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Incentives For Goodness

by JAYAPRAKASH NARAYAN

IN days gone by men tried to be good, impelled by some higher moral force in which they believed; and goodness meant such things as truthfulness, honesty, kindness, chastity, unselfishness. Men felt that it was the highest moral duty to try to be good. Whether they succeeded in their trial, or whether they tried at all, was a different matter. The important point is that society provided every individual with the motive to be good: it was the command of religion, of God; it was necessary for one's highest growth, for self realization; it brought peace and supreme happiness; it brought salvation and freedom from births and deaths.

In present society, with the hold of religion gone, faith in God shaken, moral values discarded as dead-weights of the dark ages of history; in short, with materialism enthroned in men's hearts, are there any incentives to goodness left? Indeed, has the question any relevance at all to present facts, problems and ideals of human society?

I hold emphatically that no other question is more relevant to us today.

In spite of what may be broadly described as the materialist climate of present society, men everywhere are engaged, in their different ways, in creating a heaven upon earth—in remaking, refining, perfecting human society. These efforts, even the most idealistic and ambitious, such as communism of its original conception, seem, however, to be shipwrecking on one obdurate rock—human baseness. It is clearer today than ever that social reconstruction is impossible without human reconstruction. Society cannot be good unless individual men are good, and particularly those men who form the *elite* of society.

Here then is the crux of the modern problem. Men

wish to create, if not an ideal, at least a good society. Modern science and technology make that task far easier than ever before. But men lack the tools with which to make themselves. And the ideas are forgotten, and they begin to fight for power, position, spoils, bringing down the whole edifice of the new society.

Therefore, the problem of human goodness is of supreme moment today. The individual asks today why should he be good. There is no God, no soul, no morality, no life hereafter, no cycle of birth and death. He is merely an organisation of matter, fortuitiously brought into being, and destined soon to dissolve into the infinite ocean of matter. He sees all around him evil succeed—corruption, profiteering, lying, deception, cruelty, power politics, violence. He asks naturally why he should be virtuous. Our social norms of today and the materialist philosophy which rules the affairs of men answer back: he need not. The cleverer he is, the more gifted, the more courageously he practices the new amorality; and in the toils of this amorality the dreams and aspirations of humankind become warped and twisted.

For many years I have worshipped at the shrine of the goddess—dialectical materialism—which seemed to me intellectually more satisfying than any other philosophy. But while the main quest of philosophy remains unsatisfied, it has become patent to me that materialism of any sort robs man of the means to become truly human. In a material civilization man has no rational incentive to be good. It may be that in the kingdom of dialectical materialism, fear makes men conform, and the Party takes the place of God. But when that God himself turns vicious, to be vicious becomes an universal code.

I feel convinced, therefore, that man must go beyond the material to find the incentives to goodness. As a corollary, I feel further that the task of social reconstruction cannot succeed under the inspiration of a materialist philosophy.

It may be asked if any social conditioning is at all necessary for men to acquire goodness. Is not man

essentially good? Are not most men in every society decent?

Yes and no.

Man is a socio-organic being: he is partly the product of "nature" and partly that of society. What man is by nature cannot be said with certainty. Indeed, the very concepts of good and bad are super-natural or super-organic. There is nothing good or bad in nature. Human nature, apart from the instincts of self and race preservation, is most likely of a neutral character which acquires moral tones in accordance to social conditioning.

It is true that in every society most men are decent and good. These men go through life without being called upon to make any vital moral judgments. Their routine of life runs within narrow circles, and custom and tradition answer for them the questions concerning right and wrong.

But, firstly, these harmless decent men are apt under social stimuli to turn suddenly wild and vicious. Decent Hindus and Muslims, living peaceably together, didn't hesitate, as we know to our cost, to fly at each others' throats when the social passions were aroused.

Secondly, what is vital for the character of society, and for the direction of its growth, is not so much the character of the inert mass as that of the elite. It is the philosophy and action of this group of the select that determine the destinies of men. To the extent the elite become godless or amoral, to that extent evil overtakes the human race.

Let me hasten to remove a possible misunderstanding. I do not mean to suggest that all those who profess a philosophy of materialism are vicious nor that all non-materialists are good. But what I do assert is that there is no logic in materialism for the individual to endeavour deliberately to acquire and practice goodness. On the other hand, those who go beyond matter will find it difficult to justify non-good.

Non-materialism—I am using this negative phrase because I have no particular school in mind—by rejecting matter as the ultimate reality, immediately elevates the individual to a moral plane, and urges him, without reference to any objective outside of himself, to endeavour to realise his own true nature and fulfil the purpose of his being. This endeavour becomes the powerful motive force that drives him in its natural course to the good and the true. It will be seen as an important corollary of this that only when materialism is transcended does individual man come into his own and become an end in himself.

"SWINGING DOORS"

THE exclusion from the U.S.A. under the McCarran Act of Raja Kulkarni, Socialist Secretary of the Mill Mazdoor Sabha and former member of the Communist Party, (see August issue of *Freedom First*) has drawn critical comment from America's leading democratic and staunch anti-Communist weekly. In an editorial entitled "Swinging Door Policies" in its issue of August 11 the *New Leader* (New York) writes:

"The sections of the McCarran Act which prohibit present and former Communists and Fascists from entering the country have, no doubt, kept a good number of subversives out. But, through either improper wording of the Act or improper enforcement, the Act has misfired enough times to warrant serious re-examination by the next Congress. Special bills have been necessary to permit such anti-Communists as Arthur Koestler to remain in the United States; other men, like Graham Greene, have simply given up when the door slammed in their face.

