

JUNE 1953

The Scientist's Responsibility

by Philip Spratt

IN a modern nation scientific men occupy a place of considerable importance. They do essential work, they can do a great deal of mischief, and they have a prestige which gives them influence over opinion even about matters on which they have no special qualification to speak. It is therefore a rather serious thing if, in a country vowed to freedom, the scientific men in any considerable numbers adopt a totalitarian creed.

The communists make special efforts to win over scientific men in free countries, and have had some spectacular successes. Latterly their main instrument for this job has been the World Federation of Scientific Workers. This body appears to be completely under communist control. At a meeting of its Executive Committee held in Vienna last June, sixteen members attended, of whom ten were from iron curtain countries, and of the other six, four are known to the writer as communists or fellow-travellers. These are Joliot-Curie (President), Bernal, Wooster and J. G. Crowther, the scientific journalist. Four of the Vice-Presidents were absent: of these, three, C. F. Powell, Oparin and Li Tze-kwang, are communists or fellow-travellers. Harlow Shapley and P. M. S. Blackett, faithful fellow-travellers, have also served on the Executive in recent years.

The Indian scientific corps is not lacking in influence. It includes a number of very distinguished men, its work is of great and increasing importance, and the other elite groups, which in other countries compete with the scientific men, are relatively weak. Democrats ought to be concerned if it shows signs of going over to communism.

Our prominent scientific men include a few communists and fellow-travellers of long standing: Prof.

Meghnad Saha, Prof. H. J. Bhabha, Major-Gen. S. S. Sokhey, and Prof. D. D. Kosambi. It must be expected that the communists will have been at work among the less prominent men also. A glance at *Vijnan Karmee*, the monthly journal of the Association of Scientific Workers of India, suggests that is so, and that they have made some headway.

Vijnan Karmee prints some technical and politically neutral material, some on its business as a trade union, some even giving publicity to other trends of thought; but nearly every issue contains some items expounding communist views. Thus a recent number (October 1952) gave several pages to a speech by Prof. Kosambi on "Science and Freedom" (the freedom that concerns scientific men is "freedom from servitude to a decaying class;" as for other kinds of freedom, a scientist who argues that the two world systems should peacefully compete "finds himself without a job if he is on the wrong side of the iron curtain," while in America "being called a communist is far more dangerous than being caught red-handed in fraud or robbery").

Vijnan Karmee welcomed the first draft of the Five Year Plan. The Hyderabad branch of the A.S.W.I. and some individual members protested, demanding non-cooperation with the Plan, since it is not socialist. As a result, *Vijnan Karmee* wrote another leader, expressing distinctly qualified enthusiasm for the Plan. (April and June, 1950).

When Prof. Joliot-Curie was dismissed from his position as head of the French Atomic Energy Commission, several members, and the Hyderabad, Bangalore, Naihati, and Calcutta branches, protested. Hyderabad accused the French Government of "aggressive designs." (June, July, August, October, 1950).

The last Annual Meeting of the Association of Scientific Workers of India passed resolution demanding the banning of atomic weapons and the maintenance of peace. *Vijnan Karmee* prints fairly full reports of the proceedings of the World Federation of Scientific Workers and has given editorial support to its propaganda line about peace, atom bombs,

bacterial warfare and napalm. Several branches have passed resolutions to the same effect; others are reported to have discussed the subject.

Exasperated liberals in America have complained that the anti-communist "hysteria" there has made peace a wicked word. It may seem queer, but in fact we are quite justified if we infer that a body which passes resolutions demanding peace is under communist influence. When that body also demands a ban on atomic weapons, condemns bacterial warfare, or accuses America of waging it, and exclaims in horror at napalm, but says nothing about the difficult political and ethical problems involved in getting peace, our inference is confirmed to the point of certainty.

Ordinary people do not think it necessary to demand peace, nor suspect their governments of secretly working for war, and in this they are justified. Such suspicion is the product of communist paranoia, where it is not cold-blooded invention. In particular, ordinary people do not address demands for peace to governments engaged in defensive war against unprovoked attack. The demand for peace on this side of the iron curtain means: "We want the communist aggression in Korea to succeed." These peace resolutions never mention who started the war.

The resolutions demanding a ban on atomic weapons never mention that in 1946 America made a well-thought-out offer to submit to international control her atomic weapons, materials and knowledge, but Russia refused the offer, declaring that she would never permit inspection of her factories, and maintained this refusal till late in 1950, when the Korea war had begun, and the concession was purely academic.

The resolutions on bacterial warfare never mention that the accusations against America are full of inconsistencies and improbabilities, that only communists and fellow-travellers have examined the evidence, and that the communists have hitherto frustrated every attempt to get it examined by trustworthy expert bodies such as the International Red Cross. (*Vijñan Karmee*, in its editorial, did admit that there was some doubt about this accusation).

The communists and the scientific bodies under their control denounce the secrecy which in the free countries surrounds some aspects of nuclear physics and other scientific work with military applications, and urge scientific men to non-cooperate with it. The Russian and other iron curtain scientific societies support these appeals. Do they act on them? They do not. Protests, non-cooperation and sabotage are for the free countries, the attacked; not for the communist countries, the aggressors.

The responsibility of scientific men for the use and misuse of technology is a grave problem, which they do well to consider. But the communists' slogans, conceived solely in the interest of Russia's aggressive foreign policy, are an insult to the intelligence and integrity of the scientific profession. The Association of Scientific Workers of India has

not gone the whole way, but it has gone an alarming distance towards cooperation in this discreditable ramp.

Scientific men can do as they please in politics. But we are entitled to remind them that they are under a rather special obligation to act responsibly, and to warn them that they are in special danger, because they are a very desirable catch for the communists, and also because their scientific training makes them easy prey.

Scientific men depend on authority: they must. A man often comes up against problems which require the theory or technique of some other branch of science. He does not read it up himself: he goes to a specialist, and because of the basic devotion of the scientific man to truth, he can depend absolutely on getting honest advice. In a similar way, if a man of the intellectual and professional status of Prof. Meghnad Saha or Prof. D. D. Kosambi claims to speak with authority on sociology, economics, or what goes on in Russia, their colleagues are inclined to accept it without scrutiny. Alas, outside their specialism, scientific men are just as fallible as laymen, and scientific men in politics are not in any way exempt from the temptations that corrupt other men. More than that, scientific men, accustomed to unqualified devotion to truth, are the least likely of all men to see through the communist technique of unlimited falsehood.

