

JANUARY 1953

Congress Appeal To U. N.

The Congress for Cultural Freedom has appealed to the Secretary-General of the United Nations for the establishment of a special UN Commission to investigate the circumstances surrounding the recent Prague trial. In its appeal the Congress cites as precedent an investigation undertaken by the Economic and Social Council into forced labour as an instrument of political coercion and denial of fundamental rights.

The appeal has been endorsed by leading intellectuals including Francois Mauriac, James T. Farrell, Jean Guehenno, Salvador de Madariaga, Gabriel Marcel, Pierre Monatte, John Dos Passos, Denis de Rougemont, Bertrand Russell, Ignazio Silone, Upton Sinclair, Julian Huxley, Stephen Spender, Thierry Maulnier, Sidney Hook, Andre Breton and Arthur Schlesinger Jr.

FOR twenty years monstrous trials and confessions have periodically announced bloody purges in the Communist regime. This time it is at Prague, in the heart of Europe, that terrible sport is being made of the elementary rights of man to dignity, truth and justice.

Eleven Communist leaders have been condemned to death by hanging and executed, and three were sentenced to life imprisonment, after having publicly defamed themselves. One can only imagine with utter forboding the actual application of a technique for demoralization and spiritual corruption which led these men to confess to crimes against which everything in their past protests; their political convictions of a lifetime, and their lifelong devotion to the system which has finally broken them. Neither their dossiers, nor the bill of indictment, nor their supposed admission contain the slightest proof of their guilt. The only witnesses produced were those against them. Their own kin, whose existence was menaced by the disgrace, turned against them; wives accused their husbands; a son demanded death for his father. They never had a chance to defend themselves. All impartial observers were kept out of the hearings.

The exceptional gravity of the Prague trial comes from the fact that it took place in a country — that of Thomas Masaryk and of Benes — whose political and cultural traditions and economic and social structures are those of the West. Whoever is not himself ready to recant and abjure can consider only with horror the Western acclimation of such a travesty of justice — the purposes of which are not only the destruction of all political opposition, but the transformation of any eventual opponent into a common criminal, while depriving him of the basic internal motives for resistance.

Equally serious is the appearance of Zionism amongst the accusations: repeatedly the judges underlined the Jewish origin of eleven out of the fourteen accused, who themselves with singular insistence dragged into the case the state of Israel and certain figures such as Israel's Prime Minister, Mr. Ben Gurion. Furthermore, the Prague Government refused to make the case records available to the Israeli Minister.

Thus there reappears on the European scene, in a new context, the most hideous of the political lies instigated by Nazism: anti-semitic racism. This anti-semitism, added to the presentation of all relations with the Western democracies as criminal, gives to the Prague trial the character of a dramatic episode in the psychological preparation for war. And this, at the very moment when a congress is going to be held at Vienna under the slogan of "peace" with the participation of delegates and dupes from all the fifth columns of the West.

Convinced that it is expressing the anxiety and anguish of free men of all nations, the Congress for Cultural Freedom addresses the following message to the Secretary General of the United Nations:

"To the Secretary-General of the United Nations:
We respectfully ask you to place before the Security Council, the General Assembly and the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations, the grave threat to fundamental human rights and to

international peace and security created by the recent trial in Prague.

1. We believe it is the clear duty of the United Nations to conduct a full-fledged investigation of the circumstances surrounding the Prague trial, together with other trials of a similar character, in order to carry out the relevant provisions of the United Nations Charter for the promotion of international peace and security and for the safeguarding of fundamental human rights (see the Preamble and Article 55 of the United Nations Charter). We also believe that the human rights issue raised by the Prague trial falls squarely within the Universal Declaration of Human Rights adopted by the United Nations General Assembly on December 10th, 1948, by a vote of 48 to 0.
2. The precedent for such action has already been clearly established by the creation of the *Ad hoc Committee* of the United Nations Economic and Social Council for the Investigation of Forced Labour as an instrument of political coercion and denial of fundamental human rights. Certainly, the circumstances surrounding the Prague trial raise a question no less basic, as far as human rights are concerned. The Preamble and Article 1 of the United Nations Charter clearly recognize that international peace and the security of all peoples are inseparably linked with respect for fundamental human rights and the dignity of the human being, without distinction of race and religion. That is the sense of the very first words of the United Nations Preamble, namely: "We, the people of the United Nations are determined to save succeeding generations from the scourge

of war, which twice in our lifetime has brought untold sorrow to mankind, and to reaffirm faith in fundamental human rights..."

3. The Prague trial constitutes a flagrant violation of Article 10 and Article 11 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights which calls for a "fair and public hearing by an independent and impartial tribunal" and grants to the accused the presumption of innocence and "all guarantees necessary for his defence." The character and the proceedings of the Prague trial, the confession by the defendants of absurd and unbelievable crimes inevitably lead to the conclusion that these confessions were extracted from the defendants by means of coercion.
4. The introduction of "Zionism" as an issue in the Prague trial, and the insinuation that international Jewry and the new State of Israel is seeking to provoke conflicts among nations, is a charge so close to that incitement to racial genocide for which a number of leaders of National Socialism were sentenced to death at Nuremberg that the Government of Prague and those who instigated that Government's action already stand convicted before the bar of world public opinion of similar crimes for a similar purpose, namely to divert public attention from their own misdeeds.
5. In view of the fact that the Prague trial is not the first of its kind, nor in all probability the last, but part of a general pattern, further threats to human rights and world peace may be expected unless the United Nations undertakes a full investigation in order to determine what international action is appropriate for the sake of peace and freedom everywhere."

Notes

Antar-Bharati

SANE Guruji's noble ideal of Antar-Bharati took practical shape last month, when the Poona centre was opened by Mr. Masti Vyankatesh Iyengar, the celebrated poet of Karnatak.

Sane Guruji was a saint-writer of Maharashtra who early in his life imbibed the philosophy of Adwaita, which proclaims the unity of Man, Nature and God. He tried to practice this philosophy in the fields of politics, social reform and literature, to which he dedicated his entire life.

Sane Guruji's life was abnormal in many senses, prominent being the amount of tormentation (mental and physical) which he suffered. His life was a saga of suffering. Suffering was to him a kind of inner necessity, without which he felt forlorn and frustrated.

Towards the end of his life he suffered from a feeling that this land of ours was slowly disintegrating,

rent as it was by numerous linguistic and communal tensions. This land has a grand heritage of culture which is noble. The golden thread of this runs through a manifold variety of religion, language and custom. It signifies a unity which is manifested in our epics, festivals and fashions. Our ancient art and literature are also witness to it. Modern Western civilization which all parts of India are adopting should also produce a kind of binding unity. The British also enforced on us a strong structure of political unity.

