

MAY 1954

The Committee And America

by Prabhakar Padhye

A friend writes:

"I have gone through the literature of your Committee which you kindly sent me. I am glad to say that I am in complete agreement with the fundamental aims and objects of your Committee. In fact, your Committee seems to cherish the ideals which I have cherished all my life. And yet I hesitate to take the logical step of joining the organisation. My hesitation arises from certain doubts about the practical implications of your work. I do not, ofcourse, believe in the mischievous accusations of the communists and their fellow-travellers that your Committee is financed by America. Being themselves financed by foreign powers they cannot but think of others in their own image. But I wonder whether in practice your organisation does not, or may not, toe the political line of the Western nations; whether, in other words, you may not exist as an outpost of the Western policies in India."

I have quoted this friend *in extenso* because he is so typical of the average well meaning Indian in his attitude towards organisations like ours.

We are happy to find that our correspondent has not been duped by the ridiculous smear of the communists and their fellow-travellers about the Committee being dependent on foreign finance. In point of fact, the Executive Committee of the Indian Committee for Cultural Freedom has decided that, while in principle there is nothing whatsoever objectionable in those who share common ideals in different parts of the world helping one another (provided their independence of thought and action is not impaired), the Indian Committee finds it unnecessary to accept financial contributions from the International Movement in Paris, even though such contri-

butions are, in fact, made to its units in America, Britain and other countries.

The correspondent's general outlook, however, betrays signs of a confusion of certain fundamental values and their practical outcome or what looks like their outcome. It is the result of a mental attitude which is so befogged by practical considerations that it tends to forget the fundamentals.

Fundamentally, the Indian Committee stands for the values of freedom, democracy and the sovereignty of the individual. As the Declaration of Cultural Freedom (which is a document of paramount importance with us) says, we believe that "Culture can only flourish, find its best expression and be secure in a free society. Society is free in which the integrity of the individual is recognised and respected as a primary ethical value, with all the guarantees of social justice, including equality of opportunity, which this principle implies." The recognition of the integrity of the individual as a primary ethical value provides the basic condition for the prevalence and perfection of cultural freedom. We further believe that the modern totalitarian tyranny which denies this basic condition "is more insidious and destructive than any tyranny in the past, in as much as the modern tyranny of totalitarianism seeks to dictate not only the form in which truth, both aesthetic and scientific, may be expressed, but truth itself." We are convinced that "the new tyranny founded on the theory and practice of totalitarianism is the gravest challenge man has faced in civilised history" and that "indifference or neutrality towards this totalitarian tyranny amounts to a renunciation of the Indian tradition and our human heritage and a betrayal of all spiritual values."

The Indian Committee is a part of the international movement that is developing in the free world for the defence of culture and the growth of free society. While retaining its freedom of thought and action, as such, it is affiliated to the Congress for Cultural Freedom, which, as Mr. Max Brauer, the Lord Mayor of Hamburg, aptly pointed out, has constituted itself "as a permanent Parliament representing

the supra-national Republic of the human spirit of all freedom-loving people." As a constituent of that supra-national Republic of the human spirit of all freedom-loving people the Indian Committee judges all issues on merits not from the narrow national angle but from the broader international aspect of the relation of each issue to the world struggle for the defence and extension of freedom and democracy. The Committee's basic stand is not affected by the fact that, on occasions, its line of thought may or may not be shared by dominant sections of opinion among the people of the Western nations. It is not wedded to any nation or its political policy. It is a free and independent organisation. Its policies and actions are dictated solely by its declared objective of advancing the cause of cultural freedom.

We are aware of the fact that totalitarianism manifests itself in a variety of ways and that it threatens freedom in more than one aspect. Although in the contemporary world communism remains its most monstrous manifestation, we are conscious that it assumes diverse forms in diverse places. The Indian Committee and the International Movement of which it forms a part have recognised this not only in theory but in effective practice. In America, for instance, the American Committee for Cultural Freedom has played a glorious part in fighting the menace of McCarthyism and has collected a magnificent band of distinguished intellectuals under its anti-totalitarian and anti-McCarthy banner. In Western Germany, the Committee is engaged in fighting neo-Nazi tendencies. In Italy the Committee is concerned over the manifestation of certain extreme clerical trends. In India, we recognise that besides communism there are such forces as poverty, communalism, casteism and linguism which threaten cultural freedom, but luckily there are forces and factors which have devoted themselves entirely to combatting these evils—and the Committee has nothing but sympathy and goodwill for them. But unfortunately there is no organised movement or body of public opinion that is intently devoted to fighting the communist threat. The Committee therefore naturally feels itself called upon to concern itself primarily with this gigantic menace.

All over the world a mighty debate is going on between the forces of democracy and the forces of totalitarianism. It is a debate between freedom and slavery, between culture and its prostitution, between humanity and its destruction, between the values of life and their cynical denial. The Committee has no doubt that if this debate is allowed to be conducted under fair and even conditions the basic urges of humanity will inflict a crushing defeat on the forces of the modern totalitarian tyranny. The Committee has joined the debate in this faith.

But in India today this fundamental debate is vitiated at its very root by a strange phenomenon of moral neutralism which refuses to judge between truth and untruth, between the moral and immoral, between the affirmation and denial of human values. Fundamental values of life seem to be of no consequence; and it has almost become a mark of superior quality to refuse to judge things by a reference

to these values. It is this neutralism which has made the task of the Indian Committee extremely difficult and has created all sorts of misunderstanding about the work of the Committee, of the type, for instance, mentioned by the friend quoted above. This moral neutralism is hanging like some dreadful fog on the intellectual life of this fair land today.

A few examples will make the nature of this moral neutralism clear. Take the case of the Report of the Committee on Forced Labour established under the joint auspices of the Social and Economic Council of the United Nations and of the International Labour Organisation, and presided over by an eminent Indian. This Report is a triumph of interest and investigation. It is a document of great social and cultural significance. It touches one of the fundamental values of life. Here was a great moral issue that should have touched the proverbially sensitive conscience of the Indian people. Is it not sad that in such a context those who spoke for our country in the Social and Economic Council and the General Assembly of the U.N. should have disowned the Report and our distinguished compatriot who presided over the Committee and that, taking their cue from this, large sections of our press should have ignored this important document and thus denied the Indian people a knowledge of its contents? It is tragic that the Indian press, which exercises so freely the right of democratic discussion in domestic matters, should—under a mistaken sense of national discipline—feel that it is not entitled to exercise similar freedom in matters of international relations. Be it remembered that the Report did not even touch Red China for which all the springs of our ancient and modern friendship run freely and speedily and that it condemned South Africa on a ground that has become an integral part of our policy towards that country.

