

AUGUST 1954

Threats To Freedom In The Free World

by V. B. Karnik

THE free world is engaged in a mighty struggle for the preservation and extension of freedom. Communism and communist regimes represent today the gravest threat to freedom. They have not only abolished freedom over a large part of the world but are incessantly trying to extend the area of their domination, where all liberties of mind and person are forever extinguished. The free world, however, is not entirely free from the threats to freedom. They may be comparatively minor and less dangerous, but the struggle for freedom will not be successful unless effective steps are also taken to expose and combat them.

The free world is a conglomeration of nations at various levels of social development. There are some amongst them which can boast of very little of political and economic freedom. They are in the comity of free nations because they do not constitute a menace to other nations and because externally they are ranged against the communist regimes. Internally they have very little to their credit in the field of social freedoms. The strength that they bring to the free world is welcome, but the strength may turn into weakness unless attempts are made to accelerate the pace of social progress in those countries. It is unfortunate that the socially advanced nations are not doing much in that direction. Antiquated social and economic institutions existing in those countries are a grave threat to freedom.

There are some other nations which have not yet rid themselves of colonialism. Colonialism is depriving many millions of Asia and Africa of their basic rights of freedom and a full life. The worst examples of colonialism are to be found in the dark continent of Africa. In Kenya, the British are shooting down the Mau Mau men like hunted animals. Simultane-

ously, they are no doubt taking steps to broaden the basis of their government and to transfer some power into the hands of Africans. But the basic conviction is lacking that Africa belongs to the vast masses of Africans and not to a handful of European settlers. The attempt of the Europeans to keep the Africans in subjugation and to monopolise the immense natural resources of that continent is foredoomed to failure. But as long as the attempt continues there will be a serious weakening of the world struggle for freedom and the communists will be able to enlist in their favour the passive acquiescence, if not the active support, of the toiling millions of Asia and Africa.

Colonialism is a denial of the basic human rights of vast millions. It denies political freedom and economic wellbeing to those subjected to its tyranny. It is highly regrettable that some of the nations belonging to the free world still insist upon continuing their colonial rule. The worst offender in this respect is France. Her record in Indo-China, in Morocco and in Tunisia is such as should make any civilized nation blush. In Indo-China, circumstances have forced her to recognise at last the independence of the three Indo-Chinese States, but in Morocco and Tunisia she is still trying to retain her hold and is resorting to cruel repression to put down the nationalist movements.

The imperialist policies of some of these countries of Europe are a grave threat to freedom. Freedom cannot be compartmentalised. It cannot be monopolised by some nations and denied to the rest. It cannot be the monopoly of the white races and slavery the badge of the black or the brown. Those who draw such distinctions on grounds of race, colour or economic considerations are the enemies of freedom. By their actions and policies they strengthen the camp of communism and imperil the struggle for freedom.

The threats to freedom that have developed in the United States are of a different character. In the anxiety to fight and destroy communism an attempt is being made to introduce in the free society of America some of the bad features of a communist regime. That attempt is associated all over the world with the name of Senator McCarthy. The Senator is

not, however, a lone individual. He represents a tendency and that is what gives the threat its serious character.

The tendency may have some justification in the peculiar conditions that developed in America during the war and the immediate post-war years. A number of communists had wormed their way into many positions of strategic importance. For reasons of national security it was necessary to remove them from those positions. If progressive and democratic forces had taken the initiative to expose and eradicate this communist infiltration, Senator McCarthy and his friends would not have the plausible excuse that they have today for some of their activities. McCarthy and his friends did not, however, restrict themselves to the limited task of exposing the communists in government services. They have gone much beyond, have attempted to bring universities and other institutions under the purview of their inquiries and encroached upon many cherished rights and liberties of American citizens. His investigations have become infamous all over the world for their character assassinations and persecution of innocent persons.

Other equally disturbing incidents are also reported from time to time. The refusal of visas to eminent scientists and literateurs, the prohibition of entry into the country to a number of anti-communist exiles, the denial of rights of citizenship to respectable citizens for technical offences committed years back, the dismissal from service of a number of public servants on mere suspicion or for alleged past association with communists are incidents which indicate the growth of a temper which is out of place in a free society. Some sections of the American people appear to be in the grip of a nervous fear. They feel that the security of their country has been shattered. That gives an opportunity to demagogues to discover a communist in every bush and, on the pretext of eradicating communist infiltration, to wage a war on liberal, progressive and heterodox tendencies. The activities of these demagogues represent a threat to freedom which is not of a mean order.

Fear breeds suspicion, suspicion leads to intolerance and intolerance results in time in suppression of all non-conformist tendencies. But it is non-conformism, the courage to question and challenge the established institutions and accepted values which is at the root of progress and is the distinguishing feature of a free society. Free nations must be on their guard to see that, just as a false sense of complacency does not lead them to neglect the defences of democracy, fear of communism does not similarly drive them into giving up that essence of freedom. Victory over communism will be a pyrrhic victory if in the process the free nations will be transformed into regimented societies where citizens will walk in fear of each other and none will dare express an unorthodox opinion. It would be most unrealistic to say that that state of affairs has developed in any of the free nations. It is wise, however, to take note of the forces which tend in that direction.

These are the threats to freedom which have developed to some extent in the leading nation of the free

world. They represent, however, a minor tendency. The foundations of freedom are so firmly laid in the United States that any tendency militating against the ideas and institutions of democracy finds it difficult to strike roots. The threats are noticed only because they are developing on the background of a free society. Enlightened public opinion is ranged against those threats and there is a keen awareness that communism cannot be fought and destroyed by adopting communist methods.

The alliance of free nations is not a brotherhood of ideas or ideals. Nations have joined it out of diverse motives. All of them do not uniformly accept the ideals of social freedom, political liberty and economic equality. Even when these are accepted they are not made uniformly applicable to all sections of the peoples. Some nations make a sharp distinction between the peoples of metropolitan areas and the subject peoples of dependent territories. While the former are allowed a large measure of liberty, the latter are denied all rights and are treated as hewers of wood and drawers of water. Some even go to the extent of proclaiming the dogma of white supremacy and of treating the black races as a different species.

