

Let Us Know Who Kisses Us And Why

by V. B. Karnik

"Any one who mistakes our smile for a withdrawal from the politics of Marx and Lenin is making a mistake".

—N. S. Khrushchev.

INDIA is a hospitable land and it is her tradition to accord a warm welcome to all those who come to her as guests. In her long history it has happened sometimes, however, that strangers came as guests and misused the hospitality that was accorded to them. In spite of such occasional bitter experience, the country has not, however, given up its tradition of hospitality.

The Soviet rulers, Marshal Bulganin and Mr. Khrushchev, came as the guests of our Government. The Prime Minister had invited them and, it appears, he felt personally responsible to accord them as "hearty" and "tumultuous" a reception as he had received when he went to the Soviet Union few months back. By far and large, the country has fulfilled that desire of the Prime Minister. Wherever the Soviet leaders went, they were accorded a big reception and large crowds gathered at many places to see them. The debt can be thus said to have been repaid truly and faithfully.

Now that the feasts and the formalities of the receptions are over and the Soviet leaders have departed after finishing the first and the important lap of their visit, it is desirable to think in sober terms about our behaviour during the visit and about its effects on the national and international policies of our country. Such a dispassionate analysis at this hour will be neither a discourtesy to our visitors nor a departure from the country's tradition of hospitality.

Guests always deserve a warm welcome, more particularly when they come as the representatives of a friendly people. Representatives of many friendly

peoples have visited India since she became independent. Why were the representatives of the Soviet Russian Dictatorship singled out for a specially warm and elaborate welcome? Does not this special treatment amount to a discourtesy towards the representatives of other peoples? We proclaim that we have friendly relations with all nations. How then do we explain this invidious discrimination in favour of one Government?

The distinguished Vice-President of the Republic of Indonesia was in our midst a few days before the arrival of the Soviet leaders. The King of our northern neighbour, Nepal, is still in our midst. Neither of them was accorded the special treatment given to the Russian dignitaries. Does that mean that our friendship for those neighbouring countries is less than our friendship for distant Russia? Or does it mean that ulterior political considerations influence our hospitality?

The Russian leaders were accorded a big State-inspired and State-organised reception. The State is bound to take care of its invited guests and to look after their comforts and conveniences. It must also make proper arrangements for the guests to see the country. But is it necessary for the State to order or persuade thousands of officials and citizens to leave their work and line the roads by which the guests go, to drill the children to wave flags, shower flowers and shout slogans and to get together handsome young maidens and bonny boys to garland the guests?

These things may have been done when our Prime Minister went to Russia. Indeed, they may be necessary there, for in communist countries nothing can happen unless it is ordered and organised by the Government. In the regimented society that exists in those countries the people have to be ordered as much for staging a reception as they are ordered for fulfilling the national plan or for waging a battle.

But ours is a free and democratic country, and we need not have imitated the dubious methods that are current in the country represented by the distinguished visitors. The adoption of those methods materially affected the reality and the sincerity of the receptions, and exposed us to the charge voiced by "Onlooker"

in the *Times of India* that "Our behaviour as welcoming hosts might be construed as something more than slightly juvenile." The Russian leaders could have been accorded a more mature welcome.

The most objectionable feature of the receptions was the cynical use that was made of children as instruments of diplomacy. What do the children know of Soviet Russia and her leaders? And why should they have been mobilised to take part in the receptions? Children were literally mobilised through instructions sent to schools which they could hardly disregard. At some places they were marched to and fro for a number of days previous to the receptions in order to rehearse the whole ceremony. They were taught how to cheer, wave flags and shower flowers. In Bombay, the Municipal authorities distinguished themselves by ordering the opening of schools two days in advance in order that the children might be available for the reception and for the previous training for the reception. Such incidents, which took place at all places that the Russian leaders visited, did not enhance our reputation as a mature people nor did they constitute an example of the Gandhian way of life.

As the guests invited by the country's Government, the Russian dignitaries were entitled to all courtesy and consideration, but there was a corresponding obligation upon them. They ought to have also honoured our country's policy of friendship with all nations and of non-alignment with Power blocs and done nothing as long as they were our honoured guests to violate that policy. It is a matter of deep regret—though perhaps not of surprise—that the Russian leaders failed to observe this elementary obligation that the code of international conduct imposes upon statesmen visiting foreign countries.

Marshal Bulganin's and Mr. Khrushchev's addresses to Parliament were a gross violation of that obligation. They indulged in an unjustified and unseemly attack on some countries with which our nation has the best of relations. Whatever their views about some of the Democracies may be, our Parliament was not the place to air them and it was a crass misuse of the privilege that was accorded to them.

Some of the statements made by the Soviet leaders with crude effrontery were positively objectionable. They questioned the motives and the sincerity of some of the most respected statesmen of the Western countries and went to the extent of suggesting that they were the enemies of peace. The statements came with ill grace from the representatives of a Dictatorship which has been mainly responsible for keeping alive the smouldering fires of war and for blocking the road to peace. In any case, they had no right to cast such aspersion against the friends of the host country while enjoying its hospitality.

The Soviet leaders came here as the salesmen of Soviet friendship and aid. The *Times of India* stated editorially: "There is a very obvious element of salesmanship in what Mr. Bulganin and Mr. Khrushchev have been saying and the usual reaction to such salesmanship is one of automatic resistance". One unwary remark that Mr. Khrushchew made in this connection, however,

deserves some thought. He is reported to have remarked at Nangal that a "young nation, like the saplings on the highways in India, had to be protected." Did Mr. Khrushchev regard independent India as a "sapling on the highways"? If that is what they think about our country, it will colour all their ideas about their help to us and we may have to ask to be saved from their friendship.

The Soviet leaders reaffirmed their faith in *Panch-shila* and proclaimed that they were for peace and friendship with all. They disclaimed all intention of interfering in the internal affairs of any country and put all the blame for world tensions on the Western Democracies. In his speech at Nangal, Mr. Khrushchev said: "We would rather stop production of hydrogen bombs and devote our time and energy to increase the output of milk, ploughs, tractors and textiles." One would have liked to ask Mr. Khrushchev if one had been there: "What stops you from doing all that except your system which seeks to enslave the world?" But for the aggressive intentions and activities of communism, the world would have been a much happier place to live in.

