

The Saint And The Police

by V. B. Karnik

VINOBAJI'S mission of peace and good-will in the dacoit-infested areas of Madhya Pradesh has given rise to a controversy which is both unseemly and unnecessary. There should have been ordinarily no controversy as Vinobaji embarked upon his mission with the knowledge and approval of the highest authorities in the State and the object of his mission was not to hinder the police but to help them in restoring and establishing peace and normal conditions in an area which has suffered since long from the activities of the dacoits. It appears, however, that the police and other officers of the State had second thoughts on the matter and they have now reached the conclusion that the mission has given a set-back to the task of maintaining law and order in the affected area.

This criticism and evaluation of Vinobaji's mission have found authoritative expression in a statement issued by the Inspector-General of Police of the State, Mr. K. F. Rustamji. His main complaint against the mission is that it has "delivered a blow to the morale of the police force, because it had insulted the courage and devotion to the duty of the men who fought the dacoits." He has moreover complained that the dacoits were "lionised", that they were given assurances of preferential treatment, that the provisions of law were violated, and that the task of maintaining law and order and securing the punishment of offenders had been rendered more difficult. His conclusion therefore is: "clearly there is a conflict between what the law required and the mission wants and it is wrong to ask a policeman to do what the mission wants." Whatever one may think of this judgment of Mr. Rustamji on the Vinoba mission, one cannot but compliment him on his boldness and courage in speaking out frankly and bluntly his views on an activity which had earlier received the blessings and support of his Government. Such boldness and courage are not these days very much in evidence amongst government officers.

Mr. Rustamji has found many supporters in the press as well as amongst politicians. The Chief Minister of Madhya Pradesh was least expected to lend support to him and join in similar criticism against

the mission and its work. As he has himself admitted, he had earlier supported the idea of the mission. He had approved of the attempts to be made by the Sarvodaya leader "to induce the dacoits to surrender through an appeal to their better nature". Now, however, he agrees with the Inspector-General of Police in his assessment of the consequences of the mission. His complaint is that the dacoits were "paraded as heroes" and were represented as being oppressed by the police, which, he is afraid, will have a demoralising effect upon the general public. According to him, in addition to the police, *Gram Raksha Samitis* (Village Protection Squads) were also demoralised on account of the glorification of the dacoits. The press has in general supported this criticism. Typical of the comments in the press is the following from the *Times of India*: "Mr. Bhawe and his men have arrived on the scene and gone about denegrating the police and arousing sympathy for the dacoits who have indulged in murder, pillage and rape. The crime situation has now been complicated, as the Inspector-General of Police rightly points out, by the confusion of values."

These criticisms of his mission must have come as a surprise to Vinobaji. He had undertaken the mission with the knowledge and approval of the Government and he thought that he was helping them to solve a problem which had so far remained unsolved. The criticisms were therefore unexpected. One of his associates, Mr. Siddharaj Dhadda has answered some of them through an article in *Bhoodan*. Mr. Dhadda has asserted that the statement that Vinobaji had "insulted the courage and devotion to duty of the police" was "a perversion of facts". He has moreover stated that no assurances of any kind were given to the dacoits but that, "on the contrary, an assurance of good behaviour was taken from them". He has also pointed out that there was no conflict between what the law has laid down and what the mission wanted "so far as the objective is concerned". There was, however, conflict in the method. According to him "Vinoba has been trying a new and an unorthodox method of dealing with social problems" while the police know "only of one method of dealing with an offender or even a suspect—the method of terrorisation, of striking fear". It is this conflict in the method to be adopted for the solution of the dacoit problem that is at the root of the controversy.

The controversy that has arisen was to some extent unavoidable. For, there is a clear distinction between the two methods of dealing with the problem of the dacoits, one of the police and the other of Vinoba Bhawe. The police method is the simple method of

regarding the dacoits as offenders against the law and of bringing them to book for all offences that they may have committed. If they run from place to place they must be hunted. If they cannot be captured alive they must be shot dead. Anybody who gives them shelter or any other help is equally an offender against law and must also be punished similarly. This is the duty which the criminal law of the country imposes upon the police and one cannot blame them for actions taken by them against the dacoits in pursuance of that duty. It must be said that in that campaign against the dacoits many amongst the police, both officers and men, have manifested exemplary bravery, courage and devotion. Nobody would desire to minimise or underestimate the work done by them under very difficult circumstances. Even Vinobaji has paid tributes to the sufferings and sacrifices undergone by the police.

But this police approach and these police methods have not been able to solve the problem. In spite of years of police operations, the dacoits still continue to infest the area. If one gang is broken or liquidated, another takes its place and begins its depredations in the same or nearby area. No doubt some prominent leaders of dacoit gangs were arrested or killed during the last couple of years, and that had a grave demoralising effect on many dacoits. No doubt some of the gangs had reached a stage of exhaustion as a result of relentless Police pursuit and were on the verge of surrender when Vinobaji entered the area. But even if they had surrendered and some more dacoits had been arrested by the police, that would not have ended the menace or the problem. The social conditions prevailing in the area provide the dacoits a congenial field for their operations. They also produce from time to time a new crop of dacoits. This will keep the problem alive even if the Police succeed in arresting or shooting down all the known dacoits of today. The police can hunt and punish the dacoits, but they cannot stop the flow of new recruits into the ranks of dacoits nor deprive them of the support and sympathy that they enjoy in many villages and hamlets.