Now the Act has barred two other good men:

Raja Kulkarni, Socialist leader of India's anti-Communist Textile Labour Union, who had been invited by Harvard University to attend an International Seminar on the Trade Union Movement.

Alberto Moravia, Italian novelist (*The Woman of Rome*), invited to visit the U.S. by our own cultural attache in Rome.

Mr. Kulkarni had, indeed, been a Communist, but a decade ago. Signor Moravia has denied any past or present Fascist or Communist connection. The Indian Congress for Cultural Freedom has protested strongly the barring of Mr. Kulkarni, and thirteen famous American writers (including Thornton Wilder, Katherine Anne Porter and John Dos Passos) have vigorously championed Signor Moravia.

It seems absurd that two such fine men have been barred from our country. The hermetical sealing against true subversives which Senator McCarran envisioned has turned out to be a swinging-door policy which no man can predict accurately. In barring men like Moravia and Kulkarni, we lose much more—in prestige abroad than we ever could by activities of alien agents here at home. (Investigations with which Senator McCarran is familiar have established that Stalin has had sufficient help from American-born agents). We hope that Mr. Kulkarni and Signor Moravia will understand that the American people wish them better."

[We are now glad to learn that Mr. Kulkarni has been informed that the correct decision to provide facilities for him to participate in the Seminar was ultimately taken. Unfortunately it came too late.]

Notes

THE GREEKS HAD A WAY WITH IT

RECENT excavations by archaeologists in Greece have thrown fresh light on the ancient civilization that was once the pride of the world. Among the finds of interest is a marble tablet on which is inscribed a law that "anyone killing a person who attempts to establish a dictatorship is to be counted guiltless." This tablet was found in the Agora or market place of ancient Athens. This anti-dictatorship law expressly prohibits any anti-democratic measures, such as the giving of legal sanction to a dictatorship, on the part of members of the Council of the High Court, the Aereopagus, under pain of loss of civic rights and confiscation of their property.

At a time when the air was full of hysterical bleatings by communists about the tyrannical nature of the Preventive Detention Bill then before the Indian Parliament, ancient Athens thus contributed to us a piece of the eternal verities. No one shall thrive by the Constitution of the Republic who strives to destroy that Constitution and establish a dictatorship.

The Preventive Detention Act is defective and objectionable not because it cripples the anti-democratic plottings of the communists but because it gives the Executive powers which may impinge on the Fundamental Rights of other citizens. The Act needs to be withdrawn in favour of a more specific and principled measure which denies the rights and liberties guaranteed by the Constitution to men who are not an Indian political party but a group of totalitarian fifth columnists.

There was scarcely a glimmer of this fundamental truth to be found in the scores of newspaper columns carrying reports of speeches of Members of Parliament. It was left to two members of the Council of States to catch the right sow by the ear. One of these was Mr. C.G.K. Reddy (Socialist-Mysore) who asked that Communists should be "decitizenised" once their extra-territorial loyalty was proved. The other was Mr. Surendra Mahanty (Ganatantra Parishad—Orissa) who again hit the nail on the head when he asked: "If the argument that the Communist Party believes in violence and has arms is correct, why do you not ban the Communist Party as has been done in Australia? Why is he (the Home Minister) applying this extraordinary legislation to the whole country?"

Mr. Mahanty may well ask. Mr. M. N. Roy gives the answer in an illuminating article in the *Illustrated Weekly of India* of August 17, 1952. Because, explains Mr. Roy in answer to the question, "a policy of treating it (the C.P.I.) as an outlawed, disruptive factor will no longer be consistent with a friendly attitude towards China and admiration for the achievements of Russia." In other words, we cannot fight Communism so long as we do not shed our neutralism.

THE LITAG

WE have all by now heard of the AgitProp man. But little is yet known about the LitAg, who can in his own way be equally dangerous.

LitAg is the Moscow abbreviation for the Literary Agent. In testimony led over a period of seventeen months before the Judiciary Committee of the U.S. Senate, it has been shown that LitAg's are men who, through acceptance of the Stalinist creed, consider it their duty to expound and sugarcoat it for consumption in their own country or who, through ignorance, allow themselves to be made instruments of Soviet propaganda on the front of letters.

In our own country today, the LitAg's are busy at work. There is, for instance, Mr. Iqbal Singh, who writes cautious, subtle articles on foreign affairs for *The Times of India*. Innocent readers of that paper, who know nothing about other material put out by the author, find the suggestions made not unreasonable. In the more congenial columns of *Blitz*, however, Mr. Iqbal Singh blossoms forth in his true colours and plugs the Party line a hundred percent. "In Occupied Europe" is the title of his articles in *Blitz*—not on the Eastern European satellites but on the democracies of Western Europe like France and Belgium. Mr. Iqbal Singh spends quite a bit of his time crossing and recrossing the Iron Curtain at will. He is evidently in good standing with the Cominform regimes. Indeed, some four years back, Mr. Iqbal Singh was to be seen in the Press Gallery of the Legislative Assembly in Delhi. He was then the correspondent of *Telepress*, a Soviet backed news agency that functions from Prague. Among items of "news" put out by *Telepress* was one a few months back stating that the Socialist leader Jayaprakash had been paid a large amount by Mr. Clare Timberlake of the U.S. Embassy in New Delhi.