(Continued on page 11)

FREEDOM FIRST

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Notes

The H. Bomb Racket

THE howl that has been set up by the International Communist Movement and echoed by its dupes in this and other countries against the testing of the Hydrogen bomb is altogether reminiscent of the similar slogans for the banning of the Atom bomb which were given a few years back in the Stockholm Peace Appeal. At that time, while the United States and Britain had the Atom bomb, the U.S.S.R. had still to develop it and it was necessary to devise means for delaying the Democracies from making further progress while the Soviets caught up in the race.

In the case of the Hydrogen bomb the story is somewhat different. There is reason to believe that during last year the Soviets were ahead of the free world in the progress they had made in the development of the Hydrogen bomb. Indeed when news of the explosion in Siberia was given by the United States President to the world not only was there no call from quarters so vocal at present for the banning of the bomb but actually there was a lot of glee and rubbing of hands in silent satisfaction. Why is it only when the United States has successfully exploded the bomb and details have been made available to the world that the present commotion is launched? Evidently the Kremlin finds itself once again outpaced and now squeals because the weapon on which it was counting has now been perfected in other hands.

There is also some evidence to show that some time towards the end of last year the Kremlin struck an unexpected snag and reached the conclusion that the Hydrogen bomb would be unusable after all as a major Soviet weapon of war. There is yet no reliable information as to where the snag has arisen but as far as can be ascertained it is because the logistics of carrying the Hydrogen bomb by air and delivering it at its target have proved to be a weak link in the chain of Soviet preparations. Be that as it may there is reason to believe that last December the Soviet Atomic Energy Commission under Malyshev's chairmanship recommended to the Soviet cabinet a diversion of effort. Some time between December 20th and 29th the Soviet Government is reported to have slashed the expenditure on Hydrogen bomb development by 3,820. million roubles. A large part of this sum is reported to be diverted to cosmic ray research. By February half the employees of the Hydrogen bomb research centre at Caluga had been laid off duty.

Such are the real motivations behind the commotion for the banning of the Hydrogen bomb and they throw a pitiable light on the way in which good and God fearing men and women throughout the

world are once again being made partners in one more Soviet dodge to deprive the Democracies of a powerful weapon of defence while the Kremlin gains time for its own war preparations.

If there is one government in the world which is responsible for keeping humanity in fear and peril of the Atom and Hydrogen bomb it is the Soviet government. In the face of unanimous decisions in the United Nations General Assembly, it is the Soviet government that has blocked the setting up of an International Atomic Energy Commission, which would have adequate powers of inspection to enable it to effectively prevent these infernal weapons of destruction from being produced. The Soviet government's insistence on objecting to such powers of inspection on its side of the Iron Curtain and its insistence on preserving its veto for this in the International Atomic Energy Commission makes nonsense of the claims of its deluded adherents in India and the rest of the free world. The United States and the United Kingdom have repeatedly agreed to the banning of the bomb the moment adequate guarantees are forthcoming that the men in the Kremlin would similarly be prevented from making and using such weapons.

Women Dupes of the Communists

THE withdrawal on April 7 of the consultative status hitherto enjoyed by the Women's International Democratic Federation by a resolution of the United Nations Economic and Social Council passed by a vote of 10 to 3 for "spreading propaganda against the U.N. and its work" gives international recognition to what has been known already by intelligent students of world affairs—that the W.I.D.F. is nothing but a front of the Cominform, whose last spokesman to visit India was the notorious Mrs. Monica Felton who qualified for a Stalin Prize by reviling her compatriots defending the cause of the United Nations and peace in Korea and by lauding the communist aggressors.

Popular education in India will have to proceed much further, however, before such traps cease to be effective. As we write, the Indo-Soviet Cultural Society and its president Dr. A. V. Baliga are engaged in endeavouring to decoy a number of well-known Indian women to Moscow under the pretext of yet another "Goodwill Delegation." The Indo-Soviet Cultural Society is a communist front which has replaced the notorious "Friends of the Soviet Union" which had been earlier denounced by the Indian Government as a front of the Communist Party. In the report presented by the Politbureau to the Third Congress of the C.P.I., the Communist leaders had proudly boasted of the success of their "Comrades" working in this puppet body. Those women who, despite these well-known facts, make themselves party to such a manoeuvre by accepting this invitation will undoubtedly earn the gratitude of the Communist Party but they will also advertise thereby their own immaturity and credulity.

Test at Colombo

SINCE the 2nd Annual Conference of the Indian Committee for Cultural Freedom (see page 32 of the Proceedings) adopted its resolution on *A New Threat to Freedom in Asia*, drawing attention to the threat presented by Communist Imperialism masquerading as "liberation", there can be no question of the tremendous strength gathered by the forces fighting for the preservation of the free way of life in South-East Asia.

The advance has been twofold. On the one hand, French imperialism is being forced, under insistent U.S. persuasion, to release its grip on Indo-China. Almost irreparable harm has been done by the stiff-necked French attitude which has taken years to relax in Indo-China and which still persists in Tunisia and Pondicherry. Viet Nameese and Asian opinion will insist that the freedom that is now being won by the peoples of Indo-China is real. President Magsaysay gave apt expression to this sentiment when, on April 18, he made the assurance of full independence to Indo-China a precondition to participation in a NATO type Pacific Pact.

On the other hand the appeasement of Communist China, which is the real aggressor in Indo-China, is nearing its end. The failure of the Berlin Conference has once again proved the folly of expecting results from negotiations with the communists and the old lesson that concerted action is the only way to deter totalitarian dictators from launching on war is being learnt yet once again the hard way by more and more of those who had sought to evade unpleasant issues.

