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NO. 4

THE CONFLICT OF POLITICAL IDEAS

LOUIS OSGOOD KATTSOFF



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THE CONFLICT OF POLITICAL IDEAS

LOUIS OSGOOD KATTSOFF

*Of the Department of Philosophy of the  
University of North Carolina*



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## INTRODUCTION

### The Conflict of Political Ideas

Throughout the centuries of human thought, man has always sought the answer to certain questions. Pilate's question, "What is Truth?" was already much older than Pilate. "What is man that thou art mindful of him?" runs like a sharp-edged sword through the thought of men as they confront their daily tasks or meet the recurrent crises of life. And in this daily living, shall man "act humbly, do justice and love the Lord thy God" believing in a love for one's neighbor, or shall he be as the beasts engaged in a mighty struggle for survival, believing that the warrior is the ideal rather than Christ, or the sage? Are all men brothers or are there races ordained to be masters served by their inferiors? Are all men created free and equal or are there people who because of race, color or creed must be denied human, legal, political, economic or social rights?

It has not often been recognized, yet it is true, that the ways in which these questions have been answered have to a large extent determined the structure of society. Think of the Greek City State, the Roman Empire, Ancient Egypt, of our own United States and of Germany and Russia. In the United States the answers to these and other questions run like a bright thread throughout our history. They have been expressed in the Bills of Rights, the Declaration of Independence, Lincoln's Gettysburg Address and Emancipation Proclamation, in Wilson's speeches, Roosevelt's papers, and the speeches of Vice President Wallace.

Although many factors went into the making of the American way of life, the founding fathers were definitely inspired in their labors by a set of ideas upon which they tried to frame our government. Throughout the years that followed these ideas came to be accepted as worthy of human loyalty and devotion. More and more they became a part of the outlook and way of life of Americans. The new dream was unfolding. Yet the lack of true understanding of the meaning of these ideas was so great that, when the first real challenge came, many Americans had qualms of doubt as to their validity. As a matter of fact it is doubtful whether many Americans could state the basic differences between the American Dream, The Nazi New Order, the Communist State, the Indian Way of Life, and the Japanese Concept of Society.

The present conflict, which has reached the stage of armed warfare, is not entirely new. America was so busy with internal con-

struction that it could blithely go its way, for the most part because it did not come in close contact with any challengers. With the expansion of economic inter-dependence and the growth of communication and travel, ideas and peoples once at the distant ends of the earth became neighbors—and not friendly ones at that. With the rise of Hitler in Germany there came into existence a government based on principles denying those of the United States, and this government waxed powerful and competitive. Furthermore, National Socialism recognized that two contradictory principles could not co-exist in such close proximity. The American people, unaware of the implications of Democracy and its basic conflict with the principles of National Socialism, were lulled by such phrases as “Haves and Have-nots,” “Give Hitler enough and he’ll let us alone,” “Give Germany enough to get her rich and she’ll become well-balanced”—and then as the denial of western civilization took more obvious form we were told “this is but the horrors of a revolutionary period,” “we cannot tell Germany how to rule itself.” “Anyway no country on earth would dare attack us.” Even the Axis alliance did not warn us! We could not see how anyone could deny that we believed, even if we ourselves didn’t know quite what it was we did believe.

Any study of the writings of the Axis leaders discloses at once the contradictions between their systems and ours. As long as it was possible for us to keep separated from them, no conflict resulted. But the principle of National Socialism changed the outlook from “Blessed are the meek, for they shall inherit the Earth” to “Blessed are the strong for they shall conquer the Globe.” Germany needed “Lebensraum”—this was the whole world.

As America faces the future—as the time approaches to decide the peace terms—it behooves us to make certain that we know not only what we believe and the type of world we want to erect, but also the differences between our world-view and that of the other alternatives facing us. This booklet tries to present some basic issues and to lead its readers to a better understanding of American Democracy and its competitors. It makes no attempt to exhaust all the problems involved. It selects but a few which are considered vital in an attempt to make the conflict of political ideas intelligible.

(We have omitted Italy from the study because its ideas are closely related to those of Germany except in economic theory and in economic structure).

PART I

MAN AND THE STATE



## THE AMERICAN IDEAL OF THE INDIVIDUAL SUPREME

"We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty, and the Pursuit of Happiness. That to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed."

These words and their implications, in a sense, sum up the American point of view with respect to the individual and the state. Every individual is unique, endowed with certain rights to which he is entitled, and, regardless of his race, color or creed, is to be treated as a human being and permitted to develop his potentialities to their fullest extent. Many of the difficulties in American history have been the result of our fear of infringing on the rights of individuals. But, regardless of the difficulties, the American ideal of individualism—based on an educated, enlightened self-respect—ran in opposition to what was believed in most parts of the world, and to a great degree to what many even here believed, or now believe. Since to be an individual means to be different from every other individual, the right to be different and to have one's differences respected (in so far as they are not destructive of others' rights and differences) is a right belonging to every person wherever and whoever he is.

This does not mean that every person can do as he pleases under any circumstances. The rights of others always stand as a limiting factor, challenging every individual to give reasons why he be permitted to act as he desires. Legal safeguards are set up to protect the legitimate rights of one individual from being trampled by a more powerful neighbor. The American point of view emphasizes that all individuals have just claims to various aspects of existence. In some cases the justice of a claim needs to be examined. It is an obligation of every individual that he be ready to submit his claims to the test of justice. Thus the claim of one individual to the labor of another, on the grounds of racial superiority, or class superiority, or some other form of superiority, must be submitted to the tests of justice and truth. Is the individual actually superior and is such superiority, if it exists, a just claim on the other individual?

The supremacy of the individual, and the resultant equalitarian-

ism of individuals, never meant that all men were equally capable of being lawyers, or musicians, or engineers, or business men, or artisans. What it meant is that, even with a variation in abilities, ALL men are human beings and are to be treated as such, i. e., they cannot be allowed to starve, or be uneducated, or without shelter, or maltreated, or denied justice, or degraded, etc.—regardless of race, color, or creed. What it meant and still means is that rights, duties, prohibitions, etc., are to apply to all men equally. “Thou shall not kill”—anyone! Not “Thou shall not kill—unless thou art an Aryan or plutocrat and art killing a Jew, or a laborer, or a Negro.” Every man shall be granted a just trial by his peers. Every man is entitled to work; not, “Only whites or only Republicans have the right to work.” Where exceptions are made they must be justified and not arbitrary.

