

APRIL 1955

The Dangers Of Physical Planning

by Prof. Hannan Ezekiel

DEMOCRACY in India is threatened by a new danger. Economic planning, which the Planning Commission had visualised as a great experiment in democracy and which had been hailed as such in many parts of the world, may now take a new direction which must necessarily mean the ultimate destruction of democratic ways of living in this country. While the communist defeat in the Andhra elections has ruled out a rejection of the democratic postulates of economic planning through a change in the Government at least in the immediate future, it appears that this may take place through the acceptance of "physical planning" by ruling circles in the country and particularly by Pandit Nehru.

The high-priest of "physical planning," which thus threatens to enter through the back-door, is Prof. P. C. Mahalanobis, Director of the Indian Statistical Institute, Calcutta, who is also Statistical Adviser to the Cabinet and wields great personal influence with Pandit Nehru. In recent years, this statistician has built up a large staff, including some foreign experts, at his institute in Calcutta, mainly through funds made available by the Government of India. The list of the foreign experts at the Institute is revealing. It includes two leading Soviet economists with the Gosplan and Prof. Oscar Lange of the Polish Planning Organisation. From countries outside the Iron Curtain, there are Prof. Charles Bettelheim of France, Prof. Rangar Frisch and Dr. R. M. Goodwin. All these are suspected of fellow-travelling tendencies. The latter two are econometricians and, by virtue of their subject itself, they tend to think of human beings in terms of tidy little patterns of behaviour that can be fitted into equations and graphs. There is also danger from their tendency to see uniformity where it does not exist as they are usually willing

to enforce it if mere human beings do not conform to their pre-conceived notions.

In physical planning, as understood by the statistician and his group of experts, there is little doubt that there is implied a replacement of the democratic foundations of economic planning by a system of direction of resources which is so familiar to those who have studied the economies of the communist countries. Destruction of liberty is inherent in this technique of planning. Its greatest attraction is that it yields results, or so people are made to believe, though the sacrifice in terms of human suffering and the loss of liberty that has to be incurred is of course out of all proportion to its achievements.

There is little doubt that the Prime Minister himself is moved by the apparent inability of the economy to respond to the efforts made so far, as evidenced by the intractability of the problem of unemployment. Partly, this is a misreading of the situation, for the results already achieved are by no means inconsiderable. Pandit Nehru is really a victim of the inefficiency of our own publicity and the transparently dishonest efficiency of the publicity of the Communist dominated economies.

Nevertheless, there is some case for the view that the Planning Commission in the first Five Year Plan looked too much to the financial aspects of the Plan and paid too little attention to the underlying physical resources. It is this fact and the arguments based on it that tend to persuade people that physical planning is desirable. What is really proved by these arguments, however, is only that greater attention must be paid by the Planning Commission to the problem of physical resources and to a proper appreciation of the implications of each decision to resource-use on the one hand and resource-creation on the other. But this approach is not the same as physical planning in the Mahalanobis sense. It does not differ from what the Planning Commission has been already doing though not thoroughly enough. Thus in its *Programmes of Industrial Development*, the Planning Commission had attempted estimates of the demand for steel, cement, etc. and balanced the

plans for expansion of these industries against them. Similarly, the decision to give priority not to expansion of capacity in producer goods industries but to full utilization of capacity in consumer goods industries was an assessment *par excellence* of the situation with regard to resources and their optimum utilization.

The assessment of resources under physical planning is, however, in physical rather than value terms. This does not mean that value judgments are not made at all, but they are made by a small group of planners, who give little consideration to the wishes of the people nor explain the bases of their decisions.

That the totalitarian tendency in physical planning requires a control over the sources of data is apparent from the establishment of the National Sample Survey under the control of Prof. Mahalanobis for the purpose of collecting data about the economy of the country. Prof. D. R. Gadgil, who was associated with the work of the Survey for some time, has attacked the NSS as an authority "which through the nature of its being will tend to exterminate all parallel agencies in the field." He has pointed out that "with complete

centralization and independent functioning the opportunity for doubtful operations may indeed be greatly increased." The danger is that the NSS may mould the facts to fit the particular programmes and policies that the Indian Statistical Institute may wish to put forward. A plan based on such foundations and in which the emphasis is placed on physical direction of resources, including manpower, can only lead to the destruction of democracy not merely in the economic but also in the political field. No amount of playing with input-output tables, which are really inapplicable in underdeveloped countries, or with income-elasticities of demand which have not taken social factors into consideration, can disguise the essentially totalitarian characteristics of such planning. Pandit Nehru must think twice before entrusting the future of the country to a group of people who are so obviously determined to destroy that which he cherishes so much. And the people must take note of the red clouds on the Indian horizon that are deriving their strength from the work of the Indian Statistical Institute in Calcutta.

The Free Spirit Of Man

by Sir John Latham

The Rt. Honourable Sir John Latham, considered the greatest living Australian, is the President of the Australian Committee for Cultural Freedom. The following article appeared as his message in the first issue of THE FREE SPIRIT, the monthly journal of the Australian Committee.

THE conflict between freedom and authority cannot be settled or adjusted by the mechanical application of any absolute rule.

In some cases it is relatively easy to apply a rule, but a man cannot be a minister in a church and at the same time conduct a campaign against clearly defined fundamental principles for which the church stands. A man cannot be a member of a political party and repudiate the platform of the party by which all the members are bound. A man cannot be the editor of a theatrical newspaper and condemn all theatrical activities as vicious.

In these cases the person concerned has voluntarily promised to accept and to support and promote some principles or practices. He need not have done so, but, having done it, he has assumed an obligation of which he can free himself by resigning as minister or member of the political party or editor.

Completely different questions would arise if a man who disbelieved in the doctrines of a church were compelled to join a church, or if a socialist were compelled to belong to, or to subscribe money to, an anti-socialist party, or vice versa, or if a man who had strong moral conviction of the wickedness of all theatres were compelled to work for the extension of theatrical enterprises. There have been periods in history when compulsory religion, with all its attendant cruelty and injustice, was the rule. For example, it was so during the Roman Empire when emperor-worship was compulsory, and later when believers in the doctrines of Arius were persecuted and killed.