In this context, the Conference of South Asian Prime Ministers, who have yet to meet in Colombo as we go to press, will have an important role to play. There are many in this part of the world who have no illusions about Red "liberation" but who yet draw back emotionally from joining in a system of regional security which is initiated or dominated by the Atlantic Powers. For these, the Colombo Conference provides both an opportunity and a test. Politics, like nature, abhors a vacuum. If it is desired that the Western Democracies should not intervene in the affairs of this part of the world, the only way to give effect to that desire is for the statesmen of the South and South-East Asian countries themselves to take the initiative in creating a system of common defence by which an attack on one of them would be construed as an attack on all. Indeed, if such a pact had already been entered into by the countries of the region themselves, there would have been no need for outsiders to rush in. Unfortunately, the record in Korea, Tibet and in Indo-China has so far shown a not very creditable reluctance on the part of certain free nations in Asia to go to the aid of their neighbours when they have become victims of aggression.

It is to be hoped, therefore, that the opportunity provided by the Colombo Conference will not be allowed by the five Prime Ministers who forgather there to be wasted and that the Conference will mark a turning point in Asian affairs from the swamp

of isolation and appeasement to the path of the active and considered defense of Peace and Freedom.

Famine in China

A SERIOUS famine is threatening the People's Republic of China. The news is no longer "a malicious lie spread by the capitalist press." It is officially admitted and authoritatively proclaimed by the press organs of the communist regime. The official New China News Agency has published a report of the food shortage existing in the country and placed the number of people suffering from the shortage at 200 million, which is half of China's total population. There are reports also of the discontent growing in the countryside, of the repressive measures taken to stifle the discontent resulting in the shooting down of peasants and of new drastic regulations promulgated to outlaw private trading in grains and to compel the peasants to sell their products to the State at fixed prices. Coercive steps are also being taken to prevent the starving peasants from rushing to cities in search of food. According to a directive published by the Interior and Labour Ministries on March 12 it is admitted that "in certain areas the situation is assuming serious proportions with each passing day." It should be clear from these authoritative reports of the agrarian situation, as it exists today in China, that all the tall talk of the communist regime and its servile propagandists that communism had successfully solved the agricultural problem, was nothing but sheer propaganda.

Dr. Matthai's Reminder

DR. JOHN MATTHAI has done well to emphasize the necessity of a study of the humanities even in an institute of science. In the course of his presidential address to the Indian Institute of Science he said: "The study of science alone provides at best an imperfect and incomplete education. If education is a preparation for life it must have a twofold objective. On the one hand, it should equip students with certain skills and an understanding of one or other branch of accumulated knowledge and, on the other, it should develop in them a sense of values and of individual responsibility. It will help the latter objective effectively if some provision is made in an institute of science like ours for the study of the humanities." It is undeniable that, as pointed out by Dr. Matthai, "we have now turned almost unreservedly to a utilitarian approach with its emphasis on vocational and professional training." Scientific and useful knowledge is no doubt necessary but, warned Dr. Matthai, "such knowledge may become synonymous with spiritual ignorance and poverty, if we set ourselves to a limited and utilitarian an objective." This warning given by Dr. Matthai deserves to be kept in mind when lakhs and crores of rupees are being spent over the establishment of technological institutes and laboratories. We are not against those institutions, but would not like them to exhaust all the available resources to the utter neglect of the

study of humanities. It is the study of the humanities that contributes to the growth of "that balanced judgment, that spirit of free inquiry, that sense of corporate loyalty," which, according to Dr. Matthai "mark an educated man."

Co-operative Movement

THE cooperative movement has just celebrated its Golden Jubilee, having completed fifty years of its existence. On the occasion, there were celebrations at many places. The Prime Minister inaugurated the jubilee celebrations in Bombay. The celebrations should serve to awaken public interest in the cooperative movement. The movement has no doubt some notable achievements to its credit. But it must be admitted that it has not yet become a part and parcel of the people's life. The movement still remains confined to a handful of official and non-official enthusiasts. It has made some headway in the field of supply of credit. But in the more vital fields of distribution and production it is still in a very initial stage. Cooperatives blaze the trail of a new way of life, a way of life based neither on competitive free enterprise nor on State control of economic life. The new way of life enables men to cooperate with each other and to manage their own affairs without the intervention of the State. That is the most significant aspect of the cooperative movement which endears it to all those who stand for freedom and democracy.

Jeevan Dan

JAYAPRAKASH NARAYAN'S life has always been a dedicated one, even when he worshipped at the shrine of that "False Goddess" of Dialectical Materialism whom he was at last publicly to renounce in his epoch making article "Incentives For Goodness" in the September 1952 issue of *Freedom First*. His dedication of his life to the cause of Bhoodan Yagna has been rightly described as historic by Dada Dharmadhikari, who has renamed the recent All India Sarvodaya Sammelan in Bodh Gaya as "Jayaprakash Sammelan." Mr. S. N. Agarwal, General Secretary of the A.I.C.C., has urged that, following on this important conference, attended by no less a person than the Hon'ble Dr. Rajendra Prasad, the Head of our Republic, "co-operation between peaceful and democratic forces in India is very essential" for safeguarding India's free way of life.

The Indian Committee for Cultural Freedom was, at its last Annual Conference in Madras last September, early to recognise the wider social significance of Bhoodan and to pay its tribute to Acharya Vinoba Bhave for thus "enriching the spiritual life of the Country." The Committee provides one among the platforms where Congressmen, socialists and other democrats can co-operate on the lines desired by Mr. S. N. Agarwal. It has been proud to have the socialist Jayaprakash as one of the members of its Executive Committee alongside of such Congress

stalwarts as Dr. Sampurnanand and Mr. M. Bhaktavatsalam.

We offer Jayaprakash our tribute of affectionate regard.

Rajaji's Future Role

RAJAJI'S last public act as Chief Minister of Madras was characteristic of the high position he occupies in the cultural life of this country. He spoke at a function at which the Presidential Award for Carnatic Vocal Music was handed over to Sangeeta Kalanidhi K. Vasudevacharya by His Excellency Mr. Sri Prakasa, the Governor of Madras. Members of the Indian Committee for Cultural Freedom cannot but recall with gratitude the inspiring address Rajaji delivered while inaugurating the last Annual Conference of the ICCF. The *Manchester Guardian's* view that the retirement of such a figure cannot be allowed to pass "without salute being made to his great qualities" has been universally echoed.