Governments are instituted “by the people.” They exist “for the people” and are “of the people” to secure these rights for all men. The government then is the agent of the people. Its task is to provide these services and conditions necessary to assure the development of the individual and guarantee to him “life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness.” The State then has no reality superior to that of its citizens. The State is a political entity consisting of the geographic area subject to the laws promulgated by the government in conformity with the Constitution of the United States.

Since the government of the United States is an agent of the people, it is answerable to the people. No decision that the government makes in a democracy is free from the claim of the moral right of the individual. The governmental authority is limited by the system of laws, and subject finally to the approval of the people. As long as the people can periodically review the works of their agents, and as long as the power to change the government remains in the hands of the people, we shall continue to have democracy.

## 1. FREE MEN AND DEMOCRACY

*Shall Not Perish from the Earth*, by Ralph Barton Perry

To what extent do you consider the present war a challenge to Democracy?

Do you think many Americans know the meaning of Democracy?

Can you think of instances in your own experience of the violation of democratic principles?

Do you think ALL people are to be respected?

What are the basic beliefs of Democracy?

What is meant by the expression "all men are created equal"? Are they treated so?

How far is individualism to be permitted? Give illustrations of an improper expression of individualism.

What is the function of the government in a Democracy?

Is a perfect Democracy possible?

## 2. THE FREE INDIVIDUAL

*The Education of Free men in American Democracy*, by the Educational Policies Commission

What articles of faith are involved in Democracy?

Do you believe we can practice these faiths?

What type of education is necessary to develop people who can act on the basis of these faiths?

What are the loyalties of free men?

Does Congress make these loyalties possible?

Does the school in your community adequately teach the fields of knowledge necessary to free men? Question some of the teachers and school board members about this.

What is the difference between loyalty to one's government in American Democracy and in a totalitarian country?

*Additional Reading:*

*The American Spirit*, by C. A. and M. R. Beard.

## CHAPTER II

### THE CHINESE IDEAL OF THE WISE MAN

"Heaven sees as the people see; heaven hears as the people hear."

The Chinese Republic was established in 1912 under the leadership and guidance of Sun Yat-sen. The principles of Sun Yat-sen and the bases of the Chinese Republic are very similar to those of American Democracy. Since that day the Chinese people have struggled desperately not only to survive but to maintain and spread the doctrine of New China. It is no ill-advised statement to say that the attack on Democracy began when Japan invaded China and started the "China Incident." Few people believed that China could long withstand the mechanized force of Japan. Fewer believed that China could develop her resources and powers even to oppose Japan for very long. But China performed miracles. Not only did she develop her industries but she moved them from place to place; not only did she become unified but this unity was based on the defense of certain principles.

The chief factor in the great Chinese defense lies in the homage they pay and have always paid to learning. The supremacy of the mind over natural surroundings is, as Lin Yu Tang emphasizes, an outstanding factor in the life of the Chinese. The type they endeavor to achieve as an ideal can perhaps best be represented by the word "sage" or "wise man." This means that those are most respected whose education has increased their wisdom in the conduct of life, and whose learning is mature and ripe and used in making sound judgments in time of crisis. Although the Chinese do actually rank such individuals higher, they consider anyone who is capable of acquiring such wisdom equally worthy of respect. As a consequence the Chinese are extremely intelligent even if also extremely conservative. The end and goal of all knowledge is to serve human happiness.

In many respects Chinese attitudes, especially since the Republic, have been strikingly like ours. Even those attitudes of morality and custom, which the West frowned upon—including foot binding, etc.—have gradually changed. The principles of Sun Yat-sen have brought into being a New China.

The relation of the individual to the nation can perhaps best be understood by the quotation from Mencius (372-289 B. C.)

placed at the head of this chapter. The government officials were considered as heads of the family. They were, like fathers, to look after the citizens' welfare. The greater bent toward democracy was given by Dr. Sun Yat-sen, whose constitution and principles were clearly inspired by American Democracy. In 1924 Dr. Sun said, "In a democracy the ultimate sovereign power is with the people; and one of the aims of the National Revolution is to establish a democratic government in China." The Japanese invasion helped to unify China and awakened the Nationalist spirit needed to develop the New China. Dr. Sun died in 1925, but his work is being carried on by various Chinese leaders. If we combine the statement of Mencius with the doctrines of Sun Yat-sen we find the root of democracy well embedded in Chinese thought.

China today, even in conflict, is a mixture of the old and new. As we study and read about China and the Chinese we must not forget this fact. Under the pressure of war the Chinese lost some of their ancient characteristics and adopted new ones.

### 1. THE CHINESE INDIVIDUAL

*My Country and My People*, by Lin Yu Tang

List some characteristics of the average American and compare your list with the characteristics of the Chinese (p. 43).

Discuss the possible effect of the Japanese invasion on the traditional pacifism of the Chinese.

Do you think Lin Yu Tang's description is of the Old or New China?

How do you account for the Chinese ability to resist the Japanese in the light of the Chinese characteristics?

How close to American conceptions are Chinese ideals?

### 2. THE CHINESE REPUBLIC

*Sun Yat-sen: His Political and Social Ideals*, by L. S. Hsü

For a more detailed and technical study of the Chinese government as it was prior to 1941, consult Paul M. A. Linebarger, *The China of Chiang Kai-shek*.

Discuss the main periods in Dr. Sun's career.

Compare the structure of the Five-Power Constitution with our own form of government.

Do you think Chinese Democracy will function as American Democracy does?

### CHAPTER III

## THE COMMUNAL MAN OF SOVIET RUSSIA

“From each according to his ability; to each according to his needs.”