And yet inner tensions are developing. Centrifugal tendencies are arising which threaten to snap the thread of unity. The partition of the country is a proof of their destructive strength. But this ominous event (Sane Guruji felt) have not taught us the required lesson. We are still agitated by linguistic and casteistic tensions. It is the consciousness of these tensions in the body politic of India that tormented Guruji's soul during the closing phases of his life. Perhaps it was this vexatious consciousness that drove him to a most grievous suicide.

As a counter to these tensions he tried to develop the idea of Antar-Bharati, by which he meant the establishment of inter-lingual and inter-cultural centres which, would ultimately flower into a grand

university of cultural confluence. These centres, he thought, would be centres of study of different literatures, different regional cultures and different schools of music, painting, dance and other arts of India. His idea, like all good ideas that provoke no opposition, was quickly accepted and quickly forgotten, with the result that he could not develop out of it a dynamic that was necessary to sustain it.

After his death some of his followers thought that Antar-Bharati would be the best memorial they could raise to him. They therefore conceived of a project and started collecting funds for it. They could only get about a hundred thousand rupees. With this they started a centre at Poona and have published a book on the problems of Maharashtra culture.

This idea needs to be developed but in the absence of a personality like Tagore or Gandhi behind it, it bids fair to be confined to the immediate admirers of Gururji. However, the Academy of National Literature which the Government of India has decided to establish comes very near to the realization of this idea.

Among the objectives of this Academy is the promotion of translations of significant works from one language into another and from foreign languages into Indian and vice versa.

This is a fine project, unless of course its work is smothered by the tentacles of bureaucracy, which is quick enough to lay a deadening grip of governmental efforts. We wish that the various State governments also emulate this idea and establish State academies.

Vital Distinction

THE distinction between neutrality and appeasement is one which many in India still find difficulty in appreciating. The circumstances attendant on the fate of the Indian resolution on Korea in the United Nations General Assembly provide an opportunity to make this distinction clear.

The terms of the resolution provide an illustration of what was meant and understood to be an act of neutrality, in the sense of being an attempt at striking a compromise between conflicting viewpoints. The resolution itself has been the subject of much controversy being variously described as constructive effort, as "cover-up for a sell-out." It is noteworthy that those most directly concerned, namely, the Korean people, through their representative at the bar of the U.N., rejected the resolution as "unrealistic," "unworkable" and as one which "underwrites the forced return of thousands of prisoners to whom it seeks to promise freedom." The Ambassador of the Republic of Korea also made the sad revelation that the Indian Delegation never consulted Korea, the victim of aggression, at any stage in the drafting of the resolution, though keeping in close touch through New Delhi with the Chinese aggressors. This note is not, however, an analysis of the resolution and for the purpose of this argument it can be assumed to be a well-meant effort to secure a cessation of hostilities in Korea.

It is the events that followed on the unceremonious rejection of the Indian plan by the Soviet and Chinese Governments that provide an illustration of appeasement at work. It will be recalled that on November 27, M. Vyshinsky rejected the Indian resolution with withering contempt as "this unworthy, rotten resolution."

On December 1, answering India's "pathetic appeal" for acceptance, M. Vyshinsky for a full hour flayed the sponsors of the Indian resolution and described their statements as "false, ludicrous, hollow, mislead-



ing, hypocritical." Pointing an accusing finger at Mrs. Pandit and her colleagues, he said: "At best you are dreamers and idealists. At worst you do not understand your own position and camouflage horrible American policy We question and deny the right of any side to speak for all Asian peoples You do not want to put an end to the war."

What was the answer to this offensive questioning of India's *bona fides*? A dignified defence? An angry rejoinder? A hurt silence? No. Two days later on December 3, Mr. Krishna Menon meekly amended his resolution to meet Soviet objections.

On December 5, New Delhi's misplaced hope that at least India's good friend, Peking, would appreciate India's efforts, was blown to smithereens when Peking Radio rejected the Indian plan and went on to charge that India had indulged in "hostile actions" and "had already entered the Anglo-American camp." Debunking Mr. Krishna Menon's claim to speak for the people of Asia, Peking quipped: "No one except the U.S. dominated *bloc* has given the Indian delegate such authority."

One would have thought the Indian delegation would by now have had enough. On the contrary, cowed by the second rebuff, Mr. Krishna Menon in the course of an interview on December 7, laid the blame for the failure of efforts at peace in Korea, not on the Soviet and Chinese dictators who had rejected his own plan, but on the U.S.A. because it had once crossed the 38th Parallel and later bombed the Yalu waterworks in North Korea! Mr. Menon then proceeded, despite documentary evidence to the con-

trary, to say that the Indian delegates had no knowledge that the Chinese Communists were aiding the Indian Communists. On December 10, in the face of protests from the floor, Mr. Menon used the platform of the India League of America to hold a brief for the Chinese Communist regime and to describe Czechoslovakia and Poland as free nations. On December 16, after M. Chou En-Lai had used such epithets as "ranting, degenerate, absurd, deceitful, sly" in conveying Peking's rejection of the Indian plan, Mr. Krishna Menon told pressmen: "It is not a flat rejection." U.N. headquarters reported that no one else could be found to agree with him.

Is this Neutrality?

ONLY the most naive can really be surprised at Mr. Menon's outbursts which are in line with his entire political record over the last fifteen years. The question still remains how the un-neutral sentiments, which have rightly been described as being "on straight Communist lines," can be reconciled with India's professed neutrality. Three weeks have since passed without any dissociation on the part of New Delhi. Sadly, therefore, one must conclude that, if the Indian resolution was originally conceived on a basis of genuine neutrality, the response to its rejection by Moscow and Peking has been characterised by an excess of appeasement.

Characterising M. Vyshinsky's charge of the Indian delegates being dreamers and idealists as being "alas, too true," *Vivek* in the *Times of India* observes: "Only dreamers with their eyes and idealists with their minds closed firmly against reality could react to the Russian and Chinese refusal in the manner Mr. Menon and the Prime Minister have. Mr. Menon persists in blaming everybody except those really responsible for the refusal to fall in with his plan."

"The Prime Minister's reactions," continues *Vivek*, "give even deeper cause for concern, for they seem to show in one who holds the country in his hands a most distressing lack of appreciation of the actualities of the world situation. He is reported to have said that Russia and China had taken the view to reject his plan as if in a temper and had not considered it dispassionately. Surely he ought to know better than to ascribe to the cold, calculating Stalin, the calm, organising Mao-tse Tung, his own amiable weakness of rushing to conclusions in the first flush of temperamental feeling."

