

D. R. S. Answers The P. M.

PRIME MINISTER NEHRU believes we are in bad company. In the course of his speech replying to the debate on foreign policy in Parliament he mentioned the Hungarian incident as having "gone into wrong hands" and complained of "interference" in such matters by associations such as the Indian Committee for Cultural Freedom and the Democratic Research Service. He accused these of being merely political organisations comparable to the fronts put up by the communists. According to him these organisations are "closely associated with the Praja Socialist Party" and they serve "as a convenient handle to run down our government."

The Prime Minister, when he brings down on the heads of small groups of Indian citizens the full weight of his authority and prestige owes an obligation to the country to be properly informed and to get his facts straight. It is a pity that he should have spoken on this occasion in ignorance of the facts. It therefore becomes necessary to enlighten him by a brief recital of the facts about these two organisations.

To commence first with the Indian Committee for Cultural Freedom, it may be explained that this is the affiliate in India of the World Congress for Cultural Freedom, a world-wide non-partisan organisation of thinkers, writers, scientists and artists whose object is the defence of intellectual liberties against all encroachments on the creative and critical spirit of man. The headquarters of the organisation is in Paris. Among its Honorary Chairmen and members of its International Executive are men of the highest international renown such as Bertrand Russell, Salvador De Madariaga, Karl

Jaspers, Jacques Maritain, Reinhold Niebuhr, Denis De Rougemont, Raymond Aron, Sidney Hook, Ignazio Silone, Stephen Spender and Nicolas Nabokov, its Secretary-General. When some of these gentlemen have visited New Delhi, the Prime Minister himself has been good enough to entertain them at his residence.

Among members of the Executive of the Indian organisation are persons such as Dr. Sampurnanand, Chief Minister of the U.P.; Mr. Asoka Mehta, M.P.; Mr. Jaipal Singh, M.P.; Mr. M. Bhaktavatsalam, a Minister in the Madras Government; Mr. Eric da Costa, Editor of *Eastern Economist*; Mrs. Rukminidevi Arundale, M.P., Mr. Laxmanasastri Joshi, Marathi writer; and Mr. V. B. Karnik, a veteran Trade Unionist.

The Indian Committee is an independent body controlling its own policy and it does not accept either instructions or funds from its international organisation beyond the payment it receives for literature supplied and other expenditure undertaken within India for the international organisation. The Indian Committee publishes a literary bi-monthly named *Quest*. It is concerned primarily with the problems of writers, educationists, and other intellectuals and with the maintenance of intellectual freedom. A few weeks ago, it joined the All India

PEN Centre (of which Dr. Radhakrishnan, India's Vice-President, is the President and Pandit Nehru the Vice-President) and the Indian Institute for Intellectual and Cultural Co-operation in preparing a Memorandum on the Copyright Bill at present before Parliament and its representatives appeared before the Select Committee, which we are glad to see has accepted several suggestions made by the Indian Committee and the other two organisations for improving the Bill.

Just to show how ridiculous is the suggestion that the Committee exists to run down the Government, it may be mentioned that a year or two back Mr. Jayaprakash Narayan

JAYAPRAKASH ON D.R.S.

In the course of a press statement issued from Madras, the full text of which was published in only a few papers, Mr. Jayaprakash Narayan has commented as follows on the work of the Democratic Research Service:

"Mr. Nehru has particularly picked out the Democratic Research Service for his wrath. The object of this organisation is not to run down the Government as Mr. Nehru says, but to educate the people of this country in democracy.

"The D.R.S. has done particular service in exposing the dangers and nature of Russian communism, and curiously enough some of its exposures have now been endorsed by communist leaders themselves, such as Khrushchev, Gomulka, Imre Nagy and others.

"Every communist now talks of the 'mistakes' and 'crimes' of the past, but when the DRS talked of them some years back, it was condemned by the communists and by men like our Prime Minister as a fascist organisation or as an organ of foreign imperialism."

conveyed to Mr. Nehru the unanimous invitation of the Committee to inaugurate its Annual Conference. The Prime Minister, however, excused himself on the ground that it would not be proper for him, in view of the official policy of non-alignment, to identify himself with an international organisation with a distinctive ideological orientation.

In so far as the Democratic Research Service is concerned, it may be recalled that this organisation was established in November 1950 with the blessings of Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, then India's Deputy Prime Minister and Home Minister. Its purpose has been to contribute towards the education of public opinion in India to a fuller realisation of the need to defend India's national independence and her culture and of the possibilities of social and economic advance through democratic processes. Amongst its purposes also is the combatting of mendacious communist propaganda and infiltration in our national life.

The members of the Executive Board of the Democratic Research Service are Mr. Purshottam Kanji, a veteran Congressman and a Gandhian constructive worker, who is also currently Chairman of the Bombay State Industrial Financial Corporation and of the Wage Board; Mr. D. P. Sethna, a senior Solicitor of the Bombay High Court; Mr. M. R. Masani, author and publicist; Mr. L. Sawhny, a business executive; Mr. H. R. Pardiwala, Barrister-at-law.

Among the members of the Advisory Committee of the organisation are Mr. Purshottam Trikumdas, who was a member of the Indian delegation to the U.N. a couple of years back; Mr. Rohit Dave, editor of *Janata*; Prof. Anant Kanekar, Marathi writer and educationist; and Mr. J. B. H. Wadia, a film producer.

The Democratic Research Service has, apart from routine activities such as meetings and the publication of *Freedom First*, published a series of pamphlets, among the latest of which are *The Truth About Stalin*, which contains the full text of Khrushchev's secret indictment of Stalin. Other titles are *Chinese "Panchsheela" in Burma*, *How We Took Over Hungary* by Matyas Rakosi, *Why Communism Must Fail* by Bertrand Russell and others.

The organisation has also made available for the information of the Indian Government, press and

public, the text of secret documents relating to the Madurai and Palghat sessions of the Communist Party of India, which have been quoted with approval by Congress Ministers in more than one State.

At the time of the Andhra election campaign, the DRS at the invitation of the AICC Secretariat prepared a series of leaflets which were widely used by the Andhra Congress organisation, who expressed their appreciation for the co-operation they had received from the Democratic Research Service.