In view of these facts, it should not surprise anybody that the free or the non-communist world is not itself free from all threats to freedom. Different kinds of threats exist in different countries of the alliance and their intensity and seriousness also varies from country to country. Established governments may be unable to counteract those threats, for in many cases they have their origin in the actions and policies of those governments. But the alliance of free nations is not restricted to an alliance of established governments. It also embraces the alliance of the peoples of those countries. The people can raise their voice against the threats. They can generate forces which can check their development. In a free society, threats to freedom can be and are met and defeated. This is what distinguishes a free society from a society of slaves and robots.

FREEDOM FIRST

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Notes

How Not To Travel

ON August 1, Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt was to have completed a month's visit to the Soviet Union—the first prominent American to be let in after the war-time visits of Wendel Willkie and Henry Wallace. That visit never started. On July 1, the day of her departure for Moscow, Mrs. Roosevelt announced the cancellation of her visit on the ground that the Kremlin was “trying to force me to go to Russia on their terms.” The issue was the denial of a visa to a trained Look Magazine man who knew Russian to accompany her. It would be “very foolish” for her to make the trip, Mrs. Roosevelt opined, on that basis.

As it happens, that is precisely the basis on which so far all Indian visitors in the past few years have accepted Soviet invitations and facilities to travel. The result, except for a few prescient glimpses such as those of Mrs. Sucheta Kripalani, have been dismal both from the viewpoint of obtaining correct information and of the effect on the visitors' reputations for shrewd observation. The crowning ignominy of touring totalitarian countries under such conditions was recently provided when a certain woman M.P., (not a member of the Communist Party) who went to Russia as part of the “Women's Delegation”, addressed a meeting in Moscow, showered the most blatant praise on the Soviet educational system and prided herself on saying that she would send her own children to any school in Russia rather than to any school in India.

Mrs. Roosevelt, herself the essence of Liberalism, has put her finger on what is essentially wrong with the acceptance of Soviet or Chinese communist invitations. That is the absence of similar facilities to Indians not of Soviet choice and the absence of opportunities to visit the slave labour camps at Kolyma and Vorkuta along with the Metro in Moscow.

New Palace For Lamas

THE Dalai Lama and the Panchan Lama who left for Peking on July 13, will reside permanently in Peking, making only occasional visits to Tibet. A new palace has been built in Peking for the Lamas.

“During the Lamas' absence, the country will be ruled by the Chinese General commanding Chinese Communist forces in Tibet in consultation with the “Kashak”, the Dalai Lama's cabinet. The “Kashak” will probably only deal with religious matters.”

In these eighty words of a news item from Lhasa, so full of delicious irony, is sealed the death warrant, not of the “baby murderers,” as Dr. Lohia has aptly described them, but of the helpless people of Tibet. Thus is completed the process of “liberation” that commenced on that day in September 1950 when, in breach of solemn pledges given to the Indian Govern-

ment and in violation of the rights of nations to freedom, Chinese Communist forces marched ruthlessly into that happy, remote land, the only provocation offered by which was its total lack of defences. The Lamas, like other hapless royal prisoners of old, will languish in their new Peking palace. Occasionally, they will be produced with that macabre irony so beloved of the communist tyrants at some public ceremonial and made—in the nature of Soviet “confessions”—to join in the sickening double talk customary on such occasions. Meanwhile, the Chinese commander in Lhasa will bring the benefits of communism to a disarmed and helpless nation in the same way these have been showered successively on the peoples of Poland, East Germany, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, North Korea and all the other captive peoples. Yet one more of the numerous black spots in the book of human history is thus recorded which made a poet once lament that it was a story of “right forever on the scaffold, wrong forever on the throne.”

Communist Criteria

THE *New Age*, mouth-piece of the Indian Communist Party, has carried a vicious attack on the Burmese Government of which the Socialist Party of Burma forms an important part. This attack follows the recent meeting between Chou-En-lai and U Nu, the very popular leader of the Burmese Government. Ridden with irreconcilable factions and unable to hit on a common policy *vis-a-vis* Pandit Nehru, it seems the Communist Party is trying to discover new targets and the Burmese socialists seem to have come in as an easy one. The proximate cause of this silly attack is obviously the recent forthright description by U Kyaw Nyein, the Burmese Foreign Minister, of Soviet imperialism as the most dangerous, the most ruthless, the most degrading and blatantly justified in the name of communism. Although communist chagrin is understandable, this attack on the Burmese socialists once more proves that, no matter how progressive the internal policies of a country may be the communists will attack its leaders if they are not willing to do obeisance to the demi-gods of Moscow.

Abolition Of Death Penalty

THE Speaker of the Lok Sabha, Shri G. V. Mavlankar has put forward a powerful plea for the abolition of the death penalty. The death penalty, he said, ‘is the last vestige of barbarism in which violence is supreme.’ Drawing attention to the experience of twenty European countries, Mr. Mavlankar pointed out that ‘nothing perverse had happened in those countries’ since they abolished the death penalty. The death penalty has been supported by many on the ground that it acts as a deterrent to serious crimes. Experience has not borne out the contention, for serious crimes like murder continue to be committed in spite of the existence of the penalty. Mr. Ignatio Silone, a member of the International Executive of the Congress for Cultural Freedom, is also a great advocate of the abolition of the death penalty.

A Prime Minister Makes A Movie

by Daphne Whittam

IT is unusual, to put it mildly, for a Prime Minister to turn playwright; and the truth is that Burma's U Nu was writing plays before he became Prime Minister. His drama, *The People Win Through*, which forms the basis for the film of the same name that is now being shown in Burma, is therefore, for him, no new departure, but represents a return to an art medium in which he elected to work more than fifteen years ago, for he began to write plays shortly after he was graduated from the university, while headmaster of a school in the rural areas. At that time, he had become deeply interested in the Freudian analysis of human behaviour, and among the most notable of his writings are two complementary plays dealing with the problem of marital incompatibility. After seven years as a teacher, he returned to the University in the Faculty of Law, and was immediately caught up in the political ferment of nationalist agitation against the British, which was naturally strongest amongst the young intellectuals with whom he was thrown into contact.

As he became increasingly involved in politics, U Nu, who has said that he had no desire for a political career and wanted only to be a writer, began to devote his literary efforts more and more to political ends. Expelled from the University and jailed for his nationalistic activities, he wrote the best-known of his novels, a story of prison-life. His first literary work after the war was entitled *What is Marxism?* a sympathetic explanation of the creed against a background of Buddhist principles. Together with the political ideas which had come to fill his mind, U Nu also brought to his writings the attitude of the teacher. The two strains fused into a type of tract-like writing, providing the explanation and elucidation of political ideas in the simplest terms.