The dacoits of the Chambal valley should not be placed on the same footing as ordinary criminals. They have taken to a life of lawlessness and become fugitives from law owing to the peculiar social conditions prevailing in the area. The area has yet to adjust itself to the regulated and stable life of the twentieth century. It has yet to learn the disciplines

and the rules and regulations of the new order of society. It is still living in the eighteenth and nineteenth century when adventurous elements could rebel against the tenuous authority of the Government and, if successful, emerge and receive recognition as powerful chiefs and chieftains. There are many such areas in the country, but the Chambal valley provides a very congenial geographical and political setting for the continuance of those old-world conditions. As the Special Correspondent of the *Indian Express* has pointed out in a series of articles published in the journal: "Taking to the ravines appears to be bordering on a legitimate and recognised profession in this part of the country. The number of absconders is fairly large. Murder by way of private vengeance is part of the game without any sense of sin. To escape the clutches of the law, the murderer absconds and perforce takes to a career of crime for his maintenance..... The relations of the 'bagi', as the absconder is called, might regard his plight as unfortunate, but not necessarily shameful. Kidnapping for ransom serves the twin ends of revenge and profit. Moreover, if a substantial sum can be collected by a single kidnapping one need not alienate the sympathies of the bulk of the people by petty crimes; in fact one makes an effort to win popular sympathy by acts of piety." The Correspondent has further stated: "A sneaking sympathy for the criminal and hostility towards the police find additional support in the resentment created by social and economic changes. Caste support for the bandits is tremendous." He has mentioned two factors which may be regarded as basic. One is: "It may be that a proud people, rulers once, who would not accept defeat, have found crime a convenient form of protest against their fall from glory." The other is: "Injustice at the hands of the village society goads them to careers of crime." If these sociological factors of the situation are kept in mind, it will be easily seen that a mere police approach will never be able to solve the problem. That approach involves a war of attrition between the police on the one hand and the dacoits on the other, with a large section of the local population adopting an attitude of passivity and in many cases of sympathy with the dacoits. With their superior organised might the police may in the end succeed in destroying the dacoits. But it will take a long time; and the price to be paid in terms of money and efforts and sufferings will be very heavy.

Vinobaji went to the area to try a different method, a method of the human approach, an attempt to win the dacoits back to a settled life of peace and security. It may be airy to talk of the spiritual conversion of dacoits. But it is not beyond the bounds of possibility that, having sensed the situation as it exists in a modern society, some at least amongst the dacoits may realise the futility of their present way of life and may desire to return to their normal avocations. Is it not desirable to help that process and to open a way for their reabsorption into the community? The police

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Notes

Hopeful Turn in Algeria

BY deciding to send an envoy to Paris to arrange ceasefire negotiations, the Algerian Provisional Government in exile has opened the door for a peaceful and negotiated settlement of the Algerian problem. By its very nature the Algerian war has become a constant source of futile violence and ghastly atrocities on both sides. It has already dragged on for more than five and a half years killing more than a lakh in its blind fury. The stands taken by the French authorities and Algerian rebels until recently were mutually irreconcilable and consequently the armed rebellion had assumed ghastly proportions of a war of annihilation. It was not only sapping the energies of the French Republic and constituting a drain on its man power and financial resources and creating political instability, it was also driving the forces of moderation in north Africa, especially in Tunisia and Morocco, into the embrace of extreme nationalists, thus making the solution of the problem well nigh impossible. In responding positively to the French offer, the FLN leaders have shown a sense of constructive statesmanship which should help greatly to check the extremist trend in France and the Arab world.

President de Gaulle in his speech on June 14 renewed his offer to the Algerian rebel leaders to negotiate to put an end to the fighting. His statement was an improvement on the offer he made on September 16 last in which he promised self-determination for the Algerian people. In putting forward his assurances in a new form, the French President sought to meet the FLN demand for guarantees about the promised referendum. He repeated his assurance that a completely free choice was guaranteed and observers from all countries would be admitted. Besides, all tendencies, he assured, would take part in the campaign and all would be represented in the polling booth. Thus representatives of all tendencies in Algeria, including the FLN, would not only take part in determining the terms of referendum and in the electoral campaign, but also in supervising the actual voting. This surely is an advance on the September offer.

The Algerian nationalist leaders, on their part, have also made some concessions to the French stand. Unlike in the past, this time they have agreed to discuss a ceasefire before accord is reached on the conditions for a free and fair referendum. President de Gaulle's statement, of course, was not specific on the point as to when the terms of referendum were to be discussed. He has thus not excluded the possibility of simultaneous discussion of the issues. This spirit of concession and accommodation shown by both the sides augurs well for the negotiations that would shortly take place in Paris.

Many recent developments have, of course, contributed to this change of stand on both the sides. The pressure of world opinion, coupled with the increasing democratic pressure at home, naturally forced the French authorities to seek a political solution of the problem by granting the Algerians their right to self-determination. On the other hand, many independent north-African States were also putting pressure on the Algerian rebels for a negotiated settlement. President de Gaulle, besides, was perhaps the only French leader who had the vision and courage to see the justice of the Algerian nationalists' demand. He commands overwhelming loyalty of the French people and has already brought the army to heel. In him, therefore, Algerian nationalist leaders have their only chance of a political and peaceful settlement. Of course, there are many more hurdles yet to be crossed before the settlement could be reached, as the gap between the positions of the two sides is still big. But given the necessary goodwill and sagacity, it should not be impossible to come to a just settlement and bring the merciless five-year old war in Algeria to an honourable end.

Pointers From Tibet

DEVELOPMENTS in Tibet, reports of which have frequently appeared in the press recently, still continue to be a source of worry to the Indian authorities. They indicate that the country is yet far from normal and the Tibetans are still furiously waging their hopeless struggle against the Chinese rulers. Besides, the Chinese are consolidating their positions in Indian territory occupied by them and are massing large troops along the Indo-Nepalese border.

Contrary to the general impression, there is still large-scale fighting going on in many parts of Tibet. As recent reports pointed out, the Chinese were till recently engaged in pitched battles near Mansarovar, in the Everest region and in some parts near Gyantse. There has been widespread fighting in Western Tibet south of the Brahmaputra river. At some points, the Chinese have even been forced to strengthen their garrisons by reinforcements from other areas to contain the Tibetan uprising. For example, they had to strengthen their garrison at Parkha, 12 miles north of Mansarovar, with reinforcements from other places in Western Tibet. One full Chinese Red Army Division is now engaged in putting down the rebellion at Parkha. In addition to this, the Chinese are still fighting in the Everest region. During the second week of June, it was reported, the Tibetans were in control of Shekar Djong — a district headquarters town on Tibet's southern highway. All these reports belie the Chinese claim that Tibet has now returned to normalcy, and they also underline the fierce determination of the Tibetan people to fight to the last for the cause of their freedom.