It will thus be seen that the organisation has endeavoured, with the limited resources it possesses, to carry out its purposes. It does not "run down" the Government of India, nor is it primarily concerned with governmental policies. When—as in the case of Tibet, Hungary, or the glorification of Bulganin and Khrushchev during their visit to India—it has been felt that the policy of the Government has been such as to give comfort to international communism and unwittingly to aid its activities in this country, the Democratic Research Service and its journal have exercised their democratic right to criticise such policies.

The Democratic Research Service functions openly and says publicly what it feels on issues as they arise; its views and its activities are open for all to see and to assess.

The funds of the DRS are wholly raised within this country and none of them come from foreign sources or organisations. Our first Honorary Treasurer was Mr. Shantilal Shah, at present Education Minister in the Government of Bombay, who resigned because of his taking up a Cabinet appointment. The present Honorary Treasurer is Mr. N. R. Modi, a member of a respected firm of auditors. We do not disclose the names of our donors so as to protect them from vituperation from communist journals and harassment by the communists and trade unions controlled by them. But our funds come from the same patriotic sources from which the Congress Party obtains its contributions. If the Prime Minister cares to ask Mr. Dhebar, the Congress President, to satisfy himself on this score, we shall be glad to open our books to him after obtaining our donors' permission, which we feel confident will be given.

In the present world crisis, we have unequivocally condemned in a public meeting in Bombay, aggression both in Egypt and Hungary. We are thus in the good company of the vast majority of the members of the U.N.

In so far as Hungary is concerned, we find ourselves in the company not only of the respected individuals in India and abroad whose names have been mentioned above, but of millions of decent human beings who have been outraged by the brutal massacre of thousands upon thousands of Hungarian men, women and children, whose only crime was the desire for freedom and their resistance to communist tyranny. We are in the company of Habib Bourguiba, Prime Minister of Tunisia, who has indicted Russia for "waging a pitiless war against a weak country",

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and of Mohammed Natsir, Masjumi leader of Indonesia. We are in the company of 123 members of the South Vietnam Legislative Assembly who paraded through the streets of Saigon wearing mourning white in sympathy for Hungary, and of Hugh Gaitskell, the British Labour Party leader who handed to the Soviet Ambassador in London a statement denying the lies with which Bulganin's apologia was packed. We are in the company of the people of Denmark who expressed their anguish by five minutes of silence. We are even in the company of Jean Paul Sartre, till recently a consistent fellow-traveller; of the Budapest correspondent of the *Daily Worker* who threw up his job in disgust, and of Pietro Nenni, fellow-travelling Italian socialist, who has now returned his Stalin Peace Prize. We are in the company of the Pope who has declared: "The blood of the Hungarian people cries vengeance to the Lord." We are in the company of the Burmese Prime Minister, U Ba Swe, who had no hesitation in saying: "Russia has shot down hundreds of people whose only guilt was to ask the Russians to leave Hungary."

• This is a goodly company. It is the kind of company we are proud to keep.

We apologise to our readers for inflicting on them this recital of facts; but we think it is due. For many months now, the Democratic Research Service has been the victim of vilification and slander at the

hands of the Communist Party weekly *New Age* and the yellow crypto-communist journal *Blitz*. All kinds of fantastic nonsense has been published by them but, in view of the colour and character of these journals, we have treated these babblings with the contempt they deserve. This apart, these circles have, we understand, privately been showing some concocted document purporting to come from the DRS and entitled: "Pricon: 6, 1956". We want to warn all concerned that no such document has been issued by the DRS and that it is a pure fabrication. It may be that there are others of a like nature. The Democratic Research Service publishes "no private and confidential" documents of this nature beyond its own progress reports which list its public activities and its publications. All its output is printed and made public.

It is distressing for those who are engaged in this work only to protect the free institutions this country enjoys and the democratic values on which our Constitution is based to be attacked by the Prime Minister of our country for doing what we consider to be in the national interest. We are therefore consoled to know that, in the course of a tribute to the work of the DRS, Mr. Jayaprakash Narayan has reminded the Prime Minister that "there are other men in India who love their country no less than he does and whose integrity of character is unquestioned."

India And Hungary

THE people of our country deserve to be congratulated on the way they reacted to the tragic developments which took place in Hungary. Their reaction was quick and warm hearted and does credit to their sense of justice and love of freedom. Hungary is a far off country and our people have hardly any contact with the people of that country. Moreover, when the developments in Hungary took place, their minds were agitated by the much nearer Anglo-French aggression against Egypt. And yet our people had no difficulty in recognising the Hungarian struggle as the national uprising of the people against the communist regime and the domination of Soviet Russia and the Soviet intervention as a brutal attempt to suppress by force of arms the revolt of the people. There was a wave of sympathy for the people of Hungary and of resentment and disgust against the rulers of Soviet Russia.

There is a sad contrast between this spontaneous and humane reaction of the people and the delayed, cautious and wooden reaction of our Government. For over a week there was no reaction. Then the Prime Minister spoke at the UNESCO Conference and the sentiments that he expressed gave the hope that even at that late hour he was going to espouse the cause of the Hungarian people. But then came a relapse and at the A.I.C.C. meeting in Calcutta he modified his position and the resolution that was passed was very tame, in sharp contrast with the

strong resolution on aggression against Egypt. In the meanwhile, the Soviet Juggernaut had entered Hungary, deposed the lawful government, set up a puppet regime and drowned in blood the revolt of the people.

But the brave people of Hungary did not give in. They fought against the Soviet hordes and also resorted to passive resistance. The passive resistance appears to have moved the Prime Minister and he was more realistic in his appreciation of the events in Hungary when he initiated the Foreign Affairs debate in Parliament. But the next day again there was a change in his attitude and he ridiculed those who called the Kadar Government a government of stooges. He made it clear, however, that he stood for the withdrawal of foreign forces and for an opportunity to the people of Hungary to decide for themselves without outside intervention. This is the present stand of the Government of India, which is encouraging as far as it goes.

The actions of our delegation, and more particularly of our Chief Delegate, at the sessions of the United Nations Assembly were far more objectionable. On the first occasion of a vote on the Hungarian issue, our delegation abstained from voting. The issue was very simple—the demand for the withdrawal of Soviet troops and there is no reason why, in accordance with the usual policy of our country, our delegation should not have supported the resolution. The apparent explanation of the abstention

was non-receipt of instructions. The explanation is hardly plausible and is proved to be wrong by subsequent developments.