Recent days have seen a tremendous change in our attitudes toward Soviet Russia. Whatever the reason for the average American's conception of Russia and its avowed doctrine of Communism, the fact remains that for the most of us a feeling of suspicion persisted to such a degree that we failed to study the Soviet system or to become acquainted with a powerful people. The great defense of Russia against our common enemy, the Nazi, brought us to the realization that we will at least have to determine the peace in conjunction with our present ally. It is intelligent, therefore, to understand our allies as well as our enemies and to recognize the extent of agreement and disagreement there is between the American and the Communist Way of Life. If America does not want many of the Communist features it can avoid them by preventing those factors of denial of rights and work which lead to social upheaval.

It is in their view of human welfare that the Communists stand most closely to democratic theory. This aspect of Communist theory has been the reason why many Churchmen have compared Communist theory to Christian doctrine. Each individual is a human being whose needs vary and whose abilities vary. In so far as he is able he must contribute to the welfare of other men; in so far as he is needy other men must contribute to his welfare. No man has the right to exploit the labor of others for his own aggrandizement. Thus Communist theory aims at a society in which all people are equal in at least an economic sense. There are to be no classes of people, some owning the means of production, others selling only their labor. All the means of production are to be owned in common and run for the benefit of *all*. Every individual is free to develop his own cultural traits in so far as they do not conflict with the Soviet idea. Thus all kinds of groups can be assimilated into the Soviet States—each group retaining its own language and unique customs (again in so far as these customs do not perpetuate exploitation). There are 189 nationalities all on an equal basis in Soviet Russia. The aim of the Soviet economics is to free the individual from the fear of want and

degradation and criminality that is so often the result of economic insecurity. Like American and Chinese democracy the emphasis here is on the welfare of all human beings.

A great deal of the antagonism in the United States against Soviet Russia was caused by the terror of the Revolution and the severity of the government in the struggle to establish itself, as well as the basic difference between the Soviet idea and our ideas of the nature of the State. Although in the long run all people were to be admitted to the community of mankind, at the time of the Revolution the Bolsheviki believed that only by violence and the destruction of the Capitalist could the march to the Communist State begin. Hence the Revolution! If we recall the cruelty of Czarist Russia to its people, some of the resultant terror will be understandable, if not altogether justifiable. After the Revolution the dictatorship of the Party had to be established to mould the new Soviet Russia. The Communist believed that the State—which in their opinion was always the organ of the capitalists in the exploitation of the Proletariat—had to be destroyed. After a period of political education, the Communists feel that the state will wither and die and a true Communality of people will come into existence. The first stage in the transition was to establish a Socialist State in which there was to be no private ownership of the means of production. This was to guarantee to man the satisfaction of his needs and desires, to develop a highly educated, cultured being, finding this means of self-expression in work and the development of his individuality to the highest degree. (This is the theory and the aim. The actual living conditions as Soviet Russia struggles to go from the extreme poverty and backwardness of Czarist Russia to the Communist State is described in *We're in This with Russia*, by Wallace Carroll.)

To develop the Socialist State, Stalin gave to Russia a democratic constitution in 1936. Among other things this document guaranteed the right to work, the right to rest and leisure, the right to pensions in old age, sickness and disability, and the right to education. It guaranteed freedom of religious worship as well as freedom of anti-religious propaganda, freedom of speech, of the press, of assembly, as well as the inviolability of the person and of the home.

With such goals before a people who knew the hopeless life of

peasantry under the Czars, is it any wonder that the Russian fight so bravely against those who would deny the life principles of their future?

### 1. THE COMMUNIST

*We're in This with Russia*, by Wallace Carroll (Read especially Part Three, "The Road Ahead")

What do you think is the basic difference between the American and Soviet ideas about mankind?

To what extent is the difference between Soviet theory and practice the result of international conditions?

Compare the bill of rights in the Soviet Constitution of 1936 with that of the American Constitution.

What does Mr. Carroll think of the chances of a Communist Europe or America? Do you agree with him?

Do you think the abolition of private economic property desirable for America?

### 2. THE SOVIET STATE

*The Land of the Soviets*, by Marguerite A. Stewart

In what respects does the Soviet government approximate the American government?

In what respects does it differ?

What rights are granted citizens? Compare with our Bill of Rights.

What progress has the Soviet State made in education, medicine, etc., for its citizens?

How does Soviet Russia differ from Nazi Germany?

What is collectivization?

*Additional Reading:*

*Collectivism*, by William Henry Chamberlin.

*Mission to Moscow*, by Joseph E. Davies.

#### CHAPTER IV

### THE ARYAN SOLDIER-TYPE OF NAZI GERMANY

"There is no such thing as individual liberty. Liberty is the attribute of nations and races, since these communities alone possess national and historical reality."—Dietrich

The equalitarianism and individualism of democratic theory and the universalism of Christianity received their first potent challenge in the Western World with the rise of National Socialism in Germany. The very ideals of human life were conceived in terms of principles utterly inconsistent with those that had been growing up over the centuries. The roots of these ideas had a respectable tradition in German thought and history. This has been clearly shown in a book called *The Roots of National Socialism*, by Rohan D. Butler.

The basic idea in Totalitarianism is that everything belongs to the "Folk" because the "Folk" alone is real. Individuals are only expressions of the "Folk" and hence they achieve their true being by surrendering themselves to the "Folk." Now all races, the Nazis believe, have their own "Folk," but the Nordic or Aryan Race (i. e., the Germans) are the supreme "Folk." Hence individuals are not created equal and all men are not brothers.

Since the "Folk" alone is real, the individual must serve the state which is the expression of the "Folk," in all his aspects and abilities. He must place above all else the interest of the state and prepare himself to follow the commands of the state implicitly. Moreover, the state exists in competition with other states. Competition between states takes the form of war; hence the citizens of the state must prepare for war physically, emotionally and morally. The ideal individual becomes the person hard physically, ruthless morally and emotionally. He is a fighter willing to die that the race may live. He thinks of peace only as an interlude between battles—he views kindness and brotherliness and honesty only as signs of decadent civilization. Lying, cruelty, dishonesty, deceit, brutality—these lose their immorality if used to serve the state and the race.