The propaganda statements were obviously directed towards the people of India and through them towards the peoples of Asia. The object plainly was to win over the uncommitted nations of Asia. The visit is thus revealed as a move in the Cold War. It is an attempt to convince the nations of Asia of the peaceful intentions of Soviet Russia and of the diabolical war-like intentions of the Western nations and thus win the friendship, if not the active support, of Asian nations. This is the purpose of the visit and, howsoever much the Soviet leaders may deny it, the blatant political statements that they made have exposed it.

It is regrettable that the leaders of the Soviet Union should have thus raised the issues of the Cold War and sought to utilise their visit for dragging India into their camp. Courtesy and good-will visits are not ordinarily used for such propagandist activities but perhaps we were wrong in assuming that the Soviet rulers would regard themselves as bound by such rules of good conduct.

These outbursts of the Russian leaders and the special efforts made by the Indian Government to accord them a big reception may create a misapprehension in some quarters about the country's position in international affairs. Some may apprehend that India

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Notes

Reorganisation Of States

THE publication of the report of the States Reorganisation Commission and the claims and counter-claims based on linguistic considerations have given rise to ugly controversies and uglier demonstrations in support of or against those claims and counter-claims. The controversies and demonstrations are striking at the root of national solidarity and creating hatred and bitterness which may take a long time to subside.

Reorganisation of States on linguistic basis may have some utility and importance from the point of view of bringing the administration nearer to the common people, but after all, as pointed out by Acharya Vinoba Bhave, "the reorganisation is contemplated only from the practical point of view of efficient administration and smooth management of the affairs of the provinces." If as a result of reorganisation one area is assigned rightly or wrongly to another State, it does not cease to be a part of the country and no harm is going to be caused to the residents of that area. They will remain as before the citizens of the Indian Union and will be able to enjoy all fundamental rights guaranteed by the Constitution.

All this excitement over the proposals of the Commission and the decisions of the Congress Working Committee regarding them is therefore somewhat exaggerated. A little thought should convince the people that after all reorganisation of States is an administrative matter which does not vitally affect their life.

Left to themselves, the people would not have got so agitated over the matter. But there are interested politicians who are always on the look-out for an issue to agitate and excite the people. Then there are the linguistic fanatics whose craze for their own particular linguistic claims and demands is blinding them to the evil consequences of their ill-conceived agitation. Between them the two are misleading the people and misdirecting their enthusiasm and fervour.

All the recommendations of the Commission and the Congress High Command's decisions may not be just and proper. There is scope for difference of opinion on some or many of them. But those differences of opinion should be thrashed out in calm and sober discussions about them. That is the path of democracy, the other which appears to have been chosen by some is the path of mobocracy.

Twelve prominent members of the Lok Sabha have issued an appeal in this connection which deserves the support of all. They say: "We would earnestly appeal to our people not to lose their sense of perspective and balance in discussing proposals of States' reorganisation. After all we are citizens of India with a common culture and common ideas and whatever boundary

may be eventually fixed for the sister States they must not be allowed to create disunity and bitterness among us." We endorse the appeal.

Agitation Over Bombay

THE form that the agitation over Bombay's inclusion in Samyukta Maharashtra has taken is particularly odious. The attempt to break up the Congress meeting on Chowpatti sands was highly objectionable. It is the right of all citizens to hold and express any opinions that they like. Any interference with that right by the police or the goondas is a gross violation of an elementary rule of democracy.

What happened the next day when the leftist leaders gave the call for a strike was far more serious. The life of the city was paralysed and there were innumerable acts of goondaism including the burning of public vehicles and injuries to innocent passersby. The police firing, which was the direct result of wilful disobedience of orders on the part of the demonstrators, took a toll of twelve lives, besides a good number of injured some of whom are still receiving treatment in the hospitals.

It is the usual practice on such occasions to put the blame for undesirable incidents on anti-social elements and abuse the police for what they did to protect the life and property of citizens. The hand which did the mischief may be that of an anti-social element, but it cannot be forgotten that the occasion and the opportunity for committing the crime was provided to him by the leaders who gave the call for the strike or the demonstration. They are the persons who are really responsible for the damage caused and the inconveniences suffered by the people.

The protagonists of Samyukta Maharashtra had promised a peaceful and lawful agitation. It is clear from what happened that the saner elements amongst them have been elbowed out by the extremist elements. As a matter of fact the communists have taken control of the agitation and are now its directing authority. The ugly turn that the agitation took is the direct result of that development, which has done the worst damage to the cause of Samyukta Maharashtra.

The Failure And Its Responsibility

Optimists and wishful thinkers must have received a rude shock by the utter failure that characterised the Foreign Ministers' Conference which ended during the month in Geneva. The so-called "Geneva Spirit" had so much bemused the world that even the worst pessimists were not prepared for such a completely futile Conference.

The Conference had a three-point agenda and it was expected that some progress would be made at least regarding the third point of the agenda, namely, East West Contacts. The West made a number of concrete and realistic proposals for establishing and developing those contacts, but all of them were unceremoniously turned down by Mr. Molotov, the Soviet representative. He had the temerity of characterising

some of them as an opportunity to carry on "war propaganda." The bluntness that was adopted in rejecting the proposals shows how determined the Soviet rulers are to keep the Russian people hermetically sealed from all contact with the outside world.

The most revealing episode of the Conference, however, was the Soviet opposition to German unification. The communists usually talk glibly about unification, more particularly of Germany, of Korea and of Vietnam. How hypocritical the talk is and that what they mean by unification is the extension of their dictatorship over the rest of the country was clearly exposed by what happened in Geneva. Mr. Molotov stoutly opposed free elections as the basis for the unification of Germany. His sole anxiety was to bolster the communist regime in East Germany and to give it an opportunity to communise the rest of the country. Knowing full well that free elections would shatter the communist regime, M. Molotov slammed the door against German unity.

If any corroboration of the statement were needed it has been readily provided by the East German Deputy Premier, Herr Walter Ulbricht. He is reported to have stated frankly to a West German "Socialist functionary" that "communists reject free elections because they know that they cannot gain power through ballot."

A similarly obstructive attitude was adopted on the question of disarmament. Soviet Russia is opposed to control and inspection. Under the circumstance no progress was possible even on that issue.

