing to do with Marxist totalitarian Socialism, which postulates the Dictatorship of the Proletariat as the socialist alternative to the Bourgeois Democratic State. But if reports be true, this significant part of the statement emphasising democracy more than socialism was dropped under heavy pressure from Moscow patriots in the Congress camp and also out of fear of possible reactions in Moscow itself. This clearly indicates that Nehru's Congress is reluctant to make Democracy the operative part of its new objective of 'Democratic Socialism' and may at any time willingly sacrifice the former on the altar of Socialism which the Leftist Congressmen believe to be a more fundamental and vital objective of the Congress. The democratic elements in the country, we hope, will not fail to see, that out of the three main planks of the Congress programme of Democratic Socialism as conceived by Mr. Nanda, two at least, viz., GOVERNMENT INTERVENTION and PLANNING are anti-democratic, both in their conception and actual practice and therefore cannot co-exist with the third one, viz., DEMOCRACY. Mr. Nehru and Mr. Nanda are merely lisping the democratic language just to escape being suspected of supporting totalitarianism and also to counter-act the vigorous but truthful propaganda carried on by the Swatantra Party and others that the Congress Government is taking the country along the Soviet way to Statist serfdom. It is clear from the Draft statement and the speeches made by Mr. Nanda and Mr. Nehru in support of it, that in this picture of 'Democratic Socialism' accent is laid heavily on centrally directed developmental — not economic — planning of heavy industries at the cost of consumers' industries, expansion of public sector to the detriment of the private one and progressive governmental grip over the economic life of the country. Before this onrush of Socialist Planning directed arbitrarily according to the sweet will, whims and fancies of Planocrats, Democracy which can function vigorously only in a climate of *Individual Liberty* and *Initiative, Free Economy and Free Market,* with governmental intervention reduced to the bare necessary minimum will be naturally driven into a tight corner and ultimately be scuttled.

HOLLOW PRETENSIONS TO DEMOCRATISM

The need is therefore very urgent for exposing the hollow pretensions of Planners and Government Interventionists like Nehru and Nanda to their being democrats. Democracy as rightly understood, guarantees the basic human rights to life and property and the freedom of speech, conscience and avocation. Under a democratic regime, these fundamental rights and freedoms are protected by "The Rule of Law' as interpreted and enforced by an independent judiciary. But the experience of Congress rule over all these years has shown that the Congress party has scant respect for these rights and freedom as also for 'The Rule of Law' as envisaged in the Constitution. With the blind and unquestioning support of the brute Congress majorities in the legislatures, the Congress Governments all over the country have violated with impunity, all the fundamental rights guaranteed by the Constitution and in order to be able to do so they have subjected even the Constitution to as many as seventeen amendments in the course of the last sixteen years.

The legislative measures and economic reforms introduced by the Congress Government by even violating the provisions of the Constitution relating to the fundamental rights, were not so much inspired by a genuine concern for the welfare of the

people, as by the ideological dogmatism and passion of the Congress rulers. The result has been dismal and disastrous. Land-holders have been literally rooted out of their ancestral hearths homes and lands, with little or no compensation and in very many cases have been reduced to pauperism. Under the much boosted Five Year Plans, unemployment is mounting, the purchasing power of the rupee is dwindling, the cost of living is ever rising, heavy progressive taxation is killing all initiative in private industry and is adversely affecting production. It will therefore be true to say that today 'the Congress rulers are in clover, but the common man is much worse off than he was in 1947.' The administrative inefficiency and corruption are increasing under the growing influence and power of the socialist bureaucracy. In short Mr. Nehru and the 'ginger' socialists have brought the country on the very verge of economic collapse, moral bankruptcy and complete extinction of Democratic rights and Liberties. Socialist Planning has failed to deliver the goods. And yet Mr. Nehru and Mr. Nanda have the temerity to call upon the country to welcome another instalment of their programme of socialist chaos and anarchy.

But they must know that people cannot be fooled endlessly. Having tasted the bitter pill of socialist pattern, they are now asking how Nehru's new brand of Socialism presented to the country from Jaipur, is distinguishable 'from Soviet Communism despite the Democratic garb the former has donned. They have now no illusions about the ultimate aims and objectives of the Congress. They now fully realise that in the Congress vocabulary 'Democracy' means Socialist tyranny of the Ministers and the bureaucrats; 'Dignity of the Individual' connotes only the dignity of the highly inflated ego of the Congress Satrap, the corrupt official and the Government-created new monopolist class of the permit-license-holding industrialists and businessmen; and 'Social Justice' implies only distribution of poverty all round by wasting scarce material resources of the country in pompous plans and handouts extended to certain monopolist sections of workers organised in trade unions, thus levelling down the well-to-do, the enterprising and the efficient to the dead uniform level of the idler, the parasite and the inefficient.

'GATHER, YE, UNTO MY FOLD.'

'Now or never' seems to be the slogan of the Congress Socialist. Mr. Nehru appears to be in a terrific hurry. He is moving about in the country exhorting the people to gather quickly unto his Socialist Fold and march to the Socialist Paradise, lest they might be lost for ever, damned to eternal Perdition. He is even holding out threats of a violent revolution as he did the other day at Jaipur, if the people did not bring themselves to do so within a measurable period of time. This is a well-known trick of the trade, employed by all socialist dictators to keep the people excited over the socialist heaven descending on Earth and the invitable class war, so that their attention might be diverted from the miserable failure of their regimes to provide even two meals a day for the common people. Lenin and Stalin practised it in Russia. Mao is doing the same in China. And Nehru is now trying the same trick with the people so that they might forget the miserable present and the dismal immediate future regarding which his Plans maintain stony silence and cold indifference. He and his friends refuse to look around the world and see for themselves that while Russia and China the fatherlands of all Socialists, are now having famine and pestilence, the war-ravaged countries like Japan and West Germany and a host of developing countries like Hong Kong and Malaysia are well on their way to prosperity through Freedom and Free Enterprise.

The Indian people must therefore burn it into their minds that Nehru's Democratic Socialism is a myth and a mirage and is no better than camouflaged Sovietism of the Congress, fraught with the gravest danger to the free and democratic way of living which they so much value and cherish.

* * *

THE COMMONWEALTH IDEAL

The London representative of the 'Indian Express' Bombay sent a summary of the report, 'The Future of the Commonwealth - a British View' published recently by the Stationery Office. It is a collection of opinion expressed during a conference at Oxford, organised by the Commonwealth Relations Office this year. The report asserts that the real

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strength of the Commonwealth lies in ties of friendship that bind its peoples together. It claims that unwritten but fundamental principles on which the Commonwealth rests are 'The Rule of Law'; 'Justice in Courts'; 'Personal Freedom'; and in international sphere the broad ideals of tolerance and fairplay. The authors of the report have found two reasons why the Commonwealth was worth preserving. First, because it 'sits astride the world problem of developed and undeveloped nations, and secondly the Commonwealth, both old and new sections, stands for much that is opposed to communism.'

The idea of the Commonwealth is coeval with the movement of India's freedom. Mrs. Annie Besant, one of the old tireless fighters for India's freedom, was the first to moot this idea. While pleading vigorously for India's freedom, she sought to put a concrete content into the concept of freedom by drafting the Commonwealth of India Bill which she got introduced in the British Parliament through the good offices of Lord Lansbury. Till then, the British used to call the conglomeration of their colonies as the British Empire. Thereafter with the extension of autonomy to British dominions such as Canada, Australia and South Africa under the Statute of Westminster, the name was changed into the British Commonwealth of Nations. On the advent of freedom in India, Pakistan, Ceylon and Burma the British Commonwealth gradually evolved, as Mrs. Besant always had dreamt of, into simply 'The Commonwealth' of self-governing nations headed by the mother-country Britain.

Thus, India has played no mean part in shaping the structural and ideological pattern of the Commonwealth. Even Pandit Nehru, who in his younger days scoffed at the very idea, has now remained in the Commonwealth to pray. The Chinese invasion last year proved the worth and value of the Commonwealth ties to this country.

It is therefore the bounden duty of the newly emergent free nations of Asia and Africa, liberated voluntarily by Britain in consonance with the spirit of the Commonwealth, to hold fast by the Commonwealth and her ideals of Democratic Freedom, racial tolerance and equality and to develop it as Mrs. Besant visualised long ago, as a nucleus of the future World Commonwealth or World Federation, broad-based on equal partnership of nations mutual service and assistance and not on tyranny or force.

* * *

THE END OF 'PERSONALIST' REGIME IN SAIGON

The fall of the Diem regime of South Vietnam is yet another example of the futility of the ill-conceived but fashionable search for an Asian type of democracy. President Diem claimed to have fashioned for his country an effective alternative political instrument to the Marxist State, in what he proudly called his 'Personalist' State with a 'Personalist' programme. But this attempt as in the case of other such essays in evolving Asian forms of Democracy as 'Guided Democracy' of Sukarno, 'Basic Democracy' of Ayub Khan, ended in setting up an authoritarian regime headed by a family group of Diem brothers and Madam Nhu. 'Personalism' which started with the high sounding slogan of building 'mystical and spiritual Personalities' among the Vietnamese, inevitably developed into a political philosophy of the dictatorship of a small Catholic Christian clique cruelly dominating and persecuting the majority Buddhist population of the country.