"It is not quite clear," according to *Vivek*, "whether they (those in charge of foreign affairs in this country) let themselves down by wishful thinking or were let down by the friends, Chinese and Russian, in whom they seem to have reposed great confidence. What is quite clear is that they let down very badly the nations who, relying upon their alleged special relationship with, and access to, these friends, accepted their plan."

The nett effect of India's unfortunate intervention has been to confuse, weaken and dilute the stand of the U.N. on a matter of moral principle without getting any commitment in return from the Commu-

nist aggressors. Meanwhile, men continue to die in Korea because the Communist dictators are not prepared to accept the fact that large numbers of their subjects prefer all the misery and insecurity of exile to returning to their homelands.

Injured Innocence

IN June last year when Dr. Satyanarain Sinha attacked the Communist members of the House of the People for toeing the line of policy laid down for them by the Cominform and produced, among other things, an article published in the Current Digest of the Soviet Press under the caption "Far East, India and Pakistan" to show that the speech of one Mrs. Renu Chakravaty was a mere re-hash of it, Mr. A. K. Gopalan, leader of the Communist group in the House, was enraged. He wrote to the Speaker seeking his permission to raise the question of a breach of privilege inasmuch as Dr. Sinha's criticism "was calculated to lower her prestige and that of the House(sic!) in the eyes of the public." Mr. Gopalan further charged Dr. Sinha with using "false, fabricated and forged documents" to substantiate the allegations. A Privileges Committee was accordingly, appointed to investigate the charges.

The Committee has now come to the conclusion that no breach of privilege was involved. The Committee was further satisfied that the documents produced by Dr. Sinha were not "false, fabricated and forged," as alleged by Mr. Gopalan.

The episode throws a revealing sidelight on the attitude of our Press to the Communist tactics. It was obviously taken in by Mr. Gopalan's pose of injured innocence being righteously indignant with Dr. Sinha for persecuting the Communists, as it were. But now that Dr. Sinha has been cleared of the charges it has, curiously enough, not a word to say on the Committee's report. There was the same cry of persecution and witch-hunt in the liberal press in the U.S. when Prof. Owen Lattimore was accused of lying under oath to the Senate International Sub-Committee. Latest reports from Washington, however, show that a Federal Grand Jury has indicted Lattimore on seven charges of perjury.

FREEDOM FIRST

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Siddhartha Gautama, The Buddha

by Aamir Ali

THE recent ceremony held at Sanchi, when the relics of Sariputta and Moggallana were enshrined in a new temple, indicated to some extent the popular interest now being taken in the Buddha and his teachings.

This is an encouraging sign. There has of course always been a great deal of interest in Buddhism outside the Buddhist world, and scholars have not been wanting to devote themselves to its study. Indeed, this very scholasticism might have been one of the obstacles to a general appreciation of the Buddha, for scholars tend to make their special field of study into an esoteric cult. This is what happened with Buddhism: too often the essential humanity of its founder was lost under the burden of Pali erudition, of obscure exegesis, of frequent italicised transliterations surrounded by diacritical signs. These were the delight of the scholar but the terror of the layman.

This is not to belittle the scholars who have done such great work and rendered such valuable service. But it is time that the ordinary man was allowed to approach the subject and discover the very attractive and very human figure of the Buddha. This is being done in increasing measure and is to be welcomed, for as Dr. Radhakrishnan once wrote, "He (Buddha) is one of those few heroes of humanity who had made epochs in the history of our race, with a message for other times as well as their own."

It is doubly welcome, for the Buddha, if anyone, abhorred the esoteric. 'Secrecy belongs to priestly wisdom and false doctrine,' he said scornfully.

One reason why the Buddha's personality stands out so refreshingly across the centuries is that he refused to entangle himself in pointless metaphysical disquisitioning. His teachings were simple and pragmatic, and he who ran could read. He taught not so much a doctrine and a cult as a general way of life. This was the Noble Eightfold Path: right thinking, right intention, right speech, right action, right livelihood, right effort, right mindfulness and right concentration.

One day a learned Brahmin came to the Buddha hoping to draw him on to slippery metaphysical ground and asked about the nature of life after death. The Buddha stooped and picked up a handful of leaves, "Are there more leaves in my hand or on the trees in the forest?" he asked.

"There are naturally far more leaves in the forest than in your hand," replied the Brahmin.

"So is the knowledge that I have not revealed to you far greater than that which I have taught," said the Buddha.

When he was asked why he did not teach what he knew but had kept to himself, he replied, "Because it is not relevant to the good life."

No doubt the Buddha had seen a great deal of philosophising about the ultimate nature of life and death, and he realised that though this was all very interesting, it was not relevant to the good life. "Sup-

posing a man is shot with a poisoned arrow," he said, "but before he will accept treatment for his wound he insists on knowing the caste of the man who shot the arrow, the colour of his skin and his hair, the nature of the wood used for the arrow, the origin of the poison, and so forth, what is likely to happen? He will die before he finds the answers to his questions." So it must be with the man who spends his time wondering about metaphysical concepts instead of living his life as it should be lived.

The important thing was not to discuss the ultimate but to live the immediate. Indeed, if one assiduously followed the Eightfold Path, the knowledge of these mysteries would come of its own accord.

Very often Buddha's teachings took on a practical form as well. Thus it was when Kisa Gotami came mourning to him and asked for help. Her little son had died but she refused to accept the fact. She carried the dead body about with her mourning and crying out her anguish. People advised her to go to the Buddha. Thinking that he would restore her son to life, she came to the Buddha and told him of her sorrows. "Go into the town and fetch me a mustard seed from a house where no one has ever died," said the Buddha.

Believing that he would work magic with the mustard seed, she went eagerly into the town. She went from door to door but she was unable to find a single house where no one had ever died. She realised that the Buddha wanted to teach her that death was common to all and that mourning and weeping did not help. So she took the body of her child to the cemetery and buried it and stopped mourning.

Nothing could be more pertinent today than the Buddha's continual emphasis on reason, on tolerance and on equality.

He taught a practical way to *nirvana* suited to ordinary men and women as he found them. He avoided the extremes of self-immolation and of indulgence. His was the path of moderation, the Middle Way.

*The string o'erstretched breaks and the music flies,
The string o'erslack is dumb and music dies,
Tune us the sitar neither high nor low.*

His tolerance arose out of his infinite capacity for love and forgiveness. He was ever willing to listen to any arguments or opinions however inimical to him they might appear, always anxious to sift out whatever was right in them.