Such systems of thought-control have discredited themselves in nearly all civilised communities. Today, however, in some countries, the people are compelled to profess certain political and economic doctrines which in those countries have become dogmas. When the dogmas are changed, the people must follow suit.

All developed countries have laws against treason and sedition. The continued existence of any society requires some restrictions upon the liberty of the individual. But an individual person cannot, unless he lives on an uninhabited island which belongs only to

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Notes

Andhra Elections

THE Congress has scored a resounding victory in Andhra, having won 146 out of the 196 seats contested by it. It has now an overwhelming majority in the legislature as against the precarious majority that it had before the election. It polled 49.8 per cent of the total votes polled, which if added to 13.4 per cent polled by Independents, many of whom were dissident Congressmen, will make a very impressive total.

This success of the Congress is a resounding defeat for the Communist Party, which had set out to defeat the Congress and capture power in the State. The Communist Party contested 169 seats, out of which it was able to win only a miserable 15 seats. It will be hereafter only a tiny group in the legislature and will lose much of its glamour and prestige.

The crushing defeat came as a great shock to the Communists and as a pleasant surprise to others. The communists were so confident of a sweeping victory that, if reports are to be believed, they had prepared a list of their Ministers and allocated portfolios. Their journals were all along publishing sensational reports about their mass rallies indicative of the large support that they were enjoying. The *New Age*, organ of their party, went to the extent of publishing a report of confidential official documents being burnt or removed to New Delhi, as a precaution against the communist victory at the polls, which, the journal reported, the government officials had taken as a settled fact. Andhra was a stronghold of communists and they had mobilised all their national and international resources to secure a win in the election. In view of all these preparations and the tall claims that they were making, the crushing defeat that they have sustained will have a very demoralising effect on their rank and file members and also on their supporters. The opportunists, who were veering towards the communists in the hope that they were the rising party, will now think a hundred times before lending them their support.

The Congress was able to score this sensational victory mainly by avoiding triangular or multilateral contests. The united front that it established on the eve of elections with the K.L.P. and Praja Party has paid good dividend. The Avadi Congress resolutions and the forthright declarations of the Prime Minister denouncing the communists also played their part. On the other hand, the recent developments in Soviet Russia culminating in the summary dismissal of Malenkov from the post of the Prime Minister and Molotov's praise of India and her Prime Minister in his address to the Supreme Soviet may have also contributed to demoralisation in communist ranks and weaned away a number of supporters. There were also some other objective factors, like the

improvement of the food situation and the removal of controls which helped the Congress. This was the first time that democracy was so openly and so unequivocally pitted against communism — for the Congress fought on the ideological as well as on the political plane. There was a refreshing candour in Congress leaflets and speeches about the phoney nature of Soviet "achievements" and the serfdom that communism in practice brings. Andhra has proved that when issues are placed straight before the people and the communists are exposed in their true colour as the enemies of the nation and of freedom and democracy the people have no hesitation in rejecting them.

There is, however, no ground for complacency. It will be dangerous to over-estimate the significance of the Congress victory or to underestimate the strength of the communists. The communists were able to win only 15 seats, but they were able to poll 31.6 per cent of votes, which means that they were able to win the support of about a third of the electorate. It is also clear from the published figures of votes polled in various districts that the communists were able to improve their positions in most districts. This is a situation full of dangerous possibilities. It will be most shortsighted to forget this aspect of the situation and fail to take immediate measures to destroy the strength of the communists. After all, it is never by electoral majorities that communists hope to seize power. It is to be hoped that in their justified satisfaction over the victory, Congressmen and other democrats will not neglect the essential task of weaning men's minds from the lure of communism.

A Forthright Speech

IT was a forthright speech that Sir Mirza Ismail delivered at the annual dinner of the Sappers' Mess in Bangalore. He minced no words in identifying the real enemy of Indian democracy. It was, he said, international communism, which developed its own technique of subjugating a country, consisting of "infiltration, subversion and internal revolution." The danger would come to India if "communists succeed in swallowing up Nepal, Thailand, Malaya and Burma."

China, Sir Mirza Ismail pointed out, has a huge population and needs therefore room for expansion. The only direction in which she can expand is South and South-East Asia, where millions of Chinese are already settled, who can be easily utilised for facilitating the process of expansion. He stated the barest truth when he said "when military protection is lacking in support of a weak geographical position, the temptation of aggression is not only almost inevitable, but often irresistible." Panchshilla, he warned, would not be of any help when there is a real conflict of interests and views.

The danger, according to Sir Mirza, can be met only with the help of the West. He confessed that he was "out and out pro-American" in his attitude. He drew pointed attention to the fact that but for the United States a much larger part of the world,

including Europe, would have been today under communist domination.

'The Truth Shall Make Ye Free'

IF freedom of culture is based on the unfettered flow of information and a faith in the capacity of people to face and absorb the truth, friends of cultural freedom in all lands will have reason to welcome the belated publication of the records of the Conference of the Big Three (behind the back of the Big Fourth) that took place at Yalta in 1945 and to look forward to the release of the other secret records of World War II.

Increasingly in recent years, those in the know have arrived at an understanding of the real nature of the Yalta Agreements as the most infamous of the deals by means of which the fruits of victory were lost to the peace-loving peoples of democratic countries.

"The manner in which territories, railroads, ports and islands were cold-bloodedly parcelled out as though these were the perquisites of successful gamblers is something for which the Powers concerned should be eternally ashamed," writes the *Times of India*, while deploring with peculiar lack of logic the bad taste shown in exposing these deals to the eyes of the vulgar multitude. Believing, with the apostle, St. John that "the truth shall make ye free," *Freedom First* on the other hand holds the action of the United States in taking this step to be all the more praiseworthy.

The searchlight was thus bound to be thrown on the pitiful naivete of its own former head, President Roosevelt, who in his supremely egotistic "hunch that Uncle Joe is all right," double-crossed his own ally Marshal Chiang Kai-Shek and bartered away the freedom of the Chinese, the Poles and other peoples in vain attempt at buying "peace" with the Soviet monolith.