On the next occasion, when the question came up for discussion on the basis of the now famous five nation resolution, our Chief Delegate, Mr. Krishna Menon was present and he surprised the world and disgraced this country by voting against it in co-operation with Soviet Russia and her satellites. India was the only non-communist country voting against the resolution. Other countries of the Asian-African group had merely abstained. It is represented now that India was opposed to the demand for elections in Hungary under U.N. auspices—as it would be an encroachment on the sovereignty of that country. The purpose would have been best served in that case by opposing that part of the resolution and abstaining from voting on the resolution as a whole. The Prime Minister has further argued that it was not a serious resolution as none of the Big Powers had sponsored it. This is hardly any argument, and even in that case the best course would have been abstention.

The fact appears to be that, at least at that time, Mr. Krishna Menon had a different opinion about the events in Hungary. A few days before leaving for New York to attend the General Assembly of the U.N., Mr. Menon had characterised those events as an "internal matter". He was not prepared to recognise, what was apparent to everybody, that Soviet intervention had made them an international issue. He appeared to have tacitly accepted the Kremlin's claim to deal with Hungary as it pleased as she belonged to its sphere of influence. The justice of the Hungarians' case, their bravery and their heroism seemed to have made no impression on him. That is why he was opposed to giving priority to the Hungarian issue. He wanted the issue to go to the Political Committee where it would have remained for weeks and the whole struggle of the Hungarian people would have ended long before it came up for discussion.

Public opinion in the country and abroad was outraged by these actions of Mr. Menon. Liberal opinion all over the world, which had accepted so long at their face value our Prime Minister's professions of independence and neutrality, was shocked by this perverse bias in favour of Soviet Russia. There was a revulsion of feeling against our country and the moral position that we had built up through years of patient work was undermined. Efforts are now being made to repair the damage by insisting on the withdrawal of Soviet troops and on the admission of U.N. observers by Hungary and by contributing to the relief of distress. But it will undoubtedly take some time before we are able to regain our lost prestige.

It is Mr. Krishna Menon who is mainly responsible for this grave blow to the prestige of our country. It was on his advice that our vote in the U.N. was cast, not as usual against aggression and violence but in the company of the aggressor. It is he who is

responsible for the adoption by our country, may be for a time, of a double standard, one to judge the Western nations and another to judge Soviet Russia—an action which destroys the moral basis of our national and international policy. It is the painful consciousness of this grave harm done to the country which persuaded Mr. Jayaprakash Narayan to demand the recall of Mr. Menon and his dismissal as the Chief Adviser of the Prime Minister on international affairs. It was not in a fit of anger that Mr. Jayaprakash Narayan made this demand. He was speaking as the conscience of the nation. He was voicing the demand of all those who stand for the sanctity of moral values.

Mr. Frank Moraes, the Editor of the *Times of India*, who has just returned after a two-month visit to the United States, bears testimony to the disservice done to our country by the actions of Mr. Menon which he calls "the extraordinary performance of our delegation". In his first article on his visit to America published in the *Times of India* Mr. Moraes has stated "temperatures rise and tempers bristle at the mere mention" of Mr. Menon's name and has suggested that his talents "might more profitably be utilised elsewhere."

I. C. C. F. NEWS

The Indian Committee for Cultural Freedom organised two public meetings in Bombay to give expression to the public sentiment on the issue of Hungary. The first meeting was held in the office of the Committee on October 31. Mr. Asoka Mehta, M.P., presided and the speakers were Mr. Jayaprakash Narayan, Miss Maniben Kara, Rev. T. Mascaranhes and Mr. M. R. Masani. The second meeting was held at the Jai Hind College hall on November 9. Mr. Jayaprakash Narayan presided and Dr. Soetan Sjarir, Mr. Eki Sone, Mr. Julius Braunthal, Mr. Nath Pai and Mr. M. R. Masani addressed the meeting. The meeting also protested against the Anglo-French aggression against Egypt.

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The Bangalore Group of the Indian Committee was formally established at a function held on October 27. Mr. Adya Rangacharya, wellknown Kanarese writer, inaugurated the function. Mr. T. Sidappa, Editor *Prajamata*, presided. An entertainment programme followed which included the singing of the lyrics of Bendre, Puttappa, Tagore and Gopal-krishna Adigal by Mr. D. Budha. Mr. K. S. Moro sang classical Hindustani songs while Mr. J. S. Bankeshwar gave light music.

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The Jamshedpur Group arranged a lecture by Mr. M. R. Masani on 11th November. Mr. S. K. Nanavati presided.

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A Group has been formed in Calcutta with Mr. Aloke Sarkar and Mr. Sailesh Roy as Secretaries. Mr. M. R. Masani met the members of the local Group at an informal meeting on 25th November.

Notes

Anglo-French Attack On Egypt

THE whole world has condemned the Anglo-French attack on Egypt. The United States has refused to endorse it in spite of the close alliance it has with Britain and France especially in connection with defence arrangements against the Communist bloc. The UNO has called for an immediate cease-fire and the withdrawal of the invading force. The cease-fire has taken place but the withdrawal is yet only symbolic and tardy.

From the moment of the attack which took the free world by surprise, public opinion in England led by the Labour Opposition has reacted sharply and decisively against this unfortunate adventure of the British Prime Minister. The press has been practically unanimous in condemning the aggression in Egypt and in making short work of the sophistries of the defenders of Government policy. The claim of Eden that his attack against Egypt is of the nature of a "police action" is not conceded by anyone. Police action should proceed under the authority of the UN if it is to be acknowledged as such. The fighting of the UN forces in Korea against the North Korean invaders is entitled to the epithet of police action because it was sanctioned by the UN as a world authority.

There is no doubt that Britain and France have great economic and political interests in the Suez Canal and West Asia as a whole. Apart from oil supplies, the Canal is the life-line of communications between the different parts of the Commonwealth and Empire. Britain has come to regard the Canal area as one in which her interests should be supreme and unchallenged. Colonel Nasser's cultivation of the Russian bloc and his import of arms from Czechoslovakia in defiance of the West threatened the historic hegemony of the Britain over the area. To be ready to fight for one's vital interests, alone and without allies if necessary, is part of the psychology of nationalism and of the diplomacy of preparedness which cannot perhaps be abandoned until a substitute by way of an acknowledged world authority able to police the whole world is securely established. But Britain has damaged the development of the UN into such an authority by her defiant aggression against Egypt. France has joined in because of Egypt's sympathy with Algeria. Thus these leaders of democracy in the West have dealt a blow against freedom and world security.

