

AUGUST 1955

At The Post

THIS is the last time *Freedom First* will appear as an organ of the I.C.C.F. It will not cease publication but will be published as an independent journal by a sister organisation, the Democratic Research Service.

With the publication of *Quest* which begins this month, the Indian Committee no longer needs *Freedom First* as its journal. The Committee's main task is in the cultural field. A high level journal of arts and ideas like *Quest* will enable the Committee to fulfil that task more successfully.

Quest having taken over the task in the literary and cultural fields, *Freedom First* can now devote undivided attention to the consideration of more practical political, social, economic and ideological issues which arise from day to day in the worldwide struggle for freedom. The striving for freedom embraces all aspects of social and individual life. There will be, therefore, many points of contact between *Quest* and *Freedom First*, but both will serve the cause of freedom better by devoting particular attention to their respective spheres.

There will be no change in the purpose or policy of *Freedom First*. It will continue to be as before the stout champion of freedom and democracy and the stern critic of all forms of totalitarianism. *Freedom First* has established a tradition of bold and independent thinking and of fearless and dispassionate criticism. From that tradition, of which we are proud, there will be no departure.

The values of freedom and democracy have not yet become a part and parcel of the life of our people. In spite of the formal acceptance of a democratic Constitution, freedom is a tender plant which has yet to strike roots in the soil. There are a number of social institutions and popular prejudices which prevent the people from accepting them as the very basis of civilised living. Their defence, therefore, involves on many occasions a criticism of many a venerable person, institution or opinion. A journal that essays that task cannot hope to win facile

popular applause. In our country though we enjoy in daily life all fundamental freedoms, we are apt to take them for granted because we are totally unaware of what it means to lose them.

The view is current in certain quarters that freedom and democracy are a luxury which an economically backward country like ours cannot afford. Economic advancement is, according to them, the immediate necessity and one should have no qualms of conscience if one is required to sacrifice freedom and democracy for attaining that end. There are many overt and covert friends of totalitarianism who sedulously preach this point of view. *Freedom First* takes strong exception to that point of view. It is convinced that there can be no economic advancement without freedom. Freedom is as essential for economic welfare as it is essential for the development of the human personality. *Freedom First* will therefore reject all so-called shortcuts to economic welfare which encroach upon freedom and insist upon freedom being accepted as the first and foremost value. The choice between bread and freedom is a false one. There is no bread where freedom is lost. Bread and freedom—bread in short through freedom—is our slogan.

It is difficult in India today to be a stern critic of totalitarian communism. Since our country decided upon a policy of neutrality or non-alignment in foreign affairs, many have started discovering new virtues in Soviet Russia and other communist countries and finding new justifications for communist policies of internal repression and external aggression. They construe the State policy of neutrality as an endorsement of all policies and actions of the Soviet bloc and refuse to judge them on their merits. *Freedom First* does not accept that interpretation and considers itself free to expose and condemn the brutal suppression of human freedom and dignity that takes place behind the Iron Curtain and the sinister designs of communist rulers against world freedom and democracy. This exposure of international communism enrages some who try to stifle the voice of protest by dubbing it as an attack on the foreign policy of the country. This is an

unfair and unworthy imputation. No such imputation will deter *Freedom First* from publicising the truth about communism and communist regimes in Russia, China, Indo-China or elsewhere.

Freedom First regards itself as a humble soldier in the worldwide struggle for the defence and expansion of freedom and democracy. That struggle proceeds in many parts of the world and many nations big and small are involved in it. None of those nations, including our own, is perfect and some amongst them are tainted by the sin of colonialism and racialism. *Freedom First* will not hesitate to point out and expose their mistakes and their blemishes, it will criticise their policies and actions when criticism is called for, just as it will criticise our own national foibles. It will not be influenced, however, by racial or nationalist considerations. The struggle for liberty and equality transcends national frontiers and racial barriers and welds the peoples of the world into a common brotherhood of man.

The fight against international communism which seeks to enslave the peoples of the world is not confined to any political sect or any particular school of thought. It is the common fight of all who are interested in the freedom, progress and prosperity of the people. They belong to many political parties and they hold widely differing views on many issues of public policy. They are all united, however, in their opposition to communism and its various manifestations. *Freedom First* regards itself as the spokesman of that broad-based movement against communism and will never forget the limitations imposed by the united-front character of the movement.

The movement against communism is a movement for freedom and democracy. While exposing the malignant character of communism and the brutal slavery that it imposes on the peoples under its domination, it is essential to acquaint the people with

the values of a free society and help them in preserving and extending them. The battle against communism is in the last analysis a battle for the minds of men. It is only by placing before them a superior ideology and a superior way of life that people's minds can be turned away from communism. That superior idea is that of freedom.

The task is much more urgent in a country like ours than elsewhere. Problems which have accumulated since centuries now cry aloud for quick solutions. The people are on the move and, now that they are independent, they are impatient for an immediate improvement in their miserable conditions of life. International communism and its native agents are seeking to exploit this misery and the impatience of the people in order to inveigle them into the communist net. The people must be warned of these machinations and the deceptive promises of the communists must be exposed in their true colour. At the same time the ways of progress along democratic lines must be opened to the people and they must be shown how the emphasis on freedom enables them to secure a more prosperous and more satisfying life.

Our country has launched upon a vast experiment in democracy. If it succeeds, it will ensure the success of democracy in many other parts of Asia and Africa. The partial success that it has achieved so far has alarmed the votaries of totalitarianism. They are seeking to undermine that success through diverse measures, ranging from threats at one time to cajolery and flattery at another. *Freedom First* will be at the post to expose those moves and to nurse with tender care the growth of the great democratic experiment.