One does not have to be blind to President Roosevelt's other estimable qualities and achievements to appreciate the justice of the wag who remarked that he was one of those on whose graves should be inscribed the epitaph: "I knew how to handle the Soviets." Since, unfortunately that tribe of incurable optimists is by no means extinct, it is good that the undertakers of pilgrimages to Peking and Moscow today should be able to see the pathetic figures they are likely to cut in the mirror of history and that the peoples of the world are given an opportunity to assess the consequences of Yalta type conferences with the communist dictators.

Film Seminar

THE trouble about the recently concluded Film Seminar was the haste with which it was organised. Indeed, organised is too flattering a word. Some-one gets a bright idea, and before long the idea is realised, transformed into factuality. There is no systematic, thorough long-term preparation with a view to obtaining solid results. A great deal of

enthusiasm is generated but it is a sterile enthusiasm. It makes news but it cannot make history, in spite of the tall claims put forward for it. The participants aired their views and returned to business. What was the Seminar's value in terms of intellectual impact?

Some odd and some useful suggestions were offered during the sessions. The bland, ubiquitous Krishna Menon warned film producers against the dangers of abstract realism. The discussion on a paper by a well known Bengali star turned on the absorbing question whether acting is a technique or an inborn talent. Fellow travelling Abbas wanted a Ministry of Culture. David regretted there was no recognition for budding authors (where are they?). Raj Kapur with a delightful naivete demanded State control of film marketing, involving categorising of both films and cinema houses. It cannot be said that all this adds up to a serious contribution to the advancement of the film in this country.

On the credit side were practical suggestions by Mr. Vasan for subsidies to educational films, manufacture of raw film and equipment in India, reduction of entertainment tax and liberalisation of censorship. Nothing helpful was promised. Prime Minister Nehru opposed too much Government interference in the arts but plumped for coming down on them "with a heavy hand" if they became a "social menace". Mr. Justice Rajamannar's plea for the poet in the industry and for script writers of imagination and integrity must be applauded. Mr. B.N. Sircar, with a refreshing candour, struck one of the rare critical notes of the Seminar by stating that India "has nothing yet to offer as her contribution in the field of scientific endeavour." The Seminar did not discuss one question: How can the standard of our films be improved? Hardly any other question is as important as this for the self-respect and development of the Indian film.

Kingsley Martin's True Colours

THE *New Statesman* is favoured reading in New Delhi. It counts among its readers a good cross-section of the Indian intelligentsia from the Prime Minister downwards. Its meanderings find reflection in many minds and its slick solutions to international problems secure a ready response.

As it happens, Mr. Kingsley Martin, the Editor of this journal, recently passed through Delhi on a journey to the Far East. On February 18, he addressed a press conference after paying a visit to Andhra to study the electoral campaign then in train. According to the Special Correspondent of the *Hindustan Times*, who reported the press conference in their issue of February 20, "in his forthright manner," Mr. Kingsley Martin "declared that if he were a voter in the Andhra elections, he would vote communist." As the result has shown, the untutored Andhra peasant showed greater horse-sense than this pompous Pandit of the world's "progressives" and rejected his gratuitous advice.

Any suggestion that the journal follows a subtle crypto-communist line has hitherto been met with the familiar cry of "McCarthyism." Perhaps now a few of those in this country and elsewhere who have hitherto allowed themselves to be bemused by the phoney "radicalism" of this fellow-traveller and his journal will at last realise the real nature of its inspiration.

A Noble Example

THE Government of West Germany has taken the bold step of abolishing visas for the nationals of all countries with which West Germany has diplomatic relations. As a result of this step citizens of over fifty countries including India will be able to enter West Germany without obtaining a visa. Citizens of Iron Curtain countries will not enjoy the privilege as they have no diplomatic relations with West Germany.

It was one of the fond dreams of late Mr. Earnest Bevin, the great trade union leader of Great Britain and one of its notable Foreign Secretaries, to be able to go to any country in the world without a passport and a visa. Mr. Bevin's dream is still far from realisation. But West Germany has taken a very commendable step in that direction. It is to be hoped that this noble example set by West Germany will be copied by others.

The Wages Of "Friendship"

A VERY revealing discussion took place in the Madras Legislative Assembly on March 1. The occasion was a question put to the Finance Minister as to why the Inspector of Schools had prevented the Panchayat at Ramanathapuram from placing in free reading rooms the Russian magazines *Soviet Union* and *Soviet Land*.

Mr. C. Subramaniam, the Minister concerned, explained that the Local Library Authority had, under the Madras Panchayat Libraries Rules, resolved to refuse sanction for subscriptions to certain journals, including these Soviet journals. So far, so good.

When, however, the suggestion was made that, "in view of the acceptance of the theory of co-existence" and "of the improved relationship between our State and the Soviet Union" this ban should be lifted, the Finance Minister expressed confidence that "the local Library Authority would have revised its views and would have by now allowed the circulation of the magazines in the free reading rooms."

Here is one more instance of how easily a policy of "friendship" with totalitarian dictatorships on the plane of diplomacy is misunderstood to imply an acceptance of the validity or *bona fides* of totalitarian ideology. It is greatly to be regretted that the Hon'ble Minister, who is an intellectual of no mean standing and a staunch democrat by conviction, allowed himself to be cajoled by the pernicious illogic of his questioners. Is it suggested that mendacious

communist propaganda sheets are to be subsidised out of public funds at the expense of the tax-payer simply because they come from the Soviet Union with which India maintains friendly relations? Surely the very pursuit of such a policy of friendship for communist States makes it all the more important that abhorrence of their reactionary and tyrannical system of government should be clearly expressed by leaders of our democratic parties so as to prevent confusion in the public mind.

Guts Vs. Goondaism

OF recent years no democratic activity has been so readily copied by the Iron Curtain countries as sport. Rapid strides have been made by Soviet Russia and her satellites to try and prove that he-men are more rapidly produced through the sweat of Stakhanovism than through the gentle ways of those of other political ideologies.

Football, always a mass-attraction, has been adopted by Russia as her national pastime with considerable success, and when a team from Russia visited India recently there was natural interest and enthusiasm.