The Buddhists rose in revolt. But the Government, instead of mending its ways set up a reign of terror against Buddhist monks and students and even desecrated the Buddhist Pagodas. And at last Nemesis befell this regime as expected and also desired by all freedom-loving peoples of the world. The Armymen, the majority of whom were Buddhists, staged a sucessful military coup. They are reported to have made short shrift of the two Diem brothers and taken over reins of Government and are expected to make room shortly for a republican regime to be established in the country with the fullest co-operation of America and Britain. This revolutionary army junta therefore deserves all the sympathies of world democrats in its two fold task that faces it, on the one hand of establishing a civilian Government and on the other, of fighting the Viet Cong forces endangering the very freedom of the country.

It is time Asian nations learnt to be humbler and more modest. They must not hesitate to take lessons from the West in democratic functioning and democratic techniques even as they are doing in scientific and technological fields. This course they will have to follow for a long time to come, before they could think of striking out an independent democratic path and contributing to the democratic political theory and its practice.

* * *

HOW TO CURE THE CONGRESS OF ITS 'CANCER OF POWER'

The Kamraj Plan does not appear to have had a smooth sailing in the Congress world. Cliquism and groupism have been on the increase. The 'have not' Ministers particularly in U.P. have revolted against Nehru's assuming almost dictatorial powers under the Kamraj Plan in the matter of forming Ministries in the States.

The problem of corruption and power-lust among Congressmen thus baffles solution. As Shri Rajagopalchari has truly pointed out, this problem should be attacked at the very base. The Government must divest itself of its present unlimited political and economic powers. This will deprive the Ministerial posts of all their glamour and there will be less scramble for them among Congressmen.

But Congress leaders like Nehru who have tasted power all these long years, will never fall for this wholesome idea. Mr. Nehru's latest statement

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The Reign Of Terror In Red China

By M. A. VENKATA RAO

The simplest way of describing the nature of a Communist Government is to call it a Police State or a Reign of Terror. The Reign of Terror initiated during the French Revolution is but a candle to the blazing Sun, when compared to the Moscow or Peking regimes today.

IT is very difficult for people of one country to size up the psychological climate in which the people of another "live, move and have their being." Communication and understanding between peoples even of the same culture like the English, the French and the Germans are not common. Hence today the existence of the Iron Curtain naturally makes the usual barriers to an understanding of the internal mental and moral situation in communist countries unusually difficult. The propagandist efforts of communist States influencing the channels of public information even in free countries is another screen adding to the difficulties in the way of a true appraisal of their inward condition. The predisposition to believe the Best of communist States displayed by "progressive" liberal, leftist people in free countries in the absence of evidence (and often even in despite of evidence to the contrary) is another formidable veil hiding the inward nature and ugliness of the Iron Curtain countries.

The danger of succumbing to communist propaganda is not merely one of belief and sentiment, opinion and attitude. It is actually one of endangering the national independence of free nations, for international communism is today not merely an agency for persuasion like the Theosophical Society, the Ramakrishna Math or the Bahai religion but an organisation aiming at annexing free countries and sucking them into the world of the communist empire under the iron hegemony of Russia (or China if the latter succeeds in its rivalry with Russia for world leadership). This is the stark, political *Fact* that should be brought home to the average citizen, literate and illiterate of free countries. The danger is particularly grave in India because our Prime Minister does not seem to be sufficiently aware of it in his enthusiasm for socialist revolution.

In India the time is ripe for banning the communist party. But pending such a change of policy, public opinion should be educated by all in the know of the true nature of communism in actual practice behind the Iron and Bamboo curtains until it makes it incumbent on the government to ban the CPI and render it harmless.

The simplest way of describing the nature of the communist system of government is to call it a Police State or a Reign of Terror.

The Reign of Terror initiated by Robespierre in the French Revolution in the name of the loftiest ideals of liberty, equality and fraternity is but a candle to the blazing Sun when compared to the Moscow and Peking regimes today.

If today, massacres are not reported as frequently as in the early days and months of the Revolution in these States it is because, the early massacres have done their work and the people are sufficiently cowed down and because the administrative cadres have been trained to master the vast populations under their control by intimidation and bullying.

The best way to realise in imagination the real horror of the mental condition under which the common man is forced to live in China is to ponder some examples.

The whole country is a vast prison escape from which is hazardous and fraught with the risk of death. The live wire border entanglements and border police and militia make it very difficult for the inhabitants to escape from the communist "earthly paradise". But the propaganda is that even prisons in China have no walls and prisoners are free to go out as and when they like! This impresses the unwary visitor. But read the following account in a well-documented recent work by an educated Chinese who returned to China to serve his homeland but was disillusioned and escaped after a year.

"Perhaps China is the only country in the world that has really open prisons. One mad prisoner in South China, an ex-Kuomintang officer, threatened to escape. The warden explained to him that he was free to do so and the guards were instructed to let him pass! The erratic man really walked out but soon found that he could not get into a hotel without credentials, he could not buy a long distance bus-ticket without a letter of introduction from the organisation he belonged to, he could not stay with his relatives because he had no rice ration cards, he could not sell or pawn his belongings without explaining why he wanted to do so, he could not find work without a trade-union card, he could not eat in the restaurant because they were very expensive, and he could not rob or steal because members of the cadre were everywhere and they could order anyone to assist in his arrest. After a few days he went back to the prison, weak and hungry and asked to be admitted!"

We had read of similar accounts even in the earlier years after the Communist take-over of the Chinese Mainland in 1949. Now comes this testimony from *Mu Fu-sheng* in his *Wilting of the Hundred Flowers*, a carefully written book by a patriotic Chinese intellectual after a year of stay in Red China in 1958.

Another incident. "A professor in Canton wanted to quit to join a research institute in Peking. He

left without being released. But the Peking institute refused to take him and he did not have the fare to go back to Canton! He could not join any other institution or school without introduction; he could could not work as a private tutor which required a licence; he could not sell his books in the streets for which he must have a pedlar's licence; he could not farm without land; he could not even shine shoes because shoe-black were organised into co-operatives... He was free to leave his work however, like the prisoner!"

In China everybody is assigned a place in society. No one can break away because no one can find a place to fit in.

The view that a totalitarian State tolerates no social grouping other than the political one controlled by it is literally illustrated in communist China.

This is true even of marriage and the family. "This rigidly controlled work assignment often separates husbands and wives. When one enters China, one hears endless tales of such forced separation and futile requests for transfers....With the fully controlled material and labour the Government can relieve the housing shortage but *it does not do so.* College graduates who work in the research institutes live six or eight in a small room in double-decked beds. Those who get married have to wait for apartments but there is a "honeymoon room" in which the bride and bridegroom can live for a month...."

"A young woman in an accounting office in Honan (married only for a few years) was separated from her husband for three years....

She quit and joined her husband and lived with his mother's family. She could not find any work anymore. There was no room at the table etc.

But when the "Downward Placement" came, she was demoted and sent to a farm and again separated from her husband!"

Mr. *Tibor Mende* in his recent work *China and her Shadow* has also similar incidents. He had exceptional opportunities to report on China, being given special facilities as he was a Hungarian journalist from an Iron Curtain country.

This is not accidental with the Chinese rulers. It is a product of their socialist-communist theory derived from Engels and Marx that the family was but an outgrowth of bourgeois *property* and that sex *should be free!*

All this is possible, (says the author), "because to communists, law is not a basis of civilised society but an instrument by which one class exploits another. All legal and extra-legal means are justified to get rid of criminals. And one does not understand communism if one does not realise that the property-owning classes are *ipso facto* criminals, in the eyes of the Communists!"

To most people communism is only a doctrine. But to the practical communist in China, it is a matter of belief and action and "Party loyalty". "If we judge them by their fruits alone, we are likely to think of them as unfeeling fanatics capable of unexpected cruelty....at close range, they are honest, bigoted and really *mad* (as it appears) when we see how ordinary men can be transformed and made to do frightful deeds as a routine job."

We should realise that Mao Tse-tung and his colleagues are primarily soldiers and guerilla war leaders who succeeded in creating vast armies out of a destitute peasant population, through years of hardship and iron discipline.

On February 27, 1957, Mao Tse-tung said that from the beginning of the People's Republic till then, the Communist eliminated *half a million people in China,* "not twenty million as Hong Kong newspapers claimed."

The outside world would certainly think *half a million* quite a lot of people to kill in a change of government, but Communists are men most unlikely to think so!

The method that the Chinese communists have adopted to control the vast masses of people over whom they have acquired power is to indoctrinate them in a most systematic way. They have developed a vast hierarchy of cadres mostly ill-educated who organise the people. The people are grouped into professions, trades, occupations etc. And every one (man or woman) has to *attend* indoctrination *classes* for hours after a ten-hour day. Peasant, worker and intellectual have to attend such classes. They have to study party pamphlets, listen to party ideological ideas of class war and Plan targets and programmes. They should also criticise themselves and write autobiographies in which they should confess their past sins of a feudal or bourgeois character!

And *"rightists"* are *criminals!* Investigation meetings are also held in which charges of bourgeois sins are investigated. Others are encouraged to spy on them and make charges. Members of meetings shout charges and abuse them and finally, those against whom the party cause has decided will be set upon by the mob and killed by them or led away by the cadres to be shot!