As an independent journal *Freedom First* will have to rely entirely on the sustenance that it will be able to draw from its readers. It is confidently expected that those who have read the journal during the last three years have found it useful. They and others interested in the development of the democratic movement are requested to enrol themselves as subscribers so that the journal may live and serve the cause to which they are devoted.

Communist Conspiracy At Madurai

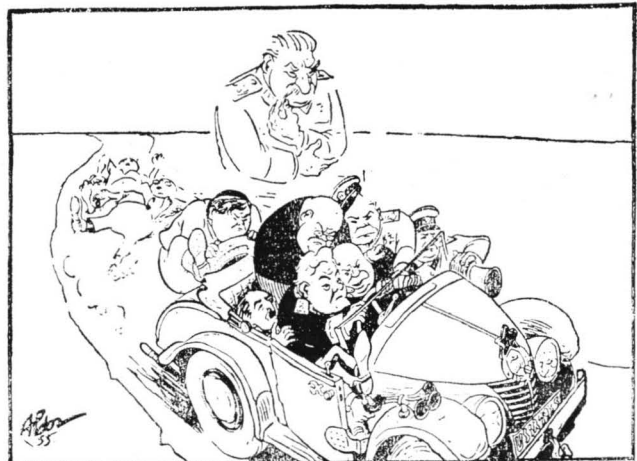
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'COLLECTIVE LEADERSHIP'



STALIN: "This is not exactly my driving technique."

Notes

Hands Off Asia

AS we go to press, the Heads of the Governments of the four Big Powers are assembling in Geneva. It is well that they should discuss ways and means of resolving their own differences, though nothing more substantial than a platonic announcement of general goodwill need be expected to emerge from this monumental meeting. It is apprehended, however, that the Soviet spokesmen will seek, on behalf of their Chinese proteges, to raise issues concerning the fate of the peoples of South-East and East Asia whom they seek to bring within their orbit. The Foreign Minister of the Republic of Korea has therefore done well to warn that no deals that may be arrived at between the European Powers concerning the Korean people in the absence of their elected representatives will have any validity.

The recent publication of the Yalta papers is still fresh in the public mind and those painful disclosures of how Roosevelt and Churchill were persuaded by Stalin to sell out China, Manchuria and North Korea as well as several countries in Eastern Europe should at least be effective in preventing a similar sell out of the peoples of Korea, Formosa, Viet Nam, Laos, Cambodia and Thailand who are today in the front line of Asian peoples exposed to totalitarian aggression and subversion.

In this context, Asians welcome the assurance given by President Eisenhower that it will be no part of American diplomacy at Geneva to "deal with the substance of Asian questions behind the backs of the Asians themselves" or to barter away against illusory concessions the rights of those who are not represented at the meeting.

The Meaning of Free Elections

AMONG the acid tests by which the value of such an assurance will be judged is the fate of the seven or eight million inhabitants of South Viet Nam. A contribution on another page of this issue highlights the infamous character of that provision of last year's Geneva Conference by which the fate of these peoples is to be determined by free elections in both North and South. While harmless on the face of it, this facile formula conceals the possibility of a callous betrayal. As the article points out, an election where 13 million people are already under Communist tyranny and 7 or 8 million are free to vote is a foregone conclusion *unless* the 13 million have the security to vote freely for the termination of the dictatorship itself.

But can such an assurance ever be implemented? It is not a matter of secrecy of the ballot being preserved. Free elections, if they have any meaning,

mean free expression of opposition viewpoints, free functioning of opposition parties, freedom to campaign for a change of government, a free press, civil liberties, and the Rule of Law—all these existing for several months in advance of polling and the assurance of such freedom continuing after the poll. In other words, it would mean the removal of Ho Chi Minh's dictatorship and terror and the establishment of a United Nations Trusteeship and administration six to twelve months before the polling. Lovers of freedom throughout Asia will back the brave and incorruptible leader of the Viet Nam people, Premier Diem, in demanding such guarantees.

It should be obvious that genuine free elections is the last thing the Soviet bosses and their Viet Nam stooges will tolerate since their effect in Eastern Germany, North Korea and the Eastern European countries would be electric.

The world must therefore reconcile itself to there being two Viet Nams—slave and free—as there are two Koreas and two Germanys. The communists and their friends who are so insistent on Viet Nam elections have not explained why these should not be accompanied by simultaneous elections in both halves of Germany and of Korea where the majority happen to live on the right side of the Iron Curtain. If co-existence is good enough for the rest of the world, it will also have to be good enough for Viet Nam. Or is co-existence to prevail only where it suits the needs of international communism?

Crisis in Indonesia

THE Government of Indonesia is again passing through a crisis. The present crisis is the direct result of the decision of the Defence Minister, Mr. Kusumasumantri, to foist on the Army a junior officer as its chief.

The Defence Minister's action was motivated by political considerations. Mr. Iwa Kusumasumantri is a Moscow-trained communist who had participated in the communist *coup d'état* of 1946. The *coup* failed and Mr. Kusumasumantri was one of those who were arrested and sentenced for his part in it. Later on, the President, Dr. Soekarno pardoned him and gave him a post in the Cabinet as the Defence Minister. The political consideration which prompted Mr. Kusumasumantri's action was obviously the desire to pack the Army with communist officers.

The action of the Army, which was supported by the Opposition parties and by some of the parties belonging to the governmental coalition, has forced the Defence Minister to tender his resignation. But that has not resolved the crisis. The fate of the government was for long hanging in the balance but it has now been forced to resign.