The only silver lining in the cloud is the clear and emphatic repudiation of the aggression by the bulk of public opinion in Britain and in the UN.

Copyright Bill

THE Select Committee on the Copyright Bill has just submitted its report to Parliament. From the Report it appears that the Committee has suggested a number of modifications in the Bill. Some of these modifications were suggested in a memorandum submitted to the Committee by the All India P.E.N. Centre; the Indian Committee for Cultural Freedom and the Indian Institute for Educational and Cultural Co-operation. Mr. M. R. Masani, Mr. S. H. Vatsyayan and Mr. Purshottam Tricumdas appeared before the Committee on behalf of the three organisations and urged the acceptance of the suggestions made in the memorandum. We are happy that the Select Committee has accepted some of those suggestions and improved the Bill. We hope the Bill will be further improved when it will be discussed in the two Houses of Parliament.

A Communist Front?

THE view that *Freedom First* had expressed (September 1956) that the Asian Writers' Conference proposed to be held in Delhi this December was a potential communist front has been borne out by the report of a rift among the organisers appearing in news despatches from New Delhi. Five out of the seven members of the steering committee, namely, Prof. Humayun Kabir, M.P., Mr. Ramdhari Singh Dinkar, M.P., Mr. Bansari Das Chaturvedi M.P., Mr. Jainendra Kumar and Shrimati Amrit Pritam have said in a statement to the press that there was a doubt that *bona fide* writers in different languages were not being invited to attend the conference. To allay such doubts they declare that invitees should be selected in consultation with the advisory bodies of the Sahitya Akademi in the appropriate language. The two other members of the steering committee are Dr. Mulk Raj Anand and Kaka Kalelkar. The statement is believed to have been touched off by the fact that Dr. Anand had called a press conference without the knowledge and approval of the other members of the committee. But the more basic objection seems to relate to the manner of selecting the delegates. Mr. Dinkar had written to the convenors charging that invitees were not being selected in a fair and impartial manner and that writers not sharing "in a certain ideology" were being discriminated against.

It is gratifying that leading writers who had innocently lent their names to the so-called Asian Writers' Conference and had allowed themselves to be drafted into the organising committee have realised that the proposed Conference was being used in support of "a particular ideology" in a clandestine manner. The surreptitious stealing of the good name of innocent persons, prominent in different walks of life and of culture is a standard practice of Communist Fronts. It is high time that the public become fully aware of their nature and their potential threat to personal freedom and national independence.

Revolt In Hungary: The Background

THE Budapest revolt proved Erno Gero, Hungarian Communist leader, a bad prophet. He had predicted last July 18 there would be "no second Poznan" in his country.

The ingredients that sparked Poland's Poznan riots last June were evidently present in Hungary. There was hatred of Russians, discontent over poor living conditions, resentment of Communist oppression. The spark needed to set off these elements was apparently given by the Polish example of defying Moscow and winning out.

The tensions had been building up in Hungary for twelve years, ever since Soviet troops entered the country in 1944 during World War II. But the deeper roots go back through the history of the Hungarians.

The Hungarians, or Magyars, as they are known in their language, came originally from Asia and reached the Danube River basin in the ninth century.

One of the most revered events in Hungarian history is Louis Kossuth's effort in 1848-49 to gain Hungarian independence from Austria. That revolution was crushed by two armies, one Austrian and the other Russian. Hungarian patriots have never forgiven Russia for her role in 1849.

Communists gained control of Hungary in 1919 during the chaos that followed World War I. The Communist dictatorship, under Bela Kun, was short-lived and from 1920 to 1944 Hungary was a dictatorship under Admiral Nicholas Horthy. Bela Kun fled to the Soviet Union and was executed by Stalin in the late Nineteen Thirties. His memory was rehabilitated last February.

When Soviet troops entered Hungary in 1944, a new government was formed at Debrecen on Dec. 23. It was a coalition regime of Communists, Social Democrats, Independent Small-holders and others.

The first post-war election on Nov. 4, 1945, was a free election and gave democratic elements a smashing majority. The Communists, with 797,736 votes, came in third behind the Small-holders with 2,687,701 votes and the Social Democrats with 819,824 votes.

With Soviet support, the Communists exercised power far beyond their electoral strength, controlling the police and administering the land reform. During 1946-48, Matyas Rakosi, then Communist Party leader, used his "salami tactics," isolating each group of opponents at a time and destroying it.

In February, 1947, the Soviet Army arrested Bela Kovacs, secretary of the Small-holders party. Three months later Premier Ferenc Nagy, of the Small-holders' party, was forced to resign. With the union of the Social Democrats with the Communists in June, 1948, the Communist rule of Hungary was complete and unchallenged.

Terror, the Communist's chief weapon in achieving power, was intensified after the Cominform break with the Yugoslavs in June, 1948. The terror was turned on Communists suspected of Titoist tendencies,

as well as on the Roman Catholic Church, whose leader, Joseph Cardinal Mindszenty, was arrested in late 1948.

In September, 1949, Laszlo Rajk and others were tried and publicly confessed to having plotted with the President of Yugoslavia, United States intelligence, and other foreign forces. Mr. Rajk was hanged and during 1950-52 other leading figures were purged and either arrested or executed.

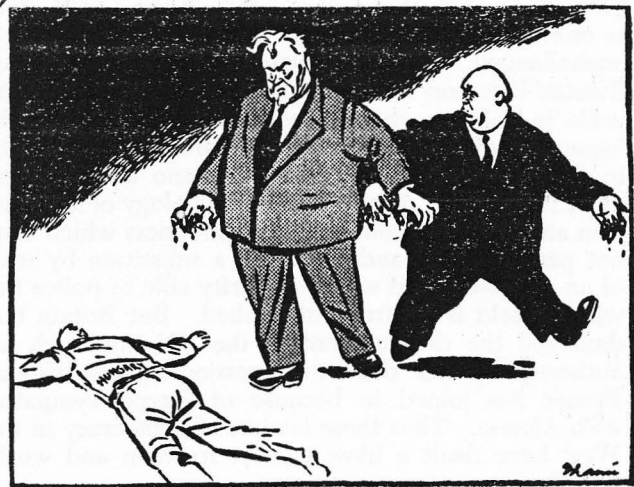
When Stalin died in March, 1953, Hungary not only was in the grip of terror but its economy was badly strained by Communist mismanagement and coercion in agriculture and by the sacrifices needed for the industrialization drive.