The idea for his play, *The People Win Through*, arose during a period of political upheaval and disintegration for Burma. Only two months after the country had gained its independence in 1948, the Communist Party, which had been a co-partner in the struggle for freedom, turned against the established Government, and launched an armed revolution. The infant republic, widely devastated by the Japanese war, barely groping towards the beginnings of true national unity, and hampered by all the weaknesses of a country faced with the task of building literally everything, including its armed forces, from the ground up, was cruelly hit by the revolt. Over large areas of the country, the communists seized control or made sporadic attacks on defenceless villages, and the people, bewildered by the new conflict whose basis they were far from understanding, were swept helplessly between the opposing forces and were reduced to conditions even worse than those they had suffered in the preceding war years.

Although *The People Win Through* in its movie presentation appears as an anti-Communist vehicle,

this was not the predominant aim of its writer. The theme that he set out to express was the destructiveness and futility of the method of seizing political power by force, instead of through democratic process. The history of Burma has always been clouded by this same tendency to take a short cut to political power by armed revolt, and U Nu was obsessed with the idea that with the coming of independence the pattern would repeat itself, with one leader after another fighting his way to power and then being felled by a rival.

To demonstrate forcibly the evils of this pattern, he at first conceived the idea of tracing the theme through three periods of history, citing actual events in the past, and ending with the present period. But this proved unwieldy in dramatisation and he abandoned the idea in favour of a single play dealing only with the communist revolt. It is a measure of the importance he attached to the play that he found time to write it at a moment when the internal situation was absorbing all his faculties, and he is said to have written the first scene in a few leisure hours snatched during an official journey by river-craft to a town in the Irrawaddy Delta. There is no disguising the fact that the play was a piece of political propaganda, or political education, if that phrase is less odious. In Western terms, there are marked artistic defects in its dramatic structure. But it should be noted that the play, like other plays by the same author, was written to be read, and not for the stage. The modern Burmese stage has no counterpart of the Western drama, and, for the most part, producers improvise their own plays which are mainly short sketches and burlesques, with no attempt at full-length dramas. There is a certain amount of mutual exclusiveness between the *literati* and the actors in the modern theatre, while the classical drama, of course, continues with the plays written about a century ago. Still, even as a play for reading, rather than acting, *The People Win Through* lost much from its preoccupation with putting over a political message. It was heavily overburdened with long political harangues and there was a lack of continuity from one scene to another. The scenes, in fact, were more in the nature of separate dramatic episodes: minor characters appeared, said their piece, and then were lost for ever.

The movie version, which has made both additions and alterations to the original, has gone a long way towards overcoming these defects. It has tied the loose ends together, given dramatic form to the whole, and has showed itself capable of holding a Burmese audience as sheer entertainment. This in itself is some thing of an achievement, since *The People Win Through* is not in the usual pattern of Burmese movies. The Burmese are a relatively unsophisticated people, and their entertainment tends towards innocence and naivete. Current Burmese movies (which cater

frankly for the masses and are seldom patronised by the intelligentsia) are of the *genre* of the paper-backed Western, with bold, bad villains, unbelievable heroes and heroines, and a strong emphasis on romance, blood-and-thunder sequences, and slap-stick. *The People Win Through*, which openly takes the position of a semi-documentary, is therefore something entirely new in the field of Burmese films.

The film version has, in a sense, digressed from the original theme of the play, because what emerges most clearly is not so much the lesson that armed revolution is a mistake, but the personal disillusionment of the young Communist intellectual who forms the central figure of the drama, his retreat from the Communist Party, and the release he finds from it in death. Each of the principal characters represents and personifies one of the ideas which the author is trying to get across. The scene opens on the eve of the communist insurrection in 1948. The central figure, Aung Min, son of a middle-class family, is intellectually attracted to Communism and has become a member of the Party with all the ardent faith of an idealistic youth. Over against him is set his friend, Aye Maung, also conversant with Marxist doctrines but opposed to the idea of an armed revolt; on him falls the task, in the script, of advancing the intellectual argument against the Burmese Communist Party. There is also Aung Min's father, a devout Buddhist, who symbolises the abiding religious background of the people, sorrowing over his son who has become a rebel, and praying continuously for peace.

With the shifting of the scene to the rural areas where the communists have gone into revolt, the story traces the gradual disillusionment of the young intellectual. Attached as a Political Commissar to a unit of the "People's Liberation Army," he is revolted by the excesses of the unit commander, a man who rules by the gun and has no time for ideologies—this character is a type of rebel-bandit very familiar to Burmese audiences. After many brave attempts to stifle his doubts for the sake of the cause, Aung Min determines to report the brutal commander to Party headquarters, confident in the belief that such atrocities are allowed only because they are unknown to the leadership. The turning-point comes for him when he finds that his leaders regard the ruthless soldier, not as a monster, but as a useful instrument.

In the meantime, the play has introduced yet another message-bearing character, the village youth, who, untouched by politics, and totally unable to evaluate the merits of the communists' propaganda, has yet been roused to fury by their repressive tactics so that he raises a group of volunteers from the village to wage his own fight against the communists. He it is who carries the theme which is expressed in the title of the drama, which literally translated into English means "The Sound of the People's Victory," implying the rejection of the communist revolution, not by the Government or the intellectuals, but by the peasant masses themselves.

When the main political themes have been stated and the disillusionment of the chief protagonist is complete, the story moves swiftly to a climax. The

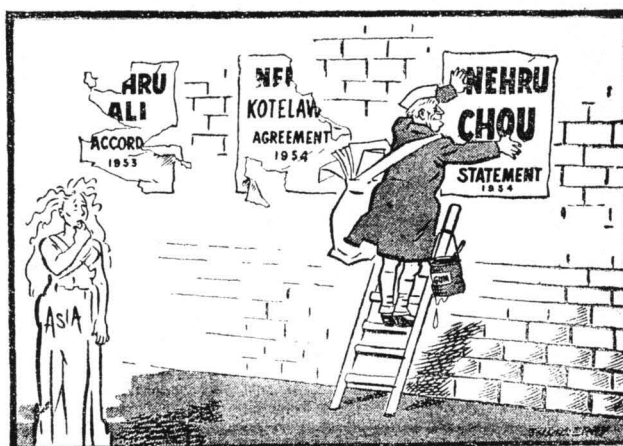
unit commander, learning of Aung Min's defection, intercepts him on his flight to Government-held territory and wounds him fatally. The drama is rounded off, too neatly, with an exciting dash of the wounded hero for the safety of his home, and with the final scene where the religious motif is brought back, as his dying steps are supported towards the family altar by his old father and his wife, to enable him to make a last obeisance before he dies. It is of particular interest that although the film is unambiguously anti-communist in tone and intent this central character is never at any time portrayed in an unsympathetic light. He remains throughout a sincere though misguided idealist, and after his death his friend tells his only son that the father was a hero who gave his life for his country.