The communist theory has a special attraction for scientific men, because of its special claim to be scientific. Some are no doubt won over by the scientific claims of the Marxian theory. Without minimising Marx's contribution, we can ask scientific men to scrutinise with some care the pretensions of a body of doctrine which has remained substantially un-

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FREEDOM FIRST

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THE INDIAN COMMITTEE FOR CULTURAL FREEDOM
127, MAHATMA GANDHI ROAD,
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Notes

Congress Bans "Peace" Front

AT its recent meeting the Working Committee of the Congress adopted, among other decisions, one that expressed disapproval of Congress members participating in the communist "Peace" front. A confidential draft circulated among Working Committee members referred to these Peace fronts as being "invariably headed by communists" and "designed to further certain political designs."

The directive issued by the Working Committee runs as follows: "Certain Peace organisations, though ostensibly working for the promotion of peace, are designed to further certain political purposes. Congressmen should not therefore join these organisations or conferences or congresses that they organise from time to time, nor should they go abroad to attend any such conferences or congresses."

This belated directive to members straying from the fold will be welcomed by those who have watched, with alarm, Congress stalwarts like Mr. S. K. Patil, Mr. Mangaldas Pakvasa, former Governor of Madhya Pradesh, and Mr. Ganapatishankar Desai, former Mayor of Bombay, attending several functions in honour of Dr. Kitchlew, the leader of the "Peace" front in India, and the President of the Delhi Provincial Congress Committee going to the railway station to garland that worthy when he returned from Moscow after collecting the wages of subservience to the Soviet dictatorship in the form of the "Stalin Peace Prize." Indeed, Dr. Kitchlew, who has now emerged as communist stooge No. 1 in India, still claims to be a Congressman himself! It is to be hoped that State and local Congress organisations will give effect to the Working Committee resolution in order to avoid further confusion in the public mind and further warmth and comfort being given to the communist fifth column in this country.

What is one to think, however, of two other simultaneous developments which seem to more than undo the clarification the Working Committee has attempted? Mrs. Lakshmi Menon, Parliamentary Secretary to the Prime Minister in the Ministry of External Affairs, consorted in the middle of May in Delhi with spokesmen of another communist front, the India-China Friendship Associations. These were no other than the same gentlemen who appear on the communist "Peace" platform which has now been proscribed, viz., Prof. J. C. Kumarappa, Dr. Atal, Mr. R. K. Karanjia and Prof. Hiren Mukerjee, M.P.

Trojan Camel

EVEN more disturbing is the election to the Upper House of Parliament, with Congress support, of Mr. V. K. Krishna Menon whose real political coloration

is surely well-known by now and who bids fair to be the evil genius of Indian political life. That a man with his record should be allowed thus to smuggle himself into Parliament by the backdoor will appear to many as swallowing the Trojan camel while straining at the gnat of the "Peace" committees. This election is all the more sinister in that it is believed in knowledgeable circles to be a first step in the bid to smuggle Mr. Menon into the Union Cabinet.

Symphonie Pathetique

"THE global *Symphonie Pathetique* is still being played" wrote a disheartened observer in describing the mushy talk of "meeting Russia half way" rampant these days in so many parts of the world. That such talk should continue even after the unprovoked and wanton communist aggression against Laos is something that makes one wonder at the extent of human credulity. The voluntary cessation of the advance dictated, as was no doubt the original aggression, by Moscow can give little comfort to those who realise that this was the first blow at the ultimate conquest of the whole of South East Asia and the outflanking of India's own defences. That the French, still seeking in their obstinacy to hang on to their colonial territories, should have refrained from bringing the aggression to the notice of the United Nations is not a matter for surprise. They would perhaps prefer to lose Indo-China to the Soviet agent Ho Chi Minh rather than have it taken away from them by world public opinion as expressed through the U.N. What is surprising is the muted voice of the Asian-Arab *bloc* which is so vociferous in its defence of Asian freedom when it is endangered even in the slightest by one or other of the Democracies. To judge by their ominous silence, one would have thought that Laos was some distant island off the American coast.

It is heartening, therefore, to read the pained protest made against this guilty silence by the Secretary-General of the Istiqlal Party of Morocco and the representative to the U.N. of the Neo-Destour Party of Tunisia. Protesting their record of opposition and struggle against French imperialism, the representatives of these North African peoples go on to denounce "the new style imperialism—the communist imperialism of the U.S.S.R. and its puppets and partners in Europe and in Asia. This new and rising totalitarian imperialism is oppressive and degrading. Communist imperialism does not seek to eliminate but only to exploit the evils of colonialism in order to further its own drive for world domination." Describing the invasion of Laos as "a grave threat to the aspirations of the people of Laos for genuine national independence and to the national sovereignty of Thailand, Burma and the other peoples of Asia liberated from the yoke of nineteenth century imperialism in recent years," they go on to "strongly urge India, Pakistan, Burma and Indonesia . . . to demand an immediate halt to this communist aggression."

So far their appeal has fallen on deaf ears. It has been left to the Thai Government—not a member of the Asian-Arab bloc—to seek to bring the matter to the attention of the United Nations. While it is good to know that in this they have been assured of support by the United States, it is obvious that a Soviet veto will frustrate any attempt at United Nations intervention in resisting this aggression. Since France can no longer be entrusted, either politically or militarily, with the defence of this vital region, other methods will have to be found to internationalise the dispute. Even if India, Burma and Indonesia continue to ignore their neighbourly duties to the Indo-Chinese people, other free nations of the world should take over jointly the defence of Indo-China and enlist the co-operation of its people by assuring them of their complete independence as soon as the Soviet-backed threat is eliminated.