TARGET—PERSIAN GULF

OF all the countries in the world, Persia seems the most likely to fall under Communist domination in the near future," writes *The Observer*. It is now

quite clear that the Mussadiq regime, such as it is, is "the least unacceptable alternative to a Communist regime."

One of the basic drives of traditional Russian, and now of Soviet, imperialism is the policy of reaching through Iran to the Persian Gulf. This was as much part of Tsarist imperialism as the drive to the Dardanelles.

During the military occupation of Germany at the end of World War II, the United Nations forces captured the archives of the Nazi Foreign Office which have been published in a volume entitled *Nazi-Soviet Relations, 1939-1941*, by the U.S. Department of State. These papers contain an interesting cable dated 26th

November, 1940, from the German Ambassador in Moscow, Count Von Schulemburg, to the Wilhelmstrasse. In this cable, the German Ambassador states that Molotov, then Soviet Foreign Minister, had informed him of the Kremlin's willingness to sign a pact of political and economic collaboration with the Nazis on a number of conditions. One of these stipulates that "the area South of Batum and Baku in the general direction of the Persian Gulf is recognized as the centre of the aspirations of the Soviet Union."

These aspirations, which Stalin could not satisfy through a deal with Hitler, who rejected them, he may now hope to achieve through the highly combustible situation that now persists in Iran.

Sri Aurobindo and Man's Future

by K. D. SETHNA

THE Indian Committee for Cultural Freedom commemorated the birthday of Sri Aurobindo. On the evening previous to August 15—the date of birth—pithy talks on the various aspects of this great Indian's life and work were given by several writers. The meaning of cultural freedom could not have been more profoundly brought home than by considering it in an Aurobindonian context. And this meaning shines out all the clearer for India in the fact that Sri Aurobindo's birthday happens to be also the day chosen by the Indian nation to commemorate the birth of its independence. The fateful "coincidence" is not just a reminder that Sri Aurobindo was at one time in the very van of this country's fight for political freedom. No doubt, eight momentous years he gave to nationalist politics at a most critical early stage. But what he fought for was no narrow nationalism, nor was mere political liberation his aim, though self-government he always regarded as a legitimate end to be achieved. He wanted India to be the free radiating centre of a *vita nuova* in earth's history. For he was much more than a nationalist or a politician.

Culture in the widest and highest sense was what he embodied. Educated at Cambridge, he specialised in the study of European literature and history. On return to India, he plunged into intimate study of the civilisations of the East. And soon there was not only the launching out into politics but also a contact with educational activity and, above all, a taking up of the diverse inner disciplines for development of consciousness which India calls Yoga.

The East and the West met in Sri Aurobindo and

became a many-coloured cultural creativity. His literary output covered problems of fundamental philosophy and Yoga, art and criticism, sociology and international relations. A huge amount of noble prose and fine poetry stands to his name. But he brings to everything the experience of an inner spiritual illumination. His vast intellect is the instrument of a consciousness that has entered and organised within itself ranges of perception and power, of which the Vedas, the Upanishads and the Gita give vivid hints.

The range of spiritual experience and reality on which he lays central stress is what he terms Supermind, the top of a gradation of greater being, knowledge, force and bliss which lie concealed and unrealised in man—a more-than-human consciousness which would enable our bewildered and divided world to solve with success the problems confronting it.

For, the Supermind, according to Sri Aurobindo, is the whole source and secret of earthly evolution. It is not a grand annulment of things; it is That in which resides the supporting truth, the divine original, of all that gets manifested here through a difficult process out of an initial involution. Evolution is at first a play of brute matter: within this emerges sentient life: within that is the emergence of conscious mind. And in man who is the highest mental evolute there persists a vague striving to surpass himself, to establish ideal conditions inward and outward, to bring about a more-than-human order. At the back of this striving is the Supermind. And with the Supermind's advent there will not only be a realisation of some ineffable Beyond; there will also be a perfection of

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Ananda Coomaraswamy

by FRANK MORAES

IT is appropriate that the Indian Committee for Cultural Freedom should commemorate Ananda Coomaraswami's 75th birthday for he symbolised in many ways a rich and remarkable synthesis of the East and the West. He was born of a Tamil father, Sir Muthu Coomaraswami, and an English mother. It is remarkable also that two countries should claim him—Ceylon, where he was born, and India, in which his cultural roots lay. Coomaraswami's was a many-sided mind and it is interesting to recall that he was once Director of the Mineralogical Survey of Ceylon. Geology was among his early passions. Later he took to Indian art and philosophy.

His genius lay in his receptive capacity and in his ability to convey and interpret the vast storehouse of knowledge which he possessed. He wrote clearly and lucidly and being a fine critic he had a discerning eye, judgment and a sense of values. At a time when Indian treasures were neglected in this country he was quick to appreciate their worth.

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mind and life and even body, a completely consummated individual and social existence on earth itself, a divine organised harmony of oneness and manyness, single basic essence and illimitably different expression.