The state is the expression of the Folk. As such it does not exist to serve the individual; on the contrary, the individual exists to serve the state. The race must express itself somehow. It does this through the "Leader," who is the mouthpiece of the state. The

Leader is the supreme authority. He represents the state and what he says is the voice of the state. Submission to the Race is obedience to the Leader. The state has as a chief task "to promote the victory of the better and stronger, and to demand the submission of the worse and the weaker." All the laws of the state must safeguard the Race and create a "folk-state," a true expression of the Aryan soul. All of this denies ultimately that the individual is an end in himself and treats individuals as means and instruments. People are but the bearers of the Folk Spirit. They may die in battle but the Spirit of Germany goes on.

These ideas were not invented by Hitler and they were not accepted merely because of the Versailles Treaty. They are ideas deeply rooted in German history. "Pan-Germanism" and "Kultur" are but two manifestations of the same set of ideas.

The recognition of the meaning of these principles makes evident the stupidity of treating the present struggle as a conflict between the "Haves" and the "Have-nots." It also shows clearly the intrinsic differences between the Democratic Way of Life and the Totalitarian Way of Life.

#### 1. NAZI IDEOLOGY

*Our Side Is Right*, by Ralph Barton Perry (Read especially Chapter on Nazi Ideology, pp. 79-99)

What are the basic principles of Nazi-ism?

How do they compare with Democratic principles?

Is there a moral difference between the Nazi's ideology and ours?

How does the difference show itself in actual practice?

#### 2. THE EFFECT OF NAZI-ISM ON GERMAN PEOPLE

*The Lights Go Down*, by Erika Mann

(The book is a novel. It describes in vivid terms what the Nazi did to the German people and how many Germans reacted to the brutality, cynicism, and viciousness of the system. It is based on actual documents, orders, and events in German, during the early years of the Nazi regime).

Do you think many Germans dislike the Nazi system?

What ideals did the various characters hold superior to those advocated by the Nazi?

Why did the Nazi find it necessary to combat Christianity?

## THE JAPANESE WARRIOR

"Sacrificing ourselves, both in mind and body, with joy for the imperial idea, we promote it and obey it." (Quoted by MacNair, p. 131)

It is very difficult for Americans to understand Japanese ideals, for they differ so radically from ours. In the first place, we have never had a king or an emperor or a czar. We cannot therefore understand what allegiance to such a person would mean. Then, the American belief in the uniqueness and value of the individual is at the opposite pole of the Japanese concept of complete submission to the Emperor. Finally, the tradition of Judaic-Christian religion that no human being is divine—that God is supreme—allows for no possibility of Emperor worship. The Japanese Emperor is considered divine. As a divine being he is due all obedience from everyone. It follows that the life of an individual should aim at obedience to the will and desires of the Emperor. Sacrifice for the imperial idea is the keynote of Japanese life. But an Emperor should rule all he surveys, especially if he is divine. The Empire must therefore reach to the ends of the earth. To achieve this requires military action, since people are obstinate enough not to recognize the Emperor's divine mission. The life of every person must, as a consequence, be devoted to living and practicing—Bushido—The Way of the Warrior.

Not merely is the individual submerged with respect to the state but also with respect to the family. Very few decisions are made by an individual without a family council. Women are considered on an even lower level. The caste system in Japan is carried into the language and the same sentence would be uttered differently when addressing one's servant, one's friend, or one's wife. The woman in Japan lives a life completely dependent upon her husband. There seems sometimes to be a paradox in the life of the Japanese; the family system with its emphasis on care for all, and the Bushido with its emphasis on the military virtues.

It must be remembered that there are strict class levels in Japan—the Warriors (Samurai) and the peasants are kept rigidly apart. This may explain the paradox. But it must also be recognized that the military leaders run Japan and direct all foreign policy. This does not mean that the Japanese peasants do not sanction the activity of the military.

The individual's life is constantly regulated by the government.

The national life is composed of a set of classes with rights and duties prescribed for each member of the class. Actually the government of Japan is dominated by a class, the militarists, even though supreme authority (*in theory*) is a property of the Emperor alone. It is clear how much it is to the advantage of the militarist class to keep the people imbued with the idea of the "divine Emperor." The divinity of the Emperor is closely related to Japanese religious doctrines. It is interesting also to note that the Japanese Constitution (1889) gave practically complete manhood suffrage to the people. The rise of the militarists has nullified this recently. Japan is today actually a military dictatorship, even though there is no "Hitler" in Japan.

### 1. THE ARMY AND JAPAN

*The Japanese Enemy*, by Hugh Byas (Read especially Chapter IV, "Who Runs Japan?")

Why is there no "Hitler" or Mussolini in Japan?

What is meant by the family-system of government?

How does the non-military Japanese fare in a military government?

Do you think the masses of Japanese really believe the Emperor to be divine?

How do the military leaders use this emperor-worship to keep the people from revolt?

Who runs Japan? Do you think the Emperor as helpless as Byas describes him?

Is Japan a "military dictatorship"?

### 2. "IMPERIAL WAY" AND WORLD GOVERNMENT

*The Real Conflict Between China and Japan*, by Harley F. MacNair

What group seems to have supreme power in Japan?

What basic ideological differences exist between China and Japan?

What is the relation of the Emperor to the people? To the Constitution of Japan?

Compare MacNair's interpretation of the power of the Emperor with Byas' view of the Emperor's weakness.

#### *Additional Reading:*

*Government by Assassination*, by Hugh Byas.

*Modern Japan*, by W. H. Chamberlin.

*Behind the Face of Japan*, by Upton Close.

*Russia and Japan*, by Maurice Hindus.

*Behind the Japanese Mask*, by Jesse F. Steiner.

## THE INDIAN SAGE

India is a vast country made up of many types of peoples and many different religions and beliefs. It has three main divisions; that part which is under direct British rule (the part we hear most about), the Muslims and the Principalities. Their governments range from absolute monarchy to British dominion. We know more of the Hindus under British rule because they are the most vocal. The struggle to attain independence from England led by Gandhi, Nehru, Shridharani and others has reached our ears, if not our minds and hearts. But probably we think of India as a land of mystery, magic, ignorance and poverty.

The reason for including here a discussion of India is that the country is going through a process of democratization and struggle for independence.