In this context it is not without interest to note that Mr. A. K. Gopalan, leader of the Communist Party in the Indian Parliament, has stated categorically on his return from Moscow that “there can be no change and there is no change” in the policies followed by the Soviet Government since Stalin’s death. As it happens, this particular statement of the Indian communist spokesman is much nearer the truth than the belief expressed by Sir Winston Churchill about a substantial reorientation in Moscow’s attitude. Big Power conferences came natural to Sir Winston who has always liked to arbitrate about the world’s affairs in the company of fellow overlords. There is every reason, however, why the rest of the world should reject a formula, so fundamentally imperialist, of the Big Three, Four or Five getting together to solve the world’s problems or, to put it more candidly, to apportion the world among their respective spheres of influence. The Asian-Arab bloc, the vaunted leaders of Asian independence, failed to strike a note of opposition and it fell to Marshall Tito to speak up for the small countries and to warn against any attempt to settle the world’s problems in this undemocratic manner.

Preservation of Wild Life

INDIA is a land of strange contrasts. We worship the cow, but have little compunction in twisting the tail of the ox, and ill treating animals generally in a most revolting fashion. Our so-called sportsmen roam the countryside with gun, trap and catapult, and bag everything which fails to elude their prowess.

It is time that these tendencies are checked, and our varied and delightful animal and bird life spared destruction. A resolution has been passed by the Ministry of Food and Agriculture on April 4, 1952 regarding the constitution of a Central Board for wild life. “India’s heritage of wild life is fast becoming a vanishing asset, and some of our notable animals such as lion, rhinoceros, tragopan, cheetah are on the verge of extinction.” It is hoped that by suitable legislation, the establishment of national parks and

sanctuaries, the desired result will be obtained.

It must be regretfully admitted that so far it is the people from foreign lands who have taken the greatest interest in our Avi-Fauna. Many years ago, the well known British Naturalist, EHA wrote “He who is not interested in birds travels alone, when he might have company.” In India people continue to travel alone.

However, we have to take encouragement from the fact that in Britain where bird watching has now become a national menace, the people hardly noticed their birds 40 years ago. Since then Bird Watching Societies and nature education has transformed the situation entirely. Sound legislation may yet make bird lovers of all of us.

Theft of Names

THE publication, in Bombay newspapers, of letters from Mrs. Margaret Ahmadi, headmistress of a girls’ school in Bombay, and from the Secretary of the Democratic Research Service, pointing out that the names of this teacher as well as of Mrs. Kamala Dongerkerry and Dr. Mrs. C. Kar were included by *Cross Roads*, the Communist Party organ, along with those of other women, as being willing to attend the communist-sponsored “World Congress of Women” in Copenhagen, without any authority from them and in fact despite their turning down the invitation, stresses once again the unscrupulous nature of communist methods. *Cross Roads*, to whom all the three women addressed letters of protest, refused even to publish a correction.

This is by no means an isolated incident. Only a few weeks earlier, Mama Varerkar, the well-known Marathi writer, had found it necessary to inform the press that his name was being wrongly used by the Indian People’s Theatre Association and that he wanted to have nothing to do with that body. Even Mr. Shantilal Shah, Bombay’s stalwart Labour Minister, was sought to be decoyed into presiding at a meeting under the auspices of the communist front which calls itself “The Indo-China Friendship Association.” He was, in fact, invited by a certain Youth League but when the date of the meeting arrived it was found the meeting was jointly sponsored by the Youth League and the Indo-China Friendship Association. It is understood that Mr. Shah refused to attend the meeting in such circumstances.

The action of the three women, as well as of Mama Varerkar and Mr. Shantilal Shah, deserves to be commended. There are others whose names are being similarly misused, and they owe it to the public to clear the matter in this manner so that other innocent persons are not misled by the use of influential names without authority.

History’s Revenge

THE report published by the *Daily Sketch* in London that Stalin’s younger son, a General in the Red Army, was in disgrace and that he had secretly left Moscow “taking with him a copy of his father’s will—of which he is an executor—having failed to get

Malenkov's permission to release it" is replete with historical irony. Three decades back, when Lenin died leaving a Testament denouncing Stalin for his arrogance, Great Russian chauvinism and dictatorial methods, Lenin's widow Krupskaya had been similarly prevented by Stalin from publishing Lenin's will which was damaging to the aspirations of his successor. The Testament was published abroad by Lenin's friends, but to this day its publication is a crime in the Soviet Union. Now history has its sweet revenge and Stalin's son is prevented by his successor from making known the dead dictator's last wishes.

Godspeed

THE proposed meeting of the Prime Ministers of India and Pakistan to settle across the table the outstanding issues between the two states is the most significant development in Indo-Pakistan relations. Credit for taking the initiative in the matter must go to the Pakistani Prime Minister, Mr. Mohamed Ali, whose recent peace overtures to India come as a breath of fresh air after a prolonged period of sultry

political weather during which frayed tempers, clenched fists and threats of *jehad* were the order of the day.

Addressing a press conference in Karachi the other day, Mr. Mohamed Ali declared that as a first step towards the removal of the potential threats to the peace of this sub-continent he would apply his energies to the "elimination of Indo-Pakistani disputes that carry within them the germs of war, of hatred or suspicion." Continuing, he envisaged the possibility of a joint defence of India and Pakistan and said: "Once these disputes are resolved, new vistas of fruitful co-operation will open and the resources which they are now diverting to arming themselves against each other can be far more profitably employed on raising the pitifully low living standards of the masses."

Such sentiments cannot but find a response in our peace-loving Prime Minister whose role as a peacemaker on the international stage has always suffered from his being at loggerheads with his immediate neighbours to the West and the South. All we can say to the two enlightened Prime Ministers is: God speed you!

Release The Prisoners

COMMENTING on the Indian resolution on the repatriation of prisoners of war in Korea in the U.N. General Assembly, *Freedom First* in its January issue has commented: "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 communist aggressors." The unfortunate developments of recent weeks show how amply justified was this comment made five months earlier.