The strain was acknowledged in July, 1953, when Imre Nagy came to power as Premier. He called for emphasis on a higher living standard. He gave permission to farmers to leave collective farms.

The Hungarian economy did poorly in 1954, and many Communists led by Mr. Rakosi, sabotaged Premier Nagy's reform programme. Soviet Premier Georgi M. Malenkov, who had sponsored a similar Soviet programme, resigned in February, 1955. Mr. Nagy's position became untenable. He resigned in April, 1955, and was succeeded by Andras Hegedus.

But the ferment continued and gathered strength in late 1955 and 1956. It was helped when Bela Kun was rehabilitated last February. It gained ground when Moscow recognized Marshal Tito's equality in June, and when Mr. Rajk was rehabilitated in March.

Last June events moved toward a crescendo as the Petofi Youth Club in Budapest heard a public demand that "It is high time that an end be made to this present regime of gendarmes and bureaucrats." Two weeks later Mr. Rakosi resigned as First Secretary of the Working People's (Communist) party and Erno Gero succeeded him.



—Reproduced from Indian Express

Russian War Against Hungary

by Soetan Sjarir

Former Prime Minister of Indonesia

Speech delivered at a public meeting held in Bombay under the auspices of the Indian Committee for Cultural freedom.

I SUPPOSE that we are gathered here tonight to voice our feelings and our opinions about events that have taken place in Hungary during the past few weeks. Permit me to summarise quickly in a chronological order what those events have been. It started with a students-demonstration in Budapest a few weeks ago. The students wanted a change in the status of Hungary. The example of Poland, which country had earlier managed a change of Government, as a result of which the old communist leadership that was loyal to the Moscow regime and trusted by the Russian communist leadership had been ousted both from the leadership of the Workers' Party of Poland as well as out of the Government, seemed of great influence.

Gomulka of Poland who had been in prison charged of treason to the communist cause for sympathising with Titoism came on top both of the Workers' Party in Poland as well as of the Government of Poland. In this process of change the Russian General of Polish origin, Rossokowski, who was Minister of Defence and member of the Polit Bureau of the Workers' Party, lost his job and he was not also re-elected as member of the Polit Bureau. The changes that took place were accompanied by and to a great extent were the result of movements and demonstrations of students and workers, first wanting the release of all prisoners that had been put in jail in connection with the Poznan rebellion, and thereafter a change of the Government itself, for not having been patriotic enough.

Evidently the movement was directed against Russian control and Russian influence on Polish affairs and Polish conditions. Slogans used during demonstrations demanded the withdrawal of Russian troops and real and complete sovereignty for the country. Khrushchev and other members of the Russian Communist Party rushed by air to Poland to try to stop this unfavourable trend of events. They had to return home having achieved nothing. During this stage tension was high, because Russian troop movements had started and restlessness as well as anti-Russian sentiments were fast increasing. A showdown seemed almost unavoidable. However, Gomulka managed to overcome this critical period by assuring that, though Poland wanted sovereignty and equality between communist States, it wanted also to maintain the friendliest relations with Russia. The Russian troops were called back to their original garrisons and the country became less excited.

These events in Poland undoubtedly had a very great influence on Hungary. Here again the students seemed to have taken initiative. They organised

demonstrations against the existing Government, wanting the release of all political prisoners and the resignation of all the people in the Government who were mainly responsible for the past mistakes. Here again the students got spontaneous support from almost all the common people, workers and peasants. The Communist Party leadership as well as the Government tried to calm down the movement by making some changes in the party leadership and changing the Prime Minister.

The movement that started with a student demonstration spread very quickly, strikes broke out and demonstrations took place in other towns of Hungary, increasingly demanding a change of government and the restoration of complete sovereignty. Promises of the Government to soothe the movement did not help at all. Then the Government resorted to force. In the showdown that followed it was evident that the Government and the Communist Party had become the weaker party. Great parts of the police as well of the army seemed to have sided with the patriotic movement. At this stage already the Communist Government was hoping and relying on the Soviet forces that were stationed in Hungary to intervene. Clashes between the revolting Hungarian patriots aided by Hungarian army units and Soviet troops took place already at this stage. It appeared that it was completely impossible for the communists to hold their own. They gave in and Imre Nagy, a non-conformist communist, was asked to form the government.

He immediately proclaimed that Hungary should be a sovereign state, that Russian troops should withdraw from Hungarian soil and that he would work for the democratisation of the country. However, the movement had taken such a violent and fierce character that the coming into office of Imre Nagy did not stop the murdering and killing of communist gestapo policemen and of communist leaders hated by the people. The Prime Minister who held power before Imre Nagy appears to have become one of the victims of the mass upheaval. The mass sentiment had become in the course of fighting against Soviet tanks and troops very much anti-Russian and anti-Communist Party. It was not at all any more a movement within the Communist Party as it essentially was until the end in Poland. It became a real mass upheaval outside and against the existing regime which, of course, was communist. It was quite understandable therefore that Imre Nagy had to look to other groups to strengthen his Government. He took in two Social Democrats who had been in exile and later one of these two was made the Vice-Prime

Minister. To suit the prevailing conditions the Government had immediately to declare itself as no longer a member of the Warsaw Pact and demand the withdrawal of Russian troops.

It was at this moment that the Russians decided to start an all out war against the Hungarian people. Tanks and aircraft brought in from Czechoslovakia were used to crush the freedom fight. Towns and cities were bombed and strafed. Against this full-scale military action of a well equipped Russian Army the Hungarian freedom front could hardly put a fight. Budapest was quickly taken by the Russians. The Government was arrested and a puppet communist Government was set up. But the gallant freedom fighters continued their resistance against the Russian invaders.

This seems to be the picture of the events that have taken place during the past few weeks in Hungary. For us the case is clear. The Hungarian people have been fighting and are still fighting for their national freedom and independence. In the beginning they fought against the communist Government, which they knew was an agent of the foreign occupiers, the Russians. Later on they were directly fighting against the foreign Russian troops that were stationed in Hungary under the pretext of protecting the Hungarian people from foreign aggression. When those troops did not seem sufficient to quell down the popular upsurge the Russians sent troops from outside, thereby clearly committing a deed that is commonly termed aggression. The Government then in office had not asked the troops to come. On the contrary, that Government had asked the Russian troops that were already stationed in the country to leave. There seems not to be the slightest doubt that this act of the Russian Army is very clearly and openly an act of brutal aggression against a small nation. And against this we are here gathered tonight.