The life of an Indian revolves around religious concepts much more than that of an American. Basing his belief in the one-ness of all reality, the Indian seeks within himself the means of unification with this one-ness. As he has an appointed place and task in this world, he seeks to perform his duties in that rank. The caste system is one result. It must be remembered that Gandhi and other Indian leaders are trying to break down the inequalities and injustice of the caste system. Although each individual seeks to unite himself with ultimate Reality, the path to that union is an individual one. Thus there is a kind of individualism in Indian thought. Each individual must seek his own salvation through his own meditation and life. This is emphasized by the doctrine of reincarnation of the soul. Gandhi's own life of meditation, action, and non-violence is an exemplification of the Indian ideal.

It is difficult to get an accurate, brief picture of Indian beliefs concerning the nature of man because of the diversity of views. This much seems to be clear—all people are ultimately derived from the absolute. In this sense all are basically the same from the point of view of eternity. The caste system itself does not deny this but affirms it, for the caste system is a means of helping individuals attain their true reality. However, Gandhi and others are striving to break down the caste system and bring greater justice to all castes.

The government of British India is that of an Imperial Colony.

This is different from that of a Dominion such as Canada. All decisions are ultimately reviewable by the Viceroy and can be vetoed by him. There is no over-riding that veto, as in our Congress. The present conflict between the nationalists and England is one for possession of the real power. Gandhi and all Nationalists desire a free India ruled by Indians. They want England to withdraw completely. There are, of course, many difficulties in the way, even if the British government were willing to withdraw.

### 1. THE INDIAN

*My India, My America*, by Krishnalal Shridharani

Compare the status of women in India with that of women in the United States and Germany.

Do you think the American woman cannot be both a mother and a woman in Shridharani's sense? What dangers are involved in the idolization of woman as mother?

Are Indian women being emancipated?

Shridharani says that the Hindu mind (and therefore the Hindu) is metaphysical. What does this mean?

Is the doctrine of non-violence a practical one?

Distinguish between the American mind and the Hindu mind on the basis of a doctrine of non-violence.

Is non-violence akin to turning the other cheek? Or pacifism?

What is the difference between the Hindu ideal and the German ideal of man?

Discuss the caste system (1) as a religious concept (2) as a social system.

### 2. GANDHI'S DEMANDS FOR FREE INDIA

In the chapter on Gandhi (XII) Shridharani offers some criticisms of democracy. Name them.

Discuss the various groups in India struggling for power.

How important is India to the United Nations?

Get from an encyclopedia an account of India's form of government. How much self-rule is there in the system?

#### *Additional Reading:*

*Story of My Experiments with Truth*, by Mohandas K. Gandhi.

*What Does Gandhi Want?* by T. A. Raman.

*Warning to the West*, by Krishnalal Shridharani. (This contains the Indian's view of the British)

## PART II

### TRUTH, RELIGION AND THE GOOD LIFE

In the first part we studied the ideas concerning man and government. It must be remembered that although these ideas are theoretical, yet if the leaders of a nation believe them sufficiently the policy of the country will in some measure be aimed at putting them into practice. The effect of theoretical ideas on policy is one of the outstanding characteristics of our modern era. Had the people of the United States taken cognizance of this fact, our own preparation might have been much more adequate. Why we cannot "do business with Hitler," why we should not have done business with Japan and whether we can do business with Russia can be answered in the light of ideologies.

There are a few more important concepts that we must study in order to recognize additional differences and similarities.



## CHAPTER VII

### THE LIFE DEVOTED TO PERSONALITY AND GOD—U.S.A.

“Do unto others as you would have others do unto you.”

If there is one thing American thought emphasizes it is that truth is independent of our likes and dislikes. The educational system of the United States—even though under pressure from various groups from time to time—tries to teach individuals to arrive at truth. We believe that only by knowing the truth and acting accordingly can man be noble and free. The truth is to be followed regardless of where it leads or whom it affects, because in the long run error and lies will lead to disaster. Hence the American emphasis on scientific research. The aim of American education is to develop individuals who can live the Good Life. The keynote of American education is therefore; Education for life. On this basis, educational opportunity has been provided for more and more of our people on a wider and wider scale—to all our people regardless of race, color or creed. The purpose of this is to develop better individuals as contrasted with false super-men.

The ideals of American democracy are derived from the Judaic-Christian tradition. The life of Jesus serves as the model of the Good Life. Therefore the good man is the one who is merciful, just, and loves God and his fellow-men. God is the father of all; all men are as a consequence brethren. Nothing human, man or the state or any institution, is above God or is even identical with God. Yet God cares for even the least of His creatures. With all the various religious beliefs in the United States, there still is an underlying similarity. Universalism, peace, good will, these are the types of virtues which define the good man.

The good man is a man of peace and the good life is the peaceful one. In Democracy we define the good life as one involving *for all men* those fundamental freedoms enumerated by President Roosevelt — freedom from fear, freedom from want, freedom of religion and freedom of the press. These are the goals towards which man and civilization have been struggling these many centuries. The good man is a man of peace for whom war is an evil, unfortunately still necessary at times but yet something to be relegated to the past. The good man seeks to establish a life in which men are free from the fears of physical violence, of starva-

tion, of wars and all they connote. The good man seeks to provide a world in which *all* men shall possess the minimum essentials for decent human living and shall not want for food, shelter and clothing. The good man recognizes that different men seek God differently. He believes it possible to afford men the right to free worship and even to seek God in their own way. And finally the good man recognizes that truth is indispensable for adequate human living, and that truth depends for its very existence upon a free access to all the facts all the time.

Thus democratic institutions seek to provide the necessary means to approach and to safeguard the path to these ideals.

### 1. EDUCATION FOR DEMOCRATIC LIVING

*Education of Free Men in American Democracy*, by the Educational Policies Commission

What bodies of knowledge must free men have?

Do the schools in your community educate for democracy by providing a democratic school?

Should school indoctrinate?

Should schools study other forms of government?

Is there equal educational opportunity in your community for *all* Americans, regardless of race, color or creed?

### 2. DEMOCRATIC MAN

*A Time for Greatness*, by Herbert Agar

Who is Herbert Agar?

What does he mean by "Greatness"?

Do you agree with Mr. Agar that we ought to extend Democracy?

Should the Democratic man participate in world events?