One day a Brahmin was inweighing against the Buddha in public when the Buddha himself appeared. Some of his disciples urged their Lord to retaliate in kind, and were ready to do so themselves.

"Brothers," said the Buddha, "if others speak against me, or against my religion, or against the Order, there is no reason why you should be angry or displeased with them. If you are, you will not only bring

(Continued on page 11)

The Ethical Dilemma of Science

by Prof. A. V. Hill

The presidential address of Prof. A. V. Hill at the annual meeting of the British Association for the Advance of Science last September is still the subject matter of keen discussion and controversy around the world. That in itself illustrates its seminal significance. Here are presented a few extracts from the address which have particular relevance to this country and its problems. We hope it will start a discussion, one in which we invite readers to participate.

THE Duke of Edinburgh concluded his Presidential Address last year with the words,

'It is clearly our duty as citizens to see that science is used for the benefit of mankind. For, of what use is science if man does not survive?'

Here was a challenge to his successor: to discuss how far science has already contributed to human betterment, how far it has provided fresh problems, dangers and difficulties; and to suggest ways in which all who are concerned with science can help, as citizens, to make sure that its results in fact are beneficial.

The development which has brought most vividly to the public conscience today the ethical problems aroused by the advance of scientific knowledge lies in the field of nuclear physics; and groups of scientific people in the free countries of the world are vigorously debating its various consequences, among them particularly the secrecy attached to weapons as new and devastating as those provided by nuclear fission. Atomic physics, however, is only one of many scientific developments which have brought, or are bringing, a mixture of possible good and evil about which judgments of relative value must be formed: we must not get too excited about one of them. There is no secrecy about most of these developments, they occur gradually and continuously before our eyes, we tend to accept them without question as though they were natural phenomena: yet in fact the consequences of one of them provide the most solemn problem in the world. The dilemma is this. All the impulses of decent humanity, all the dictates of religion and all the traditions of medicine insist that suffering should be relieved, curable disease cured, preventable disease prevented. The obligation is regarded as unconditional: it is not permitted to argue that the suffering is due to folly, that the children are not wanted, that the patient's family would be happier if he died. All that may be so; but to accept it as a guide to action would lead to a degradation of standards of humanity by which civilisation would be permanently and indefinitely poorer. Conduct usually falls short of principles; but that would be the worst reason for abandoning principles altogether.

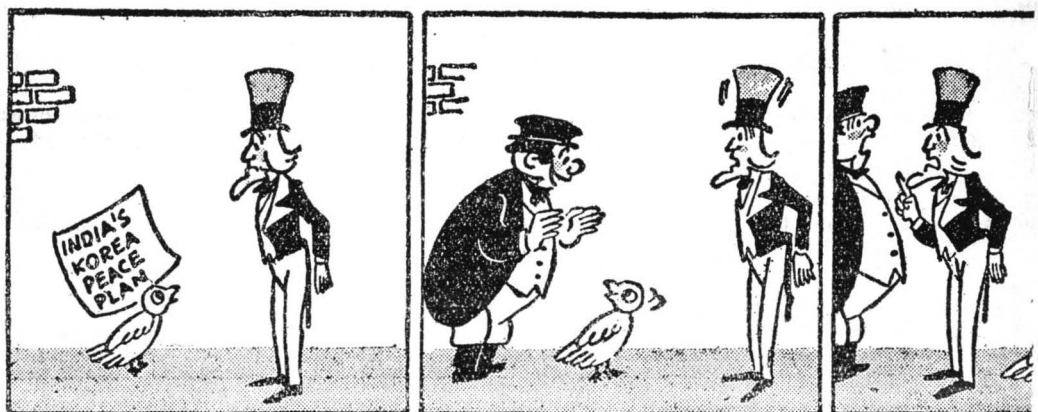
In many parts of the world advances in public health, improved sanitation, the avoidance of epidemics, the fighting

of insect-borne disease, the lowering of infantile death rates and a prolongation of the span of life have led to a vast increase of population. Not only is the population increasing but in many places its rate of increase is still rising; and these processes will take so long to reverse that for many years to come the shortage of natural resources, particularly of food, is bound to provide increasing deprivation and disturbance. That provides the practical motive of the Colombo Plan. In India, a Government Planning Commission in a report of July 1951 entitled 'The First Five-Year Plan,' has dared to face the facts. A doubling in the last thirty years of the survival rate (births minus deaths) has led to a rate of increase of nearly 1½ per cent per annum, a total of 5 millions every year in a population of 360 millions.

'With all the effort that the First Five-Year Plan will represent, it will be possible barely to restore by 1955-1956 the pre-war standards in regard to food and clothing. Increasing pressure of population on natural resources retards economic progress and limits seriously the rate of extension of social services so essential to civilised existence.'

The pre-war standard in fact was miserably poor, a large part of the population existed below the level of a decent life, scores of millions only just above that of famine. Yet the gigantic national effort proposed in the Five-Year Plan, even if successful, may only just restore that miserable standard. Can it sustain it then if the rate of population increase continues? It is easy to answer that a higher standard of life has led in other countries to a gradually falling birth rate: but a higher standard requires a far greater charge on natural resources of all kinds, which cannot be met until the pressure of population is reduced.

'RUSSIA SETTLES



In the meantime there is more than danger that the emergency will result in an over-use of natural resources, leading by land erosion, deforestation and other factors to permanent and irretrievable loss: this has happened already, and is visibly happening now, in many parts of the world. In a special section on 'Family Planning' the Indian Report recognises that 'an alteration in population trends takes at least a few generations to materialize,' and steps are suggested for the education of public opinion on the need for limitation, and for experimental efforts to be made in the application of simple methods of birth control. For its wisdom and courage in acknowledging the gravity of the situation the Indian Planning Commission deserves every support: but the problem itself has not begun to be solved, and its consequences will dominate the development of India for many years; indeed, its gravity will continue to increase. Malaria is admitted by the Planning Commission to take an annual toll of a million lives, tuberculosis of half a million. The resolute use of insecticides and anti-malarial drugs could soon reduce the former to a small fraction: tuberculosis is bound to require more effort and a longer term. Nobody would dare to say that steps to combat these diseases, and others such as cholera, to improve rural and industrial health, to increase the supply of drugs and medical equipment and services, should not be taken on the highest priority: but the consequence must be faced that a further increase of a million people per annum would result. Thus science, biological, medical, chemical and engineering, applied for motives of decent humanity entirely beyond reproach, with no objectionable secrecy, has led to a problem of the utmost public gravity which will require all the resources of science, humanity and statesmanship for its solution.