Always good for goals, the Russians established superiority in all their matches, and most of the Indian teams pitted against them were all out of the picture. But goals are not all that count in the Book of Sport, and the one great thing the Russians lacked was—Sportsmanship.

Probably suffering from a blonde superiority complex and unwilling to be told where they got off, many of their footballers disputed the decisions of Indian officials during the tour. Things reached a climax in Bombay when the Russian captain, Netto, so hotly disputed being spoken to by the referee in the "international" match that he had to be ordered off the field.

"I am the Russian captain!" Netto is reported to have told referee Utchil, and the ill-mannered Red accompanied this boast with a flourish of his fist.

But to no purpose. If Indians cannot yet master football, at least have they mastered the niceties of sport and thirty-five thousand Indians roared their disapproval of the arrogance of the chief guest. Utchil remained firm; it was a great demonstration of guts against goondaism.

Some months ago, world-famous Hungarian stars were taken to task by their rulers for not "playing the game in the right spirit," and by this was meant that they had behaved much too politely in an international match. Netto is probably a national hero by now, having fully lived up to a tradition which is steeped in bullying and bull-doing.

Not even in the days of the British was such an incident recorded of racial arrogance, and referee Utchil scored very heavily where India's forwards had failed.

The Russians play football and now it is clear why they will never play cricket. In the words of the gentleman born within sound of Bow Bells: "You can't do that there 'ere!"

Communist China And Prisoners Of War

Treatment of British Prisoners of War in Korea is a small booklet prepared and published by the United Kingdom Ministry of Defence to give the story of 978 British prisoners of war held captive by the communist rulers of China during the course of the war in Korea. The story told by the booklet is a grim story of inhuman and brutal treatment meted out to prisoners of war in contravention not only of all civilised standards but elementary rules of decent human behaviour.

Communist China entered the war on October 20, 1950. For the first few months neither the Chinese nor North Koreans had proper facilities for handling prisoners, and the first prisoner-of-war camp was established only in January 1951. Between then and August of that year food, shelter and medical attention were so inadequate that more than 1600 United Nations prisoners died in Chinese hands. The peace talks started in June 1951 and since then there was a substantial improvement. But the benefit of the improvement accrued only to those who were regarded by the Chinese as "progressives."

The Chinese divided prisoners of war into two categories: "progressives" and "reactionaries" on the basis of their political opinions. This was in gross violation of Article 16 of the Prisoners-of-War Convention which prohibited discrimination against prisoners of war on account of their political opinions. Communist China is not a signatory to the Convention, but she has announced on many occasions that she considered it binding upon her and took her stand upon it when she wanted to secure the forcible repatriation of the prisoners-of-war held by the United Nations.

The discrimination was practised on the ground that those who fought against China were war criminals and they deserved to be shot, unless they could realise their mistake, see the light and agree to work with the Chinese and thus become eligible to be placed in the category of "progressives." The "progressives" were alone entitled to the so-called Lenient Policy which expressed itself in allowing the prisoners a little more food, better accommodation and opportunity of writing and receiving letters and absence of positive maltreatment. But in order to get these advantages of the so-called Lenient Policy the prisoners had to praise the Russian and the Chinese system of Government, denounce their own Governments, declare that the United Nations war in Korea was an American war of aggression, attribute all manner of brutalities to the United Nations forces, condemn the leaders of their nations as warmongers and give certificates of good conduct to the leaders of the Chinese and Korean armies. Apart from this they had also to form and join peace

committees, sign peace manifestos and appeals and sometimes make speeches on the radio.

The Chinese made determined efforts to win over the prisoners. They called it "re-educating" the prisoners. The "re-education" embraced every phase of daily life in camps. Among the techniques employed were those of putting of plays and stage shows by Chinese troupes or by some among the prisoners themselves. These latter were subjected to censorship — the communists assuming that all sentences must have a double or hidden meaning. But, to judge by the report, even this rigid censorship did not prevent some amusing impromptu interpolations. Thus, for instance, on May 1 (May 1, 1952) at Camp 1, a sergeant of the Gloucester Regiment suddenly declaimed from the stage the following parody of the "Elusive Pimpernel":

"They seek him here,
They seek him there,
They seek the B . . . everywhere,
Will he be shot or will he be hung,
That damned elusive Kim Il Sung?"

Everything was designed to influence the thoughts of prisoners and make them more receptive to the communist way of thinking. There were lectures and discussions and study classes. In the beginning they were organised on a large scale and it was obligatory upon all prisoners to attend them. But as they produced little results the Chinese took recourse to other methods to break down the resistance of prisoners.

There is a special chapter in the booklet which describes these other methods of "persuasion." The Chinese tried everything: "simple psychological pressure, manipulation of welfare conditions, corruption, threats segregation, force and outright torture." A widespread system of informers was introduced in order to break down the morale of the prisoners. The outgoing and incoming mail and food and medicine were utilised as inducements to secure cooperation. When all these methods failed, and many a time even before they were tried, the Chinese had recourse to physical coercion and torture, "revolting to humane mind and expressly forbidden by the Prisoners-of-War Convention." The booklet gives some illustrative instances of the torture and ill-treatment "carried out cold-bloodedly for the purpose of breaking a man's resistance." Segregation and solitary confinement were also tried in many cases.

Perhaps the most despicable role was that assigned to communist and follow-travelling journalists to whom facilities were given for visiting the prisoners of war camps in order to demoralise their compatriots. The Chinese communists allowed five British Commonwealth journalists to visit the camps.

These were Alan Winnington of the *Daily Worker* (London) and Michael Shapiro, a correspondent of the *Daily Worker* posted in Peking; Wilfred Burchett, an Australian who was in China as a correspondent for *L'Humanite* (Paris); Jack Gaster, a solicitor and a member of the British Communist Party, and Mrs. Monica Felton, Chairman of the British National Assembly of Women, affiliated to the Comintern front, the Women's International Democratic Federation, who has been in and out of India in recent years. These visiting propagandists tried to bribe and blackmail their unfortunate compatriots in enemy hands. The indignation that has been roused by their conduct in England these days is so intense that a private member's Bill has been introduced in the House of Commons which provides that from now on a British national adhering to the enemies of the United Nations will be considered a traitor to his own country even though no state of war may exist between Britain and the enemies of the United Nations as in Korea.