The issue is a clear one. Are or are not thousands of human beings who were pressed by the communists into military service to fight the United Nations and who do not now desire to be returned to their former masters and the concentration camps that await them to be given asylum in the free world? The communist proposals presented to the United Nations Command last month are still based on the forcible repatriation of prisoners of war. The controlling Commission proposed by them would consist of two Soviet satellites and three neutrals. It is a move by the Soviet dictators to secure custody by proxy of prisoners in a war they have fought by proxy. The U.N. Command quite rightly turned down these proposals and insisted that, in terms of the U.N. Assembly resolution, there should be a period beyond which such persons may not be kept forcibly in captivity.

It would have been expected that those who throughout the world believe in freedom would have

supported the U.N. position. Unfortunately, this has not been so and among those who have weakened the U.N. stand have been the official spokesmen of this country. Apart from backing the Chinese Communist proposals, Prime Minister Nehru in his speech in Parliament in the middle of May expressed his willingness to "welcome any solution which is accepted by the parties concerned". The implication of this statement is that no issue of principle is involved in the disposal of these unfortunate prisoners and that India—out for peace at any price—would not even stand by voluntary repatriation if the communists put enough pressure on it. No wonder his statement secured warm approval from Mr. Bhupesh Gupta, the communist spokesman on the floor of Parliament.

Indeed, earlier statements by the Prime Minister and by Mr. V. K. Krishna Menon make it clear that, in fact, the Indian spokesmen have adopted a thoroughly cynical and amoral position *vis à vis* the totalitarian demand for forcible repatriation. Addressing the Congress Party session on January 17, 1953, in which he reported on the Indian Plan, Mr. Nehru said: "It did not recognize voluntary repatriation of prisoners, nor was there any question of prisoners being asked whether they wished to return or decline to do so. It did not recognize the right of asylum for prisoners of war, which applies to political refugees. There was to be no screening of prisoners. It ensured that all prisoners would be

released from the custody of the detaining side and in neutral territory. The presumption was that they would go back to their country of origin. In fact, repatriation would have begun as soon as these prisoners were released from detention."



In case anyone doubted that these unfortunate words were seriously meant, Mr. Krishna Menon in his closing speech in the U.N. Assembly before the final vote on the resolution, made its meaning clearer when he said: "In the procedure effecting return there are no further processes of separating

the wheat from the chaff, or what is usually called 'screening.' There are no interrogations; there are no questions to be asked. And there will be no restrictions from guards whom in the past the Chinese have called the guards of Syngman Rhee and Chiang Kai shek . . . There will be no offering of temptations to prevent returning . . . There will be equally be no question of groups of people who want to go and groups who do not want to go—I mean this in quotation marks—who will be kept separate so that they will be marked men . . . The first act of release by the detaining side is the first act of repatriation."

What the communist negotiators have been attempting is to undo the force of an amendment to Mr. Krishna Menon's original resolution that was adopted by the U.N. Assembly by a vote of 54 to 5 and to get back to Mr. Menon's original proposal

which was a cynical plan to force "voluntary" repatriation by practically irresistible pressure.

It is to be hoped that the United Nations Command will resist the pressure that is being brought on it to yield the unfortunate prisoners, many of whom have tattooed anti-communist slogans on themselves in their own blood in order to shame the U.N. authorities against such a betrayal. If the negotiations that are still pending at the time of writing get bogged down once again through communist intransigence, there is only one thing that the United Nations Command can and should do. That is to set at large in South Korea those Korean and Chinese prisoners of war who do not desire to be forcibly repatriated. Not only would such a step bring courage and hope to fighters for freedom throughout Asia, but it will also be the most practical expedient for ending the hostilities in Korea. The communists have claimed that nothing else comes in the way of such a cessation than the question of these prisoners. Once they have been released, they will cease to be a problem. If, after that, the communists still continue hostilities, even the most bemused of their dupes in the free world will realise who wants war and who wants peace. What is suggested requires courage and a belief in the free spirit of man. Unorthodox as the step may be, it is only a practical application of the policy of Liberation and of the thesis that freedom is indivisible and includes even those unfortunate human beings who happen to be prisoners of war.

The prisoners of war issue apart, the possibility of a "peace" that is based on the continued Soviet domination of North Korea is not one that can be welcomed. The U.N. moved in to repel communist aggression against the Korean Republic and to create a free and united Korea. Until that objective is achieved, the U.N. should not rest. Sympathy must therefore go out to President Syngman Rhee and the Republic of Korea in their opposition to the continued vivisection of their country. Will it not be a tragedy if, in an attempt at appeasing the totalitarian aggressors, the victims of aggression are let down?

Adlai Stevenson Meets I.C.C.F.

DURING Mr. Adlai Stevenson's brief visit to Bombay, the Indian Committee for Cultural Freedom felt honoured at being the only group in the city which the former U.S. Democratic Presidential candidate found time to meet.

Fifty members and friends of the Committee were introduced to Mr. Stevenson at a tea party followed by an informal discussion on May 11. Mr. Stevenson's reply to the welcome extended to him on behalf of the Committee by Mr. M. R. Masani was frank and cordial and he was then good enough to answer a couple of questions which were put to him by members of the group. In return, Mr. Stevenson himself asked a question of those present and two or three of those present essayed an answer. It is a pity that what

was said was off-the-record and cannot be shared with readers of *Freedom First*.

Before the function commenced, Mr. Stevenson was shown a small collection of contemporary Indian paintings specially prepared for him, in which he evinced great interest and showed keen appreciation.

Among the small but representative and distinguished gathering that honoured Mr. Stevenson were the Honourable Mr. D. K. Kunte, Speaker of the Bombay Legislative Assembly, Mr. Shantilal Shah, Minister of Labour, Mr. N. J. Wadia, Vice-Chancellor of Bombay University, Dr. John Matthai, Chairman of the Taxation Enquiry Committee, Mr. Asoka Mehta, General Secretary of the Praja Socialist Party, Mr. J. R. D. Tata and Mr. A. D. Gorwala.

The Role Of Social Reform

by Prabhakar Padhye

FEW people understand that the problem of social reform has become urgent since the establishment of freedom. Fewer still are aware of the fact that there is some kind of organic relationship between social reform and national independence. Both the protagonists of political freedom and of social reform in India committed the fatal blunder of not realising this relationship. Lokamanya Tilak, for instance, took the amazing step of opposing the right of the Maratha Kshatriya community of wearing the sacred thread — a thing which has become more or less meaningless for the adherence to the Vedic religion (for the purity of which he was fighting) inside of forty years thereafter. He thought that he must not upset the orthodox section of the community that was the backbone of his political movement.