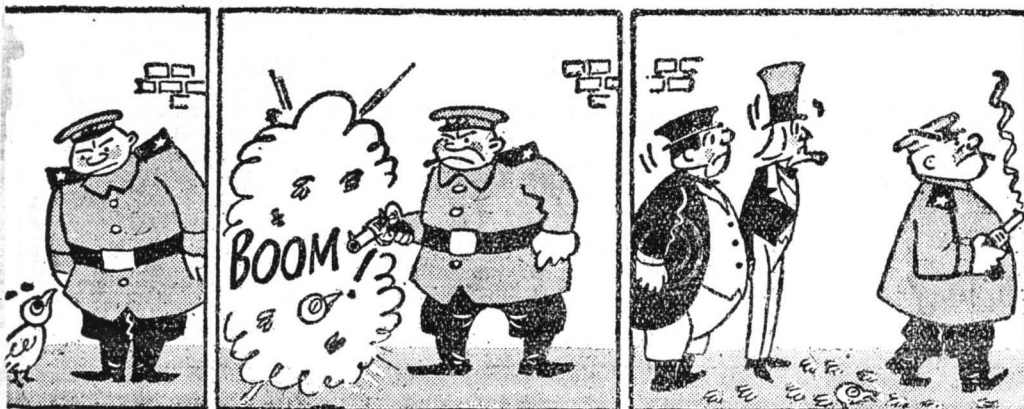
The example of India has been taken because of the sheer magnitude of the problem and because its seriousness is now admitted by humane and responsible men: but the same conditions exist already in many parts of the world and will soon exist elsewhere. It is not a question only of food: if a higher standard of life is to become universal, with education, communications, housing, reasonable amenities and public

health, a far greater demand will be made on all such natural resources as power, chemicals, minerals, metals, water and wood. One is left wondering how long these can possibly take the strain. Could world supplies conceivably hold out if the present requirement per head, in the United States, were multiplied in proportion to meet the same demand everywhere — even without any increase of present population; and if so, for how long? There is much discussion of human rights. At what level can these be reasonably pitched? and do they extend to unlimited reproduction, with a consequent obligation falling on those more careful? These problems must be faced not only with goodwill and humanity, but also with integrity and courage, not refusing to recognise the compulsion of simple arithmetic. It is right that the scientific imagination should be allowed to play sometimes with the more distant future, when possibly new methods and resources may be found to solve all problems; but only on condition that our minds are not deflected from the urgent realities of the present.

I have led you to the ethical dilemma which perplexes many of us by taking an example in which few would question either the motives of those who made the original discoveries, or the humanity of their application: or indeed could wish that the fruit of the tree of knowledge had been left untried. It is easy to say now that side by side with the control of disease there should have been an equal and parallel effort in education, particularly the education of women as responsible citizens: for there is no possibility, if women remain ignorant and illiterate, of intelligent widespread family planning and control. But education alone would not have been enough, or indeed possible itself without a substantial measure of material and social betterment: and the expense and effort involved in this would have been indefinitely greater than in the application of medicine and hygiene, which after all has been relatively cheap. Had it been possible to foresee the enormous success of this application, would humane people have agreed that it could better have been held back, to keep in step with other parallel progress, so that development could be planned and orderly?

Some might say yes, taking the purely biological view that if men will breed like rabbits they must be allowed to die like rabbits, until gradually improving education and the demand for a higher standard of life teach them better. Most people would still say no. But suppose it were certain now that the pressure of increasing population, uncontrolled by disease would lead not only to widespread exhaustion of the soil and of other capital resources but also to continuing and increasing international tension and disorder, making it hard for

AN ARGUMENT



Stampone in The Army Times

civilisation itself to survive: would the majority of humane and reasonable people then change their minds? If ethical principles deny our right to do evil in order that good may come, are we justified in doing good when the foreseeable consequence is evil?

I remember asking an eminent Indian who had taken part in drawing up the so-called Bombay Plan of 1944 why there was no mention of the gravest problem of all, overgrowing population: he replied that his colleagues and he had indeed discussed it, but decided to leave it to God. To a biologist aware of the methods by which animal population is in fact controlled by nature, this seemed pretty poor comfort: yet there are many who really take that view, admittedly with the element of reason that we never can be sure that things may not turn up to make all our calculations wrong. Should we then just continue to do the good we see in front of us, in confidence that if our motives are humane, good and not evil will finally result? Or, taking that rather easy course, are we not showing a lack of the fundamental virtues of courage and integrity?

There seems to be no simple answer to the riddle. All knowledge, not only that of the natural world, can be used for evil as well as good: and in all ages there continue to be people who think that its fruit should be forbidden. Does the future welfare, therefore, of mankind depend on a refusal of science and a more intensive study of the Sermon on the Mount? There are others who hold the contrary opinion, that more and more of science and its applications alone can bring prosperity and happiness to men. Both of these extreme views seem to me entirely wrong — though the second is the more perilous, as more likely to be commonly accepted. The so-called conflict between

science and religion is usually about words, too often the words of their unbalanced advocates: the reality lies somewhere in between. 'Completeness and dignity', to use Tyndall's phrase, are brought to man by three main channels, first by the religious sentiment and its embodiment in ethical principles, secondly by the influence of what is beautiful in nature, human personality or art, and thirdly by the pursuit of scientific truth and its resolute use in improving human life. Some suppose that religion and beauty are incompatible: others, that the aesthetic has no relation to the scientific sense: both seem to me just as mistaken as those who hold that the scientific and the religious spirit are necessarily opposed. Co-operation is required, not conflict: for science can be used to express and apply the principles of ethics, and those principles themselves can guide the behaviour of scientific men: while the appreciation of what is good and beautiful can provide to both a vision of encouragement.

Is there really then any special ethical dilemma which we scientific men, as distinct from other people, have to meet? I think not: unless it be to convince ourselves humbly that we are just like others in having moral issues to face. It is true that integrity of thought is the absolute condition of our work, and that judgments of value must never be allowed to deflect our judgments of fact. But in this we are not unique. It is true that scientific research has opened up the possibility of unprecedented good, or unlimited harm, for mankind; but the use that is made of it depends in the end on the moral judgments of the whole community of men. It is totally impossible now to reverse the process of discovery: it will certainly go on. To help to guide its use aright is not a scientific dilemma, but the honourable and compelling duty of a good citizen.

INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS OF SCIENTISTS

AN International Congress of Scientists, which would group representatives of the natural, moral and political sciences, is being planned by the Congress for Cultural Freedom for the summer of 1953. The Lord Mayor and Municipality of Hamburg have officially declared their desire that the Congress be held in that city and the backing of the University of Hamburg has also been assured. The principal subject for discussion will be "Freedom of Science."

A small-scale preparatory conference of scientists, which will be held in Paris early in January, will be charged with responsibility for drawing up a definitive agenda and programme for the Congress. Among the eminent scientists who have agreed to take part in this preparatory conference are Messrs. Buzzati-Traverso (University of Pavia), Cassinis (Polytechnic Institute of Milan), Gustavo Coonetti (Director of the National Council for Research in Rome), Theodosius Dobzhansky (Columbia University, New York), Friedrich Houtermans (University of Bern), Arthur Jores (University of Hamburg),

Daniel Lagache (University of Paris), Henry Margenau (Yale University, New Haven), Hans Nachtsheim (Free University, Berlin), Michel Polanyi, (University of Manchester), and Weissburg-Cibulski (London).

The Congress hopes to be able to invite distinguished scientists from India, Japan and some other countries of Asia to participate in the Congress.

KYO KOMATZU IN INDIA

The Indian Committee invited Mr. Kyo Komatzu, author, essayist and editor of the left socialist daily *The Social Journal*, to speak on Japanese literature, on November 26th, at the office of the Indian Committee. Mr. Komatzu spoke in French. Fortunately, however, there was another distinguished visitor among us on that occasion: M. Francois Bondy, Editor of *Preuves* and Secretary of the Congress for Cultural Freedom. After Mr. Komatzu had finished M. Bondy gave an accurate and fluent rendering of the talk in English. A report of Mr. Komatzu's talk will be published in the February issue of *Freedom First*.

Reviews

The Old Man and the Sea

By Ernest Hemingway (Jonathan Cape, London 1952, pp. 128, 7sh. 6d.)

THIS is the latest piece of fiction from one of America's most celebrated novelists, which though 'longer than the longest short story' has the compact unity of that form. It is the tale of an old fisherman who has had no luck at sea for eightyfour days, and finally on the eightyfifth hooks a giant fish, which however he is unable to land, because it is devoured by sharks on the way.

The struggle between the old man with failing powers and the giant fish has all the grandeur and nobility of an epic. Its poignancy has been heightened by a style which is more natural than the most natural that Hemingway has written. The atmosphere of the sea with all its beauteous dignity has been so depicted that the fisherman almost becomes a part of it, and yet dominates it by some kind of inner necessity.

Even so, I am not able to understand why the American critics should have gone into hysterics over this piece. The elementalness of the struggle which is its ultimate strength is something to be ordinarily expected from Hemingway. Again it does not seem to embody any higher significance which lifts a work of good craftsmanship to the level of an immortal work of art—unless, of course, one accepts the claim of a critic that the whole piece is a majestic symbol, in which the lions (who seem to come in with deliberate significance) appear as the apex. If, however, as the critic says, the lion stands for the British Empire (and the boy presumably for the U.S.A.), the symbol acquires a triteness of which a great writer should not boast.

P.A.P.

What is Race?

Produced by the Dept. of Mass Communication of UNESCO. Text by Diana Tead & illustrations by Jane Eakin Kleiman.

UP till now even educated people have been willing to base all their ideas about blood and race on prejudice and bigotry rather than exact information. We feel that in these matters at least, we have a right to believe what we wish to believe rather than what is scientifically true. And the strength of these unfounded suppositions has led us time and again into the most futile wars and bloodshed.

This is the first time that all available exact knowledge about the origin and inter-relationships of the different races has been put together. The main text of the book explains in simple language and with many illustrations, the origin of our species and the way it subsequently divided into racial and cultural groups. It is followed by carefully worded statements, drafted at UNESCO House by an impressive body of scientists and anthropologists regarding their opinion about what is the answer to the question: *What is Race?* Produced as it is over the signatures of the most respected names in their field this is probably the most weighty and accurate answer that this ques-

tion has yet had. And Dr. Julian Huxley's beautiful wording of the Statement makes it a piece of literature as well as a scientific statement.

The publication *must* be read by every person who aspires to be counted among the educated or civilized.

The best plan would be to include it among the text books in the University course and place it so that no student, no matter which course he took, could escape having to read it.

The wrongly-fostered illusions and prejudices which it destroys are even more important than the latest theories of the origin and propagation of the subdivisions in the human species which are propounded. A book like this, about so important a subject and which, if widely read, should contribute substantially to keeping peace in the world, is worthy of being included in every university syllabus.

To do so would be an act of imaginative realism of which we hope our University of Education is not incapable.

LAEEQ FUTEHALLY

Dimitrov Wastes No Bullets

By Michel Padev (Eyre & Spottiswoode, London 1948, pp. 160, 55s.)

Dimitrov wastes no bullets is an inside story of the trial and murder of Nikola Petkov, the courageous and spirited leader of the Bulgarian Agrarian party. The publication, though four years old, is of lasting value.

Padev, wanting to meet the Communists on their home pitch has done well in presenting the case of the Petkov trial in assuming the validity of confessions and quoting strictly from the official source material of the trial. Radio Sofia on the very evening of Petkov's hanging quoted the reaction of the Executive Committee of Bulgarian Trade Unions in these words: "To a dog a dog's death." No wonder everybody except those who chose to grieve in silence joined in this chorus loudly. But to any discerning mind on this side of the Curtain the book will prove to the hilt that the services of Petkov to his country were selfless and his longing for freedom sincere.

Padev's indictment at the end of the book, not of chorus boys inside the Iron Curtain, but of their loyal representatives abroad, is not only timely but needs wider application. For they alone are the bridge that will facilitate Stalin's invasion and enslavement of the remaining world. Padev's attempt to understand and express why even brave people ultimately surrender and confess is worthy of due consideration.

For did not such an eminent leader as Petkov, a custodian of people's confidence, err grievously in hoping for a sincere and free co-operation from Stalin's Russia and native Communists to build a free and democratic Bulgaria? Who else could atone for this sin and with what less price than that of his own precious life?

A book to read, exchange and send as a gift to all innocent, naive, half-baked, fellow-fellow-travellers. To those who read only Moscow publications a book on the Slansky trial may perhaps be of more import.

KESHAV CORE.

To The Editors

I have just read Mr. M. R. Masani's article in *Freedom First* of November, also published in the *Saturday Review*, with great interest and sympathy—and some pain. What he says about our people is all too true. We are too immersed in material things. We are young, taken up with childish matters. But the spark of the spirit is there, and it is growing in this great hulking body.