We know that by condemning this Russian intervention and aggression, this classic deed and act of imperialism, we cannot relieve immediately the Hungarian patriots who are being bombed, mowed down with machineguns and crushed by Russian mammoth tanks and yet are still resisting. But by voicing our feelings and trying to make people in Asia and especially in non-communist Asia see what really is going on in Hungary, we can help crush the false myth of Russia being a champion of freedom of the peoples and nations. She is not. It is clearly shown in Hungary that Russia is an aggressor and an enemy of national freedom and independence, that she is very openly and brutally imperialist in the classical way. If public opinion in Asia recognises this and condemns it wholeheartedly as it usually condemns any form of colonialism and imperialism, Russia will have to consider that by committing this crime against the Hungarian nation and the Hungarian people she has lost the goodwill and friendship of the Asian nations which she has been so diligently seeking during the recent years. She will have to pay for her crime with isolation, distrust and ani-

mosity from the Asian countries that earlier seemed so willing to issue *Panchshila* statements with her. If the Russians still value Asian goodwill or at least Asian friendliness and unprejudiced neutrality towards her, she will have to make good this crime against the Hungarian people and nation. Otherwise we have to go on actively making people in Asia aware of the dangerous hypocrisy of the Russian colossus. We should try that even the Arabs will only have faith in themselves and in Asian solidarity and never let themselves be lured into the arms of this most dangerous sweet-talking-but-brutal imperialism of the Soviet Union. In that sense this gathering can contribute to the relief of the hardpressed fighters for freedom in Hungary with whom we declare our wholehearted sympathy and solidarity.

We should demand the immediate withdrawal of all the Russian troops from Hungary and that the Hungarian people be left completely free to manage their own affairs without outside intervention as has been rightfully requested by Yugoslavia during the recent discussions about the Hungarian situation in the United Nations. When the UN takes this position we should wholeheartedly support it, as we have been doing in the case of the aggression in West Asia. Thank you.

Freedom First will carry in its next issue a revealing article on Hungary by Mr. Milovan Djilas published in the *New Leader* of New York. The publication of the article has led to the fresh arrest of Mr. Djilas by the Government of Yugoslavia.



PEACE OF THE GRAVE

—Reproduced from *Indian Express*

Indian Solidarity With Hungary

THE immediate reaction in India against the Russian aggression in Hungary was to protest against and condemn the aggression vehemently and unequivocally in spite of the lukewarm attitude of the Government of India towards the Hungarian question. The protest and the condemnation took an organised form with the formation of the Indian Committee for Solidarity with Hungary, with Mr. Jayaprakash Narayan, the eminent socialist leader as President, Mr. R. V. Murthy and Mr. S. A. Sabavala, two eminent journalists as secretaries and many prominent intellectuals, writers, trade unionists, political workers, and journalists as members. Mr. Jayaprakash Narayan, who was greatly disturbed by India's foreign policy in relation to the developments in Hungary and particularly by the speech and the attitude of Mr. V. K. Krishna Menon at U.N., issued a timely statement not only condemning the Russian aggression in Hungary but also castigating the Government of India for their apathy and indifference and for what could be termed their failure to grasp the significance of the Hungarian revolution. In the course of his statement Mr. Narayan stated: "It is my lot again to raise my voice against our distinguished Prime Minister. The trend of our foreign policy in the past few days has seriously disturbed me. The world has witnessed in recent days two examples of the most cynical assault on human freedom: one in Egypt and the other in Hungary. To Egypt Mr. Nehru's reaction was immediate and firm and righteous. It was a reaction of which every Indian and freedom-loving citizen of the world could be proud. But for many days there was not even a whisper heard from New Delhi about Hungary. Then one fine morning the papers reported Mr. Nehru's chief adviser on foreign policy, Mr. Krishna Menon, as having stated that the Hungarian question was a domestic affair of the Hungarian people. It was an astounding statement that left me aghast."

After referring to Mr. Nehru's UNESCO speech Mr. Jayaprakash Narayan stated: "But the UNESCO speech seems to have been the product of a passing mood, for our other actions have given it the lie. When the first resolution on Hungary was adopted by the UN, India surprisingly enough had abstained. A report from New Delhi explained that instructions had not reached our permanent representative in time. But Mr. Krishna Menon subsequently contradicted that report and revealed that abstention was deliberate. Then came Mr. Nehru's astonishing speech at the Calcutta AICC. Evidently Mr. Nehru had second or rather third thoughts and revised the opinion expressed earlier at the UNESCO Conference. Finally came the crowning piece of this shameful story, namely India's opposition to the second resolution on Hungary and Mr. Menon's speech of the 9th. A more perverse and false view of the situation could have hardly been imagined. As an Indian I hang down my head in shame that a spokesman of

my country should have gone so far in cynical disregard of the truth and the fundamental principles of freedom and peace that are said to guide our international conduct."

The Indian Committee for Solidarity with Hungary has kept the Indian public fully informed of the day to day developments in Hungary. Through their bulletins the Committee pointed out that even under the Warsaw Pact the Soviet Union had no right to use its forces against the Hungarian people. Quoting the relevant sections of this eight-nation treaty signed by the Soviet Union and other East European States in December, 1954, the Committee stated that "member States were permitted to deploy joint armed forces in accordance with the requirements of mutual defence and by agreement between the contracting parties." The very preamble of the Warsaw Pact, the Committee pointed out, adhered to the principle of *Non-Interference* in the internal affairs of the member States. The Committee also published a detailed chronology of events in Hungary.

Addressing the Press Guild of India, Mr. Jayaprakash Narayan, the President, explained the reasons for forming the Indian Committee for Solidarity with Hungary. In his address he emphatically asked for the recall of Mr. Krishna Menon from U.N. Mr. Narayan made it clear that he was asking for Mr. Menon's recall, not on behalf of any organisation but as "at least one Indian", who strongly felt that Mr. Menon had forfeited his right to represent India in a World Assembly by his conduct in the UN on the Hungarian issue.