Since the Conference ended Soviet Russia has exploded another thermo-nuclear bomb. Mr. Khrushchev admitted in a speech in Bangalore that its force was equal to that of several million tons of TNT. He asserted in the same speech that the Soviet Union will continue to experiment with and perfect atomic and hydrogen bombs, jet aircraft and armaments of the latest type. This shows how hypocritical is all its talk about disarmament.

The world is unanimous in placing the blame for the failure of the Conference squarely on the shoulders of Soviet Russia. And yet Marshal Bulganin and Mr. Khrushchev were in the course of their speeches in India painting a different picture! They should have exhibited a little more respect for the intelligence of the Indian people.

Education Under Communism

SRI C. P. Ramaswamy Ayyar's statement that education in China, being "rigidly based on Marxist principles, was from top to bottom completely regimented" must give one an inkling into the working of the communist system of education, not only in China but throughout the communist world. To the communists, as to the fascists, education is no more than an instrument to indoctrinate their own political ideology into the young and growing minds. To this end they would even distort history and suppress facts as has happened in Soviet Russia. The traditions of liberal education are unknown in the communist world.

One of the basic aims of education, as understood in the free world, is the fostering of the spirit of independence in the child. Madam Montessori has warned against the creation of fear-complex in the child, which, according to her, generates a permanent inferiority complex in the growing mind. The communists are determined not only to suppress the spirit of independence in children but to implant a fear complex in them, with a view to drive them, when they grow up, into unthinking and blind obedience to the party and the totalitarian state-machine, with the result that the flowering of child's individuality becomes a remote possibility. The young men become mere robots. Further, new experiments in the field of education, which are encouraged in the free countries, are condemned in the communist world as deviations from Marxist principles. No educationist can dare embark upon new experiments or even think of a new theory of education. If he wishes to save himself, he has only to conform to the party dictates.

The fact that education in China is regimented is not therefore surprising. Children have only to learn by rote the Marxist dogmas and maxims, and to that end alone are they made literate.

Health Services in China

RAJKUMARI AMRIT KAUR'S recent statement that India was "far more advanced than China in regard to health services" must have come as a shock to those with whom it is fashion to exaggerate the achievements of Communist China in comparison with those of their own country. True, India herself is not very advanced in the sphere of medical care services, and she has yet to attain a standard comparable to that of some of the Western European countries. But certainly India commands better and superior health services than China. Communist China suffers from a woeful lack of doctors and proper medicines; further the totalitarian character of the regime makes the situation still worse, for under totalitarianism a doctor does not only not get a better deal, but, since he is regimented, he loses the incentive to be of real service to suffering humanity in the manner that he would wish.

Yet, in her Press Conferences, Rajkumari Amrit Kaur's attempts to flatter the Chinese Government are discernible. While comparing some of the aspects of Indian administration with those of China, she says "the Chinese are grappling with their immense problems—more or less similar to those obtaining in India—in a practical way and had achieved quite a lot since the liberation." Does she mean that India is not grappling with her problems in a "practical way"?

Unfortunately, in India correct information about Communist China is lacking. Whatever is given out by the Indian delegations that visit China is not only inadequate, but one-sided and often misleading.

If correct information about China becomes available, many of the falsehoods will be exposed and the people will be in a position to judge the relative merits of democracy and a totalitarian regime.

Peaceful Co-Existence

by Bertram D. Wolfe

PEACEFUL co-existence is not one word, as one of our speakers suggested, but it is two words in one. As a combination, it has a meaning, a purpose, and a history.

I think I can best contribute to this discussion by questioning the very title which introduced it. The term "peaceful co-existence" comes from the infected lexicon of "Newspeak," that language in which dictatorship is called democracy, permanent purge is called collective leadership, war is called peace, conquest is called liberation, and freedom is called slavery. It was invented and offered to the world as a nostrum, a semantic poison. In it, there is no thought of peace.

The term was coined by men of power and of unending war who have dedicated not their spare moments but their entire lives to the waging of that war and that conquest of power, dedicated themselves to class war, to civil war, to revolutionary war, to colonial war, to imperialist war, to war of conquest, to war of enslavement, all under the name of liberation and carried forward on the bayonets of the Red Army.

Totalitarianism is inseparable from war. And all its days it wages war of two kinds at once. And each of them aims to be total.

The first war is the unrelenting war of the Kremlin upon its own people. That war is literal war. A war of nerves, a war of propaganda, a war of closed borders so that none may escape. A war of universal espionage, of systematic detention, of speed-up, of purges, of slave camps, of a bullet in the base of the brain. It is a real war, endless and unrelenting, that the totalitarian system wages upon its own people.

The other war is a war to extend that system until it has conquered the world. From Lenin to Khrushchev, the canonical writings form a *Mein Kampf* for all our satesmen and our leaders to study, if they care to study. And always it makes clear, despite the occasional peace dove which is launched for a special effect, always it makes clear its nature and its purpose.

The aim of the first of these two wars is the impious one of playing God to Man, remaking man's image according to an arbitrary, and I must say having studied it, a miserable plan. It aims to conquer the spirit of man and to make him into something called the New Soviet Man; to break his spirit apart and put it together again according to the wisdom and the plan of a Joseph Stalin or a Khrushchev.

The aim of the second war is to conquer the world for Moscow, or, more precisely, for its ruling faction. Both wars are total, both wars are real. Each of them may change in its intensity "according to the calculation of forces"—the words are quoted—"of the moment," may change its tactics, its slogans, its

methods, but never its long-range strategy or its purpose.

Both wars, in my humble and hopeful opinion, are doomed to failure in the long run because they mistake the nature of Man. But both are serious; both are fraught with mortal danger, and both aim at total conquest and unconditional surrender.

In their war on their own people, it is not enough for the people to give obedience, bow the head, hold the tongue, serve the State. They must cheer when ordered to cheer, love whom they are ordered to love, betray whom they are ordered to betray, and hate whom they are ordered to hate. It is not enough even to have made the revolution—to have been a Communist—to have been an old Bolshevik, as the deaths of Trotsky, Bucharin, Zinoviev, Kamenev have so frighteningly made clear. It is not enough even to have murdered at the behest of your superiors for the greater glory of the State—as the deaths of Yagoda, Yezhov, and Beria make no less clear. And in their war on other peoples, it is not sufficient to accept sincerely the siren song of peaceful co-existence. Ask Lithuania, ask Latvia, ask Esthonia, ask Poland, ask Benes, ask Masaryk, Mikolajczyk, Maniu, Dmitrov, Petkov, or Pfeiffer.