Gifts from governments are soulless things and our emissaries are sometimes crude and tactless not understanding the age-long spirit and culture of the East. We *should* have a propaganda or philosophy to offset what Communism offers merely for aggressive purposes.

Meantime, as Gandhi quoted: "Inasmuch as we have done it unto one of the least of these, my brethren", and—perhaps individuals, in small ways, may add up to something.

If I may be personal, I was about to order a plough sent to India through "CARE", and Mr. Masani's article has moved me to ask them to tie a message to the plough's handle saying: "This is a thing material—but it is sent with love, which is spirit".

There are many many people in America who treasure the spiritual teaching of the East and I believe that some time Kipling will be refuted.

La Crescenta,
California.

LUCY BEACH

PROF. Dantwala's short piece in your issue of December, 1952, has the apparent colour of being down to earth and impersonal, but on scrutiny it will be found wanting. No reasonable person can conveniently argue Bread or Freedom or rather Awakening to the values; also none can put one condition precedent to the other. The need for Bread and values is a simultaneous one and perhaps there are historical evidences to prove that whenever one is given place exclusively of the other the balance after disturbance duly reasserted itself. It is common wisdom that a man being more human may be at peace though having less to eat. But man is not only individual, he is social too, hence the need of the balanced members.

About this evidently there is no great gap in views between Prof. Dantwala and ours. For, he too like all 'right' leftists concludes, our battle against hunger must be informed with an awareness of the non-material values.

But what baffles us is how he could involve Crossman. Now, I am not conversant with Crossman but if he maintains views as represented by Mr. Masani, there is something grave to ponder over. After asserting that the masses in Asia and Africa care two figs for political values (flowering of the soul?) he perhaps wants to see them used as instruments of Europe to keep its fire of vanity blazing.

Between Crossman's emphatic assertion "He (the Asian and the African) is below the level of such political aspirations" and Prof. Dantwala's assumption "The point I wish to make—and probably the one which Crossman in the Fabian Essays wished to

make—is that in under-developed countries with starving populations it is the hungry stomach rather than the empty mind which makes them more vulnerable to Communism. Here lies the difference with a mind highly prejudiced and one amenable to reason. And Mr. Masani apparently was concerned with refuting Crossman and his ilk and establishing the ideological support for the masses along with giving them bread and not with creating a demand for pure values.

SAILESH K. ROY.

I HAVE read your note on "A.I.R. and Film Music" in the December issue. It is not possible within the limits of a letter to dwell at length on the relative merits and short-comings of Indian film music, the latter being only too obviously in its transitory stage. Suffice it to say here that the contribution of film music to the development of modern Indian music and its role in the re-awakening of the dormant interest of a music-loving race like the Indians still remains to be assessed. Only one who is prepared to investigate and evaluate dispassionately the conflicting trends of evolution and classicism in Indian music is fit to undertake the task. Does such a genius exist among the galaxy of the present day critics and exponents of Indian classical music? Alas! there is no Raja Ram Mohan Roy of Indian music in the country to-day.

This scientific assessment, as opposed to a merely subjective approach, will only be done when we, as a people, will ultimately get tired of adventures on the high seas of hide-bound nationalism and disembark on the shores of radical humanism in a spirit of humility. But what has come as a shock to me is the following sentence in the note:

"...but it is very fortunate that at least in India the 'law-makers' of All India Radio have at last turned upon the 'song-makers' with a ferocity that must be commended by every one who has had dinned into his ears... the caterwaulings of a certain female playback singer who shall be nameless..."

The sarcasm underlying the second of the single inverted commas is understandable in view of the writer's personal discomfiture. But the similar device employed by him in the first instance becomes meaningless in view of the runaway ecstasy of the writer-lover of Indian classical music at the drowning ferocity of the Governmental Giant roused by the Lilliputan caterwaulings, cacklings, mooings and bleatings of the nameless ones.

Be it noted that, constitutionally speaking, it is well within the province of the A.I.R. management, be they right or wrong, to drastically reduce film music and increase the playing time for Indian classical music. And, logically speaking, it is up to the A.I.R. listeners to agitate for the type of music they would like to listen-into. But—and this is most important for the purposes of the journal—if you and your writer were to welcome Governmental fury in the realm of arts, may I make bold to emulate the writer's example, be sarcastic and throw in a suggestion? Why not call the journal "Fetters First"?

J. B. H. WADIA.

IT is not only Communists and 'cultural snobs' who are antagonistic to M.R.A. The case against it cannot be 'ignored or waived away with a sneer' as 'Mona' tries to do. It would be more honest to inquire what arguments cause 'sober and sophisticated men' to oppose it, considering it a contribution to moral chaos rather than a source of moral clarity and strength.

The language used by 'Mona', particularly in the concluding paragraph of his note, demonstrates the weakness of M.R.A. 'Mona' thinks that perhaps 'the novelty and fancy of a new bottle' could make an individual addicted to the wine of the 'universally acceptable absolute of honesty, purity, unselfishness and love'. Like most supporters of M.R.A. 'Mona' is naive in discussing ethical questions. He calls the 'absolutes' of honesty, purity, etc. 'universally acceptable'. Does he mean that they ought to be so? If yes, what does he mean by absolutes?

Is Mona's note on M.R.A. with its summary attack on Communists and 'cultural snobs' an illustration of absolute love? Or is Mona's love not so absolute, after all?

The fact is that 'Mona' tells us nothing about M.R.A. He refers to its influence, its 'first-rate techniques' and the kind of people opposed to it and the reasons, allegedly, why, and that is all.

I attended an M.R.A. meeting in Bombay. A few score people nodded their heads vigorously in assent when the speakers talked convivially about the 'change' in their own lives (which consisted mainly of joining M.R.A.) and about the need for honesty, purity, truth, goodness, etc. M.R.A. calls for no intellectual effort; hence the nodding heads which would have dozed in peace if a serious thinker were to discuss seriously, even though simply, elementary ethical and political questions.

Down the ages, inner change has been regarded as an excruciatingly difficult operation. M.R.A. makes it out to be easy. Therefore, it wins adherence by the thousand, who remain fundamentally what they have always been. It is M.R.A. devotees, rather than 'cultural snobs' (from whom God protect us), who put a premium on lip service to moral ideals.

To oppose M.R.A. is not to oppose moral ideals. Those who are at all inspired by the latter will not talk loosely of 'absolutes' but develop a concern for precision in theory and unobtrusiveness in practice which are notably lacking in support of M.R.A.