The government of Mr. Ali Sastromidjojo had all along been a minority government, keeping itself in office with the support of the communists. In order to retain that support, the government had been required to take many steps, advantageous to the communists, and to suppress in a high-handed manner many voice of opposition. The government had

never been keen about the elections, knowing full well that free elections would unseat it and place in power the Masjumi Party, singly or in alliance with the Socialist Party. It had therefore been the constant endeavour of the government to postpone the elections and to do all that it could to influence the climate in its favour.

To all these things that are happening in Indonesia the Indian press has, for reasons best known to it, turned a blind eye. The Indian people therefore know very little of what is happening there and can hardly make any sense of the disjointed news items which appear in the press from time to time. *Freedom First* carried two months back an article by an Indonesian, Mr. Hasan Muhammad Tiro, giving information about how the communists were trying to take over the country through infiltration in the Cabinet and Army. It is on the basis of that information that one can understand the significance of the crisis that has now developed in Indonesia. It is a pity that the press in India should choose to keep the people so ill-informed about such vital developments in a neighbouring country.

The Right to Travel

THE United States Court of Appeals recently held that it is the "natural right" of citizens to travel abroad. It ruled unanimously that the State Department could not refuse to give a citizen a passport without "due process of law," and that the refusals of the State Department to issue passports to citizens were subject to judicial review.

This ruling was given in connection with an appeal filed by Mr. Max Shachtman, Chairman of the Independent Socialist League of U. S. (a Trotskyite organisation).

We wholly endorse the view that to travel abroad is the natural right of a citizen, and the executive should have no powers to deny a citizen a passport, unless it is in a position to prove in a court of law that his travels abroad would prove prejudicial to the interests of the State. It is a test of a democracy that it should trust its citizens. It is only on such trust that democracy can be broad based and create conditions for perennial social progress. The totalitarian countries today distrust their citizens, and it is impossible for a Soviet or Chinese citizen to be allowed to travel abroad, unless he is certified by the Communist bosses as 'safe' to do so. Two years ago, when some of the Chinese Muslims wanted to go on a pilgrimage to Mecca, they were allowed to do so only under strict communist vigilance, and when they landed in Karachi on their way to Mecca, they were not even allowed to visit a mosque for daily prayers unless accompanied by communist officials. The whole affair was so annoying that the Saudi Arabian envoy at Karachi protested and threatened to cancel the Visas unless the Chinese Muslims were left alone to go on a pilgrimage. They were, however, not left alone, and as a result, they had to return to China without proceeding to Mecca.

The ruling of the U.S. Court of Appeals should serve as sound counsel to all democratic countries against any tendency towards denying a citizen his right to travel abroad.

Tactical Line

ON the 13th of April last, Shri Panampally Govinda Menon, Chief Minister of Travancore-Cochin, in the course of a debate in the State Assembly, read out extracts from a Communist document in which the Communist Party of India advocates violent seizure of power. This was objected to by the communist leader of the opposition, Mr. T. V. Thomas, on the ground that it was a "falsified and fabricated document without printer and publisher." Mr. Thomas further alleged that it was read out by the Chief Minister "to deceive the House, to cast reflections on members of the Communist Party." This matter was then referred to a Privileges Committee.

From the Reports it appears that the Chief Minister read out extracts from the Communist Party document, "Tactical Line," which, in the last Congress of the party held at Madurai, was circulated only to members of the central committee and which was made available to the public, in a sensational disclosure, by the Democratic Research Service, immediately thereafter. Since then this document along with some others was published in book form.

We understand that the Democratic Research Service, when its attention was drawn to the proceedings of the debate on the 13th of April, sent copies of the book to the Speaker, the Chief Minister, and the Chairman of the Privileges Committee and in a letter pointed out that the contention of the leader of the opposition was utterly baseless inasmuch as the document, along with some others, circulated to the delegates to the communist conference was brought out in book form and that the book was printed at the Kanada Press and published by the Popular Book Depot, both concerns of established repute in Bombay. Since then the news has appeared that the Privileges Committee has dropped the communist opposition leader's motion against the Chief Minister.

Obviously, the communist leader could not disprove the authenticity of the document. It may be of interest to readers that when this document, along with others, was published under the title "Communist Conspiracy at Madurai," Mr. Shriman Narayan, Secretary of the All India Congress Committee, in the course of a leading article in the fortnightly *Economic Review* published by the AICC, demanded of the Communist Party that it disprove the authenticity of the documents. "If the secret document ('Tactical Line') was a 'forgery' " said Mr. Shriman Narayan "the Party (Communist Party) must drag the publishers into a court of law and try to establish its innocence. Otherwise the Communists in this country must explain why the present Government established by law under the Constitution should not take suitable action against them." But to this day the challenge has not been accepted.

The Trail Of The Dinosaur—I

by Arthur Koestler

LET us imagine a kind of temperature-chart on which the growing power of homo sapiens over his environment is represented by a curve. For something of the order of half a million years, from Java man to about 5000 B.C., the curve would remain nearly static, represented by a roughly horizontal line. With the invention of the pulley, the lever, and a few simple mechanical devices, the muscular strength of man would appear amplified, say, five-fold; and after that, the curve would again remain nearly horizontal for the next five or six thousand years.

But, in the course of the last three hundred years, the curve would, for the first time in the history of the species, rise steeply in leaps and bounds, until it pointed almost vertically upward. To draw this chart true to scale, we would have to use graph paper several miles long; even so we would only have an inch or less of the paper left to plot the sudden, dramatic lifting of the curve's head—like a cobra stabbing upward.

Another more specific chart, representing the destructive potentialities of the growth of power, would look even more dramatic—one merely has to remember that after the First World War, only forty years ago, statisticians reckoned that on the average ten thousand rifle bullets or ten artillery shells were needed to kill one enemy soldier.