Since every person, young and old, has to submit to this universal, twentyfour hour *surveillance* with the Damocles's sword of death, torture or imprisonment for *corrective labour* hanging over their heads, it is impossible for any one to harbour thoughts of organising resistance. Abject obedience and expressions of obedience from the heart and of expressions of joy in such obedience are to be offered if one is to live with tolerable safety and mental peace!

"The Communist state machine sweeps away all difficulties. It works with terrifying momentum. The secret of its irresistable power is very simple—ruthlessness!"

Religion is also *free* in China in this peculiar sense. Priests are expected to exhort their flock to obey the Party and Government and to create enthusiasm for socialist reconstruction. Mere hypocritical expressions of verbal support to the government are not enough. They are judged by the

amount of money they collect for Party funds or government loans or the influence they show on their members in turning them into good socialist citizens!

The very word *"total"* indicates the sort of *totalitarianism* in force in China. There is no privacy of thought, feeling or action. There is no room for individuality of character to grow. Every citizen has to make himself or herself an obedient image of the government machine.

Every observer comes back with expressions — *terrifying* — *overwhelming* etc., to indicate the nature of the control that the cadres exercise over the entire people in every walk of life and every hour of day and night.

(Continued from page 4)

on the supreme authority of the High Command, on the other hand, shows how the Congress leaders are trying to concentrate more and more authority into their own hands. It is therefore not surprising that lesser Congressmen should be reluctant to accept the self-denying ordinance of quitting power in the Gandhian style, when they do not notice any such selfless spirit in the 'Leader of Leaders' who, under one pretext or the other, refuses to step down from his high official post.

It therefore follows that it is not enough to apply the Kamraj Axe to individual Congress Ministers. It needs to be applied to the whole Congress organisation, in the form of a supreme act of self-denial on its part, of withdrawing completely from all governmental positions, till the next general elections and leaving the administration into the hands of 'the best minds' of the country.

Thus, purified and absolved of its previous sins, by this act of expiation, the Congress will regain its lost soul and spirit and will be better qualified to re-assume the governmental power and authority in a spirit of dedicated service to the country, if called upon to do so by the electorate.

— *D. M. Kulkarni.*

TYAGI SAYS IT IN VERSE

Jaipur, Nov. 3 (PTI)—It was a day of poetry at the AICC session here today.

To begin with, Mr. Mahavir Tyagi conveyed his complaint of the Congress leadership in verse. He read out five Urdu couplets which in part said:

"Bahkaane wale aapke sub yaar bun gaye,
sumjhane wale muft hi gunehgaar ban gaye,
apnon se bair kar liya ghairon se dosti,
yaaron ke sir kata diya, sardar bun gaye."

(Those who mislead you, have become your friends and those who seek to give you sincere advice have become culprits in your eyes. You have alienated all those who were near and dear to you and you have made friends with strangers. It is by beheading your own comrades that you have become the headman).

Masani's Visit Has Removed Barriers Between India And Taiwan

Bombay:—"I am highly amused at the charge made by the Peking Foreign Ministry in a protest note to Indian Embassy in Peking dated Oct. 31, just published, that I visited Taiwan last month with the 'connivance' of the Indian Government," says Mr. M. R. Masani, M.P., General Secretary of the Swatantra Party, in a statement to the Press.

He says he neither needed nor asked for the Indian Government's permission or approval for visiting Taiwan, "which I did as a private citizen, enjoying the liberties guaranteed by our democratic constitution."

Mr. Masani says he visited Taiwan in response to an invitation to him in February from the President of the National Taiwan University to deliver an address there on 'India after the Chinese Communist attack' and to see something of the country and its people.

Mr. Masani says, "What has angered Peking is the fact that President Chiang authorized me to quote him as reaffirming the acceptance by the Government of the Republic of China of the right of the people of Tibet to self-determination as soon as circumstances permit them to exercise that right, as also the declaration of President Chiang's continued warm friendship for the Indian people, which has not been affected by the attitude of our own Government.

The statement continues, "I am glad, however, that, judging by the diplomatic note from Peking, I appear to have succeeded in removing some of the barriers to friendship and understanding between the Indian and Chinese peoples and in isolating the bandit regime in Peking, which is the enemy of both.

"Peking's diplomatic note is correct in one respect. As one who believes that freedom is indivisible, I certainly look forward to the day when the peoples of Tibet and of the Chinese mainland are liberated from the Communist yoke and join the free peoples of Asia. If, as Peking alleges, my visit to Quemoy helped to boost the 'morale of the KMT forces' which is excellent and in no need of boosting, I am only too delighted in having thus helped to strike a blow against Communist tyranny over the Chinese people."

TOLL FOR THE BRAVE

By M. N. THOLAL

In a speech on Mahatma Gandhi's birth day, Mr. Nehru said, perhaps more out of emotion than reason, that Gandhiji was the bravest man of our times. But from a reading of Gandhi's Autobiography "Experiments with truth," one could hardly consider Gandhiji to be brave.

IN the course of a speech on Mahatma Gandhi's birthday Prime Minister Nehru said that Mahatma Gandhi was the bravest man of our times. I always find Mr. Nehru's views rather peculiar, based as they are on emotion rather than on reason or facts. Emotion, as every one knows, is a false guide. No wonder it often lands Mr. Nehru in awkward holes. Surely Mr. Nehru has read Gandhi's autobiography entitled "Experiments with Truth". From that remarkable book, which has often to be read between the lines, I take two incidents and another two from Mr. Nehru's own life, to show not only that Mr. Nehru himself is a far braver man than Gandhi, but that the latter can hardly be considered brave on an impartial estimate.

There have perhaps, in our own times, been braver men than Nehru. There was Swami Shraddhanand, who bared his breast advancing towards the Gurkhas who were standing with drawn bayonets pointed towards him. There was Subhas Chan-Bose whose life, almost from beginning to end, was an epic in many respects—not the least of which was the courage with which he defied the Mahatma to give expression to the truth that was in him. That frank man was full of the stuff heroes are made of. I remember a tribute he paid to me once. He had come to preside over a conference at Unao in U.P. when I was acting as editor of the National Herald in the late thirties. I had written a leading article on his presidential address criticising him, but towards the end I remember having written: "But if the Congress High Command goes on sitting on the fence for long"--it was wartime and Bose was demanding action on the part of the Congress--"then there will be millions of hearts in this country beating in unison with that of Subhas Chandra Bose." Bose asked the Herald reporter present there to tell me that I was an honest man and that it was one of the most honest editorials he had ever read. I felt rather ashamed as the article was critical of his address.

Here are the incidents from the Mahatma's life. In South Africa Gandhi had once to journey from Charlestown to Johannesburg. There was no railway between these; only a stage-coach. He had bought a ticket but when the Agent saw him he said, "Your ticket is cancelled"—the reason being that a coolie, as he was regarded on account of his colour, could not be seated with the white passengers. So the white man in charge of the coach, called the "leader", sat inside and gave Gandhi one of the seats on either side of the coach-box which he himself used to occupy. About 3 o'clock the leader wanted to sit where Gandhi was sitting, to smoke and have fresh air. So he took a piece of dirty sack-cloth from the driver, spread it on the foot-board and addressing Gandhi said, "Sani, you sit on this; I want to sit near the driver". The insult was more than Gandhi could bear. "In fear and trembling I said to him," says Gandhi in his "Experiments with Truth", "It was you who seated me here, though I should have been accommodated inside. I put up with the insult. Now that you want to sit outside and smoke, you would have me sit at your feet. I will not do so but I am prepared to sit inside?"

Proceeding Gandhi writes in his autobiography:

"As I was struggling through these sentences, the man came down upon me and began heavily to box my ears. He seized me by the arm and tried to drag me down. I clung to the brass rails of the coach-box and was determined to keep my hold even at the risk of breaking my wrist bones. The passengers were witnessing the scene—the man swearing at me, dragging and belabouring me, and I remaining still. He was strong and I was weak. Some of the passengers were moved to pity and exclaimed: 'Man, let him alone. Don't beat him. He is not to blame. He is right. If he can't stay there, let him come and sit with us'. 'No fear,' cried the man but he seemed somewhat crestfallen and stopped beating me. He let go my arm and swore at me a little more, and asking the Hottentot servant, who was sitting on the other side of the coach-box, to sit on the footboard, took the seat so vacated....My heart was beating fast within my breast and I was wondering whether I should ever reach my destination alive."

Was it nonviolence of the weak or of the strong? Few would deny that Gandhi's conduct was, rightly, based on the maxim: discretion is the better part of valour.

To come to the second incident. The ship which brought Gandhi back to South Africa from India in December, 1896, was brought into the dock. Gandhi had agreed to land at dusk as the whites were highly enraged at him and his life was in danger. But Mr. Laughton, the legal adviser of his Agent Company, told him he did not like the idea of his entering the city like a thief in the night and Gandhi changed his mind. As soon as he landed, some youngsters recognised him and shouted, 'Gandhi, Gandhi'. Mr. Laughton hailed a rickshaw but the youngsters would not let him get into it. The frightened rickshaw boy took to his heels.

"As we went ahead," says Gandhi in his autobiography, "The crowd continued to swell, until it

ECONOMIC SUPPLEMENT

Taxation And Economic Growth

by

Prof. G. N. LAWANDE, M.A.