But the Supermind's manifestation cannot take place wholly in the manner in which that of the other powers did. Man is a state of self-awareness, and evolution through him has to be through a new mode of working: conscious co-operation. He must persistently aspire after the Supermind and open himself to it.

The conscious co-operation is an immense necessity. The world is at a crisis. Dark dictatorial forces are all about us. And there is within even those who combat these forces of night a twilight whose problem has been greatly increased by complicated modern conditions and by the fact that technological progress has outpaced cultural progress.

The mission of Sri Aurobindo is precisely to solve the world-crisis and show how the Supermind's manifestation can be swiftly brought about. To make the supramental Light a possession of humanity he instituted his Ashram in Pondicherry where aspirants could concentratedly co-operate with the concealed

Unlike many artists, Coomaraswami did not live in an ivory tower and was acutely sensitive to events around him. In time he came to evolve his own philosophy of life based on the anarchy within ourselves which in his opinion led to anarchy outside. It is because individual man is not at peace with himself, said Coomaraswami, that he cannot be at peace with others. It is amazing how much he took in his intellectual stride. His interests embraced sociology, philology, politics, economics, anthropology, archaeology, music and the sciences. In a sense while discovering the East for the East he also discovered it for the West and in turn he interpreted Western thought to the East. Though physically he felt more at home in the West, intellectually he was more at home in the East. Eric Gill has paid him the tribute of being one of the most versatile geniuses of our time, reminiscent in many ways of the genius of Michaelangelo. He saw the vision big and knew how to make it great.

Truth and from whose intense many-sided activity, as of a nucleus of a new organised society, inspiration could flow to all philosophy, art, science, religion, civic life, national and international politics and constructive industry. To aid further the spread of the supramental Light an International University with residential accommodation has been projected around the Ashram, giving in their own languages to the various nationals free education in all accepted branches of study as well as in the Aurobindonian Yoga of freedom from Nature's bonds and freedom too from the incapacity to work divinely within Nature, freedom from individual egoism and freedom too from the tyranny of any collective ego, freedom in the inmost soul's personal uniqueness and at the same time in an illumined universality which makes all souls spontaneously cohere and unite. Sri Aurobindo, together with his spiritual co-worker whom the Ashram calls the Mother, has stood as the leader of a movement of cultural freedom in a supremely significant form, a movement which he has sought to render all-embracing. For, his ideal is in those words of his own epic poem *Savitri*:

*A lonely freedom cannot satisfy
A heart that has grown one with every heart:
I am a deputy of the aspiring world,
My spirit's liberty I ask for all.*

Marxist Crusade Against The Peasant

by MICHAEL PADEV

AFTER the British Labour Party's electoral triumph in the summer of 1945, there was a lot of talk of a "new diplomacy", which was to mark the relationship of Mr. Attlee's government with the outside world. Young and eager Socialist M.P.s spoke of "purging the Foreign Office" of the old fashioned "reactionary type" diplomats. The then Foreign Secretary, the late Ernest Bevin, was subjected to much pressure from his own Party to appoint as ambassadors and principal representatives abroad not diplomats from the service but prominent Labour politicians and trade union officials.

With a dogged obstinacy, for which he was famous, Bevin refused to make such political appointments. He made one concession, however: "Labour attachés" were appointed at several British embassies and legations abroad. Significantly, the first such appointments were made in the British embassies and legations in Eastern Europe.

The belief so strongly held in the West, especially by the Left in the West—that only "Labour" or "trade union" representatives can understand conditions in Eastern Europe was a mistaken one. With the exception of the Moravian part of Czechoslovakia, all East European countries were, and still are, agricultural countries. Peasants and not industrial workers formed, and still form, the majority of the population in East Europe. If experts were needed to help the diplomats understand the complex post-war conditions behind the Curtain, they were, above all, agricultural experts: people with a wide knowledge of all peasant problems, of the peasant way of life and of the history of the peasant movements.

Unfortunately this mistaken attitude towards Eastern Europe is not confined only to circles connected with the diplomatic world. Rather it is a general deficiency of the West, which embraces all other fields—political, economic and cultural. Nearly twenty years ago, in July 1934, the London *Times Literary Supplement*, in an article on Peasant Europe, said: "It is indeed remarkable that this subject should have hitherto been so neglected by students of politics and economics, for the importance of the peasants as a factor in international politics and world economy is beyond dispute. A glance down the titles under the heading "Peasants" in the catalogue of any great library nevertheless reveals at once the paucity of books that treat the subject from any standpoint than

that of the ethnologist or the student of folk lore and ancient customs."

This observation of the *Times Literary Supplement* is, unfortunately, only too true today. Of the thousands of books that have been published in English in the past few years on Soviet Russia, Communist policy, Eastern Europe and the cold war, hardly half-a-dozen give any comprehensive idea of the position of the peasantry behind the Iron Curtain. And of these half-a-dozen books only two major works deal exclusively with the peasant problem. The first is a book on Soviet Agriculture by Professor Naum Jasny. The second, by Professor David Mitrany, has just been published.*

Professor Mitrany's book, the product of over thirty years' research work, is a most intricate and detailed study of every important theoretical and practical problem connected with the great conflict between the Communists and the peasants. It is a monumental work, that will, undoubtedly, remain the "classic" on the subject for many years to come. The notes and bibliography which follow form a most valuable book in themselves in that they contain detailed references and brilliant analytical commentaries of practically all important works on Marxism and the peasant problem that have been published in the last 100 years in Europe and the U.S.A.