Now let us contrast these two charts with a third one, on which we plot the progress of the species man in moral philosophy, in cosmic awareness and spiritual clarity. This curve will show a slow rise during the prehistoric miles of nearly-flat stretch; then, when the power-curve (P) starts rising, the spiritual curve (S) will begin to undulate with indecisive ups and downs; finally, on the last, dramatic one-millionth part of the chart, where the P curve shoots skyward with insane acceleration, the S-curve goes into a steep decline. The spiritual void at the end of the chart is less obvious than the accumulation of power; I shall come back to the "S-curve" later on.

The point of these imaginary charts is that they show a very usual type of curve, a geometrical freak which forces us to measure time at first in units of hundred thousands, then of thousands of years, then in centuries and decades, until, towards the end, a single year weighs more than ten thousand years did before. A process which, once past a critical limit, shows this type of catastrophic acceleration is called in physics an explosion. A dispassionate observer from another world, to whom centuries are as seconds, able to survey the whole curve in one sweep, would have to come to the conclusion that our civilisation is either on the verge of, or in the process of, exploding.

I would like to labour the geometrical aspect of human evolution a little further by suggesting two more curves, the first representing progress in com-

munication (C), the second progress in understanding (U). The C-curve, which would comprise travel and communication by visual and acoustic means, would again remain nearly flat for aeons; then with the invention of the printing press, the steamship, railway, motor car, gramophone, telephone, cinema, aeroplane, radio, video, radar, and jukebox (all, except for the printing press, crowded into a single century) the curve would rise steeply to near-saturation—the point where the whole surface of the planet is visually and acoustically interconnected. One should have expected that this shrinking of the terrestrial surface in terms of communication would lead to a proportionate increase in its intellectual cohesion, but this did not happen. The shrinking of the distance between nations did not bring them "nearer" to each other; three-dimensional travel did not abolish Chinese Walls and Iron Curtains, but merely extended them into atmospheric space; the unifying medium of the ether was split up by censorship and jamming. Even between such close neighbours and allies as the people of England and France, mutual comprehension and human sympathy is not markedly greater now than at a time when they were days, instead of hours, apart.

Nor did the extension of the range of the sense-organs through radio and television increase the intellectual range of the human mind, its powers of abstraction and synthesis. It seems rather that the reverse is true: that the stupendous amplification of vision and hearing caused a rapid deterioration of the intellectual and moral content of communication. In the new generation born into the age of television, not only the habit of reading, but the faculty of thinking in abstract, conceptual terms seems to be weakened by the child's conditioning to easier and more primitive forms of visual perception. The dangers of this regression from the conceptual to the perceptual, from abstract language to picture-strip language, are less obvious and immediate, but in the long run no less grave, than the spectacular increase in destructive power.

To sum up, our diagrams would show an unprecedented increase in the range and power of the species' sensory and motor organs coincident with a marked deterioration of the integrative functions which determine spiritual maturity and social ethics. There are frequent instances in history of moral slumps followed by a new upward trend; the alarming thing is the coincidence of a period of unprecedented spiritual decline with an equally unprecedented increase of power. The promethean myth seems to be coming true with a horrible twist: the giant reaching out to steal the lightning from the Gods is morally insane. Hence the difficulty, as Bertrand Russell wrote a few years ago, "to persuade mankind to acquiesce in its own survival."

Any attempt at such persuasion must take both the short-term and the long-term aspects of the situation into account. The first is political, the second transcendental in nature; and the two interact more directly than we realise. The politician unaware of the transcendental background of the crisis can only offer makeshift measures; and the saint who remains aloof in an emergency sins by omission.

On the level of practical policy, it is essential to distinguish between the desirable and the possible. We know by now that atomic war would be tantamount to a collective suicide of the species. To abolish the threat of atomic war is certainly desirable, but not in the realm of the possible. Interdiction of atomic weapons can only be effective if both parties agree to international supervision under conditions which include permanent inspection—the throwing open of the locked doors of secret laboratories, factories, plants, mines, and military installations. But such a policy runs counter to the tradition of secrecy and distrust which Russia and the Asian nations have practised for centuries past; and it also runs counter to the basic principles and political structure of all dictatorial regimes, Communist or other. A dictatorship that accepted democratic controls, internally or internationally, would cease to be a dictatorship. The Chinese Wall and the Iron Curtain are not accidents of history, but massive symbols of national traditions and social regimes whose existence depends on their ability to block the movement of people and ideas.

Even if the present rulers of Russia desired to submit to genuine international control and inspection, they could not afford to do so any more than they could afford to abolish censorship, the one-party system, the political police, and other essential requisites of dictatorship. Whether the dictatorship is good or bad, whether it is a dictatorship of the workers, peasants or dentists, of a bureaucracy or a theocracy, is irrelevant in this context.

It is equally irrelevant under what pretexts the Soviet government evades the issue of genuine inspection and control—whether by procedural subterfuges, or by rejecting “infringements of national sovereignty,” or by spurious peace campaigns and the demand for a platonic ban on atomic weapons which would work against the side that manufactures and tests its bombs openly, and which would set a premium on secrecy. Oak Ridge, Harwell, Bikini, are widely discussed subjects in the West, while the corresponding places and events in the East are shrouded in complete secrecy.

I repeat: the abolition of atomic weapons under effective international control is entirely desirable, and by the nature of things just as impossible as it proved impossible to enforce disarmament in the defunct League of Nations’ days. From this realistic starting-point, three courses are open to the West: to continue developing nuclear weapons in full awareness of the danger to the human species; or to renounce nuclear weapons one-sidedly, in full awareness of the decisive advantage thereby accorded to the opponent; or, finally, to start a “preventive” war (which is of course a contradiction in terms), based on the as-

sumption that the West still possesses a decisive superiority in atomic weapons, that this advantage is being lost, and that war at the present level of atomic developments would be less devastating than war in five or ten years’ time and would impose a lasting peace on a unified world.