THOUGH we have completed Two Five Year Plans, yet the progress achieved so far is not satisfactory and the main cause of this slow progress is the unrealistic taxation policy that our Government has adopted in order to establish "socialistic pattern of society". At present our Government is faced with the problem of raising more and more revenues for its developmental activities and to meet the Chinese and Pakistani aggression on our soil. To implement the plans the policy of taxation has received increasing emphasis. Even during the First and Second Five Year Plans the budget proposals of the Union Government were related to the implementation of the Plans. Recently the taxation policy has undergone a change due to the recommendations of Prof. Kaldor, which have proved to be unrealistic and this is the main cause of the slow progress of our economy. A sound taxation policy should not only help the Government to get more and more revenues but at the same time it should achieve social justice and economic stability. In order to achieve these twin objectives both direct and indirect taxes should be imposed. Direct taxes are mainly borne by the rich because of their higher taxable capacity; they reduce the great disparities in income and wealth which is one of the objectives of our Five Year Plans, but it must be noted here that steep progressive direct taxes will retard capital formation which is essential for the economic development of our country. As regards capital formation and investment the present taxation policy is rather discouraging. It has scared away the domestic capital and this has led to the large volume of unemployment in the private sector. If our Government had adopted a realistic taxation policy during the last ten years, today our economic growth would have been rapid and we might have reached the "take off" stage during the Second Plan period itself, but the taxation policy has come in the way with the result that even today our Government has miserably failed to tackle the problem of rising prices. The private sector has no incentive to save and invest because of the steeply progressive taxation policy, based upon "Soaking" the rich. Without saving, capital formation is not possible but saving can take place provided there is proper climate for saving. Not only private saving has declined but even the public saving has not shown any tendency of increase. This can be seen from the following, "the rate of saving in the economy does not seem to have kept pace with the rate of investment in recent years. Even the savings of public and private limited companies do not show an upward trend in the savings in the Government sector. If the capacity to save of individuals is curtailed but the savings by Government correspondingly increase then at least it could be maintained that public savings have taken the place of private savings. The real position, however is quite contrary. Net savings by the public sector have really declined since 1951-52. The ratio of net Government savings to net Government investment has steadily fallen from 94% in 1951-52 to 18% in 1957-58". Though a large number of taxes have been added to the existing taxes yet the ratio of public revenues to national income has not increased considerably. At present it is only 11.7% only. It is said that our industrial production has increased by 81% during the last ten years as a result of Five Year Plans but our planners cannot deny the fact that income tax receipts from the companies have risen to only 7%. This shows that there is too much tax evasion. Due to this tax evasion the burden of heavy taxation is mainly borne by the honest citizens. Prof. Kaldor in his Report has placed tax evasion at the rate of Rs. 200 Rs. 300 crores per annum. Since then this amount must have increased considerably.

It is assumed that the present pattern of our taxation is integrated and comprehensive but it is rather complicated. Apart from the actual burden of taxation a tax payer has to fill in many forms and undergo many legal formalities. This complicated tax structure is not only inconvenient but it makes the tax collection uneconomical which leads to more and more taxation which in turn makes tax evasion profitable; this vicious circle can be broken by the Government by abolishing a large number of nuisance taxes. It may be argued that reduction in taxes will lead to a loss to the Government but this is based on false premise. Mr. Douglas Dillon, Secretary of the U.S. Treasury has touched on the problem of tax reduction and proved that a tax reduction and economy in governmental spending will lead to a rise in incentive and growth. He has shown the effects of tax reduction in 1924 and in 1954. He said that tax revenues exceeded pre tax cut levels. So what is necessary at the present juncture in our country is reduction in taxes and a proper control over public expenditure. This policy will lead to a fall in price level and an increase in production. The unproductive public expenditure must be greatly reduced so that inflationary spiral may not be allowed to show an upward trend. In spite of important

changes in our tax structure regressive character still remains and this has resulted in abolishing the middle class which forms the backbone of an economy. Due to inflation the cost of living of this class has increased much more than that of any other class but the real earnings have gone down due to a rising price level. To consume the same goods which they were accustomed to enjoy before World War II they should have at least five or six times more money incomes but during the last ten years their money incomes have not even doubled. It is this class that has been affected most by the higher taxation because their taxes are collected at the source and they have no chance of tax evasion. It is the very rich and (not the salaried people) the persons in professions like doctors, lawyers, etc who. can manipulate their accounts so neatly that they have not to pay taxes on the total income earned by them, with the result that burden of taxation is borne by the middle class people who would have saved their surplus income if the taxes were reasonable. It is true that everyone should make sacrifice for the defence of the country but the sacrifice cannot be disproportionate as it is at present. To add fuel to the fire the former Finance Minister Mr. Moraji Desai had imposed Compulsory Deposit Scheme in order to reduce consumption or increase savings. But this very policy will be detrimental in the long run. When the goods cannot be sold in the market the producers will have no incentive to produce more and more and this will increase unemployment.

In order to achieve rapid economic development and reach the take off stage during the Third Plan it is imperative that the present tax structure should be completely rationalised so that emphasis may be given to the private sector to save and invest. At present we are facing number of problems which we cannot tackle either on ideological or sentimental grounds. We must face them realistically and remove the important defects in our tax structure that inhibit economic growth. Government in the first place should reduce public expenditure which is not vital to our Plan programme. This will avoid unnecessary waste and lead to economic stability. At present prices are rising and one important item in the rising prices is the taxes. Taxed articles are always sold not in proportion to the cost of production but inclusive of taxes. In other words, the seller includes the tax in the price i.e. the incidence of tax is on the consumers. As far as possible taxes should be reduced on bare necessaries and heavier taxes should be levied on the industries producing luxuries. In the interest of economic growth a heavier taxation should be imposed on the distribution of profits. It is necessary that the scarce capital should be diverted to productive purposes and it is the duty of the Government to see that the capital is not scared away.

The second and the most important modification needed in the tax structure is reducing total tax burden, not only on individuals but also on companies. This will give necessary incentive to invest. In this connection commercial banks can play a vital role in advancing credit to the companies. Recently the Reserve bank of India has announced that it will adopt a liberal policy in granting credit to them. If that policy is followed then it would be possible for the banks to lend the capital to industries provided the entreprenuers are not scared away by the burden of taxation. In this connection our present Finance Minister who does not lack the qualities like courage and imagination can perorate the following "We cannot therefore let anything restrian us from adopting the tax reduction bill this year. We cannot burden down with restrictions the very measure that will free our economy from the burdens of restrictive tax system---- we cannot dally until it is too late over measure that we urgently need now.

Our productive potential is unparalleled. The tax bill will give us the expanding economy and heightened incentives that will enable us to capitalize on that potential and achieve the still greater gains in output and production that we can — and must — have. With its enactment and only with its enactment, can we look forward with confidence to solving our problems of unemployment, unutilised capacity and budgetary and balance of payments deficits."

In order to get more revenues for defence as well as for development it is necessary that the law of prohibition should be scrapped off. To continue it at heavy cost to the exchequer without any benefit to the majority of the people is nothing but waste of resources, which would be helpful to the Government to reduce the heavy burden of taxation. Even Congressmen are of the opinion that the Law of Prohibition has miserably failed but still our Government pursues this policy on sentimental grounds. It is our misfortune that our Government cannot be realistic even in Emergency. Secondly, much revenue can be obtained by imposing salt duty. It is foolish to consider that salt is the symbol of our political freedom.

Last but not the least attempt should be made to mobilise the savings of the people especially in rural areas. Heavy taxes, if necessary, can be imposed on higher slabs of agricultural incomes in all the States. A majority of the States have failed to discharge their responsibility in this respect. Thus Government can achieve rapid economic growth through a realistic taxation policy which will increase the capacity of the people to save and invest.

THE FOOD IMPERIALISM

By J. M. LOBO PRABHU

Man does not live by bread alone but he cannot live without it. The Communist countries have lost their teeth because there is not enough of food for them. First, China and now Russia are begging and borrowing food, without which other spectacular achievements will not save their Governments being swept away by famished people. This position can only worsen because the imported grain will be another recoil on the declining food production. The Communist Governments can denationalise land, following the example of Poland, but may be apprehensive that this will revive the independence of the farmers which is not healthy for communism, second, that food supplies may fail for the urban populations, which can be more fatal to communism, and third that private ownership recognised in land as good, cannot be stopped from asserting itself in trade and industry. Denationalisation will therefore proceed slowly without any reduction of the dependence on imports. This means that the Cold War is over, because not only will the Communist Governments be suppliant to the suppliers of food but also the common people as they resume private ownership will have more in common with democratic countries than with their own Communist Government.

The consequences of this on us and other non-aligned countries are many. In the first place, with the outflow of food to Communist countries, there will be solution of the storage problem which largely inspired the massive food gift to us. In any case, as the sales to Communist countries will raise the price at which we buy, our financial commitment to the U.S. Government will increase, on one hand and our food prices, to the extent they are related to the prices in fair price shops, will rise. The fall in wheat prices witnessed recently will probably reverse in the near future. Secondly, to the extent that solicitude for undeveloped countries even in Industries which reduce the markets of the donors, was inspired by competition for support in the Cold War, there will soon be a change from both sides. U.S. will no longer allow us the luxury of being supercilous of the favours received. Thirdly, the military assistance received by us will be half-hearted, when democratic countries will have more commercial transactions with our enemies. Food therefore will become king.