In spite of the terror and cruelty practised on a large scale the results achieved by the Chinese communists were extremely meagre. No doubt there were a few prisoners who fell a prey to inducements and there were some who succumbed to physical torture. There were also some who decided to collaborate in order to make things easier for their colleagues. And there were a few genuine conversions. The booklet has placed that number at 40 — 40 out of 978. And only one British soldier elected to remain in North Korea. That gives a measure of the Chinese achievement; and seeing that, who can disagree with the observation in the booklet 'that the Chinese achieved no more success than they did is a tribute to the resistance of the individual British soldier'?

There were also many acts of heroism and gallantry in the camps. The booklet mentions a few and at the end are given citations of honours conferred on three prisoners for their very conspicuous acts of gallantry and heroism. One of them died in captivity as a result of the tortures inflicted upon him.

The publication gives a very restrained account of the miseries inflicted upon British prisoners of war. British prisoners were, however, only a small part of the United Nations prisoners of war captured by the Chinese and the North Koreans. Similar and, may be, worse atrocities were practised against others and more particularly the American prisoners. The booklet does not give a full picture, therefore, of the horrors and atrocities that took place in the prisoners-of-war camps in China and North Korea. It serves, however, to highlight the new problem that free nations and their soldiers face in their battles with communist States. The battle does not end on the battlefield. It continues in the prisoners-of-war camps. It is a battle for the minds of the soldiers. And the free nations will have hereafter to prepare and equip their soldiers to fight that battle.

S.D.N.

C. C. F. NEWS

The Congress for Cultural Freedom will hold an International Conference on "The Future of Freedom" in Milan (Italy) from September 12 to 17, 1955. A Host Committee under the Chairmanship of the Mayor of Milan has been set up to help the Congress in making arrangements for holding the Conference.

Over a hundred leading personalities in the fields of social sciences, economics, philosophy and history, representing the most diverse points of view, will participate in the conference. They will study the contemporary challenges to free societies deriving from inherent instabilities and external threats in order to find means to promote their development and improve their safeguards in face of the comprehensive threat to freedom.

Renowned economists and social scientists like Colin Clark, Raymond Aron, Sumitro Djojohadikusumo, Hugh Gaitskell, Sidney Hook, Lionel Robbins, Arthur Lewis, F. Hayek and Michael Polanyi have already accepted the invitation to attend the Conference.

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The Italian Association for Cultural Freedom organised in the months of February and March a series of debates on the subject of "The Work of Art." Artists, philosophers and critics such as Ignazio Silone, Venturi, Calogero, Ungaretti participated in the debates. The Association organised from February 13 to March 6 a film festival dedicated to the Italian Resistance. It is organising such festivals, conferences, debates and exhibitions at a number of places in the country.

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At the Galerie Marcel Bernheim in Paris, the Congress for Cultural Freedom recently organised an exhibition of Laxman Pai's paintings. 28-year-old Pai is well known in India and has already made his mark abroad. He has exhibited in Paris four times previously and his work has also been seen in London and Munich. A few of his paintings are on view at the National Museum of Modern Art in Paris. It is to be hoped that the Congress will be able in the near future to help other Indian artists to exhibit in Paris. No sounder method can be imagined of furthering the process of making different cultures confront each other.

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George Orwell On The Screen

ANIMAL FARM is an anti-communist classic, perhaps more for its appositeness than for its profundity. George Orwell was first of all a journalist and, in polemic, a superb pamphleteer. The book appeared just after World War II, when anti-communism could be matter of conviction rather than style. In that atmosphere, the book was intended to strike a special audience with a message as bluntly stated as it was satirical, as uncomplicated by theoretical penetration as it was caustically partisan. As a quick thrust of bitter wit, it is unquestionably powerful. The parable of the animals who overthrew the tyranny of humans only to become tyrannized anew by their own kind is directly applicable to the progress of the Russian Revolution and its capture by the communists. It is tactical counter-propaganda more than it is strategic attrition of underlying philosophy. This is no deficiency, of course, in the light of the book's immediate purpose. But it illuminates the problems which arise in bringing a work such as this to the screen.

The film of *Animal Farm* is a full-length animated cartoon, more than three years in the making under British producer-directors John Halas and Joy Batchelor, and presented by the American Louis de Rochemont organization. The animation is pervaded by the Disney style—although there is little that is comic. Most of the figures recall the semi-representational, semi-idealized or “prettified” style of *Bambi* and *Snow White and the Seven Dwarfs*. The savage dogs which serve the pig-dictator as a bestial NKVD recall the “monster” sequences used so often by Disney to provide children with satisfactorily horrifying images with which to populate their nightmares. In all technical aspects, the film's execution is of the highest competence. In its thematic content and story line, it follows the original Orwell text quite closely.

And yet there is a significant, albeit subtle, difference in the styles of the film and the book. The latter is quite short as a book: 118 Crown pages which can be read—are *designed* to be read—in a burst of two hours. The film runs for just less than an hour and a half and seems very long for a movie. Even to those who have not read the book, its point seems to have been made long before the half-way mark. The attenuated whole appears as ill-advised adherence to the letter of a literary work, rather than transliteration of its spirit in cinematic terms. The lesson here has been learned painfully many times over in making movies from books: literary time is qualitatively different from cinematic time; its quantity, or duration, must be wholly transmuted in the process of bringing written words to the screen.

Cinematic time, of course, depends upon cinematic execution, and it would seem that in two principal aspects the film is overbearing literary—and correspondingly less organic as film. First, the off-screen narration is “heavy”, needlessly describing what can

be seen—and, if unseen, what is better left unsaid. This is poor economy in the management of cinematic elements, contributing to a feeling of wordiness and unnecessary repetition. Second, the style of the drawings is unimaginative. Time, the precious instantaneousness of satire, is lost in stylised representation that does not characterize, requiring much talk and action to establish personality and motivation. The essential nature and advantage of the cartoon form has not been exploited. The animals appear as only the closest graphic substitutes for real barnyard beasts—not as persons in a parable.