The timing of the release of the movie version has had an important effect on its reception. This has worked both ways. The original meaning of the play, namely, the futility of the communist revolt, has been to some extent lost, since the years that have elapsed since it was written have brought a changed situation in which the communists no longer pose as grave a threat to the country, and the seeds of democracy have taken firmer root than they had at that time. On the other hand, the film has gained from the fact that most of the people who see it know from personal experience that the events it portrays are not propagandist exaggerations, but have actually happened time and again in the recent past. This lends a new appeal, that of familiarity, to the drama.

Written and produced for the "common man," the film apparently has real appeal at the level to which it was directed, but has been less enthusiastically received by the intelligentsia. This is partly due to its over-simplification and contrived dramatic effects, which were necessary to make it a vehicle of popular appeal in this country. It is also partly due, however, to the unfortunate gulf which has existed, to some extent, between the intelligentsia and the Government in the post-independence period. From this stems a somewhat derisive attitude towards all that can be regarded as pro-Government propaganda.

—Encounter

"STICK MORE BILLS"



—The Free Press Journal

Democrats With A Small "d"

by Upton Sinclair

THIRTY years ago, there was a great strike of the longshoremen in the harbour of Los Angeles. These days, you may find it hard to believe, but that strike was taken as a criminal action, and 700 of the men were arrested and thrown into jails which were not built to accommodate one-tenth that number.

With a group of friends, true believers in civil liberties, I attempted to protest against this action. Standing on private property, with the written permission of the owner, I attempted to read the Bill of Rights from the Constitution of the United States. The result was that four of us were arrested and held in jail incommunicado for a period of twentyone hours, while my wife and friends tried frantically to find out what had happened to us.

We were brought into court, purposely at the very last moment before closing time; but a newspaper man tipped my wife off, and she and her friends came running into the court and put up bail for us. Thereafter, we hired a hall every night for a week or two, and we distributed protest leaflets throughout the city. Out of those meetings the Southern California branch of the American Civil Liberties Union was born, and it has worked so effectively that no such violations of elementary civil rights have taken place in Los Angeles during the past thirty years.

Today, there are no mass arrests of strikers. But a new enemy has arisen, no less brutal and far more cunning and dangerous. I am speaking of communism. There are large groups in our country among whom it is unpopular to say this, and I can hear members of these groups exclaiming: "Aha! Sinclair has become a Red-baiter!" I have heard it direct from Moscow, where they used to print my books in editions of several hundred thousand, and where now they call me a "miserable renegade" and "Wall Street lackey."

I don't read Russian, and I do not know what they did to my books in those old days, but I think it a safe guess that they cut out all those passages which did not please them—the passages in which I explained the democratic process and the meaning of true civil liberties. For in that tormented land they do not know what the words mean—and if anyone gives the faintest hint of seeking to know, he is taken away in the small hours of the morning and never heard of again. Millions have shared that fate and have perished in the coal mines and gold mines of Siberia. I don't take this information from the capitalist press; I take it from one-time fellow-travellers, friends who have been there and seen it and come back and told me.

I believe in civil liberties of the true, democratic sort. I believe in government by consent of the governed. I believe in social changes brought about by education, organisation and the free political process. I have fought for these things for half a century, and have not changed on a single one of

these fundamentals. And when I see a semi-barbarian dictatorship setting out to destroy these liberties and replace them with terror and torture, I become a "Red-baiter," and haven't the slightest fear of any of the bad names the Kremlin may choose to call me.

The Soviets were our allies in the defence of freedom against the Hitler dictatorship, and we thought they would remain our friends. But the moment the war ended they declared cold war upon us. The blockade of Berlin was an act of war, and the invasion of South Korea was another, and there will be many more of the same. You have only to read one book by Lenin or Stalin to know that it is a fixed, fanatical programme. As their hymn sets it forth: "Tis the final conflict."

And now, failing to make headway in a free land, the party has adopted a programme of camouflage, of what they call "infiltration." They are all democrats now, with a small "d." They are all followers of Jefferson and Lincoln now. What that means to us members of the Civil Liberties Union is that there are persons among us who pay their dues and serve on committees, but who do not believe in our programme and who mock at us in their hearts, and whose one purpose is to take over the organization and to guide its policies so that it will cease to represent free Americanism and true civil liberties.

I say to you: Communists are real. Watch out for them!

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Red Dictatorship In Guatemala

by Ruben D. Villatoro

[The writer is the President of the National Union of Free Workers of Guatemala, a free trade union organization affiliated to the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions. The article was written and published long before the outbreak of the Armas revolt which resulted in the overthrow of the Arbenz regime. It throws a flood of light on the conditions existing in the country under that regime — Editor]

THE revolution of October 20, 1944, which was supported by the overwhelming majority of the Guatemalan people gave us the opportunity to begin the organization of the trade union movement. The powerful Union of Railway Workers, better known as SAMF, was the first to be organized, followed by the Teacher's Union and others among the banana workers, longshoremen and textile employees. It was a labour movement based on the principles of freedom and independence.

A few months later, these unions banded together and formed the Trade Union Federation of Guatemala, which sponsored the first collective agreements and achieved great strength in Guatemala City and in Quetzaltenango. There was also organized for the benefit of the agricultural workers the Regional Central Federation of Workers of Guatemala. Both organizations were the result of rank and file efforts and sacrifices, were financed exclusively by the membership, and maintained an attitude of independence from the government as well as from political parties.