The Government of India has become conscious of this and has directed the States to make additional provision of 64.40 crores for Minor irrigation and 19.97 crores for Soil conservation. The emphasis on Minor Irrigation is sound but much of the money spent so far has benefitted only corrupt officials and contractors. The deepening of tanks should receive the attention of the highest engineering authorities who should also check the work done, even by panchayats, which are now assuming authority. Soil conservation must be combined with water conservation, the embanking of field boundaries being encouraged by incentives and compelled if necessary, by legislation.

Government must examine its policies which have destroyed incentives in Agriculture. By and large, it must turn away from the Communist pattern of regimentation and expropriation, to the democratic pattern of trusting and helping the agriculturists. If the U.S. pattern is considered too advanced, the Japanese pattern, which covers holdings even smaller than ours deserves to be studied because it obtains productivity 400% above ours. Let Krishna Menon himself be sent to Japan to study not only Japanese agriculture but Japanese laws in respect of it, which make it the foundation of the economic prosperity of Japan.

Graduates Dig Ditches In China

C.R.S. Reports In The Organiser:

Two Hundred Thousand young college graduates are astir in China and restless as they wait for work assignments from the State. These young people are hangovers from Mao Tse-tung's "Leap Forward" years of 1958-59, when over-zealous communist officials initiated countless impractical schemes and projects.

The reason is not that there are too many trained people in Communist China—the lack of technicians remains a principal bottleneck to economic development there.

Ironically, the same Great Leap Forward to which graduates owe their education is responsible for their inability to use the skills which they have acquired. The economy of Communist China, which collapsed during the Great Leap Forward period, has not recovered. Not only have all the many plans for new industries and new plants been abandoned, but existing industrial facilities are still operating at only a small part of their total capacity. In this situation, the jobs envisioned for the students simply do not exist. Still, some sort of job must be found for the graduates.

Peking's solution, embodied in an "important decision" of the State Council is a system of "labour practice" for college graduates. This new term is lacking in official definition, but appears from available evidence to mean, the engineers and scientists among this year's graduates, will shortly find themselves working in rice fields rather than their chosen fields.

Articles appearing in the mainland press reflect not only the graduates' disappointment with such prospects, but in many cases open opposition.

There Must Be A Better Way

By JESS RALEY

We are reminded every day, and often many times a day, that this nation must produce more educated people or be buried, both militarily and economically, by communism. As a matter of fact, the pressure for more education is growing so strong in America, one may easily be led to assume that ignorance is very closely related to treason, or at best a decided lack of patriotism.

I am certainly not anti-education but it seems to me that there must be a better way to inspire our youth to seek knowledge.

A young man whom I have known since he was twelve is a typical case. This boy had expressed the desire to become a doctor and his father had encouraged him. After one year of college, however, the boy quit school and accepted a job in the mills of a large industry. The boy's father was very disappointed and asked me to talk to his son about returning to school. I consented, since I felt that this lad could be an outstanding success in any field of endeavour.

After several preliminary thrusts, which the boy parried with admirable dexterity, I was forced to ask him outright why he had elected to become a mill worker.

"I have told Dad more than once, but I don't really mind going over it again," the boy said. "Of course, I could give you the old 'blessed are the horny hands of toil' and all that rot, but I won't. You see, I really would like to be a doctor, but I got to figuring: Take the years required to qualify, plus the chance that I would not be successful; add the extra taxes involved if I did reach the high-income-braket level, mix well with the fact that doctors will most likely be working for the government in a few years, and you should arrive at the same conclusion I did."

The boy seemed to be beyond reach, but his father would concede defeat.

"I tell you, Dad, I have the most security anyone can have, outside of jail, right where I am," the boy said at last. "In three years I will be earning about seventy-five hundred a year. If I am off for lack of work, we have the guaranteed annual wage. Should I get sick, we have insurance paid by the company. I cannot be forced to work any faster than I choose to work: the union won't allow it. You just can't beat a deal like that."

"Suppose the company goes out of business?" I asked, thinking I saw a weak place in the boy's defense.

"No problem," he shot back. "In a case like that, the government will declare this a disaster area and feed us, retrain us, or both." Then as an afterthought, he added, "Boy, old Uncle Sugar really is a cube. If he wants people to go to school so bad, why does he keep working so hard to make the educated and the uneducated equal?"

In the face of such logic, I can only add that the voice of this nation's plea for better education appears to be drowned by the greater sound of opposing action.

—**The Freeman**

AID TO UNDERDEVELOPED COUNTRIES

Countries are attaining independence everywhere. Most Individualists probably approve the trend, holding stoutly that the best government is no substitute for self-government. I am, however, disturbed at the extent of the financial aid granted by Western governments to these young States, just flapping their new wings. I have no objection to these people receiving loans, provided that the loans are made voluntarily by persons who have presumably satisfied themselves of the credit-worthiness of the applicants, *and who lend their own money.* What disturbs me is that governments are lending money taxed from their subjects.

The money—there's the rub. We who have worked for our money, know how hard it was to earn. Is it fair—is it wise—of governments to lend money they have taxed from us to support countries that have newly-established governments of untried men, whose peoples are completely ignorant of the principles of democracy and modern commerce, I doubt it. The history of governments all over the world is a bloody record of the attempts of the ordinary people, first to get a voice in deciding how they shall be governed, and then slowly to develop methods for preventing corruption and tyranny in the forms of government they erected. It takes a long while for these principles to root themselves strongly enough among the ordinary people to provide a dependable tradition to which the majority can be expected to conform.

It may be that, with the patterns of Western democracy before them, the emergent nations can speed up the process; but the risk is great and the task of financing them should be left to people who have the knowledge and are prepared to risk their own money. Admitted that the process will be slow —people with money to lend do not grow on every bush—but in the long run the voluntary method will be better for both borrowers and lenders; for the borrowers because they will have to give good evidence of their creditworthiness; and for the lenders because, using their own money, they will make fewer mistakes than governments. There is not all that hurry. Life in the African villages is not without its joys, and the Tristan da Cunha people who recently preferred to return to their primitive life there, demonstrated that the Western way of life can hold big disappointments. The blessings that civilisation can bring to an African village are at least problematical; but the evil that governments do in lending other people's money is real.

The Individualist, London.

became mpossible to proceed farther. They first caught hold of Mr. Laughton and separated us. Then they pelted me with stones, brickbats and rotten eggs. Some one snatched away my turban, while others began to batter and kick me. I fainted and caught hold of the front railings of a house and stood there to get my breath. But it was impossible. They came upon me boxing and battering. The wife of the Police Superintendent, who knew me, happened to be passing by. The brave lady came up, opened her parasol, though there was no sun then, and stood between the crowd and me. This checked the fury of the mob, as it was difficult for them to deliver blows without harming Mrs. Alexander."

Escorted by the police Gandhi arrived at Rustomji's place, which the whites soon surrounded. Proceeding Gandhi wrote: "Night was coming on and the yelling crowd was shouting, 'We must have Gandhi'. The quick-sighted Police Superintendent.. .. sent me a message to this effect, 'If you would save your friend's house and property and also your family, you should escape from the house in disguise, as I suggest'....The preparations for escape made me forget my injuries. As suggested by the Superintendent, I put on an Indian constable's uniform and wore on my head a Madrasi scarf wrapped round a plate to serve as a helmet. Two detectives accompanied me, one of them disguised as an Indian merchant and with his face painted to resemble that of an Indian. I forget the disguise of the other. We reached a neighbouring shop by a bylane and, making our way through the gunny bags piled in the godown, escaped by the gate of the shop and threaded our way through the crowd to a carriage that had been kept for me at the end of the street....." On finding that Gandhi had escaped the crowd dispersed.

Commenting on this Gandhi says, "Who can say whether I did so because I saw that my life was in jeopardy, or because I did not want to put my friend's life and property or the lives of my wife and children in danger?" Surely he should have been able to say that. The crowd broke up on finding that Gandhi had escaped and Gandhi alone was obviously the target, as their cry proved. Was Gandhi practising nonviolence with scientific precision, as he claimed in his letter to the Viceroy soon after his arrest in 1942? His words were: "I have been practising nonviolence with scientific precision for the last fifty years."

Regarding Gandhi it was a regular joke among Indian journalists: "He will arrive when the (comunal) rioting has subsided." He was accompanied by a pose of policemen on his Naokhali tour.

NEHRU'S COURAGE

On the eve of independence when Nehru was vice-chairman of the Viceroy's Council, he went on a tour of the North-West Frontier Province against the advice of the Foreign and Political Department. Some Pathans, hostile to the Congress, had decided to stage a violent demonstration, which they did by firing at his car as it raced by. The bullets whizzed passed him but he remained unperturbed. It was a near thing. Newspaper correspondents who accompanied him in the same car came back to say they found him smiling when they themselves were in mortal fear of their lives. A lesser man would have crouched down to avoid straight hits. It was personal courage of the highest order which spurned resort to an obvious device which seemed cowardly but could hardly be adjudged so, having regard to the fact that the instinct of self-preservation rightly prohibits needless exposure to danger to life.