The Indian Government, having helped the Chinese to subjugate Tibet, is unable to do anything to help the brave Tibetan people. But these and allied developments in Tibet should serve to awaken it to the need

to be vigilant and strengthen our frontier defences. The Chinese have already built up a string of airfields in Western and Southern Tibet, many of which, it is reported, are handling jet military aircraft traffic. According to these reports, the Chinese have now heavy artillery equipment which is of a special design and the Chinese troops are equipped with mortars and provided with wireless sets. They have also well-manned and well-equipped outposts in north-eastern Ladakh which is now under their occupation. All these reports are indicative of Chinese designs against India. The recent report of about 500 Tibetans occupying a small grazing field in the north-west Sikkim under Chinese instigation is also a pointer in the same direction.

Unrest In Punjab

THE recent decision of the Indian Communist Party to support and agitate for the demand for the creation of a Punjabi Suba provides an interesting study in shifting strategy and opportunistic tactics of the party. Until recently, the party unit in the Punjab stood committed to a firm stand against the demand for a Punjabi Suba, which it roundly condemned as reactionary and communal in character. For the last four years the party campaigned vehemently against the Akali demand for a separate Punjabi State and united, at times, even with the Congress to oppose it. During the Gurudwara elections a few months ago, the communist-backed Desh Bhagat Board—of course, a “secular” organisation of “progressive” Sikhs—combined with the Congress to oppose the Akali Dal. But it suffered a complete debacle and was practically routed by the latter. The party thus lost its much boasted ground among the peasantry which induced lot of “rethinking” in its inner core.

This naturally prompted the party leaders to reverse their earlier stand and effect a complete “about turn”. Accordingly, the Punjab State Council of the Communist Party recently adopted a resolution fully backing the demand for a Punjabi Suba. Though party spokesmen have tried to differentiate their stand from that of the Akali Dal by insisting that it is non-communal and purely based on linguistic consideration, the semantic jugglery can no longer hide the rank opportunism of the party which is now out to exploit fully the unrest in the Punjab. This makes it more necessary for the ruling party to come to terms with the Akalis as the Chinese aggression on Indian borders can no longer permit the luxury of the continued linguistic agitation in the strategic border State. The unsettled conditions in the State will surely endanger the security of our northern borders, and the communists, with their avowed anti-national intentions, can surely be trusted to fish in troubled waters and thus pave the way for the Chinese aggressors. It is to be hoped that even at this late stage, the authorities in Punjab will realise the danger in allowing the unrest to continue unabated and take necessary steps to pacify the Akalis instead of trying to crush their movement through repressive measures.

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method does not work towards that end. It treats the dacoits as hostile elements to be captured or to be shot at sight. Its aim is to punish them for the crimes that they may have committed. There is no place in that method for the reformation of the criminals. This universal defect of the police method has made it all the more ineffective in the dacoit-infested areas of Madhya Pradesh. It is yet too early to judge of the success of Vinobaji's method. One cannot forget, however, that during the short period that he spent in the area he was able to secure the surrender of twenty-two dacoits. The dacoits who surrendered have willingly placed themselves in the hands of the police and have agreed to plead guilty to the crimes that they may have committed. In the prosecutions that were launched against some of them under the Arms Act they kept their word and admitted their guilt. This is an encouraging sign of their desire to turn a new leaf. It bears out the statement made by Mr. Siddharaj Dhadda in his article; “No assurances were or could be given but, on the contrary, an assurance of good behaviour was taken from them”. It is to be hoped that this human approach of the saint will produce better and more abiding results than the efforts of the police. In spite of his belief in and insistence upon non-violence, even the saint has not, however, asked for the withdrawal or the disbandment of the police. He knows his limitations and is aware of the realities of the situation. Was it necessary then to raise all this controversy and represent as if there was a direct conflict between the activities of the saint and the operations of the police? The two can be complimentary, more particularly, in the dacoit-infested area of Madhya Pradesh where social rehabilitation is far more important than punishment.

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The Lesson Of Turkey

by Adam Adil

THE fall of Dr. Syngman Rhee in South Korea was followed by that of Mr. Adnan Menderes in Turkey. In both cases, students spear-headed the revolt against the established regimes. In the case of South Korea, however, the old regime was replaced by a genuine democratic one; in the case of Turkey, the previous order was overthrown by the army. In both countries, the change has been welcomed by the people. The Turkish developments as much as those in South Korea demonstrate that the people of Asia are not prepared to tolerate corrupt regimes which have lost confidence of the masses. It would be worthwhile if other powers in Asia are wise enough to imbibe this lesson before they become too unpopular to be overthrown.

Prior to the military coup d'état of May 27, things in Turkey were pretty bad. The atmosphere in the country was tense with deep discontent and political unrest, and seething with rumours of impending military coup. Almost everyone believed that the situation could be saved only by military takeover, and the demonstrators in Ankara streets went to the length of shouting and displaying placards "Long Live the Army" actually before the Menderes Government was overthrown. It is true that even the opposition People's Republican Party declared that it did not want the army to intervene; but when the intervention did come, its leader Ismet Inonu almost welcomed it by saying that he hoped that it would do good.

Mr. Menderes, blinded by love for power, refused to see the writing on the wall. He dismissed the student demonstration as the insignificant product of the machinations of the opposition parties. He described the formidable march of the War College cadets in Ankara, who were accompanied by quite a number of army officers, as no more than an expression of minor discontent. He was totally unconcerned by the country-wide outbursts against the imposition of the martial law and mass arrest of his political opponents. He remained indifferent even when, as if to add fuel to fire, the Deputies staged a veritable riot inside the Grand National Assembly using chairs and benches against one another.