The champions of social reform in the early stages of the Indian awakening committed an equally amazing mistake of severing the connection between reform and freedom — in fact, falsifying the relationship between the two — under the influence of a wrong conception of the connection between the British and Indians in India. These champions of social reform (from various provinces and of various temperaments) had a theory which falsified their entire outlook on the nature of the social and political evolution of this country. They believed that the link between England and India was the will of Providence who inspired the Britishers to go to India for the uplift of that plighted continent. They thought in terms of a permanent connection between the two countries, and since it was ordained by God it was sacrilegious to talk of severing it. They, therefore, quite naturally became the opponents of complete independence for India and favoured the cause of the Commonwealth wherein they visualised an equal and honoured place for their country. Such a Commonwealth would emerge only if all the nations comprising it became more or less of the same culture and calibre. The duty of the people of India became quite clear in this context. It was not to snap the link with the empire (which was destined to flower into the Commonwealth of their dreams) but to uplift the nation so that it matured for the promised destiny.

This was the basis of the social reform movement inspired by that noble and enlightened group of public men who came to be known as the Liberals. Pro contra, the champions of political liberation (known as the Extremists) looked upon the social reform movement as calculated to strengthen the links in the chain of political slavery which they were desperately trying to destroy.

This created an anomalous contradiction between the movements for social reform and for political freedom, which contradiction was sought to be

resolved by the all-embracing attitude of Mahatma Gandhi, but which was only dimly, if at all, understood by his followers.

An equally ominous contradiction threatens to develop today between the movement for social reform and that for economic equality. Just as the 'freedom firsters' argued that social reform (if at all it was necessary) would automatically follow the establishment of political freedom the current champions of economic equality argue that this equality would surely become the open sesame for all social reforms. Whatever the logic of their theory they fail to understand the elementary facts about the Indian caste system which is the vital-eating cancer of Indian society, and which has proved to be such an endemic disease that it has vitiated all experiments of social and political ordering. Even religion which is supposed to be more fundamental has failed to wipe out the pernicious influence of caste. Even such a 'democratic' religion as Islam has failed to root out the traces of caste from its converted followers — and it is one of the tragic experiences of social life that the religion that had its sweeping success because of the caste-ridden atmosphere of the Hindu society has failed to dissolve just that atmosphere. What the classic form of religion could not do cannot possibly be done by its spurious variety which is what the new doctrine has become, in certain hands.

It is therefore gratifying to note that Justice Mr. P. B. Gajendragadkar who presided over the Social Reforms Conference, held at Poona last month, has disposed off this fallacy in his scholarly and illuminating Presidential address. He has not denied the importance of the new doctrine, but argues that "those social reformers who have an adequate idea of the nature of social inequality as ordained by birth in Hindu society realise that mere economic upliftment will not solve the problem of social inequality." It is true that economic equality facilitates the solution of the problem of social inequality, but economic equality would not be significantly realised unless it is buttressed by social equality. Justice Gajendragadkar therefore rightly pleads for a many-sided endeavour of reforms which would cover the various aspects of social, political and economic emancipation. He gave a proper lead to the Conference which while laying an unerring accent on such problems as casteism did not fail to touch on such subjects as family planning, prohibition and the *bhoodan*. It is this wide and dynamic attitude that promises to make the Conference a new social force in the life of the country. The Movement for Cultural Freedom welcomes this all-pervasive attitude because it believes that it is the fragmentation and compartmentalisation of freedom that ultimately results in its total annihilation.

There is a curious lapse in the otherwise learned and well-thought-out address of the President, which must be considered here. He pleads for progressive rationalism. Now, what is progressive rationalism? Is there such a thing as reactionary rationalism? And what worth is rationalism if it is capable of breeding reactionary varieties?

The fallacy to which the learned President has succumbed consists in the fact that he seems to think that reason is the solvent of all difficulties. Since he knows that reason has, many a time, lent its services to reactionary causes he pleads for progressive rationalism, which must mean rationalism in the service of progress. The entire fallacy consists in not fully understanding the proper role of reason and logic in human life. One must always remember what a famous philosopher said on one occasion: 'Reason is the prisoner of human emotions.' Reason is one of the noblest endowments of man. It is, perhaps, the reliable weapon of knowledge. But, apart from the fact that no amount of reason (which operates with fixed categories) can give a true knowledge of the fluid reality, one must remember that life is not all logic. Life is governed largely by sentiments and emotions, and it is in the guidance of these sentiments and emotions that reason plays its most fruitful role. Reason will help in this precious task, but the inspiration must come from the urge of humanity. Hence the importance of human values in the scheme of life.

It was the failure to realise this that, I think, was responsible for the quick fading out of the Agarkarian school of social reform in Maharashtra. Principal Agarkar himself was a man of great humanity. His life was almost an embodiment of human values. That is why the great G. K. Gokhale, quoting Shakespeare, said of him that 'Nature might stand up and say, Here was a man!' Agarkar had a correct appreciation of the relationship between social reform and political freedom, and therefore he never fell a prey to the doctrine of divine dispensation that inspired the Liberal school of social reformers. But he did make a cult of rationalism, which in his sublime hands was a weapon of humanity, but, in the hands of his unimaginative followers become mere flint!

It is surprising to see that such a sympathetic scholar as Justice Gajendragadkar has failed to learn the lesson of the glorious failure of the Agarkarians and has harked back to the cry of mere rationalism. Instead of progressive rationalism if he had given a call of humanist rationalism it would have been of great significance. But humanist rationalism will have to begin with the formulation of a code of values. That, I think, should be the *élan vital* of the new social reform movement, without which it would either degenerate or be sterile.

C.C.F. News

BON VOYAGE TO PLAYWRIGHT

The Indian Committee for Cultural Freedom joined hands with the Theatre Centre to give a send-off to Mr. Adi Marzban, noted Gujarati playwright, who proceeded to Europe and the U.S. on a scholarship to study theatre production.