Soon after independence, when he was Prime Minister he was seen snatching a rifle from a soldier to shoot at some people who were indulging in looting Muslim shops. In those days of communal frenzy any one could have taken a pot-shot at him. Surely as Prime Minister it was none of his business to go and teach soldiers at the risk of his life a lesson in the art of keeping the peace.

And what of that glorious patriot, Bhagat Singh, who recklessly and deliberately sacrificed his life, not knowing to what purposeful use he could have put his bravery. One Saunder's murder shook Englishmen and women throughout India. I know it because I was at Allahabad on the *Pioneer* then. As soon as my British colleagues came to hear of it their faces grew red and remained red for days. And they sought my advice, knowing I shall be frank. "Should we send our women home?" they asked anxiously. On my bursting into laughter they said, "We should at least send them to the Fort, shouldn't we?" They were afraid of an uprising as the result of the murder of one English officer, and naturally, living as they did in the midst of a population which they vaguely felt was hostile but whose mind they did not know. I told them "Don't be silly" and they felt comforted. A series of murders in quick succession by a man like Bhagat Singh would have shaken the foundations of the British Empire and brought us Swaraj before Mahatma Gandhi's "hocus-pocus of nonviolence"--as Jinnah called it--was able to divide the country. But that Bhagat Singh did not know, even as most of most of his countrymen did not know, for want of intimate acquaintance with Englishmen.

And what was this cry of nonviolence vis-a-vis the Britisher in India, if it was not an assurance of safety for his life and, in return, immunity from arrest and prolonged detention for Gandhi himself? No wonder Englishmen used to refer to Gandhi as "good old Gandy". For Indians the cry of nonviolence was meaningless. The Hindus are saturated with nonviolence and for them it was like carrying coals to New Castle. The Muslims could never believe in it. So the only purpose it could serve was to please the Britisher and make him overlook the Mahatma's antics.

That Gandhi was afraid of arrest and prolonged detention is proved by his exclamation to Pyarelal after delivering his 'Quit India' speech on August 8, 1942. "After that speech the Government will never

(Continued on page 11)

PREVENTION OF CORRUPION

P. KODANDA RAO

If there is one single act which justifies the Emergency and the Defence of India Act it is the promulgation of an order by the President of India obligating the publication of the assets of ministers. Once in operation, it is likely to survive the Emergency.

T is not necessary to prove that there is corruption in the public administration of India. It has been admitted by the highest authorities in the land who, if anything, would be extremely averse to do so, since it is not complimentary to them. It may well be that, as the Prime Minister claimed with some satisfaction, that India was not the worst in the world in this respect, but it is generally admitted that it has grown enormously since Independence, largely because of the policies of the Government, which, in the pursuit of the welfare state, has enlarged the functions of Government and introduced numerous fulcrums of official discretion and, in consequence, opportunities for corruption.

The more relevant question is to locate the primary source of corruption and devise remedies. If there is corruption, somebody must be corrupt, either the Ministers at the top or the administrative services under them, or both. The Ministers of the Government of India seem to think that the source is the administrative services. The primary source, however, is the Ministers. If the Ministers be above board, the civil servants will hesitate to be corrupt. Even a confirmed cynic may well be shocked by the admission by the President of the ruling party that many Ministers and legislators, who have been ruling the country since Independence and who were "paupers in 1947, are now millionaires and multi-millionaires, own palatial buildings and factories and have immense property, without having any visible source of such vast income."

With a view to discouraging corruption among the administrative services, the Government of India has taken both preventive and punitive measures. Government servants have been obligated to disclose periodically their assets to the Government. It also set up the Special Police Establishment to unearth cases of corruption among its employees and penalised more than 44,000 of them between April 1957 and December 1962. The great bulk of the penalised offences were of a minor character and touched mostly non-gazetted employees. But not a single Minister has been penalised, perhaps because he is not technically a Government employee, though corruption knows no such distinction, and hurts the public equally.

The traditional method of dealing with allegations of corruption at higher levels is to appoint special commissions to investigate, and to punish the accused, if proved guilty. This is a very unsatisfactory procedure. In the first place, it is *post facto*, as an allegation has to precede inquiry. Even if the accused is acquitted finally, it will not erase the stain left by the allegation; it will most often be said that the allegation could not be proved to the satisfaction of the commission of inquiry, and not that the allegation itself was not true. Secondly, the investigation takes much time and involves much public expense, and often fails to be conclusive, as in the case of the inquiries conducted into the Mundhra Affairs by the Chief Justice of the Bombay High Court and a judge of the Supreme Court. Thirdly, conviction of the accused is hampered by the current legal philosophy that a hundred guilty men might escape but no single innocent man should suffer, in pursuance of which, the accused is given the benefit of every doubt, and which often drives the prosecution to invent evidence more helpful to secure conviction than truthful.

Corruption can be more effectively checked by *prevention than by subsequent punishment. Periodical publicity of assets is perhaps the strongest single preventive.* And in so far as it is of general application, no single individual is singled out for humiliating allegation. Such publication has been advocated by Mr. A. D. Shroff and by Mr. C. Rajagopalachari, among others in India.

To make the policy more effective, it will be necessary to insert built-in deterrents to evasion, which will be self-acting, as it were. *Undisclosed assets should be made irrecoverable through the help of law courts, and when discovered, should be forfeited to the State.* Even this is not likely to be perfect. But it is not given to the imperfect human beings to achieve perfection, though they must continually strive towards it. No improvement on the *status quo* may, however, be rejected simply because it is less than perfect. If disclosure of assets be made at once as universal as, say, vaccination, it may strain unduly the administrative machine. It is, therefore, prudent to make a start on a limited scale and gradually extend it as the administrative apparatus permits.

It is essential that in the first instance the Ministers and legislators, Central and Provincial, should be obligated to disclose their annual assets, for it is they that are the primary source of financial corruption. Government servants have built-in deterrents to corruption. They have security of service till they are due to retire; they have periodical promotions; they have pensions at the end. All these advantages they are likely to forfeit if discovered to be corrupt. But the legislators and Ministers have no such advantages, which may act as deterrents to corruption. On the other hand, they have every temptation and opportunity to be corrupt. And if they be free from

corruption, their example is bound to deter Government servants from corruption. Further, from the administrative point of view, the Ministers and legislators constitute a more manageable number than the Government servants as a whole.

The principle of disclosure of assets has been accepted by the Government of India in the case of its employees and by the Indian National Congress in the case of its members, Ministers and legislators. *But the disclosure is to the Government in the case of the former, and the Congress President in the case of the latter.* But corruption hurts the *public directly and tragically, particularly as it penalises the honest and rewards the dishonest among them. Disclosure should, therefore, be to the public and not to the Government or the party President.*

Mr. C. Rajagopalachari supported the publication of the incomes and expenditure of Congressmen as deterrent to corruption when he said:

> "The Congressman's private life, income and expenditure, must be an affair of the public. (They) must surrender the privacy of their private life and daily account. He has to do this, not because it is good jurisprudence, but because he claims to govern and guide the nation, and to that privilege must be attached this liability."

In their most interesting article on "Conflict of Interest" in the *Saturday Evening Post* of Nov. 17, 1962, Dr. Ben H. Bagdikian and Dr. Don Oberdorfer mentioned that Senator Joseph Clark disclosed his assets in the American Senate and added:

> "During this session of Congress there has been a great deal of criticism because of our efforts to impose rigorous conflict-of-interest restrictions on the executive branch of the Government and on nominees to judicial offices. We have been rather strict in that regard. But with respect of ourselves, I think it is only fair to say that we have been lax. I think it desirable that our collegues and the public should know what securities Senators hold and from what sources they derive their outside incomes, if any."

When Senator Clark disclosed his assets, Senator Scott complained that it put him in an untenable position, for "in some future campaign someone might ask me, if Clark made his stock public, why didn't I?" *Some six Senators insisted publicly that the American Congress could no longer ignore its own problem, though they initiated no action.*

The authors of the article said:

> "Disclosure of all sources of income is a widely discussed solution to the problem. There are those who believe it would dramatically raise the ethical standards. But it is bitterly opposed by others who say it would be unfair and ineffective."

It is obvious that those who oppose have a guilty conscience and stand morally convicted of corruption. Those, whether legislators or Ministers or businessmen, who came by their wealth by honest means, need not hesitate to publish them. In India, the Tyagi Committee on Direct Tax Administration advocated the publication of the assets declared by assessees to direct taxes and of those who concealed them and were fined a certain amount or more. Indian Congressmen, who invoke Mahatma Gandhi at every turn and who claim spiritual superiority, may set the example by enacting for the publication of the assets of Congressmen, beginning with Ministers. The Prime Minister may well give the lead by volunteering the annual publication of his assets and successfully persuade his cabinet colleagues to do likewise. If the lead be not followed by all others, legislative compulsion will be necessary and essential.

If there is one single act which justifies the Emergency and the Defence of India Act, it is the *promulgation of an order by the President of India obligating the publication of the assets of Ministers.* Once it is in operation, it is likely to survive the Emergency.

GENOCIDE OF SINKIANG MUSLIMS

NAZI-TYPE concentration camps have been set up by the Chinese Communists in Sinkiang to "liquidate" religious-minded Muslim Khazaks.

The Khazaks are being persecuted for their faith in Islam, which in their opinion of the Chinese rulers is a "bourgeoise conception."