The third possibility we must reject out of hand, on the grounds that it is based on the old Ends and Means fallacy. All social progress, all human justice, requires a certain amount of ruthlessness; all surgical cures, the infliction of a certain amount of pain. But this justification of the means by the end is confined to very narrow limits, to situations where all the factors are of a manageable order and the results predictable with reasonable certainty—otherwise, the surgeon’s lancet turns into the butcher’s hatchet. With regard to preventive war, none of the above conditions is present. The amount of damage that would be inflicted on humanity is incalculable, the factors in the equation are unmanageable, and the results unpredictable. Even on the inadmissible premiss that morality should be sacrificed to expediency and the present generation sacrificed in the interest of future ones—even on these premisses preventive war must be ruled out on the grounds that the magnitude and complexity of factors are beyond the computing capacity of the human brain.

Unfortunately, the premisses that we reject are not rejected by the philosophy of dialectical materialism which is the credo of our opponents; and our scepticism regarding the limits of man’s ability as a computing machine, is not shared by them. Thus the possibility that our opponents may start “preventive” war at a moment which they judge “historically favourable” and under any convenient pretext, cannot be ruled out.

I would like to make this point clearer. In the previous paragraph I was not concerned with the question whether certain members of the Politburo think it practicable to start a war in six months or six years, or whether they think that the inevitable Communist world state can be realised without war. My point is that their philosophical approach to, and their terms of reference regarding the problem of war are different from ours. The West has no unified philosophy, but it has a long and continuous ethical tradition which more or less articulately, more or less consciously, permeates the thinking of both leaders and people and limits the formers’ freedom of action. The leaders of the other side are not subject to such limitations either by the philosophy to which they adhere or by the machinery of democratic control. It is an unequal contest where one side believes in its historic mission which justifies all means including war, whereas the other does not; where one party is bound by certain rules of the game, the other party is not.

This difference ought to be constantly present in the minds of all responsible politicians, Left or Right, and guide their decisions, large and small. But psychologically, this is a rather difficult thing to ask for, because the tactical oscillations of Soviet policy, the occasional easing of surface tensions, and the

frequent unmannerliness of American politicians, tend to obscure and blur the basic difference in philosophy. Wishful thinking, infatuation with pious platitudes, and the tempting road of least resistance are constantly lessening the West's chances of survival.

Marxist theory teaches that the proletariat must exploit to the full the constitutional freedom which bourgeois democracy is obliged to grant (for the bourgeoisie is bound to be "its own gravedigger"), until an "objectively revolutionary situation occurs. At that moment the proletariat will rise and inter its opponents in their self-prepared grave. *Mutatis mutandis* the same theory applies to the international scene, where the notion of the "objectively revolutionary situation" is replaced by the "historically favourable situation" for adding another vassal nation to the existing ones. One-sided atomic disarmament would automatically create a "historically favourable situation" for Russia's bid to unify the world after its own fashion in the interest of mankind.

There is nothing new about the argument that the only deterrent against atomic aggression is an atomic stockpile. But there is a new development regarding the value of an atomic stockpile against non-atomic, local aggression. The theory that the atomic superiority of the West could prevent local aggression by the threat of massive retaliation has become obsolete for two reasons: first, Western atomic superiority is on the wane; secondly, the destructive power of the new weapons is now so monstrous that the punishment of limited and camouflaged aggression by the unleashing of open atomic war has become politically and morally impossible. A policeman, armed with an atom bomb and nothing else, could not prevent the escape of a couple of housebreakers without blowing the whole town to glory, himself included. We are faced with a new paradox: the superior power of a weapon may reduce its bearer to helplessness.

The policeman's part is made even more difficult by the fact that political crimes are easier to camouflage than common burglaries. Russia has conquered one half of Europe and a large portion of Asia through acts of aggression in varying disguises of varying plausibility, none of which presented a clear-cut *casus belli*. The possibilities of veiled aggression are inexhaustible; and it is unrealistic to believe that we can stop it by the threat of "massive retaliation"—which, if taken seriously, would mean that we ought to have reacted to the defenestration of Masaryk, or ought to react to the next "People's Rising" in Afghanistan, by unleashing the nuclear nightmare.

The upshot of this argument is that policing the world and guaranteeing collective security never was and never will be possible through reliance on the West's industrial superiority and dreams of push-button retaliation. To put it into a nutshell: atomic weapons are necessary as a deterrent against atomic aggression, but ineffective as a deterrent against local and camouflaged aggression. The security of our streets cannot be guaranteed by tanks, only by police constables in sufficient numbers, armed with conventional weapons to cope with conventional crimes. The practical conclusions are distressingly simple.

The most conventional of all weapons, and the one which no nation can dispense with, is a people determined to fight on the beaches and to fight in the streets in defence of their freedom. However brave they are, they will never be able to stand up against an aggressor using the methods of total war. But if they are strong enough and brave enough, they will survive because of the aggressor's reluctance to engage in total war. The oft-heard argument "what is the good of arming a few more divisions when we know that in the case of a showdown Europe cannot be defended anyway," is both cowardly and false. Any European defence community can never aim at more than to make Europe unconquerable *short of total war*. But it can never aim at less than this. If, in the early post-war period, Czechoslovakia and Poland had been equipped with the number of divisions and the unbroken spirit of Finland in 1939, the Russians could not have deposed the Polish Government, nor pulled their Prague coup. They would have been forced to show their hand and engage in open warfare—and the odds are that they would not have dared to take the risk. It is indeed distressingly simple: free men must be prepared to defend their freedom or lose it. (To be Continued)

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JULY 1955

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Planning And Democracy

AT a press conference held a few days before he left for Soviet Russia the Prime Minister made a remark which deserves very serious consideration. He is reported to have said while talking about planning: "And if there can be no planning within the democratic framework, then one will have to think again of the structure."