### 3. THE GOOD LIFE

*The World We Want to Live In*, by E. R. Clinchy

*Goals for America*, by Stuart Chase

What factors retard progress in a Democracy?

How many are inconsistent with religion?

Can the economic well-being of men be achieved in Democracy?

What limits are there to religious freedom?

What religious yardsticks are involved in building a post-war world?

THE LIFE DEVOTED TO THE ETHICAL AND  
THE IDEAL—CHINA

The Chinese are a numerous people and their history goes far back. When the West was deep in savagery China had already developed an advanced type of civilization and had anticipated many scientific discoveries. Something, however, failed to operate and China lost much of its dynamism. It became a backward country, backward in one sense only, for the Chinese concentrated on the art of living calmly.

The Chinese have a great respect for learning. Until recently, however, that learning consisted for the most part in memorizing the Chinese classics. But the dream of Sun Yat-sen is expressed in the declaration of the Chinese Nationalist Party (Kuo min tang), "Universal education will be effectively carried out. Education for the development of children's individuality will be specially attended to, school systems will be revised, education budgets will be increased, and the independence of educational institutions will be guaranteed."

Education for all and academic freedom both show the high regard held by the Chinese for the search for truth. The complete reliance upon learning leads in two directions. We find in the Sun Yat-sen constitution a Department of Examination and the provision that all public employees must pass examinations. But we also find a tendency to substitute the classics for facts. Another indication of the Chinese respect for learning is seen in the fact that throughout the years of war Chinese schools have continued not merely technical education but liberal education as well.

The Chinese desire this education as a means to living. Their ideal is to enjoy this life as simply and as beautifully as possible. They decry war—but can fight—because it interferes with those human relations that go to make up part of the enjoyment of life. Questions of the hereafter do not as a result interest Chinese very much, especially not Confucianists. It is true that Buddhism and Taoism also flourish among the Chinese, and do have super-natural elements. Confucianist doctrine is man-centered and seeks to develop the *reasonable and noble man*. Thus the Chinese aim at developing an individual who knows how to live simply, to enjoy human relationships, to keep his balance in a world of tensions. It is in this that the roots of Chinese pacifism lie. Not that the Chinese

cannot fight—their resistance to the Japanese demonstrates that—but war is not simple, it is extreme and disturbing. The reasonable man does not get angry and never loses control of himself. The reasonableness, however, can go to extremes, for it tends to become unwillingness to change.

Buddhism also has a large following in China. Its ideal is expressed in its declaration of the vanity of the world. It tends to be an escapist type of religion, but at the same time insists upon goodness as the means of attaining relief from evil and suffering. It is Buddhism that emphasizes vegetarianism and believes in transmigration of souls.

The good life for the Chinese tends to be one of peaceful enjoyment of human existence. Politeness, courtesy, family relations, a minimum of food necessary for health, education—these are the chief characteristics of the Chinese picture. Their lives are devoted to ethical relationships and ideal human existence, on this earth.

#### 1. THE CHINESE

*Changing China*, by G. E. Taylor

(This is one of an excellent series of pamphlets on various countries.)

What is meant by saying that China is a new nation but an old people?

Compare the description of the Chinese peasant with your impression of the American farmer.

Give some contrasts between Old China and New China. Do you think the Chinese could become Fascists?

Look up in an encyclopedia something about Confucius. Compare the doctrines of Confucianism with those of Christianity.

#### 2. CHINESE RELIGION

*My Country and My People*, by Lin Yu Tang (Read especially Chapters III and IV)

What is the Chinese attitude to Religion?

What is meant by Humanism?

Name the three major religions in China and indicate these differences briefly.

What is the doctrine of Golden Men?

What changes are occurring in Chinese thought?

*Additional Reading:*

*The Wisdom of China and India*, by Lin Yu Tang. (This is an anthology of religious writings)

*Men and Ideas*, by Lin Mou-sheng. (A survey of Chinese political theories)

## CHAPTER IX

### THE LIFE DEVOTED TO THE WELFARE OF THE MASSES—RUSSIA

Without education and scientists social human progress is impossible. The Soviets have recognized this and have aimed at a wholly educated nation. To such an extent do they consider education important that the government pays a salary to all students undertaking higher education. This reflected itself in the spread of newspapers. In 1913 Czarist Russia had 859 newspapers with a circulation approaching three million. In 1937 Soviet Russia had 8521 newspapers with a circulation of thirty-six million. The aim of Communism is to develop the full personality of the individual in his relation to his fellow men. It is felt that if men are freed from exploitation, poverty and fear they will rise to triumphant heights. Education, recreation, work—these are *rights* of individuals and should be made available to all. This does not mean that every person is free to do what he or she desires in every way. Each one not only has rights, but also has duties to other individuals. Thus each serves all and all serve each. The Soviets, recognizing the unique value of each individual, have made racial prejudice a crime against the State. Education and life are to be devoted to human welfare.

The conflict between Communism and Capitalism (as economic theories) lies in the means of achieving this human welfare. Communism believes that only by means of a planned society can man's needs be satisfied. It therefore seeks to establish an order in which production and consumption are to a large degree controlled. Production is to be permitted and controlled in the interests of human needs. Likewise the Communists feel that since people do not like to surrender power—if they have it—it is necessary for the masses to rise in revolt to overthrow existing governments before they can achieve the Communist State. Thus the economic structure of the Communist State would be such that no individual would own as his private property any of the means of production. It is well to note that this does not mean the abolition of all private property, but only of that property which enables one man to control the means of production.

Women, too, in the Communist State are to be completely free, and equal to men in all aspects of their lives. This means that women are not dependent upon men for their livelihood.

Another similarity between Communism and Democracy lies in the separation of Church and State. In Communism, however, this is carried much farther. No Church can own private property. During the early years of the rise of Soviet Russia, all Church activities were severely curtailed and in many cases repressed. This was based on the belief that man should concern himself with the present, and that a belief in the hereafter tended to make people accept injustices as divine punishment. It was also based on the fact that many Churchmen in Czarist Russia exploited the superstitious fears of the people.

The good life for the Communist is a life devoted to peace, non-exploitation, love, service and the fullest development of one's personality in the quest for human freedom and happiness.

### 1. THE COMMUNIST

*The Soviet Power*, by Hewlett Johnson

Who is the author?