A particular target audience specified the style and content of Orwell's original. The possible target for the film is not so clearly seen in its own style. The book was quick reading for people already knowledgeable regarding recent Russian history and with some sophistication, too, about the perpetual twistings of communist doctrine. To this audience, the film is likely to be tedious. It is much less satirical in its visual prolixity than was Orwell in his sparse prose, and much more self-righteous—not likely to startle, in the manner of the book, but possibly to reassure or reinforce by providing convenient imagery for those already convinced of its view-point.

The film is, after all, “grey” propaganda—speaking for our purposes but created by and attributed to unofficial sources. What its targets are is crucial in judging its value. Perhaps it can do its best work overseas. The slow pace might suit Eastern audiences, but there are serious problems raised by different cultural conventions regarding the animals involved. Perhaps it is better aimed at Europeans than at us. Orwell's book, in fact, has for years been a powerful force for inducing reservations about communist utopianism, wherever it has been translated. But, sadly, the film is *not* the book—perhaps primarily from having tried too hard to *be* the book.

—MARTIN S. DWORKIN in the *New Leader*.

Will be shortly out

Q U E S T

*A bi-monthly of arts and ideas sponsored by the Indian
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Editor: NISSIM EZEKIEL

Army and Navy Building,

Mahatma Gandhi Road, Bombay 1.

Reviews

Journey Without End

by Manes Sperber, Doubleday, New York, Price \$3.75.

MORE readable novels have been written by ex-communists during the past twenty years than the Soviet Union and its satellites have cared to put before us. It is no answer to say that we do not know what "masterpieces" have been produced by the communist world. No literature today has such powerful propaganda resources behind it as that made largely to order behind the Iron Curtain. It is all the more surprising therefore that communism has little to show in literature and art, those fields of human expression in which the Revolution was supposed to produce its most impressive fruits.

The ex-communists on the other hand, though their work is on the whole satisfying and memorable, suffer from one handicap. They are under an overwhelming compulsion to write of experiences which are outside the range of the non-communist public's imagination. To evoke a sympathetic response they need politically conscious readers. Their purely literary achievements do not receive the acknowledgment due to them because of a failure in communication. The ex-communists have seen hell, and cannot write about anything else. To their readers, hell is an abstraction, real only to the deluded. In this context the fundamental question is whether, given the reality of the writer's hell, they recreate it with conviction and credibility. It is a literary, not a political issue.

From this point of view Manes Sperber's *Journey Without End* scores all along the line. The first few pages create an impression, which is never weakened, of a literary craftsman at work. The language is restrained and dry, the images desolating; the atmosphere appropriately thin and hopeless. "The days he lived threatened to be long when the sun rose and proved to have been nothing, without dimension, when it set." This is a characteristic sentence, setting the tone of the book. Doino Faber, the protagonist, has already seen betrayals without number in *The Burned Bramble* and *The Abyss*, earlier novels of this epic trilogy. He and his comrades continue their *Journey Without End* in Yugoslavia and Poland against the invading Nazis and the Communists among their resisters. Andre Malraux has picked on the third chapter of Sperber's novel for special praise. He calls it "one of the great chronicles of Israel." It describes life in Wolyna, a Jewish village, doomed to be totally annihilated. Its three thousand odd inhabitants practice the art of carpet weaving as a profession and love the violin as a hobby. To them carpet weaving was more than a handicraft and a means of livelihood, it was "filled with symbols that lead a thoughtful man into deep places, into the true meaning of life."

The protagonist comes to this village and astonishes its inhabitants with his "claims to have seen the

destroyers at their work." The village is sceptical of him but not unanimously. The consoling belief, "Wolyna is a special case," becomes hollow as the crisis deepens. The village is divided by the stranger's counsel to take to the hills and fight. The rabbi wants to wait for a revelation of God's intentions. This shadow conflict in the face of destruction, with its inevitably tragic denouement is narrated in a detached and objective style which is sometimes painfully cold. The construction of the episodes reveal the full extent of Sperber's determined talent as a novelist. It is a willful rather than a natural talent but the effect is in some ways all the more sincere because of this.

It is paradoxical but true that Sperber's characters are more important for what they say than what they do. In spite of the extreme situation in which they are frequently placed they never descend to the image of "the natural man" or "the political man;" they remain fully human and obstinately contemplative. They never stop coming to conclusion about their experiences and the nature of these conclusions gives the novel its depth "Do you know what I have found out Faber? A thousand deaths do not make a single death any less important, the end of the world does not cure a man of jealousy or sooth a bad conscience."

Sperber's vision is a tragic one. It is not by chance that almost the last statement Faber makes in the book is of despair: "there'll be no peace." This is today a pathetic but unchallengeable truism of our times.

N.E.

The Threat of Soviet Imperialism

by C. Groves Haines, Published by the John Hopkins Press, Baltimore, U.S.A., 1954, Pages: 402. Price \$5.

THE publication of this book is a timely reminder to those gullible as well as liberal types of persons who are so easily carried away, despite past experiences, by Soviet propaganda about peaceful co-existence. The book spotlights the real nature of communist totalitarian imperialism and its insatiable thirst for the conquest of the remaining free world.

The ignorance of the peoples of the free world about the theory and practice of communism is a great asset to the spread of communist totalitarian imperialism all over the world.

The book is, therefore, a very welcome addition to the still much incomplete library of authoritative studies on the numerous aspects of the theory and practice of communism. It is both an analytical and narrative study of Soviet totalitarian imperialism and it assesses in clear terms its actual and potential threat. It is a collection of papers read and discussed at a conference in Washington held in August, 1953 under the auspices of the School of Advanced International Studies on the "Problem of Soviet Imperialism." George F. Kennan, former U.S. Ambassador to the U.S.S.R. and the famous author of the "Containment

Policy" and other eminent diplomats, scholars, military experts and experienced students of Soviet affairs wrote papers for the conference and participated in the discussions.