This act of the Deputies, apart from constituting a disgrace to the nation, was the climax of political chaos which the Menderes regime has generated. It made evident that Menderes was incapable of dealing with the situation. It was, therefore, invitation to the military to intervene.

The military intervened the very next day. So perfect was its job that it was completely bloodless. The military did not indulge in violence of any kind; there was no slaughtering and no mob shouting hoarse

at the deposed reactionaries. In fact, the ousted leaders were given dignified treatment.

Four days after the take-over, the military leaders lifted the curfew at Ankara and released the arrested journalists and opposition political workers, and granted civil liberties to the people and freedom of expression to the newspapers.

These measures of the new government created favourable impression upon the people, and there was no resistance to it whatsoever. In every part of Turkey the change-over was welcomed and the provincial governors, appointed by the Menderes Government, did not have the courage to oppose the new regime. And when 400 deputies belonging to the Democratic Party were arrested no one raised a finger of protest.

It was natural that the people should be jubilant over the military rule. The Menderes regime was corrupt to the core. It was dictatorial and authoritarian. It denied basic freedom to the people and put behind bars all those who were not friendly to the regime. It changed the electoral law so as to ensure the perennial majority of the ruling Democratic Party by forcing all registered political parties to put up separate lists of candidates, thus preventing them from forming joint fronts and coalitions against the ruling party and splitting their votes. It passed press laws which provided for heavy fines and imprisonment for reports and comments which, in the view of the authorities, were calculated to damage the prestige of the State and the individuals in the government. The fines were much heavier when the ministers were criticised and the accused journalists were not allowed to defend themselves by trying to prove their contentions in the court of law. It banned all public meetings unless they were previously authorised by the government. In effect, no opposition party was allowed to hold public meeting, either to protest against any act of the government or even to propagate its political ideas. It so amended the constitution as to impinge upon the independence of the Judiciary. With the result, Judges were transferred, suspended or pensioned by the Minister of Justice if they proved not amenable to the political requirements of the ruling party. It reserved the radio for the use of government nominees alone. It removed all the constitutional checks on the majority party in the Parliament. With the result a machinery was set up which made it possible for Menderes to obtain Parliamentary approval for laws without giving any opportunity to the Opposition to express themselves on those laws. By this lack of constitutional checks, Menderes was able to ban all political activity for three months prior to his overthrow.

Socially, the Menderes regime was trying to undo

the great work of Kemal Ataturk while paying, however, lip service to the Father of the Nation. It sought to revive the fanatical side of religion and some of the old, outworn religious customs, which Ataturk had abolished. Not that Menderes had genuine sympathy for religion. His move was tactical and was calculated to be a vote-catching device. He promised to build mosques provided people were inclined to support him. He tried to enlist the cooperation of the Maulvis, who were lying low since the days of Ataturk and whom the Turkish revolution had branded as reactionaries and anachronisms. The Maulvis found their old prestige and power restored and were trying to check the growth of secularism which Ataturk had promoted in the Turkish society. The revival of the effete religious customs and the official encouragement to the Maulvis upset Turkish intellectuals who were apprehensive that these, by destroying the achievements of Turkish revolution, would only put the clock back.

Economically, Turkey was on the verge of bankruptcy. The prosperity which Turkey had attained previously was speedily ebbing away. The common man was finding it difficult to cope with the inflation and the rising prices. The cost of living shot up to 40% above that in 1958. Unemployment, especially amongst the intellectuals, was growing.

Only in 1948, the liberal economic aid provided by United States of America, and also by West Germany had a stabilising effect on Turkish economy. It brought tangible relief to the Turkish peasantry and educated Middle Class. There was *de facto* devaluation of currency which boosted up exports. The external assistance helped to retrieve the balance of payment. Inflation was almost mitigated with the result black market received severe set-back. Obviously Menderes took full advantage of the economic stability and consolidated his political gains.

But the picture began to change during the last two years. Control over expenditure became lax, which resulted in wastage of much of the development outlay. The cabinet drew up a grandiose economic development plan, but it was less intended to meet the economic requirements of the country than the political needs of the ruling party. The government, therefore, failed to lay down proper investment priorities. Development programmes were undertaken in a haphazard and slipshod manner without any prior planning, with the result, there was considerable overlapping and waste. Industries were sought to be built in areas which provided no necessary raw materials and consequently factories, which were already set-up, could not run. There was complete laxity in disbursement of funds on other accounts also. All this was leading to the economic ruin of the country.

The United States of America, being the chief benefactor, grew apprehensive of the economic policies of Menderes' government. Obviously, United States did not want its liberal economic aid to go down the drain. It sought to advise the Menderes

government, but Menderes resented the American advice as interference and America was asked to mind its own business. As if to spite America, he toyed with the idea of accepting aid from Soviet Russia. He even planned a visit to Moscow and Khrushchev's return visit to Ankara.

Fortunately for Turkey, General Gemal Gursel, the head of the National Union Council, the top-ranking council of the military junta who brought about the revolution, is no dictator in the accepted sense of the term. In character and temperament he is more like General Ne Win of Burma than General Kassem of Iraq. He would like to get out of the present position as early as possible. He has promised free and fair election as soon as the political situation returns to normalcy.

Although he has banned all political activity temporarily, he has selected best brains in the country to be in his cabinet. He has assigned the task of constitution making to the reputed university professors and jurists and that of administration to competent civil servants who have had the reputation of being uncorrupt and above board. His choice of Selim Sarper as Foreign Minister shows that there would be no change in Turkey's foreign policy. Sarper has represented Turkey at the United Nations and on NATO council. He has declared that Turkey would continue its membership of NATO and CENTO (the Baghdad Pact).