The Indian people will not, however, permit this great Elder Statesman to withdraw altogether from public life where his mature judgement, mellowed wisdom and restraining influence are more than ever needed in these delirious days. Rajaji, we are confident, has still a vital role to play.

Fostering Asian Discord

THE dignified protest addressed to the *Times of India* by the Minister Plenipotentiary of the Philippines in India against the mischievous and tendentious reporting on Far Eastern affairs by their correspondent G.K. Reddy must have struck a responsive chord in the hearts of many a reader of that newspaper. Taking exception to the derogatory manner in which that scribe had referred to the Republic of the Philippines, which now has at its head one of the most outstanding statesmen of Asia in the person of President Ramon Magsaysay, the Envoy retorted: "The Filipinos are capable of coining some smart terms and phrases to apply to India but such an attitude is not conducive to the promotion of neighbourly relations and good understanding between the two Asian nations."

Mr. G. K. Reddy who, as the correspondent in Delhi of *Blitz*, was attacked publicly more than once by the Prime Minister for his mendacity and scurrility, has in recent months been busy peddling his pro-communist views and airing his prejudices in the hospitable columns of the *Times*. From Iran to Korea, he has given a distorted view of our friendly neighbours in Asia whose opposition to Red Imperialism appears to rile him greatly. His anticipatory glee at the impending fall of Dien Bien Phu has been revealing.

There are several aberrations in the news reporting and editorial policy of the *Times of India* which occasion widespread comment, but one of those that cry out most for redress is the publicity given in a journal with such high traditions to the ignorant and inept outpourings of Mr. G. K. Reddy.

W. H. Auden: A View

by Yatin Gaznavi

Mr. Wystan Hugh Auden has been recently awarded the 1953 annual Bollingen Prize in Poetry of the Yale University Library in recognition of his life-time work. Written specially for Freedom First, this article contributes a view of the background and range of Mr. Auden's poetry.

High on some mountain shelf
Huddle the pitiless abstractions bald about the necks.
—W. B. Yeats

THE characteristic movement of the 'thirties, it is said, derived much of its impetus from Marx, and more from Freud. It is still not clear, however, whether the poets of this decade actually read these two great men or, if they did, whether they assimilated them. One has the feeling in reading the poetry of this time, that the Marx-Freud influence was not a pure one—in the sense that the influence of Macchiavelli over the Elizabethans was not a pure one. In a sense the Elizabethans re-invented Macchiavelli to suit their own purposes. The general picture of what he was supposed to stand for was projected outwards into a troubled world and the minor dramatists and writers snatched up the myth and turned it to their own uses without bothering overmuch about sources. The English Macchiavelli was by no means the same as the Italian one. Did something like this happen to Marx and Freud in the thirties?

Now Marxism as a criticism of a society which has a lot wrong with it was one thing; as an empirical theory it was all very well. But at the time it was conceived the prevailing spirit was utilitarian, agnostic and atheistic. The world was hungry—as always—and the only sort of revelations seemed to be coming from Science. Hence Marxism, though it was uncompromisingly materialistic in outlook, managed to siphon off the crippled and thwarted *religious* instincts of the later Victorians.

The snowball grew to such a size that by the time we reached the 'thirties it had become immoral for a young poet not to be a Socialist.

Brought up on the Wellsian fiction of Utopia, the appeal of this spirit was irresistible to the middle class poet; it offered him something to believe in an empty world. It also soothed his social inferiority, and above all it carried with it the approbation of those wise, wise men, the scientists.

So much for Marx. But what about Freud? Most of the poets of this generation claimed him as an influence, but once more one is tempted to wonder whether they had, in fact, studied him deeply or, had simply constructed a generalized picture of him as Elizabethans did with Macchiavelli. The one exception, I would say, is Auden who at every point betrays a profound and thorough knowledge of psycho-analysis, and has acknowledged the debt to both Freud and Groddeck in the most moving terms.

The great landmark then that sticks out is the year 1930 when the poems of Auden were published. Here was a new voice of considerable power, a new

technique, a new way of handling images; and in the wake of Auden came a group of fine poets which issued its first anthology, *New Signatures*, in 1932.

The smouldering embers of Georgian tradition burst into flames and from the cheerless hearths of journals like *The Poetry Review* the critics woke up and sharpened their battle-axes. Here was something really new, and worth attacking.

Auden seemed at home in every medium—in the short, four-beat rhythm of cabaret jazz, in the ballad, and in the iambic metre with its dependence upon vowel sounds. Even his earliest work is positively protean in its range of techniques, and the fearlessness with which it used the available contemporary subjects. The subject-matter for this early poetry was very largely social criticism. Much the best of the social criticism of the 'thirties remains as readable, as delightful, as it was first published, despite the fact that to-day, Auden has returned to the Anglo-Catholicism in which he was brought up.

*It's no use raising a shout.
No, Honey, you can cut that right out.
I don't want any more hugs;
Make me some fresh tea, fetch me some rugs.
Here am I, here are you:
But what does it mean? What are we going to do?*

More parody than poetry, you would think, but as the poem progresses it becomes the object it is criticizing in this mockery of a jazz-tune: it runs down like unwound gramophone—as indeed the poet believed our civilization is running down.

The change is already apparent in the poetry written in 1941 where the poet is eagerly in search of an absolute:

*O sudden Wind that blows unbidden,
Parting the quiet reeds, O Voice
Within the labyrinth of choice
Only the passive listener hears,
O Clock and Keeper of the Years,
O source of equity and rest
QUADO NON FUERET, NON EST,*
It without image, paradigm
Of matter, motion, number, time,
The grinning gap of Hell, the hill
Of Venus and the Stairs of Will.....*

Auden may have been a romantic as far as his ideas are concerned but his poetic technique has been austere. Unlike Spender and Day Lewis, Auden has never run the risk of being sentimental.

Auden's debt to the psychologist is perhaps most apparent in the way he uses the nursery rhymes. In

* Since it never was, it doesn't exist.

the poetry of de La Mare and Edith Sitwell we get a preoccupation with the childish sensibility, but it is purely sensuous. Auden uses a difficult technique. For him the childish symbols are essentially reflections from a world of terror and mystery; and his trick of personifying abstractions is a development from his earlier method of introducing Jungian and Freudian symbols—'hump-backed scissorman' and the images belonging by rights only to Struwpeter and Lewis Carroll. For de La Mare and Edith Sitwell the poetry of childhood is still what Victorian grandfathers would call "wholesome."