It is not enough to have been a devoted Communist, or even to have set up a Communist government in your own country. Ask Tito. Unless you are a Moscow puppet, and have guessed right as to who will be the top dog in the perpetual brutal struggle for power inside the Kremlin, you are doomed to destruction. Ask Kostov, ask Slansky, ask Chen Dushiu, ask Kao-kang.

No, both these wars are as capricious and as cruel as they are terrible, unrelenting, and total. "Peaceful co-existence" then is a nostrum for semantic poisoning, a tactical manoeuvre conceived as a means of stopping you when you are strong enough to move forward, a means of encouraging you to enter a trap to be sprung later, a means of conquering by infiltration and flank attack, when the defenses are too strong for direct assault, a means of dividing when the intended victims are too united, a Trojan Horse for which the walls are to be breached so that it may be taken inside the walls full of armed men.

Peaceful co-existence in short has a history, a history which we can ignore only at our peril.

From the outset, Lenin was a man of war and a man of power. Before 1914 he wanted the Balkan Wars to be extended to embrace his own country, because—and I quote—"It would be useful for the revolution." During the war he detested those who worked for peace, and fought them. He wanted the war to be extended and converted into his kind of war, a civil war which was to continue in all lands until all lands were conquered. He first talked peace only because he could not conquer his own people.

He could not take power without it, but he and his successors have given his people no peace.

He next talked peace to a war-weary world appealing to peoples against their governments because he thought that this was the way to protect his own power and spread his revolution. Later he used the term to "sow division" to soften up for future conquest. But always his talk of peace and that of his successors has been doubletalk, Newspeak, semantic poison.

The first to invent the term "peaceful co-existence"—the poor devil never gets any credit for anything—was Leon Trotsky. "Our peace programme," he said on November 23, 1917, "formulates the burning aspirations of millions. We desire the speediest peace on principles of honourable co-existence" (honourable must have been a Trotskyite deviation because I have never seen it since) "the speediest peace on the principles of honourable co-existence and cooperation of people. We desire the speediest possible overthrow of the domination of capital." Those are two linked sentences. No dots between them.

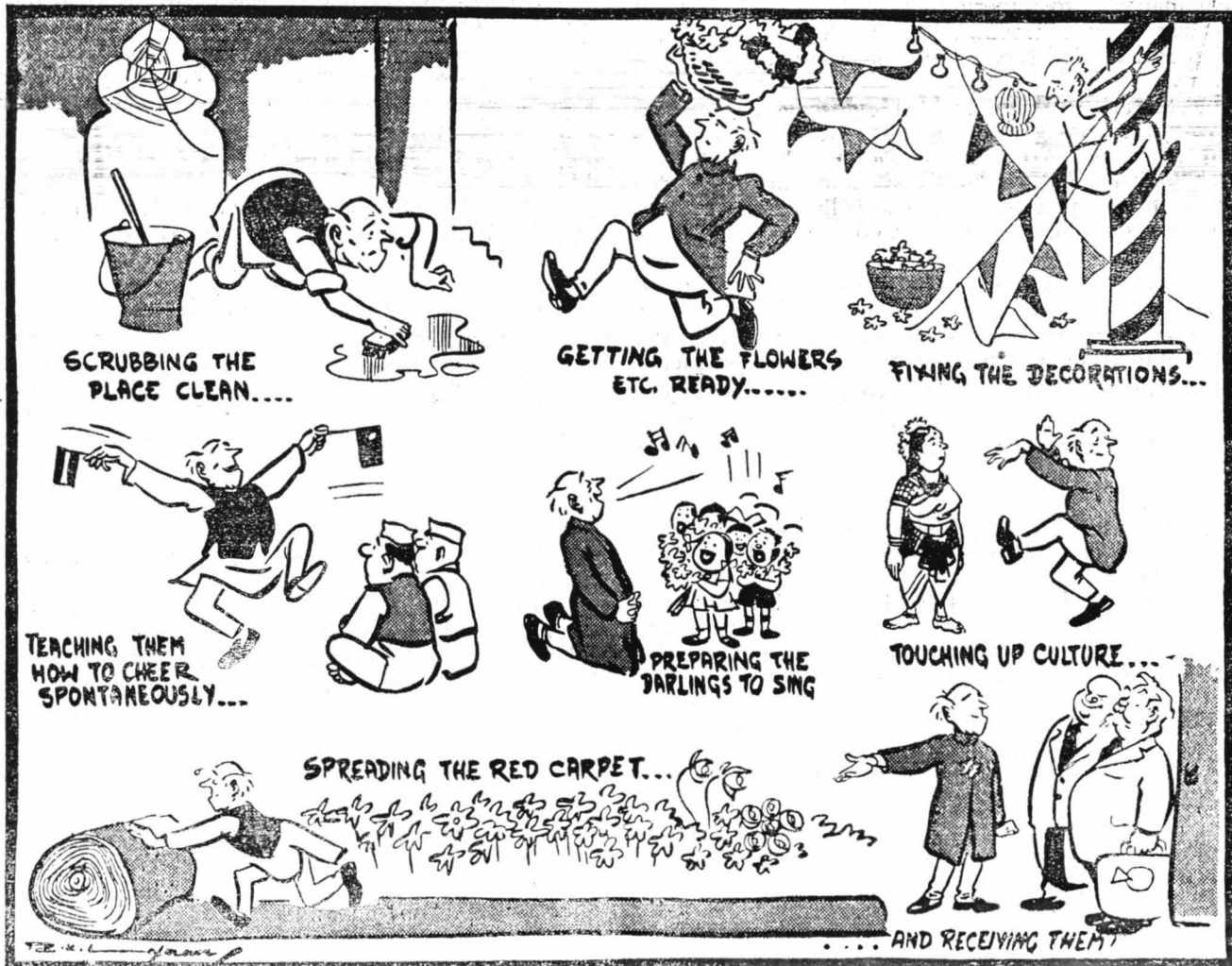
To close, I want to cite a better day for illusions about this term than is the present: the day of Maxim Litvinov. Those days began with Litvinov offering

his neighbours and the world a proposal to scale down armaments. At the same moment, the Reichswehr and the Red Army were in secret agreement to produce inside Russia planes, tanks, shells, poison gas, ships, for the use of both armies. That's the beginning of the Litvinov period. And towards the end, when the world was drunk with Litvinov's rhetoric and slogans, in the League of Nations a delegate, not just any delegate of the Republic of Spain, a member of the International Executive Committee of the Congress for Cultural Freedom, Salvador Madariaga, made the following Animal Farm description of Litvinov's proposals:

"A conference of beasts once discussed the question of disarmament. The lion spoke first. Looking at the eagle, he suggested the abolition of wings. The eagle, turning to the bull, asked for the suppression of horns. The bull in turn regarded the tiger and demanded the elimination of claws.

"It remained only for the bear to speak. He proposed total abolition of every means of attack and defense so that he might take all the animals into his loving embrace."

—Speech delivered at a recent forum in New York held under the auspices of the Tamiment Institute.



Philosophy Of Freedom

by M. B. Shah

THE function of philosophy is to find out the fundamental postulates from which a particular system of thought or values is derived.

The task of the philosophy of freedom is to explain the basis on which the value of freedom is founded.

In nature itself there is neither freedom nor bondage. Freedom is a human value.

The primary urge of every living organism is to exist, grow, develop and perpetuate its species. In order to satisfy this primary urge, the living organism has to act on its surrounding environment. In the sub-human animal world, this urge leads to mechanical adaptation to the environment. However, as man has a better organised neural system endowing him with the powers of memory, reflection and transmission of his experiences to his like species, the primary urge expresses itself in conscious action and reaction to his environment. In course of this action and reaction on the environment, man gathers experiences and knowledge of his surrounding nature. This knowledge becomes a powerful lever in man's further progress. However, man as an individual is powerless to struggle against the mighty forces of nature. Hence, his co-operation with other human beings which ultimately results in the development of society and all its various organizations, political, economic, social, cultural, spiritual and the like.

With the help of these organizations growing up in the course of the satisfaction of his primary urge, man embarks upon the attainment of freedom. Freedom can be defined as "the progressive disappearance of all restrictions on the unfolding of the potentialities of the individuals as human beings and not as cogs in the wheels of a mechanised social organism." (M. N. Roy in the *Principles of Radical Democracy*). Functionally freedom means "the conditions necessary and sufficient for the formation of a purpose, its translation into effective action through organized cultural instrumentalities and the full enjoyment of the results of such activity." (Bronislaw Malinowsky in *Freedom and Civilization*).

Freedom has two sides, one positive and another negative. Negative freedom is freedom from the forces crushing man's assertion of individuation from the rest of the nature including the human society. Positive freedom is one which creates the necessary conditions and affords proper opportunities for "the realization of his individual self, i.e., the expression of his intellectual, emotional and sensuous potentialities." (Erich Fromm in *The Fear of Freedom*).

In the course of his struggle for the satisfaction of his primary urges, man has to struggle against nature to secure his physical requirements like food, shelter, clothing, etc. The overpowering of natural forces has been attained to a very large extent and man has now come of age with the help of scientific knowledge and technological advancements. Likewise, in

the course of history, man progressively liberated himself from the controlling forces of church, state and social slavery. With the ushering in of the industrial revolution, a powerful ideology of liberalism and economic *laissez faire* made man a completely individualistic person to care for himself.

However, this very process of individuation from the original ties working for his security and oneness with nature and society made him also an atomized individual to make his way wherever he could single-handedly.

With the Declaration of the Rights of Man in the great French Revolution, man's inherent dignity was asserted. Democracy, the greatest invention of man's genius, was ushered in and put on a practical experimental plane. However, in practice, it turned out that democracy was working in the social and economic frames which were not conducive to the assertion of human dignity and realization of the best potentialities in man. Man was not considered as an end in himself to be respected and cultivated but an economic entity driven by his animal passions and selfishness. In these circumstances, the ideals of fraternity, equality and liberty were negated in practice and man became a lonely and powerless creature at the mercy of uncontrollable economic and social forces. Man of flesh and blood ceased to be an entity, an end in itself. Instead of security and co-operation of society, man became isolated from society and a dichotomy was created between man and society. The issues were posed like man versus society, freedom versus organization, etc. instead of man in society, freedom with organization and the like. Thus all the values of man like love, brotherhood, creativity, etc., were nullified in practice.

Individual man not endowed with the biological superior capacities to make room for himself by elbowing out others and also man with principles and scruples was relegated to the devil's care as good-for-nothing. The result was man's loss of confidence in the utility of freedom and democracy, the loss of confidence in himself and in society. Ultimately, helplessness, resignation, frustration, destructiveness, submissiveness and such other anti-human and anti-social characters took hold of man. Man became afraid of his own freedom and was prepared to surrender the same in search of security though it may be an illusory one. Man preferred to be either a slave, master or an automaton rather than a free, spontaneous, creative, acting and loving person.

In this situation of frustration, resignation, submission and destructiveness all sorts of totalitarian and authoritarian ideologies like fascism, nazism, nihilism and communism drawing their inspiration from extra-human forces possessed man. All these movements exhibited and exhibit the symptoms of the sickness of

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Our New Hobby

by Laeeq Futehally

WE Indians are in a fair way to becoming a nation of Nature-lovers. Or at least Bombay is becoming a city of Nature-lovers. There is no doubt about it. We have discovered Nature suddenly and we cannot leave it alone. We must talk and write volubly about our discovery. Our Ministers of State prattle about the "green glory of the forests" in every rainy season. The V. I. P's of Delhi all come together at the meeting of the local Bird-Watching Society. And our morning paper carries a learned dissertation on the relative merits of the Flame of the Forest and the Coconut Palm on the middle page, all among Mr. Nehru's speech and the Peace with Atom. Which other nation except the United Kingdom of Great Britain could ever show such a delicate sense of proportion?