Professor Mitrany is careful to note right at the very beginning of his book that Marxist theoreticians have had "a lot to say" about the "economic and political place of the peasants" in modern society. But what they have said has been "invariably and dogmatically inimical towards the peasants". Marxism, in fact, proclaimed a "holy war" against the peasant. There has been no sign at all, observes Professor Mitrany, in either the Soviet Union or any other country dominated by the Communists, that the modern Marxists have in any way "commuted the sentence of death passed by Marx upon the peasant".

The ideological precipice which separates the Marxists from the peasants has everywhere led to conflict of life and death between them. In this conflict the Communist's only aim is the complete liquidation of the peasant. All his life Marx had "an undisguised contempt for the peasant". He never was, of course, able to observe at first hand the life of a

**Marx Against The Peasant* by David Mitrany (George Weidenfeld & Nicolson, London, 25sh.)

real peasant. It is certain that he never saw one. He based all his conclusions on rural life in England, which had little in common with the life of the Continental peasant, least of all with the life of a Russian or even an Eastern European peasant. Marx viewed the whole problem of the peasantry only from the point of view of production and not from that of social organization. This is indeed the fundamental difference between the Communist and the peasant attitude towards the land and agriculture. For Marx and the Communists the land is only a raw material to be utilized for production. For the peasant the land is a living organism, on which he bases his whole way of life.

For the Communist good farming means more production. For the peasant good farming means not only "what is got out of the soil", but also "what is put back into it" to keep it "in good heart and condition". With their well-known mania for bigness and for mechanization the Communists are talking a lot about the many tractors and machinery they have introduced in agriculture. And many Western observers, accustomed to think about production in terms of quantitative statistics are impressed by the high Communist percentages. They wholly forget that agricultural production can never be organized in the same way as industrial production can be.

Professor Mitrany is at his best when he compares and contrasts the Marxist to the peasant revolution. As Trotsky had put it, the peasant revolution is "a movement characteristic of the dawn of bourgeois development", while the "proletarian insurrection" (i.e. the Communist technique of seizing power) is "a movement signaling the decline of bourgeois development". The peasant revolution is, in essence, a movement for the consolidation of private property over the land, while the Marxist is a movement which aims at its abolition.

How then have the Communists been able to "organize" the peasants and utilize them for the needs of the Communist-led revolution, which is anti-peasant in character? Professor Mitrany explains this in great detail and in a most penetrating and brilliant analysis of the Communist "technique of revolution making". First comes, in Lenin's words, the Communist support of the peasant demands. These demands are, however, not pressed for the peasants' sake, but only as a matter of Communist tactics. In other words, while the peasants struggle against Landlords and political oppressors, the Communists proclaim themselves, for tactical reasons, on the peasants' side. Once the peasant revolution has triumphed, the Communists — who

have been busy in the meantime securing for themselves the "commanding heights" in the State — abandon their "alliance" with the peasantry and, utilizing the political power which they have seized, begin the war for the liquidation of the peasants. In a peasant country, therefore, the "proletarian revolution" is a revolution without the proletariat. It is simply a "Communist management of peasant discontent."

By the very nature of their social status the peasants, without wanting it, facilitate this Communist trickery. Scattered throughout the vast countryside, they are not well organized. Nor, in fact, are they organizable at all. Moreover, they are not well disciplined. They are not "politically minded". All they want is to be left alone to work on their land. And in the beginning the Communists do just that. Later on when the Communist battle against the peasants starts, the Communists have all the advantages, for the simple reason that they have all the guns. Bare hands against the best organized police regime in the World's history do not leave the peasant much chance.

But the power of the peasant is not a power of action. It is a power of resistance. In his concluding chapters Professor Mitrany explains this with most convincing clarity. The peasant is indeed "the greatest passive resister in all history". Peasants can "wait for fifty years or so" to see how things shape, always biding their time. They may be temporarily subjected, but never perpetually enslaved.

The men in the Kremlin who control the agricultural policy of Soviet Russia have discovered this much to their surprise and displeasure. In spite of the several million dead during the collectivization years, in spite of the "full triumph" of the collective farms announced several times since 1934, the Soviet press is today full of new warnings against "capitalist tendencies" in the Russian countryside. The second big battle against the Russian peasantry started in 1948 with the organization of the so-called "super" collective farms and the setting up of the "Agro cities". In this battle the peasant has, so far, held his own: the Soviet press has been strangely silent about the Agro cities for more than a year.

Professor Mitrany's work is not only a book designed for specialists. He has managed to "translate" his enormous research material and his deep analytical observations into a language which is accessible and easy to understand even by readers without any specialist knowledge on the subject. For this reason Professor Mitrany's book is a "must" for all seriously minded people who are trying to understand the fundamental issues that divide the world today.

Review

I Led 3 Lives

by Herbert Philbrick (McGraw-Hill, \$3.50)

THIS is the amazing story, well documented and starkly told, of a young American, who through the vagaries of fortune was called upon to play the triple roles of citizen, "Communist" and F.B.I. Agent during nine important years of American history, culminating in the trial of eleven top-ranking Communists in 1949, when he emerged in the open as the star witness for the Prosecution along with Louis Budenz, the former chief of the Daily Worker and a reformed ex-Communist. It is a ruthless indictment of Communist methods and propaganda studied firsthand by the author as member of the Party's various organisations including membership of the PRO-4, a cell of the Professional Group of the Communist Party in U.S.A.