But Auden belongs to a generation which acknowledged the concept of the *libido*, and realized that our earliest impressions of guilt and terror were supposed to be buried in our childhood. For him childhood is an age of responsibility and pre-occupation. And even now, in his latest poetry, he gives his personified metaphysical abstractions the mythological touch of childish symbols, half-understood and almost wholly frightening:

*Then he harrowed hell,
Healed the abyss
Of torpid instinct and trifling flux,
Laundered it, lighted it, made it lovable with
Cathedrals and theories; thanks to him
Brisker smells abet us,
Cleaner clouds accost our vision
And honest sounds our ears.*

*For he ignored the Nightmares and annexed their ranges,
Put the clawing chimaeras in cold storage,
Berated the riddle till it roared and fled,
Won the Battle of Whispers,
Stopped the Stupids, stormed into
The Fumblers' Forts confined the Sulky
To their drab ditches and drove the Crashing
Bores to their bogs,
Their beastly moor.*

Communist Conspiracy At Madurai

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The Way

Dr. James T. Shotwell

[These extracts from the poem were read by Sir Cedric Hardwicke on the occasion of the dedication of the Carnegie Endowment International Center which took place in New York on October 19, 1953]

...as at last with godlike power we move through matter
and mind,

Darkly we grope on the ways of death for ourselves and all
mankind.

Here is the greater challenge, the greatest and the last,
To bring the variant breeds of men of their variant past,
Holding secure the heritage of the things they richly prize,
But seeing the future through the light of Justice's unbound
eyes,

With war and violence banished; it can and it must be done.

For the world itself will not endure unless mankind is one.

The past is more than prologue to the drama of human fate,
The ice-age minds are with us still, with their iron claws of
hate,

But the sword of the Lord and Gideon their forces can with-
stand

Until we build Jerusalem in every pleasant land.

For, rising through sorrow and suffering, the central theme
grows clear,

Welding peace and justice, freedom from want and fear.

Not by wishful thinking can the task be carried through,
Nations have still to learn their part that never freedom knew;
Not by a code of rigid law, enforced by a world police,
With nations surrendering freedom in the search of lasting
peace.

The key to the plot was given on a sunlit mount by a sea
The only guidance the world has yet to make men safe and
free.

Not to Caesar alone we turn to meet the threat of war,
His militant scepter cannot reach where the springs of action
are;

But the mind that has ranged the universe must now itself
control,

For the force in the mighty atom is less than the human soul;
And simpler than any equation are the words forever true:
Do ye unto others as ye would they do to you.

This is the missing fulcrum for Archimedes' pry
To lift the weight of ancient hate, so the people that pass by
May reach together the shining goal which none can reach
alone,

Helping each other along the way that each can make its own,
By joint consent surrendering the ancient right of war,
Alert to thwart betrayal, aware where dangers are
That lie in differing loyalties, where bickering conflicts run,
But offering charity to all, with malice toward none.

Then undismayed by the powers we wield, steady we stand
and strong,
As the harp of the world keeps measure to life's triumphant
song.

Review

Police State Methods in the Soviet Union *Coercion of the Worker in the Soviet Union*

By David Rousset, Distributed by the Popular Book Depot, Bombay 7. Price Rs. 2/8/- each.

THE Beacon Press, Boston, has published two short studies about political and economic conditions inside the Soviet Union. One is called 'Police State Methods in the Soviet Union', and the other, 'Coercion of the Worker in the Soviet Union.' Both of these have been prepared by the International Commission against Concentration Camp Practices, under the direction of David Rousset. Mr. Rousset incidentally passed through Bombay recently.

The fact of Soviet tyranny in the political and the economic field is well known. But the fact that these tyrannies are based on and are in conformity with the laws of the country needs to be stressed. It is not that the present rulers of Russia have misused the power in their hands, which is not the most disturbing aspect of the case. What is disturbing is that everything that has happened is in accordance with the laws of the country. Abuse of power can be understood, and takes place under all types of regimes, but that laws should be passed which are so heavily weighted in favour of the existing regime, is difficult to comprehend. It is not necessary to go into details here about the slow but steady stages by which the judiciary was brought under the control of the executive in Soviet Russia. The G.P.U. the forerunner of the N.K.V.D., the secret police, had as early as 1934 arrogated to itself certain functions of the Supreme Court. The G.P.U. was the terror of the bourgeois "the vigilant guardian of the Revolution, an unsheathed sword in the hands of the proletariat." (Stalin). Since 1934, official records of Soviet laws have not been available to the outside world, but there is enough evidence to show "that administrative penal procedure continues to be systematically practised in the U.S.S.R."

Turn now to the other study, to see the decline of the much vaunted economic rights of the Soviet worker.

The labour laws of the U.S.S.R. quoted in this book make incredible reading. It is unbelievable that inside 30 years the very principles for which the October Revolution was fought should have been so completely reversed by the Communists themselves that by comparison the Czarist Regime now seems liberal, benevolent. The laws which now govern the Soviet worker—many of them in direct contravention of the principles laid down by Lenin after the Revolution—read like the rules of a particularly harsh prison. And that is what all Russia has obviously become for its people—a particularly harsh prison.

The ordinary worker has no say in the type of job he may have. Having been forced into the job the administrator thinks fit for him, he may never change it. He is not allowed to ask for a rise, for better terms or for promotion in any way. If he shows a lack of interest in his work—by what the administrator considers slackness or shirking—he can be sen-

tenced to a term in prison. He may never change his place of residence—a complicated system of passports and work-books sees to that. For certain industries which are considered "Key Industries", disciplinary control over the worker is even more stringent. It would be interesting to know if such soul-deadening conditions do really succeed in increasing materially the efficiency and production of a country. If it is claimed that they do, we are tempted to ask, like the man who asked a physical culturist who said he spent his time keeping fit—"Fit for What?"

ZAFAR FUTEHALLY

Communist Conspiracy At Madurai

Publishers: Popular Book Depot., Lamington Road, Bombay (pp. 160) Price Re. 1/12/-.