It is difficult to predict the shape of things that would emerge after the elections are held. Still some guess is possible. It is obvious that Bayar and Menderes cannot stage a come-back. Most probably, the veteran Ismet Inonu, the political heir of Ataturk, would be once again voted to power. But Inonu is aging and he will have to find younger men to lead Turkey during the difficult days ahead.

Turkish people are fed up with authoritarian regimes. They want genuine democratic regime and progressively rising standard of life. No Government can survive in Turkey unless these twin needs of the Turkish people are satisfied.

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Boris Pasternak

by D. G. Nadkarni

WHAT is it that sets a man apart from the run of his contemporaries? Surely, if there is one distinct ingredient of greatness it is that an individual should be the essence of his times, if not exactly a seer. This Boris Pasternak was, for he stood for a corps of European civilization which has died a natural death in recent times. To this corps belong the novels of Kafka and Thomas Mann, the art of Matisse, the poetry of Imenez and the drama of Lorca. These were the individuals who represent an era of liberal enlightenment that came to an end with the rise of diverse dictatorships in Europe in the present century.

Boris Pasternak, born seventy years ago, was born in a family which had fully imbibed this atmosphere of liberal enlightenment. Musical geniuses like Scriabin, epoch-making poets like Rilke and superhuman men like Tolstoy were part of the Leonid and Rosa Pasternak's intimate circle. Off and on the family went to the capitals of Western Europe where the best of music, art and poetry was available as a mirror into which the human soul could look and seek its identity with a consistently evolving culture.

Before coming to poetry, Boris had briefly tried his hand at music and also studied philosophy at the University of Marburg in Germany. The October Revolution swept away much that mattered deeply to him, although he refused till the end of his life to undergo the regimentation which was the fate of the Russian proletariat as well as intelligentsia. One of Pasternak's closest friends during these initial years of the Soviet regime was the poet Mayakovsky, who committed suicide when the rigidity of Stalinist rule was yet to be felt by the people.

With the consolidation of Stalin's rule, and the bloody purges that followed in its wake, Pasternak receded more and more into the shell of obscurity. His admirer Bukharin was one of the political leaders who was purged. Pasternak had already published a few volumes of lyrical poetry, which had nothing of the synthetic enthusiasm for the ruling entity which distinguished most Soviet poetry of the times. In fact, the Soviet Writers' Union was looking askance even in those pre-war days at this "personal" and "esoteric" lyricism which, according to them, had nothing to say of, or to, the people!

Pasternak spent all these years in obscurity, devoting himself to the translations of Shakespeare, Goethe and Schiller. The question may be asked why, on the first opportunity, he did not get out of the Soviet Union, since even as late as 1936 he was representing the Soviet Writers' Union at an international conference. It is too early to make surmises about the stand taken by Pasternak at various stages of his career vis-a-vis the Soviet Government's gagging of liberal writing. It

is quite likely that, without in any way bowing to the dictates of successive cultural commissars, he automatically receded into the background. As for his reluctance to be an exile, his request to the Soviet Government after his rejection of the Nobel Prize (a decision now revealed to have been forced on him) only goes to show the love he had for the country of his birth, which transcended all considerations of politics and ideology.

Boris Pasternak belonged to that rare tribe of people who do not "belong". There were, and there are, many among Soviet intellectuals who shared his ideas about the non-committal nature of literature and the arts. Some of them have managed to survive the wrath of the Writers' Union. But Pasternak's was not merely a negative and tentative attitude. His non-conformism was motivated by an abiding faith in the human being, whom he considered to be a complex entity beyond the whiplash of officialdom. His novel, *Doctor Zhivago*, is nothing if not a testament to this very human non-conformism.

That the Soviet politicians did not like the tenor of *Doctor Zhivago* was nothing unexpected. The protest against regimentation and against the destruction of liberal values which were so dear to a man like Pasternak is unambiguous so far as the philosophical implications of the novel are concerned. But political propaganda was far from being Pasternak's aim. The novel is about a set of individuals the like of which vanished with the past. The universality of these characters, among them Dr. Zhivago and his second love, Lara, is as perennial as the snowy Russian landscape that grows into the reader as he reads the novel. The implied criticism is not so much of the Soviet regime as of all inhuman regimentation.

All this was against the very spirit of the norms that the Writers' Union had been pressed into accepting even after the so-called "thaw". One can imagine the elation with which the members of the Union must have abused Pasternak after he won the Nobel Prize. Unfortunately the novel became involved in cold-war politics, and as a result Pasternak's voice grew feebler and feebler.

When Pasternak died on May 30, the whole of the Soviet Press completely blacked out the news. But the funeral brought together those who had still enough courage to beg the Party's pardon. *Doctor Zhivago* had made him a symbol of a vanished past, a link both literally and culturally with the age of Dostoevsky and Tolstoy. Although, apart from his brilliant translation of plays (which are still staged in Soviet Russia), he left a meagre body of work, the feeling of contemplation and the purity of emotion

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Case Of Dr. Linse

(Contributed)

THE name of Dr. Walter Linse may not ring many bells in the reader's mind today. But there was a time, eight years ago, when it was much in the headlines. It was figured in the news again in recent days, but in a tragic, anticlimactic fashion.

It was on July 8, 1952, that the world first learned of Dr. Linse. At 7-30 o'clock that morning, he left his home in West Berlin. As he walked away, he was approached by a man who seemed about to ask him for a match. But as the two met, the stranger struck Linse in the face with a black jack. Simultaneously, a second man pinned Dr. Linse's arms from behind.

Linse broke free and ran to an automobile which resembled a taxi-cab. But instead of receiving assistance from those in the car, he found more attackers. He was pulled into the automobile, which drove off at high speed with Linse and four men.

The driver of a delivery truck, who had witnessed the entire episode, gave chase. He was joined by a second driver. Shots were fired at the pursuers from the fleeing automobile, and nails especially designed to land upright and to puncture tyres, were hurled by the kidnappers into the path of those who were following.