Vague, calculatingly cheerful, pietistic in a Simple Simon manner, superficial and verbose, M.R.A. leaves its recruits what they have always been (self-centred, complaisant and confused) while providing them with the comforting thought that they have 'changed'.

SHANKAR RAJ.

M. BONDY IN INDIA

MEMBERS and sympathisers of the Indian Committee for Cultural Freedom in Bombay and Madras had the pleasure of a visit from their confrere Francois Bondy, Secretary of the Congress for Cultural Freedom. He is a man of considerable personal

charm and refinement and with his qualities of head and heart endeared himself to all those who had occasion to meet and hear him in India.

Soon after his arrival in Madras on the 20th November, M. Bondy addressed a press conference, a report of which was widely published in the South. He met the Indian Committee for Cultural Freedom members in Madras, leading scientists of Madras University and addressed a public meeting in Madras held under the auspices of the Indian Committee for Cultural Freedom. He held the audience spellbound for one full hour as he spoke on 'The Struggle for Cultural Freedom.' He dined with a group called "Y Men of Madras" which is attached to the Y.M.C.A. M. Bondy was invited to the Socialist Youth Conference, which was then in session, and addressed it briefly.

In Bombay, M. Bondy addressed a meeting of students of Wilson College. He was invited to tea by His Worship the Mayor of Bombay, who introduced M. Bondy to members of the Municipal Corporation. He addressed a press conference which was widely reported by English and Indian language papers. M. Bondy was given a reception at the Cricket Club of India by the Indian Committee for Cultural Freedom. Many social leaders, litterateurs and cultural workers of the city present were impressed by his charm and greatly appreciated his brief and witty speech.

M. Bondy was received by the Vice-Chancellor of Bombay University. He also attended a meeting of scientists in Bombay held at the office of Sir Rustom P. Masani, Chairman, Institute of Educational and Cultural Co-operation.

M. Bondy addressed a public meeting under the auspices of the P.E.N. All-India Centre and spoke on 'New Trends in European Literature and the Arts.' The Indian Committee for Cultural Freedom also arranged for a trip across the harbour by motor launch to the Elephanta Caves.

(AAMIR ALI — Continued from page 5)

yourselves into danger of spiritual loss, but you will not be able to judge whether what they say is correct or not."

It has been said that Buddhism was a revolt against the power of the Brahmins. It did not break that power for the Brahmins rose again and drove Buddhism out from the land that had given it birth.

Be that as it may, the Buddha taught the equality of all and attacked the barriers of caste. Just as the various rivers merged in the ocean and lost their individual identities, so the various castes merged in the teachings of the Buddha and lost their separateness.

The qualities that Buddha taught have been taught by the other great religious teachers that have succeeded him. It is a sorry commentary on our world that for all the 'progress' we are told we have made and are making, the need for such teaching remains as acute as ever it was. For, in the words of an Indian sage, "We have learned to fly in the air like birds and swim in the water like fishes, but how to live on the earth, we still do not know."

With Many Voices

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

—Tennyson.

A quip that is going the round of London: "Keep Left with Aneurin Bevan; keep calm with John Strachey; keep what you have got with Clem Attlee and Herb Morrison."

—*Hindustan Times*, 7th December 1952.

Mr. Nehru advised children not to develop the bad habit of making long speeches.

Addressing more than 5,000 children at the 15th anniversary of the Ghatkopar Balkan-ji-Bari near Bombay, Mr. Nehru said that older people could not change their habits. But children could develop along correct lines.

—*The Sunday Standard*, 7th December 1952.

An article "A Friend in Need" by N. Pankratyev, after describing how people are dying like flies all over India, says: "But that day the townsfolk seemed to have forgotten their troubles. The faces of the people one met on the streets were lit up with happy smiles and a festive atmosphere pervaded the whole city. The news that the Soviet ships had arrived laden with food sent by the Soviet Trade Unions for the famine-stricken population of India had spread like wildfire."

—*New Times*, Moscow, November 12, 1952.

In the present Sino-Soviet Friendship Month one of the slogans is that Russia today is the China of tomorrow. The Chinese farmer today, dowered with his land, will evidently be a State farmer tomorrow.

—*Manchester Guardian*, 4th December 1952.

Rangoon, Dec. 1.: The Socialist Parties of India, Indonesia and Burma said yesterday they rejected Cominform Communism because it "denies in practice the dignity and equality of man."

The three parties said in their statement: "The views and convictions of Cominform Communism cannot be separated from the position of the Soviet Union which it regards as its bulwark. Cominformists are essentially merely vanguards, observers and informers from the U.S.S.R. . . . "In Cominform countries there exists a dictatorship by Cominform parties employing methods of terror by the secret police, which is also felt in the sphere of production."

—*The Hindustan Times*, 2nd December 1952.

Washington, Dec. 3 (UPA): Secretary of Defence Robert Lovett said at a press conference on Tuesday that some Communist prisoners in Korea have tattooed themselves with anti-Communist slogans to emphasize their aversion against returning home.

Lovett said the idea of anti-Communist markings apparently is to insure that the prisoners will be killed if they were repatriated forcibly.

He said that the anti-Communists apparently believe that tattooing will be an additional guarantee that they will not be sent home.

—*The Bombay Sentinel*, 3rd December 1952.

Mr. Srangadhar Das, replying to the Communist charge that the World Bank was an agent of Anglo-American imperialism, warned the House that there was another imperialism which was much more dangerous — Stalinism.

—*The Hindustan Times*, 4th December 1952.

For the second time in a week the Prime Minister, Mr. Nehru, lost his temper in the House of the People this morning, bitterly arraigned the Opposition for its habitual irresponsibility and appealed to it for restraint.

"Members of the Opposition," the Prime Minister continued, when he could be heard again, "have neither discretion nor restraint." The protest that greeted this remark turned to derisive laughter when Mr. Nehru added: "The Government can act with restraint and keep its temper."

—*The Times of India*, 11th December 1952.

"I pity the leaders of nations who, like small children, claim to direct and control their people without controlling their own minds."

—Acharya Vinoba Bhave in *The Hindustan Times*, 4th December 1952.

Yugoslavia is, of course, still a police State; athletes who go abroad some time desert, and grumble about politics are very careful: but it is a police State which has begun to go into reverse, and the light of liberty is beginning to dawn above the horizon.

—Taya Zinkin in *The Times of India*, 30th November 1952.

INDIAN COMMITTEE FOR CULTURAL FREEDOM

127, 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.....

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