As I said before, we have been overwhelmed by the discovery that Nature is wonderful. We cannot get over the sudden realization that trees are beautiful and that it costs nothing to go and look at a jungle full of trees. And when, by a sort of subtle popular communication, it gets about that a certain spot outside the city is to be considered a beauty spot thousands of enthusiastic pilgrims congregate there every Sunday to pay homage to it. Witness Powai Lake, its admirers have settled on its shores and started a little colony of Powai fans. See any of the roads leading into the woods and open spaces on a Sunday. They are covered with humanity in a way in which no road was ever covered a few years ago except on the occasion of a religious mela. There are large family parties on the roads, there are parties of students, parties of girls, parties of friends and just parties. Nearly every one carries a heavy bulky bundle, containing food and other forms of entertainment. Most of them wear chappals or sandals which ensure that they walk with the maximum discomfort, and many are sweating profusely in the midday sun due to the pullovers and scarves they started out with in the tepid early morn. But, uncomfortable or not, hot or cool, tired or fresh—it is a conglomeration of happy Indians. They wave and shout to each other, they sing rebald songs, they shake their fists indulgently at the dust of every passing car; and they are glad and happy to be away from the crowded squalid city and among the trees.

This exodus from the city into the country every Sunday is not the only sign of our new nature-consciousness. The reverse process of bringing the country into the city has also begun in no small way. Witness the rock-gardens in Bombay's traffic roundabouts, witness the gardening efforts which accompany every new house and building which goes up. Almost before the last iron bars have been affixed to the windows, the builder as matter of course puts in a couple of brick-bordered flower beds and a trellis over the gate for bougainvilleas. The drive is

cemented, and the space around the house is left open to take in a row of crotons—and lo! Nature has been brought into the city.

May our new enthusiasm never wane—may it grow from strength to strength, for surely, if our new national hobby is to love Nature, no other nation ever had vaster field in which to develop its national hobby. And above all, let us not forget to congratulate ourselves on having found a hobby which even we can afford.

[V. B. KARNIK — Continued from page 2]

has ceased to be an uncommitted nation. The speeches of the Prime Minister made on the occasion of the receptions to Soviet rulers should dispel that doubt. He declared on more than one occasion that India was friendly towards all nations and emphasised: "This friendship with all nations is not to be achieved at the cost of our principles. In fact, it is only by adhering to our principles firmly that we can achieve friendship with others." On another occasion, elaborating some of the basic principles of the country's policy, he said: "We believe not only that the ends to be achieved should be good but also that the means employed should be good" and "the great cause of human progress cannot be served through violence and hatred". These principles sharply distinguish Indian policy from Russian policy, and nothing that happened during the tour would show that this country is prepared to depart from them.

All the same, it cannot be denied that the visit and the efforts that our Government made to impress upon it a special significance will have a disastrous effect on the thinking of some of the less mature of our people. It may not strengthen the Communist Party of India, as feared by some, but it will certainly make international communism less odious and more acceptable to many. Many may take at their face value the peace-loving speeches made by Marshal Bulganin and Mr. Khrushchev and be misled regarding the real intentions of the Soviet dictatorship. It will be all the more necessary therefore to make the facts available to the people about the grim realities of Soviet power politics and about the Soviet method of double thinking and double talk. They will then be able to know, in the picturesque words of Mr. Khrushchev, "who is kissing you and why."

COMMUNIST CONSPIRACY AT MADURAI

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The Double Think And Double Talk

by W. Z. Laqueur

In the course of their speeches in India Marshal Bulganin and Mr. Khrushchev heaped high praises on Mahatma Gandhi and other leaders. At one place they placed Gandhiji on the same pedestal as their master, Lenin. This is, however, for Indian consumption. What is stated at home is entirely different, as should be clear from the following article.

SOVIET Oriental studies, which suffered sudden and total eclipse during the purges of the late Thirties, have made a no less sudden comeback in the past few months. Coming after a break of almost twenty years this revival reflects the growing Soviet interest in the Middle East and Southeast Asia. It is anything but academic.

In a comparatively short period, fifteen separate brief volumes have been brought out by the Soviet Academy of Sciences, and another, more substantial series is under way. Books published recently include a survey of the study of Islam in the USSR, the first volume of a four-volume *Recent History of the Peoples of the East* (since 1918).

This sudden flood of studies following a prolonged break has, of course, created some difficulties. There is the amusing story of the Egyptian field marshal described as a wartime "Axis agent" in the Soviet monthly *Problems of History*; the writer had overlooked the embarrassing fact that, during this period, the gentleman had advanced to the post of Ambassador to the Soviet Union. But more important than such minor gaffes were the ideological problems emerging from this new literature: first and foremost, the question of the communist attitude toward Asian national movements.

Of particular interest is the stand taken by Soviet Oriental experts *vis-à-vis* the Indian national movement. In the recently published standard textbook, Gandhi is still called a "traitor." "Gandhi," we are told, "justified entirely the oppression of the country by the imperialists"; he never wanted to achieve Indian independence but was acting in the interest of the exploiting classes. The Baroda resolution of the Indian Congress party in 1922 is described as "one of the most loathsome documents of Gandhi's traitorous activities." "Gandhi appealed to the religious prejudices of the masses and exploited the most reactionary dogma of Hinduism."

The Congress party's "pseudo-left wing," headed at that time by Nehru, does not fare much better. Even such an ostentatiously "progressive" action of the "pseudo-left wing" as its decision to join the International Anti-Imperialist League in the late Twenties is criticized as a manoeuvre to bring pressure on the British and thus create more favourable conditions for collaboration with British imperialism.

The hostile line which the new textbook takes toward Kemalism in Turkey is also noteworthy. Following an extremely unfriendly survey of Kemalism and its "superficial reforms," the author writes: "The Kemalists lived in deadly fear of their own people.

They suppressed in the cruellest manner the slightest manifestations of the democratic movement. They mercilessly suppressed the national-liberation movements of the non-Turkish nationalities."

Contradictions in the Kremlin line on Asia have become the rule rather than the exception. There is a glaring discrepancy between Soviet propaganda to Asia and Soviet Oriental studies, designed for domestic consumption by a small group of experts. Of late, attempts have been made to curb Leninist excesses by Soviet scholars, and a recent unsigned editorial in the Moscow *Kommunist* asked the latter to bear in mind that there is a "progressive kernel in each national movement." Clearly, the scholarly denunciations of Asian nationalism have become a source of embarrassment to the planners and makers of Soviet policy in the East.