"Mr. Menon has lost for us the goodwill of other nations," said Mr. Jayaprakash Narayan. "He has imperilled our claims to a policy of neutrality, of which we had been legitimately proud hitherto and with which he had so far been in complete agreement," he added. "Why", asked Mr. Narayan, "had we then refused to support the UN resolution demanding concrete measures to compel the withdrawal of Russian troops? The Asian Prime Ministers of the Colombo Powers, it was true, had once again called for the withdrawal of Russian troops. But how did they propose to make their demand effective—if Russia refused to do so?"

For a nation, which thanks to Mahatma Gandhi's teachings, had accepted certain principles like human dignity, human freedom, friendship and peace, it was wrong to follow the path of compromise. And on the Hungarian issue, Mr. Narayan thought, that we had made such a compromise. We had minced our words. Was it because we harboured fear of a particular nation?—he asked.

The Indian Committee for Solidarity with Hungary has attracted widespread attention throughout the country. Many persons are joining the Committee, and in some places even branches are being formed. The Committee is providing a very good vehicle for the expression of public opinion on the issue of Hungary.

A Call For Healthy Insight

The following is a statement issued by a number of eminent writers, journalists and academicians. Prominent amongst the signatories are Mr. Ram Singh, Editor, Thought, Professors Rajakrishna and M. K. Haldar of Delhi University, Mr. Sudindranath Datta, wellknown Bengali poet and critic, Mr. Mohan Singh Sengar, Editor, Navasamaj, Prof. Abu Syed Ayub, Mr. K. K. Sinha, Editor, Indian Journal of Power and River Valley Development, Dr. Daya Krishna, Mr. I. C. Jain, Mr. Roop Narayan and Mr. Rajani Mukerjee, Editor, Chowringhee.

AFTER a prolonged silence—during which the popular democratic revolt in Hungary against the Russian regime was mercilessly crushed, and desperate appeals for help went unheeded—it was small consolation to read the critical reference made by the Prime Minister to the unfortunate developments in Hungary in his address to the UNESCO conference and in the resolution passed by the AICC on the international situation. But it is distressing to note that official utterances and actions on this subject have been not only belated, but tardy and equivocal.

Our delegate abstained from voting on the first General Assembly resolution and, alone among Asian-African and non-communist nations, India voted against the second resolution. And both the Prime Minister and Mr. Krishna Menon have been at pains to explain away the events in Hungary in very convincing terms.

We feel that the fact that the Russian armed intervention in Hungary occurred simultaneously with Anglo-French intervention in Egypt provided an excellent opportunity for us to demonstrate the strength of our professed policy of “judging every issue on its merits”. We regret that we have sadly missed it and invited unnecessary criticism.

It is a pity that the crisis in Hungary is being described as a civil conflict when one of the parties to the conflict is the Russian army and secret police against which the men, women and children of Hungary have almost unanimously demonstrated their hatred with their blood and sacrifice.

It is a pity that we who have so consistently expressed ourselves against military pacts should have accepted the evocation of the Warsaw Pact as a legitimate excuse for Russian armed intervention. And it is a still greater pity that we should have regarded the coming of Russian troops on the invitation of the Hungarian puppets of Russia merely as a means of restoring order when the whole disorder has arisen out of their illegitimate presence in Hungary during the last ten years. The revolt had almost come to an end when their withdrawal was promised and was resumed only when they re-entered with massive reinforcements after a cynical breach of faith. It is a shame that we who described the arrest of Algerian nationalists by France as ‘aerial piracy and dacoity’ should have said nothing against the arrest by the Russians of the Hungarian nationalist delegation which went to Moscow to negotiate the withdrawal of Russian troops.

The truth is that many sections of our intelligentsia and many of our leaders persistently refuse to recognise the existence of such a thing as Russian imperialism in Eastern Europe, in spite of overwhelming evidence. Somehow under the spell of the outworn

Marxist-Leninist theory of imperialism, some of us have persuaded ourselves that a communist state cannot be imperialistic *ex definitions*; that imperialism is the monopoly of capitalist countries, that communist domination of a country must have some unique messianic benevolence about it which we must appreciate rather than criticise. The facts of recent history, and indeed of all history, however, show that nations with all kinds of political and economic systems, feudal, capitalistic, socialistic and communistic can be and have been imperialistic with equal facility and cynicism. It is high time that we, the newly freed anti-imperialistic Asian-African Nations discard the intellectual blinkers which prevent us from recognising and opposing all imperialisms with equal vigilance. Must an imperialism be three centuries old before we would recognise and resist it?

It is due to our deep-seated theoretical prejudice against the very possibility of communist imperialism that many of us have consistently soft-pedalled it with all kinds of evasive euphemisms throughout the last decade. It is also due to this that we have kept ourselves so ignorant and complacent about it and we still depend even for our ‘facts’ about the Russian domination of Eastern European countries on the accounts given by the Russians themselves and not on other revolutionary sources as we do in the case of Western colonialism. That is also why every time a new outrage occurs which does not fit in with our *a priori* beliefs, we behave like shocked innocents or disconcerted apologists. Had we been receptive to the notion that Russian imperialism is a fact as brute and solid as Western imperialism, we would instead have understood and responded to the recent developments in Eastern Europe with greater clarity and maturity and speed.

Democracies can grow peacefully only in countries where free expression of opinion and free opposition is allowed. Where these are not permitted, as in some of the Western colonies and all of the Russian ‘new democracies’, revolts for freedom are bound to be punctuated with violence—until the United Nations is in a position to secure freedom for them through negotiations and free elections. Democratisation will have substantial meaning only when the principle of peaceful but free opposition is accepted. If this were recognised the prospect for real democracy in East European countries where single parties rule with Russian armed support would appear to be very bleak without emphatic moral assertion by the United Nations. It is regrettable that Indian delegates at least have done nothing to strengthen the hands of the United Nations in this direction.

It is the tragedy of our time that words in which mankind has for centuries expressed its deepest moral

aspirations are almost losing their meaning. Aggressors commit aggression in the name of repelling aggression. Dictators suppress nascent democracies in the name of democratisation. Leftists, socialists and progressives outdo rightists, conservatives and reactionaries in suppressing the people in the name of leftism, socialism and progressivism. The only thing that can save us from the nihilism of the present semantic confusion is a healthy insight that detects the growth or decline of freedom anywhere in the world without being blurred by partisan propaganda couched in a maze of intellectual categories.