According to reports reaching Leh, the principal town of Ladakh flanking Sinkiang, the centuries-old Muslim shrines and mosques have been razed to the ground by the Chinese Communists in their bid to eliminate Islam. Even some libraries which housed rare manuscripts on Islamic philosophy and thoughts have been wiped out.

A large number of communist workers from the Mainland have been imported into Sinkiang to campaign against Islamic ways. Muslim religious circles in nearby Soviet Asian Republic have condemned Muslim genocide in Sinkiang.

Radio networks in these Republics have been beaming special broadcasts at Sinkiang illustrating their religious and cultural ties with Sinkiang.

Prominent religious heads who have fled to these Republics from Sinkiang broadcast special messages for their brethren. This has enraged the Chinese rulers, who have been denouncing Soviet broadcasts.

(Continued from page 9)

arrest me," he had said, thus giving an inkling of what was uppermost in his mind. It was his fear of prolonged detention that explains the otherwise unexplainable Chauri Chaura suspension of the great 1921 movement which had "puzzled and perplexed" the Government. He thought that after that suspension the Government would never arrest him. And his fear was justified. For, his detention meant frustration and, what is more, sudden decline in his popularity and in the people's faith in his invincibility. Also, Gandhi's tell-tale exclamation in the presence of Pyarelal proves that Gandhi had hidden motives for his actions.

Hocus-Pocus Of Non-Alignment

(From Our Correspondent)

Twentyfive thousand school children and members of the public gathered here at Willingdon Pavilion on the morning of October 20 and pledged to work with determination for national solidarity and integrity of the country. Prime Minister Nehru unfurled the national flag and administered the pledge to the gathering organised under the auspices of the Mayor's Council for National Defence in observance of National Solidarity Day. School children were made to attend the gathering, perhaps to swell it, and Sunday was no holiday for them. The question that is being asked here is: What do children understand about national solidarity and what is the sense in administering the pledge to them?

The Prime Minister's exhortation was equally ridiculous and extremely uninspiring. "October 20," he said, "was not the day of victory for us last year, but we have decided to observe this as National Solidarity Day to remind ourselves that victory will have to be ours in the long run." Mr. Nehru complains of complacency creeping in and yet he himself makes statements which breed complacency. A few days earlier he had said that he was more perturbed by the food situation than by the Chinese invasion. Obviously, if victory has to be ours, we have to work for it and not take it for granted.

He added that the strength of a nation did not depend upon its weapons alone, but on stout hearts and internal harmony and there was enough strength in the country to repel aggression as long as internal bickerings were not allowed to make headway. There can hardly be stout hearts without internal harmony and in the recent past, as every one knows, no one has done more to promote internal bickering —even within his own party—than Mr. Nehru, by the manner in which he has implemented the Kamaraj Plan. The Congress today is a house divided against itself, and never in recent years was internal harmony in the Congress so disturbed as it has been during the past some weeks, mainly because Mr. Nehru converted a plan designed to strengthen the Congress into one designed to strengthen his own hands. It is just like Mr. Nehru to condemn fascism when he has been guilty of it himself and to dwell on the need of internal harmony when he has done something to disturb it. Reminds one of the thief shouting "thief, thief" to put his followers off the scent.

Mr. Nehru's defenders ask, not without justification, "What is the Congress without Mr. Nehru?" Obviously, what they imply is that the Congress is now a body of self-seekers who will be at one another's throat the moment Mr. Nehru's stranglehold is removed. If that is so, Mr. Nehru can only be said to be exploiting their self-seeking to advance his own. The first essential for internal harmony is justice. Where there is justice there is peace in the human heart. Mr. Nehru has hardly been giving proof of his heart and mind being full of the sense of justice. Even while recommending to the President an inquiry into the charges against Mr. Kairon, Mr. Nehru does not refrain from giving the latter chits, as if to say to the inquiring judge: "This is what I, who appoint you, think of the matter and I wouldn't like you to dare differ from me." If this is not what Mr. Nehru means to say, it is difficult to say what he means.

Mr. Nehru's idea of solidarity seems to be one of agreement with him. 'He who is not with me is against me' seems to be his maxim. He could not have been entirely unconscious of the dissensions he has been, wittingly or unwittingly, promoting in the Congress itself when he said on Solidarity Day that the country could ill afford to have internal dissensions —"phoot-ka-hamla" or invasion of disunity — when faced with the threat of external aggression. External aggression should not be made an excuse for internal aggression and we are not fighting the Chinese to establish totalitarianism in the country. At a time when patriots have been urging the formation of a national government, Mr. Nehru decides to attempt to eliminate from Governments in the Centre and the States all those who dare differ from him even privately and mildly. Whether he succeeds or not is a different matter. The fact remains that the attempt has in it seeds of dissension which may or may not fructify. If they do, will not Mr. Nehru himself be to blame? Or will he say again that he was unable to anticipate it. He lectures on solidarity on the one hand and risks dissension on the other, to strengthen his grip over the Congress and the country. That is hardly the way of patriotism or of those who feel that the first and primary task before them is to repel the Chinese aggression.

In a broadcast to the armed forces over All-India Radio the same day, Mr. Nehru said: "The invasion which the Chinese launched against us last year was something strange, because the Chinese professed friendship for us and led us to believe that they will maintain friendly relations with us. But they deceived us and invaded us with a large army." What did our Prime Minister expect? That the Chinese will tell him in advance that they were thinking of invading India and will do so at such and such a place and on such and such a date? Rajaji has to tell him, parentwise, that it is the business of the enemy to deceive. Professions of friendship on the one hand, and massing of troops on our borders, on the other. What does a sensible man believe

in? Words or deeds? "It was an invasion," said the Prime Minister, "backed by long preparations and heavy forces and equipment." And yet our Prime Minister believed in their professions. "It had a tremendous impact on India," he proceeded to observe, "because it made us realise the real intentions of the Chinese." One wonders if we have really realised the real intentions of the Chinese, we are certainly not behaving as if we had. The hocus-pocus of non-alignment remains intact.

Inaugurating "The Nation Prepares" Exhibition, Mr. Nehru said on the same day that October 20 was a day of special significance in India's history, because on this day last year "our illusions were shattered and we were forced to face reality with a rude shock". Mr. Nehru added that the country's defence was in much better shape and lots of new and powerful armaments were being made in the country, but his Government was not in favour of producing an atom bomb "though we have the men and equipment for making one". There was a time when Mr. Nehru did not believe in, in fact denounced, talking from positions of strength. That time appears to have gone with some of his illusions, judging from his own speeches, but he does not even now seem to believe in the nuclear deterrent. Surely he knows that the Chinese are trying to produce an atom bomb and will soon produce one. What, despite our powerful armaments, will our strength be against the Chinese when they have the atom bomb? That is the question we are face to face with today.

It is no use saying our ideology prohibits us from making atom bombs. The question purely is one of national defence and of possessing a powerful and effective deterrent. If the latter can be had outside the nuclear field, so much the better. But if it cannot be had outside it, is our opposition to the atom bomb so strong that we would rather submit to the Chinese than make one? For, the alternative to not making it seems no other than submission to China, with or without war. It is no use saying the Western Powers will come to our aid if the Chinese use atom bombs against us. They may or they may not. We have not joined their alliances —in fact we have been condemning their alliances —and they are not bound to come to our aid. Not ceratinly at once. Such risks are not taken and should not be taken in the matter of the country's defence and security. Besides, the production of atom bombs opens out avenues of research of immense benefit to mankind. There is no reason why that research should be neglected even when the production of atom bombs has become a matter of national urgency.

Violence is violence and there is no sense in believing in violence that is not an effectve deterrent. No one can draw the line and say, "Thus far and no further". Had we been realists, instead of being illusionists — Messrs Gandhi and Nehru have been the greatest illusionists the world has ever produced —we would have learnt from the experience of western nations and from the sufferings of Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, East Germany, Rumania, Bulgaria and the Baltic States. But we are illusionists and shun truth like poison. Gandhi was a magician. There is the authority of Mr. Nehru himself for saying so. He once sent a telegram to Gandhi saying, "You are a magician." Ordinary magicians produce rabbits from their hats. Gandhi produced Pakistan from his (Gandhi) cap. And now all Congressmen believe that Mr. Nehru is a magician. (Where will they be without that belief? Outside the Congress!)

The fact that almost all parties in the country, despite our calamitous experience of October 20 last year, believe in non-alignment, certainly proves that Nehru is a magician — a much greater magician than the one who produces rabbits out of his hat. Where else could have his wonderful non-alignment come from?

In his broadcast to the Armed Forces Mr. Nehru said: "I assure you that we will defend our country in every way and fight any one who invades our country with all our strength. We will make full efforts to throw him back." Mark the words, "We will fight any one who invades our country." Has not our country been invaded already? Mr. Nehru has been referring to the invasion of October 20 as a "massive invasion". In the broadcast itself he referred to it as "a heavy invasion" and an invasion "with a large army". The solemn resolve of Parliament in November, 1962, to throw the Chinese out of our sacred soil seems to have been forgotten. At least it is not re-iterated, maybe to please the Colombo powers, or out of our own weakness.

Mr. Nehru once said if China did not accept the Colombo proposals in toto, they would fall. But China has not accepted the Colombo proposals in toto and they have not fallen. We have accepted them in toto and our acceptance stands. No occasion this for bravado. Discretion is the better part of valour under non-alignment. Those who accept non-alignment have to accept it with all its consequences, howsoever, grave they may be, the solemn resolve of Parliament notwithstanding.