The most striking example of the Schizoid Soviet approach to Asian nationalism is the Kremlin's current attitude toward Indian Prime Minister Nehru. As the second most populous state in Asia, India has been the object of energetic wooing by both of the world's two great power blocs. Since Nehru's recent visit to Moscow, the Soviet campaign to win India over to at least benevolent neutrality has moved into high gear.

At the time of Nehru's visit, a Russian edition of his long volume, *Discovery of India*, was brought out by the State Publishing House for Foreign Literature. The task of introducing Nehru to the Russian reader was assigned to V. Balabushevich and A. Dyakov, the two leading Soviet authorities on India, who published an extremely laudatory review (or rather preview) of his book in the June issue of the magazine *Kommunist*.

Nehru, according to Balabushevich and Dyakov, was a staunch anti-imperialist fighter who had often suffered in the past for his principles. He was critical not only of British imperialism but of the native Indian bourgeoisie, they noted appreciatively, and he attached little importance to religion in the struggle for national liberation. The Soviet writers were approving of Nehru's attachment to Gandhi, since the latter "played an important role in the Indian national movement."

So much for the Balabushevich-Dyakov accolade to Nehru. Just a few months before its appearance in *Kommunist*, two newly published Soviet books had been received in England: Volume 10 of *Learned Essays of the Institute of Oriental Studies* and the first volume of the *Recent History of the Peoples of the East*. The first of the "learned essays" was signed by none other than V. Balabushevich, and dealt

with the relations between the Indian national movement and the working class (*i.e.*, Communist party) in the 1920s. In this instance, however, the author took a markedly different tack.

The leaders of the Indian Congress party, wrote Balabushevich, were so discredited by the 1920s that they had to be replaced by a new "pseudo-leftist" leadership lest the masses free themselves from their pernicious "national reformist" influence. These "pseudo-leftists" included men like Nehru, who "ostentatiously came out for full national independence, for a united anti-imperialist front, who insisted that the demands of the workers and peasants be satisfied and that India become a socialist republic. But in reality they were protagonists of the class interests of India's big bourgeoisie and big landowners, helped perpetuate the feudal remnants, and actively opposed the class struggle of workers and peasants." Nehru was specifically upbraided for his authorship of the Madras resolution adopted by the Congress party congress in 1927, whose "main aim was to maintain the (party's) declining prestige." He was also accused of demanding full independence for India but not actually meaning it.

At this point, Balabushevich explicitly recanted previous Soviet praise of Nehru and his associates: "It must be said at this point that several Soviet Indian experts, including the present writer, took a wrong position in appraising the 'leftist' leaders of the Congress in the mid-Thirties. In several articles, these 'leftist' leaders were described as real heads of

the leftist lower-middle-class wing, which had emerged in effect within the Congress party at that time as representatives of the national-revolutionary trends within the Indian national-liberation movement. This was, of course, a mistake. . . . The reality refuted these mistaken views."

Paralleling the tale of Balabushevich is a similar one involving his colleague, A. Dyakov. The latter, it develops, contributed the first chapter to Volume I of the *Recent History of the Peoples of the East*. There we find that Gandhi, far from being a leader in the "anti-imperialist struggle," is a "traitor"; the word is used some thirty times in as many pages. As for the "pseudo-leftists" like Nehru, their objective was "to disorganize the masses, to weaken their really leftist wing (the communists), to get hold of the various mass organizations, and to prevent the masses from fully understanding Gandhi's and the Congress's traitorous role."

Judging from the recent *Kommunist* editorial reproaching Soviet Orientalists for "not always taking into account the concrete historical situation in India" and forgetting the "progressive kernel in each national movement," Balabushevich's and Dyakov's split personality is soon to be resolved. All signs indicate that the Soviet Union and the Asian Communist parties are modifying their hostility toward non-communist nationalist movements. This has happened before, in the 1920s, and in the Popular Front period of the 1930s, and the ultimate objectives are undoubtedly the same today.

Yet, the basic dilemma remains. According to the tenets of Leninism, there can be peaceful coexistence during a given period between states—but not between parties and political movements. Hence, the communist parties in Asia cannot give up their opposition to the nationalist movements. The conflicts between the Communist Party line and Soviet propaganda abroad can be played down, but they cannot be eliminated completely. They will probably remain the chief stumbling-block to communist progress in Asia—barring a major ideological reorientation, which seems unlikely at this point.

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[M. B. SHAH — Continued from Page 7]

society and the spiritual and cultural crises of mankind. They all promised panaceas and liberation from anxiety, isolation, frustration, resignation. In the search of security from this burden, man surrendered his freedom and self to these authoritarian and totalitarian ideologies. After the defeat in the last world war, fascism and nazism have been weakened to a very large extent, though they are not completely annihilated. However, on account of the combination of certain factors, communism has come out as a nightmare to the free world. It has expanded its control over vast areas and populations. And with the resources at its command, it is threatening other parts of the free world.

Therefore, the main problem facing mankind today is freedom versus totalitarianism. All other problems and issues are either subordinate to this problem or merge in it.

However, if totalitarian onslaughts are to be fought out, democracy will have to orient itself to positive freedom. It will have to overhaul its social, economic, cultural and spiritual set up with a view to give full scope for the assertion of human self, i.e., for the full realization of emotional, intellectual and sensuous potentialities of human beings. Its new set up will be of a kind in which man's individualism is integrated with society on a higher level of co-operation, equality, liberty, creativity and love as between free men. The economic man will have to end and a new rational and moral man will have to rise to take his place. The whole social set up will be based on the principle that he is the measure of all values. All collective endeavours will be measured in terms of the actual benefit conferred on constituent units. The position of the individual will be the measure of the progressive and liberating significance of any collective effort or social organization.