THE document disclosed that communists had drawn up a detailed scheme showing how to prepare the people for rebellion against Government and train them in the use of arms. A Government of communist conception, it said, could not be achieved without the use of violence," said Dr. Sampurnanand in the course of an answer in the U.P. Assembly on the latest publication of the Democratic Research Service "Communist Conspiracy At Madurai." Anyone who reads this book cannot but echo Dr. Sampurnanand. It is a comprehensive report on the Third Congress of the Communist Party, held at Madurai early this year. It incorporates all the important documents circulated to the delegates to the Congress and a top secret document on the tactical line of the Party.

These documents and other vital information contained in the report throw a revealing light on the real nature and the sinister intentions of the Communist Party and explode the popular myth that it is a well-knit and monolithic organisation. It now appears that no other party in India is as sharply divided as the C.P. and that this division has been carried even to its highest policy making body—the politbureau.

The document on the Tactical Line, which no serious student of Indian politics can afford to miss, tears into shreds the pretention of the Party that it has given up the cult of acid bulb and kerosene rag. The document, which characterises India as a semi-colonial country yet to be liberated, lays down a detailed plan for a violent overthrow of the established order with the peasantry in the countryside and the working class in the cities as the leading participants. The slogan of united front and the movement for peace about which we hear so much din and noise these days, are, we are told in an able explanatory note detailing the history of some of these documents, a cynical tactic to exploit the traditional democratic and peaceful urges of our people for the purpose of destroying the very foundation of democracy and installing a communist government under the innocuous-sounding slogan of Government of Democratic Unity which is only a preparatory step to the establishment of a full-fledged 'People's Democracy' of the type we have witnessed in Eastern Europe in which the contracting parties are liquidated one by

one. That even now they treat those parties of the united front which refuse to be streamlined with contempt is evident from a reply that P. Ramamurti, member of the Politbureau wrote to Dr. Jaisooriya, leader of the P.D.F. in Hyderabad. Dr. Jaisooriya in a letter to the Communist Party had accused it of 'extra-territorial loyalties' and had charged that their policies were being decided by 'Moscow or the Comintern or the Cominform'. In his reply Mr. Ramamurti instead of allaying his fears likens him to the 'imperialists and feudal landlords and monopolists' and accuses him of repeating the usual anti-communist 'slanders'.

The Democratic Research Service indeed deserves the congratulations of all those who want our nascent democracy to strike firm roots in our soil. By making these documents available to the Government and the public they have once again brought home that the Communist Party is not and cannot be a national party and that it is part of an international conspiracy functioning in this country for furthering the interests of an alien country.

MUKKANNA

The Ontology Of Existence

By Michael Wyschogrod Routledge & Kegan Paul 1954, sh 16/-

THE study of Being, or ontology, was the main concern of Greek philosophy. In modern philosophy, however, the problem of the relation of mind to the world has moved to the forefront. Martin Heidegger believes that only by raising the basic problem of Being can philosophy gain the insights required of it.

But modern ontology is more difficult enterprise because it must take into account the existential point of view developed by Soren Kierkegaard. This point to the problems of philosophy, which, as a human concern, grow out of the basic structure of the human situation. Heidegger's purpose is to give an adequate analysis of Being as a whole, not only as it is found in the human situation.

The Ontology of Existence is concerned with the question of whether this is possible or not. R. H.

Encounter: Number 7

THE highlight of this issue is the remarkably brilliant portrayal of Sir Winston S. Churchill as parliamentarian by Mr. Woodrow Wyatt. Mr. T. R. Fyvel's comment on an "Anglo-American conversation" touching on the so-called American witch-hunting is equally arresting. Mr. Auden's guest editorial on "The World and the Machine" is a provocative commentary on the modern technological civilization.

This is a special Book Number embellished by such significant reviews as that of Prof. Hugh Selson-Watson of Isaac Deutscher's biography of Trotsky. Leonard Woolfe's of Salvemini's 'The French Revolution' and Leslie Fiedler's, examining Kathleen Nott's acid comments on T. S. Eliot, Graham Greene, Dorothy Sayers and C. S. Lewis. Two fine stories heighten the appeal of this issue.

BOOKS IN BRIEF

QUEEN VICTORIA, it is said, was so fascinated by *Alice In Wonderland* that she ordered out all the other books by the same author. She was not amused to find that they were all more serious works of an Oxford don: disquisitions on higher mathematics. I am afraid, many more such admirers of the Mad Hatter, the genial Cheshire Cat and the unpunctual White Rabbit may be disappointed by *The Diaries of Lewis Carroll*, edited by Roger Lancelyn Green (Cassell, two vols, sh 30/- each).

*

The writings of Joris-Karl Huysmans are better explained by a description of his personality than by an impersonal analysis of his work. In his *The First Decadent* (Faber and Faber) Mr. James Laver traces Huysmans' early life and subsequent pilgrimage from the cult of aestheticism towards the Roman Catholic Church. Mr Laver shows his relation on the one hand to the Naturalism of Zola, and to the Goncourts, and on the other to Barbey d'Aureville, Villiers de l'Isle-Adam, the Symbolists and the Catholic converts.

*

The essence of Impressionist realism is its impartiality and impassivity. But one finds it difficult to agree entirely with Mr. Basil Taylor's observation in his *The Impressionists And Their World* (Phonex House, sh 21/-): "If the assembly of Impressionist pictures offers in pictorial form a vast social novel of the late nineteenth century, that novel has nothing of the uncouth drama of Balzac's sprawling *Comedie Humaine*, nothing of the demoniac passion of Dostoevsky's realism but much of Flaubert's *Madame Bovary*. The essential Impressionism—like the character of that book—is both objective and aesthetic."

*

"Read no history, nothing but biography," once wrote Disraeli, "for that is life without theory." Philip Woodruff, whose latest work, *The Founders* (Cape, sh 30/-), marks a stimulating addition to Indian History, has obviously followed this advice wisely and discreetly. His theme is the development of British influence in India from 1600 to 1858. A second volume, entitled *The Guardians*, will be published later this year to carry the story upto 1947.

*

Max Scheler ranks second only to Husserl as a leading member of the German phenomenological school. His *The Nature Of Sympathy* (Routledge & Kegan Paul, sh 30/-) explores the working, at different levels, of the social emotions of fellow-feeling, the sense of identity, love and hatred, and traces their relationship to one another and to the values with which they are associated. Criticizing other writers from Adam Smith to Freud, who have for the most part sought to derive the sympathetic emotions from self-interested feelings of instincts, it renews the evaluations of love and sympathy current in different historical periods and in different social and religious environments; it concludes by outlining a theory of fellow feeling as the primary source of our knowledge of one another.