The remark may be a random statement made on the spur of the moment without any thought. In that case one need not pay any attention to it and dismiss it as inconsequential. It may also be an expression of an unconscious thought; and the thought may at any time influence action.

There are many avowed democrats in the country who value democracy and would like to preserve it, provided it does not come in the way of the economic reorganisation they consider necessary. To them economic reorganisation is the primary objective and democracy, at best, an instrument with which to accomplish that objective. If democracy, the instrument, cannot help the attainment of the objective, they will drop the instrument with, may be, a few sighs and tears.

If economic reconstruction is the only objective it may not be difficult to show that democracy hinders planned economic development. Freedom of discussion, freedom of movement, freedom of trade, freedom of choosing a job and last but not the least the freedom of criticising the government and changing it—all these freedoms which are inherent in a democracy may upset the calculations of planners and make it difficult for them to stick to their schedules. Ardent planners are therefore apt to be impatient with democracy and if they had their way they would abolish democracy without much thought. It will not be possible to resist their demand, unless democracy is accepted as a value in itself and economic planning is regarded as a means to be adopted for making democracy more worthwhile and more satisfying.

There is no conflict between democracy and planning. Planning is nothing but a rational arrangement of available resources in order that they may be put to the best possible use. Democracy would not object to such a rational use of the available resources. A certain amount of arrangement or organisation is inherent in every form of society. There is all the more reason why in a democracy it should be on rational lines, for rationalism is one of the corner stones of democracy.

Democracy should not be confused with *laissez faire* or unrestricted opportunity for individuals to amass wealth at the expense of society. These are among the evils which arose during the early days of democracy. Democratic societies have since then discovered many remedies to keep those evils under check and some of them have even succeeded in completely eradicating them. Nobody in his senses now advocates *laissez faire* or pleads for untrammelled rights of property. It is accepted on all hands that property

and privilege must be subjected to necessary controls and must not be allowed to hold society at ransom.

Democrats do not object to restrictions and controls. What they object to is the abrogation of democratic rights and liberties. The democratic structure of society must be left intact. Economic progress is for men and they can enjoy it only in a free society. Man's striving is for freedom and not merely for economic well-being. Democracy has been evolved through history as a form of the free society towards which man is striving. There are still many blemishes in that form of society, but the attempt should be to remove those blemishes and not to pull down the structure. Planning is essential to remove the blemishes but it must be halted as soon as it begins to harm the structure.

It is essential to recognise that it is wrong to make a fetish of economic progress or to convert it into another god. Economic progress is essential for the well-being of the people. The well-being of the people is the sum total of the well-being of the individuals who constitute the people. A democracy enables the people to determine what constitutes their well-being. To give the go by to democracy in the name of economic progress is to defeat the very purpose of popular well-being which that progress is meant to serve. Economic progress then begins to serve other ends, such as the glorification of the nation, of the party or the leaders and ends by enslaving the people whom it was supposed to uplift.

There are some who suppose that freedom and economic progress cannot go together. Instances are quoted of tremendous economic progress made by totalitarian countries. It is forgotten that those countries have progressed only in certain limited spheres and not in others. The sphere in which they have made spectacular strides is that of heavy industries feeding the war machine. In other spheres they continue to lag far behind. There has been no rise in the standards of living of the peoples of Soviet Russia and other totalitarian countries. It is a free man alone who can strive for his economic betterment and, if need be, lift himself even by his bootstraps. A slave will not work unless he is driven by the whip and when he is driven, he is made to work not for himself but for others. A free society alone can ensure progress if that progress is to be for the people.

It is desirable therefore that there should be some clarity of thought and the confusion created by remarks such as that of the Prime Minister should be removed. The country must decide that it needs democracy in the first place and planning in the second place and that too only in order to secure a better life in that democracy. Those who in their zeal for rapid economic progress give the first place to planning end by destroying democracy. The tragedy is that, having destroyed democracy, they get not the popular well-being they hankered after but a society of slaves engaged in the service of an inhuman machine.

The Danger In Indo-China

by J. G. Tewari

TO the large number of affirmations of a general character that constitute the Nehru-Bulganin declaration a concrete statement has been added about the meaning of which there can be no dispute. It binds our Prime Minister to a course of action in Indo-China which is likely to further the communist design of the conquest of Vietnam. If Moscow succeeds in hustling some important democratic powers into a commitment to immediate elections in Indo-China without providing for adequate safeguards, she can rest satisfied that the game of aggression in South-East Asia is proceeding satisfactorily.

This clause of the joint declaration has been underlined as an evidence of unity of action between Moscow and Delhi by the entire communist press. Chou En-Lai has lost no time in seizing upon it to reinforce his charge of American intransigence. Dr. Ho Chi Minh is on a pilgrimage to communist capitals with the obvious purpose of helping his High Command chisel out most effective tactical line for realising the purpose underlying this clause.

Kremlin's concession to Austria and the stooping manner of its approach to the erstwhile enemy of Communism at Belgrade have for the critical observer a purpose hidden beneath the surface. Despite the prior needs of China and the general economic crisis in the communist world, it has held out the hand of economic aid to India. At the same time Peking is holding Dr. K. I. Singh as a gift to be offered to Nepal in compliance with India's request. This seeming benevolence and peaceableness of the international axis of communism is, among other things, calculated to strike a hard bargain in South-East Asia. With the passing of the rest of Indo-China into the communist orbit, the democratic sector in the East would be seriously crippled and a decisive step taken for the ultimate conquest of Asia. In the music of peace audible in communist capitals there lurks a deep game. This game was clearly visible at Bandung. At the Africo-Asian conference Chou En-Lai was sweet and affable to all but to the representatives of Thailand and its neighbouring anti-communist countries.