Among those present were Mr. M. R. Masani, Mr. J. B. H. Wadia, Mr. Rohit Dave, and other members of the Indian Committee.

A NEW TRANS-ATLANTIC ALLIANCE

Stephen Spender and Irving Kristol, of the British and American Committees for Cultural Freedom, will collaborate in bringing out from September a monthly English review of the Congress, from the offices of the British Society for Cultural Freedom. Inquiries about this review may be made of the office of the Indian Committee for Cultural Freedom.

THEY SHALL HAVE MUSIC

One of the homes of great music in Europe, the Mozarteum in Salzburg, is cooperating with the Congress for Cultural Freedom in sponsoring the formation of the first international students' orchestra. Students will be selected from among the best instrumentalists of various European conservatories to undergo a two months' training during the coming July and August, under the leadership of the famous conductor Mr. Igor Markevitch. Later, the new orchestra will give a series of concerts in Austria.

BERLIN CONFRERES CONTACT REFUGEES

The Berlin office of the *Kongress für die Freiheit der Kultur*, affiliate of the Congress for Cultural Freedom, has been active interviewing and counseling refugees from the Soviet Zone. 156 refugees had been contracted up to March 15. There has been a tremendous amount of distribution of literature, including 285 books, nearly 49,000 pamphlets, nearly 12,000 illustrated reviews and over 14,500 newspapers, up to March 1. The *Kongress* has also begun a book-collecting drive for refugees in 84 refugee camps in West Berlin and held lectures and debates for them.

CUADERNOS BEGINS PUBLICATION

March 1 saw the publication of the first issue of the Spanish language quarterly organ of the Congress for Cultural Freedom, *Cuadernos*. 6000 copies were distributed all over Latin America and another 2000 mailed to Spain and Spanish residents in Europe and the United States.

Review

Report on the American Communist

by Morris L. Ernst and David Loth (Henry Holt and Company New York, 1952, pp. 240, \$ 3.00)

WHEN the threat of international communism is mounting everywhere in the world and within our own country a totalitarian communist party, masquerading as a Parliamentary opposition, goes on roping in innocent citizens by its insidious indoctrination, the *Report on the American Communist* by two famous American publicists, which studies the case-histories of 300 ex-communists in America, comes as a timely guide. The thesis of this masterly survey is that a country can effectively combat communism only when it understands the psychological background of the individual communists. The thick volumes of the Congressional testimony have virtually done nothing to establish the fundamental facts about the type of people who join the Communist Party, their family background, why they leave, the amount of education they had etc. The present authors have in their report sought to fill this lacunæ. They have drawn interesting conclusions from their study. They have found out that in America the rank and file of the Communist Party join between the ages of 18 and 23, that they are generally brought up in comfort and luxury, that poverty does not drive them into the Party but they suffer from another kind of poverty—the poverty of the spirit, that there are some personality traits which are common to most communists. There is a sense of personal inadequacy induced by some over-powering personality in the childhood, by a specific handicap of a physical or spiritual nature, or by some strong frustration. A lack of both humour and optimism seems always their common characteristic. About the reasons for leaving the Party the authors of the Report found in general that it lay in psychological development rather than in any specific happening. The death of the lover or even divorce often coincides with immediate loss of interest in the love for mankind.

In the concluding chapter of the Report the authors present a programme of fighting the communist menace in America. They significantly differ from the methods of Wilson and Palmer, now wielded by the McCarthys with tremendous political power and occasional skill. These weapons according to the present authors are futile in fighting communism as bow and arrow are against a tank. This futile warfare has led Americans to the ultimate absurdity of attempting to legislate an idea out of existence and to defeat a philosophy with force, with the result that we know now that the communists were doing more than we could see when they were a legal entity and what we could not see scared us. So instead of taking steps to reveal that which was hidden we adopted measures to hide what we formerly saw. It is as if we tried to make icebergs less dangerous

to navigation by submerging them completely. Hence the authors suggest the repeal of the Mac-Carran laws and the passing of laws that will shed more light on communist activities rather than cover them under a mist of secrecy. The authors seem to be aware that the problem of dealing with communism is ultimately of preventing subversion without endangering freedom. To this effect they suggest the appointment of a non-partisan commission which would carry out enquiries at a higher level than mere name calling. Establishment of such a commission would eliminate the need for public hearings by Congressional Committees which do no good in fighting the communist menace, but instead prevent many young members from getting out of the Communist Party. The authors suggest that psychologists could make an especially important contribution, because emotional basis in the turn towards communism is certainly important.

To the Indian reader the analysis and the conclusions of the Report may appear to be somewhat misplaced due largely to the difference in the institutional background of his country and that of America. A mere study of the psychological background will not shed sufficient light as to the methods of combatting communism. Even the authors of this Report admit that the exception among those who join the Communist Party of the United States is a group who became communist during the depths of the depression. Here alone we find men and women driven by a desire to change an economic system by which they themselves were handicapped (p. 201). In underdeveloped countries like India with its mounting unemployment among the middle-class urban and rural intelligentsia, it will be found that the lure of communism cannot be explained so much by personal inadequacy as by an inadequate economic system which fails to satisfy their normal necessities of life. Here a balanced economic development rather than a psychological study of the character-patterns of the individual communists will help in combatting the communist menace.

M. V. PRADHAN

Eclipse of God

by Martin Buber (Gollancz, 1953, pp. 198, Sh. 15/-.)

AN argument against Spinoza which long remained unknown, and to which insufficient attention is paid even to-day, was formulated at the beginning of our era. It is a proposition found (together with several variants) in the remarkable notes set down by Kant in his old age: "God is not external substance, but only a moral condition within us."

"It is true," Martin Buber maintains in *Eclipse of God*, "that Kant did not stop with this proposition. Kant ultimately sought and apprehended—a God who would meet the requirement of the philosopher's earlier 'postulate of practical reason,' a God who would overcome the contradiction between the imperative which is unconditional—a God who is the source of all moral obligation."