Whatever influence and prestige India enjoys in the world today is due not to its economic or military power, but to the fact that she has tried to bring her moral discrimination to bear on world issues with the utmost friendliness and objectivity. If we are to maintain this influence we must not fail in our objectivity in the test case of Hungary. The future may bring many more tests of the same kind. We must learn to keep ourselves as informed and unerringly sensitive about the young Red imperialism as we are about the old white imperialism.

JEAN-PAUL SARTRE'S STATEMENT

The French writer, Jean-Paul Sartre, has condemned publicly the Soviet "massacre" of the Hungarian people and severed all ties with the Communist Party.

In an article in the Nov. 9th issue of the French weekly newspaper *l'Express*, M. Sartre repudiated his past sympathy for communist causes, and branded Soviet policy since the Second World War as "twelve years of terror and stupidity."

M. Sartre, who up till now had collaborated closely with communist intellectuals both in the U.S.S.R. and France placed much of the blame for Soviet atrocities squarely on the shoulders of Soviet writers—"the leading fraction of Soviet bureaucracy."

"I condemn the Soviet aggression wholeheartedly and without any reserve whatsoever. Without holding the Russian people responsible, I repeat that their present government has committed a crime and that the struggle among different factions of Soviet leaders has endowed full powers to a group which today surpasses Stalinism after having denounced it."

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C. C. F. NEWS

The Congress for Cultural Freedom sent three cables to Prime Minister Nehru on the issue of Hungary. The first cable sent on October 28 under the signatures of Mr. Salvador de Madariaga, Mr. Denis de Rougemont, Mr. Stephen Spender and Mr. Nicolas Nabokov was to the following effect:

"Appeal to you to engage your moral authority as the companion and disciple of Gandhi to stop the massacre of the Hungarian people. Your role as a mediator could contribute to a cease-fire and the withdrawal of foreign troops."

* * *

The Congress for Cultural Freedom sent the following cable to the writers of Hungary:

"The Congress for Cultural Freedom expresses its profound respect for the insurgent intellectuals of Hungary and salutes them for the example set by their courage. Their struggle for the truth has shattered the edifice of lies which was Stalinism and has begun the process of reuniting them with us in a community of intellectual values. Their reaction, in many cases, bearing witness against their past, confirms the authenticity of the ideals which in 1950 this Congress has proclaimed in Berlin against the mouthpieces of totalitarianism. Whatever their economic and political plans may be, we trust that a respect for truth will inspire them with the resolution to establish institutions that are consonant with human rights, the dignity of the person and the freedom of thought.

Looking towards that future, we offer them our fraternal companionship."

* * *

The Office for Asian Affairs of the Congress for Cultural Freedom held a Reception on Monday, 26th, in honour of the delegates from South East and Far East Asia to the UNESCO Conference and the Buddhist Seminar. Prominent among those who attended the Reception were: U Nu, former Prime Minister of Burma; U Ba Saw, Minister for Religious Affairs, Burma; U Thein Maung, Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of the Union of Burma; Justice U Chan Htoon, Judge of the Supreme Court of Burma; Dr. Thin Aung, Rector of the Rangoon University; Madam Aung San; Dr. Raziuddin Siddiqi, Vice Chancellor, Peshawar University; Prince Dhani, President of the Siam Society; Phya Anuman, the great Thai Scholar, Mrs. Rukmini Devi Arundale and Dr. Gyan Chand.

Justice U Chan Htoon explained to the delegates the activities of the Congress and Dr. Thin Aung, Rector of the Rangoon University spoke on the concept of cultural freedom. Mr. Eric da Costa proposed a vote of thanks.

To The Editor

Satyagraha Or Panchshila?

Dear Sir,

On opening the newspapers on Tuesday Nov. 20 we read that Mr. Nehru had changed his attitude towards Hungary. He spoke of having had a conversion. He also spoke of a spiritual crisis underlying recent events. It reminds us that even when we have proposed to ourselves the highest of principles, still there is no substitute for experience. The fire of experience brings out certain clarifications of principles of our own making, which can be bright in the centre but rather hazy towards the edges. One such principle is *Panchshila*. It looked all right so long as it sought to prevent people from tearing at each other, especially when they were divided into even balanced atomic warfare blocs. But it became dim when a new situation arose, such as in Hungary.

When a whole people were being suppressed with the armed might of Soviet occupiers and tyrants, the cry naturally went out to our very feelings of humanity. To invoke *Panchshila* and pretend that the whole matter was a purely internal one smacked of Cain. Cain could have been the first author of *Panchshila* when he said, 'Am I my brother's keeper', while murder was being done.

Mr. Nehru could not possibly keep up this line. He had to change in order not to be aligned with barbarism. He underwent a remarkable conversion to another principle which had been of the very soil of India and given her victory. It is the creed of non-violence. He said that his conversion to the cause of the Hungarian people had come about more through their current passive resistance than by their earlier armed revolt. His re-discovery of satyagraha was cheered by the Indian Parliament.

It reminds us that early in the Suez Canal trouble he had disapproved of the way Col. Nasser had nationalised the Canal, even though there can be no two opinions about Egypt's right and sovereignty. Violence and war do not solve anything. They only help to create more problems which the world, after

wars, is less capable of solving. Furthermore, in this atomic age, the creed of non-violence is our only recourse. Even this creed has its dim edges, as for instance, when a country must defend itself against an armed aggressor. Moreover, it is not a substitute for that *universal law of right and wrong* which is in every conscience, and therefore also a keeper of the peace, not only in times of threatened violence, but also in the day-to-day disputes that must naturally arise and find normal solution.

In the present context we see how Mr. Nehru was touched to the quick when he was accused of adopting double standards, one towards the colonial Powers occupying Egypt, and the other towards the Soviet regime occupying Hungary. We are all sensitive to the universal norm of right and wrong, humanity and inhumanity, rights and duties, freedom and responsibility. We all know that among nations as among citizens, these fundamentals should find juridical definition, harmonious application and supreme adherence. But in things human, if we seek something more than the holding of the scales, if we want something stirring, mass-moving, with a real potency to victory, if, moreover, we need something that is native to India's soil and India's contribution to world peace and world spirituality, we have it all in *Satyagraha*, not *Panchshila*.

Bombay November 22.

T. M.

D. R. S. NEWS

The noted American writer, Miss Freda Utley, delivered a lecture on November 21. The subject of her talk was "The Real China Story." Mr. H. R. Pardiwala, Bar-at-Law, presided.

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