As hundreds of persons watched, the kidnap vehicle roared toward the soviet zone. At the border, the East German guards, obviously alerted in advance, had already raised the barrier. The kidnap car disappeared into East Berlin. The barrier was then lowered and the pursuing cars were not permitted to continue the chase.

Dr. Walter Linse was not seen again in West Berlin. Only his glasses and one shoe, pulled from him in the struggle in front of his home, were found in the street. A news photograph of the single shoe, telling graphically of Linse's fate, was published by newspapers in many countries. It was hailed as one of the news pictures of the year.

Why was Linse, a lawyer and economist, kidnapped?

He was a leading member of an organization known as the Free Jurists' Committee, which was made up of prominent lawyers in Berlin and in the Federal Republic of Germany who were trying quietly to modify the communist system in East Germany.

The jurists' method was simple, but it worked. From East Germans who crossed the border, they

heard complaints about the conduct of a communist official. The official in question would shortly receive a letter warning that his conduct was being noticed and that he would eventually be called upon to answer for his crime against his neighbours.

The kidnapping of Linse was testimony to the effectiveness of the jurists' campaign. Throughout East Germany, minor officials were becoming less enthusiastic about obeying party directives.

The United States immediately protested to the Soviet Union over the incident. The USSR, into whose sector Linse had disappeared, agreed to a joint enquiry. But nothing ever came of the investigation, because the Soviets kept insisting they had never heard of Linse.

The Soviet pretense continued even after the police of west Berlin uncovered practically all details of the crime, including the names of the four kidnappers—one of whom signed a full confession.

The four were members of a kidnapping ring known as "MSS", formed a short time before under Soviet auspices. Its members were professional criminals; murderers, burglars, prostitutes, narcotic peddlers, embezzlers—with long police records. They had been released from prison by the communists on agreement that they would work for the kidnapping organization, which was a part of the East German police system and closely connected with the Soviet police network.

No fewer than 17 members of the ring were involved in the Linse case. The four who took direct part were rewarded immediately by the communists—given vacations of six weeks with all expenses paid, plus \$250 apiece.

For one, at least, the money did not last long. He was caught housebreaking shortly afterward, and told West Berlin police about the plot. He is serving a 15-year-jail sentence.

Through it all the soviets disclaimed any knowledge of the matter or of Linse. Their avowed ignorance was abandoned earlier last month, however, when the soviet red cross casually informed the Red Cross in the Federal Republic that Linse had died in a Soviet Prison Camp—on December 15, 1953.

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which one sees in both his prose and his poetry are qualities which are getting rarer and rarer in the literature of the atomic age.

Boris Pasternak's place in twentieth century literature may not be very high, especially when compared to such geniuses as Mann or Joyce. But his singular integrity in the face of an irrational dictatorship, his refusal to be corrupted by compromise will set him apart from the men of his time.

India, Tibet and China

by B. K. DESAI

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The Three Techniques

by M. A. Sreenivasan

THE basic democratic test, the fundamental question that all free people have a right to ask about a Plan, is this: Is the Plan to serve the people, or are the people to be subordinated to the Plan? Is it right to regiment the people inside a barbed wire ring of controls and permits and heap hardships on them year after year in the name of an ill-conceived spendthrift plan — a red monstrosity mounted on Nasik's Currency Printing Press? Is it wise planning to charge forward headlong on the plea that the only alternative to haste is disaster and to judge performance by the speed with which hundreds of crores are spent? Surely all men are not Milkha Singhs. Is it sensible or even humane to expect 400 million people to run as fast as India's Olympic champion?

It does seem ironical that a State, that calls itself so highly secular as to scoff at Dharma and Karma as well, should keep on asking its subjects to tighten their belts, and to forget the privations and anxieties of their present lives in the expectation of food, clothing and housing in the next generation. It is like the comic irony of a State in the South that, while declaiming against casteism, gives official blessing and wide publicity to a document that lists in lurid detail and picturesque nomenclature over a hundred and fifty sub-castes and sub-communities, the existence of which most people did not know.

It may well be that many things that seem ironical or puzzling are, in reality, the outward manifestations of well-known techniques that rulers use to keep subject populations quiet and happy whenever they tend to get a bit restless and uneasy. The three of the best-known and most widely practised among them are: the technique of sedation, the technique of confusion, and the technique of distraction.

"Religion is the opium of the people" wrote Karl Marx many years ago. Whether that is true or not, it would seem that we should now be on our guard to see that under a technique of sedation, the Plan is not used as opium with which to make the people forget pain and misery in this life in a grand narcotic dream of happiness for posterity.

Of the technique of confusion and verbal jugglery we see many manifestations all around us. When the nation first heard with a shock that Red China's troops had overrun and occupied thousands of square miles of our land after killing and torturing our frontier guards, the event was officially described as incursion, not aggression. I believe this description has recently been further clarified and the thing is now called an activation of the border. When our Government runs into serious debt the situation is called a disequilibrium in the balance of payments position. When it is unable to repay, the position is described as a

lack of liquidity of resources. In their propaganda for the Third Five Year Plan our leaders frequently use novel expressions with a technological ring, reminiscent of runways, such as "take-off stage", and words like "self-generating", and "self-sustaining." I am not quite sure whether this comes under the technique of confusion or of distraction. Perhaps it is an activation of the border line between the two. I believe these expressions are lifted from Professor Rostow's thought-provoking thesis in which the Professor describes his theory of growth. But it is misleading to confuse a description of the stages of growth with the phenomenon of growth itself. A young bird that is free takes off without benefit of Rostow or even of the Planning Commission. But if its wings are clipped, or it is put in a cage, all the lectures on aerodynamics and the most vivid descriptions of the self-sustaining stage cannot make it rise.

I will give just one illustration of the technique of distraction that people saw in operation at the All-India Congress Session held here at Sadashivanagar, apart from the shows and tamashas, the enormous kitchen and the dining hall designed to feed many thousands at a time, and the special Telegraph office that boasted of handling a "wordage", as it called it, of fifty thousand words a day.