"For the professional Communist", writes Mr. Philbrick, "is another breed. He is neither a sheep nor is he a dupe. He knows precisely and exactly what he is doing. He believes in science and materialism rather than in ideals and emotions. The latter are merely tools for him to use on others and he uses these tools with great skill". And with what great skill is revealed dramatically in the pages of this book as the author describes the various Peace Committees and Youth Organisations set up by the Communists—by 'baiting' the idealism of the young—the Cambridge Youth Council, the Massachusetts Youth Council, the American Youth for Democracy and many others—organisations ostensibly non-Communist but conceived and directed by the Communists to further the Party cause by undermining public morale and disbanded as soon as these had served their purpose.

The close rapport between the U.S.A. Communist Party and the Cominform is illustrated by the author in the *volte-face* of American Communist policy at the time of the Hitlerite invasion of Russia in 1941 and by the Jacques Duclos—Earl Browder episode in 1945 when the restoration of a powerful and militant Marxist Communist party in the U.S.A. was urgently demanded consequent on the Allied Victory and renewed emphasis on class struggle made on the directive from Moscow. The Tito incident, at a later date, was yet another example of this "flexibility". However, according to Mr. Philbrick "not every order comes from Moscow, nor even from the national headquarters" and Stalin's dictum that

"everything depends on the time, the place and the conditions" is held by the Party as an axiomatic truth.

Mr. Philbrick writes convincingly and without embellishment. In fact certain passages appear tedious because of this matter-of-fact presentation of events but perhaps it is this graphic realism and directness that constitute the obvious merit of the book. The anxiety of the author to escape detection for himself and his family over a period of nine years is recounted unemotionally, although one feels that the strain during the later stages must have been very severe, both for Mr. Philbrick and his wife, of whom he says that "Eva was the most reluctant Communist on record".

Perhaps it may not be easy for the reader who is not very well conversant with American party politics during this period to follow clearly the allusions to leading party figures but this in no way detracts from the intrinsic value of this book. It must be read by all those who have the cause of democratic freedom close to their hearts and also by those who blinded by the Communist ideology believe in the salvation of humanity through Stalinism. A good book, well written, with an important message and a message that rings very true.

A.B.J.B.

How We Took Over Hungary

by Matyas Rakosi. Introduction by Jayaprakash Narayan (Democratic Research Service, Bombay, August 1952. As. 4/-)

A STRANGE combination of names—the one of a brutal tyrant oppressing his people on behalf of his Soviet masters, the other of a fighter for freedom and social justice. Yet they figure together on the cover of this pamphlet, copies of which can be had from this office. Rakosi, Communist Premier of Hungary, tells the story of the communist seizure of power in that hapless Eastern European country, while Jayaprakash Narayan embellishes the theme in the Introduction he contributes from his bed while fasting in Poona. "In this pamphlet" writes the socialist leader, "we have from the horses' mouth as it were, a naked description of the true purpose of communist united fronts and of the sordid way these in reality function. In a frank talk to communist cadres he has laid bare the diabolical methods by which the Hungarian Communist Party destroyed all political rivals through the expedient of the united front..... A study of

this pamphlet is absolutely necessary especially in the ranks of the 'Left' and the Progressives." To which we would add that even esteemed educationists like Dr. Amarnath Jha and Dr. Zakir Hussain, as well as members of Delegations to China who talk about that country being ruled by a coalition government would not be wasting their time either by a perusal of these short but revealing sixteen pages.

M. R. M.

Heresy, Yes—Conspiracy, No!

by Sidney Hook (American Committee for Cultural Freedom, Re. 1/-).

STRANGELY enough, the democratic world suffered the most significant setback to human progress not so much as when Hitler marched overnight into the fields of Poland as when he invaded the granaries of the U.S.S.R. For that was the moment of one of the most tragic ironies of history! The democratic camps, overawed by the might of the Fascist hordes, forgot the true nature of the evil they were fighting with their back to the wall. Engulfed in the vortex of a psychological shock with passions running high and fear running amok they overlooked the fact that what they were trying to escape from was not only the frightful species of Nazism and Fascism but also the all-devouring genus of Totalitarianism. The expedient doctrine of "the-enemy-of-my-enemy-is-my-friend" made them oblivious of the play within the play of the wolf eat wolf. It even led many of their stalwart intellectuals into the error of the market place and wrongly — and alas! woefully — to identify the third and equally dangerous species, namely, Communism, so co-champion of freedom and democracy.

Mr. Sidney Hook's booklet (which is available from the Indian Committee for Cultural Freedom) deals admirably within the short space allotted to it with the timely task of interpreting and evaluating the true meaning of the philosophy of Liberalism in the context of the 20th century international developments, social and political.