The book should be of greater interest to the Asian peoples and more particularly to Indians, in view of the fact that communist imperialism, having been checked in its onslaughts on Western European countries, has marshalled all its forces for easy conquests in the East. After its rebuff in South Korea, Indo-China, Formosa, Nepal, Burma, Kashmir and India appear to be on the Soviet list of countries which are crying for "liberation" from "colonial slavery." That is why the book is of greater value in the East.

There are some technical errors in the book, such as M. N. Roy being in China in 1937. As a matter of fact, he was there in 1927. However, such errors are excusable. A paper on the fundamental postulates of Marxian philosophy and their inadequacies in the light of later experiences and the advance of knowledge would have been a very welcome addition, because the practice of communism largely follows from its philosophy.

M.B.S.

The Boatman Boy and Forty Poems

by Sochi Raut Roy, Modern Review, Calcutta 9.

HARINDRANATH CHATTOPADHYAYA and B. Sinha have done no service to the Orissan poet Sochi Raut Roy by translating his work *The Boatman Boy and Forty Poems*. Whatever may be its merit in the original, the English version is embarrassingly unreadable. It is impossible for anyone claiming to know English to read without a shudder such lines as

"The beauteous dawn when you shall return!
Ah, that dawn; How luscious and brave!"
or
"Did't you hear of the 'One World' Plans,
Of Freedom and Human Rights
Did't you know?"

The publishers of this volume have brought out a symposium on Sochi Raut Roy's poetry, with contributions by a number of Indian writers including Dr. Kalidas Nag. Dr. Nag provides an introduction to *The Boatman Boy* and, reading it, one hopes it gives no indication of the symposium's critical standards. This is how he writes:

"Raut Roy's poems bear the massive message of his flowering soul and reveal a rare power and beauty which are his own. They vibrate with the hieroglyphic revelations of the poet's many-coloured personality consecrated to Art and Beauty."

After this, in fairness to the poet, one must refuse to judge his work from the vaporous outpourings of his admirers and the absurd attempts of his translators to put him "in English garb." Incidentally, Harindranath Chattopadhyaya, who is probably the

prime mover in this misconceived enterprise, displays in his "Translator's Notes" that his prose is as bad as his verse. Entitling his contribution, "There Arises Sochi Raut Roy" he unburdens himself of such profundities as.... "War is like a whirlpool which at a gulp swallows all and about is whirling. Nobody and nobody escapes its ravages..." etc.

N.E.

Against the Stream

by Karl Barth, Philosophical Library, New York, \$3.75.

THIS is a collection of Karl Barth's shorter post-war writings, from 1946 to 1952, edited by Ronald Gregor Smith. In a brief foreword, the Editor correctly states that "the framework of Barth's thought is always unyieldingly Christian and, indeed, Christocentric." Nearly half the book consists of documents — lectures, letters, discussions, etc. — from a journey to Hungary in 1948 during which the author struggles with the problem of giving a lead to Christian faith in its tragic subordination to communist tyranny. The subsequent controversy with Emil Brunner is reproduced in full and, though Barth spiritedly maintains his own stand, the unbiased reader finds its weakness obvious.

Barth had said No to Nazism and Brunner asks him why he cannot do the same to communism. The reply is subtle: "The Church must not concern itself eternally with various isms and systems but with historical realities as seen in the light of the Word of God and of the Faith... Anyone who would like, from me a political disclaimer of its (communism's) system and methods may have it at once... I am of the opinion that the Church today—contrary to its action between 1933 and 1945—ought to stand quietly aloof from the present conflict... I met responsible members of the Reformed Church in Hungary and thought that I could encourage them in their attempt to walk along the narrow path *midway between Moscow and Rome*." (Italic mine.)

The crucial question, which has already been answered, is whether Moscow's temporal power will permit anyone to walk along that narrow path. Physical extermination of people on spiritually narrow paths is communism's method of dealing with that solution. And what spiritual answer is there to physical extermination?

It would be wiser to admit that there is none rather than to give such advice, like Mahatma Gandhi's suggestion that the Jews (six million of whom were exterminated by the Nazis) should offer passive resistance to the builders of furnaces for destroying human beings, or that the English should invite Hitler to take over their factories and homes. The brutal point must be made that Gandhi among the Nazis would not have lived long after giving his advice and Barth does not have to live in the Iron Curtain country and follow the path he recommends to others in that predicament.

Most of the other essays and lectures in *Against The Stream* are equally of political interest, but the

politics is non-political, so to speak. Barth struggles to keep to his own domain of Christian theology, is impelled to express its view of the events which are undermining it, but eventually returns to a restatement of unadulterated Christian dogma, made still more rigorous and thorough-going, if that is possible. He is obstinately other-worldly but concerns himself from time to time with the relation of that other-worldliness to the world of our time.

As Schweitzer has pointed out, "Barth came to the point when he had to concern himself with the world, which in theory he did not want to do. He had to defend the freedom of religion against the state. And he did it with courage. But it shows that his theory is false." Today his stand against communism, though equivocal as I have quoted to prove, still shows up the fundamental flaw in his theory of religion and of Christianity, on which he has built for himself the edifice of his faith.

N.E.

The Great Issues of Politics

by Leslie Lipson, Prentice-Hall, Inc. New York, 1954.
p. 431. \$7.00.

THE book provides an excellent study, told in a peculiar way, of certain fundamental issues of political science which existed ever since the beginning of political organisation. Politics, according to George Catlin, is especially the study of the control of man and the book rightly begins with a study of man himself. Starting with him, the 'molecule' of all social and political organisation, it covers a wide range of forms of human organisation like family, group, associations, state, society and finally culminates in a study of the International Order. Nearly all 'isms', various forms of Government and certain aspects of international organisation are dealt with in an interesting and intelligible manner. The author takes up every issue turn by turn and examines it right from its beginning. The study is well documented and the numerous sub-heads, graphs and tables add to the clarity of the book.

VED PRAKASH LUTHERA

Conspiracy in Kashmir

by S. S. Bankeshwar, Society for Defence of Democracy, Bangalore 3, Price Ans. 6.