As Erich Fromm states in his *Fear of Freedom*, "The victory of freedom is possible only if democracy develops into a society in which the individual, his growth and happiness, is the aim and purpose of culture, in which life does not need any justification or success in anything else, and in which the individual is not subordinated to or manipulated by any power outside himself, be it the state or the economic machine; finally, a society in which his conscience and ideals are not the internalization of external demands, but are really *his* and express the aims that result from the peculiarity of his self. These aims could not be fully realized in any previous period of modern history; they had to remain largely ideological aims, because the material basis for the development of genuine individualism was lacking. Capitalism has created this premise. The problem of production is solved in principle at least—and we can visualize a future of abundance, in which the fight for economic privileges is no longer necessitated by economic scarcity. The problem we are confronted with today is that of the organization of social and economic forces, so that man—as a member of organized society—may become the master of these forces and cease to be their slave."

I. C. C. F. NEWS

Mr. Nicolas Nabokov, the Secretary General of the Congress for Cultural Freedom passed through Bombay on November 8 on his way to Delhi. He was in Delhi for three days during the course of which he went through a busy programme of meetings and discussions. In a talk which he delivered at the Asian House, Mr. Nabokov dealt with the problems facing modern intellectuals in the West. He delivered a lecture on "At the Crossroads of Contemporary Music" under the auspices of the Delhi Music Society. There was also a reception in his honour.

From Delhi Mr. Nabokov went to Calcutta where a crowded programme was arranged for him by Mr. K. K. Sinha. On November 13, the first day of his visit Mr. Nabokov attended a recital of Bengali folk music and art. Mr. Narayan Chaudhari, the noted music critic, presided over the function. The next day Mr. Nabokov delivered a lecture on "The Rise of Romanticism in Western Music" at the Calcutta School of Music. Mr. B. A. Watt, President of the School presided over the lecture. On the last day of his visit Mr. Nabokov delivered a lecture on "The Origin of Western Music" under the auspices of the Ramakrishna Mission Institute of Culture. Mr. Brojendra Kishore Roy Chaudhari, the well-known musician, presided over the lecture which was attended by a large number of distinguished citizens of Calcutta.

Mr. Nabokov met in Calcutta a number of artists and literary men, prominent amongst whom were Mr. Uday Shanker, Mr. Amla Shanker, Mr. Buddhadev Bose, Mr. Samar Sen and others. From Calcutta Mr. Nabokov went to Rangoon from where he went to Tokyo.

Mr. Nabokov will return to India on December 9 for the latter part of his tour. He will be in Madras on December 9 and 10, from where he will go to Trivandrum and Bangalore. From Bangalore Mr. Nabokov will go to Bombay on December 16. In Bombay Mr. Nabokov will attend the Annual General Meeting of the Indian Committee for Cultural Freedom and will also participate in the Music Seminar which is being organised on Saturday, December 17. On Sunday December 18 he will deliver a public lecture on the "Origin of Western Music, When Did East and West Separate?" under the joint auspices of the Indian Committee for Cultural Freedom, the Bombay Madrigal Singers' Organisation and the Time and Talents Club at the Walchand Hirachand Hall of the Indian Merchants' Chamber. He will leave for Rome on December 21 after visiting Ajanta and Ellora.

*

The Annual General Meeting of the Indian Committee for Cultural Freedom will be held in Bombay on December 17 and 18. The Inaugural Meeting will take place on Saturday, December 17 at 6 p.m. at the Jehangir Art Gallery. The closed session of the Meeting will take place on Sunday, December 18 at 10 a.m. in the office of the Indian Committee for Cultural Freedom.

With Many Voices

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

—Tennyson.

Nobody is too rich to borrow and nobody is too poor to lend.

—Mr. C. D. Deshmukh, Finance Minister,
Times of India, November 3.

It was a dangerous thing for the administration of a State or country to depend on one single man's goodness or badness.

—Acharya Vinoba Bhave, *Times of India*,
October 3.

Norway too had a "colony." It is an island in the Antarctic. Its only inhabitants are penguins, and they had not yet voiced their objection on "Norwegian colonialism."

—Mr. Arni Bjorgung, Acting Consul-General for
Norway, *Times of India*, November 2.

The tendentious commentaries that Mr. Khrushchev has offered so far have certain unpleasant affinities with the tactics of the bazar salesman.

—Surveyor, *Times of India*, November 18.

The Communists are on the march. Their marching feet are encased not in military jack-boots but in the more flexible Russian leather shoes of well-dressed political and commercial diplomats.

—Vivek, *Bombay Chronicle*, November 3.

Communism had exerted on some men a pull which was to prove stronger than their patriotism.

—Mr. Harold Macmillan, Britain's Foreign
Secretary, *Times of India*, November 9.

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✓ Communists indulged in sectional thinking hence were neither rightists nor leftists but "wrong."
—Acharya Bhave, *Times of India*, November 3.

While raising the loudest protests against one type of colonialism, that practised by other democracies, we seem to condone entirely the other, and perhaps even more insidious type of colonialism, that practised by the totalitarian communist state upon its satellites.

—Vivek, *Bombay Chronicle*, November 3.

Russia has launched a new strategy that may turn out to be more revolutionary and more dangerous than anything Stalin ever envisaged.

—Mr. Chester Bowles, former
Ambassador, *Times of India*, November 3.

He had found no difference between Chinese and Russian Communism.

—U Nu, The Premier of Burma, *Times of India*,
November 3.

It is indefensible to hold that free elections cannot take place because the Communist system in Germany must be preserved.

—Sir Anthony Eden, the British Prime Minister,
Times of India, November 3.

Smiles, as Clausewitz might have said, are a continuation of the "cold war" by other means.

—Mr. Thomas J. Hamilton, *The New York Times*,
October 3.

Until I am told that I live in a totalitarian state, I will not concede to Mr. Agarwal the right to tell me what I should drink, even as I do not arrogate to myself the right to tell Mr. Agarwal what he should drink to purify himself.

—Cassius, columnist, *Hindustan Times*,
November 3.

No one can combat Communism alone and particularly applies to small countries like New Zealand and even Australia.

—Mr. Richard Casey, Australian Minister for
External Affairs, *Times of India*, October 3.

Roughly a million workers were required to build 16,000 miles of railways in China, as contrasted with the same number of workers for more than 100 times that mileage in India.

—Mr. Moshe Decter, the *New Leader*, October 3.

At the moment, Nasser promises to carve a name for himself in history as supreme manipulator of a stiff arm-open palm policy.

—Mr. Myron Kolatch, the *New Leader*, October 3.