Do you think he is correct when he says Soviet Russia is more Christian than other countries?

What do you think about "doing business with Russia"?

Has the rise of Soviet Russia improved the living standards of the Russian?

Why does the author call the Russian constitution the most Democratic in the world? Do you agree with him?

*Land of the Soviets*, by Marguerite A. Stewart

What are the Soviets like?

Have the living standards of Russia risen?

### 2. RELIGION IN RUSSIA

*Religion in Soviet Russia, 1917-1942*, by Nicholas S. Timasheff

Who is the author?

What type of school is Fordham University?

Explain the difference in point of view about Russia between Timasheff and Johnson.

Why does the author think a conflict between Communism and religion is inevitable?

Do you believe the view of Johnson is more or less correct than that of Timasheff?

*Additional Reading:*

*The Truth About Russia*, by Sidney and Beatrice Webb. (Read especially the Soviet Constitution of 1936)

*The Russians*, by A. R. Williams. (This is the best recent book on Russia)

*Collectivism*, by William Henry Chamberlin.

*Mission to Moscow*, by Joseph E. Davies.

## CHAPTER X

### THE LIFE DEVOTED TO "FOLK" AND "FUEHRER"— GERMANY

"War represents the essence of things. The soldier is the prototype and the supreme expression of the national character."—C. Schmitt, 1932-38.

The Nazis believe they are developing a new type of individual, but their ideal is as old as brutality and savagery. One of the first things the Nazis did when they came into power was to reorganize the schools. No longer was the individual to be educated in the liberal sense of the term; education was to be indoctrination. All courses of study were to aim at inculcating in Germans the point of view of Nazi-ism. This meant that all truth was to be used in the interest of the State. As a matter of fact, the Nazis defined truth as that which served the State. Racialism may be untrue from a factual point of view, but since it unified the Germans and made them eager to serve the Leader it was to be taken as true. Lies were permissible if they helped further the aims of the Leader. Thus education came to be viewed as developing a type of individual who would follow and obey without questioning his leaders. But the true German was the soldier, not the person who loved peace and cultivated the life of Christ. Hence education had to be turned to the development of soldiers. The virtues of a soldier are brutality, cleverness, toughness, ingenuity in devising techniques of war, and the ability to act in battle on his own initiative. These characteristics the educational system of Nazi Germany set out to develop. And German educators used all the knowledge they could collect about the psychology of individuals, to aid in this project. Education in Germany seeks to develop in the individual a feeling of his place in advancing the German Spirit. As a bearer of the German Folk Spirit the individual must learn to serve that Spirit, and die for it, if necessary to achieve its victory. War is a desirable and noble enterprise for it cleanses the Folk of weak bearers and subjugates other races to its service. The world is to be conquered and made subservient to Germany. (They have even developed a scheme of world division known as Geopolitics, in which Germany is to be the "heartland" of the globe served by all other inferior nations.) The good man is the good warrior.

It is evident that all this is contrary to all principles of humility, universal brotherhood and love. Hence the Nazis have found

it necessary to combat Christianity and Judaism. At first some tried a return to paganism, but this did not seem to take hold. Other German theorists tried to make Jesus a German and a warrior. This, too, has not worked very well. The various churches in Germany have struggled valiantly against these anti-Christian doctrines. Many of the clergy have as a result been treated violently and others have been put into concentration camps. The god of the Nazi can only be a tribal god who speaks German and is a warrior. Actually it appears that the State tends to become god and Hitler the prophet. One German has said that there can be no comparison between Hitler and Jesus for one cannot compare one so great as Hitler with one so petty as Jesus. (The source can be found in the book of quotations, *Thus Speaks Germany*.)

The good life, according to the Nazis, is the life devoted to serving the Spirit of the Folk and the Race. It is the life submerged and obedient to the will of the Leader. It is the life of battle and conflict.

#### 1. THE NAZI

*Education for Death*, by Gregor Ziemer

What is the aim of Nazi education?

What type of individual does Germany seek to produce?

What means do the Germans use to secure these types?

Why do the Nazis emphasize physical education?

Do the Germans separate girls and boys? Why?

Why is the discussion method frowned upon?

Can heredity be controlled?

Consider the problems involved in re-educating generations of Germans to other ideas.

What attitudes towards America are inculcated in German youth?

#### 2. THE NAZI'S BELIEF

*Thus Speaks Germany*, by W. W. Coole & M. F. Potter

What are the Nazi's attitudes towards religion? War?

Compare his ideas about government with that of the U. S.

Can we do "business" with Germany?

Compare the German, Chinese, American and Russian attitudes towards women.

*Additional Reading:*

*Revolution of Nihilism*, by Hermann Rauschnig.

*Metapolitics*, by Peter Vierecke.

*This Is the Enemy*, by Frederick Oechsner.

*What About Germany?* by Louis P. Lochner.

Read also articles in *Time*, Dec. 22, 1940, and Feb. 10, 1941, on Religion under Nazi-ism.

## CHAPTER XI

### THE LIFE DEVOTED TO THE EMPEROR— BUSHIDO—JAPAN

A great deal of what is believed in Japan is really borrowed from China, India and the West. Even Buddhism and Confucianism have had a wide-spread adherence in Japan. Recently, however, the government has been encouraging Shintoism as the state religion. The cardinal principles of Shintoism are emperor-worship and the arts of war. The pacifistic elements in other religions make them unacceptable.

In Japan there are two very distinct and separate types; the Samurai, or warriors, and other individuals. The "others" are also ranked according to occupation, but the Samurai, the very highest class, are the fighters who for many decades have ruled Japan. Today the code of the Samurai, known as Bushido, is inculcated in all Japanese. Its essence is the life of the sword. It views as the good life that life devoted to fighting for the Emperor; hence the good man is the good warrior. The virtues of the warrior are strength, ruthlessness, cunning and the willingness to die. In this respect the life of the Japanese is devoted to the same ends as that of the Nazi. Militarism in Japan is viewed as something desirable, and all who oppose this type of life run the risk of assassination.