As Mr. Hook remarks, the important point for the liberals of today to bear in mind is that they are in the presence of a situation which was quite unfamiliar to their forebears. The confusion in the mind of the honest anti-communist liberal arises from his obstinate refusal to differentiate between heresy and conspiracy. The liberal need not be afraid of Communism as an idea, however heretical it may be. After all, recognition of heresy is the foundation plank of Liberalism; and he can always meet it ably in the open

forum of discussion, debate and dissertation. But Communism, which was just an openly heretical idea in the days of Karl Marx, has become transformed to-day into a conspiratorial movement, whose avowed purpose is to deal a death blow to "the free trade of ideas." As such, it is the very freedom of the idealist liberal which is being threatened and is in imminent danger of being lost to him for good. Is it not his duty to become a realist liberal to guard his freedoms? Or would he prefer to be satisfied to act as a vague liberal and allow conspiratorial Communism to annihilate all the freedoms one by one? In such an event, would he be satisfied to remain content as a passive spectator and at best a mere ineffectual protester?

The second essay by Mr. Hook, who is one of America's leading philosophers and educators, called "The Dangers of Cultural Vigilantism" bears further testimony to the utterly dispassionate approach of the writer to his subject. Logically and fearlessly, he attacks the excesses of domestic (U.S.A.) cultural vigilantism which in practice works in favour of the Communists and becomes an unhealthy check on all truly democratic progress. The fallacy of the extreme form of Macarthyism is ably met by him when he rightly suggests that "... what is fearful about domestic Communism cannot be overcome by cultural vigilantism but by devising certain safeguards against organised infiltration. . .". *Heresy, Yes—Conspiracy, No!* is, indeed, a booklet which should be in the hands of every Indian to day. It vindicates the just cause of Democracy in a very straightforward and simple manner.

J. B. H. WADIA.

FREEDOM FIRST

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Russia At The Olympics

IT was in 776 B.C. that Croebos of Elis won the first Olympic victory ever recorded. He won the foot-race of 220 yards at the full moon in the month of Apoloniuss. Since that day for 1,200 years, which means from the days of the Chalukyas to our present times, the Olympic games of ancient Greece continued without a break.

The Olympic games have never, either in ancient Greece or in our modern times, served any material end. Croebos' only prize was a crown of wild olive from the sacred grove beside the temple of Olympian Zeus. These ancient Olympic games were abolished finally by the emperor Theodosius I in 393 A.D. and were revived in a very different world, but in the same form, name and context and at the same intervals of time and with the same purpose that inspired them in Greece long ago.

Baron Pierre de Coubertin, a Frenchman, in 1892 gave out his idea: "The real free trade of the future will be to send our athletes of all kinds to all places where the games are played. On the day that this free trade is accepted in Europe, a great step forward will have been made in the sacred cause of peace." This idea was taken up and the first Olympic games of modern times were held in Athens in 1896. Since then, Olympic games have been held every four years and the motto of the founder of the modern games has always been borne in mind: "The important thing in Olympic games is not to win but to take part; the important thing is not the triumph but the struggle; the essential thing is not to have conquered but to have fought well." It is to be borne in mind that these Olympic games are between individuals and not between nations, but national rivalry has gradually crept in. These rivalries, though of a friendly spirit till the last Olympic games in London in 1948, have led to bitter national rivalries with the advent of Soviet Russia in the games this year at Helsinki.

In accordance with Communist practice, the Russians did not enter the Olympic games for the last so many years because they were conscious of the fact that as a nation they were not likely to be at the top in these games. This year, however, with intense effort the Russian teams had reached a stage when they felt that they could safely enter into competition with other countries with an almost certain chance of success. That the Russians made a good showing in the games is now history, but with all their best

efforts, they could not get the better of their rivals from the United States.

From the outset, the Russians insisted on their own methods of computation of points which conflicted with the decisions well based on gold medal placings and other recorded successes. They felt that by this computation they would be in a position to get the better of the United States. They did, in fact, take a big leap at the beginning of the games when a board at their Otanineimi village was erected showing the scores of Russian athletes. When, however, at the end of the games, the Americans took the lead even according to the Russian computation of points, the Russians erased all points scored on the board leaving only the names of the medal winners of the Soviet Union. This disappearance of the figures of the Russian achievements, coming as they did as the United States passed the Soviet Union in the Olympic team championships, did not come as a surprise to those who knew the Russian mind.

But this was not the last of this rivalry. Soviet sources recently announced that the U.S.S.R. had won the Olympic games. This was seized upon by the East European press and radio as a clear proof of the superiority of the Soviet system. Later on, however, Romanov, the leader of the Soviet team, decided after a more careful count, that the U.S.S.R. and the U.S.A. had tied for victory. The fact was that the American team won by a handsome margin.

As with everything in the Communist dominated countries, sports is not indulged in for sports' sake, but for propagating the communist doctrine. In this respect, it would be relevant to quote Mr. A. F. S. Talyarkhan, the well-known sports critic:

"If I did not mention Russia's magnificent second place, it is because I am of opinion that there must be a lot of shamateurism behind the Iron Curtain. I feel inclined to argue this way because everybody is said to work for the State in Russia and it is known that special favours are bestowed on star athletes, by way of rations and other preferential treatment."

"Besides this, I am not one who believes that Russia only came into existence since Communism. There were always magnificent specimens of athletes in the Russia of the Czars, great horsemen and everything else from sport to culture. The way some people in this country rave one would think that before Communism fastened on certain countries the people were aborigines."

"CROEBOS"

With Many Voices

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

—Tennyson.