Book Review

THE WILTING OF THE HUNDRED FLOWERS (FREE THOUGHT IN CHINA TODAY): By Mu Fu-Sheng — William Heinneman Ltd., London. Pages 324. Price 42 sh. net. 1962.

This is a rare kind of book on China and the communist countries in general. It combines a sensitive scholarship with patriotism and a resolute determination to report honestly and impartially what the author found on return to his homeland after its communisation.

The name given on the book is understandably a pseudonym, the arm of Red China reaches long, even into free countries to victimise critics.

The Chinese writer is an engineer who was serving in Britain and the U.S. when the revolution came to China. He thrilled with joy and pride at the prospect of national independence and the ter-

mination of the era of national humiliation at the hands of the foreigner.

He returned to offer his expert knowledge and service to his country in her free status and in her great task of reconstruction. But he soon found that the worst reports that had come to him from previous students and travellers were largely true.

The whole country had passed into the iron grip of the ruling few. The veterans who had won the war and revolution under them were now the ruling elite and they had trained a vast army of *kanpu* or cadres. The whole population was organised in numerous trades, professions, labour, occupations, crafts, mills, etc., including intellectuals like journalists and scientists and professors of literature and artists. Everyone had his place. Everyone had his passport or identity card and credentials without which he could not move from place to place, from job to job or even buy and sell. People were treated literally like cattle. Worse than cattle — for cattle need not attend political indoctrination classes after a ten-hour day!

Everyone had to confess to sins and errors. Everyone had to spy and report on others — children on parents, servants on officers, students on teachers, etc.

At criticism meetings, the crowd might be often egged on to attack the offender found guilty. Many are led aside to be shot. Mao confessed to killing half a million Chinese for the Revolution. The people are driven like galley slaves into work. Communes are enforced with a view to maximise labour and economise it in a unit area and to use woman labour as well, to the greatest extent possible by eliminating separate kitchens and homes.

After the sudden revelation of the failure of indoctrination in Hungary in 1956, Mao and his colleagues announced a relaxation to intellectuals with the slogan of the hundred flowers. "Let a hundred flowers bloom and a hundred schools of thought contend". The freedom given was used by the people to release a barrage of criticism of the regime that unnerved the leaders. Whereupon they clapped the stoppers again and started persecuting the critics treacherously! Communism cannot stand public criticism and live!

Of course there is some progress in industry and agriculture and in military power most of all.

But in the essentials of culture and civilisation, in terms of happiness and refinement, Red China offers a repulsive scene. This is the effect produced on the mind of the patriotic Chinese writer who is quite learned in Western learning and in Christian religious philosophy.

The extent of brutalisation and of mass suffering, quite unnecessary for civil progress, stands out vividly in the narrative of the author.

The rule of law is conspicuous by its absence. Democracy might have been difficult in the absence of traditional preparation. But at least good government and humanism and justice and sensitiveness to human claims could have been preserved by the new rulers. For after all the Chinese are the inheritors of the oldest and most mature of the civilisations of the past.

But Mao and his men wiped out the best of the past along with its misery and humiliation.

To satisfy pride and nationalism, they aimed at military power, social unity and industrial progress as ends in themselves and sacrificed and are sacrificing men and women to these goals. Human beings are being treated as Means and not Ends. This is the gravamen of the charge against the Reds.

The Prime Minister expressed surprise the other day that even after the Chinese aggression, some members of the CPI remained pro-Chinese in sentiment. He need not have been surprised. That is their doctrine-amoral, Marxism which has no use either for the sacredness of human personality or for liberty and other democratic values.

Our countrymen should be informed by a widespread campaign of the freedoms they will lose inevitably, if they allow international communism to take hold of the country through a negligent and guilty indulgence to the CPI and its foreign masters-whether of the Moscow or of the Peking faction.

In the necessary education of the present generation, such books as the present under review—authentic, balanced, patriotic, written by nationals—that it has grown enormously since Independence, will serve a great humanist purpose.

—M. A. Venkata Rao

Gleanings from the Press

TIDE AGAINST THE REDS

The people are still sullen and resentful. Given a hope, the Nationalists say, a vast majority of the people would definitely turn against their rulers. They point out that even as early as in 1954, when the Communists were still popular, more than 14 thousand (out of a total of 21 thousand) Chinese prisoners-of-war in Korea refused to be repatriated and chose to settle in Taiwan. Then, every month a few thousand Chinese from the mainland trek to freedom in Hongkong and Macao (very few of whom are allowed to settle in Taiwan for political reasons). Besides, these, the Nationalists cite the instance of a communist pilot who flew his MIG 15 to Taiwan two years ago, another Chinese who escaped in a Communist AN 2 plane from Shantung, members of a Red Chinese Opera troop who sought asylum in Taiwan **en bloc** about a year ago and many other similar incidents. They also cite reports, from Red Chinese papers, of Communist cadres and militia men repeatedly rising against their rulers and thousands of farmers in various provinces rising in revolt against the Communists. Thus the situation is ripe they claim, for renewing their "civil war" and attempting to reverse the tide against the Communists.

—Freedom First

News & Views

U. S. ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE TO INDIA

U.S. economic assistance to India consists of both grants and loans. The total commitments of the United States under various agreements with the Government of India now stand at $5,023.1 million (Rs. 2,391.9 crores).

It will be noted that only 27 per cent of total American aid to India involves foreign exchange repayments. The greater part of this amount bears exceptionally low rates ot interest and is repayable over a long period (40 years).

An equal percentage of the total aid represents grants. The remainder (46 per cent) represents loans repayable in rupees. These repayments do not involve the utilization of India's foreign exchange earnings or the export of goods from this country.

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AFRO-ASIAN NATIONS SEE INDIA'S VIEWPOINT

NEW DELHI: Most Afro-Asian countries, and even communist governments, are now reconciled to the idea of holding joint air exercises with British and American Air Forces, say diplomatic reports from various Asian capitals.

The Chinese propaganda that India is "selling herself to the imperialists" and the air exercise is 'another name for the setting up of foreign air bases' in the country has just fizzled out.

It is getting harder for most people to believe the torrent of words from Peking after the open washing of dirty linen in both Moscow and the Chinese capital.

The Indian Embassies in Moscow and other European countries have adequately explained the scope of the exercise, which has as its object the training of technicians.

According to diplomatic reports circulating here, not long ago another Asian country was negotiating with the Soviet Government to hold a joint air exercise on the same pattern as the IAF.

PATIL PRESCRIBES SHOCK THERAPY FOR CONGRESS

Mr. S. K. Patil said unless the Congress was defeated in an election, it would not improve.

This was not just criticism for the sake of criticism. The current of democracy should be fluid, because "power corrupts, and absolute power corrupts absolutely."

The former Food Minister was speaking in Bombay on "At what price democracy" at a meeting of the Progressive Group at Green's Hotel.

Mr. Patil said he had been a loyal Congressman for the past 40 years. He felt the people had no alternative but to defeat the Congress in such a way that it would be a guarantee for purification of democracy in the country.

HINDI 'WORST THREAT TO UNITY'

MADRAS: Mr. Frank Anthony, M.P. and president of the Anglo-Indian Association, today said "Hindi imperialism" was the greatest single threat to the unity and the progress of the country.

He told a public meeting that the principal motivations of "Hindi imperialism" was hatred for English.

English was the mortar of administrative unity and of judicial integration.

The Prime Minister was unable to include it in the eighth schedule of the Constitution because of the political dominance of "Hindi chauvinists" in Parliament, he said.

Its imposition meant setting the country back from the educational, scientific and political point of view.

* * *

CONGRESS DISEASE: POWER CANCER

The Maharaja of Jaipur, who left Bombay for Jaipur was mildly critical of the holding of the current All-India Congress session in the Rajasthan capital.

In a talk to newspapermen the former ruler of Jaipur asserted that there was a famine in Rajasthan and therefore it was not, in his opinion, right that the session should have had Jaipur as its venue.

He made it clear that in normal times such sessions were welcome, because they provided a boost to local trade and also resulted in some sort of face-lifting operation for the city concerned.

If the State's Chief Minister had the best interests of the people at heart, then he would not have paid so much attention to the elaborate organisation of the session, but would instead have devoted his attention to the issue of tackling the famine situation.

'Power Cancer'

Those in charge of the administration in India are, according to the Maharaja, suffering from "power cancer". "There is," he pointed out, "no cure for cancer."

Dear Editor.....

I have just read your interesting remarks in the October 15, issue of The Indian Libertarian on "The Spirit of India". This is especially interesting to me, a short time visitor from America, in that a common Western picture of "The Indian mind" is formed by Dr. Radha-Krishnan and Swami Vivekanand. Your comments indicate a point of view sharply at variance from this picture.

I should therefore appreciate any reference with which you can provide me to books, journals, articles, organisations or persons sharing your criticism of these on India's "Spiritual Heritage".

October 31, 1963 Yours

Bangalore, **Gerald Cooke.**

ANNOUNCEMENT

We have a few back issues of "Freeman" a monthly journal published by the Foundation for Economic Education, U.S.A. They are available free on request to us. Requests for copies should be accompanied with 15 nP. stamps.

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