At the same time, a small group of teachers who had been educated abroad, together with some former political refugees, organized the Confederation of Workers of Guatemala (GGT) which from the very beginning manifested a definite communist orientation, was subsidized by Russian agents, and affiliated itself with the CTAL of Lombardo Toledano, notoriously an instrument of Russian foreign policy. However, under the regime of President Juan Jose Arevalo, this Communist-controlled Federation remained very small. The World Federation of Trade Unions, to which the GGT was affiliated, devised therefore special plans for the destruction of our free trade union movement. Communist leader Victor Manuel Gutierrez, who had taken part in the WFTU Bucharest Convention where the new strategy was devised, issued a call to all the labour organizations upon his return to Guatemala, proposing a unity of action, which unfortunately we accepted in good faith because we thought it would be a unity for freedom and not for slavery. The three central labour organizations of Guatemala took part in the so-called Unity Convention of October, 1951, where they agreed to merge into a General Confederation of Workers of Guatemala (CGTG), where the communists from the very beginning secured 70 per cent of the key positions.

Soon after the achievement of this unity, the communists started a campaign of slander against the older leaders of the labour movement with the view of taking away from them the support of the workers.

This maneuver received the support of the government after President Jacobo Arbenz Guzman succeeded, Arevalo. Trusted and experienced labour leaders were thus forced out and were substituted with young, inexperienced leaders whose only qualification was blind submission to the will and dictates of the Communist Party. With the constant support of the government, a veritable communist trade union dictatorship was thus built up in Guatemala.

Almost every day the government-controlled newspapers, "Nuestro Diario" and "Diario de Centroamerica" carry attacks against the ORIT, the ICFTU, and their powerful affiliates in the United States and in other countries of Latin America. Letters and packages of newspapers and literature from these organizations are systematically opened in the post offices and quite often destroyed. The addressees are being constantly harassed with threats and acts of violence.

The National Union of Free Workers of Guatemala, which was organized last year, had its headquarters at 7a. Avenida Norte No. 49. Based on the principle of free, independent trade unionism, it opposed government domination and interference from political parties. We advocated a type of constructive trade unionism that was in open contrast with the destructive policy employed by the communists. We began to organize unions of factory workers as well as agricultural labourers. From the Capital City of Guatemala our influence began to spread all over the country.

As early as September of last year, that is as soon as the UNTL was launched, it began to suffer harassments and persecution from the Judicial Police. This writer and his co-leaders Ramiro Aguilar, Enrique Coronado and Miguel Angel Quiroa were arrested under the false accusation of carrying arms. Happily, our affiliated unions reacted with an avalanche of protests and we were soon released with only a fine to pay.

In the month of January of this year, the communists renewed their offensive against the UNTL by inviting us to take part in the Second National Convention of their CGTG. We refused because we knew that the convention would be dominated by the communists from the very beginning. More than that, we publicly challenged the communists to explain how they were spending the \$10,000.00 monthly subsidy that they were receiving, part for the Communist Party and part for the CGTG. We asked them to explain also why they were sabotaging the just demands of those unions that were outside their

(Continued on page 8)

The Committee And America

[The following is the reaction of an esteemed reader to Mr. Padhye's article on the subject appearing in the May issue expressed in the form of a letter to the writer — Editor]

I HAVE read your leading article carefully and agree with every word you say from the point of view of the I.C.C.F. You have also made out an impregnable case for putting Anti-Communism first from the international angle. That suffices for *Freedom First* and what it stands for.

But you want my personal reaction which is not very important or quite relevant to the great debate. Yet here it is for what it is worth. As an Indian I understand the third way and the neutralism of my country and some of its Asiatic neighbours. It does not stem from ignorance of history or indifference to the basic western values which you consider international values, viz. free culture and free societies for the exercise of the sovereignty of the individual. This last, "sovereignty of the individual" is the realised ideal of few, very few homogenous and exceptionally healthy political societies like that of Britain and thanks to the world dominance of that society, a generalised and imperfectly realised notion of the English-speaking world. India's place in that world, always insecure and peripheral, is now to my thinking, totally lost. As a man educated in the old way I much regret that it should be so; but as one living in a society full of, and now dominated by, folk uneducated in the older ways of our country and as one heir to these ways by birth and environmental pressure, I cannot hope for a transformation of our society which this wholehearted acceptance of western values can accomplish. This is strictly speaking not a dilemma. You quote the repudiation of Mudaliar by our Government and press. One cannot imagine anything more regrettable; but could one have imagined anything else as possible?

It may be the Nehru Government is obsessed by defence considerations when dealing with our northern neighbours, but I fear our 'moral neutralism' is much deeper than that, and is wholly ideological and thoroughly unrelated to the realities of the international scene. It is the result of a habit of mind, Hindu, oriental, Asiatic, primitive, naive, call it what you will. It seems odd to me, for instance that, out of Beveridgism and L.S.E. social and welfare economics, there should be derived a further thesis that underdeveloped countries are the first charge on the resources of their luckier western brothers. But that is the thesis on which a lot of international endeavour from Colombo and Point Four on are built. Indians seem to accept the position as morally right and economically sound. This is in keeping with the age-old Indian social theme that any man's goods are any other man's. This ancient communism inclines us to favour every new form of collectivism and all manner of political expedients to sustain a non-individualistic and therefore authoritarian system of distribution of the spoils. We are all communalists and to that extent communists for the biological survival of

our race, (What other reason is there for economic theories of levelling except that the bulk which cannot rise to the top should nevertheless participate equally in the fruits of the work of the few?) as a totality is more important to us than the fulfilment of any one's personality.

Our heroes like Nehru are not significant individuals but derive their potency purely as totems of the tribes. 'Totalitarian tyranny' has not the same dreadful significance for us as for some to whom it is a new and menacing portent. We, therefore, like to think that Eisenhower, Churchill or Mao or Malenkov are to their respective peoples what Nehru is to us. And when they come and tell us they are in two camps gripped in deadly combat, we are not interested and with ancient cunning say we will not take sides.

Your correspondent's charge that the I.C.C.F. is an outpost of the West in India, I am afraid, is true, to the extent that the values it seeks to sustain and propagate are not native. The quarrel is really over "western" and "international." Whichever we call the values, and I certainly admit they are values worth upholding and spreading in our country, the fact of their alienness hinders their acceptance not because our people are wicked or malicious but only because the bulk of them are perfect strangers to these values. As a practical job, the conversion of the mass of the people of our land to these ideals, even that of keeping the few who are aware of them from slipping back to native ways, is more than herculean and I wish you all luck and success in it.