MAY DAY

Statement of the American Committee for Cultural Freedom

[This statement was prepared by an ad hoc subcommittee of the American Committee for Cultural Freedom composed of James T. Farrell, novelist; Norbert Muhlen, writer; and William Phillips, editor of Partisan Review, America's foremost cultural and political journal.]

THE First of May gives us the opportunity to reaffirm our faith in freedom and our determination to fight in order to keep freedom alive.

Members of the American cultural community, we adhere to a variety of political, religious, and social views, but irrespective of doctrinal differences, we believe that May First is a day of hope and aspiration for the workers of the world and for all those who sympathize with them and share their desires for the spiritual and material conditions of man.

The greatest threat to cultural freedom is totalitarianism. Today the capital of totalitarianism is Moscow. We are sensible to the fact that there are dangerous and repressive tendencies in all countries, including our own America. However, we assert that it is morally monstrous to equate conditions in America, or in any other free country, with those which prevail behind the Iron Curtain.

We believe that now is the time to declare that there should be established an unrestricted world domain of culture, with a free exchange of ideas and information and with free access to these by men of all nations. We call for the lifting of the Iron Curtain, so that those who are enslaved behind it may know both the virtues and the faults of the free world. We call for liberation of all who are in concentration camps or prisons because they made use of the freedoms of opinion, speech, worship, assembly, and strike, and we demand the restitution of these freedoms to all who have been deprived of them.

We reaffirm our determination to defend man's basic freedoms against totalitarianism, whenever and wherever they are threatened. We are convinced that freedom will eventually triumph over the forces that mean to enslave the minds and bodies of men.

Read The Proceedings Of The Madras Conference

of the Indian Committee for Cultural Freedom
Containing
Important Addresses, Seminar Reports, Resolutions. Obtainable from the

*Indian Committee for Cultural Freedom
127, Mahatma Gandhi Road.
BOMBAY 1.*

Rs. 2/8 in India, Rs. 5/- outside India (post-free).

C. C. F. NEWS

The Congress for Cultural Freedom, in collaboration with the European Cultural Centre in Geneva and the Italian Radio Association, organised an International Music Conference of composers, performers and music critics in Rome from April 4th to 15th. The Conference programme consisted of contemporary symphonic, operatic and chamber music works and discussions on "Music in the XXth Century." Leading musicians like Auric, Dallapiccola, Delvincourt, Malipiero, Petrassi, Roland Manuel, Sanget and Stravinsky participated in the conference.

*

Recently the American Committee organised discussion forums on "The Communist Problem in the Intellectual Community," "Is There a 'New Look' in Post-Stalin Russia?", and "The Ethics of Controversy" in which leading intellectuals and scholars like Mr. Norman Thomas, Professor George S. Counts, Mr. Harry Schwartz, Mr. Bertram D. Wolfe, Professor Sidney Hook and Mr. W. H. Auden participated.

*

The American Committee has announced an award of \$1000 for the best manuscript on 'Cultural Freedom.' Contestants should be teachers or graduate students at an American college or university.

*

The Madras Group of the I.C.C.F. celebrated "Sri T. K. Chidambarnatha Mudaliar (T.K.C.) Day" on 7th April. Mr. R. Krishnamurthy (Kalki), Mr. P. Acharya and Mr. Somasundaram paid tributes to the memory of the great Tamil poet and savant.

*

The Indian Committee organised on 15th April an informal function in honour of Mr. Gangadhar Gadgil and Mr. Chunilal Madia, who won the first prizes in the New York Herald Tribune Short Story Competition. Many Gujarati and Marathi writers participated in the function, when Mr. Dhansukhalal Mehta and Mr. Prabhakar Padhye spoke on the Gujarati short story and the Marathi short story respectively.

*

During the third and fourth weeks of April Mr. Rousset, member of the International Executive of the Congress for Cultural Freedom and founder of the International Commission Against Concentration Camp Practices and Professor Balachowsky, distinguished scientist and member of the Commission paid a visit to India as guests of the Indian Committee. They visited Calcutta, Benaras, Delhi and Bombay, addressed meetings under the auspices of the Committee and met prominent intellectuals and trade unionists. In Bombay, they also addressed meetings under the auspices of the Alliance Francaise, Indian Council of World Affairs and the Praja Socialist Party. They met members of the Bombay press and talked about the work of the Commission against Concentration Camps and described the realities of the concentration camp system.

THE COMMITTEE AND AMERICA—Continued from page 2

The reason for this unfortunate evasion of a moral issue is clear. The Report unmistakably proves an extensive existence of slave labour conditions in Soviet Russia and its satellites, and our friendship for these countries got the better of our moral conscience. Did not a distinguished member of the Government of India once confess on the floor of the House of the People that they knew many unsavoury facts about Russia and China but that they did not talk about them out of their sense of friendship for these countries?

When a moral issue of these proportions is unconscionably evaded is it any wonder that our voices, rendered hoarse by our protests at the non-admission of Red China in the U.N., are suddenly silenced when it comes to the non-admission of our blood brother Ceylon or of Japan, which is solely due to the Soviet veto? Is it also any wonder that in our demand for the prohibition of the Hydrogen Bomb we allow all the weight of our moral reprobation to fall only on one nation when the other Power continues to explode it?

That a nation which swears by the hallowed memory of Mahatma Gandhi should be guilty of such moral neutralism is a most tragic commentary on the work and influence of that great man. During the period of the second World War the Indian leadership, guided by Mahatma Gandhi, was faced with almost the same situation in its external policy as it is today. At that time also a great global conflict was raging between the forces of democracy and the forces of totalitarian tyranny. Then also we refused to join this conflict. We said that we would not take part in this fight for Democracy till its fruits were bestowed on our country. We sternly decided to remain aloof from the military combat. But this did not prevent us from making a moral choice. We refused to be neutral towards the moral and ideological issues involved in that conflict. On the contrary, the resolutions of the Indian National Congress, so inspiringly penned by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru himself, made our preferences absolutely clear. We spared no words and no epithets in condemning the Nazi philosophy and practice. Even Mahatma Gandhi, who was opposed to taking part in the violence of the war on more fundamental grounds, did not fail to express his sympathies for the Democracies. But today, when our freedom has become a fact, when we have inscribed Democracy on our banner and when we take particular pride in invoking the name of Mahatma Gandhi, we have chosen to forget this inspiring chapter from our very recent history.