As we all know, even Congressmen, high and low, have been feeling increasingly disturbed and disillusioned over the gap that yawns between the Government's promises and performance, at the same time as Ministries are multiplying, and offices and officials are springing up and proliferating — driven by a necessity that knows no law but Parkinson's. They realised, rightly, that a scapegoat had to be urgently found and sacrificed. Accordingly, a lengthy resolution was moved at Sadashivanagar by a Congress Minister of high rank which said, among other things: "There appears to be a wide gap between policies and programmes and their implementation which slows down the rate of progress. The Congress feels strongly that the temper of the administration as well as of the people generally has to change in order to face the great tasks before the country with faith, speed and determination. It has now become important that the administrative machinery should be overhauled to deliver the goods in the new situation that has arisen".

In these imposing words the people of India were told that if the goods had not been delivered, the fault lay with the temper of the people generally — whatever that meant — and with the administrative machinery. Luckily, this time, no Minister nor official was made a scapegoat of and compelled to resign.

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Congress For Cultural Freedom

THE Congress for Cultural Freedom is now ten years old. It was founded in Berlin in June 1950. The tenth anniversary of the organisation was celebrated recently by holding an international conference of writers, artists, scientists, philosophers and statesmen in the same city of Berlin and in the same month of June.

The Congress was founded to proclaim the sanctity of intellectual freedom. The founders of the Congress came from many countries of the world. They belonged to many schools of thoughts and differed widely from each other in their political beliefs and affiliations. They were, however, united by two things: a common rejection of the totalitarian spirit and a passionate determination to defend, and if possible to extend the freedom of the creative mind and the institutions on which it rests.

It has now grown into a worldwide movement. It was supported by a tidal change in the minds of men. One lesson of these ten years is already clear: the human mind cannot indefinitely accept the constraints of a total ideology. The developments in Eastern Europe culminating in the Hungarian and Polish revolts in 1956 have demonstrated that the demand for artistic and scientific integrity and for the right to seek truth without reference to ideologies are themselves important political forces.

The Congress has now its branches and affiliates in many countries of the world. They range from Australia to Argentina and from Iceland to South Vietnam. It has regional offices for Asia and Latin America. In some countries where it has not yet been possible to establish national committees the Congress has correspondents. Prominent amongst the places where such correspondents work are Athens, Cairo, Ibadan and Manila.

The Congress publishes a number of journals. Some of the journals published by the Congress are *Encounter*, *Preuves*, *Cuadernos*, and the *Soviet Survey*. A few other journals are published by the national committees of the Congress. Prominent amongst them are *Quest*, published by the Indian Committee, *Quadrant*, published by the Australian Committee, *Tempo Presente*, published in Italy and *Der monat*, published in Germany.

The most prominent activity of the Congress has been the organisation of seminars. The seminars were held at such widely dispersed places as Milan (Italy), Tokyo (Japan), Ibadan (Nigeria), Rhodes (Greece) and Hamburg (Germany). The subjects that were discussed at the seminars covered such topics as the future of freedom, economic growth in underdeveloped countries, representative governments and public liberties in new states, and science and freedom. Two

international conferences were held in Asia, one in Bombay in March 1951 and the other in Rangoon in February 1957.

In the field of arts the most notable activity of the Congress was the organisation of a festival dedicated to Masterpieces of the Twentieth Century held in Paris in May 1952. In 1954 it brought together in Rome over a hundred and fifty composers, music critics and performers from Europe and the Americas. In 1955 an exhibition of young painters was organised which was shown in Rome, Paris and Brussels. A similar exhibition of young Asian painters was organised in Tokyo in 1957.

Another important activity of the Congress has been the Aid Programme that it organised for the relief of hundreds of intellectuals who had to leave Hungary after their participation in the people's revolt of October 1956. The "Philharmonia Hungarica" orchestra composed of the best musicians of Hungary that the Congress organised won worldwide fame. The Congress also published an authoritative white book on the Hungarian revolution. A similar publication on the revolt in Tibet published by the Indian Committee for Cultural Freedom was also supported by the Congress.

The Tenth Anniversary conference in Berlin reviewed all these activities and chalked out a plan for future work. The conference was attended by prominent intellectuals all over the world. The following from the prospectus that was issued to the participants will give an idea of the purpose behind the conference and the problems that were discussed:

"Our movement is a creative search, not a new doctrine to impose upon an ever-changing reality. It is part of the revitalised love of liberty spreading through the Western countries and the Communist world as well as the newly-awakened areas of Africa and Asia.

"When we look back on the great surge of progress, both mental and material, achieved since the American and French Revolutions, we see both disaster and great promise. We want therefore to find out what has gone wrong with our civilisation and how we can go about improving its prospects. To do this we must revise false notions and prejudices and build anew on re-established foundations. This is our form of revisionism.

"We believe that once the foundations of freedom are fully rediscovered these will form a common ground between our movement in the developed countries and in the rising nations in ancient lands. We believe also that our vindication of these foundations creates a fresh basis for association with the intellectuals in the Communist world."

(The following are some of the messages that were received by the Congress on the occasion of its tenth anniversary).

I salute the Congress for Cultural Freedom on its ten years' record of distinguished service in the cause of creative freedom and international understanding through cultural and intellectual intercourse. The Congress has particularly helped such intercourse and understanding between Asian and African thinkers, writers and artists who had been isolated from one another by historical circumstances. The tenth anniversary in Berlin is symbolic of the struggle for cultural freedom and of the hopes of the future.

JAYAPRAKASH NARAYAN

I have been much impressed with the international intellectual co-operation which the Congress for Cultural Freedom has built up over the years through its programme of conferences and seminars and through the periodicals it sponsors. What has seemed to me particularly valuable is the combination of non-partisanship and unfettered critical intelligence which the Congress has brought to such problems as freedom and totalitarianism, censorship and civil liberties, mass culture and economic development. May the next ten years witness the flourishing of those ideals of liberty which we share in common.