X.Y.Z.

(Continued from page 7)

control, and why they were opposing organization of the agricultural workers in those farms or plantations that were owned by high government officials or pro-Communist employers.

Such a defiance aroused the communists to a pitch of fury. On the morning of January 25, 1954, at 10 o'clock, a band of communists, armed with machine guns, assaulted our headquarters, destroyed the furniture, burned the literature we had received from the ORIT and the AFL, stole what money they found in our safe, and arrested all the leaders who were present, including this writer. We were tortured in the most barbarous fashion to make us confess that we were plotting with the international free trade union movement against the Government of Guatemala. The reaction caused by our arrest was so strong that the government decided to settle our case by ordering our deportation. As a result, this writer was sent to Mexico while Ramiro Aguilar, Enrique Coronado and Miguel Angel Quiroa were deported to Honduras.

Review

Moscow And The Chinese Communists

ARE there any essential differences between Russian and Chinese communism? Is there any possibility of Mao Tse-tung becoming a Chinese Tito? What do the Chinese communists want in Asia? What are the possibilities for co-existence? In his latest work*, Mr. Robert C. North—who made history at the Lucknow Conference of the Institute of Pacific Relations in October 1950 by propounding what has come to be known as “North’s dilemma”—goes straight to the communist documents themselves in his search for the answer. His book is the first full-length, authentic story of the communist conquest of China.

The story begins with the Chinese Empire of past centuries which saw itself as the focal point of the only world order that really counted. With its own century-deep culture, highly-developed value system and self-contained economic, political and social structure, China saw no reason for dealing with other parts of the earth except with the condescension which great empires have traditionally displayed toward fringe barbarians. In this spirit the Chinese Empire accepted tribute from Korea, Annam, Laos, North Burma, Bhutan, Nepal, Tibet and other border areas and demanded—and got—prostrations from their envoys. With the Opium War and subsequent Western economic, political, and cultural penetrations of long-isolated China, the old pattern gave way and was disrupted rapidly. Within a few decades a “barbaric” but technologically superior West brought a reversal of the old relationship: China, wide open to Western economic exploitation, became in effect a tributary to the West. The result was a nationalist revolution and the collapse of the ancient Empire.

Unfortunately, new forces set out to capture this revolution of the nationalists. As early as 1920, Lenin laid down for the Second Congress of the Communist International a programme for separating Asia from the West and for diverting nationalist revolutions in China, India and elsewhere into Soviet channels. It was a double-edged proposal: (1) to cooperate in every possible way with “bourgeois nationalist” leaders, playing upon their distrust of the West, (2) simultaneously, to infiltrate and gain control over labour movements, peasant organisations and the armed forces in order eventually to turn them against these same nationalist leaders and thus capture indigenous revolutionary forces for communist purposes.

In tracing the development of this carefully worked out programme, Mr. North lets the communists speak for themselves; in document after document—party resolutions, stenographic reports, manifestoes,—both Russian and Chinese communist leaders reveal

what they are after in Asia and precisely how they intend to get it.

This does not mean that Russian and Chinese communist leaders always were in agreement. Time and time again, Stalin forced Chinese communists to act in contradiction to their own better judgements—usually at tragic cost in Asian lives. And time and time again, when these cock-sure policies failed, it was a Chinese leader—never a Russian—who had to accept responsibility. Even Li Li-san, when he launched his abortive armed rebellion in 1930, was acting under Russian orders. But when Chinese communist forces went down to defeat, it was Li Li-san, and not Stalin, who stood before a Party tribunal in Moscow and “confessed his errors.” If it seemed that Stalin was “most right” precisely when he was most wrong, the Chinese communists swallowed their national pride. Even Mao Tse-tung, himself disciplined by the hierarchy on more than one occasion, remained loyal to higher authority. Chou En-lai, entangled in more than one intrigue, always turned up somehow on the winning side because of Moscow patronage.

In their own writings, the communists—both Chinese and Russian—explain beyond all doubt how their political system works. The government itself is primarily an instrument of class warfare. “To hostile classes,” according to Mao, “the State apparatus is an instrument of oppression, of coercion and not good-will.” Those whom the communists consider “reactionary” must be deprived of their right to vote, even their right to express an opinion. The chief current task of the Government is to strengthen the army, the police and courts—“the tools of the classes for the oppression of classes”—in order to use them against those people it considers “reactionary.”

Is the revolution of the Chinese communists exportable? Time and again Lenin, Stalin, Mao and other leaders give the answer: Japan, Korea, the Philippines, Indo-China, Indonesia, Siam, Burma, India, the Middle East and Africa—all are on the list (for tomorrow if not for today). In each case the communists will depend upon the well-meaning, if not always acute, nationalist leaders to provide them with the support they so badly need. It is with united fronts, coalitions, non-aggression pacts and treaties of friendship and alliance that the communist has paved his road thus far, and he finds these materials serving his purpose well. There is no need for any fundamental change and strategy; the same old tricks appear to work well.

What kind of order do the Russian and Chinese communists foresee for the whole of Asia? Mao Tse-tung leaves no doubt. There are only two camps in the World—the Soviet and the “imperialist,” (democratic). Asian countries must belong to one or the other. There is no third way. Talk of neutrality is

**Moscow and the Chinese Communists*, by Robert C. North, Stanford University Press, in India the Oxford University Press, 306 pp. \$ 5.00.

a camouflage. And where does the communist path lead? Mao and his comrades are clear about that too. There are not two kinds of communism as far as they are concerned. Just one—the Soviet kind.

This book bears out the truth of the Burmese socialist leader Kyaw Nyein's judgement that "the Soviet type of imperialism is even more degrading and even more dangerous because it is more ruthless, more systematic and more blatantly justified in the name of world communist revolution."

In allowing his characters very largely to reveal themselves, Mr. North makes one serious error. He assumes that the words of Lenin, Stalin, Mao Tse-tung and Chou En-lai spoken in high party councils will mean to the reader precisely what they say. A harder-headed writer would have reminded himself that there are well-intentioned people around who would sooner believe the Stockholm Peace Petition than Stalin's theories on peace-as-a-weapon-of-war, or a treaty of mutual non-aggression than Mao Tse-tung's statements about the rightful boundaries of China. But this is to be hyper-critical.