Many of the policies and pronouncements of those who influence opinion seem to be strangely imbued with this moral neutralism. Since this neutralism, under such a mighty influence, quickly pervades the entire country and vitiates the democratic debate of the age at its very roots, the Committee is often compelled to express disapproval of these policies and pronouncements, and since these seem to be increasingly acquiring an anti-American bias, the Commit-

tee's comments are mistakenly deemed to be pro-American. Actually, we are not concerned with the practical policies of either the American or the Indian or any other government unless they strike at the values of democracy. For example, the Committee has nothing whatever to say about the policy of non-involvement between the so-called Power-blocs. It is not State neutrality, but moral and ideological neutralism, which expresses itself in the refusal to judge moral issues or in the formulation of the theories like the theory of equidistance, about which the Committee feels concerned. This should be quite obvious from the fact that among the members of the Committee and its Executive are to be found those who believe in the policy of State neutrality or non-alignment as well those who adhere to the concept of Collective Security in the face of totalitarian aggression.

The Committee realises that this strange phenomenon of moral neutralism is the result of a deep malaise which has caught the country in its mortal grip. This is variously described as a neurosis or the irrational. In effect it is indifference to fundamental human values without the living touch of which neither culture nor freedom can flourish. The Committee humbly endeavours to emphasise these moral values. We realise that there are no Mahatma Gandhis in the Committee, with the magic power to enliven or recreate deadened values. But we feel that even if we succeed in effectively posing the problem, we shall have achieved something significant and worthwhile.

ENCOUNTER

Literature Arts Politics

CHURCHILL AS PARLIAMENTARIAN

Woodrow Wyatt

LETTER FROM NORWAY: George Mikes

THE WORLD AND THE MACHINE

W. H. Auden

UNCLE BERTIE—a story: Dannie Abse

GHOST AUTOBIOGRAPHY

Christopher Sykes

Francois Bondy * Leslie A. Fiedler * T. R.

Fyvel * Norbert Muhlen * Paul Roche * Hugh

Seton-Watson * Leonard Woolfe

APRIL 1954 7 YEARLY Rs Ten.

With Many Voices

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

—Tennyson.

“The question has been asked why enquiries should be limited to whether they (candidates for posts in the Posts and Telegraphs) were Communists or not. In all humility I must say that this is the only political party in the country which tries to meddle with the loyalty of workers.”

—Mr. Raj Bahadur, Deputy Minister for Communications, *Hindustan Times*, April, 2, 1954.

A march into Goa and Pondichery, a sharp note of protest to Ceylon backed by such sanctions as might be necessary, a series of non-aggression pacts with China and other Asian neighbours and a “Quit Asia” notice—that is what history expects of Nehru’s India today.

—Mr. R. K. Karanjia, *Blitz*, April 3, 1954.

“It is now the policy of the U.S.A. not to exchange U.S. performance for communist promises.”

—Mr. Dulles, quoted in *Hindustan Times*, March 31, 1954.

“Criticism of some failings in India’s foreign policy must on no account be confused at the present time with pro-Americanism.”

—*The Eastern Economist*, March 26, 1954.

The influence of Sardar K. M. Panikkar, no less because he is no longer an ambassador of India, continues to be large. Mr. Krishna Menon tends to lend his weight to the same side; and it is now widely believed that Mr. R. K. Nehru, the Foreign Secretary, has lost the capacity to resist these irregular pressures on his own thinking. In effect, the apparatus of thought in the External Affairs Ministry has become heavily biased.

—*The Eastern Economist*, March 26, 1954.

“After my experience with the U.F.L. I am convinced that it is absolutely impossible to have any common dealing with the U.F.L.”

—Mr. Pattom Thanu Pillai, as quoted in *Times of India*, March 26, 1954.

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.....

Name :

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Date : Signature

We are in a dangerous position. It is doubtful if liberal democracy will last another five years. We cannot afford to be soft any longer. We must have hard men on our side too..... There are a few, deplorably few, such people in India, writing, speaking, organising, spending their own money and what they can squeeze out of others, publishing their pamphlets, bulletins, journals. They are bores, but they are right. If we ignore them too long, we shall have to endure something far worse than boredom.

—*Free Economic Review*, reviewing Mr. Sita Ram Goel’s book “C.P.I. Conspires for Civil War,” March 15, 1954.

“I fear the Communist Party because it is in a position to obtain large sums of money from Russia to bribe and deceive our people and make them traitors to their country.”

—Sir John Kotelawala, as quoted in *Free Press Bulletin*, March 31, 1954.

“The one shortcoming of a democratic government is that it gave people a chance to abuse the freedom they enjoy under it and get away with it.”

—Sir John Kotelawala, as quoted in *Times of India*, March 25, 1954.

He (Sir John Kotelawala) told a local newspaper, “My views on the subject of visiting communists remain unchanged. They disseminate more harm than goodwill.”

—*The Hindu*, February 11, 1954.

Addressing a Gaya meeting on Bhoodan, he (Mr. Jayaprakash Narayan) told the audience that ‘land reform’ in China was no match to the land reform carried out by MacArthur in Japan.

—*The New Age*, February 14, 1954.

Referring to the workers of the ‘Red Flag’ who tried to disrupt his meeting by shouting slogans, Mr. Morarji Desai said, “If these things occurred in the country from where they had adopted these tactics, they would be shot.”

—Report in *Indian Express*, April 10, 1954.

“The Soviet note of protest can and ought to be answered in one word—rubbish.”

—*Dawn*, as reported in *Times of India*, April 4, 1954.

“The curious part of the whole debate was that while on the first day Sri Tandon’s speech was lustily and repeatedly cheered by Congressmen, the next day the Education Minister’s speech (attacking Sri Tandon) was as lustily and as repeatedly cheered by the same Congressmen. Was the *volte face* next day due to the presence of the leader of the Congress Party, the Prime Minister?”

—*Janata*, April 4, 1954.