HUGH GAITSKELL

I consider that the Congress for Cultural Freedom has rendered unique and great service in providing a platform of acquaintance and contact for people all over the world who have been interested in the free exchange of ideas, places where such people could meet, and organs of opinion through which they could communicate with the written word. I can think of no organization which has done more to promote intimacy of understanding between leaders of thought in many parts of the world.

GEORGE KENNAN

The two expressions freedom and culture are united by necessity; otherwise they lose all positive value. Without culture and without the imagination, thought and conscientiousness that accompany it, freedom becomes but the bestial whim of the *Roi Ubu*. Without freedom, culture is nothing more than a compulsory repetition of formulas, drained of all their humane meaning. Phrases such as "pre-eminence of the nation" and "dictatorship of the proletariat" do not belong to today's culture, but are out-moded concepts. That is why our Association has opposed nationalism as well as communism, and all religions which subordinate the free search for truth to dogmas of the faith.

In consequence, it is only natural that we have many and powerful enemies. But we know that truth triumphs in the end and while waiting for that victory, we fight against the censorship of the press and of films, against the obstacles that one religion sets against another, in order to bring aid to those who cannot obtain justice on their own, and to help extend international relations. We encourage the setting up

of cultural clubs in small towns to teach the art of discussion and to develop an awareness both of duty and of rights.

Our activity is limited; but its importance is evident in the reactions of political and religious authorities—the more incisive we are, the stronger the reaction.

It is our pride to be in the front ranks of non-conformism, to defend the rights of spiritual life and the freedom of culture against all compromise.

LIONELLO VENTURI

I send my good wishes. Persons in authority everywhere seek to reshape the culture of the people under their control. Let us hope they will not succeed and that freedom may triumph.

C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

The unparalleled success of man as a species has largely been due to the power of his curiosity. Science represents this curiosity armed with the tools, both mental and physical, gained through the ages by its own continued workings. Curiosity is most productive when following its own leads. When attempts are made to enslave it by directing it toward objectives chosen on purely utilitarian grounds, curiosity gradually becomes stifled and the material returns won by it diminish.

The Congress for Cultural Freedom is the international organization that has been foremost in the effort to preserve for science, and for the spirit of science in the population at large, a recognition of its right to follow its own leads, to reach its own conclusions by procedures based on intellectual honesty and free criticism, and to develop its own personnel, without restrictions on the latter based on ethnic, social or national origin or tradition. May the light of your torch shine ever brighter in all parts of the globe in the years ahead, and help to bring men everywhere that unified view of the world and of man that follows from the findings of modern science.

HERMANN J. MULLER

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The sacrificial scapegoat of Sadashivanagr was in the best traditions of Ahimsa — it was no animal, nor even a vegetable; it was the administrative apparatus.

Close observers of the developments and ramifications of our Five Year Plans have suggested that by employing, directly and indirectly, vast numbers of party supporters and political henchmen in various official and quasi-official bodies like Community Development Projects, and Extension schemes, Co-operatives and Panchayats, and all kinds of Senas and Dals, and by abolishing hereditary village officers, and appointing paid men in their place, the ruling party has established an army of vote-gatherers ready at its command for the next election. These observations have made the people wonder if, behind all the present Government's Plans, there is a Master Plan for the perpetuation of the Party in power.

—Based on a speech delivered at a public meeting in Bangalore.

With Many Voices

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

—Tennyson.

We have a right to ask this fellow (Khrushchev) who the hell he thinks he is.

—Jack Jones, Labour M.P., *Economist*,
London, June 4.

Asked if the recent events in Japan held any lesson for Nepal, Nepalese Prime Minister Mr. B. P. Koirala said, "the Opposition must not be brought to the streets. If there is a Parliament, the Opposition should be within it and not out in the streets."

—*Times of India*, June 27.

President Eisenhower made only one mistake: to go to a summit at all.

—Salvador de Madariaga, *Thought*, June 4.

The point is that a Summit Conference is nothing more than a circus and, if we are to avoid self-deception, we must expect nothing more than amusement from it.

—"A.M.", *Hyphen*, June.

The basic antagonism of the communist system to anything which it cannot control is the single most important cause of the tension between the free nations and the rigidly controlled communist bloc.

—President Eisenhower, *Time Magazine*, June 4.

The Government of India does not seem to believe in the right of self-determination for Hungarians, Tibetans or Uzbeks, because in the end the Government of India at heart, if a Government can euphemistically be described as having a heart, does not believe in self-determination at all.

—Taya Zinkin, *United Maharashtra*, June.

Mass movements are as much of a drug as cocaine and every bit as destructive of independent thinking.

—Anthony Hartley, *Encounter*, July.

The general masses in India do not feel much concerned about the Chinese aggression on Indian territory, and for the anti-national role of the Communist Party of India. The blame should go to the Congress workers who have failed to awaken the people to the implications of the grave situation.

—Sanjeeva Reddy, Congress President,
Radical Humanist, June 5.

Here we all are, deploring that the Paris Conference was a failure; but does any one know what it should have had to achieve in order to have been a success?

—Salvador de Madariaga, *Thought*, June 4.

The more popular communism becomes in Russia, the better for the West.

—David Margand, *New Statesman*, May 28.

One cannot repeat mechanically now-a-days what Lenin said many decades ago about imperialism and go on asserting that imperialist wars are inevitable.

—Nikita Khrushchev, *Indian Express*, June 25.

Since 1945, thirty-three lands that were once subject to Western control have peaceably achieved self-determination. These thirty-three countries have a population of almost a billion people. During the same period, twelve countries in the Sino-Soviet sphere have been forcibly deprived of their independence. The question might be asked: "who are today the colonialists?"

—President Eisenhower, *Time Magazine* June 27.

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