When an American was told he had inherited some money on condition that he live in England, he is reported to have said: "What would I be doing over there, hanging around all day eating crumpets?" To an Englishman, this sounds as misleading a *reductio ad minimum* of his habits and customs as to say a Frenchman pinches girls or a Spaniard fights bulls.

The Briton's idea of himself is somewhat different. To us British the modern world has evolved three kinds of democracy: the Eastern kind, equality under dictatorship; the American kind, equality under plutocracy; and the British kind, by far the best, equality of opportunity under a fairy story about a beautiful monarchy that lived happily ever after in a beautiful palace, with a guard at each door to see it didn't interfere in politics.

—David Low in *The New York Times*, July 20th, 1952.

Dr. Ram Manohar Lohia, Socialist leader, said today that the Congress was the lesser evil compared to the Communist Party. By protesting against the Congress, one was unknowingly assisting the Communists, he said.

—*The National Standard*, August 12th, 1952.

Mankind was descended "from a Black ancestor, not a White man, according to commonsense deductions in the light of existing evidence", declared Dr. M. D. W. Jeffreys, senior lecturer in social anthropology at the University of Witwatersrand.

—*The National Standard*, August, 14th, 1952.

For the first time in the long and war-ridden history of Europe, the diplomatic representatives of six West European countries today heard nine Europeans swear allegiance to a European parliament instead of to National Governments.

The occasion was the opening ceremony of the high authority of the Schuman Coal and Steel Pool which took place here today.

—*The Evening News of India*, August 11th, 1952.

A Japanese research organisation called recently for the "spirit of Asia" to assert itself against Russia just as it did against "Western Imperialism". The Japanese Institute of Research in Politics and Culture, in discussing "Asian racialism" in its monthly magazine,

pointed out that such racialism cannot grow in an area dominated by the Soviet Union.

—*The Free Press Bulletin*, August 11th, 1952.

"The new China cares two hoots for a man's mind or his soul."

—Interview with Mr. Frank Moraes in *The Current*, August 13th, 1952.

The Medical Director of the South African Blood Transfusion Service, Dr. M. Shapiro, said: "There is no scientific reason why non-White blood should not be used for Whites. Horse serum is frequently used for injection into humans, and no one fears that it will make mules out of them."

—*The Times of India*, August 14th, 1952.

"If there is matriarchy anywhere in the world, it is in the U.S.A."—Mr. C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar.

—*The Hindustan Times*, August 3rd, 1952.

Moscow Radio reported today that an editorial in *Pravda* had attacked the recruiting of party cadres and dishonesty in the ranks of the Communist Party bureaucracy. The editorial called for the discontinuance of practices of trying to choose party cadres not on the basis of political and professional suitability but on the grounds of family and friendship ties.

—*The Times of India*, August 6th, 1952.

The Public Relations Department of the Punjab Government has undertaken the task of preaching "democratic ideology" with a zeal that surpasses anything achieved in that line by old crusaders like Minoo Masani.

—*Crossroads*, August 3rd, 1952.

Here lies Shankar's misfortune. He launched *Shankar's Weekly* to make it an Indian *Punch* but except in respect of a few political cartoons by Shankar himself, there is hardly any resemblance between the inspiration and the achievement. Some of the regular contributions, such as those of Super, are a positive negation of humour. Then, there is the lopsidedness with politics to the detriment of social themes.

—*Thought*, August 9th, 1952.

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Mr. Nehru's foreign policy of neutrality and friendship towards all precludes any move to ban the Indian Communists on the ground of their allegiance to Moscow and Peking.

—Review of Parliament in *The National Standard*,
August 14, 1952.

In his significant intervention in the closing stages of the debate on the Preventive Detention Bill in Parliament, Mr. Nehru pointed out the four dangers that threaten the integrity, independence and security of India, namely Communism, communalism, terrorism and Jagirdari. But he will have to go further in his analysis to make it conform to logic more fully. For the fact is that while the last three do still disfigure the face of Indian politics, Communism alone is going to be the main preoccupation of this country for the next ten years or so.

—*Thought*, August 9th, 1952.

Dr. Rajendra Prasad, President of the Republic of India, has been awarded a gold medal by the Kashi Nagari Pracharini Sabha of Banaras for his book "Atmakatha" which has been adjudged the best Hindi book of the year.

—*The Times of India*, August 3rd, 1952.

"I wish sometimes that some of my friends could make one tenth of the effort to understand America's attitude towards China which they rightly make to understand China's attitude towards the United States.

—Dennis Healy, one of Labour's leading younger spokesmen on foreign affairs, quoted in *New Leader*,
July 28, 1952.

Indian neutrality may adversely affect the U.S. and her allies as things stand today, according to Dr. Taraknath Das.

Dr. Das, University of Hawaii visiting professor, spoke last night on "Free India's Role in World Affairs" in a campus lecture. He said "Indian neutrality will make it possible for China to overrun Indo-China, Siam, Burma, Malaya and even the whole of southeast Asia. It will also make it easy for Soviet Russia to run the regions of the Middle East and reach the Persian Gulf."

The speaker maintained that there cannot be neutrality in the present world. One must be on the side of justice and liberty.

"By staying neutral in the present crisis, the struggle between Democracy and Totalitarianism, India by her inaction supports the cause of Totalitarianism."

—*Honolulu Star Bulletin*, July 30th, 1952.