Assume that man has now fully brought about "the elimination of the self-subsisting suprasensual world," and that the principles and the ideals which have characterized man in any way, to any extent, no longer exist. Man may even do away with the name of "god," which after all implies a possessive, and which, if the possessor rejects it, i.e., if there is no longer a "God of man," has lost its *raison d'être*; we "the slayers", contends Martin Buber, "remain dwellers in darkness consigned to death."

However, Martin Buber confesses that a concept of being that means anything other than the inherent fact of all existing being, namely, that it exists, remains insurmountably empty — "that is, unless I have recourse to religion and see in it a philosophical characterization of the Godhead similar to that of some Christian scholastics and mystics who contemplate, or think that they contemplate, the Godhead as it is in itself, thus as prior to creation."

Of the two who have taken up Nietzsche's expression of the death of God, one, Sartre has brought it an himself *ad absurdum* through his postulate of the free invention of meaning and value. The other, Heidegger, creates a concept of a rebirth of God out of the thought of truth which falls into the enticing nets of historical times. The path of his existentialism seems to vanish.

This then, in essence, is what *Eclipse of God* religion and philosophy in the history of the spirit and deals with the part that philosophy has played in its late period in making God and all absolute-ness appear unreal.

Eclipse of God discusses the relations between aspires to communicate and very much fails, at least in the opinion of one reader, to attain the heights, which the blurb on the dust jacket would have us believe this latest from the pen of one of admittedly eminent Europeans of our time, accomplishes. R. H.

To A Gandhian Capitalist

Hind Books pp. 204, Rs. 3/12.

JAMNALAL BAJJAJ was one of the closest associates of Gandhiji from the beginning of the Satyagraha movement in 1919 until his death. These letters exchanged between them reveal the "spiritual" atmosphere prevailing in the Congress Camp and shows that for many inmates of the Gandhian circle, self-purification and development was as important as the political ideals of Swaraj. Jamnalal Bajaj was a well known and respected figure in India and this book gives intimate details of his life. In him Gandhiji had found a businessman who was a living example of one who practised the theory of Trusteeship. Gandhiji wrote "That possessors of wealth had not acted up to the theory does not prove its falsity, it proves the weakness of the wealthy." Jamnalal showed that the weakness could be overcome, and he became a capitalist of the Gandhian pattern.

The book contains a forward by Jawaharlal Nehru and a note on Jamnalal by Kaka Kalelkar, and makes most interesting reading. Z. F.

To The Editor

McCARTHY'S METHODS

Sir,—Even those who for reasons of their own are inclined to be silent about Senator McCarthy's methods must be aware of the incalculable harm he is doing to the reputation of the United States abroad. The evidence mounts daily that he is a heavy liability to the friends of American democracy and international freedom, and an obstacle to all efforts to counteract communist lies about the true nature of American society.

But even more significant than his deplorable effect abroad is the new tack that Senator McCarthy has taken on the domestic scene. He seems to have turned from investigating communists, while making reckless and exaggerated statements about them, to hounding former communists who are now actively engaged in the defence of liberty against the totalitarian threat. Oddly enough, while he pursues men who discarded years ago the passing communist illusions of their youth and whose integrity is now unquestionable, Senator McCarthy extends his blessings to certain other former communists, some of whom remained faithful to the party long after those whom he is attacking had left it. The only explanation for this peculiar behaviour is that the objects of Senator McCarthy's wrath have dared to question the intelligence and effectiveness of his methods of fighting communism.

Senator McCarthy evidently considers agreement with his own fantastic views about how best to resist communism as the acid test of democratic loyalty. Yet it can easily be shown that Senator McCarthy's behaviour has strengthened sympathy for communism, and decreased friendliness to American democracy, all over the globe. In the light of the facts it is legitimate to interpret Senator McCarthy's actions as motivated less by an interest in combating communism than by a desire to exploit the authority he possesses as a Senator.

The time has come to organize a national movement of men and women of all political parties to retire Senator McCarthy from public life. This is one movement in which we shall not have to fear infiltration by communists. For the day Senator McCarthy leaves the political scene the communists throughout the world will go into mourning.

New York, May 1, 1953.

SIDNEY HOOK

"SPECIAL EUROPEAN CORRESPONDENT"

Sir,—R. K. D.'s review of General Willoughby's book on the Soviet master spy Sorge was very illuminating, but he appears to have overlooked the part played in the espionage ring in Tokyo by Guenther Stein who, as it happens, is the "Special European Correspondent," at the present time, of *The Hindustan Times* of Delhi. About this man, the book has a lot to say which can be found on pages 62, 78, 160, 173, 202 and 226. I quote only a few sentences to show

how deeply Guenther Stein was implicated:

"Guenther Stein, a member of the ring, is a man about whom too little is known.....Like Miss Smedley, Guenther Stein was a Soviet agent..... Because he was no longer in Japan when the members of the ring were arrested, the Japanese police did not go very deeply into Stein's antecedents and complexity. That he was a top-level member of the ring is clear.....A note book confiscated from Sorge listed six members of his spy ring, together with their aliases, and Stein was listed among the six. An intercepted radio message to Moscow referred to his code name, which means that his identity was known, that he was listed in the personnel records of the Soviet Army Intelligence. There is testimony by Klausen and Sorge that the wireless technician erected a transmission set in Stein's house; Stein not only was living in the premises at the time, but gave his consent....."

When the story broke on February 10, 1949, Stein was in New York. Two days later, he turned up in Paris.....The French Embassy in Tokyo, however, advised me that Guenther Stein was arrested in Paris by the French Sureté on charges of espionage. He was under cover, now almost habitually for the clandestine fraternity, as Correspondent for *The Hindustan Times*."

Is this the kind of man whom the editors of *The Hindustan Times* consider to be an objective observer of European events? B.H.

(PHILIP SPRATT — Cont'd from p. 2)

changed since it was formulated, in a propaganda pamphlet, 105 years ago, which notoriously lives in an emotional atmosphere less like that of science than that of scholastic dogmatism, which makes the most daring abstraction from the facts of human nature, and has been belied by many of the great historical events of the period since it was formulated.