The need for a book such as this is much more acute in this country than in the U.S. It is a pity, therefore, that the present edition will remain beyond the reach of most readers in this country. Stanford University, which already renders a service to Asia by encouraging that excellent review *Pacific Spectator* with Mr. North as its editor, would do well to consider a cheaper paper-bound edition for Asian countries. For this is unquestionably a book that deserves to be read by all those in this country who hold opinions about China—and even more perhaps by the much greater number who don't.

M. R. M.

Know Your Isms

by Martin Dodge, Farrar Straus & Co., Price \$ 1.50 paper 25 cents.

THIS book of only 74 pages tells in simple language the meaning of the different ISMS which are besetting the world to-day. It is packed with information, and is the kind of book which students of political science would find most useful. All terms are precisely defined, and the different political ideas since the time of Plato are discussed in their historical setting. The book is divided into 7 Chapters, and in them Democracy, Socialism, Communism, Fascism and allied political systems are explained. It is printed in a way which makes reading easy. Half the page is left blank. Short sentences and shorter lines combined with 4 or 5 different types of lettering on the same page enable one to take in the ideas without any mental struggle. The purpose of this publication is told by the author in the first two pages, and we cannot do better than quote him:

"ISMS are labels for ideas

Like LABELS on bottles

Some containing good medicine, others bad.

Not only do different ISMS have different values

But people put different values on the same ISMS

That is why KNOW YOUR ISMS has been prepared

It describes ISMS

So that they can be told APART."

ZAFAR FUTEHALLY

The Challenge to Democracy

The Ministry of Information & Broadcasting, Government of India 55 Pages Price: 8 annas.

THIS pamphlet is a collection of talks broadcast over A.I.R. The problems of Democracy in this country are discussed from different points of view, and the reader gets a fairly clear idea of the obstacles which have to be surmounted before Democracy can become a success in India. Shiva Rao points out that the success or failure of the Indian experiment will devolve on the extent to which people develop a respect for Law. In this context he cites the remarkable case of the British in 1926, when on the statement by Sir John Simon that the contemplated General Strike was illegal, the idea was immediately abandoned. Indians should ponder over this incident, and draw their own conclusions. Shrimati Lakshmi Menon feels that the non-homogeneity of Indian society will make the functioning of Democracy difficult, unless a greater national consciousness comes about very soon. C. P. Ramaswamy Iyer emphasises the need to compromise without striking a doctrinaire approach in all questions. Jayaprakash Narayan and Acharya Kripalani feel that the root cause of tensions in the modern world is the inequality of wealth and unless this is removed Democracy has a doubtful future. They also give the warning that "the hungry can fall an easy prey to slavery if promised bread." It is a warning which does not need to be underlined.

Z. F.

Breakthrough on the Colour Front

by Lee Nichols, Published by Random House, New York. Pages 235. Price: \$ 3.50.

DESPITE the epoch-making declaration on July 4, 1776 "all men are created equal" and the Constitutional guarantees, the lot of the 13 million Negro-population of the U.S.A. was not a happy one for a long time.

Enlightened public opinion was not, however, unaware of this great challenge to the American championship of democracy, freedom and equality. The Truman Civil Rights Committee, the Public Service Commission, other 93 official Commissions and 345 semi-official agencies throughout the U.S.A. have been working hard to end the racial segregation and to improve the lot of the Negroes.

The extent of the solution of the Negro-problem can be gauged from the facts that the education of the Negroes, which includes higher and also specialized education of all sorts, has gone up from 18.6% in 1870 to 95% in 1950; in industries, the percentage of Negro-employment has gone up from 1% in 1900 to 29% in 1950; the strength of the Negro-membership in the trade unions affiliated to the A.F. of L. and C.I.O. and the Independent Trade Unions stands at 1¼ millions; the lynching has gone down from 120 in 1900 to 2 in 1950. The latest unanimous

decision of the Supreme Court stamps out racial segregation in public schools existing in the 17 Southern States.

"The Breakthrough on the Colour Front" gives a picture of this silent and unpropagandized, but nevertheless permanent, real and, in its field unique, revolution which is going on in the United States. The book gives in particular a very interesting account of how racial segregation has almost been completely rooted out of all branches of Armed Forces.

Prior to 1942, there were separate units of all-White and all-Negroes in all branches of Armed Forces. But, the experience of the last World War and the Korean war proved that, given opportunities, the Negroes can be as skilled, efficient, reliable, patriotic and freedom-loving as the Whites and it was, moreover, found that mixed units of Whites and Negroes had higher morale and fighting efficiency than the segregated units.

Now not only is racial segregation done away with but there are very high-ranking Negro officers in all branches of Armed Forces and there are common military-training centres for both.

There is now almost no legal bar to the racial equality of the Negroes. It will, however, still take some time before racial prejudices, inherited since generations, will altogether disappear from the American society.

The racial problem is not a monopoly of the United States. We have a similar problem here in the case of our untouchables and in the matter of communal relations. Those interested in solving the problem will find plenty to study in this fine book.

M.B.S.

BOOKS IN BRIEF

OCCASIONALLY we are allowed to feel that Dr Enid Starkie's judgement is out of alignment with its subject *Andre Gide* (Bowes and Bowes, sh 6/-) as when we read that Gide's homosexuality was not as serious a problem as he himself thought. To biographer the problem must surely be no more and no less serious than Gide himself felt it to be—it is his judgement that matters.

As one more volume, *The River of Fire*, (Eyre & Spottiswoode, sh 10/6) is added to the collected English edition of Francois Mauriac's novels, a doubt may insinuate itself into the reader's willing surrender to the story, and it is a doubt that concerns, not the novelist's technical skill, but the validity of that broader general philosophy which it is intended to serve. It may suddenly strike the reader that the world of M. Mauriac is a world built to a quite excessive degree on a disgust—more specifically, on a disgust of the flesh. While with Tolstoy it was a phase among many, with M. Mauriac it remains a steady dominant, bitterly and powerfully asserted.