The large stock of different shades of neutrality and co-existence in the diplomatic warehouses of communist capitals are expressions of the bitter lesson which they derived from the events leading up to the Geneva Agreement. These events brought home to them the truth that any further threat of force to the democratic sector would prove abortive in the growing unity and consciousness of democratic powers. But communists, haunted as they are by the psychotic delusions of persecution by the capitalist world cannot help thinking in terms of further annexations to bring about for themselves some

degree of mental stability. Force having been ruled out, resort to subterfuge is the only alternative open to them. The classic Leninist technique of "boring from within" and "unity from below" must now be applied on a gigantic scale in field of international politics. This involves humouring the ego of some nations, lulling others to sleep and isolating the recalcitrants.

How far their efforts have been crowned with success is difficult to say. But something of an achievement has undoubtedly been registered. Their accusation of America as a saboteur of the Geneva Agreement and insistence on a hasty election in Indo-China have evoked in our country a reaction which is hardly appreciative of the grim complexities of the situation.

The unrealistic character of this attitude is proved by a number of authentic facts many of which are recorded in the Indo-China Armistice Commission report. The Commission accused the North Vietnam Government for doing little to develop adequate administrative arrangements to permit the freedom of movement stipulated at Geneva. The mobile team of the Commission once found 10,000 refugees 'congregated at a place and unable to move!' The report obliquely refers to the 'slow, clumsy and complex' administrative machinery of the Vietminh Communist government for regulating the issue of permits and movement of refugees and clearly states that such an arrangement was calculated to defeat the provision of free movement laid down at Geneva. Despite these impediments, according to the third progress report of the International Supervisory Committee on Indo-China as many as 700,000 Vietnamese have migrated from the Communist controlled area to South Vietnam. Competent observers allege that given full freedom, 1,000,000 would migrate to south of the 17th Parallel. In Laos, in contravention of the Geneva Agreement the communists backed by the Vietminh government have set up a parallel government. With regards to Cambodia the Armistice Commission records, without repudiating the complaint of Government, that the Communist Khmer troops instead of disbanding themselves as stipulated by the Geneva Agreement have gone underground and are getting a lavish supply of arms from the Vietminh Government. The Commission itself records that Khmer communist inspired resistance has not abated and admits as serious the allegation of the Cambodian Government that Vietminh troops are still moving in their country. The Thai Prime Minister at a recent speech in London told the world that infiltration by the Chinese communists into his territory takes place daily. The fact of the Free Thai Movement being organised at Yunnan by Peking just near the borders of Thailand is already well-known.

Within Vietminh itself, with the full support of the High Command of World Communism, is a powerful army, as big as that of Pakistan. Preparations for a military offensive including the building of strategic railways and roads have been completed. Money has been poured like water to carry on a barrage of propaganda in the South Vietnam. The hand of Peking and also of Moscow is evident in all these manoeuvres. That Moscow has sent one of its best ambassadors to Hanoi is not an accident.

The Geneva Agreement put the two governments on both the sides of 17th Parallel under an obligation to ensure for their citizens elementary democratic rights. The fact that 7 lakhs of Vietnam have chosen to leave their native place and settle in the unsettled South Vietnam is itself a sufficiently damaging evidence of the kind of liberty that the Communist Government of Dr. Ho has given to its subjects. That 10 lakhs more are prepared to leave their hearth and home if freedom of movement is assured heightens the impression that Vietminh is a land of terror like other communist countries.

In contrast to this only a few hundred Vietnam have left South Indo-China despite its fluid economic situation and civil war. The Armistice Commission does not accuse the Diem Government of any major breach of the Geneva Agreement.

The Communist Government of North Vietnam

holds now in its iron grip 13,000,000 Vietnams who like their brethren in other communist countries would be forced to cast 99 per cent votes in their favour. In the South, where heavy communist infiltration both of civilians and army men in plain clothes has taken place, they hope to get 30 per cent votes from a population of 7,000,000. Thus, if elections without providing for adequate safeguards as to its democratic character are held immediately the communist are sure to swamp the whole of Indo-China.

The Geneva Agreement provides for neutral supervision of elections. South Vietnam wants a tangible assurance that the supervision should guarantee the democratic character of election, for never a genuinely free election has been held in any communist-controlled area. Diem is adamant in this demand.

Behind this demand for a genuine election and as a formidable obstacle to communist designs of grabbing Vietnam, Thailand and Cambodia by warlike methods, stand the SEADO powers with the full backing of America. For this reason communist and fellow travellers point their accusing finger at America, concealing the fact that the Vietminh Government which is simply an instrument of International Communism has failed to abide by a number of basic terms of the Geneva Agreement.

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The Indian Committee for Cultural Freedom assumes that those people who have taken the trouble to become its members are—as it were—in a very special class. They are the people who are the first to read and value current books which will some day be called Classics; they are the people who are the first to have ideas which will some day be called Indian Philosophy in the Twentieth Century.

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Review

Through Malan's Africa.

Robert St. John, Gollancz 13/6

THIS book, written in intimate style, takes the reader inside the land of Apartheid. The author has revealed the most brutal story of what is usually styled as the march of (White) man's civilization. Apartheid has left the Africans to their own fate on their geographical locations and the myth of a nation's sovereign right to do anything within its borders under the guise of 'domestic affairs' is being utilised for preventing the world from discussing it.