Others are no doubt attracted by the claim of the communist countries that they order their affairs in a more scientific way than free countries. We may remark that science has no authority to decide upon ends, but the communist countries do usurp that authority. Further, it is a crude conception of science which demands a central direction in detail of the activities of a vast country, which allocates men as it allocates materials, and finds so much coercion necessary in coordinating men's efforts.

We would ask if it is in the spirit of science to cut off that huge area of the earth from the rest by a barrier designed to be impermeable to truth; and if it is in the spirit of science to believe the statements of partisans about what happens on the other side of this barrier, without taking notice of conflicting evidence.

We would ask if it is in accordance with the spirit of science for a political government, having no scientific competence, to direct scientific men to adhere to certain theories and to disavow others, penalising those who refuse to obey by dismissal, imprisonment and death. (Despite denial by a visiting Russian professor, reported in *Vijnan Karmee*, June, 1950, this

has happened). We ask if it is in the spirit of science for the State to enforce false beliefs in regard to historical facts, as the Soviet does in its frequent revisions of political and scientific history.

There is, no doubt, a theoretical or philosophical background to this attitude to truth. Marxists hold that the process of nature is "one," and accordingly science is one: it is the "science of history." Men's understanding of all the special sciences is conditioned by historical, i.e. social factors, and the sciences in the hands of different classes tend to be so formulated and used as to serve their divergent purposes.

In these abstract terms the doctrine may express a partial truth. But communists make use of this sophisticated theory of the social relativity of truth to deny firmly established facts and to indulge in wholesale invention of "facts". They do this not only in politics, where they only carry to an extreme the normal habit of exaggeration of one's case; they do it in supposedly serious academic works such as historical and scientific and philosophical text-books, and the *Great Soviet Encyclopædia*.

Indeed, we take Soviet academic work too seriously if we seek a philosophical justification for it. The fact is, as communist theorists admit, that in their view all other intellectual pursuits are subordinate to politics and partake of the nature of propaganda. Scientific men should consider seriously whether they wish to abandon science as we know it, as the pursuit of truth, for this politicalised "science."

An instance which will show that this politicalised science could be a practical danger is the population problem. Among those qualified to judge, including the authorities of the Government of India, it is now the prevailing opinion that India is involved in a grave population crisis. At least it is admitted to be a debatable question. But for communists it is not debatable. On this point they have a dogma, which applies not only to India but to all countries: the idea of overpopulation is "reactionary," nay, "cannibalism."

A recent issue of *Vijnan Karmee* (June, 1952) remarked enviously that in some western countries scientific men "are made to feel that they are on top." May we express a doubt whether anything but a rather modest ambition on behalf of the scientific body is likely to be fulfilled? In relation to national income, totalitarian states pay their scientific staff probably somewhat better than free societies. That is what Prof. Kosambi means by "freedom from servitude to a decaying class." He ignores or falsifies other types of servitude. In free countries a scientific man can investigate, publish, speak and teach as he pleases, if often at some sacrifice. In communist countries he has to publish, speak and teach what is orthodox, or pay what in many instances has been the extreme penalty. In either type of country, he cannot hope to be "on top." In free countries the politicians, in totalitarian countries the politicians and the policemen, will always beat the scientific men in the struggle for power.

With Many Voices

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

—Tennyson.

Asia, unlike America, feels no moral indignation against communism.

—Editorial in *The National Standard*,
May 20, 1953.

"Except for Turkey and Israel, the best we can hope for in the Middle East is neutrality—and we'll get that without making concession."

—Mark Alexander in the *New Leader*, May 11, 1953.

Neutrality is not a weapon of defence but a form of escape from reality.

—Odysseus in *The Eastern Economist*, May 8, 1953.

The cry for "a five power peace pact" is nothing but Russia's device to have what it wants at its own price, and reveals that even after Stalin's death Russia has not in effect moved at all towards international understanding.

—*Thought*, May 2, 1953.

"The journalist's strongest instinct was to harass those in authority but it was easy to exaggerate."
(Sir Christopher Chancellor)

"His (the journalist's) is the one profession in which a man is paid to make a nuisance of himself."
(Sir Christopher Chancellor)

"After all, 'no news is good news' and from this it may be deduced that good news is no news. News tends in this direction. We cannot help it. It is the nature of the beast." (Sir Christopher Chancellor)

—*The Hindustan Times*, May 9, 1953.

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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Signature

The middle-class, who were proud of their achievements during the past two centuries, he (Mr. Sri Pakvasa, Governor of Madras) said, could not afford to remain in self-complacency as they were "in danger of complete extinction by communism." Humanity could achieve its goal towards glory and happiness if only it was able to tackle "the tidal wave of communism" effectively and immediately.

—*The Statesman*, May 4, 1953.

Mr. Jayaprakash Narayan told pressmen here today that all political parties with the solitary exception of the communists had taken up the "bhoodan yajna" mission in right earnest.

Explaining why the communists did not co-operate with the movement, Mr. Narayan said they knew full well that if the movement succeeded they would have to wind up their show.

—*The Hindustan Times*, May 18, 1953.

Joliot-Curie of France, Mrs. Felton of Britain and Sgr. Nenni of Italy are about as independent political entities as is Dr. Kitchlew of India. It was not for nothing that all these persons have received Russian patronage in one form or another.

—*Thought*, May 2, 1953.

The Prime Minister did not seem to favour the idea of common defence for the two countries. Asking against whom such a defence alliance could be, Mr. Nehru is reported to have said there was no point in coming to such an arrangement.

—Special Correspondent of *The Hindustan Times*,
May 12, 1953.

The defeat of the French forces in Indo-China would result in the victory of an imperialism infinitely more ruthless than ever reached Asia from the West.

—Odysseus in *The Eastern Economist*, May 8, 1953.

One sadly recalls what the hero in *We*, the well-known book by an ex-Russian supporter of the Bolshevik Revolution said in an imaginary monologue: The ancients (meaning thereby the people of the century) were so primitive in their politics that they could not know before-hand even the result of their elections! The Chinese rulers are certainly not primitive in their politics.

—The Diplomatic Correspondent of *Thought*,
May 2, 1953.