Ever since the days of Trogus Pompeius of Gaul—the Spaniard he remarked shrewdly, has a body "*dura omnibus et adstricta parsimonia*"—the paradoxes of

Spanish temper have challenged definition and analysis. In particular the soul-searching of the generation of 1898—which resulted in such works as Altamira's *Psicologia del Pueblo Espanol*, Unamuno's *Espanol*, Ortega y Gasset's *Espana Invertebrada*, Picavea's *El Problema Nacional*—left remarkably little unsaid. Mr. V. S. Pritchett, therefore, does not set out, in his *The Spanish Temper* (Chatto & Windus, sh 15/-) to make a contribution to knowledge. "This is a personal book," he confesses, "and not primarily a work of information."

"The world's best loved book," *Don Quixote* has been translated into more languages than any other book, and still the translations multiply. This is one of the world's longest classics, and not all of it is of the same urgency and relevance. In his *Don Quixote of La Mancha*, translated and edited with a biographical prelude (Macmillan, sh 21/-) Dr. Walter Starkie, in line with recent Spanish 'reductions,' carries the logic of this farther by himself making the omissions and offering an abridged version "designed to relate without digressions the principal adventures of the Knight and his Squire."

Mr. Edmund Wilson has now collected his *Five Plays* (Allen, sh 21/-) and offers them with a doubt in his mind whether anyone will ever have the interest and stamina to read them right through. These plays by a most distinguished man of letters are disappointing and leave the impression that Wilson the critic would treat them severely had he not written them himself.

R. H.

C. C. F. NEWS

On July 2, 1954 Mr. Eric da Costa, member of the Executive Committee of the Indian Committee for Cultural Freedom, addressed members and friends of the Congress for Cultural Freedom in the offices of the Congress in Paris on "Asia Between Malthus and Marx". Mr. Stephen Spender presided. Among those present were: Prof. Raymond Aron, Andre Sigfried, Boris Souvarine, Raja Rao, the American novelist James T. Farrel, Prof. Eugene Rebinowitch, Editor of the Bulletin for Atomic Scientists, Tibor Mende Susan Labin and others.

M. David Rousset, member of the International Executive of the Congress for Cultural Freedom and founder of the International Commission against Concentration Camp Practices, has asked Chinese Premier Chou-En-Lai for permission to visit concentration camps in Red China. He said that his Commission had acted after receiving complaints from trade unions in Hongkong and Formosa. He added that he had gathered testimony about these camps from former inmates of the camps.

It will be recalled that M. Rousset and Prof. Balachowsky recently toured the Far East to investigate into this complaint and, on their way back, visited India.

With Many Voices

Moans round with many voices. Come, my friends,
'Tis not too late to seek a newer world."

—Tennyson.

At Malaviyanagar, one of the several new refugee townships in the capital, he (Chou-En-lai) passed through a decorated gate erected in his honour. A picture of Mahatma Gandhi was displayed prominently.
—*Sunday Standard*, June 27, 1954.

A full day's programme has been drawn up for tomorrow for the Chinese Prime Minister. He will lay a wreath at Mahatma Gandhi's *samadhi* at Rajghat at 9 a.m.
—*Times of India*, June 25, 1954.

One thing, which not only surprised us but even hurt us, was the fact that during all these days Gandhi's name was never mentioned. Here (in Soviet Russia) when we took the opportunity to mention Gandhi, they did not appear to appreciate it; if anything they showed some impatience.

—Sucheta Kripalani, *Janata*, July 11, 1954.

Wherever we went, even in parts of Central Asia, we found pictures of Dr. Kitchlew and Col. Sokhey. Even school students knew their names, though they did not know the name of Gandhiji!

—Sucheta Kripalani, *Janata*, July 11, 1954.

"Notwithstanding his murder, Gandhi remained," according to Dykov, "the main weapon of suppression of the masses in the hands of the big bourgeoisie."

—*Thought*, June 12, 1954.

I wonder how the beaming and cordial Mr. Chou-En-lai really felt when he had his first hand-clasp with the Asian statesman whom he had not so very long ago described as the "running dog of British imperialism."

—Beachcomber in *Thought*,

The very mention of Locarno in the present Asian context should send shivers down our spines. Unless it be that we have no spines!

—*Examiner*, July 10, 1954.

INDIAN COMMITTEE FOR CULTURAL FREEDOM
127, Mahatma Gandhi Road,
BOMBAY 1.

Please enrol me as a member of the Indian Committee for Cultural Freedom. I remit the annual membership fee of Rs. 3/- by.....

Name :

Address :

Date : Signature

Funds from Communist nations have helped local Communists to sell their country to Russian imperialism..... Some papers which the Government had found in London had revealed that certain local individuals had been instructed to pay ten per cent of earnings from imports from Czechoslovakia to the Communist Party.

—Sir John Kotelawala as reported in *Evening News*, July 12, 1954.

✓ Tibet too, was all for peaceful co-existence, mutual trust and goodwill. And where is Tibet now?

—*Pioneer*, Lucknow, July 8, 1954.

✓ The eternal triangle in Soviet stories: boy, girl and tractor.

—*Thought*, July 10, 1954.

A one-sided denunciation of American experiments in the Pacific while leaving the Soviet Union free to carry on similar experiments elsewhere not only fails to solve the moral issue but is plainly dishonest.

—*Times of India*, July 14, 1954.

Communism in Western Europe has lost its bite, its challenge and its evangelism.

—Aneurin Bevan in *The Indian Express*, June 10, 1954.

The Communists were at present divided into the 'supporters of acid bulb' and the appeasers of Delhi (Nehru.)

—Ram Manohar Lohia as reported in *Hindustan Times*, June 29, 1954.

There is more than one Guatemala in the present world.

—*The Statesman*, July 1, 1954.

The only excuse we can give India is that she is new in her diplomacy.

—Sir John Kotelawala, as reported in *Times of India*, July 9, 1954.

Are we then to begin with enmity and suspicion and not give any other approach a chance?

—Pandit Nehru in a circular letter to Presidents of Pradesh Congress Committees.

✓ "There is one common defence which the spirit of sensible men possesses, a good and safe one for all, but invaluable for democracies against tyrants. And what is that defence? It is distrust! Guard it, cling to it. If you preserve it no harm can touch you."

—Damosthenes.

It is the Prime Minister's way, when he has shocked the world with one of his benevolent gestures towards Moscow, to reassure it by denouncing Moscow's Indian agents. After the nerve-racking spectacle of fraternisation with Chou-En-lai in Delhi, he has administered his accustomed sedative.

—*Mysindia*, July 18, 1954.