The author depicts the social life of the dominant white minority and the coloured majority as objectively as possible. Social inequality is made clear in a pithy paragraph: "But South Africa today is a woman's place, a land where there are more servants than masters and mistresses....nothing for white women to do but drink, smoke, play, gossip, have enough babies to keep the white race going....The average middle-class family has about three servants, so it is a white woman's paradise." Compare with this the 'pondokkie' of the Africans: "The 5000 who live at Cook Bush have to occupy tinsheds 10 x 12 occupied often by 18 persons, the sheds arranged in rows facing each other and separated by a lane not more than 8 feet. The 'pondokkie' has no window, or doors or chimney; the area has no electricity, no gas, no running water, no roads, no pavements, no sewage-disposal system, not even privies." The African male has to work in mines, factories and plantations to pay taxes while the females must work as domestic servants.

The Africans have been deprived of their extensive, open agricultural and grazing community lands. They are confined to less fertile 'reserves' while more fertile and easily accessible lands have been taken over by the White settlers. In order to make labour cheap and plentiful the tax is made payable in cash, to earn which the African must leave his land and work in factories, mines and plantations.

'For Europeans only' is the worst indictment of the white man's civilization as it is flowering in Africa. It is perhaps by this arrogance that it will perish. There is nothing Christian about the Apartheid. Thought control is rigorous and outsiders considered dangerous are not allowed to enter. Democracy is a sham where the majority is kept out of legislatures and public offices. The local liberal whites cannot now establish even a nodding friendship with coloured persons however eminent the latter may be.

The Natal Indian question has received special attention from the author. A chapter is also devoted to Manilal Gandhi who advocates passive resistance as the only cure. The first anti-Indian Bill was passed in 1892, by which a poll-tax of £25 was levied on every free Indian who ventured to start a small business of his own. From poll-tax to the Ghetto Act of 1946 is the road that the Apartheid has taken.

SUDHIR HENDRE

To Members of the Indian Committee for Cultural Freedom

As the leading article in this issue states, *Freedom First* will cease to be the Organ of the Indian Committee for Cultural Freedom from next issue onwards. It will be taken over by a sister organization, the Democratic Research Service. It will continue its tradition of being a bold champion of the free way of life. You will readily agree that such a journal is necessary in the prevailing climate in our country.

The continued existence of this journal, however, depends upon the measure of response it gets from the public in general and the members of the ICCF in particular. It is therefore hoped that the members of the ICCF will not only enrol themselves as subscribers to this journal but also persuade their friends to subscribe to it.

The yearly subscription to the journal is Rs. 3/- for the public but members of the Committee will get it at a concessional rate of Rs. 2/-.

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With Many Voices

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

—Tennyson.

Paradoxically, wariness is now regarded as the mark of the warmonger.

—*Economist*, London, July 2, 1955.

History has annointed him (Nehru) the Grand Executor of Lenin's dream of India, China and Russia joining in common victory of peace and common tasks of construction.

—Mr. R. K. Karanjia, *Blitz*, June 25, 1955.

If China can claim Formosa, India might as well claim Ceylon.

—Sir John Kotelawala, *Times of India*, June 27, 1955.

Words must have no relation to action—otherwise, what kind of diplomacy is it? Words are one thing, actions another. Good words are a mask for concealment of bad deeds. Sincere diplomacy is no more possible than dry water or wooden iron.

—Stalin quoted in the *Examiner*, July 2, 1955.

The free nations suffer from the common tendency to apply a "double standard" of judgment. Their virtues are taken for granted while their sins are (very properly) chastised; with the communists it is usually the other way round.

—*Economist*, London July 2, 1955.

We don't worry about little matters such as whether a minor party (the Communist Party) is a little stronger or weaker.

—Mr. Nehru, *Times of India*, July 9, 1955.

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The communists regard negotiations with non-communists as the conduct of war by other means.

—Mr. Louis J. Halle, *New York Times*, June 12, 1955.

It would be better to be hung than to have to stay here (China).

—M. Otho Bell, one of American war prisoners in China quoted in *The Sunday Times*, London, June 19, 1955.

India would not base her development plans on those of other countries, nor would this country brook any interference in their formulation and implementation from alien experts.

—Mr. Shriman Narayan, Congress General Secretary, *Times of India*, July 6, 1955.

They (the Soviets) will always be suspected of playing Dr. Jekyll (of Panchshila) and Mr. Hyde (of world revolution).

—*The Examiner*, June 25, 1955.

Today the air is thick with missions and delegations flying to and fro between Delhi and the Red Meccas of Peking and Moscow. If our foreign policy is independent let us, for our own sakes if for nobody else's, have a little less of this political commuting.

—Editorial, *Times of India*, July 15, 1955.

It seems that some of the journalists on the Approved-By-Tass-List, out of their anxiety to further a particular cause, do not discriminate between objective reporting and propaganda.

—Mr. N. Dixit in *Thought*, July 16, 1955.

The only Communist Government (Yugoslav) not at Moscow's heel is a good deal more sceptical of Soviet intentions than some democratic regimes.

—Mr. Drew Middleton, *New York Times*, July 10, 1955.

There are five continents—Europe, Asia, Africa, America and Geneva.

—Talleyrand as quoted in *New York Times*, July 10, 1955.

The more the plans, it seems, the more the unemployment.

—Mr. N. V. Gadgil, *Hindustan Times*, July 14, 1955.

A party which resorted to violence to bring about chaos and which was ever anxious to adopt the flag of a foreign country has no right to exist in India.

—Mr. Atulya Ghosh, President of the West Bengal Congress, *Current*, July 20, 1955.