THERE is deep sympathy in the country over the plight of the people of Kashmir and Jammu, since they became involved in the fight between India and Pakistan. There is, however, very little awareness of the new danger that is now facing them as a result of communist activities. Mr Bankeshwar's pamphlet, giving some information about the hold that communists have acquired over the Bakshi Government and about their activities in the State, will serve the purpose of drawing pointed attention to that danger.

V.B.K.

I. C. C. F. NEWS

The Indian Committee has now secured a separate office for itself. The new address is: Army & Navy Building (3rd floor), 148, Mahatma Gandhi Road, Bombay, 1.

*

✓ A meeting of Bombay members of the Committee was held on 10th March. Mr. Purshottam Tricumdas presided. Mr. Masani reported on the meeting of the International Executive held in Paris in January, and Mr. Padhye on the Conference on Cultural Freedom in Asia held in Rangoon. M. David Rousset, Founder of the International Commission Against Concentration Camp Practices and a member of the International Executive of the Congress for Cultural Freedom, explained to the meeting the evidence collected regarding the existence of slave labour camps in communist China and the arrangements being made for setting up a tribunal in Asia to hold an inquiry.

THE FREE SPIRIT OF MAN (Cont'd from p. 2)

himself, separate himself from every community. By living in a community he necessarily subjects himself to some restrictions. But those restrictions should be as few as possible. The maximum freedom of the human spirit is a condition of a civilisation that is worthy of respect. Unless men can think freely, subject only to a minimum of restriction in relation to action, the maintenance and development of a worthy civilisation is impossible. Prescribed conformity means the death of thinking. It leads to "corrective labour camps", "mass trials", and "liquidation" of dissentients. Tolerance of opposing opinion is a condition of real human progress. Compulsion in religious, political or artistic thought would possibly be defensible under the rule of an omniscient and completely benevolent dictator. But there are not and cannot be such rulers—either as individuals or as religious, political or artistic organisations. When a man or a party believes, or professes to believe, that he or it is infallible, so that tolerance of opposition becomes tolerance of heresy or treason—and is itself a form of heresy or treason—all who believe in the free spirit of man must resist. An Opposition is as necessary for the health of a body politic as a Government. But infallibility can tolerate no opposition.

The Committee for Cultural Freedom which has been formed in Australia consists of members of very varying opinions upon many subjects, but we all agree in resisting encroachment upon the free spirit of man. Penalties upon opinion are, in our view, a mark of decadence—of failure in human life. We in Australia are more fortunate in relation to this subject than many other countries. But it is wise to be on guard against intolerance and denial of intellectual or artistic freedom. The lessons of history and the experience of some peoples in the recent past and at this present time give warnings to us of which we shall do well to take heed. The Committee, working in conjunction with enlightened men in other countries, will do what it can, as occasion requires, to defend and to support the free spirit of man.

With Many Voices

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

—Tennyson.

It might well be that we shall, by a process of sublime irony, reach a stage in this story where safety will be the sterile child of horror and survival the twin brother of annihilation.

—Sir Winston Churchill, *Times of India*,
March 2, 1955.

I have never found that, by giving way to the Russians, we would have the Russians give way in return. They will take all you give and more.

—Mr. Attlee quoted in *Thought*, February 26, 1955.

A current jest on the Cabinet—"One is deaf, one is blind, and the rest are dumb."

—Onlooker in the *Times of India*,
February 17, 1955.

Peking thus can play on the fear of war as Hitler did, and the more effectively because war since Hitler has become transformed.

—*Manchester Guardian*, February 23, 1955.

The Communists are the most overrated diplomats in the world.

—Mr. James Reston in the *New York Times*,
February 6, 1955.

✓ The friendly embrace of Communists is like the legendary *Dhritarashtra* which crushes the object it embraces. Dr. Benes of Czechoslovakia is a classic example of this.

—Mr. V. Gopal in *Thought*, February 26, 1955.

The Constitution was a wonderful temple we built for the gods but before they could be installed the devils have taken possession. The only thing we can do, therefore, is to destroy the temple by burning it down.

—Dr. B. R. Ambedkar, *Times of India*,
March 20, 1955.

INDIAN COMMITTEE FOR CULTURAL FREEDOM

148, Mahatma Gandhi Road,
BOMBAY 1.

Please enrol me as a member of the Indian Committee for Cultural Freedom. I remit the annual membership fee of Rs. 3/- by.....

Name :

Address :

Date :

Signature

The contradictions of Mr. Nehru are the comfort of the Communists.

—Vivek in the *Bombay Chronicle*,
January 27, 1955.

Under a socialistic pattern of society the centralised economy must be State-controlled, if not State-owned. In these days of planned economy, a logical corollary to a State-controlled centralisation is totalitarianism.

—Mr. Mazumdar in *Times of India*,
February 23, 1955.

We cannot assure liberty for ourselves unless others also have it. Freedom cannot thrive in an environment that is hostile to freedom.

—Mr. John Foster Dulles, *Times of India*,
February 24, 1955.

To egg the Communists on, as Mr. Attlee has been doing, is to work for war.

—William Henry Chamberlin in the *New Leader*,
March 7, 1955.

We are enmeshed in a skein of history which dwarfs even our great power.

—Reinhold Niebuhr in the *New Leader*,
February 28, 1955.

The Chinese Communists seem intent on proving his (Eisenhower's) policy wrong and Senator Knowland's right.

—Reinhold Niebuhr in the *New Leader*,
February 28, 1955.

Acharya Vinoba Bhave today declined a request to sign an appeal for banning atomic weapons to be placed before the forthcoming World Peace Conference at Helsinki and told a communist delegation that met him that they should not worry about the hydrogen and atom bombs.

—A report in the *Times of India*,
March 14, 1955.

The slogan: "Let's talk to Russia" is therefore meant to cash in all the diffuse, sentimental sympathy for Old Mother Russia and the Volga watermen, and the Russian ballet and our Russian comrades in arms who defended Stalingrad.... and all that. It is meant to make us forget that the persons with whom we should actually speak are not the Russian people, but precisely the persons who hold the Russian people in an immense concentration camp called the Soviet Union.

—Mr. Salvador de Madariaga, *Thought*,
March 12, 1955.