Since their education must serve the ends of the warrior, the Japanese is trained to fight and is taught the arts of warfare. Obedience to authority is a prime requisite of such a life. The Japanese as a whole are "mentally and ethically passive." This emphasis on obedience is strengthened by the doctrine of the divinity of the Emperor. To disobey a king is bad enough, but to disobey a god is sacrilege also. "Duty," said a Japanese who lived during the latter half of the eighteenth century, "consisted in obeying the Emperor implicitly without questioning his acts." The modern Japanese form of government was deliberately modeled after the constitution of Prussia.

The divinity of the Emperor is the central theme of the Shinto religion. This also emphasizes the superiority of the Japanese to such an extent that an extreme nationalism has developed. Obviously if the Japanese were descended from gods all other peoples must be inferior and should be ruled by the Emperor. Involved in

this is the idea of a program of foreign conquest which was already strong as early as the 1850's.

Japan is a military state, its internal structure and external policy both developed with a view towards war. Here, too, their ideas are similar to those of Nazi Germany. In 1934 a Japanese Ministry of War pamphlet declared: "War is the Father of Creation and the Mother of Culture. Rivalry for supremacy does for the state what struggling against adversity does for the individual." (Quoted by Timperley, p. 102). It is no wonder that Bushido is so acceptable to many Japanese. If you add to that the fact that such doctrines as propounded by Shintoism and Bushido help to keep the starving masses of Japan properly subservient to the wealthy few, one can also understand why the military leaders of Japan do their utmost to make these two doctrines the state religion of Japan.

#### 1. THE JAPANESE OUTLOOK

*Japan, a World Problem*, by Harold J. Timperley

Compare the Japanese and Nazi beliefs concerning race, war, and Leader or Emperor.

Contrast the Japanese and Chinese ideas on the Good Life.

What are the basic principles of Bushido?

Look up Shintoism in an encyclopedia and outline its main beliefs.

Is Japanese imperialism new?

Is Japan Hitler's "stooge"?

#### 2. BUSHIDO

*Bushido, the Soul of Japan*, by I. O. Nitobé

Does Nitobé idealize Bushido?

What are the virtues of Bushido according to Nitobé?

How can you account for Japanese atrocities in China (e.g. at Nanking) if Nitobé's account of Bushido is correct?

Is Bushido a doctrine that tends to make for war or for peace?

*Additional Reading:*

*Behind the Japanese Mask*, by Jesse F. Steiner.

## THE LIFE DEVOTED TO MEDITATION—INDIA

"May I take up the sorrow of all creatures who suffer and enter into them so that they may be made free from grief!"

The very nature of Hindu religious thought makes it imperative that the Hindu have a highly sophisticated mind; and this means education. But above all Hinduism is a way of life. Its basic emphasis lies not so much on theory or religious conformity as on a spiritual and ethical outlook on life. And as Radhakrishnan points out, amid the diversity of theological belief and metaphysical doctrine that exists among Hindus, all agree upon kindness, honesty, gratitude, sympathy and morality as supreme virtues to be practiced. The law of right and the search for truth define the characteristics of the good man and the good life. This good life must at all times be related to the eternal. Any human life which lives only for this world and its goods is not a satisfactory one. Hence man must meditate upon the eternal—but the eternal in its relation to, and as manifested in, the temporal. In the present world we have our existence and pursue our way to spiritual freedom, which can be attained in different ways. Thus the Hindu does not feel that he has exclusive rights to the gateway to heaven. In general, three aspects of every way can be distinguished—wisdom, devotion, and service, which comprise the virtuous life.

This higher ideal extends to marriage also. Marriage is viewed as the completion of the individual, not primarily for the satisfaction of sexual desires. Marriage aids in developing the personality of both partners. Hence women are not viewed as slaves or as child-bearing females. The Hindu, however, does insist upon male offspring and almost compulsory marriage. (New India is altering its view with respect to this doctrine. More romance and choice as to marriage is being introduced.)

The ultimate aim of life is the liberation of the soul from the cares and worries of human existence, so that it can aid in the alleviation of the suffering of other creatures.

Some of these ideas are illuminated by Gandhi's doctrine of non-violence. This is not mere pacificism. It does not shrink from the consequences of life and struggle, for it may mean severe suf-

fering on the part of him who practices it, and even death. It is direct action against the enemy in the form of non-co-operation in the enemy's plans, commands, activities, without doing the enemy any physical violence whatever. Non-violence means sit-down strikes, boycotts, etc., without active resistance to the force of the enemy.

It must be remembered that not all Hindus are believers in non-violent methods. Many Hindus are enrolled in the British Army to fight against the Germans or the Japanese. The Hindus demand a nation of their own. They seek to develop themselves nationally in independence of Britain.

In brief, the Hindu picture of the good is the life of calm meditation followed by nobility of action. Here again we find love of peace, love of order, and universalism.

#### 1. HINDUISM

*The Hindu View of Life*, by S. Radhakrishnan

Contrast Hinduism with Nazi-ism.

Do you think non-violence would work in America?

What is the origin of the Caste System in India?

What is its present use?

Do you approve of the Hindu idea of the good man?

Can the good man approve of any ideas of superior races?

Is Hindu racialism any better than Nazi racialism?

Is racialism consistent with Christianity?

Compare the Hindu idea of the good life with that of the Soviet. Are they incompatible, or supplementary?

## POSTSCRIPT

It is hoped that these pages have emphasized the basic differences and similarities that exist between the doctrines of the countries discussed. It is also hoped that the basic identities between Japan and Germany, so far as fundamental point of view is concerned, have been made clear, while those characteristics which the United States, Russia, China and India have in common have also been indicated. In the days to come the author hopes that the people of America will realize the essentially different worlds that will be constructed according to which side wins. Two worlds are in conflict. Let us not be misled. The differences between them are so great that they cannot both exist on the same globe without continual conflict. President Roosevelt aptly said, "Democracy hurt anywhere is Democracy hurt everywhere."

Another thing the reader should realize is the difficulty that will face the United Nations when victory comes. What are we to do with those hundreds of thousands of Japanese and Germans raised in the beliefs outlined in the preceding pages?

Let us not succumb to those beliefs against which we struggle. Clarity and insight into the nature of these ideas can save us from embarking upon a course that will lead us to the same abyss.

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